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Appendix

H. B. Snyder, Former Editor and Publisher, of Gary, Ind.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, Gary, the Calumet region, and the State of Indiana lost one of its pioneer leaders in the passing of H. B. Snyder, former editor and publisher of the Gary, Ind., Post-Tribune. He along with his brother, the late J. Ralph Snyder, were one of the few remaining pioneers who helped organize, develop, and establish the city of Gary and the Calumet region as the No. 1 metropolitan industrial area in the Middlewest.

H. B. Snyder as the editor and guiding genius of the Gary Post-Tribune has been an outstanding leader in city, county, State, and National affairs for almost half a century. He possessed the faculty of keeping pace with modern progress in domestic and national issues. He was one of the outstanding supporters and advocates of Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations after World War I and the refusal of our Nation to enter the League of Nations was a great disappointment to him.

I often heard him remark that had our Government in the early 1920's joined the League of Nations with all the other member countries, World War II could have been averted. This was before the power of international communism had secured a foothold. Under our leadership the League of Nations could have been a success and prevented the building and expansion of the Hitler, Mussolini, and Japanese war potentials.

H. B. Snyder served on various local, State, and National commissions and committees in behalf of our country's welfare.

Over the years he has been the leader in movements and programs to promote good racial relations among the cosmopolitan and various nationalities of the Calumet region. Greatly through the efforts of his newspaper this large industrial area has been free from racial strife and upheavals which recently scourged similar metropolitan areas throughout the Nation.

The following is an editorial by Dale E. Belles, Jr., editor and associate publisher of the Gary Post-Tribune:

HENRY BURGESS SNYDER—A MAN AND HIS PRINCIPLES

A good newspaperman records history. A pioneer makes it. Henry Burgess Snyder was both. He did both.

Gary was but four years old when he reached it in 1910. From that time on he played a major role in its development, and in the development of the area around it.

Two World wars and a nationwide depression interrupted or altered its growth, but in times of such crises he helped direct local opinion in the avenues where he thought it should go. Then as the crises ended he turned his attention back to the problems involved in developing a greater Gary and a greater Northwest Indiana.

The Post-Tribune, though he and his family sold their interests in it last August, remains his principal monument. He did not found it. The Gary Post had been in operation for a few months when H. B. Snyder and his brother, J. Ralph Snyder, bought it.

The going wasn't always easy, a fact with most growth businesses. There is a story of the teen years that when "H.B." was Gary's Democratic postmaster, he occasionally had to wait till he got his government paycheck to help meet the paper's then small payroll. But the team of "H.B. and Ralph" persisted, got the Post on its feet, and by 1921 were able to buy out the competitive Gary Tribune and form The Post-Tribune which they developed into the areawide institution it became. The team carried on into the late '50s until first illness and then death removed J. Ralph from the scene.

During the years of the "team" operation, H.B. devoted himself to the editorial and news side, leaving business affairs primarily as Ralph's concern. It was in his editor's chair that he showed his bigness.

Republicans of the '20s denounced him as too Democratic. Democrats of the '30s and beyond called him too Republican. The accusations in each case stemmed from H. B. Snyder's sincere belief that a newspaper owed it to its readers to serve as a watchdog on public officials, and so it was those who were "in"—and so subject to criticism—who found him partisan.

Coupled with his insistence on reportorial investigation was an equal insistence on fairness. He remained willing to confer with those whom his paper criticized or exposed, and to make amends on the few occasions he considered them due.

As a newsman he resented any effort to withhold news. The only exceptions he made were in the case of stories which might do injury to individuals or their survivors without serving any public purpose. Relentless investigation he approved and encouraged. Sensationalism he did not.

Concerned as he was primarily with Gary and with Northwest Indiana, he nevertheless held to the belief that a local newspaper had a duty to give leadership on national issues. He openly advocated American involvement in World War II against Hitler and Mussolini at a time when the pacifistic America First movement still was at its height. He was one of the first in the nation to urge Dwight D. Eisenhower's nomination for President. He later felt it a duty to criticize that same President Eisenhower when he considered his leadership ineffective.

There were those who may have considered H. B. Snyder aloof, and that included for a time some of his staff. These latter, and many others in the community, learned in time that what sometimes seemed aloofness was actually a self-effacing shyness. Despite it he was willing to take civic lead when he considered that necessary.

His willingness—at the request of a mayor whom he had opposed—to take over leadership of the then new Urban League at a time when World War II first made racial problems a real point of tension was a prime example.

So were the key roles he played in reorganizations pressed on the Gary Public Schools and on the Gary Chamber of Commerce at times when such action appeared necessary in the public interest. Such roles were not always pleasant. Duty, though, outweighed his personal desires when its call was urgent.

He eagerly cooperated with businessmen he believed were pressing specific or general plans in the public interest, but he would challenge those elements of the business community he thought were wrong. He believed in labor's right to press legitimate demands, but fought back at attempted labor domination.

For more than a half century he stayed at his desk. In his last few years, he delegated the editorship and general managership of The Post-Tribune to younger hands, but even then he came daily to his office, willing to consult, but playing the tough role of leaving ultimate decisions to another.

Neither Gary nor Northwest Indiana has yet become all that he dreamed they should, but neither would have progressed as far as it has either without his dreams or without his encouragement to the dreams of others.

The big majority of The Post-Tribune family who served under his direction consider such service to have been an honor and an opportunity.

The Post-Tribune considers it an opportunity to seek to develop and expand the monument he established in the general paths of integrity and public service which were the guidelines of Henry Burgess Snyder.

Completion of the George Washington Memorial Parkway in Prince Georges County, Md.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, today I am offering again my bill to authorize the George Washington Memorial Parkway from the Capital Beltway to Fort Washington along the compromise shoreline route in Prince Georges County, Md.

My bill contains specific authority for the acquisition of parkland and right-of-way for this scenic route along the Potomac River. Entirely consistent with the original Capper-Cramton Act of 1930, the purpose for this George Washington Memorial Parkway is the preservation of the Potomac River shoreline in its natural state—nothing more, nothing less.

Each year that we delay in acquiring this parkland the higher and higher go the stakes. Land values in Prince Georges County along the river and even behind the shoreline have skyrocketed. There is no doubt in my mind that if the 90th Congress does not make good the promise of the Capper-Cramton Act of 1930 as far as Prince Georges County is concerned, we may as well hold funeral services for the parkway in my home county. Then we can bury it once and forever in the growing pile of conservation projects which were the victims of selfish land speculators and a handful of people who are blind to the overriding public benefit to be derived by all by preservation of scenic beauty.

Last year was a year of frustration for all officials—elected and appointed—and for those conservation-minded people in Prince Georges County who were battling for this long-sought and highly desirable conservation project. We saw a handful of people oppose the will of the majority with the help of an expensive lobbyist as they strangled the appropriation request for $2.9 million in committee and in the Maryland General Assembly.

This year we are going to make an even greater effort to see that this project becomes a reality. We are going to achieve our goal despite the selfish opposition and despite expensive lobbyists and the pressure and influence they try to bring against this parkway project. How long can a handful of people continue to deprive our county and all the metropolitan and suburban area residents of this scenic memorial to our first President? I expect that we shall know the final answer within the next 2 years, and if I have anything to say about it, the overriding public benefit will finally emerge the victor.

Space Shots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, a Washington Post editorial of December 2, 1966, reviews our spending in the national space program and recounts the history of our Nation when in 1957 it was losing the technological race. As the editorial so aptly points out, now that we have restored our competitive position internationally, it is important that we continue to provide the support to our national space effort so that we will never allow the conditions of that time to occur again. This brief editorial summarizes well the decisions that are before us today.

The editorial follows:

SPACE SHOTS

Shooting at the space program is about as intense as the fire directed at the British retreat from Lexington by American Minutemen. Senator Robert Kennedy recently observed that slum dwellers "aren't dumb" and know our society "is spending $7 billion to send men to the moon." Less courageous officials are sniping at the program from behind bureaucratic hedgerows.

What an uproar there was in 1957 when Sputnik showed us we were second in space! The Eisenhower Administration was roundly condemned. Congressmen and Senators clamored for a stepped-up space program and promised all the money needed. President Kennedy, in his 1960 campaign, described our failures in space as "the greatest blow we had in the 1950s." He said repeatedly: "I am not satisfied to be second in space."

Well, we no longer are second in space. And the critics of the Johnson Administration now are not satisfied to be first in space—unless it can be done on the cheap.

First place in space does not come in the economy-size package. It is expensive—$7 billion to reach the moon, 400,000 people working in 20,000 companies. We know the direct results. But what of the less immediate results? Dr. Martin Schwarzchild of Princeton pointed out in 1965 that "the great scientific discoveries are always the ones you cannot predict at all." As a result of the space program we are not only going to be first on the moon and first in space. We are going to be first in a thousand fields of science, education and industry. The space effort has induced a ferment and excitement in American life like that caused by the discovery of the New World in the Europe of the Fifteenth century.

Can the program be cut? Certainly. But as Dr. Schwarzchild warned: "When you stop the present momentum, the first thing that will happen is not that we save money on the moon project but that all the impetus of improving education in this country is going down. It is the valuable parts that slack down to zero the first . . ."

This country does not have to choose between a space program that will keep it in first place in space and a poverty program that will keep it first among the countries of the world in national exertion for the disadvantaged. It can be and ought to be first in both.

Adam Clayton Powell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, following the Democratic caucus action against the Congressman from New York on Monday, I received a number of queries from news media in my district. And I have received a considerable number of letters and telegrams expressing opinions on the action.

In response to these queries and communications, I prepared the following statement, which I request be included in the Record:

Today in the Democratic caucus of the House of Representatives, I voted with the majority to strip Congressman Adam Clayton Powell of his committee chairmanship.

I did so without malice. As chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, Mr. Powell has been instrumental in the passage of a great deal of forward-looking legislation. I respect his ability as a congressman and his accomplishments as chairman.

But the record clearly shows that Mr. Powell has misused his authority. He has misspent public funds.

Some persons have charged that the action against Mr. Powell was motivated by racial prejudice. Speaking for myself and the majority of my colleagues, I can say that this is simply not true.

Whenever misdeeds such as these are brought to light, I think it is the responsibility of Congress to take positive action. It is our duty, whenever possible, to raise the ethical standards of Congress. Today the Democratic caucus did what it needed to do.

The Late Christian Herter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the entire Nation knew Christian Herter as a man dedicated to public service, the welfare of the Nation, and peace for the world. It can be only with the deepest grief that we mourn his passing and with the fondest memories that we recall his life among us.

The citizens of Massachusetts grew to know him well and respect him greatly as speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, as U.S. Congressman, and as Governor. It was with especial interest and the uttermost pride that they watched his actions in the international sphere, culminating in his position as Secretary of State under President Eisenhower and then as U.S. trade negotiator at Geneva under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

This deep feeling is evidence no better than in the recent editorial in the Boston Globe, and I submit it now, with unanimous consent, for publication in the Congressional Record:

[From the Boston (Mass.) Globe, Jan. 2, 1967]

CHRISTIAN ARCHIBALD HERTER: 1895–1966

President Johnson's statement of eulogy saluted Christian Herter as a "dedicated patriot." That is what the nation and the outside world correctly thought of him. But he was much more to his North Shore neighbors, his former Beacon Hill colleagues of either party, or the voters of Massachusetts who made him a winner every time he sought their votes.

These Bay Staters who knew him better are more apt to speak of his modesty, his courtly manner, his trustworthy eyes, his shy smile of immense charm.

President Eisenhower, whose nomination in 1952 the then U.S. Rep. Herter helped engineer, has said that "when you look at him you know you are looking at an honest man."

But many learned Mr. Herter's disarming exterior mien masked an inner toughness. This toughness was evident to only a personal few during the last 25 years as he added career upon career in spite of great physical discomfort.

This same toughness, tempered by patience, characterized tedious negotiations with his Soviet counterparts at the height of the Cold War, especially the successful 1959 negotiations to keep encircled West Berlin free.

The same toughness was known, appreciated and respected within the state Republican Party to which he contributed great leadership, first as Speaker of the House of Representatives (1939–42), then as a U.S. congressman (1942–1952), and, lastly, as governor (1953–1957).

At this point in Mr. Herter's crowded career, his adopted state lost him to his first love, diplomacy.

In this field his interest spanned 50 years and his "wise counsel" served Presidents from the days of Woodrow Wilson's peace mission to Paris in 1919 to his last assignment as U.S. trade negotiator in Geneva for Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

No doubt his appointment in 1959 to be Gen. Eisenhower's Secretary of State was the real climax to his life's interests in America's full participation in a shrinking world's affairs. But his trade negotiator role was no less important.

Three months ago he called the four-year tariff negotiations "frustrating," but was still confident this (his last) mission would bring "real and lasting benefit to the trade of the United States."

This optimism reflected his own advice to the nation in May of 1959. Speaking of the problems of divided Germany, the nuclear arms race, and his deep hopes for big power progress toward disarmament, he told a radio-television audience: "We Americans are inclined to be impatient of delays in solving international problems. We must learn new patience" . . . as we make slow progress toward the ultimate goal of international stability.

In remembering Mr. Herter's half century of public service, we also pay tribute and extend our sympathy to the elegant, lovely Mrs. Herter who, at home or abroad, always was seen by his side during all of those whole crowded, eventful years.

Vietnam Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I include in the Appendix a copy of my report to the constituents of the Third Congressional District.

A few days prior to Christmas, I returned to my home following a 25-day tour of the Far East. This factfinding tour, at my own expense, included 5 days in Saigon and the provinces of South Vietnam. This was my 18th trip to the Far East and my fourth to Vietnam since I was first elected to this House.

I could speak of the war itself today; I could speak of the sufferings of the South Vietnamese civilians; I could speak of the human misery and faltering American programs there, but I feel that there is an additional development that also calls for the immediate attention of this Congress.

On Monday, December 12, 1966, I went "shopping" in Saigon's black market. On prior trips, I saw itinerant peddlers surreptitiously dealing in illegal trade, but now I saw store after store and street stalls openly displaying their wares. On many items I saw what appears to be our commissary markings. This disgraceful operation exists at a complete loss to the American taxpayers. I have purchased U.S. Government issue pens for 25 cents apiece; GI tee shirts, with their original Government code numbers intact, sell for 50 cents; there are Eveready batteries, soap, razor blades, toothpaste, clothing, insecticides, canned foods, and a host of other items all from American civilian or military stores, there.

Our commodity import program in South Vietnam amounted to $400 million last year and $600 million is proposed for the coming year. While our Government can and does control these imports to and through the docking facilities, control is then lost and the whole program defeated. This program is designed to stabilize prices and currency and is failing. I maintain we should carefully scrutinize any further appropriation to this program until proper and close control is a fact.

I have information of a $60,000 CARE shipment of toothpaste earmarked for distribution to the Vietnamese people being stolen and diverted. Other shipments totaling a quarter of a million dollars of CARE consignments have disappeared. The entire situation is shocking and disgraceful. Corruption festers in Saigon like an open sore. While Americans die in battle, profiteers on the black market acquire fortunes at the expense of the American taxpayer.

I call for a congressional investigation of this horrendous situation. The military and civilian authorities in Saigon, although well aware of this disgrace, seem unable or unwilling to cope with it. Surely this Nation is not so affluent that its taxpayers can underwrite this illegal and immoral traffic, this diversion of goods into a black market that affords the lowest of the low an opportunity to reap huge profits at our expense. I do not know where the profits eventually wind up, but I believe it is our duty to find out where and to bring this operation to an immediate halt.

The time has long passed for the mouthing of pious platitudes. This shocking situation merits righteous indignation and the immediate action of this Congress. If our programs are administered so haphazardly that this condition can freely exist in Saigon, it is high time that we step in and take proper remedial action.

As the 90th Congress gets underway, I find that the problems, opportunities, and tasks that lie before this Nation and our community are even more challenging than the past 2 years.

Uppermost is the urgent need to reevaluate this Nation's efforts to bring a just and honorable peace to Vietnam. I have recently returned from a 4-week tour of this troubled part of the world. I have spoken with the people in the villages, the heads of state, our men in the field, and even enemy defectors and prisoners. While I have listened to many so-called experts, the right solution to this dilemma is still elusive and one that will require new imaginative and "Solomon-like" wisdom in its approach. I join with you this new year in praying for divine guidance in finding the right answers.

Almost as ominous in its threat to this Nation as well as the world itself is the ever-growing problems of health and well-being of our fellow man. Hunger still stalks many parts of the world. Famine and disease in many nations remain as the seedbed of discontent. Unless we are prepared to approach these common enemies of man with a massive effort, these seeds will sprout again and again.

As urgent as the need to feed man is the need to solve the threat of pollution to the air we breathe and the water we drink. Pollution of these natural resources has already reached an alarming stage. Immediate measures to correct and prevent further contamination is imperative. There is no reason why a nation that can take closeup pictures of the moon's surface can't focus some of its attention to the curing of such killers as cancer and heart disease. Mindful of the monumental gains in social legislation enacted by the 89th Congress, we must now take even greater strides to insure that these programs are properly implemented.

I am opposed to increased taxes, for I do not believe this is necessary at the present time to curtail inflation. Economies must be made, but not at the expense of essential programs. The fat, the water, and nonessentials must be deleted from Federal expenditures so we may have meaningful programs to care for our present and future needs.

The continuing war on poverty, aid to the aged, the need to educate our young, the guarantee of equality of opportunities for all of our citzenry regardless of race, creed, or color, the vexing mass transportation problems of our community and the vigilance in protecting and conserving our natural resources must be equally pursued with vigor.

Mr. Fred Tarbox Elected President of North Essex Council of Boy Scouts of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to submit in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the acceptance speech of Mr. Fred Tarbox, of Andover, Mass., on his election to the office of president of the North Essex Council of the Boy Scouts of America, Lawrence, Mass. It is outstanding in its clarity, its relevance, and its sincerity. It calls to mind the invaluable work the Boy Scouts are doing to imbue in today's youth the sense of pride in self and country; it also points out the awareness and perception by one man of the problems facing our Nation's youth, his concern and understanding, and his positive ideas and forward action.

Further words on my part only serve to repeat the ideas and principles embodied in this speech and diminish the impact of Mr. Tarbox's presentation which should be an example and inspiration to adults and youth alike.

The speech follows:

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH OF MR. FRED TARBOX

To President Hamel, to all the officers, to our Scout Executive Robert Smith and to all of you—the core of Scouting. How proud I am to be affiliated with this great organization. B.S.A. I am happy to be here tonight because I am with the best. To your retiring President, a man I've known of for some years, a great citizen and Scouter I say how pleased I am to be associated with his group. Ed you are a real Scouter—may I express my best to you for all you've done for Scouting. To all others here assembled I give you my best wishes for your future in Scouting.

I accept this distinguished honor of being elected President of the North Essex Council B.S.A.—and in doing so I recognize my weaknesses as a "Scouter" and my lack of knowledge of the Scouting program. However, I have had the pleasure of being associated with the Scout organization for the past nine years at the grass roots level in Troop 77 where I've had the privilege of seeing the results of what this great program does for boys—and as a proud father what it has done for my son Bill. I have seen the activities of this great council—with its many devoted volunteer leaders, working and giving unceasingly of their spare hours to build character, teach honesty, inspire reverence, make first rate citizens and in total develop boys into men. This organization must have leadership and this organization has had leadership. What little I can offer will only be directed toward the good work and performance that has always been part of the North Essex Council.

My feelings toward scouting are patterned after all those here assembled. We can look for a better world through this opportunity of working with our boys. However, you can't do it alone, or without assistance my labors would be in vain. We need the assistance of this great community and most important help from the parents—we will work forward toward this needed cooperation. Let us think a moment of this world today with its trials and tribulations. Consider the problems and short comings.

All of us, I am sure, have felt occasional misgivings about some of the problems and scenes that appear increasingly in our every day life. We are appalled when growing violence and crime in our country is condoned and excused—when our public places of learning have a member say "God is dead" or that effects of L.S.D. condition the mind for a new religion.

It is difficult for us to understand when the finest system of government yet developed by man is twisted into a device to serve the private and personal interests of a few self seekers and special interest groups. We are shocked when we observe an increasing breakdown in moral fibre in every segment of our society, particularly in our youth. Can anyone here think of a better way to condition the minds and bodies of these young people than through the Boy Scout movement?

Today the individual seems to be running from responsibility at every turn and the interpretations of our laws encourage it. There are times when it is difficult not to wonder what is wrong with us? Are we out of step with the world? But then a few hours with these boys, reconditions your mind and when the call is to "circle up," and the sound of the bugle for days end—at the twilight hour, you again have a sense of refreshment and really believe that goodness can prevail.

When I speak of the world today I am really generalizing. It's the world we move in, not the healthy attitude of Boy Scouting. I don't like to sound like an old fashioned moralist talking from somewhere in our Mid-Victorian past. But like it or not, I think I'm beginning to feel like one. I seem to remember growing up in a time when such words as honesty, integrity, honor, responsibility, dedication, morality and patriotism meant something different from, "what's in it for me, and what are you going to give me next." It seems to me that when many of you and I were going to school there were ideas and ideals which were held up to us as a kind of a torch which would guide us along the way to becoming decent and productive citizens of our communities. Now I sometimes think that this torch which was given to us, burns with a very tiny flame indeed, in comparison with the fires that are raging around us on all sides. These definitions of honesty, morality, integrity etc. are the same today as yesterday. The good things we learn in scouting can rekindle this flame and warm our lives. I think its about time that we who have experienced life, who have had good home training and the benefits of a sound moral training stand up and tell people what we believe and why.

The dress and habits of our youth are guided by our policies in the home and in the school. There is no substitute for discipline and scouting disciplines. Our society needs people who are adaptable to change but only the right change. As technological advances appear, we need individuals with the basic education and training that will allow them to learn and advance with the times. But most important our people and I speak of our youh must also have a sense of responsibility and a dedication to their job and a way of life, as well as a desire to excel. Here we are hitting at the core of our responsibility and here is where scouting takes its place. We should and must train these boys thoroughly and make them recognize that success isn't money—success is the satisfaction of knowing the job is well done. A dynamic industrial system calls for men who are anxious to compete. In return, it offers great rewards in the feeling of satisfaction that can only come from performing useful work in an outstanding way.

I suggest that each of us, be on the alert for the young people who show signs of talent for making contributions to our society. And here I may interject one observation of mine—a young mind is good and spirited until it's spoiled—each and everyone of us has the responsibility to aid the young mind and Boy Scouting is one of the best places to start.

As we encourage that flame, we will protect it and feed it. We will encourage that young person to develop good habits—help him discover his individual talents—show him the joy of accomplishing a job well done—teach him the joys of healthy competition for his rewards—broaden his horizons and stretch his ambitions. As before if you and I accomplish this with one youngster—with two or three—we will continue to have the tremendous pleasure of watching tiny flames increase in size until they become torches that will provide the needed light in a world that agains seems to be approaching darkness. Join with us in Troop 77 watch these fellows perform we're to old to be molded but we can mold and we can win.

May I bear witness to that great semblance of words the Scout Oath——

"On my honor I will do my best to do my duty to God and my Country and to obey the Scout Law. To help other people at all times. To keep myself physically strong, mentally awake and morally straight."

And that last phrase is the one that always gets me. I could forever and a day hear it repeated. Where the choice of words came from I know not. Did the author stumble on this choice of words? Was he the recipient of a flash of insight at this point? Was he prompted by some painful experience which had borne down on him? I do not know. But I do know he made a very fortunate choice of words. If this oath had read *to become* physically strong, mentally awake and morally straight we would still have applauded it. If it read *to be* physically strong, mentally awake, and morally straight it would have still been a wonderful goal. But it doesn't say "become" or "be"—it says "keep myself." These words show a remarkable understanding of how one does, or is, or achieves those things which following the Oath, "to keep myself physicaly strong, mentally awake and morally straight"—And with this inspiring oath I dedicate myself to promoting my allegiance to God and country, to encouraging greater appreciation of religious ideals, to instilling honor, loyalty and service to the great Scout movement.

In conclusion I give my promise that I'll assist the Council with all my heart and soul. We will continue to work towards its success as in the past. I believe in the same precepts as all of you—our wishes are the same—and with your great professional leader Executive Bob Smith and his staff the council is now and will continue to be in first place.

Labor Union Monopolies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVE MARTIN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, today, in the opening of the 90th Congress I have introduced my bill, H.R. 333, designed to eliminate labor union monopolies. I have introduced this bill in the past three Congresses.

This bill would make the labor unions subject to antitrust laws of this country and it also embodies amendments to the Sherman, Clayton, Norris-La Guardia, and National Labor Management Relations Acts.

Over the years, this country has suffered severe economic setbacks and hardships on the public as well as industry as a result of these large-scale strikes, and failures of the negotiating parties to get together, mainly because of the size of the representation. I am sure all of the Members here today recall the difficulty under which this country was forced to operate as a result of the airline strike last summer. Here again is an example of one union tying up the major airlines and working a tremendous hardship on the public and the economy of this country.

Under my bill, bargaining between the parties would have to be conducted by a single employer and representatives of the employer's employees, or as provided in some cases, group bargaining where not more than 25 percent of the industry is involved in the negotiation. Also, the featherbedding demands by unions could never become a labor issue since such restrictive practices are prohibited under my bill.

In brief, my bill would still allow strikes, but would restore union power to the local labor unions and take it out of the hands of the international unions. It would not interfere with any legitimate labor objectives, but only eliminate those activities not in the public interest. Industrywide bargaining would be eliminated. It would be illegal for two unions to confer with one another in regard to the settlement of wage disputes and likewise, it would be illegal for the management of two companies to confer with one another in regard to a settlement. You have to treat both sides fairly.

This bill would not interfere with any legitimate union activity nor destroy unions or their welfare and pension programs. It would only put an end to those abuses we have been facing daily in our Nation; it will maintain collective bargaining without granting further authority to the executive branch of the Government to dictate the terms of a labor contract through such weapons as compulsory arbitration and seizure, which, in my opinion, leads this Nation down a dangerous path of socialism.

The heads of the international labor unions whose monopolistic powers would be checked by the passage of this bill, are the only ones objecting to its passage. For this reason, I consider it a good bill and will do the job it is intended to do.

I sincerely hope that some affirmative action will be taken on this bill in the 90th Congress and allow labor and management to meet on even terms for the best interest of the public.

Averell Harriman—Public Servant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, a great citizen of our great Nation recently celebrated his 75th birthday. Most of those years have been devoted to the performance of unparalleled service to his country. I join my fellow Americans in saluting Averell Harriman on this occasion. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial from the Washington Post of November 15, 1966, at this point in the Record:

It is impossible to think of W. Averell Harriman as 75 years old today until one looks at the record of his public service. Then one wonders how any man could have crowded so much useful and dramatic activity into so short a life. He has managed to combine longevity with youthfulness, wisdom with exuberance and good fortune with an extraordinary sense of public responsibility.

When he was a mere stripling, Averell Harriman inherited $40 million, including a large chunk of the Union Pacific Railroad for which he worked, industriously and imaginatively for 30 years after his graduation from Yale. He skillfully enlarged this modest patrimony, branching out into banking, shipping and hotel-keeping.

Although a Republican by birth, breeding and environment, Harriman was lured into the Democratic Party and into politics by an enthusiasm for Al Smith. Franklin Roosevelt gave him his first Government job—as administrative officer in New York for the National Recovery Administration—and leaned on him for a vast variety of increasingly important assignments, including management of the Lend-Lease mission in London during World War II and a three-year term as Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Averell Harriman has served the American people since then under Presidents Truman, Kennedy and Johnson—as Ambassador to Great Britain, as administrator of the Marshall Plan, as Secretary of Commerce, as roving emissary, trouble-shooter in innumerable uncomfortable spots and confidential counselor. In 1954, he went into politics on his own, captured the Governorship of New York, ran the state with characteristic vigor and, in 1956, made a creditable, if unsuccessful, try for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Averell Harriman has brought to his multitudinous responsibilities above all else a quality of Yankee shrewdness and realism—an invaluable astringent. Perhaps more clearly than anyone else he recognized the character and conditions of the cold war with the Russians under Stalin. And just as realistically, he sized up the implacable nature of the Communist regime in China. There is a flinty quality about the man. Happily, he remains in harness today, too young for retirement, too valuable for release, too energetic for disuse. His countrymen owe him thanks as well as warm congratulations.

The World Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, in 1958 there retired from the Army, after 42 years of outstanding service, a man whose dedication to God, to nation, and to the ideals and principles of freedom will long be remembered.

Lt. Gen. Tom Hickey returned to his home in South Boston, Mass., having behind him a remarkable record. Working his way up through the ranks from buck private to lieutenant general, he saw action in three wars, commanded the 82d Airborne Division in Korea, and served on the Joint Chiefs of Staff. A recipient of many decorations both from the military for his bravery under fire, and a deeply and sincerely religious man who holds the medals of Knight Commander, Order of St. Gregory and the Knight of the Grand Cross, he was a highly respected and deeply loved commander.

His speech to the Holy Name Society, Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa., in September 1966 is both a reflection of this man, and an unforgettable example of the principles of love and deep belief on which our Nation was founded and on which it depends. Under unanimous consent, I submit it in the Congressional Record on this first day of the 90th Congress:

The World Today

(Holy Name Society, Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa., September 11, 1966)

I

It is always a happy occasion for me to be able to be with a group of individuals engaged in the same voctaion that is mine, and, which I practiced for almost forty-five years of active military service. There may be some who might object to the use of the word "vocation" as applied to a profession which has brought so much pain, misery and bloodshed into the world. But, I use the word deliberately, because it has too often been used in a restricted sense.

A vocation is a call from God to do something for Him. It is an invitation from our Creator to a particular task and state in life wherein we work out our own salvation with the aid of the graces He sends us. Just as there is a difference in material gifts, there is also a difference in spiritual gifts. Certainly, the gift of a vocation to the priesthood is higher than that of a layman. But, that does not mean that the layman's vocation is any less a call from God. It is well for us—members of the laity—to dwell on this fundamental fact, as we meditate on the problems in this material world. We are a religious nation. We do have spiritual values that must be preserved.

II

We can look around us and see that many of our people are unhappy, in the midst of material plenty, as they survey the turbulent situation in the nation today—economic bickering, political doubletalk and contradictions, social and legal derelictions and the most important pressure at the moment—our military deployment in Vietnam. They are uncertain and unsure as they watch secularism from within, and, atheism from without, attempt to erode our moral and spiritual strength and substance, that has been our heritage.

The contamination in our environment has caused some of our people to capitulate to materialistic blandishments. They have been infected with the notion that we should get rid of our traditional moral code, based on eternal truths, and, replace it with a new approach to propriety which has been labelled the "new morality." This new fangled, but, old fashioned error would destroy the influence of supernatural religion on the individual and community life. We are groping in an alien fog of religious indifferentism, whose murky shadows are building up an invisible wall of separation between what we believe and what we do.

III

The changing and confusing circumstances that continually crop up to confront us, are certainly stimulating the emotions of our people. Some of the mental torture and the demands made upon our conscience is due to the sophistry and forecasting oratory that originates in our nation's capital. The diversity of opinion which these circumstances have created is an indicator that our people will no longer allow their apathy and indifference to give silent approval to political incompetency or intellectual dishonesty. Our skepticism and our questioning curiosity is heightened every time we hear the same hackneyed phrases reissued as "new," "original," and "imaginative" proposals for compromise, containment or peaceful coexistence, as the solution for the then current crisis.

All of these exercises in expediency come to us via our communication media, in a flow of redundant rhetoric that, too often emphasizes. Too little thought has been given, to the too large amount of words that engulf us without saying anything new.

IV

Honesty is the cement that holds our society together. It is the quality in man that makes him want to do what is right and proper. A lack of honesty between those who lead, and, those who have placed them in positions of leadership, induces a breakdown in communications between the two main segments of our society.

There is another quality in man that aids him in avoiding dishonesty, and warns him against improper inertia. It is that shameful feeling that comes over the average individual when he commits or participates in an improper or dishonest act—or, has failed to meet his right and proper obligations.

Both of these qualities are in short supply in the nation today. Both segments of our society must rid themselves of their complacency and assist in re-establishing a competency and a confidence in the handling of public affairs. This nation is people—moral people, individuals and family groups—living in community, under the same authority, and, united together for the purpose of procuring the common good. And—because we are moral people—when we do rid ourselves of our complacency, we will meet the problems of our environment by carefully weighing the different interpretations of the raw facts, in a desire for careful analysis; rather than with a desire for controversy. We will attempt to make our decision based on reason and logic, rather than by contentious dispute and discord that leads to arrogance, narrowmindedness and bigotry.

The Christian principles which we profess and practice must continue to be the basis for our political and religious decisions. We must never allow mental gymnastics that defy reason and logic to humanize the divine; to naturalize the supernatural. We are a religious people. We dare not compromise our religious belief. Therefore, we cannot compromise with atheistic, materialistic Communism.

V

Communism is the afflictive evil which has kept this world in turmoil for the past half century. Our Holy Father, Pope Paul—last May—again warned the world of the evils of Marxism. He emphasized the false concepts this ideology places on man, history and the world. He admonished us that the atheism which Marxism professes and practices is a blindness that man and society will have to pay for with the gravest consequences; that the materialism which derives from these false concepts destroys man spirituality and his transcendent hopes. This was the same clear, concise condemnation of Communism that has been given to the world by every Roman Pontiff since Leo XIII. Unfortunately, it is also a capsule history of the world since Communism came into power, and, the free world began to yield and give ground under the pressure of the menace of Marxist materialism.

VI

Neither those who lead, nor those who have placed them in positions of leadership seem to want to believe the facts of history. We continue to measure Communism in accordance with our own sense of values. Communism came into power, in an inferior position compared to those they had set out to destroy. They were militarily, politically, and economically inferior. So, their strategy for survival had to be based on the application of a continual pressure of aggressive acts of violence against their enemies, while waiting for the day they hoped the balance of power would turn in their favor.

Each successive act of aggressive violence was accompanied by a false plea for peace, and a reduction of tensions throughout the world. This deliberate contradiction between what a Communist says and what he does, is also an integral part of the constant pressure he has designed to destroy our moral and spiritual strength and substance. How successful this policy of constant pressure of violent acts has been is attested to by the fact that they have made this past half century one of the bloodiest in the history of mankind.

We are—and, we have been, since 1917—engaged in combat on a broad front, exposed to a constant pressure from the entire spectrum of Communist weaponry—psychological, cultural, economic, political and military force by proxy; in attempts to gain by negotiation, what they could not obtain by direct action. Yet, we will not—apparently—accept the facts of life; that Communist doctrine recognizes war as the normal posture of its people until its goal of world domination has been reached. In this world today, Communism and conflict are synonomous.

VII

Each one of you before me this morning has knowledge of Clausewicz' treatise, "On War." You will remember his definition of war: "an act of violence intended to compel our enemy to fulfill our will." Lenin and his disciples also studied Clausewicz. They quickly realized the simplicity and the totality of his definition of war. They recognized that violence could be accomplished by slavery and subversion—and, by subtle savagery—without any recourse to formal military action. And, they accepted and applied the Clausewicz doctrine: That violence is the means and submission of the enemy to their will is the object of war; that war, as an act of violence, is unrestrained by any law except that of expediency; that in war, the errors which spring from a spirit of benevolence are the worst; and that, to introduce into the philosophy of war, a spirit of moderation, is an absurdity. This is the basic doctrine of war, as applied by the Communist evil in the world today.

VIII

Our failure to comprehend the inherent nature and spirit of Communism strategy and actions is the reason we have not understood the seemingly illogical, changing and confusing pattern of Communist moves and countermoves throughout the world. Our people are not aware that Communism has made unconventional war conventional.

We know that a Communist is dogmatic about the denial of God; that he hates religion because he believes it to be a dishonest delusion; that he scoffs at our rigid moral code; that he has made the State omnipotent; and, that he considers man to be only a higher form of animal, an instrumentality of the State which is his master and proprietor. We know this doctrine to be false; but, false as we know it to be—it is passionately believed by millions who have surrendered their souls to the merchants of materialism. These religious dropouts have lost their belief in a supernatural order, and, the duty of each one of us to submit to it. So, because of this fundamental error there is no starting point for accord or agreement between us. Communism, because of its hatred for the existing order, must conquer the world or destroy it. Its doctrine allows no other course.

Yet we have refused to recognize their angry purpose when we deal with them. We have refused to recognize their dedication to their cause, as they exhibit their skill in exploiting our ignorance and inertia, our indifference and our irresolution. We have refused to recognize their determination to reach their goal when they select the battle sites for combat; when they change these battle sites at will; when they select the tactics and the strategy for each engagement; when they limit, lessen and lengthen the extent and scope of each encounter; when they choose and apply the proper mental or physical, overt or covert, military, paramilitary or nonmilitary weaponry, best suited to keep us off balance, as they move toward their goal.

IX

Religion is giving to God the honor and the glory due Him. After God, we owe a reverence and respect for our country. It is as citizens of this glorious land that we have been allowed to develop our talents, to work out our material welfare, and, to contribute to the common good. This nation came into being by an act of religious faith which announced that all men had been endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. When Jefferson wrote that statement into our Declaration of Independence, he called it a "self evident truth," meaning, of course, that it was a first principle, and, needed no proof. He made it clear, in writing that document, that he was not attempting to find new principles, but, to "place before mankind the common sense of the subject."

The principles which Jefferson propounded had been taught years before by St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas. They had been specified by St. Robert Bellarmine. They had been retained as a belief by those who left the Church during the Reformation; by their descendents who landed at Jamestown and Plymouth Rock; and by *their* descendents who fought at Lexington and Concord.

These principles continue to be valid today, because, they remain first principles that are based on the laws of nature and of Nature's God. One does not have to be a theologian to know that if the problems confronting the nation and the world today—particularly in the fields of social justice and international peace—are not solved by the dictates of religion, and, the moral code derived from our religious belief, they will be solved by the pragmatism and the utilitarianism of the secularist and the atheist, utilizing the tenets of the "new morality" being peddled today.

X

What this nation needs today—more than anything else—is a display of national courage and humility as we reassess our purpose and our goal. We must go back and put first things first! Faith in a Supreme Being; belief in the dignity of man; a virtuous concept of a moral life; confidence in our fellow man to govern himself in a world dominated by justice and charity—these are the ideals that our doctrine tells us comprise our history and our heritage. Take the phrase "our Creator" out of our birth certificate, and, there is no guarantee left for our "inalienable rights"! Delete or dilute our religious principles and our way of life is doomed. Obliterate our religious principles as the motivation behind our decisions in every action of our daily environment, and you have destroyed the strength of our resistance.

Nothing in this world is free. The price of freedom is high. The preservation of our Christian way of life is worth any price we may have to pay to preserve it. But, we must be prepared to make sacrifices. We must be prepared to contribute the zeal and the fervor of the early Christians, as we apply these virtues to every action of our environment, by precept and example. History tells us that no nation has ever been conquered from without until it has first become rotten from within. You and I know that discipline is a spiritual quality that raises man to his highest attributes. A nation, like an army, that is not disciplined—that has allowed its religious intensity to become weakened, and its moral code to become watery—that nation is sick. And, it will remain sick until an enemy opposing it proves that it is dead.

Your assignment here indicates you have been selected for high level leadership in the US Army. You must never forget that the Army is people, and, you have been entrusted with the most priceless commodity in the nation—its youth. Each one of us will, one day, be called to an accounting for the spiritual souls that have been entrusted to our care.

Our reply to the "God is dead" crowd is: If there is no God, there is no soul; if there is no soul, there is no conscience; if there is no conscience, there is no moral responsibility; and, if there is no moral responsibility, there is nothing in this world to keep a man, a group, or a nation from doing anything it wants to do—and thinks it "can get away with"!

Bill To Amend the Internal Revenue Code

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVE MARTIN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, today I have the privilege of reintroducing a bill which I introduced late in the 89th Congress. I hope very much that my colleagues will follow me and support this bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code to allow our educators to deduct educational expenses incurred by them for perfecting their teaching ability.

Last year, the Internal Revenue Service attempted to rescind their practice of allowing these deductions, but as of now, they have revised their proposed rulings. I do not think, however, that their revisions will help encourage our educators one bit, and I believe that our teachers and educators should be allowed full benefits for their labors and in securing additional education.

I hope this 90th Congress will act early to remedy this situation and encourage the educators of this country to follow their profession.

Federal District Court in Hyattsville, Md.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, today I am reintroducing my measure to authorize the judges of the Federal district court in Baltimore, Md., to sit in the Maryland suburbs of Washington, D.C., at Hyattsville. An identical measure will be offered in the Senate by Senator BREWSTER, of Maryland.

Introduction of this bill was the result of a meeting January 6, 1967, I attended in the office of Senator BREWSTER with representatives of the bar associations of the District of Columbia, Prince Georges and Montgomery Counties. It was the unanimous feeling that we should seek enactment of this bill and specify Hyattsville as the location for the additional court location.

There is wide support among members of the three bar associations for the Federal district court to sit in Hyattsville, in addition to Baltimore. We feel very strongly that there is enough legal business generated in the Maryland suburban counties to amply justify the enactment of this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, last November I sent a questionnaire to all members of the Prince Georges County, Montgomery County, and District of Columbia Bar Associations, asking them to write me about their individual positions of the question of an additional place for the Federal district court to sit.

Listed below are the questions I asked the bar members to answer, and a compilation of the responses I received. I find the results extremely encouraging:

SUBURBAN MARYLAND FEDERAL DISTRICT COURT QUESTIONS

1. Are you in favor of establishment of a Federal District Court in the nearby Maryland suburbs?

2. Have you had occasion to appear in Federal District Court in Baltimore? If so, how many times in 1966? In 1965?

3. Have you referred any cases to lawyers in Baltimore to represent in Federal District Court there? If so, how many in 1966? In 1965?

4. If you have any criticism about having to travel to Baltimore to appear in Federal District Court, what is it?

5. Have you any additional comments regarding this issue?

RESULTS OF INFORMAL POLL

Total responses: 250.
Affirmative: 213.
Negative: 16.
Neutral: 21.
From the District of Columbia: 153.
From Prince George's County: 33.
From Montgomery County: 63.
From the Eastern Shore: 1.
Of the affirmative:
Number of cases in Baltimore Federal District Court—1966: 372; 1965: 383.
Number of referrals to Baltimore lawyers—1966: 114; 1965: 132.
Specific Recommendations for Location of Court: Frederick 1, Langley Park 1, Takoma Park 2, Hagerstown 1, Rockville 6, expand District Court 1, College Park 1, Hyattsville 3, Upper Marlboro 2, Silver Spring 6, Prince George's Plaza Federal Building 1.

After We Land on the Moon—What?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Mr. John A. Osmundsen has recently examined where our national space program stands today and what our international position is currently in space. With the major decisions facing this next Congress on maintaining the vitality and strength of our national space effort both for its peaceful benefits and its contribution to national security, I commend Mr. Osmundsen's article to your reading:

AFTER WE LAND ON THE MOON—WHAT?

"We expect to explore the moon, not just visit it or photograph it," President Lyndon B. Johnson declared not long ago. "We plan to explore and chart the planets as well. We shall expand our earth laboratories into space laboratories and expand our national strength into the space dimension."

That we are going to do all those things is indisputable. Like Everest, those challenges exist to be met. *When* and *in what order* we shall meet them is another question, and a great many scientists, engineers, space officials, congressmen and the President himself are trying hard to find the answer right now.

For—despite President Johnson's ringing phrases about our space ambitions—the country has set no major goals in space beyond the Apollo Project for landing two Americans on the moon in this decade.

The problem is not a lack of attractive, practical goals that we might achieve by developing the space capabilities we already have. Quite the contrary, there are so many intriguing options that space authorities cannot to decide which to pick up first.

Ultimately, of course, it is not their decision but President Johnson's. He will make an important move toward setting the country's course in space next month when he decides how much money space will get out of the 1968 budget that he will send to Congress in January. The President's decision will doubtless be shaped as much by the pressures of the war in Vietnam and the demands of his Great Society programs as by the need he sees for keeping up the momentum of the space effort, or at least for protecting the broad technological launching pad we have built for space exploration.

Our swift, spectacular pace in space inspires confidence and optimism. Look at what we have done already: Unmanned space probes have sent back closeup pictures of the moon, Mars and Venus. And our manned space flights have gone so well that some observers predict that we may be able to land two men on the moon as early as April or June of 1968.

The same observers warn, however, against optimism about our position in the space race. They point out that there is no fat whatever in the Apollo Project that could absorb a serious blow to its midsection. For example, the destruction of a vital test facility might make a manned landing on the moon by 1970 impossible. Nor can we relax, they say, if beating the Russians is important to us. Despite a lapse of more than a year between manned Soviet space flights, the Russians have achieved many feats essential to a manned lunar mission, and achieved them first.

They were first to soft-land a picture-taking package on the moon. They have flown three ment in a spaceship; we have not. They were the first to achieve an approximate rendezvous between two manned spaceships. And they did that in 1962.

Finally, recent intelligence reports indicate that the Russians are working on a rocket that may be a third again as powerful as the biggest one we have under development. This should erase any doubts that some American space experts have had about whether the Soviets are really shooting for the moon.

All of these factors figured significantly in the planning of five possible space programs that the National Aeronautics and Space Administration outlined earlier this year to the House Committee on Science and Astronautics.

One program would emphasize economic benefits from space, such as improved global weather forecasting and communications, and satellite surveys of the earth's natural resources. The other programs would focus on lunar exploration and science, planetary exploration and science, boosting national prestige with a slambang plan for winning space preeminence by putting men on Mars in the early 1980's, and, finally, a so-called "balanced" approach.

The balanced pitch, which NASA seems to favor, calls for moving at less than maximum speed toward objectives in space around the earth, on the moon and then outward to the near planets. Goals would include orbiting a manned space platform around the earth in 1972, building a station on the moon in 1975, flying astronauts past Mars and Venus in the late 1970's and landing them on Mars by the mid-1980's.

How much would it cost to do those things? It is hard to say precisely, but three possible budgetary approaches to our space effort over the next 10 to 15 years offer a kind of catalogue of things we might want to buy in space during that period.

We are now spending about $5 billion a year on civilian space activities. If we maintain that level of spending, we can continue to move toward a manned lunar landing by 1970 and may also be able to carry on our Voyager program of unmanned flights past Mars.

In addition, we might be able to start making limited use of Apollo hardware for activities unrelated to the moon project. One such "Apollo Applications" proposals calls for outfitting an Apollo capsule with a special telescope that astronomer-astronauts could use to observe and photograph the sun and stars from orbital vantage points above our earth's murky atmosphere. Another post-Apollo plan provides for using the orbiting spent stage of a moon rocket as a kind of satellite gym in which astronauts would have room to move around and work for much longer periods of weightlessness than is possible with existing equipment.

Under the second budgetary approach, for a half-billion dollars more, we could do all those things and throw in a few more Apollo Applications projects near the earth.

The third budgetary approach raises the yearly space ante another half-billion, to $6 billion. That much would provide everything covered in the first two budgets and, beyond that, let NASA buy for the future, on a sort of layaway plan, certain long lead-time items, such as rocket engines that take

2 to 3 years to produce. Buying those things in advance would save much time and money if the nation decided later to set a major new national goal in space, such as a manned flyby of Mars in the late 1970's.

High-level arguments over whether such a new goal should be established now have caused confusion in today's space planning.

Among those who oppose setting any new goals at this time are Donald F. Hornig, chairman of the President's Science Advisory Committee; NASA Deputy Administrator Robert C. Seamans, Jr.; and Democratic Sens. William Proxmire of Wisconsin, J. William Fulbright of Arkansas and Paul Douglas of Illinois.

Dr. Seaman's objections are characteristic. He feels that we cannot commit the space program to anything like a manned mission to Mars when we do not know for sure that man can endure the 350 to 900 days of weightlessness that the round trip would impose.

Champions of a new national goal include Rep. Olin E. Teague (Dem., Texas), Wernher von Braun, who directs NASA's Marshall Space Flight Center in Huntsville, Ala., and—at least by implication—George E. Mueller, associate administrator of NASA's Manned Space Flight activity.

Dr. Mueller said recently that the country's space program has lost much of the urgency it got from the Soviet launching of Sputnik I in 1957 and is also losing the internal focus it received from the establishment of the moon goal in 1961.

Besides inspiring the American public, Project Apollo's objective of a manned lunar landing by 1970 gave coherence to the entire space program. It provided workers with a specific target to shoot at, a deadline for hitting it and a schedule by which to measure progress.

The chances are that the President won't set a major new goal in the 1968 budget and that space funds will be cut. If the slice isn't too big, the moon program won't suffer badly. But it will be hard for NASA to buy now for any new space goal that we set later.

In any case, NASA will probably have to wait another year at least for more specific orders about what to do after getting to the moon—unless, of course, the Russians get there meanwhile.

JOHN A. OSMUNDSEN.

Shorten the Campaign

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced an amendment to the Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act of 1966 which was passed in the waning moments of the 89th Congress as part of the so-called Christmas tree bill. My amendment would add a new limitation to the distribution of money from the fund set up by this act. Under this proposal no money would be distributed to political parties if their candidate for President or Vice President were nominated more than 60 days before the day established for the selection of the electors of President and Vice President.

My amendment would reduce significantly the length of presidential campaigns—an objective I have continually sought to achieve since I first came to Congress in 1959. It has been my experience that support for shorter campaigns is at its peak shortly after a presidential election, but such support and interest rapidly dissipate as the memory of the grueling campaign fades. Consequently, the bills I have introduced in every Congress since 1960 have failed of passage. It is my hope that in an effort to improve and refine the controversial Presidential Campaign Fund Act in an off year I shall succeed in focusing public attention on our anachronistic campaign practices which constitute an expensive, boring, unnecessary, and provoking imposition upon the public and an exhausting and shattering experience for the principal candidates. In so doing I hope to achieve by indirection what I have failed to accomplish directly for these many years—shortening the length of our vaudeville-circuit type of presidential campaign.

I have notified Senator LONG of Louisiana, Democrat, the author of the Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act, of my proposed amendment and have requested consideration be given my proposal for parallel Senate action. I hope prompt consideration is accorded my amendment.

Paul Peek Served Well

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago California lost by retirement one of the outstanding supreme court justices ever to sit on the bench. Associate Justice Paul Peek, who now has retired, truly will rank among the greatest public servants in the history of the golden State of California. Justice Peek was a man of many talents. He served his State as a member of the assembly; he served the assembly as its speaker; he was secretary of State, and, subsequently, rose to the highest court of our State.

Justice Peek, who I am proud to identify as a good friend, was honored recently in an editorial published by the Sacramento Bee.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I will have this article included at this point:

PAUL PEEK SERVED WELL

It is unfortunate that Paul Peek of Sacramento has found it necessary because of health reasons to retire prematurely from his position as an associate justice of the State Supreme Court.

Peek has served the court, and the citizens of the state, with outstanding ability and dedication. His contribution to the high court has helped make it one of the most progressive and respected state courts in the land.

He was named to the Supreme Court by Gov. Edmund G. Brown in 1962 in recognition of his brilliant service as a member of the 3rd District Court of Appeal in Sacramento for 20 years. Previously, he was secretary of state and a member of the State Assembly, where he was elected speaker.

Gov. Brown, in accepting Peek's resignation from the Supreme Court, had this to say:

"Justice Peek has rendered most distinguished service to the people of California in his long judicial career. His passion for justice, his wisdom and his keen knowledge of the law will be keenly missed on the Supreme Court."

Peek deserves the gratitude of all the citizens of the state. The Bee wishes him a grand life of retirement.

Rhodesia Is a Moral Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. FRASER. In recent weeks, Mr. Speaker, important actions have been taken by the United Nations against the rebel Ian Smith regime of Rhodesia. The United States, as a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council, has concurred in the decision to apply sanctions against the regime.

Our Nation's concurrence has come under attack from many quarters in the United States. Some criticisms have originated, as might be expected, with rightwing organizations or with racist groups who believe in subjugation of the majority of Rhodesian citizens by the white minority of 6 percent.

But more disturbing, Mr. Speaker, have been the attacks on the U.S. position by rational, intelligent citizens and newspapers. These attacks, in my opinion, stem from the failure to understand the implications of the Smith regime or the misinterpretation of the events that have developed in Rhodesia since the unilateral declaration of independence in November 1965.

The clearest and most consistently raised voice in defense of the U.S. position has been that of our Ambassador to the United Nations, Arthur J. Goldberg. One of his most persuasive statements appeared in the Washington Post of Sunday, January 8. Following is the statement:

RHODESIA IS A MORAL ISSUE

On Dec. 11 you published a letter from the former Secretary of State Dean Acheson criticizing United Nations action on Southern Rhodesia, which received wide publicity and which was endorsed editorially by The Washington Post. With all deference to the distinguished Secretary, I must say that I respectfully dissent from his conclusions both as a matter of law and a matter of policy.

In essence, Mr. Acheson argued that the United Nations has no jurisdiction to deal with the present situation in Rhodesia, which he considers is entirely an internal matter.

I consider the imposition of mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia by the United Nations as an extremely important matter and one on which the American people deserve all the facts. Therefore, I should like to give a relatively full explanation taken by the United Nations and by our own government was both legal and wise.

NO CHARTER VIOLATION

First, it is argued that action on this issue by the U.N. involves a violation of Article 2, Paragraph 7 of the Charter which reads:

"Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII."

The fallacy of this argument can be seen when the facts involved in the Southern Rhodesia situation are tested against the language of the Charter itself:

Rhodesia is not a "state" and has not been recognized as such by a single government or international organization.

The situation in Rhodesia is not "domestic," since it involves the international responsibility of the United Kingdom under the Charter relating to non-self-governing territories.

The action of the Security Council does not constitute "intervention," since the Council has acted at the request and with the concurrence of the legitimate sovereign, the United Kingdom.

Article 2, Paragraph 7, by its own terms, does not apply to the application of enforcement measures such as the mandatory economic sanctions imposed by the Council in this case.

MINORITY RULE

Second, it is sometimes said that the United Nations action represents a denial of the principle of self-determination. The simple answer to this argument is that the Smith regime is not asserting the right of self-determination for all the Rhodesian people but merely the right of 6 per cent of the Rhodesian people who are white to rule over 94 per cent who are black. The refusal of the United Kingdom to recognize the illegal seizure of power by a minority group based on racial grounds, far from being a denial of self-determination, is an attempt to implement that objective for the Rhodesian people as a whole.

Third, it is argued that the Rhodesian situation poses no threat to international peace justifying the application of mandatory sanctions. To this I must point out that it is the explicit prerogative of the Security Council under Article 39 of the United Nations Charter to make a finding that there is a threat to international peace and security. In the case of Rhodesia, the Security Council has reviewed the facts of the case and made precisely such a determination. In doing so, the Council naturally bases its decision both on the existing situation and on its best estimate of what is likely to happen in the future. Clearly, there are great risks of violence already involved in the suppression of the fundamental rights of 94 per cent of the population in Southern Rhodesia, and the danger to peace will obviously grow if some remedy is not found.

Fourth, it is sometimes argued that sanctions cannot be applied against Rhodesia since the threat to peace originates from other African states. This argument overlooks the fundamental fact that the threat to peace inherent in the Rhodesian situation lies in Rhodesia itself.

OVERLOOKED ELEMENTS

Finally, it is argued that the application of mandatory sanctions to Rhodesia constitutes a dangerous and unacceptable precedent for similar U.N. action wherever violation of human rights may occur.

This argument overlooks a number of elements which are quite unique in the Rhodesian situation. Here we have witnessed an illegal seizure of power by a small minority on racial grounds bent on perpetuating the subjugation of the vast majority. Moreover, in this situation the sovereign authority with international responsibility for the territory has asked the United Nations to take measures which will permit the restoration of the full rights of the people of this territory under the Charter.

Law in the United Nations, as in our own society, is often developed on a case-by-case basis. We should analyze each action of U.N. political organs with due regard for the facts of each case and be careful of hasty generalizations.

Moreover, each of the Permanent Members of the Security Council has the power to prevent the use of enforcement measures in other situations where it may deem them to be inappropriate.

Aside from the legality of the action against Southern Rhodesia taken by the United Nations, the policy and moral reasons for doing so are compelling. It is important to think about this question carefully because there has been much criticism from both sides—from those who urge that the Smith regime in Rhodesia be brought down by the use of force and from those who counsel a complete hands-off policy. Why, then, do we feel the Rhodesian crisis is so important that we take such a strong stand on it?

THE MORAL ISSUE

In the first place, one of the most basic issues involved is a moral one, that is, to restore the constitutional authority in order that all of the people of Rhodesia may join in determining their national future. Our country, founded on the proposition that all men are created equal—and currently engaged in a vigorous Nationwide program to make that equality real for our own Negro citizens—cannot honorably adopt a double standard on what is happening in Rhodesia. In addition, as a founder of the United Nations and a principal architect of the U.N. Charter, we have a special obligation to see that the Charter's provisions concerning human rights and self-determination are upheld. These provisions are not merely exhortations—they are solemn treaty obligations.

From a political standpoint, we have a practical interest in maintaining friendly relations with the newly independent countries of Africa for whom this Rhodesian issue is of the highest importance. Moreover, the success of a rebellion aimed at creating a new white minority state in southern Africa would inevitably harden the lines of political conflict and would tend to stir interracial violence on that continent. A failure to resolve the Rhodesian crisis with justice to the African majority would inevitably strengthen the hand of extremism, violence, and racism in the heart of Africa. Such a prospect is not in the interest of African development and progress nor of world peace and security—nor is it in the interest of the United States.

For all these reasons the United States, in dealing with the Rhodesian question, intends to remain true to its best traditions—knowing that in so doing we also most effectively uphold our national interests. We shall continue to proceed step by step, weighing both the legality and the wisdom of each step as we go in the light of the situation and of the United Nations Charter.

Midstate and North Loup Projects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVE MARTIN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, today I have the great honor of introducing two bills for the authorization of both the midstate and north loup projects in my great State of Nebraska. I believe most of my colleagues have realized my great interest in both of these projects as well as reclamation in general. These two projects have received very good local support in the State and community they will serve. Not only will they be of value, conservationwise, but will serve the entire agricultural economy of the State of Nebraska and the country.

I sincerely hope that these projects can secure the necessary authorization in this fine new Congress. Both of the projects have undergone extensive review and study, and their feasibility figures are among the best of any projects in the country at this time. Not only are they feasible, but their repayment figure is extremely high. I have long worked for fiscal responsibility and economy in our Government, and would not support these projects if they did not fit this criteria.

So, Mr. Speaker, and colleagues, I ask your support for these two projects in this Congress.

Successful Salinas Vocational Work Study Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, we hear much these days of programs to improve the lot of school dropouts and others in our society who for one reason or another are not equipped to compete effectively from an economic standpoint.

Regrettably, such efforts have shown all too few signs of success.

The ultimate answer to the dropout problem, purely and simply, must be to eliminate it—by keeping our young sufficiently interested in, and challenged by, their schooling.

A program being conducted by the Salinas Union High School District, Salinas, Calif., suggests that one means of maintaining student interest in educational pursuits is to integrate their studies with practical work experience opportunities offered by private business firms in the community.

Not every community or school district has such a competent and dedicated program director as Gordon Ray, of Salinas, but the work experience program he administers could be emulated by other school districts with immeasurable benefits.

Staff Writer Eric Brazil, of the Salinas Californian, described the vocational work experience program of Salinas High School at some length in an article appearing in the November 28, 1966, edition of the newspaper as follows:

SPECIAL ASSIGNMENT: SUHS DISTRICT WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAM GROWS IN POPULARITY

(By Eric Brazil, Californian Staff Writer)

The course which is growing fastest in popularity with students in the Salinas Union High School District is work

It is as if the district built a better mousetrap. Vocational Work Experience began as a 22-student pilot program last February, and it now has an enrollment of more than 180.

Student demand to enroll in the course, which uses Salinas' entire commercial community as its classroom, presently exceeds the supply of jobs for it.

Vocational Work Experience is but one facet, albeit the largest one, of the district's increasingly comprehensive work experience education program.

OTHER FACETS

That program includes the Vocational Education Act (25 students) and neighborhood Youth Corps (65 students) projects, both of which receive federal financial assistance, as well as work training (35 students), a 100 per cent private enterprise project for training mentally retarded youngsters.

Gordon Ray coordinates the district's work experience from a tiny office in the music wing at Salinas High School. But he doesn't warm the office chair much. He is a man on the go.

Ray has been selling the program hard, and the business community, as well as the students, seem to be buying it. One hundred sixty employers are participating in the work experience program, and more are coming in.

Vocational Work Experience is open to junior and senior students over 15. Students work three to five hours a day at a minimum wage of $1.30 an hour. They receive five academic credits for each bloc of 180 hours of work.

Trainee jobs fall into a variety of fields, but the clerical and sales fields predominate.

Students are referred to the work experience program by vocational counselors at each of the district's three high schools. And some of them just find out about the program on their own and inquire about it at Ray's office.

"TYPICAL" TRAINEE

Ray finds that the typical student enrolling in work experience "has not had a great deal of academic success," despite average school attendance. And "he's searching for some way to achieve status. He thinks that if we can find the right job for him, he'll achieve success."

Ray attempts to fit students into jobs that will put them on the road to their ultimate vocational goals.

One particularly good fit has North Salinas High School junior Paul Lewis learning the electronic technician's trade at Kane & Zech Television and Appliances on Main Street.

Young Lewis plans to be an electronics technician after he graduates from high school and finishes military service. Right now he finds himself busy as the proverbial bird dog checking out TV sets and phonographs, making service calls, deliveries, etc. And he finds the whole work experience "a lot of fun."

"THEY'RE DOING FINE"

Lewis' boss, Fred Kassing, who also supervises another young work experience trainee, Paul Molinari, says that "as far as I'm concerned, they're doing fine . . . They haven't missed a day of work yet." Kassing believes that by the end of their high school training period the two boys will be well on their way toward becoming first-rate technicians.

Harry Wardwell, a principal in Kane & Zech, says he is "real tickled" with the program so far. One of the really serious problems facing the television and appliance business today is an acute shortage of qualified technicians, he says. And the work experience program is helping its firm to grow its own, so to speak.

"The two boys between them are almost filling the job for one person—a man I couldn't find," he says.

Ray views the job as "a classroom away from school teaching material we can't duplicate at school. And the employer is the instructor in this class."

How, for example, could the schools go about duplicating a doctor's office classroom? Couldn't be done. Therefore, Miss Georgia Flamos, a Salinas High School senior who has "always wanted to work in a doctor's office," is a work experience trainee in the office of optometrist Dr. Tracey O. Beagle. She is the receptionist now, and Dr. Beagle is planning to train her as a nurse's assistant.

FEW FLUNK OUT

Of all the work experience trainees Ray has placed in jobs so far, only four—count 'em—four have flunked out on the job. (Two of those have since been given a second chance on other jobs.) Ray says that "we haven't had a single youngster drop school since we started this program," although the preprogram dropout potential among the trainees was quite high.

The J. C. Penney Co. employs three work experience trainees at its Valley Center store, and assistant manager Joe Montgomery is one of the program's big boosters. (In fact he is a member of the high school district's 16-man work experience education lay advisory committee.) "We think this program is excellent. As a matter of fact, we'd like to see it expanded," Montgomery says.

TEACHING ATTITUDE

"We're happy to be the classroom if the kids really want to learn. But we won't have any truck with a kid who doesn't really want to put his heart into it," Montgomery says. "Our first responsibility to these kids—even before we teach them any kind of skill—is to teach them responsibility and a good attitude toward holding a job."

Ray believes that the full potential of the work experience program has not yet been attained. If the jobs materialize, "there could easily be 500 kids in the program next year," he says.

Besides, he says, "I feel that 90 percent of the kids in high school need some kind of work experience, whether it's in our program or a job they find on their own."

She Could Be Lowell's Most Traveled Woman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I submit for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the recent article in the Lowell Sun on Miss Florence Archibald, of Lowell, Mass., in note of her energy, her curiosity, and her desire and ability to share her experiences and knowledge with others.

The cooperation born out of understanding between nations cannot be by governments alone. Lasting cooperation must be based on understanding and communication between the peoples of a nation. In view of this, every individual becomes an ambassador of the United States, conveying our image abroad, gaining an understanding of other peoples, establishing a rapport, and transmitting this information back.

Miss Archibald's travels and activities can only be a credit to her city of Lowell, her State, and her country. Our praise is due her, our thanks, and our best wishes for many more miles of adventure.

The article follows:

[From the Lowell (Mass.) Sun, Oct. 29, 1966]

SHE COULD BE LOWELL'S MOST TRAVELED WOMAN

(By Melvin Hayden)

LOWELL.—Miss Florence Archibald, an ageless ex-schoolmarm who is retired only in the sense of being free from day-to-day routine, has the unqualified distinction of being Lowell's "most traveled woman." Since 1924 when she took her first trip—a journey to Labrador—she has literally gone to the four corners of the earth, visiting all six continents and a countless number of countries.

The former Lowell elementary school teacher, who parlayed a love for geography into an action-filled life of travel and adventure, last taught schol in 1952. She lives alone at 112 Fremont St., high-atop the city she served so faithfully for over 40 years; the city that she says has always beckoned her home from distant ports of call.

Miss Archibald wanted to teach as early as she can remember from her childhood in Grafton, her birthplace. However, during high school age she took the woman's prerogative and changed to a business course. She later reversed that decision, her "natural call to teaching" leading her to Lowell and the state teacher's college here. Following graduation, she went on to earn her master's degree in education at Bridgewater State.

The vivacious, blue-eyed, ex-teacher's interests are widespread and her friends and acquaintances are legion. She is currently a member of nine different clubs and still appears frequently as a speaker before many groups. During these "informal talks," as she prefers to call her speaking engagements, she often dons an appropriate native costume from the large collection she has gathered on her trips.

She's an avid collector. In addition to the costumes, she has thousands of post cards from throughout the world, diaries and photographs from all her trips, eight scrapbooks and a truly impressive collection of more than 800 dolls brought home from each of the places she has visited here and abroad.

The dolls all authentically costumed in native dress were made in each of the countries they represent. There are dolls from Guatemala, Japan, France, Poland, Russia, China and from any other country you'd care to mention. Some represent historic figures, others are dressed befitingly for all occasions. And, in her American collection, there are dolls collected with cereal box tops, Raggedy Anns and dolls from colonial Virginia made from dried corn cobs and chunks of apple.

In 1929 Miss Archibald made her first of many trips to Europe visiting eight countries on a schedule a cousin termed "a gymnastic stunt." Since that time she has twice gone around the world; in 1959 on a tour of the Northern Hemisphere and in 1960 south of the Equator.

During her 1959 world tour she included West Africa and the Mediterranean touching such romantically-fabled ports as Dakar, Casablanca, Alexandria, Istanbul, Athens, Venice, Naples, Barcelona, Cadiz and Lisbon. While in Africa she made a 5,000-mile camera safari.

A trip to South America was made in 1939. Leaving New York by boat to Buenos Aires, via Havana, with stops in Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro, Trinidad and San Juan.

Most of her voyages have been by boat, but she's flown by jet to Russia, a second trip to that country in 1961, and has returned home to Lowell many times by air. Miss Archibald vividly recalls hearing ex-Premier

Khrushchev speak in public during her second visit in 1962.

Although she's made scores of friends during her travels she now finds herself "too busy" to correspond with all of them. She is, however, a prolific writer and keeps a record of every letter she writes.

Miss Archibald's "not saying" what her future travel plans are. There are few places in the world she hasn't seen. But knowing her desire "not to sit around and rust since retirement" it wouldn't be too surprising to get a post card one day soon from some far off land that has again stirred this lively lady's soul of adventure.

Rubber Footwear Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, today I have reintroduced my bill to reverse the Treasury Department's action of February 1966 adopting new and lower guidelines for the tariff evaluation of rubber-soled footwear.

During the past year I have sought administrative and legislative remedies to this action which is economically injurious to the rubber-soled footwear industry. As chairman of an ad hoc congressional committee set up by Speaker McCormack in response to the revision of the ASP guidelines, I have met with Treasury Department and Tariff Commission officials, I have written to the President and I have testified before Tariff Commission hearings and investigations. Thus far my efforts have not met with success.

At the present time the President has before him the results of a Tariff Commission hearing which was conducted in September 1966 and at which I testified. The purpose of this hearing was to determine the economic impact on the domestic rubber footwear industry of the conversion of the American selling price basis of evaluation and the reduction of these newly converted rates of up to 50 percent.

In December 1966 I wrote President Johnson in regard to the decision he will make on the basis of these hearings. I urged the President's support to prevent any further reduction of tariffs on low-wage foreign imports of rubber-soled canvas footwear. Also I notified members of the ad hoc congressional committee of my letter to the President and I am grateful for the support I have received from them.

The economic well-being of the rubber footwear industry is of concern to me, for thousands of workers in my district are dependent upon it for their livelihoods. Above and beyond this, I am concerned with preventing unilateral tariff concessions by the United States which are violative of the spirit and the intent of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962.

I believe domestic industry should be protected from the unfair competition of low-wage foreign imports. I invite my colleagues who are of like mind to file bills similar to mine and ask support of my bill which will reverse an administrative action which unilaterally reduced the tariff on imported rubber footwear by 35 percent.

Tribute to Hon. Victor L. Anfuso

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply saddened at the sudden passing of one of our most beloved and admired former colleagues, the Honorable Victor L. Anfuso, of New York. Although I was not privileged to serve in the Congress with this distinguished Member, his contributions to this august body and to the committees on which he so ably served are matters of record. I am sure all of us who knew Victor join me in expressing deepest heartfelt sympathy to his wife, Frances, as well as their children.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial which appeared in the New York Times on December 20, 1966:

[From the New York Times, Dec. 30, 1966]

JUSTICE VICTOR L. ANFUSO DEAD—SERVED FIVE TERMS IN CONGRESS—AGRICULTURE SPECIALIST FROM BROOKLYN WAS ELECTED IN 1962 TO STATE SUPREME COURT

State Supreme Court Justice Victor L. Anfuso, an Italian immigrant who shined the shoes of some of the people he later represented in Congress, died of a heart attack late Wednesday night. He was 61 years old and lived at 25 Clark Street in Brooklyn.

Justice Anfuso, who served in the House of Representatives for five terms before his election to the Supreme Court in 1962, became ill while attending a private meeting at the Warwick Hotel.

The police of the West 54th Street station administered oxygen, but Justice Anfuso was pronounced dead about 35 minutes after he was stricken at 11:15 P.M.

Justice Anfuso, a baldish, heavyset man with a thin black mustache, was a Democrat who had been backed by the Liberal party in each of his Congressional campaigns.

VICTIM OF REDISTRICTING

In 1962, when the State Legislature's Congressional redistricting law combined most of his Eighth District with the 14th District, he agreed to step down in favor of another Democrat, John J. Rooney. But he left the House with a heavy heart.

"I'll always be a Congressman," he told a friend recently.

Even while no longer in the Congress, he continued to appear at civic and social functions in his old constituency. For both old friends and new he always had a supply of ballpoint pens inscribed: "A gift from your Congressman, Victor L. Anfuso."

As a Congressman, he always made it a point to be available to his constituents from the Greenpoint, Williamsburg and Ridgewood sections of Brooklyn. Although he always stressed in his political speeches that he considered himself the spokesman of all the citizens in his district—Jews, Italians and Poles—his popularity among the large Italian electorate made him unbeatable during his campaigns for Congress.

Mr. Anfuso was first elected to Congress in 1950, when he upset Representative Joseph L. Pfeifer in what had been a safely Republican district. He served on the House Post Office and Civil Service Committees and was instrumental in obtaining a salary increase for postal workers in 1951.

But his first stint in the House was short-lived. He was forced to withdraw after serving only one term because a reapportionment of Congress eliminated his Brooklyn district in 1952.

A LIBERAL VOTING RECORD

In one of his first acts as Mayor, Robert F. Wagner named him a magistrate in 1953. Mr. Anfuso served on the bench for less than a year, however, resigning to run again for Congress. He defeated Eugene L. Renne, a Republican, and captured the Eighth Congressional District seat that he was to occupy for three more terms. During his tenure, Mr. Anfuso voted regularly along liberal Democratic lines.

In 1955, this Congressman from a district criss-crossed by sprawling factories, freight terminals, lumber yards and low-rent public housing, was appointed as a member of the House Agriculture Committee—a post usually reserved for members from agricultural communities.

Mr. Anfuso was eager about the appointment, however, because he believed that farmers and city consumers knew too little about one another. At his instigation, a consumers study subcommittee was set up in 1957 to study the high cost of living and seek ways to prevent further rises.

While in Congress, he also served on the Committee on Science and Astronautics and on the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. He was chairman of the subcommittee on International Cooperation and Security and was a Congressional adviser to the United States Representative on the United Nations Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space.

STUDIED FOOD SURPLUSES

Mr. Anfuso was also a member of delegations to North Atlantic Treaty Organization parliamentary conferences in Paris and served as a member of the United States delegation to the United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organization Conference in Rome in 1956. The following year he was sent on a special mission by the House Agriculture Committee to study stockpiling and disposal of American food surpluses in Europe and the Middle East.

He was one of the first members of Congress to say that he thought that Fidel Castro was under Communist influence. He advocated an open foreign policy so that the world could know where the United States stood and thus make no miscalculation leading to war. He was an opponent of colonialism and favored improved United States relations with Latin America.

Victor L'Episcopo Anfuso was born on March 10, 1905, in Gagliano Castelferrato, Sicily, the youngest of five children. When he was 9, his father, a shoemaker, died, and the family immigrated to the United States. The Anfusos found an apartment above a saloon at Flushing Avenue and Morrell Street in Williamsburg. Mr. Anfuso was to live in this neighborhood for most of his life and to represent it in Congress.

Young Victor began to shine shoes to help his family make ends meet, but he was soon stopped by a truant officer. "The officer explained that here kids have to go to school," Mr. Anfuso recalled many years later. "So I worked after school."

Despite the long hours he devoted to earning money, young Victor was graduated from Commercial High School with the highest average in his class. He then peddled fruit and vegetables from a pushcart and was a salesman in his brother's furniture store while attending Brooklyn Law School at night.

Rejected by the draft in World War II, he was specially trained by the Office of Strategic Services and sent on a mission to Italy for which he later received the Distinguished Service Medal of the Veterans Association. After the war, he served as special assistant commissioner of immigration and naturalization for the Justice Department.

Surviving are his widow, the former Frances Stallone; three sons, Francis, Joseph and Victor L., Jr., and two daughters, Miss Diana Aufuso and Mrs. Marianina Vaughan.

A funeral service will be held on Saturday at 10 A.M. at St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Patron Church, 185 Suydam Street, Brooklyn.

Lowell Priest Staggered by Peru Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I submit for publication in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Boston Herald article of December 30, 1966, on the experiences and impressions of Rev. William Pearsall of Lowell, Mass., at present pastor of the parish of Cristo Rey in Peru under the auspices of the Society of St. James the Apostle.

Foreign aid alone cannot solve the problems of people in poverty-stricken areas of developing countries. The guidance, both spiritual and social, which is being undertaken by people such as Father Pearsall is part of the vital effort of private groups and individuals to establish a rapport with other nations and to work for progress and social welfare, a prerequisite for any meaningful political or economic stability. These efforts should be encouraged and expanded, particularly in the Southern Hemisphere.

Both Father Pearsall's own admirable efforts and the significance of the problems he faces are cause enough to bring this to the forefront for our recognition and attention.

The article follows:

LOWELL PRIEST STAGGERED BY PERU POVERTY

(By Jim Morse)

This is the eighteenth article in a series on the activities of the Society of St. James the Apostle in South America.

CHIMBOTE, PERU.—"I couldn't understand it," recalled the Rev. William Pearsall of Lowell. "The night I arrived in Chimbote a year ago I attended a church processional. The people carried a candle in one hand and a stick in the other. I'd never seen anything like it before.

"I asked one of the other priests what the sticks were for, and that's when I found out what this place is like. 'The sticks,' I was told, 'are to use in beating off the dogs.' "

WORST BARRIADAS

Fr. Pearsall is the pastor of the parish of Cristo Rey (Christ the King), which is made up of the worst barriadas in this isolated seaport city north of Lima.

"The poverty of my parish staggers the imagination," he says. "There are some people who are actually starving. We do all we can, but it isn't enough. The dogs travel in packs at night, and when they're hungry, they go mad. The sticks are necessary.

"If there isn't enough food for the people, there certainly isn't enough for the dogs. They get the left-overs, but there is seldom anything to leave over."

Fr. Pearsall's parents are Mr. and Mrs. William Pearsall of 179 Baldwin St., Lowell. A brother, Paul, lives in Dracut, Mass., and his sister, Elizabeth, is Mrs. Raymond Kinch of Somerville, N.J.

A husky, ruggedly-built man, Fr. Pearsall came to Peru eight years ago after serving at St. Joseph's parish in Wakefield and St. John Chrysostom parish in West Roxbury.

"I spent six years in the Andes working with the Indians," he says, "and this assignment in Chimbote is far different. There was poverty in the mountains, of course, but there was also fresh air and room to move around. Here the people—thousands of them—are packed into these dirty, filthy barriadas, with whole families living in one miserable little room.

LOOKING BACK

"Looking back over the weeks and months, I can see progress. But we won't be able to accomplish our goal for years to come. There's too much to do . . . to many changes to make . . . too much for these people to learn in a short time.

"But the point is, we are making progress. We are helping. There are 12,000 people living in my parish. I'm out here all alone. One man can't change things overnight. But changes for the better are being made.

"I have a medical clinic, and a doctor comes out twice a week and a dentist once a week. And we distribute surplus food—mostly flour and powdered milk—sent to us from the States."

Fr. Pearsall considers his assignment as a personal challenge.

"The cards are stacked against these people," he explains. "Without our help, they are destined to be among life's losers. They move down here from the Andes at the rate of about 50 a week looking for jobs and a chance to send their children to school. And most of them end up in one of the barriadas within my parish.

"They throw up a straw hut in about two hours, and that's their home. Then begins the daily battle of survival against hunger and disease. The people aren't trained in their religion. It's hard to convince them that they should attend Mass every Sunday. They don't have the hope that a strong faith helps to provide."

One of the barriadas in Fr. Pearsall's parish is called the Villa Maria (House of Mary). As he walked the sandy streets wearing a short-sleeved white shirt open at the neck, children and adults yelled, "Padre" as they saw him approaching and hastened to shake his hand, pat him on the back, and tell him their problems.

"They all have problems," he said. I wish we could do more. But I hate to think what would happen if we weren't here to do anything at all."

Lindsay Hoben

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, one of the Nation's outstanding newspapermen, Lindsay Hoben, passed away January 8, 1967. Only recently retired as editor of the Milwaukee Journal and vice president of the Journal Co., Mr. Hoben had been associated with that paper since 1926. A pronounced liberal, Mr. Hoben guided the Journal's editorial policy in the best of Wisconsin's progressive tradition. An internationalist, Lindsay Hoben was a strong advocate of the United Nations.

I call to the attenton of my colleagues an editorial which appeared in today's edition of the Washington Post commenting on the fine career and meaningful contributions of Lindsay Hoben.

LINDSAY HOBEN

Lindsay Hoben, who died last Sunday in Milwaukee, spent his journalistic career on *The Milwaukee Journal*, retiring as its editor on January 1. That career was a tribute to his own abilities and a commentary on the traditions of the great newspaper that he led. He was one of a group of news and editorial executives from which the Milwaukee paper has drawn its leadership for years.

To find the genius and talent attuned to the paper's traditions of independence and objectivity it has seldom had to go beyond the limits of its own news and editorial rooms. Generally, it has found no other school in which newspaper talent as well suited to the *Journal's* requirements could be found.

Hoben's 40-year career on the *Journal* saw profound changes in the world, in America and in the region which the *Journal* has served. The paper and its editors moved with the times and changed policies, methods and equipment to keep up with them, but its principles have remained constant. The posture of stern and unbending independence well suited Hoben's own character and impulse. In the integrity of the *Journal*, Hoben and the newspaper's four other great editors, have a fitting memorial. No professional newspaperman could wish for a better one.

Red Challenge on the High Seas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I should like to commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Helen Delich Bentley, which appeared in the Baltimore Sun of Sunday, January 1, 1967.

It is an excellent presentation of the critical situation facing our merchant marine and points up the need for a strong merchant marine policy:

RED CHALLENGE ON THE HIGH SEAS: RUSSIA'S CRASH SHIPBUILDING PROGRAM THREATENS AMERICA'S SUPREMACY

(By Helen Delich Bentley)

Recently the Russians issued a four-paragraph release announcing the signing of a contract with Poland for 45 "sea vessels" totaling 554,000 deadweight tons. No ballyhoo accompanied the announcement because the Soviet Union has become accustomed to massive ship contracts in its pursuit to capture the ocean trade routes of the world.

That one contract is equal to the total construction of merchant-type vessels in the United States. On December 1, the United States had 45 merchant vessels totaling 648,387 tons on order. Even adding this country's oceanographic, survey and research vessels, plus the cutters and towboats, the total would be raised only to 80 with a 773,000 tonnage—still far less than the contracted 600 Soviet ships with a tonnage of some 7,000,000.

Maritime authorities in the West concede that the Soviet Union is succeeding in achieving her goal and soon will have a merchant fleet large enough to wage successfully a military hot war or an economic cold war.

RUSSIA MOVING UP

Only last month, *Jane's Fighting Ships*, the accepted authority on maritime affairs, warned in its 1966–1967 report that the Soviet Union has moved up behind the United States as the world's second naval power and is pressing Japan for fifth place in the merchant marine field.

Jane's cites the leaders as: Britain, 21,530,264 tons; the United States, 21,527,349; Liberia, 17,539,562; Norway, 15,641,498; Japan, 11,971,157, and the Soviet Union, 9,500,000.

However, *Jane's* does not state that a large portion of the United States' tonnage figures consists of reserve fleet ships which will never sail again. In fact of the 1,308 vessels considered attached to the reserve fleet, 509 are scheduled for scrap.

By 1969, the Russians likely will have 2,500 merchant ships and the United States only 650—unless there is a drastic change in policy.

WARNING TO CONGRESS

In August the House of Representatives was warned that without a policy change to halt the deterioration of the American Merchant Marine, this country in the near future may have to depend on Russian merchant vessels to haul raw materials to America.

It is not as far-fetched as it sounds when one analyzes how the Soviet Union is starting the growth of its merchant shipbuilding. Right now, for example, it has 606 ships under construction compared to 45 for the United States.

As the largest trading nation of the world, the United States should be concerned about the movement of its goods to and from foreign markets, but little attention has been devoted to this by Washington. On the other hand, this factor dominates Russian thinking.

As the year ended, the Soviet Union had sufficient tonnage to transport 75 per cent of its foreign commerce. This compares to the 7.7 per cent figure of the foreign commerce of the United States being transported aboard American-flag bottoms.

In August a House Merchant Marine subcommittee warned that Russia's program is to gain "total superiority on the sea, not only in the merchant marine field," but also in fishing, oceanography, and the Navy.

The subcommittee concluded that "the entire Soviet maritime policy already has gone a long way toward achieving supremacy at sea and unless effectively challenged by the free world, can be expected to achieve this strategic objective well before the end of the century."

That is the third congressional warning in four years that the Soviet Union is planning to dominate the sealanes of the world, but experts think Americans have failed to heed the danger lying behind the threats.

Victor Bakayev, the Soviet Minister of the Merchant Marine, recently reported that Russian ships now call at 600 ports in 91 countries, only 13 of which are Communist. Fifty-one of the nations are underdeveloped and 27 capitalistic.

All evidence points to the fact that the maritime policy of the U.S.S.R. is committed to development, maintenance and expansion of a strong merchant marine, capable of accelerating Russian world domination. Primary considerations for this maritime growth are: A determination to have its freight-carrying capacity in overseas trade to keep up with its economic growth to earn needed foreign exchange; to dispense with the use of foreign tonnage; to control the freight rates and to solidify and expand its foreign alliances.

Some of the Western world steamship leaders have expressed concern in recent months as they have observed how the Communists have slowly been taking control of a certain segment of the charter market, hinting at rate-setting, and holding clubs over the heads of the Free World shipowners. The latter is fearful of not complying with the Soviet demands because they might be squeezed out of business by the manipulated market.

Particular significance should be focused on the fact that the emergence of the Soviet Union as a major maritime power is no accident. Indications point to a carefully laid-out plan by the Soviet Union to extend its merchant marine control into all oceans of the world since World War II and especially since the Korean conflict.

SOVIET 5-YEAR PLAN

In 1946, the Soviet merchant fleet consisted of 488 ships, aggregating 1,851,675 deadweight tons. Two-fifths of that tonnage consisted of lend-lease vessels. Immediately the Russians began building up their shipyards and Navy, assigning merchant ship construction to foreign yards. However, the Soviet merchant fleet was so old that it had dwindled to 432 vessels of 1,797,000 deadweight tons by the time the Korean war began.

But by 1953, it was evident that the Soviets had changed their whole approach and had a plan under way to revitalize their merchant marine.

The first maritime five-year plan was in effect. By 1958, that plan had boosted the Russian tonnage by 30 per cent from 2,000,000 to 3,600,000 tons. Obviously pleased, the Russians plunged right into a seven-year program to accelerate the increase.

Instead of doubling their merchant fleet as the leaders had hoped, the Soviets did even better—boosting it by 175 per cent in the seven years. And so in 1965, another five-year plan for sea transportation development was worked out for the 1966–1970 period by the ministry and accepted by the Council of Ministers.

According to an article in Izvestia last October, Bakayev said. ". . . Several years ago, the merchant marine operated at a loss, amounting to many millions of rubles a year. Funds and again funds were needed to buy equipment, spare parts and other items for the fleet, ports and ship repairing plants, to pay for loans to the Gosbank, wages and many other numerous needs. It became necessary to dig deeper and deeper into the Government pocket.

MERCHANT FLEET

"It became evident, however, rapidly developing foreign trade needed a multiple increase of sea transportation—but how to do it profitably? The administration of sea transportation was reorganized. The management of the fleet, ports, ship repairing plants, other enterprises and local organizations of sea transportation was concentrated in united, composite economic subdivisions, steamship lines, which were given great authority to solve all problems of the activity of their subordinated subdivisions. It was decided that the ministry would not interfere with the daily economic lives of the steamship lines."

The Soviet Union's merchant fleet already exceeds that of the United States in numbers, although its total tonnage is less.

In July, 1965, it was said that the Russian total was 1,227 merchant ships, of 8,500,000 deadweight tons, compared to the United States privately owned fleet of 882 totaling 13,507,000 deadweight tons.

If the projected 10,000,000 tons are added to the U.S.S.R. fleet by 1971, Soviet superiority over the United States in the merchant ship field will be substantial.

The major difference is that the impressive shipbuilding program the Soviet launched more than a decade ago has never diminished. In fact, it has accelerated, while the United States has not had a major shipbuilding program since World War II.

More startling figures along these lines are:

United States shipyards began 1966 with 41 merchant ships on order. At that time, the Soviets had 464 merchant ships over 1,000 gross tons on order. By September, 1966, the figure had been increased to 51 for the United States and 561 for the Russians. And by November 30, the Russians had jumped to 606 and the United States to 41.

In 1965, the Soviet fleet received 129 ships totaling 1,200,000 deadweight tons, while only 16 vessels of 234,550 deadweight tons were delivered to the United States fleet.

Of the 1,754 ships (46,745,685 deadweight tons) under construction or on order throughout the world on January 31, 1966, Russia had nearly 25 per cent of the number and 10 per cent of the tonnage—442 totaling 4,212,302 tons.

The United States wasn't even included in the listing of the top nations in a leading British trade journal.

COMPARATIVE OUTLAY

In 1965, the U.S.S.R. spent more than $600,000,000 for new ship construction, while the United States spent less than $150,000,000. Even worse, this year, the United States is spending about $16,000,000, while the Russians are approaching the billion-dollar figure.

Because all Russian shipyards are filled to capacity with naval construction plus some of its own merchantmen—and those of some Greek shipowners—the Soviet Union has given contracts to yards throughout the Communist and free world.

Not only is the Russian merchant fleet overtaking that of the United States in size, but more significant is the fact that 80 per cent of the Soviet shipping fleet is less than ten years old while more than 80 per cent of the American merchant marine is more than 20 years old—with twenty years being considered the economic life of a ship. In other words, operating Russian ships not only outnumber the United States already by several hundred, but are at least a generation younger.

Those who have studied the rapid growth of the Russian mercantile fleet cite that country as using its strengthened maritime position to further its political objectives.

"The Soviets recognize that the merchant marine is a major instrument of power," the House subcommittee declared.

"The 1,200 ships of the Soviet merchant fleet deliver military supplies ranging from missiles and patrol boats, to hand grenades and machineguns. They deliver fuel for industry and for tanks. They deliver trucks and roadbuilding equipment to develop inland transportation networks. They deliver prefabricated factories, tractors and combines. Soviet ships carry military troops and scientific and industrial advisers to far continents. Ofttimes they return with students.

INCREASE IN TRADE

"Soviet passenger liners also are being used to collect the hard currency of wealthy European and Canadian tourists."

Bakayev, who can be described as a "czar" because of his complete control of the merchant marine, justifies the rapid growth by pointing out that from 1955 to 1965, the turnover of Soviet foreign trade increased 2.7 times, while the tonnage of the Soviet fleet increased 2.5 times.

The Russians are well aware of the propaganda value of having their flag flying from as many ships in as many foreign ports as possible. When the Soviets help a country like the United Arab Republic build the Aswan High Dam, they ship all of the 200,000 tons of equipment and building materials to that nation aboard Soviet-emblazoned merchant ships so there is no doubt in the minds of the Arabs as to the source of the cargoes.

The prime recipient of Soviet cargoes of international assistance are essentially Ghana, Nigeria, Congo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea—all of which depend also on the Soviet fishing fleets for their fish. To these and many other countries, Soviet tankers and freighters deliver petroleum, cement, steel prefabricated factories, textiles, tractors, combines, and other farm equipment, trucks, cars, bulldozers, lumber, and books—to build dams, highways, harbors, manufacturing plants, farms, timber mills, skyscrapers and libraries.

There is never any doubt who is supplying this assistance to these backward nations because of the always-present Soviet flag. What a different attitude from that in the United States where there is constant chafing to have air cargoes move on Panamanian, Liberian, or flags of other foreign countries—any but American?

The crash shipbuilding program permits the U.S.S.R. to use more and more of its own ships to transport the international assistance cargoes, as well as the military items to satellites. In recent years, the Soviet Union used its own merchant ships to deliver arms—ranging from bombs to patrol boats—to North Vietnam, Cuba, Egypt, Syria, India and several nations in Latin America and Africa.

BARGAINING POWER

As the Russian fleet expands and is able to dominate the sealanes to a large extent, it is believed that the fleets of some other nations will be squeezed out. As their fleets vanish or are unable to compete with Soviet freight rates, the Russians would be in a position to force that country or those countries to seek the services of Communist-block shipping. The danger of such dependency would be that the Communists could withhold ocean freight services from any nation out of favor with Soviet policies or could jack the rates up to make them prohibitive.

An example of how the Soviets will be able to manipulate the markets occurred in 1961, when the Soviets sold oil to new nations at prices between 10 and 20 per cent below world market prices, undercutting Western suppliers in traditional markets.

Proof of the careful planning and calculation behind the maritime growth of Russia over a long-range period is the fact that they are training more than 200,000 officers and men at the Leningrad Institute of Transportation, the Odessa Maritime Academy and in many other maritime schools within Russia, all, of course, operated by the Russian Government.

And the U.S.S.R. is developing every technology possible towards improving the ships and their construction. The Soviets are said to be operating the world's first remote-controlled vessel, the Inzhener A. Pustoshkin, between Russian river ports without a crew.

All of their vast armada coming off the shipways will be automated, as is the freight flow and the selection of ships for scheduled voyages.

It can be said that as the Red flag envelops the seven seas, the Soviets use that flag and those ships to the best possible advantage—better than any other maritime-oriented nation, including and particularly, the United States.

Dedication of Dickey Chapelle Memorial Dispensary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, it gives me real joy to call attention to any woman who has made a special contribution to the lives of others or in any way has made us proud to be a woman. So today I would like to extend my remarks to include a statement made by Lt. Gen. Lewis W. Walt, commanding general of the 3d Marine Air Facility, at the dedication of the Dickey Chapelle Memorial Dispensary in Vietnam on November 4, 1966:

> A year ago today, not far from here, the world lost a dedicated and professional combat correspondent—and American fighting men lost a true friend.
>
> For more than twenty years, Dickey Chapelle could be found where the action was: Iwo Jima, Lebanon, Hungary, Cube, Quemoy, India, Laos, the Dominican Republic, and finally South Viet Nam.
>
> Mr. Jim Lucas has spoken this morning about Dickey Chapelle from his correspondent's point of view. She was a professional from any point of view—highly respected by her contemporaries, her readers, and by the men whom she accompanied into battle. The front lines were her beat.
>
> It is difficult to say just when the mutual romance and respect between this reporter from Milwaukee and the American fighting man began. Perhaps it was aboard a hospital ship off Okinawa or on the black beaches of Iwo Jima. But wherever it had its start, it compelled her to travel the world over to be with our fighting men and to tell the story of what they were doing.
>
> She wore baggy utilities—a jauntly set jungle hat—and a perpetual smile. She was half the size of the Marines she followed into combat, until she spoke; then suddenly she grew in stature, speaking with the authority of a combat veteran—which, of course, she was.
>
> When this frail looking woman showed up on the front lines, tough veterans would shudder. Who was going to take care of her they wondered.
>
> "Forget that I'm a woman," she would say. "I'll lug my own stuff and ask no favors." And she was true to her word. She asked no quarter, and would have been offended had it been offered.
>
> As General Krulak noted shortly after her death, "The Marines are a fraternity, and if a woman can belong to a fraternity, Dickey Chapelle managed to do it."
>
> Never complaining, determined always to carry her share of the load, ever enthusiastic, she had the ability to convey the reality of war to film and paper in a degree seldom matched. She had a deep-seated feeling for people and events. She showed no fear and had a total disregard for her personal safety.
>
> For twenty years her life was one of being with the fighting men and telling their story to the world.
>
> It is most fitting that we here today dedicate this dispensary to her memory—the memory of a woman who loved people and hated the violence which causes hurt and pain and misery.
>
> For this facility is, by its very nature, dedicated to overcoming the physical ravages of war and disease and pestilence.
>
> Today marks a beginning—for this building is only the central portion of a dispensary that will eventually grow to encompass a 44-bed facility.
>
> Built by the 9th Engineer Battalion, the dispensary will serve our Vietnamese friends, staffed by both Vietnamese and American medical personnel. It has been made possible by funds which have been provided through CARE and donated by friends of Dickey Chapelle.
>
> Anyone who met Dickey Chapelle could not forget her. Her willingness to involve herself with the crises of our time showed a rare spirit. As a result, thousands of Americans at home lived closer to our men in Viet Nam and came to know the struggle for dignity and freedom of the Vietnamese people.
>
> She had dinner at my quarters the day before she was killed. Several of my officers and myself had a wonderful evening listening to her tell of her many experiences with our Marines. As she left my quarters that evening, she mentioned she was going out on patrol the next day. I told her to keep her head down and not to take chances. She said, "When the time comes for me to go, I want it to be on a patrol with Marines." And that's the way it was.
>
> And so we dedicate this building to the memory of Dickey Chapelle—combat correspondent, patriot, and humanitarian.

The Middle Ground in Dealing With the Vietnam War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, we have no more painful and difficult a problem before us than the war in South Vietnam.

On the one hand, it is clear that an all-out military victory in the classical sense is impossible and, on the other hand, unconditional and immediate withdrawal of our forces from Vietnam is unthinkable.

As the 90th Congress convenes, we must find a middle ground for our thinking about an ultimate solution to the costly conflict in Vietnam.

Mr. Walter Lippmann, in a column that appeared in the January 3, 1967, Washington Post, has suggested such a middle ground.

Mr. Lippman says that there is hope only in a negotiated compromise, but warns that a compromise cannot be negotiated so long as the President is placed in the false dilemma of victory or defeat, win or no win, go up or get out.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include Mr. Lippmann's column in the RECORD at this point:

ON GOING IT ALONE

(By Walter Lippmann)

> The outlook for the new year could be brighter if in talking about the war we could get rid of the idea that the country is confronted with the sharp choice between winning or losing the war, between unconditional and immediate withdrawal and the unconditional surrender of the enemy. These absolute choices are easy to talk about. But

they represent a failure to think at all. They hide the real problem and make it unmanageable.

The real problem is to find some middle ground between a South Vietnam which must remain indefinitely under American occupation and a South Vietnam under the direct domination of North Vietnam. There is no hope that the activists in the North and in the South of Vietnam can ever agree to the permanence of the American military presence in South Vietnam. The North Vietnamese, on the other hand, can have no hope that the United States will withdraw its forces and throw the regime in South Vietnam to its enemies. There is hope only in a negotiated compromise.

The compromise can, however, not be negotiated so long as the President is placed in the false dilemma of victory or defeat, win or no-win, go up or get out, withdrawal or knock-them-out. To be asked to choose between these absolute and extreme policies is to have to choose the impossible, the unreal—among various forms of nonsense.

There is on one extreme the notion that the American forces can be forced to withdraw, either because they are defeated in battle or because the American people grow weary of the battle. M. Jean Sainteny, who has known Ho Chi Minh longer and has seen him more recently than any Westerner, says that North Vietnam may be suffering from the illusion that American forces in Indochina, though stronger than the French forces were in the Fifties, will follow the same course down to defeat. If Ho Chi Minh thinks this, he is entertaining a very dangerous illusion. The American military power cannot be defeated by any Asian army that can be mobilized and equipped. The American army can stay in South Vietnam until it is deliberately withdrawn under a negotiated settlement.

But while the Americans cannot be defeated, it does not follow that they can win. Those who are able to wreck a house completely and effectively are not often the same men who can build a new house. The extremist hawks are well represented by the Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, Mr. Mendel Rivers who wants us "to flatten Hanoi and let world opinion go fly a kite." If men like him prevail—and unfortunately they have been increasingly on the ascendant since 1965—we shall be in worse trouble than we are in now.

The Mendel Rivers view, which is the theory of the Air Force, is important because the President, though protesting and resisting, has again and again yielded to it. We can afford no illusions about the consequences of taking this absolute course. If the country presents itself as uniquely and unilaterally entitled to use unlimited military force in Vietnam, it will isolate itself among the nations of the world.

Chairman Rivers thinks that all that this will mean is that the other nations will make speeches and write editorials and march in demonstrations. He knows little of the world. Once the strongest military power on earth has identified itself as willing and ready to use unlimited force for its own ends, there begins, as we see in history, the formation of a coalition to contain its militancy. That is where things have been pointing since 1965: that is where they will go if we think that we can use our weapons and ignore world opinion.

The self-righteous use of military power will be just as dangerous to the United States as it has proved to be before in the history of nations. The out and out militarist power will unite other nations against it. The tough guys among us who cannot find words scornful enough to express their contempt for those who ask for a decent respect to the opinions of mankind, are foolish and ignorant men. They know no history and they know little of the world they are talking about. If they have their way we too, like the militarists of the past, shall find that fear of our power and distrust of purposes will bring about an alignment of the nations against us.

Compulsory Unionism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I should like to include in the RECORD a copy of my address delivered to the students of the law school of Duke University on December 14, 1966, on the subject of compulsory unionism. The speech follows:

Is the right to hold a job a privilege of citizenship? Does the individual citizen have the right under the Constitution to choose his own occupation, trade or profession? Under the Constitution can a man's right to earn a living be limited by a requirement that he join a labor union or pay dues to a labor union? Does the range of constitutionally protected civil rights include the right to work?

These are questions that were raised in both the Senate and the House in the last session of Congress in connection with the effort to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, the section which reserves to the states the power to enact Right to Work laws.

Although Congress turned back the effort to repeal section 14(b) it left these larger questions unanswered. But they cannot remain unanswered much longer. Compulsory union membership obviously denies certain individual liberties, and time is long overdue for a judicial determination of the Constitutionality of this denial.

Before getting into these questions, let us first take a brief look at the historical development of the right to work issue.

It comes as a surprise to many people that for the first 150 years of our country's existence there was no such thing as federal labor law. Not until 1926 when Congress passed the Railway Labor Act did the federal government take any direct action toward regulating labor or employment relations.

Prior to that the only expression of a federal labor policy occurred in 1914 when Congress enacted the Clayton Act amendments to the Sherman antitrust law. Written into the Clayton Act was a clause to the effect that "nothing in the antitrust laws shall be construed to forbid the existence and operation of labor organizations * * * nor shall such organizations or the members thereof be held to be illegal combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade under the antitrust laws." This provision was included in the Clayton Act because the Supreme Court decision in the Danbury Hatters' case (Loewe v. Lawlor, 204 U.S. 274 (1908)) construed a labor union boycott of an employer's products as unlawful under the Sherman Antitrust Act.

The Railway Labor Act came about because of the great number of disputes in the Railroad industry after World War I which disrupted transportation of goods in interstate commerce. Its purpose was to provide a procedure for settlement of such disputes and to prevent rail carriers from interfering with efforts of their employees to form and join labor unions. The central policy of the Railway Labor Act was expressed in the statement in section 2, Fourth, that:

"Employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing." (45 USC, sec. 152, Fourth)

Nothing was said in the Act about the right of employees to *refrain* from joining or forming labor unions, and within a short time the Railroad Brotherhoods became worried about the possibility that workers could be coerced by the carriers into joining company dominated and controlled unions. As a result the unions requested that Congress amend the Railway Act to include a prohibition on any form of compulsory unionism agreements. In accordance with this request Congress in 1934 amended section 2, Fourth, to read:

"It shall be unlawful for any carrier to interfere in any way with the organization of its employees, * * * or to influence or coerce employees in an effort to induce them to join or remain or not to join or remain members of any labor organization, or to deduct from the wages of employees any dues, fees, assessments or other contributions payable to labor organizations."

It is thus an historic, if somewhat ironic, fact that organized labor itself was the first to insist upon incorporation of the right to work principle in a federal labor statute. The Railway Brotherhoods later reversed themselves, however, as will be seen in a few moments.

Until the year 1935 workers in industries other than the Railroad industry had no federal law to protect their organizing activities or their efforts to obtain collective bargaining rights from their employers. All this was changed with the enactment in 1935 of the Wagner Act, officially known as the National Labor Relations Act, which was the first comprehensive federal labor statute. It was at this point that the right to work controversy had its beginnings.

This new statute was frankly designed to encourage the formation of labor unions and to strengthen their bargaining position with employers. The Act made it unlawful for an employer to interfere with organizational activities of employees or to refuse to bargain with a union representing employees. One of its most important features was the provision that a union chosen by a majority of employees in a bargaining unit had the exclusive right to represent all workers, union and non-union alike, in the bargaining unit. Coupled with this was the provision in section 8(3) which permitted union agreements requiring all workers in the unit to belong to the union and pay union dues.

Armed with this extraordinary privilege of exclusive representation, and the concurrent right to demand agreements requiring all employees to join the union and pay union dues as a condition of employment, labor launched intensive organizing drives which skyrocketed their membership from a level of approximately two million in 1935 to an estimated high of seventeen million in the next 10 years, and swelled their treasuries with a ten-fold increase in dues payments, initiation fees and other types of assessments. How many of the newly acquired "members" were forced into the unions under compulsory union shop and closed shop contracts is impossible to determine, but conservative estimates place the figure at three million. If this is a correct estimate it means that dues and fees paid by these three million unwilling captives would be in the range of two hundred million dollars a year.

Emboldened by their success the unions began pushing their demand for compulsory unionism harder and harder and, as might be expected, these efforts did not go unnoticed by the American public, particularly those members of the public who were unwillingly forced to pay union dues. In response to the public reaction a number of states, beginning in 1944, adopted laws prohibiting compulsory unionism. The first such law was adopted as an amendment to the Florida Constitution in 1944 (Florida Constitution, Article I, section 12). Other states quickly followed suit and there are now 19 states with Right to Work laws on their books.[1] Most such laws are very concise and simple in their language. North Carolina, for example, has a statute which reads:

"The right to live includes the right to work. The exercise of the right to work must be protected and maintained free from undue restraints and coercion. It is hereby declared to be the public policy of North Carolina that the right of persons to work shall not be denied or abridged on account of membership or non-membership in any labor union or labor organization or association." (Section 95–78, General Statutes of North Carolina).

Eleven of these state right to work laws were in force at the time Congress adopted the Taft-Hartley Act amendments to the National Labor Relations Act in 1947, and in order to eliminate any doubt as to the effect the federal law would have upon such state laws Congress wrote into the Taft-Hartley Act the now famous section 14(b), which expressly provides that nothing in the National Labor Relations Act "shall be construed as authorizing the execution or application of agreements requiring membership in a labor organization as a condition of employment in any State or Territory in which such execution or application is prohibited by State or Territorial law."

Efforts of labor lobbyists to get this section repealed have been repeatedly rejected by Congress in every session since 1947. Even the 89th Congress, with overwhelming majorities of liberals in both houses, refused to repeal 14(b). The obvious reason for this is that the American public is not willing to accept the idea of compulsory unionism, and every opinion poll taken in recent years shows that practically all segments of the public, including rank and file union members, are opposed to the idea of forcing a man to join a union or pay dues to a union in order to keep his job. There are, however, 31 states in which compulsory union shop agreements are fully enforceable. Also, compulsory union shop agreements are enforceable in the railroad and airlines industries in all 50 states because the Rail Brotherhoods were successful in 1951 in pushing through Congress an amendment to the Railway Labor Act (section 2, Eleventh) which nullified the union shop ban previously written into the Act in 1934 at the request of the Railroad unions.

This brings us to the point of today's discussion, namely, whether compulsory unionism infringes any of the individual civil rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution. More specifically does: (1) compulsory unionism so deprive a man the right to make his own choice in joining or declining to join a particular group as to violate his freedom of association guaranteed by the First amendment; or (2) does the use of compulsory union membership dues for the furtherance of political and ideological causes violate his freedom of speech guaranteed by the First amendment; or (3) does forced membership in or support for a particular group violate his privacy as guaranteed in the Ninth amendment; or (4) does forced extraction of membership dues and fees deprive him of property without due process of law? These are all questions that are being raised by serious Constitutional scholars, and it is quite timely to take a close look at them.

However, let us first dispose of the main argument made by union spokesmen in defense of compulsory unionism, the so-called "Free Rider" argument. The premise of this argument is that since a union chosen by a majority of employees in a bargaining unit is required under the National Labor Relations Act to bargain for all employees, union and non-union alike, in the unit, it is only fair that each employee in the unit be required to pay his share of the costs of collective bargaining.

While this argument may have a superficial plausibility it can be readily refuted by pointing out, first, that the requirement for bargaining for all employees in the unit was not thrust upon the unions. On the contrary, they zealously sought to have this requirement written into the law because it gives them the special status of exclusive representation. Secondly, the "free rider" argument would be valid only if the dues money was used by the union exclusively for collective bargaining. The fact is, however, that only a small fraction goes toward the costs of collective bargaining, and the major portion of it is used for a multitude of purposes not related to collective bargaining such as lobbying, political contributions, and promoting various ideological and sociological causes. This is where the problem of forced payment of union dues becomes most acute. For example, some large unions such as the United Automobile Workers contribute very heavily to the support of the NAACP, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Students For a Democratic Society and other groups agitating for causes ranging from Negro rights to the Filthy Speech Movement at the University of California. Suppose a member of the union does not favor such an expenditure of his dues money. Perhaps he doesn't agree with the objectives of the NAACP and SNCC; what can he do about it? The answer is that he can do nothing immediately about it because if he refuses to pay his union dues he will be fired from his job. The question, then, is whether this forced support of social causes and political candidates, infringes his constitutional freedoms guaranteed under the Bill of Rights.

The Supreme Court has on a number of occasions declared that an individual's right to hold a job is a constitutionally protected right. This was first decided in the case of *Cummings* v. *Missouri*, 71 U.S. 277 (1866) in which the Supreme Court invalidated a provision in the Missouri Constitution under which a Catholic priest was fined for performing his religious functions without taking a prescribed oath. The court held that the state could not impose such a restriction because:

"The theory upon which our political institutions rest is, that all men have certain inalienable rights—that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and that in the pursuit of happiness all avocations, all honors, all positions, are alike open to everyone, and that in the protection of these rights all are equal before the law."

In many decisions following the *Cummings* case, the court struck down state imposed restrictions on the occupations of Chinese laundrymen, railroad men, teachers, and Japanese fishermen. In 1915, the right to work was declared to be plain and self-evident principle of American Constitutional Law by Justice Charles Evans Hughes in Truax v. Raich, 239 U.S. 33, holding that a state may not deny to foreign born residents the ordinary means of earning a livelihood. As therein stated:

"It requires no argument to show that the right to work for a living in the common occupations of the community is of the very essence of the personal freedom and opportunity that it was the purpose of the [Fourteenth] amendment to secure."

The Supreme Court of Florida expressed the principle very well in *Carpenters District Council* v. *Miami Chapter, Associated General Contractors*, 55 So. 2d 794 (Fla. 1952) in which the court stated:

"The right to work is equivalent to the right to eat and the right to eat and provide raimant for his dependents is man's most dominant urge. In a free country like ours such a right should not depend on one's race, color, the lodge, craft, church or other organizations to which be belongs. Such a requirement is contrary to the spirit of our institutions, the basis on which our democracy was founded and every impulse of the forefathers who gave it existence. I can think of nothing more out of harmony with true Americanism. Membership in one's lodge, craft or church may be a means of enlarging spiritual, cultural and physical assets but to make his bread depend on craft or church membership would be the worst species of anti-Americanism."

The American Civil Liberties Union similarly supported the right to work principle in an *amicus curiae* brief filed in *Wilson* v. *Loew's, Inc.*, 26 CCH Lab. Cases at ¶68,600 (1954), a case challenging the action of a group of movie studios in blacklisting the famed "Hollywood Ten" writers who had refused to answer questions of a congressional committee as to their Communist party connections. In that brief, the ACLU pointed out that:

"The right to work is a human right, a personal right, a constitutional right; and the opportunity to earn a living cannot be unjustly withheld from a man without doing violence to the constitutional guarantees protecting his life, liberty, property and assuring him equal protection of the law."

Since there thus seems to be wide agreement that the right to hold a job in the occupation of one's choice is within the range of the protections intended by the Bill of Rights, let us examine how compulsory union membership deprives a worker of his constitutional rights.

First, it is an infringement upon his freedom of association which the First Amendment seeks to protect. Freedom of association, it has been held, is a composite right derived from freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and the freedom to petition enumerated in the First Amendment. To the extent that compulsory unionism requires a worker to make a choice between joining the union or losing his job he is thus limited in his freedom of association. The right not to join a union is a necessary corollary of the right to join, for without a right not to join there can be no such thing as a right to join. Freedom rests on choice and where choice is denied freedom does not exist. In its decision in *Board of Education* v. *Barnette*, 519 U.S. 624 (1943) the Supreme Court recognized that there are affirmative and negative sides to constitutional liberties in upholding the right of members of a religious sect to refuse to join in the oath of allegiance to the flag. The court specifically pointed out that freedom of speech carries with it a freedom to remain silent, and that it makes no difference that the majority of the people favor the particular restriction or limitation. "The very purpose of the Bill of Rights," the court said, "was to withdraw certain subjects from the vicissitudes of political controversy, to place them beyond the reach of majorities and officials and establish them as legal principles to be applied by the courts. One's right to life, liberty and property, to free speech, a free press, freedom of worship and assembly, and other fundamental rights may not be submitted to vote; they depend on the outcome of no elections." This would seem to dispose of the union argument that when a majority of the workers in a bargaining unit vote for a compulsory union shop the minority must accept the results of the "democratic" process.

In *Santa Fe Railroad* v. *Brown*, 80 Kansas 312, 102 Pac. 459 (1909) the Supreme Court of Kansas said:

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[1] Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Kansas, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia and Wyoming.

> "It would seem that the liberty to remain silent is correlative with the freedom to speak. If one must speak, he cannot be said freely to speak."

The Supreme Court of Maine in *Pappas* v. *Stacy*, 116 A. 2d 497 (1955) held that picketing by three restaurant employees who were union members for the purpose of forcing the employer to make the other 27 non-union employees join the union infringed the freedom of association of the non-union employees. As stated by the court:

> "Freedom to associate of necessity means as well freedom not to associate."

Labor union have themselves relied very heavily on the principle of freedom of association to protect their right to engage in organizing activities and to resist state laws which placed limitations upon such organizing activities. For example, in *Thomas* v. *Collins*, 323 U.S. 516 (1945), the Supreme Court reversed the conviction of R. J. Thomas, an organizer for the United Automobile Workers, for failure to comply with a Texas statute which required the licensing of union organizers. In arguing Thomas' case, the union lawyers contended that this licensing requirement infringed the freedom of association guaranteed under the First Amendment. The Supreme Court agreed in the following language:

> "It was not by accident or coincidence that the rights to freedom in speech and press were coupled in a single guaranty with the rights of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition for redress of grievances. All these, though not identical, are inseparable. They are cognate rights, and therefore are united in the First Article's assurance."

* * * * *

> "There is some modicum of freedom of thought, speech and assembly which all citizens of the Republic may exercise throughout its length and breadth, which no State, nor all together, nor the Nation itself, can prohibit, restrain or impede."

Having thus recognized the right to organize workers into unions as part of the protected freedom of association under the First Amendment, it must follow that the right not to join a union is a necessary corollary of the right to join, for without a right not to join there can be no such thing as a right to join. Freedom rests on choice, and where choice is denied freedom is destroyed as well.

Through compulsory unionism, the worker is also deprived of his freedom of action and of speech. It is well known to everyone that American unions have for many years been active in politics and have played a very important role in election campaigns of members of Congress, of state legislators, state officials, and local city and county officials. The union chiefs make no apologies for this. They assert that it is their right to make sure that those elected to public office are sympathetic towards the aims and purposes of labor unions. Large armies of union staff personnel are assigned to work in political campaigns at the precinct level, in getting out the vote for union-endorsed candidates, and in publishing union newspapers and other publications devoted to promoting favored candidates. And union funds derived from membership dues and fees are liberally distributed to such candidates.

Where does this leave the individual worker who is required to pay his dues and fees into the union as a necessary condition to holding his job? Is he not thus compelled to contribute money to election campaigns for candidates he opposes, and support with his dues dollar causes and ideologies with which he himself may have no sympathy? And, if so, what is the effect upon his constitutionally protected liberties? These questions were presented to the United States Supreme Court in ***Railway Employees Dept.* v. *Hanson***, 351 U.S. 225 (1956), and *International Association of Machinists* v. *Street*, 367 U.S. 740 (1961) but in each of these cases the court ducked the constitutional issues. In *Hanson* the court took the position that the record did not disclose sufficient information respecting the use of union dues money for political purposes, but in rendering judgment for the unions stated that if in a later case "the exaction of dues, initiation fees, or assessments is used as a cover for forcing ideological conformity or other action in contravention of the First Amendment, this judgment will not prejudice the decision in that case."

The *Street* case which came before the court a few years later did clearly show that the union dues were used for enforcing political and ideological conformity. This case had originated in Georgia and came up from the Georgia Supreme Court (215 Ga. 27, 108 S.E. 2nd 796 (1959) on a finding that:

> "(5) The funds so exacted from plaintiffs and the class they represent by the labor union defendants have been, and are being, used in substantial amounts by the latter to support the political campaigns of candidates for the offices of President and Vice President of the United States, and for the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, opposed by plaintiffs and the class they represent, and also to support by direct and indirect financial contributions the political campaigns of candidates for State and local public offices, opposed by plaintiffs and the class they represent. The said funds are so used both by each of the labor union defendants collectively and in concert among themselves and with other organizations not parties to this action through associations, leagues, or committees formed for that purpose. (6) Those funds have been and are being used in subtantial amounts to propagate political and economic doctrines, concepts and ideologies and to promote legislative programs opposed by plaintiffs and the class they represent. Those funds have also been and are being used in substantial amounts to impose upon plaintiffs and the class they represent, as well as upon the general public, conformity to those doctrines, concepts, ideologies and programs."

In spite of these specific findings the Supreme Court, in a series of five split decisions refused to rule on the constitutional questions presented and concluded only that use of union dues money for these purposes was contrary to the intent of Congress in passing the Railway Labor Act. The appropriate remedy, the court held, would be to leave it to the union to refund to the protesting employees such portion of their dues as represented the proportionate amount the union used for political purposes. On this basis the case was sent back to the Georgia courts, which then proceeded to direct the defendant unions to produce their books and records in order that a determination might be made as to the amounts spent on political action. The unions violently resisted such order, and after four years of additional legal maneuvers proposed that as an alternative to producing their books they would refund all dues previously paid by plaintiffs and would relieve plaintiffs of all future obligations to pay dues under the compulsory union shop agreements. Plaintiffs, weary of the expense and effort of more than eleven years of litigation, accepted this proposal and a stipulation was entered on December 19, 1964 dismissing the case.

Justices Black and Douglas vigorously protested the fact that the court refused to face the constitutional questions presented in *Street*. In a sharp dissent Justice Black stated:

> "There can be no doubt that the federally sanctioned union-shop contract here, as it actually works, takes a part of the earnings of some men and turns it over to others, who spend a substantial part of the funds so received in efforts to thwart the political, economic and ideological hopes of those whose money has been forced from them under authority of law. This injects federal compulsion into the political and ideological processes, a result which I have supposed everyone would agree the First Amendment was particularly intended to prevent and it makes no difference if, as is urged, political and legislative activities are helpful adjuncts of collective bargaining. Doubtless employers could make the same arguments in favor of compulsory contributions to an association of employers for use in political and economic programs calculated to help collective bargaining on their side. But the argument is equally unappealing whoever makes it. The stark fact is that this Act of Congress is being used as a means to exact money from these employees to help get votes to win elections for parties and candidates and to support doctrine they are against. If this is constitutional the First Amednment is not the charter of political and religious liberty its sponsors believed it to be."

Justice Douglas, not known for his hostility to organized labor, writing a separate opinion in the same case had the following to say:

> "The collection of dues for paying the costs of collective bargaining of which each member is a beneficiary is one thing. If, however, dues are used, or assessments are made, to promote or oppose birth control, to repeal or increase the taxes on cosmetics, to promote or oppose the admission of Red China into the United Nations, and the like, then the group compels an individual to support with his money causes beyond what gave rise to the need for group action. . . . I think the same must be said when union dues or assessments are used to elect a Governor, a Congressman, a Senator, or a President. It may be said that the election of a Franklin D. Roosevelt rather than a Calvin Coolidge might be the best possible way to serve the cause of collective bargaining. But even such a selective use of union funds for political purposes subordinates the individual's First Amendment rights to the views of the majority. I do not see how that can be done, even though the objector retains his rights to campaign, to speak, to vote as he chooses. For when union funds are used for that purpose, the individual is required to finance political projects against which he may be in rebellion."

Justice Black prophesied in his dissent that:

> "The constitutional question raised in this case . . . is bound to come back here soon with a record so meticulously perfect that the court cannot escape deciding it."

If such a case were presented to today's court, there is reason to believe that the majority would find compulsory unionism in any of its forms contrary to the express and implied constitutional guarantees of individual liberty. The recent trend of the court's decisions in civil rights cases has so vastly expanded the safeguards of the First, Fifth, and Fourteenth Amendments that it is almost inconceivable that the court could now fail to include the right to work within their protection.

Of particular interest in this connection is the recent discovery of the Ninth Amendment as a reservoir of individual rights not expressly or impliedly covered elsewhere in the Constitution. This short and heretofore obscure amendment reads, "the enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." In a very recent decision of the Supreme Court, *Griswold* v. *Connecticut* 381 U.S. 479 (1965), three of the judges, including the Chief Justice, found that this clause protects a wide range of individual rights not expressly mentioned in the first eight amendments. Justice Goldberg, writing for himself, the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Brennan, stated that:

"The concept of liberty protects those personal rights that are fundamental, and is not confined to the specific terms of the Bill of Rights. . . . The language and history of the Ninth Amendment reveals that the Framers of the Constitution believed that there are additional fundamental rights protected from governmental infringement, which exist along side those fundamental rights specifically mentioned in the first eight constitutional amendments."

The *Griswold* case involved a challenge to the constitutionality of a Connecticut statute which made dissemination of birth control devices a criminal offense. Two officers of the Planned Parenthood League of Connecticut were convicted in a state court under this statute, and their conviction was affirmed by the Supreme Court of Errors of Connecticut. *State* v. *Griswold*, 151 Conn. 544, 200 A. 2d 479 (1964). On appeal, the Supreme Court of the United States reversed the conviction on the ground that the statute infringed the "penumbral" protection of individual privacy contained in the Bill of Rights. The majority opinion, after citing a number of cases dealing with the protected freedom of association, stated:

"The foregoing cases suggest that specific guarantees in the Bill of Rights have penumbras, formed by emanations from those guarantees that help give them life and substance. The right of association contained in penumbra of the First Amendment is one, as we have seen. . . . The Fifth Amendment in its Self-Incrimination Clause enables the citizen to create a zone of privacy which the government may not force him to surrender to his detriment. The Ninth Amendment provides that the enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people."

Expanding on this application of the Ninth Amendment, as a residue of rights not otherwise referred to, the separate opinion written by Justice Goldberg stated:

"In determining which rights are fundamental, judges are not left at large to decide cases in light of their personal and private notions. Rather, they must look to the traditions and collective conscience of our people to determine whether a principle is so rooted there as to be ranked as fundamental. The inquiry is whether a right involved is of such a character that it cannot be denied without violating those fundamental principles of liberty and justice which lie at the base of all of our civil and political institutions."

This language of Justice Goldberg is strikingly applicable to the right to work. There can be little question that the right of a man to work to earn a living for himself and support his family is so deeply rooted in "the traditions and collective conscience of our people . . . as to be ranked as fundamental."

Can it not be argued, however, that the Constitution is intended only to protect the citizen against *government* action affecting such rights, and that labor unions in enforcing union shop agreements are acting purely in a private capacity? Can it not be said that while such union conduct may result in an actionable tort it is not prohibited by the Constitution because it is neither an act of the state nor the federal government, nor of any other governmental entity? As stated in *Teague* v. *Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen*, 127 F. 2d 53 (6th Cir, 1942):

"Private parties acting upon their own initiative and expressing their own will, however else they may offend and their acts give rise to justiciable controversies, do not thereby offend the guarantees of the Constitution."

Surely if one private citizen by coercion or restraint prevents another private citizen from exercising his freedom of speech or any other constitutionally protected right, there is no basis for invoking the Constitution as against the tortfeasor. Does not this apply as well to labor union efforts to enforce compulsory membership?

The answer is No. The authority which unions have to enforce compulsory unionism derives from a legislative act of the federal government, the National Labor Relations Act, which expressly authorizes union shop agreements. Moreover, the entire scheme of regulation contained in the National Labor Relations Act is directed toward encouragement of unionization and collective bargaining, and by giving unions the extraordinary status of exclusive bargaining representative, this Act has created and perpetuated the conditions under which unions may enforce compulsory unionism. As stated by the Supreme Court in *American Communications Association* v. *Douds*:

"When authority derives in part from Government's thumb on the scales, the exercise of that power by private persons becomes closely akin in some respects to its exercise by Government itself."

In the *Hanson* case referred to above the Supreme Court stated:

"If private rights are being invaded it is by force of an agreement made pursuant to federal law which expressly declares that state law is superseded. In other words, the federal statute is the source of power and authority by which any private rights are lost or sacrificed. The enactment of the federal statute authorizing union shop agreements is the governmental action on which the Constitution operates, though it takes a private agreement to invoke the federal sanction."

Although the Supreme Court in the *Hanson* case was dealing only with the union shop provisions of the Railway Labor Act, similar reasoning can be applied to the union shop provisions of the National Labor Relations Act. It is equally true that a union shop agreement entered into pursuant to section 8(a)(3) of the National Labor Relations Act has "the imprimatur of the federal law upon it." Moreover, the exclusive bargaining status which unions are given under the Act is the principal source of their power to demand and enforce union shop contracts. The value of this "exclusive" status to unions was well summarized by Professor Archibald Cox of the Harvard Law School when testifying before the Senate Labor Subcommittee in 1959. As expressed by Professor Cox:

"Labor unions enjoy their present power by virtue of Federal statutes, chiefly the National Labor Relations Act. Other voluntary associations are different in two respects: (1) they lack the statutory power of a union designated as a bargaining representative; (2) no other voluntary association has as much power over an individual's livelihood and opportunities or over the rules governing his daily life. The union bulks much larger in the life of a worker than a corporation in the affairs of a stockholder."

A direct solution to the problem would be for Congress to repeal the language of the National Labor Relations Act (the proviso to section 8(a)(3) and the Railway Labor Act (section 2, Eleventh) and thereby restore the principle of voluntary unionism as a principle feature of federal labor policy. Since the labor committees of both Houses are still dominated by those who owe their elections to strong union support and heavy union financing, they are not likely to report any bills unfavorable to the unions. An alternative would be for more states to adopt right to work laws, but this is a slow and agonizing process which the unions will delay and divert in every way possible.

The answer thus seems to lie with the Supreme Court, and the possibility that next time around it will not refuse to face the Constitutional issues presented by compulsory unionism as it has on previous occasions.

Resolution To Reestablish House Select Committee on Standards and Conduct

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation to reestablish the House Select Committee on Standards and Conduct, which was created on October 19, 1966, for the 89th Congress.

The report of the committee on this subject included the following:

DISCUSSION

1. The committee reports herewith as chapter III of this report a list of existing statutes relative to the conduct of Members of the House and officers and employees thereof which might be pertinent to the committee's function.

2. The committee has accumulated a large volume of material on the subject of standards and conduct of Government officials, but has found that in the limited period of the life of the committee in the 89th Congress it is impossible prudently to recommend changes in existing provisions of law or to suggest new ones at this time. In the opinion of the committee such recommendations should be made after the full membership of the House is available for comments, recommendations, and hearings.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The committee should be continued as a select committee in the 90th Congress.

2. Proposed legislation introduced in the 90th Congress in the field of standards and conduct of House Members, officers, and employees should be assigned to this committee for recommendations to the House thereon.

3. Members of the House of Representatives should be furnished copies of this report and be asked for suggested changes in existing statutes.

4. Legislation approving the continuation of the committee in the 90th Congress is forwarded herewith.

The resolution for the 90th Congress which follows, has been approved by the committee. I believe the country wants the House to have such a committee, and it is needed. I have been directed by the committee to invite Members of the House to comment on the report and the resolution creating the committee in the 90th Congress.

A Resolution Creating a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct

Resolved, That (a) there is hereby established a select committee of the House of Representatives to be known as the Select Committee on Standards and Conduct (hereafter in this resolution referred to as the "Select Committee"). The Select Committee shall be composed of twelve Members of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the Speaker, one of whom he shall designate as chairman. Six members of the Select Committee shall be selected from Members of the majority party and six shall be selected from Members of the minority party.

(b) Vacancies in the membership of the Select Committee shall not affect the authority of the remaining members to execute the functions of the Select Committee, and shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointments were made.

(c) A majority of the members of the Select Committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, except that the Select Committee may fix a lesser number as a quorum for the purpose of taking sworn testimony. The Select Committee shall adopt rules of procedure not inconsistent with the rules of the House governing standing committees of the House.

SEC. 2. (a) The Select Committee is authorized—

(1) to recommend to the House, by report or resolution, such additional rules or regulations as the Select Committee shall determine to be necessary or desirable to insure proper standards of conduct by Members of the House, and by officers or employees of the House, in the performance of their duties and the discharge of their responsibilities; and

(2) to report violations, by a majority vote of the Select Committee, of any law to the proper Federal and State authorities.

(b) The Select Committee shall have power to make an investigation of any violation, by a Member, officer, or employee of the House, of standards of conduct established by the House of Representatives by law or resolution, including those standards provided in title 18, United States Code, and in the Concurrent Resolution passed July 11, 1958 (72 Stat. B12). Such an investigation may be made only upon receipt by the Select Committee of a complaint, in writing and under oath, made by or submitted to a Member of the House and transmitted to the Select Committee by such Member. No investigation may be made with reference to any complaint of a violation occurring prior to the establishment of the standards of conduct involved. After such investigation the Select Committee may recommend to the House appropriate resolutions of censure for its consideration and action thereon.

SEC. 3. For the purpose of carrying out this resolution the Select Committee or any subcommittee thereof is authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is in session, has recessed, or adjourned, to hold such hearings, and to require, by subpena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, records, correspondence, and documents, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the Select Committee or any member designated by him, and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member. The chairman of the Select Committee or any member thereof may administer oaths to witnesses.

SEC. 4. As used in this resolution—

(1) the term "officer or employee of the House" means any person whose compensation is disbursed by the Clerk of the House; and

(2) the term "Member of the House of Representatives" includes the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico.

New York Harbor—Gateway to Our Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, with permission I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues in the House an address by the Honorable Francis J. Barry, chairman of the Harbor and Shipping Committee of the New York Chamber of Commerce, at a recent meeting of the Joint Committee for the Promotion of the Port of New York.

The joint committee has been cooperating with the Port of New York Authority since 1963 in an effort to rid New York's waterfront of harbor drift and debris, ugly, decaying structures and unsightly dilapidated properties. Mr. Barry has reminded us in his address of the need for Federal assistance to accomplish this important task. I wholeheartedly support the proposal. New York Harbor is the gateway to our country for thousands of annual foreign visitors. Our Federal Government should take an active role in making the harbor both safe and attractive for industrial, commercial, transportation and recreational uses.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to call attention to the fact that Mr. Barry, in his speech, presented a number of photographs which very poignantly depict the draft, rotting piers and other debris in New York Harbor.

Mr. Barry's remarks follows:

REMARKS BY FRANCIS J. BARRY, CHAIRMAN, HARBOR AND SHIPPING COMMITTEE, NEW YORK CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, BEFORE A MEETING SPONSORED BY THE JOINT COMMITTEE FOR PROMOTION OF THE PORT OF NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 30, 1966

As New Yorkers and New Jerseyans, I think it fair to say that none of us has ever become so blase or so sophisticated as to take for granted the awesomeness of New York's skyline, the magnificence of our sweeping harbor and the excitement of harbor and waterfront activities. New York is both an international port and an international city which attracts millions of American and foreign visitors and travelers each year. The bays, rivers and estuaries that make up this great New York-New Jersey harbor provide resources for industry, commerce, transportation and recreation, of importance to the nation as a whole, as well as the citizens of the great maritime region.

I am sorry to say that we have not treated these resources as richly as they have treated us. We have allowed our splendor to be marred by great ugliness. Although we admit it with great reluctance, a simple and short tour around the harbor forces us to concede that America's greatest seaport has in its midst far too many run-down piers, dilapidated waterfront properties and structures, and rotting, sunken hulks. (Slides to be shown at this point.)

This condition of our waterfront is a product of what might be euphemistically referred to as the "American economy of waste." We in this country have been so blessed with a superabundance of natural resources that waterfront facilities and watercraft which have outlasted their usefulness have been simply abandoned and left to rot. As the earlier day farmer, who wore out the soil in one field and then moved on to the field next door, we have failed to realize that great natural resources must be preserved and conserved if we are to meet our obligations to the future.

Many years ago, the farmer realized his folly and, with the help of the Federal Government, set out to reclaim vast areas which had been worked fallow. I believe that we too have finally learned and that we will now grasp the opportunity to reclaim our precious waterfront from the junkyard condition that is so widespread.

Beyond considerations of beauty and use of important resources is the question of safety. Debris from these abandoned wrecks and derelict piers breaks off with almost every change of the tide and increasingly finds its way into the channels of the Port. This has developed into a serious hazard to navigation. Propeller, rudder and hull damage to ferry boats and tugboats plying the Port's waters on a frequent basis has been particularly severe. More recently, the damage, hazard and deterrent to pleasure boat operators caused by this injurious drift matter in the channels has been a cause of increasing concern and a threat to the safety of life and limb. The total cost of the damage to pleasure and harbor craft caused by this drift amounts to about $8 million a year.

The harbor drift problem in the Port of New York has long been with us. By 1930, the problem was specifically recognized by Congress, when it authorized the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to undertake a program of collecting floating harbor drift by a specially designed vessel. From this, the gathered refuse was transferred to a "burn barge" for incineration. This program, while valuable, does not attack the source of the problem, yet it costs our Government about half a million dollars each year.

In addition, the Congress has authorized the Corps to police our waterfront to detect and prevent, and in certain instances, prosecute those who deliberately contribute to the problem of illegal deposits in New York Harbor. This approach can cope primarily with the problem as it is caused by waterfront construction work, where the source is specifically identified and definite evidence can be obtained on actual violations. The program, however, cannot deal effectively with the widespread problem of abandoned craft and structures, or those in a serious state of disrepair, which, on a day-to-day basis, constitute the major cause of harbor debris that finds its way into harbor waters unnoticed and unidentifiable as to source.

Thus, for beauty, for safety and to stimulate waterfront reclamation, the New York Chamber of Commerce joined forces with The Port of New York Authority to initiate a Port-wide effort to have the U.S. Army Engineers investigate the problem of damage-causing drift and debris in New York Harbor. This program was successfully launched in 1963 with the enthusiastic help of the four Senators and 17 members of the House from New York and New Jersey and the wholehearted support of the two States, and virtually every municipality, chamber of commerce, and civic and trade association in the Port District.

In essence, we have suggested that the Corps of Engineers be empowered to change the focus of their current drift removal program. Thus, it was visualized that the Army, instead of merely picking up flotsam and debris that had found its way into the Port's navigable waters, would be able to attack and remove the sources of this hazard—the miles of derelict, rotting and abandoned piers and boats and barges that line our waterfront.

In that year, Congress authorized the Army Engineers to undertake a study of the feasibility of establishing such a Federal program on a continuing basis, and appropriated $95,000 to carry out this investigation. The focus was to correct the current situation and recommend legislation to prevent this from occurring again.

The Office of the New York District Engineer formally commenced its study of New York Harbor Waterfront Cleanup and Debris Control with a public hearing on March 5, 1964, held in the Great Hall of the New York Chamber of Commerce. The public hearing was well attended by representatives of practically every area and interest of the harbor. There was unanimous agreement among all who testified on the need for a federally-financed program to clean up the Port's blighted waterfront.

The Army Engineers have been intensely involved in this study since that time. We understand that the report is nearing completion by the staff of the New York District Engineer. However, because of its complexities, precedent-setting nature, and national implications, the draft report will have to be given intensive review by numerous echelons of the Department of the Army, a requirement which will delay its being made public. We had hoped that the report would be made public by the end of this year and ready for Congressional authorization in 1967. We have recently learned, however, that the Corps has been further delayed and that results will not be announced until next spring at the earliest. Consequently, it is unlikely that Congressional authorization will be possible until 1968, with initial appropriations to commence the work not forthcoming until at least a year later.

Although delayed, I believe that we are on the threshold of one of the most exciting and regionally important "urban-renewal"—or "Port renewal"—type opportunities ever offered to the New York-New Jersey Harbor and its waterfront. If the Corps' report is favorable, as we have every hope that it will be, we will have before us a program which promises our Port District the rejuvenation and beautification of our waterfront for industrial, residential, commercial, transportation and recreational uses, a program which simply cannot be accomplished without the know-how of the Army Engineers, and the financial resources of the Federal Government. We realize that the opportunity will not be without challenges and local responsibilities in the form of local cooperation.

The first order of business will be to urge the Army Engineers to conclude their report at the earliest possible date. The next steps will be the obtaining of prompt Congressional authorization followed by sizeable appropriations with which to get the program of the Corps started. Undoubtedly, close working relationships will have to be established with our Port District waterfront communities to urge their prompt and complete fulfillment of their financial and legal requirements for local cooperation.

We have a long and complicated task before us, but with your help, and that of our two States, the City of New York and other Port communities, The Port of New York Authority and marine, trade and civil associations, we believe the New York-New Jersey Harbor will continue not only as the greatest and most important in the United States, but we can make it the finest, cleanest and most attractive.

A Fitting Memorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, with the passing of Lindsay Hoben of the Milwaukee Journal, Wisconsin has lost more than a great citizen and a great leader. Wisconsin has lost 40 years of distinguished experience on her largest newspaper. Wisconsin will miss one of its leading citizens.

The Washington Post on its editorial page this morning described the Milwaukee Journal as a fitting memorial of Hoben's journalistic career. Mr. Speaker, I submit for the Record that editorial:

LINDSAY HOBEN

Lindsay Hoben, who died last Sunday in Milwaukee, spent his journalistic career on *The Milwaukee Journal*, retiring as its editor on January 1. That career was a tribute to his own abilities and a commentary on the traditions of the great newspaper that he led. He was one of a group of news and editorial executives from which the Milwaukee paper has drawn its leadership for years.

To find the genius and talent attuned to the paper's traditions of independence and objectivity it has seldom had to go beyond the limits of its own news and editorial rooms. Generally, it has found no other school in which newspaper talent as well suited to the *Journal's* requirements could be found.

Hoben's 40-year career on the *Journal* saw profound changes in the world, in America and in the region which the *Journal* has served. The paper and its editors moved with the times and changed policies, methods and equipment to keep up with them, but its principles have remained constant. The posture of stern and unbending independence well suited Hoben's own character and impulse. In the integrity of the *Journal*, Hoben and the newspaper's four other great editors, have a fitting memorial. No professional newspaperman could wish for a better one.

Congress Needs ADP

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, with the convening of this 90th Congress, we slip another notch behind the executive branch in our ability to cope effectively with the complexities of modern government. Every Member of this body is familiar with the much-publicized information explosion which confronts us daily. Congressmen see it in its most unappetizing form—paperwork. Information comes to us in reports, books, periodicals, specifications, letters, memoranda, all of which must be screened, digested and filed for future reference.

This is information on current legislation, future legislation, national issues, local issues, world problems—almost anything and everything imaginable. And perhaps the most discouraging thing of all is that much of it is useful information—most of which we cannot use. It is not that we do not want to use it; the problem is that we do not have the capability for using it.

On the other hand, the executive branch has long recognized the utility of an automatic data processing—ADP—capability for solving its own information handling problems. The number of electronic computers and punch card units in the departments and agencies of Government has risen from 90 in 1956 to a projected 2,252 for fiscal 1967. The total expenditure for ADP equipment and services in the executive branch for fiscal 1967 is estimated to be $1,292 million—an increase of $100 million from fiscal 1966.

Yet despite the vast information handling capability which now exists in the executive branch—and the impressive capability which is also found in the business community—Congress continues to plod its way through the 20th century without the advantage of these management techniques. A management study of Arthur D. Little, Inc., reveals that "the use of high-speed computers to facilitate the work of Congress and its committees is almost nonexistent." The Little report goes on to state that the very nature of Congress' work "calls for flexible manipulation of massive data into many different arrangements for many different purposes. Only with large-scale computers can this be done thoroughly and economically."

At a time when we are concerned with the inroads being made by the executive into the prerogatives of the legislative branch, we clearly have done little to equip ourselves to meet our own space age responsibilities.

To give Congress the kind of timely, accurate, complete and relevant information which it must have to render the decisions required of it, I introduced a measure late in the second session of the 89th Congress to authorize the Legislative Reference Service to make use of automatic data processing equipment and techniques in the performance of its functions in support of the Congress. This was the first such bill, applying ADP techniques directly to the work of the Congress, introduced in either the House or the Senate. Today, I reintroduce that bill, and I am pleased to be joined in this effort by my distinguished colleagues, Mr. Erlenborn, Mr. Kupferman, Mr. McDade, Mr. Moorhead, and Mr. Morton.

The basic intention of the bill introduced here today is to provide the Congress with an identified capability, based on automatic data processing devices and procedures, to retrieve selected information that is of priority value to the Members and committees. By amending the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, specific responsibility to establish and maintain such a capability may be assigned to the Librarian of Congress. The Legislative Reference Service traditionally has provided invaluable support to the Congress in all types of research. It is the arm of the Congress that is capable of furnishing independent, professional research and counseling support upon demand.

Although flexibility in the delineation of the congressional support facility is reflected in the wording of the measure introduced, certain exemplary applications wherein automatic data processing can benefit the Congress in the immediate future include the following:

First. Federal budgetary data. A recommendation of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress treats the desirability of providing access to agency budget data. Emphasis is placed on the use of automatic data processing capabilities and modern program evaluation techniques. The feasibility of handling this data in machineable form has been proven; now the nontechnical considerations need to be worked out. Certainly the Congress would welcome all possible technological assistance in dealing with this type of data. Also, the congressional budgetary review process, as influenced by the decision of the President to extend the planning-programing-budgeting system throughout the executive branch, might well be aided by the use of ADP-oriented systems.

Second. Legislative history of bills. Also featured as a recommendation by the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress; this item requires the collection, formating, and maintenance on a current basis of key information related to each public bill or bills under consideration. Included in this legislative history would be similar relevant proposals previously introduced or considered. The ability to respond to congressional demands for information concerning legislation identical or similar in nature, in either chamber, also might be provided. It is recognized that additional staff effort on the part of the Legislative Reference Service would be required, but the benefits to be derived fully warrant such a step.

Third. Digest of public general bills and selected references. This document, well known and much used by the Members of Congress, is issued biweekly throughout the session by the Legislative Reference Service and features useful synoptic information on bills and resolutions introduced in the Congress. By utilizing automatic data processing, the time between the introduction of the bill by its sponsor and its appearance in this document could be decreased significantly. In addition, the machineable data base containing the synopses and key index descriptors would be available at all times to help answer congressional requests on an ad hoc basis. It is anticipated that since certain elements of information for this item and the legislative history of bills would be the same, an integrated file on magnetic tape would be possible. The value of ADP in indexing, storing, and retrieving this vital information which is needed by the decisionmaker time and again cannot be overstated.

Fourth. Repository of data in machine-readable form. The establishment and maintenance of selected data ranging from fiscal, as described earlier, to legal—for example, the United States Code—to economic statistics in machine-able form for use by the Congress could be very useful. Procedures for acquiring and in some cases converting the data, largely held by other Federal organizations, would have to be defined. And of course, criteria governing types of data require and accessibility controls also would be required.

I have enumerated only four possible priority areas in which automatic data processing could be utilized in assisting the Congressman in performing the myriad tasks of his office. However, the definition of Congress' needs for support—both collective and individual—do not end with the examples which I discussed earlier. Applications involving the use of ADP are many: current information on issues up for vote, postvote analytical information, an automated index of congressional documents, lobbyist activity information, histories of committee action, information of Federal contract awards, and on and on.

The ultimate effect of providing Congress with a computer-oriented information system cannot be foretold completely by any expert or soothsayer, but there is no doubt in my mind that the creation of such a facility will have a measurable beneficial effect upon this body. Automatic data processing is an instrument helpful in the storage and processing of information that is useful to the Members of this body. The prerogative as to how it is used, where and when it is applied—in other words the judgmental decisionmaking function that is the essence of our existence—these remain with the Members of the Congress.

It has been said that the future of the United States resides in the efficacy of its decisionmakers, whose judgments are rendered with perspective and knowledge. Let us take that first, critical step forward by providing ourselves with the capability that is possible through the great achievements of American creativity and industry.

His People Back Home Applaud Hon. Harold D. Cooley's Service to Humanity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. R. POAGE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, with the permission of the House, I place in the Appendix of the RECORD on this first day of the 90th Congress one of the finest tributes ever paid to a man in public life by the people he loved and served.

This man is Hon. Harold D. Cooley, who for 32 years represented in this House what is now the Fourth Congressional District of North Carolina.

The tribute is paid by the people of his home county of Nash, as splendidly voiced by the county board of commissioners.

Mr. Speaker, I long have felt that the greatest opportunity that could come to me, to serve my fellow man, would be to succeed to the chairmanship of the House Committee on Agriculture. In many ways this is the greatest committee in the Congress, for its mission in the past and its challenge in the future is foremost to bring equity and justice to the farm families of America whose contribution to our Nation is the greatest by far and whose rewards in our free enterprise system historically have been the smallest.

But, Mr. Speaker, I did not want to succeed to this chairmanship, in the way this responsibility now comes to me. I deplore the departure of Harold D. Cooley from this Congress. I love him as a brother. I esteem him as one of the great men of our time. I am certain that I speak for every man and woman who has known him in this body when I beseech a close association in the works he and we shall do in the years ahead, and wish for him good health and happiness forever.

There follows the resolution adopted on January 3, 1967, by the Nash County, N.C., Board of Commissioners, as published in the Rocky Mount, N.C., Evening Telegram, on January 4:

NASH COUNTY BOARD'S RESOLUTION APPLAUDS HAROLD D. COOLEY

NASHVILLE.—A resolution expressing gratitude to Harold D. Cooley, a 32-year veteran in Congress, was adopted by the Nash County Board of Commissioners Tuesday during the monthly meeting.

Board member Fred Harris of Nashville presented the resolution which expressed everlasting gratitude to Cooley for the "magnificent contributions" which he made to people everywhere during his years in Congress.

Cooley was defeated in the November election by Rocky Mount businessman and Republican Jim Gardner.

The following resolution was adopted by the Nash County Commissioners:

"To the citizens of Nash County, North Carolina, United States of America and the world:

"Whereas Honorable Harold D. Cooley was elected by the people of the Fourth Congressional District on July 7, 1934, to the Congress of the United States; and that he became the first Member in 104 years from North Carolina of the powerful House Committee on Agriculture; that at the time he became a Member of the Congress, agriculture throughout the Nation was the victim of the great Depression; that many farm families had experienced foreclosure of the mortgage on their homes and millions of people were walking the streets of America hungry and without jobs; that a large segment of our population was ill-housed, ill-fed and ill-clothed; that the prices which farmers were receiving for their commodities were wholly inadequate to meet the living expenses of the people involved; that Honorable Harold D. Cooley fully sensed and appreciated the plight of our people and immediately joined with President Franklin D. Roosevelt and other leaders in Congress in trying to discover ways and means to relieve the tragic conditions of the farmer, and the working man; that in this hour of great need, Honorable Harold D. Cooley represented us with distinction and honor; that his efforts on behalf of the farmers cannot be estimated in dollars alone; that happiness, health and spiritual advancement have all inured to the benefit of our people in larger measure because of better and higher living standards resulting directly from increased income to farmers under the Democratic Farm Program; that Honorable Harold D. Cooley grew up with this Program and has nurtured and helped to improve it.

"And whereas Honorable Harold D. Cooley has exemplified the qualities of integrity, character and devotion to duty; that he has made known his views and opinions on many subjects; that he was a statesman, a man of positive action after as well as before the election; that on many occasions he has demonstrated great moral courage; that he has informed himself on public affairs far beyond the scope of agriculture; that he acquainted himself not only with the requirement of the hour but with the demands of the future; that he visited other parts of the earth to inform himself of how other people lived; how our foreign aid program was being administered abroad and above all to learn first hand how our tax dollars were being used to lessen world tension, whether they were being spent wisely for the benefit of mankind and in accordance with the noble purposes in the hearts of the American people which prompted and fostered the principle of rendering aid to the oppressed and war ravaged people in foreign lands.

"And whereas Honorable Harold D. Cooley sincerely believes that the United States Government should protect every citizen at home and abroad and that any government that will not defend its defenders and protect its protectors is a disgrace to the map of the world.

"And whereas Honorable Harold D. Cooley believes in the separation of Church and State and is opposed to the forced mixing of the races in the public schools of our State.

"And whereas Honorable Harold D. Cooley, in his thirty-two years in Congress, ably represented the people of his District his State, the Nation and the World and in his representation manifested the grandest combination of heart, conscience and brain.

"And whereas the people of our County, Congressional District, State, Nation, and the World should be grateful to Honorable Harold D. Cooley for the splendid services which he has rendered and that this consensus should be officially recorded.

"And whereas the Board of County Commissioners of Nash County wish to take this opportunity to express our sincere appreciation to Honorable Harold D. Cooley for the significant contributions which he has made to mankind.

"And whereas the Board of County Commissioners firmly believe that when we cease to honor great men, we cease to build great men and, therefore, deem it appropriate that, we, the undersigned Commissioners should make known to the World, our appreciation for the services rendered by Honorable Harold D. Cooley.

"Therefore, be it resolved:

"That the Board of County Commissioners of Nash County, in regular meeting, assembled on Tuesday, January 3, 1967, do express to Honorable Harold D. Cooley our everlasting gratitude for the magnificent contributions which he has made in his generation and in these troubled times to the welfare of the farmers, the working man, the businessman, management, members of the Armed Forces and people everywhere of both high and low estate."

National Gallery of Art Calendar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following calendar of events at the National Gallery of Art:

National Gallery of Art—Calendar of Events, January 1967

Collections: Paintings and sculpture from the Andrew Mellon, Samuel H. Kress, Widener, and Chester Dale Collections, American primitive paintings from the Collection of Edgar William and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch, with gifts from other donors, are on the main floor. Kress Renaissance Bronzes and Widener Decorative Arts are on the ground floor.

Special Loan: Sixty-eight French paintings from the private collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon are exhibited in Galleries 69 through 72.

New Reproductions: *11" x 14" Color Reproductions:* Jan Steen, *The Dancing Couple;* Edward Hicks, *The Cornell Farm;* Nicolas de Largillière, *Elizabeth Throckmorton;* Neroccio de'Landi, *Portrait of a Lady;* Veronese, *Rebecca at the Well;* Sargent, *Street in Venice;* Braque, *Still Life: Le Jour;* Guardi, *Erminia and the Shepherds.* 25¢ each. Mail orders under $1.00, add 25¢ handling charge.

Radio Picture of the Week: *A History of Western Painting* will be the subject of the third Radio Picture of the Week series to be broadcast over Station WGMS during the intermissions of the Sunday evening concerts. Twenty National Gallery paintings, ranging from the era of Duccio to that of Picasso, will be discussed in chronological sequence from February 5 through June 18. By ordering color reproductions, suitable for framing, listeners can follow the course at home. The reproductions, on 11" x 14" heavy paper, come with printed résumés of the broadcasts in a portfolio cover.

To subscribe send your name and address to Radio Picture of the Week, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 20565. Orders are taken only for the complete set of twenty. $5.50 postpaid; checks payable to N.G.A. Publications Fund.

Film: *The American Vision* will be shown in the auditorium on Saturdays at 2:15 p.m.

The Gallery will be closed New Year's Day. For the remainder of the month, the Gallery will be open on weekdays from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. and on Sundays from 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. The cafeteria is open on weekdays from 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. and on Sundays from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m.

For tours, lectures, and concerts, see inside pages.

MONDAY, JANUARY 2, THROUGH SUNDAY, JANUARY 8

*Painting of the Week: Botticelli. The Adoration of the Magi (Andrew Mellon Collection), Gallery 7, Tuesday through Saturday, 12:00 and 2:00; Sunday, 3:30 and 6:00.

Tour of the Week: Medieval and Early Renaissance Sculpture. Rotunda, Tuesday through Saturday, 1:00; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the Collection. Rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11:00 and 3:00; Sunday, 5:00.

Sunday Lecture: Mathematics in Art. Guest Speaker: Duncan R. Stuart, Professor of Design, North Carolina State University, Raleigh. Lecture Hall, 4:00.

Sunday Concert: National Gallery Orchestra. Richard Bales, Conductor. East Garden Court, 8:00.

MONDAY, JANUARY 9, THROUGH SUNDAY, JANUARY 15

*Painting of the Week: Vermeer. A Woman Weighing Gold (Widener Collection), Gallery 44, Tuesday through Saturday, 12:00 and 2:00; Sunday, 3:30 and 6:00.

Tour of the Week: Late Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture. Rotunda, Tuesday through Saturday 1:00; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the Collection. Rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11:00 and 3:00; Sunday, 5:00.

Sunday Lecture: Biology in Art. *Guest Speaker*: David G. Barry, Associate Director, Commission on Undergraduate Education in the Biological Sciences, Washington, D.C. Lecture Hall, 4:00.

Sunday Concert: Thomas McIntosh, *Pianist*. East Garden Court, 8:00.

Inquiries concerning the Gallery's education services should be addressed to the Educational Office, 737-4215, extension 272.

All concerts, with intermission talks by members of the National Gallery Staff, are broadcast by Station WGMS-AM (570) and FM (103.5).

MONDAY, JANUARY 16, THROUGH SUNDAY, JANUARY 22

*Painting of the Week: Petrus Christus. The Nativity (Andrew Mellon Collection), Gallery 39, Tuesday through Saturday, 12:00 and 2:00; Sunday, 3:30 and 6:00.

Tour of the Week: Rococo Sculpture. Rotunda, Tuesday through Saturday, 1:00; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the Collection. Rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11:00 and 3:00; Sunday, 5:00.

Sunday Lecture: Children's Drawings as a Measure of Intellectual Maturity. Guest Speaker: Dale Harris, Professor of Psychology, Pennsylvania State University, University Park. Lecture Hall, 4:00.

Sunday Concert: The Montgomery Ensemble with Evelyn Swarthout, Pianist. East Garden Court, 8:00.

MONDAY, JANUARY 23, THROUGH SUNDAY, JANUARY 29

*Painting of the Week: Eakins. *The Biglen Brothers Racing* (Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt Whitney), Gallery 67, Tuesday through Saturday, 12:00 and 2:00; Sunday, 3:30 and 6:00.

Tour of the Week: *Nineteenth-Century Sculpture.* Rotunda, Tuesday through Saturday, 1:00; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection.* Rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11:00 and 3:00; Sunday, 5:00.

Sunday Lecture: *The Development of English Rococo in Interiors and Furniture.* Guest speaker: Helena Hayward, lecturer, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Lecture Hall 4:00.

Sunday Concert: Sequeira Costa, Pianist. East Garden Court, 8:00.

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*11" x 14" reproductions with texts for sale this week—15¢ each. (If mailed, $1.00 for 4; orders under $1.00, 25¢ each, plus 25¢ handling charge.)

Hopes for 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I feel that it is appropriate at this time to insert in the Record two editorials which appeared on the 1st of January in east Tennessee newspapers, reviewing 1966 and voicing their hopes for 1967.

I am sure that all of us here echo the aspirations of the Bristol Herald Courier—

> That 1967 can be a year which gives renewed strength to all of us, to all our institutions and to all our programs of growth and progress.

And we all join in the New Year's resolution of the Knoxville News-Sentinel—

> That we go straight down the line to clean up this mess (Viet Nam) honorably and effectively, that we will behave as Americans always have behaved in crucial times—straightforwardly, sensibly and wholly in the best interest of our Country and the men who fight in its behalf across the seas.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, include these two editorials in their entirety at this point in the Record:

[From the Bristol (Tenn.-Va.) Herald Courier]

What Must Be Done?

A new year traditionally brings with it new problems requiring new solutions. In this respect 1967 undoubtedly will be equal to its predecessors.

But it has become increasingly evident that 1967 also must be a year in which solutions are sought, if not found, for the problems of 1966 and 1965 and 1964, and even before that. For these prior years have spawned a welter of "solutions" which are now either problems in themselves or creators of residual problems begging for answers.

The war in Vietnam is one example. The "war on poverty" is another. Urban renewal, here at home is yet another.

All have several things in common. They are costly in terms of manpower and money. All have been advanced as "solutions." All have been factors in increased inflation which is still another problem. And all promise to burden the citizens of the nation still further in this new year of 1967.

There are no hard and fast answers which apply equally to each area of concern. But there are some guidelines which fit one as well as another.

If nothing else happens in 1967, we hope our representatives in Washington, at every level, and our officials at home will at least consider the simple thought that there are some things which have to be done and others which, while desirable, are not completely necessary.

The coming year ought to be a year in which we do those things we must do, setting aside others which can make it more difficult to do the necessary.

The war in Vietnam must be pressed, certainly. It is working a serious drain on the nation's resources; it is claiming the lives of thousands of young Americans; it is bogging the nation down and, in the bogging, decreasing the nation's ability to fulfill its countless other obligations at home and abroad. The sooner it ends, with victory and honor, the sooner we can get on to other matters.

To do this, however, will require sacrifices in other areas of endeavor.

Can we, for instance, continue to spend billions in unproductive areas of the "war on poverty" while waging the war in Vietnam? We think not.

Is it advisable to take on new burdens at home, in the creation of desirable but not absolutely necessary programs, while paying our part of the greater burden of the nation? We suspect not.

Certainly the programs which are now underway, such as Urban Renewal, cannot be halted. But they can be contained. And it is to this end that both Bristols should work in the year ahead.

This new year must be one of putting first things first, of separating the necessary from the desirable. If more and more is piled atop the heap already burdening the American people, the breaking point will be even closer than it is today.

Hopefully, those who are in a position to make the decisions which have to be made will turn away from visions, at least for a while, and be more attentive to reality. If they do, then 1967 can be a year which gives renewed strength to all of us, to all our institutions and to all our programs of growth and progress.

[From the Knoxville (Tenn.) News-Sentinel]

A Year Gone: Another Here

Zip! Zip!

That year 1965 (oops, 1966) sure took off in a hurry.

The more years there are in a lifetime the faster they seem to pass. But not as fast for those who are here to read this editorial as for some of our best young Americans who never got to see the year out.

The overriding fact of 1966 was the war in Vietnam, a pall that hung over the whole American people.

In the year more than 5000 Americans died in Vietnam, and many more thousands were wounded, a few captured.

This may be only a beginning. For however the fortunes of that dismal war may turn, the only real promise it holds is that it will be prolonged.

What matters it then, by comparison, that both the U.S. and Russia scored notable advances in space, that President Charles de Gaulle evicted NATO from France, that the stock market went up and down and mostly down, or that U Thant said he would quit the UN and then didn't—to mention a few of the news highlights of 1966?

What matters it then, by comparison, that the Green Bay Packers won the National Football League championship and the Baltimore Orioles were first in the baseball world, or that Cassius Clay held on to his title as the top nose-buster? A few more "big deals" of the year.

Despite the economic boom, despite the Great Society and all its trappings, despite all the good things that came to so many Americans comfortably at home, by any honorable standard it was an unhappy year, a war year. Nearly 400,000 of our most desirable citizens were slogging in the mud, sweating in the monsoon, flying on deadly missions, pushing through the jungle—and some dying in a far-off land.

The chronology of 1966, for all its other events, can be summed up in a word—Vietnam.

The outlook for 1967? Vietnam.

We offer a New Year's resolution.

Be it resolved by all Americans, together and each by each, that in 1967 we shall conduct ourselves so that our fighters in Vietnam will be as proud of us as we are of them, that we will strive to support and encourage them, that we will work to discourage draft dodging and Vietnik picketing, that we will not forget the atrocities of the Viet Cong and the Hanoi guerillas, the better to keep our perspective, that we will demand of our leaders that they go straight down the line to clean up this mess, honorably and effectively, that we will behave as Americans always have behaved in crucial times—straight-forwardly, sensibly and wholly in the best interests of our country and the men who fight for its behalf across the seas.

It may not be the happiest of years. But if we turn to the job, in earnest and all conscience as we have before, it will be a happier world in the end.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133. p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

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CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

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Appendix

Survival of the Jewish Community in the U.S.S.R.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, concern throughout the world continues about the survival of the Jewish community in the Soviet Union, the second largest Jewish community in the world.

Recently the Toronto Globe and Mail published an article written by a distinguished Canadian rabbi, Dr. Abraham L. Feinberg, who has traveled behind both the Iron Curtain and the Bamboo Curtain, and who writes knowingly of the situation faced by more than 3 million Jews in the U.S.S.R. I ask unanimous consent that the text of Rabbi Feinberg's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILL THE JEW SURVIVE IN THE SOVIET UNION?

(By Abraham L. Feinberg)

Israel's recent reprisal attack on a Jordanian village, which drew severe censure in the United Nations Security Council, was triggered by the Soviet Union's veto of a council resolution mildly reproving Syria for terrorism along Israel's borders. In sheer frustration, and in self-defense, Israel decided to act.

The Russian veto did not raise any eyebrows. The Russians regard the entire Arab world as a potential protectorate—to arm, support and encourage in its dream of Israel's extinction. Cold war mathematics can scarcely hesitate to choose between tiny Israel and the vast resources of its enemies, nor are the United States and Britain unmindful of the disparity.

POWER GAME

The cold war not only has lined up the Soviet Union against Israel in the international power game, it has blocked the Soviet Union's progress toward equitable treatment of Jews at home. In the 50th year of the Soviet revolution, the measure of success and failure is the condition of the Soviet Union's Jewry, the second-largest in the world.

The Soviet Union's new rulers have eliminated the evil stench of the czars. Does that categorical assertion apply to anti-Semitism? The complex nature of this query became clear to me during a visit to Moscow.

On an early fall evening in Moscow, my wife and I left the massive Hotel Ukraine by cab for the one synagogue still holding services in a city of 400,000 Jews. It was the festival known as Simhat Torah (Rejoicing over the Laws), which gives thanks to God for His gift of the Law and the Covenant. What we saw and heard that evening and the next morning revealed nothing new about the purported revelation to the Jewish people on Mount Sinai centuries ago; it did show us what is happening to the Jewish people in the Soviet Union.

We never reached the synagogue; an area of several blocks had been roped off in front of it and within that compound were 15,000 singing, dancing and praying Jews. We knew Simhat Torah had supplanted the New Year, Day of Atonement and the Passover Feast of Freedom as the most popular expression of Jewish religion in the Soviet Union, but we did not expect this.

The crowd sang in Hebrew and Yiddish—transmitted, evidently, by unremitting effort from parent to child; it danced the hera, brought from Israel, Communists claimed, by disillusioned Jews who had returned home; others whispered about Jewish youth groups and private family leaders. The thickly strewn knots of young people has assembled at considerable risk, trusting that the darkness would protect them from the informers who attend religious gatherings.

The 15,000, however, were not there for religion alone. Their feet skipped and their voices rang, not only for the gift of Torah at Sinai, but for the gift of life at Stalingrad and Leningrad and Moscow, to whose gates the panzer divisions of Hitler had penetrated. Nearly all the older men and women had fought in the Second World War, many were amputees, and they were deeply aware that the Jews of Moscow are alive, not as a result of their own efforts, but because of the tenacious army of the Soviet Union.

At a postwar Jewish dinner in Montreal to raise money for a Stalingrad hospital, Ilya Ehrenburg, dean of Russian literature, said that thanks were due the soldiers and citizens of Stalingrad. "Without them, you would not be here."

Ehrenburg voiced the gratitude of all Soviet Jews. Instead of being moldering bones in a mass grave, they are alive (and a problem) because of the Red Army. And any look at Russian Jewry must begin with that fact.

Heading that army was Josef Stalin. After the war, he became obsessed about an invasion from the West, again mounted from Germany. All Russians fear German militarism. In Stalin that suspicion may have been nourished by memories as far back as Allied counter-revolutionary intervention in 1918—and it became a bloody sword with which he murdered, among others, many thousands of alien, intellectual, cosmopolitan Jews. Undoubtedly, the older adults that autumn evening in Moscow still had nightmares about the nocturnal knock on the door which meant death. But they may also have recalled that Stalin saved many Jews after the Nazi invasion of Poland by giving them priority on rail transportation to the East.

SOUL IS DYING

The next morning, my wife and I went to the synagogue for Simhat Torah day worship. It was easily accessible; there was no vast throng of celebrants. And then I learned that while the Jewish body is alive—its soul is dying. In the settlement to which the Jews of Russia were confined by successive czars for centuries, the Jewish spirit built out of slavery a bastion of piety and learning for Jewry throughout the world. In the emancipated Communist state and the freedom and equality it promises, that spirit is fettered, intimidated and inert. Clearly, Stalin's soldiers saved Jews as people, as a people can they be saved at all? What Nicholas I, who tried to Christianize his Jewish subjects by force, failed to achieve, the Kremlin, bent on its Russification, may accomplish by slow, steady strangulation. Unlike my parents, who emigrated to the United States in 1882 in the first wave of a flood that brought millions to the West, Russian Jewry cannot flee.

When I reminded Alexander Kouznetsov, Deputy Minister of Culture, during a Moscow interview that Russian anti-Semitism should be mitigated by the elimination of the Crucifixion story from atheistic teaching, he countered that the deicide charge against the Jews was only a device contrived by capitalist exploiters to drug the proletariat, "who will not be fooled by such tricks when Jews belong to the productive worker class."

It is the monolithic structure of the materialist-scientific state, revealed in Mr. Kouznetsov's final words that is crushing to the spiritual life of Soviet Jews. To me, this conclusion brings not anger, but grief. I have affectionate admiration for the Russian people.

WORLD SECURITY

Co-existence on the basis of mutual understanding and common aims with the Soviet Government is so essential for world security that I would crusade for it although every trace of Jewish identity in the Soviet Union were obliterated. The omnipresent seminal fact which aggravates the Jewish condition, furthermore, is the tensions, deprivations and confusions engendered by the cold war; at every turn one encounters fear—of the outsider, the internationalist, the cosmopolite, the alien, the individualist: in short, the Jew. Thus the general sickness aggravates the special Jewish sickness I first detected in the Moscow synagogue on Simhat Torah day.

It was a trumatic experience. Our dress and our arrival by cab announced that we were newcomers. At the mention of Canada we were tearfully embraced and ushered with almost painful ceremony to a slightly raised place of honor in front, near the altar, where two members of the Israeli Embassy staff were already seated with a teen-age boy, the only person present under middle age. "They are afraid of the black list," was the prevailing explanation, although some traced youth's absence to lack of interest. (Both reasons, I later learned, had a measure of truth.)

The sanctuary had been slightly refurbished after years of disuse during the Stalin era but still showed signs of decay. There were no prayer shawls; the hitherto crippling absence of prayer books had been somewhat relieved; the several hundred drably dressed worshippers begged instead for luhet (Hebrew calendars) so that they might know the dates of holy days and the memorial anniversaries.

Virtually all Jews in the Soviet Union are anxious about the future, with the notable exception of old Communist comrades, such as one woman who had left England in her teens to join Lenin. The degree is proportionate to age; the young have less concern about the extinction of Jewish identity and faith, more about jobs, university admission and housing. A few intellectuals deem themselves to be caught between the upper and nether millstones of a governmental contradiction. One stone presses Jews into Russians, in cold war passion for solidarity, squeezing out every vestige of Jewish culture and religion; the other prevents assimilation by racial attacks that keep them apart. Jewishness cannot comfort and strengthen them because its dignified cultivation is proscribed. They have no place to turn.

Synagogue frequenters—a minuscule segment—are keenly sensitive to the threatened demise of Judaism. Allowing for their emotional intensity and a possible hangover of dread from the days before the anti-Stalin thaw, I elicited the following from cautious chats.

Since 1926, when the last Conference of Rabbis took place, no co-ordinating centre or organizational structure has been allowed, locally or nationally, even announcements of synagogue services apparently being dependent on the grapevine. This has been so despite the unqualified principle of religious equality which was written into the fundamental law of the Soviet Union from the birth of the Communist regime. Such fragmentation of Judaism weakens its resistance to the anti-religion campaign.

For example, Soviet Judaism has not published a Hebrew Bible since the Nineteen Twenties; in contrast, the Russian Orthodox Church printed 50,000 copies of its scripture in 1957, the Baptists 10,000 in 1958, the Moslems 9,000 in 1958 and more a year later.

A lengthy Soviet report to the United Nations lists every major religion as having formal affiliations abroad—except Judaism. Last year, a Soviet representative at a UN seminar first denied and then admitted the individual's right to associate with international bodies of the same ethnic or religious affiliation; this may open a way for Jews to seek brethren abroad.

The discriminatory nature of these infringements on Jewish rites becomes clear in the light of a government decree of June, 1944, which listed the Jewish religious community among the dozen faiths receiving formal status, and an official order dated April 18, 1929, entitling religious denominations to set up centers for the administration of their affairs.

CONVERSED IN YIDDISH

In the Moscow synagogue I conversed in Yiddish, the Germanic tongue that has been the means of communication for the European and Western Jewish masses from approximately the Thirteenth Century—but I would not wager on the longevity of such oral communication and common worship. Hebrew, the language of Bible and prayer book, has been proscribed as reactionary and a tool of Zionism. Yiddish withers as its roots are severed.

Assimilation of minorities to environment is undoubtedly accelerated in cities. In 1926, 70 per cent of Soviet Jews claimed Yiddish as their mother tongue; by 1959 only 18 per cent did so. It is probable, as one Jewish sociologist explained, that many Jews confounded native language with language spoken in a questionnaire, and thus opted for Russian because they speak it at work and on the street and even in the home. These people probably enjoy Yiddish books and plays in addition to Russian literature. That, however, does not diminish the normality of the loss in the Yiddish "vote."

The fact is that Russian, the official language of the most influential, keystone republic, is the medium of science and technology; it occupies in the Soviet Union the dominant position of English in the world. Any young Soviet citizen seeking a prestige career would make fluency in the Russian language his first objective. Statistics show that, whereas Jewry contributes a fourth of its numerical proportion to the roster of elected officials, its participation in science far outstrips any other nationality.

FREE DEVELOPMENT

Only a week after they seized power on Nov. 15, 1917, the Communists formally declared that all nationalities and ethnic groups on Russian territory have the right to free development. The first constitution in 1918 stigmatized any limitation on this right as contrary to fundamental law; the second one in 1924 was followed by the restatement of this principle of equal nationality rights in the constitutions of the respective republics which stipulated that citizens may use their native tongue freely, even in public affairs, and that national minorities have the right to receive education in their native tongue. The 1936 constitution omitted reference to public affairs, but reaffirmed the right to native language instruction in the schools; in 1962, the Soviet Union ratified a UNESCO convention obligating it to recognize national minority rights in schools. A law adopted by the Russian Republic, of which Moscow is the capital, authorized parents to decide the language of teaching for their children; in 1956 the Russian Deputy Minister of Education wrote that Soviet law requires the organization of a class in a native tongue on the request of 10 parents.

What is the reality? Uzbeks, Gypsies, Georgians and Mongol tribes all are encouraged to preserve obscure, primitive subcultures; occasionally they are even subsidized to manufacture a culture. The cumulative literature and learning of the historic Jew—one of the oldest and richest civilizations on earth—is being throttled by governmental indifference and intimidation, perhaps because the bearers of that legacy are a dynamic, spirited, self-conscious people not inclined to iron-fisted conformity. There is not a single Yiddish school or class in the Soviet Union; schools destroyed by Nazis in the western republics have not been reopened; even Jewish schools established in the supposedly Jewish region of Birobidjan are closed.

Not schools alone, but the entire network of Jewish cultural institutions which existed before the war, is gone, the extensive Yiddish publishing structure is shattered, the once world-renowned Moscow Jewish Theatre is a ghostly memory. The Jewish cultural scene has been a wasteland wherein comic relief was provided by a travelling troupe of singers and a tri-weekly paper in Birobidjan with 1,000 circulation.

In any case, the ultimate Russification of Soviet Jewry, which I believe the Government has vowed to achieve, is inevitable. The degree of that absorption and the viability of Jewishness will depend on the extent to which the stubbornness, pride and resilience of the Jewish people can co-exist with an overriding colossus bent on shoring up solidarity in the face of a global East-West or Russo-Chinese conflict.

Patriots are people who judge other countries by the things they do and their own country by its constitution. The Russian Government is not the first to lay heavy hands on its formalized principles or origin and purpose—as any Bear Island Indian or Birmingham Negro can attest. Anti-Semitism has been a lurking leukemia in the blood-stream of Eastern Europe for centuries. The proletariat's dictatorship does not give him reason or compassion, least of all in the throes of revolutionary struggle.

Neither Stalin nor Nikita Khrushchev could have purged Russia of anti-Semitism. They did not try. Both of them were themselves governed by the inexorable mandate of security and solidarity in a polarized world. The Talmud advises that the Jews are really in peril when all humanity is in peril.

What about refuge in Israel? So far, only a few oldsters have been released to rejoin their families. The Mosiac cry, "Let my people go," is naive. Talks with Russian leaders convince me that the demand for unrestricted Jewish emigration to Israel merely irritates and hardens the Government. How can the Kremlin be expected to send 1,000,000 able-bodied men to a country allied with the West and therefore a possible enemy? Such generosity would surely not help the Russians court the favor of Cairo and the vast Arab world.

ONE CLEAR PATH

The Soviet contention that Jews don't want to go to Israel, however, is hypocrisy. There is one clear path to the truth: let the Jews decide, freely and without intimidation, for themselves.

Such a poll might disappoint both sides—the Russians because so many older Jews want to go to Israel and the Jews because so many young people want to stay. Debate is a waste of time: Soviet Jewry will have the opportunity to make a choice when an East-West concordat replaces the cold war. As long as the shadow of ultimate confrontation with the United States hangs over the Russians, they will be subject to the national paranoia which breeds anti-Semitism.

Today, the roadblock is Vietnam. An end to that savagery would bring more prompt and effective relief for Soviet Jewry than cold war extremism.

In the Interest of Accuracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent editorial appearing in the Ameircan Rifleman, a publication of the National Rifle Association of America, an association of loyal and law-abiding citizens, criticizing an inaccurate and biased article appearing in the Reader's Digest attacking the rights of honest citizens and sportsmen to lawfully possess and enjoy the use of firearms for legitimate sporting purposes. The article is as follows:

IN THE INTEREST OF ACCURACY—PLEASE LET US SAY WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE READER'S DIGEST ARTICLE CRITICIZING THE NRA AND GUN OWNERSHIP

1. The Approach: The Reader's Digest, U.S. circulation 17,000,000, never checked assertions in this article with the National Rifle Association nor, as far as we can find, with any qualified spokesman for firearms ownership and use. The article is a Reader's Digest "original," not culled from another magazine. That means the Reader's Digest either initiated or commissioned its writing and is fully responsible. The article, "We Need a Firearms Control Law—Now!" is preceded by a red-letter warning, "The toll of death by shooting is mounting steadily."

2. The Psychic Preparation: NRA members (and many others) wondered about a curious paragraph in the December Reader's Digest, Page 10, attributed to The Irish Times, a Dublin daily newspaper of 35,309 circulation. This paper expressed the opinion that "The U.S.A. definitely needs new gun laws." To back up that advice, it then quoted at least three warped or misleading statements from an American anti-gun book.

3. The Author: On any controversial subject, a fair-minded magazine might be expected to select an impartial writer. The Reader's Digest article was written by perhaps the most biased newspaper editorialist in the nation, Alan Barth, of The Washington Post. Barth has assailed the NRA and legitimate gun ownership day after day in unrestrained terms. He called a moderate firearms control bill "completely bogus" and filled with "subterfuge." Another example: After 5 killings with a firearm at Mesa, Ariz., Nov. 12, he editorialized, "Knives or bludgeons could never have taken so great a toll of life"—this only 4 months after 8 Chicago nurses were fatally stabbed.

4. Innuendo: The very first paragraph of the article refers to "The Minutemen who won American independence." Most school children know that the original Minutemen, serving heroically but briefly as local militia, did not win American independence. So why drag the name in here? To imply a link between gun ownership and a small extremist group now known as the Minutemen, whom the NRA publicly disavowed years ago and whom the author, in a Washington Post editorial Nov. 1, 1966, termed "banditry"?

5. Inaccuracy: The second paragraph says more than 100,000 U.S. civilians "were shot" and 17,000 died. Actually 9,500 shot themselves in suicides. The article makes it sound as if they were murdered. Furthermore, firearms figured in fewer than half of all suicides (U.S. Bureau of Vital Statistics), and only 17% of aggravated assaults. (FBI Uniform Crime Reports.) Felony murders with firearms—committed in the course of other crimes—amounted to only 7.8% of all killings.

6. Misrepresentation: Firearms accidents are "commonplace." (Page 18) Firearms accidents accounted for only 2% of all fatal accidents in the U.S. in 1965. ("Accident Facts," 1966 edition, National Safety Council.) The rate decreased 15% in the decade 1955–65, due partly to NRA safety programs.

7. Concealment: Discussing killings by a "demented University of Texas student," the article (Page 20) avoids mentioning that the major firearms bills before Congress last session could not have prevented this tragedy or some others like it; or that the student violated existing Federal law by having a sawed-off shotgun—and the law didn't stop him.

8. Dubious Statements: Contrary to the statement (Page 24) that gun bills by Senator Dodd of Connecticut and others "would cause serious inconvenience only to felons, juveniles, habitual drunkards, drug addicts and the mentally ill," published reports from at least two large States with new gun control laws say law-abiding citizens have been inconvenienced but that it is almost impossible to screen the mentally ill and other ineligibles. [Moreover, the Dodd bill is termed only "a beginning" by Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts. (89th Congress, Senate Report 1866, Oct. 19, 1966, P. 97.) This, taken with assertions of Dodd Bill supporters such as the Reader's Digest author that individual Americans have no constitutional right to arms, seems to some to herald a movement to prohibit all private ownership of firearms.]

9. Distortion: The NRA (Page 24) "has managed to imbue many of its readers with the quite mistaken notion that efforts at effective regulation conflict with the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution." In truth, the NRA helped to pass two existing Federal firearms statutes and some of the estimated 20,000 State and local laws which can be invoked against misuse of firearms in their respective areas. The NRA last year favored Federal measures to curb mail-order sale of pistols, all sale and possession of "destructive devices" such as antitank guns, rockets and bazookas, and to strengthen State firearm controls through Federal support. It did not favor any legislative program which would "begin" with the Dodd Bill and go—where?

10. Evasion: The articles' discussion of the constitutional right to bear arms (Page 24) fails to say that if the Second Amendment does not give individuals the right to arms, then under the Tenth Amendment that phase of firearms regulation rests with the States and "the people." Fully half of the State constitutions expressly declare that individual citizens—apart from militia—may keep arms for their own defense.

Question: Why this article in Reader's Digest now?

Answer: Apparently it is perfectly timed to influence the Congress and State legislatures (47 of the 50 meeting 1967) to pass strong antigun laws.

The timing makes this article the biggest blast in a barrage from such publications as McCall's, Good Housekeeping, Ebony, Life, Harper's, Coronet, New York Times Sunday Magazine, Together (Methodist), Presbyterian Life, The National Police Gazette, Medical Economics and Canadian periodicals. Many have appeared under the bylines of Carl Bakal, Stanley S. Jacobs, Nathan Dreskin. Most have contained misleading statements. These appear to be based on Bakal's book, sarcastically entitled "The Right to Bear Arms." (Bakal doesn't think it exists.)

Chapter Seven of this book is headed "The NRA: Vigilante on The Potomac." Under the heading is this statement, attributed to a New York Times irnterview with J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI: "I think strong laws should be passed restricting the sale of guns, but when you try, you run head-on into collision with the National Rifle Association."

This statement attributed to Mr. Hoover has been spread from coast to coast and trumpeted over radio and television. The NRA asked Mr. Hoover whether he was correctly quoted. He wrote back, Dec. 9, 1966:

"In response to your inquiry, the statement attributed to me is not correct.'

Mr. Hoover said he was talking about licensing, not restricting the sale of guns.

Question: What can you do about all this?

Answer: The Reader's Digest article ends by inviting readers to buy reprints "to pass them on to friends." If you wish, order some. Then request an equal number of reprints of this page. Clip or staple them on top of The Reader's Digest reprint. Send them not only to your friends but to your clergyman, your physician, your public officials, and anyone else who believes in keeping the facts straight.

For Reader's Digest reprints, address Reprint Editor, The Reader's Digest, Pleasantville, N.Y. 10570. These cost: 10—50¢; 50—$2; 100—$3.50; 500—$12.50, and 1000—$18.

For American Rifleman reprints of this page, address Accuracy Department, The National Rifle Association, 1600 Rhode Island Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. These are free of charge, and welcome.

West Virginia Steel Industry Aids State's Economy—Weirton Steel Co. Undertaking Extensive Modernization Program—Antipollution Controls Being Installed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, demands for steel are ever increasing and the Nation's steel mills fulfill that demand. In 1966, the steel industry produced 134 million tons. This represented an increase in output of 3 million tons over 1965 and 7.4 million tons over 1964. This is an impressive record for the steel industry, so important to the American economy.

West Virginia has five steel companies which contribute greatly to the economy and well-being of the area which they serve and which are vital to the community.

Weirton Steel Division of National Steel Corp., located on Weirton, has 12,500 employees, 12,100 of them in West Virginia. Producing 3.3 million ingot tons of steel in 1966, the company's payroll amounted to $120 million that year. Weirton Steel Co. also shipped 2.5 million tons of finished products to customers during the past 12 months.

Wheeling Steel Corp. in Wheeling has steelmaking facilities and principal finishing mills in Ohio. The corporation has approximately 15,000 employees, 3,500 of them in West Virginia, and produced 2 million ingot tons of steel in 1965. Employment costs were $126 million and the sales of the corporation surpassed $270 million.

Connors Steel Division of H. K. Porter Co., located in Huntington, has two electric furnaces which produce 150,000 tons annually. The division has 998 employees and an annual payroll exceeding $6.5 million. The value of its products is $20 million per year.

Follansbee Steel Corp. and Parkersburg Steel Corp., both owned by the Louis Berkman interests, are not basic steel producers. Follansbee produces stampings and hot dip coated steel and employs 105 persons. It ships approximately 8,000 tons annually. The Parkersburg plant has 100 employees and ships about 8,000 tons a year of stove pipe and steel kitchenware.

The steel industry, with vast research programs, is directed toward new ways to improve the steel products reaching the consumer.

An extensive modernization program has been undertaken by the Weirton Steel Co. It involves the multimillion-dollar "mill of the future," now under construction. This will include two basic 300-ton oxygen furnaces, vacuum degassing facilities, and the first large-scale continuous casting operation in any American steel mill.

The latest antipollution devices will be a part of the new Weirton mill. As chairman of the Senate Public Works Committee, which has jurisdiction over air and water pollution control legislation, it is personally gratifying to me to know that the steel industry is aware of and working toward pollution abatement.

Mr. President, an editorial appeared in the November 26, 1966, issue of the Huntington, W. Va., Advertiser concerning research being conducted by the steel industry. I ask unanimous consent to have it inserted in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Research Spurs Production of Steel in American Mills

Despite the increase of imports from 6.4 million net tons in 1964 to 10.4 million in 1965, the healthy American steel industry moved forward last year to a new high record of production.

The nation's mills turned out 131,462,000 tons of various products. This was an increase of 3.5 per cent over the 127 million tons of the previous year.

One of the effective means of meeting increased foreign competition was the development of improvements in making and shaping of steel to give it greater attractions to fabricators.

For can manufacturers steel mills have turned to lighter plate that makes possible the production of more containers from each ton and reduces the weight on retailers' shelves.

Lighter but stronger structural shapes for the construction of buildings reduce the numbers of support necessary.

Broader ranges of products, closer control of quality and assurance of prompt and adequate supply also have helped enable domestic mills to hold their markets.

For still further improvements for the benefit of manufacturers and the American public the Iron and Steel Institute sponsored during the year 140 research projects.

These studies in universities and research centers of the United States and Canada sought not only improved products and better production methods but basic information that could benefit the entire national economy as well as the steel industry.

The effects during the single year were evident in the improved products and in the 30,000 increase in steel's work force to 584,000.

Wages and salaries reached $4,700,000,000, the highest in steelmaking history.

The industry further added to the prosperity of the nation's economy during the year by spending a record $1,800,000,000 for additions, improvements, and acquisitions.

This constant process of probing for improvements and expanding to meet new needs illustrates the methods under way throughout the range of business and industry that give the United States economic preeminence throughout the world.

Huntington has seen the results of it in the growth of the Alloy Products Division of International Nickel Co. and other basic industries of the region.

The economic development of the region could also be greatly accelerated by the enterprise of qualified young people in using basic products such as steel, nickel, plastics and aluminum in the fabrication of numerous products for which there would be a ready market.

Presidential "E" Award to Baltimore Copper Paint Co., of Baltimore

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, our flourishing economy has made it possible for our citizens to spend more time in recreational activities, and when these are active ones, this is greatly to be desired. As a resident of a State which has excellent boating facilities, I have been agreeably surprised at the tremendous increase in boating activities on the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries and I understand, throughout the country. This has, of course, resulted in a greatly increased volume of boatbuilding, especially pleasure boats—power and sail. The mass production of these boats had made them available to a wide cross section of our population and also has awakened an interest in foreign markets.

In line with increased boatbuilding, a firm in my district, the Baltimore Copper Paint Co., has contributed greatly to the industry by supplying all types of coatings for commercial vessels and the manufacture and merchandising of paints for the pleasure and fishing boat industries.

By its initiative and ingenuity, the company has become a supplier, not only to a large segment of the domestic boatbuilding industry, but also to a large foreign market and is consistently increasing its exports.

This enterprise has won for the company the Presidential "E" Award, and a few weeks ago it was my privilege to represent the Secretary of Commerce in presenting the award. My remarks at that time, commenting further on the outstanding achievements of the Baltimore Copper Paint Co., follow:

Presentation of Department of Commerce "E" Award to the Baltimore Copper Paint Co., Baltimore, Md., December 17, 1966

It is indeed a pleasure to be permitted to be with you today to represent the Secretary of Commerce in presenting the "E" citation to the Baltimore Cooper Paint Company.

As chairman of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee of the House of Representatives, all matters pertaining to vessels from the largest sea-going passenger and freight vessels to the various size pleasure boats, are naturally of considerable interest to my committee. It is, therefore, extremely gratifying to know that a Baltimore company is supplying one of the very important needs of the shipbuilding industry, not only in our own country but practically world-wide.

By its resourcefulness and ingenuity, the company has not only met the foreign competition, but has succeeded in distributing its products in almost every corner of the globe where vessels of any size are built or used.

The company is supplying the largest marine paint manufacturer in Norway; an Italian company, with import connections with Italian shipping, and the largest independently-owned marine paint company in the United Kingdom.

Through extensive market research, liberal credit terms, judicious licensing arrangements, quality products, and prompt and efficient delivery, the company has consistently increased exports of its marine coating.

The tremendous success achieved reflects great credit on management and employees, and the American free enterprise system, and should be emulated by other domestic concerns.

With the award from the Department of Commerce, I would like to extend my personal hearty congratulations on this achievement and to express the hope that this success will be continued and increased.

Final Address by Gov. William W. Scranton to Pennsylvania General Assembly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, on January 3, 1967, the Governor of my Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Hon. William W. Scranton, delivered his final address to Pennsylvania's General Assembly. It is an eloquent and moving recital of the great progress we have made in Pennsylvania under the leadership of his administration and of the road which still lies before us. I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Final Message of Hon. William W. Scranton, Governor of Pennsylvania, to the General Assembly Tuesday, January 3, 1967

Mr. Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen of the General Assembly, Citizens of Pennsylvania:

We come together at the beginning of a new year—and soon a new Administration.

Much has changed in Pennsylvania during the past four years—and the change has been overwhelmingly for the better.

More than 500,000 more workers have jobs today in our State than were at work four years ago. Unemployment has been hitting new record monthly lows, month after month; in October a new all-time record low of 2.5 per cent. There are 105,000 more students in our colleges and universities. The population of our mental hospitals has fallen by 6.5 per cent. Farm income has increased $89 million. Campers and sportsmen have available 34,000 more acres of woodland in State Parks than were at their disposal in 1962. A show of the paintings of Andrew Wyeth in Philadelphia this fall drew 174,000 people.

The story of the new Pennsylvania is told in the improved prospect for individuals all over our Commonwealth:

—A laborer in Allegheny County who was thinking about moving to California four years ago now has a steady job with a metal products company and has placed a down payment on a house in Penn Hills.

—A mother in Scranton who feared the breakup of her family now feels secure in the knowledge that two of her sons have found jobs within driving distance of home, a third is attending Law School in Philadelphia and plans to practice in Lackawanna County, and her daughter is engaged to an engineer who came to the Anthracite Region from Massachusetts to work in a PIDA financed plant.

—A young man who was arrested for petty larceny in 1962 after graduating from a mid-state high school the previous spring has completed three years service in the Army and last fall entered the University of Pittsburgh with a State scholarship.

—A Philadelphia lawyer whose only ambition in 1962 was to make enough money to retire to the Bahamas has become involved in the drive to secure a new Constitution for Pennsylvania and will remain in his native State at least until this objective is accomplished.

—A filling station operator in the Poconos has invested in a ski lift and now is part owner of a thriving tourist attraction.

These are a few of the faces of Pennsylvania in 1967.

Let me make two things unmistakably clear—the improved quality of life in our State is not wholly due to actions taken within Pennsylvania, and our progress is not solely nor even primarily due to the influence of government.

We have benefitted from the generally high level of prosperity in our Country—but it is indisputable that our economy has grown more rapidly than the general national economy—and unemployment in Pennsylvania has fallen from a point far above the national level to a point far below it.

Most important of all, Pennsylvania's economy today combines stability with a capacity for dynamic growth.

This is due in large part to those qualities in Pennsylvania which have for many generations been ours—the rich and fertile countryside of the Lehigh and Lebanon and Cumberland Valleys and the Lancaster Plain . . . the natural beauty of the Poconos and the Northern Tier and the Laurel Highlands . . . the cultural and economic importance of Philadelphia . . . the industrial complexes that have taken root in Pittsburgh and the Southwestern counties and the Anthracite Region and Altoona and Johnstown and the Shenango Valley and Erie . . . the network of railroads that early took advantage of Pennsylvania's unique location . . . and, most of all, the people of Pennsylvania, drawn from the four corners of the world, and brought together to create a new breed: industrious, hospitable, ingenious, cheerful.

These qualities have been ours since beyond the memory of the oldest citizen living among us. But yet—in the grim years following the end of World War II—the combination had somehow ceased to work. Our State was losing population, economic vitality, and the confidence of its people.

The reversal of this downward trend is an achievement in which all of us—legislators and members of the executive branch, Republicans and Democrats—all who have made some contribution to State Government during the past four years—can take considerable pride.

For we have succeeded in harnessing the natural energies which were already here—in restoring the confidence of our people in Pennsylvania as a good place to live and work—in impressing the Nation and indeed the world of our seriousness when we said: Let's make Pennsylvania first!

Consider only the most striking of the accomplishments:

—The first College scholarship and loan programs in Pennsylvania history, making available $32 million to students in the current fiscal year alone.

—The State's contribution to the support of public schools increased by more than 50 per cent, and a new subsidy formula enacted which this year will increase the State's aid to schools by an additonal $100 million, with special attention to the needs of urban school districts.

—The Nation's first Department of Community Affairs.

—Relief rolls reduced by 100,000 through Project Independence, while the State's contribution to those truly in need rose 24 per cent.

—A conservation program—which has become the model for the Nation—including Project 70, strip mine regulation, clean streams and coal mine subsidence legislation, and first approval of the new Conservation and Restoration Fund.

—Pennsycare, one of the first State medical aid programs set up under new Federal legislation, accounting for part of the 91 per cent increase in State expenditures for medical assistance for the elderly and needy.

—Geriatrics Centers established to care for aging citizens who must be hospitalized, and the State's contribution to aid for the elderly increased by more than 1,000 per cent.

—Expenditures for industrial development increased by 500 per cent, accounting for many of the 3,000 plants that have located or expanded in Pennsylvania during the past four years.

—Pennsylvania's first mass transportation program, contributing $13 million to the support of railroad and bus lines for commuters in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

—The percentage of State employes covered by Civil Service more than doubled, and two pay raises given to State employes.

—Reform of the Unemployment Compensation program, converting a deficit in the fund of $67 million to a surplus of $535 million, making possible increased benefits for workers.

—Lifetime benefits for the victims of miners' asthma.

—Effort for highway construction increased by 40 per cent, and the most ambitious highway building program ever undertaken by any State in the United States launched.

The most liberal eminent domain law in the United States for farmers, homeowners and small businessmen.

Support for State Colleges increased more than 200 per cent and State-related status granted to Temple and the University of Pittsburgh, making possible reductions in student tuition at those two institutions.

The Community College program begun, with seven Community Colleges already in operation.

School teachers' salaries raised twice for the first time during a single Administration.

And all of this achieved within the limits of four balanced budgets—three surpluses—and another surplus, the fourth consecutive, already projected for next June.

These are but a few of the accomplishments of State Government in Pennsylvania during the past four years.

They have been carried out on the principle that government exists to lead and to serve the people—but not to dominate their lives or coerce their spirits.

Our every effort has been directed toward the enlargement of freedom—freedom to work, freedom to learn, freedom to travel, freedom to enjoy the benefits of culture and of our beautiful countryside.

Our success is written in the hearts and minds of a vigorous people.

These efforts in Pennsylvania have come at a crucial point in the development of State Government in the entire United States. Since 1960, the Federal Government has undertaken a series of domestic programs of enormous cost and scope. Many of these programs have been in response to genuine and legitimate needs among our people—but experience to date has shown that they cannot be efficiently administered on a completely centralized basis.

The United States is simply too big and too complex a Country to be run from the top down. Some pattern of decentralization is needed—for effective distribution of effort as well as for preservation of freedoms. The States provide such a pattern. Their administrative structures and their holds on the loyalty of their citizens give them an initial advantage over any conceivable alternative pattern.

But they are not without disadvantages. Their revenue resources are severely limited. Their constitutions are in many cases outmoded. They have been subjected to the ravages of intense partisan warfare. They have often failed to meet the needs of their urban areas. They do not in all cases correspond closely to natural economic and metropolitan regions. Worst of all, there has in recent years been a growing tendency among the people themselves to regard the States as unresponsive units of government.

Now there is a disposition in the Country to give the States one last chance. Some kind of effective regional government—placed between the Federal and local levels—is clearly needed. The States are the logical answer—if they can do the job.

I would say that the States have a few years to measure up—probably no more than a decade. If they have not by then set their own houses in order, they will surely be superseded by some form of "metro-government" or Federal administrative units or regional departments—and then the States, as one leading Senator has said, will be of interest to nobody except Rand-McNally.

We have done much in Pennsylvania during the past four years to demonstrate that the States are capable of giving the service to the people that will be needed in the final third of the twentieth century. Similar progress has been achieved, of recent date, in States like New York, Michigan, and North Carolina, Colorado, Oregon, and others.

Our new Governor has concerned himself deeply with these problems and these opportunities. He has already proposed a revenue sharing program with the Federal Government, which, if enacted, would do much to cure the revenue shortage for the States. During the fall campaign, he presented a program for Pennsylvania which when put into effect, will give us a thoroughly modern and people-oriented State Government.

You and Governor Shafer, working together, can give the people of Pennsylvania the kind of State Government which they want and so richly deserve.

Executive and Administrative Government is beginning to capitalize on today's opportunity for progress. And now—a matter with which you are intimately concerned:

During the past four years I have made little effort to influence or interfere with the structure of the legislative branch of State Government. I have felt that this was your responsibility, and that I should not intrude upon it.

It has now become evident, however, that besides administrative progress, one of the indispensable ingredients to a general strengthening of State Government is improvement of the legislative branch. Since we have been close partners for these four years—and since you have often been generous with suggestions for improvement of the executive branch—I hope you will accept some observations and suggestions that I have formed on the legislative branch.

Let me say first that my experience in working with the leaders and members of the Pennsylvania Legislature has been a very happy one. You have realized the needs of our time, and you have responded with passage of the vital programs mentioned earlier.

When courage was needed during the past four years, a majority of your members have always been willing to run political risks and have stood up for what was right.

Frankly, the membership of the Legislature has improved in quality over the past two or three decades. More and more, legislators, are coming to regard their duties as a fulltime job. They should. That's what the job is now—fulltime.

No single factor has contributed more to this improvement than the increase in legislators' pay. Increased compensation has made a legislative career more attractive, and has made it possible for many legislators to be relatively independent and to devote more time to their work in Harrisburg.

I also heartily approve plans that are now underway to provide legislators with increased office space and enlarged staff. The days when a legislator could perform his duties with no more than the top of a suitcase on which to write his letters are gone. Modern government is a complex operation. Responsible legislators require expert assistance to solve its problems.

Increased pay and improved facilities will not by themselves, however, provide us with a completely efficient and effective General Assembly.

Members of the Legislature must discipline themselves and their party caucuses to provide the kind of service that the public increasingly demands.

There is, I believe, an excess of partisanship in the Legislature. We have just weathered two years in which the two parties have indulged in sniping back and forth motivated by a struggle for petty political advantage. There are of course differences between our two great parties, and these differences should be debated openly and fully. But they do not require a resort to tactics that would bring shame to the cheeks of most school children.

Special interests still wield too much power, too. Lobbyists perform the worthwhile and legitimate function of bringing the problems of economic groups to the attention of legislators. But when the interests of these groups gain supremacy over the general public interest, legislators are not giving fair service to either their constituents or the Commonwealth. We need rigorous laws for the reporting of expenditures by lobbyists, the financial holdings of legislators and executive personnel—and political campaign financing, too.

Finally, the Legislature should, in my opinion, change its traditional mode of operation. Why? Because it is outmoded and impractical in modern government. The practice of coming to Harrisburg for a day or two at the beginning of the week, calling frequent recesses, stretching out the session, and finally acting on most important matters in a frantic rush in the last few days before adjournment simply does not make for orderly and responsible government today.

The best practice would be to buckle down at the beginning of the session, meet regularly, conduct business, and then adjourn. The legislator's work, however, should not be finished with the end of the session. Committees should continue to function, and a system should be set up, as is done in New York State, whereby bills could be filed during the off months. In this way, all bills could be carefully researched and examined, and pertinent facts made available to the legislators at the beginning of a businesslike session.

If I speak bluntly to you on these matters, it is only because I am concerned, first of all, about the whole future of State Government, and, second, about the health of the legislative branch within the State structure.

Nothing I have said should obscure the deep affection and respect I hold for you as individuals, nor from my conviction that the Legislature has responded with distinction to the challenges of the past four years.

Together, we have laid the foundations on which a better and nobler Pennsylvania may rise.

We have not solved all the problems of our State. But we have done much. We have made genuine progress in education, in conservation, in transportation, in care of the aged, in public welfare generally, in help to our cities, in reform of State Government, and a score of other fields.

The road has not always been smooth—the path has often not been easy. You have sat in the early morning hours—you have seen the sun rise on the turmoil of legislative debate. You have faced the needs of our modern Commonwealth in the private chamber of your own conscience.

You have done well—and you will do more.

The best years for Pennsylvania lie before us.

Make the most of them!

The people of Pennsylvania depend on you.

WILLIAM W. SCRANTON.

Walter E. Washington: The New Chairman of the New York City Housing Authority

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, last November the District of Columbia lost one of its most able officials when Walter E. Washington, the director of the National Capitol Housing Authority, accepted the position of chairman of the New York City Housing Authority.

The following editorials and news article appeared in the Washington papers at that time:

[From the Washington Post, Nov. 22, 1966]

A GREAT LOSS

This city does not have gifted public officials to spare. The departure of Walter Washington, the director of the National Capital Housing Authority, is a civic misfortune that deserves attention. In most cities the local public housing agency is the stodgiest of bureaucracies (there is no conservatism quite so stifling as the last generation's social reforms). But Mr. Washington has proved himself a brilliant experimenter, forceful and yet responsive to the people whom he serves. Of all the city's senior administrators, he was the first to comprehend and use the new ideas of the poverty programs.

Mr. Washington is going, significantly, to New York City, where Mayor Lindsay is vigorously recruiting the most imaginative urban administrators in the country. There has been a steady drift of unusually able men from the Federal agencies to New York. They are going to work for Mayor Lindsay because he has succeeded in giving an air of excitement and opportunity to City Hall.

Here in Washington, where every administrator has a dozen superiors contending for control of him, the case is notoriously otherwise. The worst of the confusion here is owed to the congressional chairmen's interference in the city's daily business. In the absence of self-government, this city will never enjoy a surge of energy like New York's. But it lies within the authority of the President to simplify and strengthen the processes of government here. There is no defect of the city's public life that ought to concern Mr. Johnson and his advisers more deeply than its difficulty in attracting first-rate public servants.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Nov. 28, 1966]

DISTRICT'S LOSS

Mayor John Lindsay has had substantial success in raids on a variety of federal agencies for topflight personnel to bolster the city government of New York. His greatest coup, however, and surely for this city, its greatest loss, is the enticement of Walter E. Washington to take over New York's vast, sprawling city housing authority.

As head of the National Capital Housing Authority, Washington has been a tower of strength. Not satisfied with the traditional forms and concepts of public housing, he is responsible for innovations here which other cities are just beginning to copy.” He has seen his job as dealing with people, not with buildings.

And, apart from housing, a keen awareness of the city's social problems has made his voice a positive, constructive force in a wide variety of community affairs. On lists of possibilities in recent years for other high municipal posts, Washington's name has always been near the top. He would have made, in our opinion, an excellent District Commissioner. And the fact that two vacancies will occur on the board next year make his departure all the more lamentable on that score.

For a housing man who welcomes challenges, the New York position, involving a public-housing population roughly 10 times the magnitude of the District's, was of course difficult to reject. Mayor Lindsay, moreover, has managed from all reports to instill among his top aides a mood of excitement and challenge.

But for all of that, Walter Washington's roots are in the District. His interests are in the Nation's Capital. He has a personal stake in much of the movement which also is beginning to stir here. The time may yet come, went the right spot opens up, that we will be able to woo him back.

[From the Washington Post, Nov. 27, 1966]

CITYSCAPE TOASTS WALTER WASHINGTON—WELL, AT LEAST NEW YORK NEEDS HIM EVEN MORE

(By Wolf Von Eckardt)

It was the worst news Luticia Lucas had heard in the 11 years she had been cleaning the third floor executive offices of the National Capital Housing Authority: Director Walter E. Washington had been nabbed by Mayor John V. Lindsay to take over New York City's Gargantuan housing effort.

"Why, I'll just go with him!" she exclaimed, dropping her mop in dismay.

It was bad, though not altogether unexpected, news for this entire city.

And the worst of it is not that we are losing what Mrs. Lucas and everyone else, from the occupants of the White House to the tenants of our public housing projects, will readily call "a friend," "a great guy" and popular "community leader."

Nor is it that we are losing one of the country's most effective generals in the arduous campaign against our slum. Nor even that we will miss in Walter Washington perhaps our most effective bridge between the Capital City and the Other City—between the Federal power structure living its somewhat remote life in Georgetown and the suburbs while worrying about the city's world image, and the voteless and almost voice-less ninth largest city with its huge number of Negroes who are largely ill-housed, poorly serviced and badly educated and worry about jobs and rats.

The worst of the news is that this city, despite its growing awareness of this dichotomy, did not find it possible to offer Walter Washington the recognition and position of leadership he deserves—the results of which the city needs.

Washington, in his early 50's a bit stocky but lean, a bit reserved at first but easily relaxed when he senses that you sincerely share his concerns and enthusiasms, always meticulously dressed and always impeccably polite, cuts a fine figure of a man.

If he is indeed "a great guy," it is the last thing he would try to impress you with. Unlike most "great guy" politicians he is neither folksy nor formidable.

And if they'll be wondering up in New York why he talks like they do, its because, though born in Georgia, he was raised in Jamestown, N.Y. And if he talks a bit like a lawyer, with a good deal of sociologese mixed into his syntax, its because he studied law, political science and sociology at Howard University. That's what brought him to Washington. He's a member of the bar and was admitted to practice before the Supreme Court.

Like most good generals, Walter Washington came up from the ranks in the small, devoted and so often confused army of the "housers," the professional slum fighters. He joined in 1941, when the city's public housing agency was still known as the Alley Dwelling Authority, largely launched and worried along by Eleanor Roosevelt.

We should never belittle those early skirmishes for "decent, safe and sanitary" housing, though there was relatively little of it and what there was now seems woefully drab. The little band of housers did their best. And if their expectations of early victory seem pathetic in retrospect, it was because no one had realized the full dimensions of the problem.

It was not until 20 years later, until Walter Washington had worked his way up to acting director and then director of the National Capital Housing Authority, that we began to see the enemy in all his fearful might.

The enemies, we might say, for Washington was confronted not only by the growing slum ghetto, but by growing hostility against public-housing, which was often more despised then even the slums themselves.

The city tore into the slums with a huge freeway program, with urban renewal, with new schools and other improvements. But when it came to housing the people thus displaced, nobody wanted them next door. And there wasn't a site in town which wasn't next door to some hysterically hostile civic association.

Now, this is why I call Walter Washington a general, though no one could be further from being a militarist. Realizing the utter futility of a continued "decent, safe and sanitary" frontal attack, he employed new strategies. He made his forward thrust at the problems of the slums not merely by providing housing, but by also helping the people to be housed to become good neighbors.

He secured his flanks for this thrust from hostile sniping and official indifference by creating confidence and good will for the public housing program in the community, both among its officials and among real estate boards and the anxious women in the civic associations.

Washington is forever inventive in the means he employs to gain these ends.

"Anything that's new, that's coming, I'm the first one after it," he has said.

Robert C. Weaver, the Housing and Urban Development Secretary, said of him: "Walter is one of our most outstanding local guys because of the amazing degree of his flexibility and his receptivity to creative ideas."

Whether Washington was the first to invent all of the many social programs in his public housing projects, many of which were made possible by the Ford Foundation and have now been adopted by the poverty warriors, is almost irrelevant. He was usually the first to employ them and try them out—the day care centers, job counseling and financial advice, credit unions, tenant organizations and all the rest.

Success? How do you measure success in a situation where the problems keep growing faster than your yardsticks. The police, at any rate, will tell you that in Washington's public housing projects vandalism is only a nuisance and crime minimal.

Perhaps we will never be able to measure the influence of environment on social behavior with a sliderule to satisfy any bureaucratically calibrated cost-benefit formula. Who would venture a cost-benefit analysis of the word "great" in our aspiration for a "great society." All we can say, it seems, is that a good place to live ought to look like a good place to live—and if it does, life in that place also comes closer to a good life.

Walter Washington has employed the best architects in this area to bring their skill and enthusiasm to the design of public housing projects. And what matters is not that so many of them have won architectural awards, but that many of their buildings have become the pride of their neighborhoods and no one can fairly say any longer that public housing projects depress neighborhood values. They uplift them. That's more benefit for less cost than the sliderulers of the Government Accounting Office can grasp.

It takes time to build projects and more time until their little sticks mature into trees and they are no longer projects but living communities. And it doesn't help the neighborhoods when trees are big and green but the houses are rotting.

Walter Washington, among many other novel approaches, helped pioneer a program which encourages private builders to fix up the houses and sell them to the public housing authority. It is called "turnkey" and may, indeed, turn the key to the rehabilitation of the decaying inner city.

Literally, "rehabilitation" means "to make livable again" and if that key is big enough and if the bankers and realtors and citizens groups and bureaucrats help turn it, it could, in the span of months, open more needed homes at less cost than new projects would yield us in decades.

But in the end, it does not depend on the cold statistics of costs and benefits whether or not any of these programs are vigorously undertaken. It depends on trust and confidence in the men who propose them. And this is probably Walter Washington's greatest achievement in this city. He has managed to win the trust and confidence of his tenants, of the people in the city and of its sprawling officialdom.

They have come to agree with what he said when this last troubled summer he opened one of his "field days" in one of his projects—a day of hot dogs, and street dancing and other festivities.

"There are two ways open to communities," he said. "This way and the Watts way."

And they respect him because he exemplifies a truth he utered as president of the Le Droit Civic Association, ten years ago and before anyone heard of Martin Luther King.

"Men, if they fight for rights," he said, "must be ready to shoulder these rights when they appear."

As elsewhere, most of our innumerable city departments, commissions and agencies are just learning to talk to each other about common problems. But as one of his aides said, "no official in this city would even think about doing anything that might affect low income housing even indirectly without calling Walter Washington first."

They called him day and night and not only about housing. Not long ago a young girl had saved some money earned at a summer job. She thought she would spend it for beautification, but where and how? She got Walter Washington on the phone. "This is Lynda Bird Johnson," she said.

Washington has spent much time leading tours of members of the First Lady's Committee for a More Beautiful Capital and other VIPS. Insights he provided to problems probably contributed more to Mrs. Johnson's program than can be measured in dollars or azalea bushes.

But it was before most of the bushes were planted that Walter Washington received the United States Civil Service Career Award for "excellence in efficiency and effectiveness in the Federal service . . . and superb leadership in directing his agency's activities."

When Mrs. Lucas dropped her mop in the midst of a gathering of Housing Authority officials the other night, she momentarily dispelled the tense gloom with a burst of warm hilarity. Walter Washington stood behind his overloaded desk, absent-mindedly shuffling through some papers. When he saw the cleaning woman he reached out his hand.

"How's your sick son, Mrs. Lucas," he said.

There is consolation in the fact that in New York there are even more hard-working women with sick sons and more ill-housed people for Walter Washington to stretch out his hand to.

Walter Washington was director of the National Capitol Housing Authority for more than 5 years. Beginning with the agency in 1941 as a junior housing assistant he rose through the ranks to become the head of the agency, and in 1965 received the U.S. Civil Service Career Service Award, the highest award given to career Federal employees.

A native of Dawson, Ga., Mr. Washington grew up in Jamestown, N.Y. He received his A.B. from Howard University in 1938 and an LL.B. from the Howard University Law School in 1948.

New York City is indeed fortunate to obtain the services of this fine administrator and public servant.

It is with pleasure that I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following remarks by Chairman Washington at a Public Housing Day Ceremony in New York on December 2, 1966:

REMARKS BY WALTER E. WASHINGTON, CHAIRMAN, NEW YORK CITY HOUSING AUTHORITY, AT PUBLIC HOUSING DAY DEDICATION CEREMONY

On occasions such as this, a scale model or a rendering of a proposed new housing development is often shown. For my first public event, as Chairman of the New York City Housing Authority, I preferred to invite a tenant, the Pavia family, who moved into our Wyckoff Gardens in Brooklyn, two days ago.

They are important to me.

They are people.

And people will be my main concern.

When a tenant moves into one of our developments, it symbolizes the mission of our agency. Some would say that it symbolizes the end result of our goal.

This is not so.

It is only the beginning.

A decent apartment is the foundation on which a family of low income builds a better life.

Fresh air and sunshine, playgrounds, trees and grass, community centers, social services, companionship for the elderly, day centers for working mothers and health centers are but a few of the facilities and services provided by the Authority.

Mayor Lindsay's proclamation is a clarion call to greater effort. It should not be overlooked by friends of public housing.

The situation today calls for a rededication of purpose and a redoubling of effort. Mayor Lindsay's proclamation is indeed clear and timely.

Ours is a just and noble cause. Public housing means better housing and better housing means a better life.

Much has been done in New York City in the field of public housing, but much remains to be done.

To do the job, Mayor Lindsay has recruited a team, headed by the dynamic Jason Nathan, that is determined to provide more and better housing for those who need it most.

I have come to New York to join this housing crusade.

Policy Statement of American Israel Public Affairs Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, as Syrian incursions along the Israeli border resume, as the Yemeni war heats up again, as subversion of Arab nations friendly to the free world is intensified, and as the moment of British withdrawal from its bases in the region approaches, the attention of Americans is increasingly directed toward the Middle East, where world peace is seriously threatened.

In a strategic portion of the world, progress toward modernization and democracy is thwarted by warfare, political terrorism, and political insecurity, providing troubled waters which furnish excellent fishing grounds for adventures like that of the U.S.S.R. in escalating the arms race by supplying arms to the United Arab Republic, Syria, and other Arab States.

In this connection, the policy statement adopted at the Tri-State Regional Conference of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee in New York on December 18, 1966, is of particular moment. It is a temperate statement, containing some well-founded recommendations for American policy in a continually troubled area of the world.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the policy statement be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the policy statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLICY STATEMENT ADOPTED AT THE TRI-STATE REGIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, ROOSEVELT HOTEL, NEW YORK, DECEMBER 18, 1966

1. We recommend that our Government now seek cooperation of the Soviet Union to bring about a relaxation of tensions in the area, specifically by an agreement to reduce the flow of arms and to create a climate which will foster direct negotiations between the Arab states and Israel. Pending such an agreement, we urge our Government to ensure maintenance of the arms balance in the region.

2. We urge a Congressional inquiry to study and recommend legislative and administrative measures to curb the efforts of the Arab states to boycott American business interests.

3. We reaffirm the conviction that the only logical solution of the Arab refugee problem is resettlement in Arab lands. We submit that the United Nations should censure continuing efforts by Arab leaders to mobilize the refugees into an army to wage war against Israel. It is intolerable that UNRWA funds, contributed for refugee relief and rehabilitation, should be diverted to subsidize the Palestine Liberation Army, which is organized for the destruction of Israel.

4. We support continued economic aid for Israel and the Arab states, stressing assistance which will develop agriculture, water resources and the employment and settlement of refugees.

5. We believe that all outstanding issues between Israel and the Arab states can be swiftly resolved by direct negotiations and we urge our Government, in concert with other great powers, to summon the Arab states to the peace table with Israel. There in no effective alternative.

Farmers and Ranchers Not the Cause of High Beef Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, rising food costs have resulted in a sharp reaction from consumers and at times there appears to be a misunderstanding as to who is benefiting from rising costs. Certainly the beef producer is not the cause of increased meat prices and he is not benefiting from the higher retail prices being charged. Mr. Ben H. Carpenter, president of the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association, recently made a speech on this subject. I believe that the Members will find Mr. Carpenter's statement factual and interesting and will conclude from reading it that the beef producer is not only not causing the high retail meat prices, he is producing his product below cost and is actually losing ground. The text of Mr. Carpenter's statement follows:

COMMENTS BY BEN H. CARPENTER, PRESIDENT, TEXAS AND SOUTHWESTERN CATTLE RAISERS ASSOCIATION, AT ITS BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING, JUNE 18, 1966, WICHITA FALLS, TEX.

I am sure you are aware of the wave of publicity that has recently been sweeping the nation regarding food prices. Meat prices have been singled out as a major contributor to higher consumer costs and inflation. Spokesmen for government bureaus and agencies have contributed to a rash of inaccurate statements and inadequate comparisons in newspaper stories throughout the nation referring to so-called high costs of meat.

Even the President of the United States was widely quoted as urging housewives to purchase only the lower priced cuts of meat in order to hold down the food bill and combat inflation. Typical of some of the headlines recently seen are these, "Meat's the Black Sheep of Food Costs, Budget Brigade Finds" and "Rocketing Food Costs May Beat Man to the Moon."

In spite of the fact that readily available government statistics refute the statements that recently improved beef prices are major contributors to the current inflationary trends in the country, these articles and comments have implied that the farmers and ranchers of the nation should be condemned by the consuming public.

A recent report on food costs and farm prices released last week by the House Committee on Agriculture reveals some most interesting statistics that refute completely the popular contention that agricultural prices in general, and those in meats in particular, are major contributors to inflation. Let's examine some of these facts and figures contained in this report which made comparisons over the period of the past 18 years.

Prices received by farmers and ranchers in 1965 were 10% lower than those received 18 years ago, while prices paid at retail by consumers for food increased 33% in these same 18 years.

While retail food prices have risen relatively steadily over the past 18 years, none of the increase in retail prices accrues to the farmer and rancher. In fact, prices received by farmers and ranchers in 1965 were 10% less than in 1947 and 13% less than in 1952. Retail food prices, however, in 1965 were 11% higher than in 1952 and 33% higher than in 1947.

The net income of farmers and ranchers declined by 18% from 1947 to 1965 even though the volume of farm produced foods sold to consumers had increased by 44% during that same period of time.

Compare this to the fact that salaries and wages to employees in all manufacturing industries increased by 113% from 1947 to 1965.

A part of the 33% increase in overall food prices paid at retail by consumers over the past 18 years has resulted from the development of new food products, new techniques of processing and packaging, and changes in family food buying habits.

In 1947, most housewives selected their beef from a refrigerated, glass case and the grocer weighed and wrapped it on the spot. Now they find several pieces of the same cut of beef neatly placed on the individual trays, transparently wrapped, weighed and priced, in advance.

Brightly lighted, air conditioned stores with wide aisles and attractively displayed products processed with new techniques are what the food shopper expects and demands. These demands from the consumer, not the producer, account for much of the increase of food prices.

However, a statistical study by the Economic Research Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture indicates that the average household paid 17% more and farmers and ranchers received 7% less in 1965 for the same kinds and quantities of foods purchased in 1947, 18 years ago.

With regard to specific food items the report reveals that, in the 18 year period studied, the farm price of wheat has dropped 3% while the retail price of cereals and bakery products has increased 47%.

When city families purchase bread and prepared cereal products, they pay mostly for processing, packaging, and distributing the products; very little goes to the farmer for raw materials. For example, there is only 2.6c worth of farm-produced corn in a 29c package of corn flakes. The one pound loaf of bread that sold at retail for an average price of 20.9c in 1965 contained wheat having a farm value of 2.7c.

In 1965, the farm price of dairy products was 6% below 1947 and the retail price of dairy products during the same period increased by 19%.

During the 18 year period from 1947 to 1965 retail prices of meat products increased by 16%. The farm value of meat products in 1965 was 5% less than the farm value in 1947. Much attention has been focused on the fact that prices paid to farmers and ranchers for animals producing meat products have increased substantially since 1956. However, there has been a tendency to overlook the fact that the farm value of meat products in 1956 had fallen 29% below 1947 prices. Current prices of beef cattle, while substantially higher than the low point reached in 1956, are still considerably below the price levels 15 years ago in 1951.

While the general economy of the nation was prosperous and advancing, the beef cattle industry suffered a serious price depression during the five years of 1952 through 1957 and again during the last part of 1963, 1964, and into the early part of 1965. The cattlemen of the nation operated during those periods taking severe losses as they were squeezed between higher costs of production and lower prices for their cattle. The recent price improvement in beef cattle does not represent a full recovery and the profit balance is still very delicate.

The evidence is very conclusive that prices received by the farmer and rancher have not contributed whatsoever to the increases in food prices paid by consumers. A comparison of the 10% decline in prices received by them during the last 18 year period with other economic trends is most interesting.

The report reveals that rail freight rates on farm products increased 45% during the same period. Prices of such services as rent, property insurance, property maintenance, and telephone services increased an average of 69% during the same period and unit prices of new plant and equipment were up 55%. Salaries and wages of employees in manufacturing industries increased during the same period by 113%.

In the nine years since 1957 prices paid by farmers and ranchers for clothing has increased 15%, for motor vehicles 17%, for farm machinery 22%, for ad valorem and miscellaneous taxes 65%, and interest payable on farm real estate debt 132%.

Therefore, if viewed in the correct perspective the prices paid by consumers for food products cannot be singled out as a major contributor to inflation. U.S. consumers have available the highest quality food products in the world, and the important fact is that they can obtain this food by working less time than persons living anywhere else on earth.

During 1965, American consumers spent 19% of their take-home income for food. Twenty years earlier this figure was 26%. Pay for one hours factory labor today will buy 2.4 pounds of round steak, whereas, in 1942 it would buy only 2 pounds, and in 1932 1.5 pounds. One hours factory labor today will buy 3.2 pounds of bacon, whereas, in 1942 2.2 pounds and in 1932 1.8 pounds. Pay for one hours factory labor today buys 12.5 loaves of bread, whereas, in 1942 only 9.8 loaves, and in 1932 6.3 loaves.

In the light of these facts one may wonder why certain government bureaucrats and politicians single out the farmers and ranchers of the nation to be the scape-goats upon whom inflation is blamed. Why is it that agriculture seems to continue to be the easiest target on which to blame the inflationary spiral that has been existing for the last 15 or 20 years, even though there are no real facts or evidence to support this contention? The answer probably lies in the fact that a lesser percentage of the people of the nation are directly involved in agricultural production, and therefore, agriculture is losing its political significance.

As the country's population has grown during the last few decades a situation has developed in which an extremely small percentage of the people of the country are familiar with the actual conditions existing in agriculture. For example, in 1950, although 64 percent of the country's population was urban and 36% was rural, only 42% of the rural population was actually involved on a farm or ranch, in other words only 16% of the total was involved in agricultural production.

Ten years later, in 1960, 69.9% of the U.S. population was urban, 22.6% was rural-nonfarm, and only 7.5% was actually involved on a farm or ranch. This trend has continued in the 1960's.

In this atmosphere a great deal of misleading and erroneous information has appeared in newspapers and other publications throughout the country, much of which is harmful to the farmers and ranchers of the nation.

For example, many consumers and taxpayers generally are led to believe that the total annual appropriations to the Department of Agriculture are subsidies. The report released by the House Committee on Agriculture last week reveals that actually nonfarmers participate in a larger share of the Department's expenditures than farmers themselves, and that about two-thirds of Department of Agriculture expenditures, in the 1967 budget, are for services which are of primary benefit to the general public. Most housewives and urban consumers are unfamiliar with the fact that the cattle industry itself has vigorously opposed price supports and subsidies for beef cattle and has done so successfully thus far, in spite of the efforts of federal administrators in the past to apply them.

The American cattle producer has confidence in the free enterprise system which has made this nation so significantly different from the other nations of the world. He doesn't want any price subsidies from the American taxpayer, but he does expect a fair and profitable price for the beef cattle he produces. However, he doesn't expect federal agencies, whose purpose it is to safeguard his interests as an American Citizen, to instead take actions, such as was witnessed earlier this year to drive down the price of beef, when it is still substantially below price levels of fifteen years ago.

Above all, the cattle producer doesn't deserve to be falsely accused of contributing to inflation. The real major cause of inflation is the federal government itself, as currently being administered. The real culprits of the inflationary spiral of the present and of the future are gigantic federal programs like the unnecessary and unneeded medicare program recently authorized, titles 18 and 19 of which it is now estimated will cost more than a billion dollars a year in the state of New York alone, federal programs of accelerated unemployment compensation, and federal programs designed to blanket the country with built-in wage increases. Giant federal programs of this type pump literally billions of dollars into the economy, yet they do not create to any degree new permanent plant capacity which can add to the total productive output of the nation, and therefore they only create taxspenders instead of taxpayers.

This is the area in which restrictions should be urged to combat inflation, instead of government officials urging the American housewife to restrict her purchases of meat at a time when the average price of beef cattle is only 85% of parity.

Interstate 70 Advances in West Virginia With Opening of Wheeling Hill Tunnels—Highway Improvement Program in West Virginia Moving Forward

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the opening of the Wheeling Hill Tunnels on Interstate 70 in Wheeling, W. Va., represents a major step in the highway improvement program in West Virginia.

The total construction cost, including engineering and right-of-way, amounted to approximately $7.1 million and thereby became the most costly single construction project ever offered to contract by the State road commission.

On Monday, December 12, 1966, I attended the opening ceremony of the Wheeling Tunnels, along with Gov. Hulett C. Smith, Representative Arch A. Moore, and State Road Commissioner Burl A. Sawyers and many interested and distinguished guests from Wheeling.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have an editorial which appeared in the Wheeling News-Register inserted in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record as follows:

[From the Wheeling News-Register, Dec. 12, 1966]

HISTORIC DAY FOR WHEELING

The historic opening of the Wheeling Hill Tunnels on Interstate 70 today marks a most happy occasion for our community and the surrounding area.

A good feeling comes from just knowing that we have lived to see this memorable accomplishment that in the not too long ago existed only as a fanciful dream of the idle dreamer. We suppose that most of us around here are guilty of harboring a trace of the "show me" attitude. There were doubters who never believed the Fort Henry Bridge would be built and others who felt the same way about the tunnels through Wheeling Hill. But there they are today, leveling a hill for the traveler and proving the words of Poet William Blake who wrote, "Great things are done when men and mountains meet."

While we must wait for a while to see the completion of Interstate 70 through Wheeling, the tunnels are a major achievement. As the new expressways span out over our area, they are compressing space, narrowing the gap between businessmen and his market and tying the whole region together.

Today, it is said, you're on the map if you're on the highway. Modern roads in the heart of marketing America are like giant magnets attracting commerce and industry, travelers and tourists. Wheeling can consider itself fortunate in having been selected as one of the cities through which a modern, new east-west expressway will traverse. A series of up-to-date highway impact studies by the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads presents important findings on how new highways create wealth.

The studies conclude that the mobility which so characterizes the economic system in the United States today would not have been possible without modern highway development. The highway impact studies report that highways assist in developing new and vacant land, improving production efficiency because of better access to markets, aid the decentralization of industry, and improve the public image of many firms by giving them more attractive and more widely visible plant sites.

Highways are also found to have increased the practical area of labor supply from about six miles in the streetcar era to about 30 miles today. Studies report the conditions are often ripe for industrial development, but need an outside agent to trigger action. In instance after instance during the postwar years, highways were found to be that agent.

A survey of management decision-makers in 4,100 plants across the country revealed where industries are moving and why. Each plant executive was asked to indicate the five factors that had been most important in the selection of the site for his particular plant.

The dominant factors in plant site considerations were found to be highways, labor, land and markets. According to frequency of mention, the factors lined up like this: Proximity to good highways 71.9 per cent; abundant labor supply 62.1 per cent; availability of suitable land 61.6 per cent and proximity to markets 58.8 per cent.

Of course Wheeling cannot rest with the idea that there is nothing more to be done roadwise once we get the interstate routes and State Route 2 completed. It is time for community leaders to begin studying seriously the proposals contained in the thoroughfare plan, a part of the overall city-county comprehensive plan for development. The planners warn that Stage One proposals should be paced so as to be operative within as short a period of time as possible after completion of I–70. There are in all 15 road and street improvements contained in the Stage One projection of the thoroughfare plan, including the long-discussed Northern Parkway.

Since most of our major road improvements must depend upon the actions of the State Road Commission, plenty of spadework must be done now. Local priorities must be established and then fitted into a priority schedule of the State Road Commission. Planners recommend that commitments be secured on the basis of needs for road improvements in Ohio County for the next ten years and then reviewed on a regular basis with the state to assure that adequate progress is being made.

While we bask today in the light of our good fortune occasioned by the opening of the new Wheeling Hill tunnels, we must not forget there is plenty of labor ahead in completing a modern, adequate highway network for the community.

In Memorium: Lindsay Hoben, Outstanding American Editor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the people of my home community, Milwaukee, and the State of Wisconsin have been saddened by the death last Sunday of Mr. Lindsay Hoben, who retired as editor of the Milwaukee Journal only a week ago.

Mr. Hoben was an outstanding American editor. Dedicated to the life of a journalist and devoted to the craft of careful, concise writing, he exemplified profesional integrity and responsibility.

In large part because of his influence, the Journal—always known for its outstanding regional coverage—expanded its efforts at covering domestic and foreign events.

A widely traveled man with worldwide interests, Mr. Hoben was instrumental in bringing to the people of our community and our State coverage of national and international news which is equaled by few American newspapers either in quantity or quality.

Mr. Speaker, today a memorial service will be held in the auditorium of the Journal's radio city by his colleagues and associates. It is my intention at some future date to bring to the attention of my colleagues the eulogy which will be delivered by Mr. Paul Ringler as part of the services. Under leave granted I am inserting at this point an editorial from the Milwaukee Journal on the occasion of his retirement and his obituary as it appeared in the New York Times of January 9:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 9, 1966]

LINDSAY HOBEN, 64, WISCONSIN EDITOR—MILWAUKEE JOURNAL OFFICIAL DIES A WEEK AFTER RETIRING

MILWAUKEE, January 8.—Lindsay Hoben, who retired only last week as editor of The Milwaukee Journal and vice president of The Journal Company, died of cancer today. He was 64 years old.

Mr. Hoben joined The Milwaukee Journal in 1926, as a church reporter, and before becoming editor in 1961, he served as a general assignment reporter, radio news commentator, and editorial writer. In 1949 he became chief editorial writer.

A pronounced internationalist, he continued and strengthened The Journal's outward look in foreign affairs. He urged frequent and varied contacts with the Soviet Union, but also warned of the dangers of Communism. He was present at the founding of the United Nations, and he was always a strong advocate of it.

It was during his tenure as chief editorial writer that The Journal, which already had a liberal reputation, fiercely opposed the tactics of Wisconsin's Junior senator, Joseph R. McCarthy.

Mr. Hoben, who once traveled by tramp steamer to Hong Kong, advised the six other editorial writers to learn the world's problems first hand. He sent them on many trips in this country and abroad.

CAUTIONED EDITORIAL WRITERS

Urging his writers to furnish the facts and support them with sound, persuasive arguments, he once wrote: "The editorial writer is not the Anointed of God. He is not solely endowed with supernatural wisdom. He is not the exclusive custodian of the truth. And he must avoid giving the impression that he thinks he is."

Mr. Hoben was a quiet, business-like man with a trim mustache, who closely resembled Thomas E. Dewey.

He took a special interest in the Journal's English usage and he was chairman of the newspaper's style committee for many years. As editor, he would frequenly walk into the newsroom from his corner office to point out an error in grammar, punctuation or spelling.

Mr. Hoben was born July 6, 1902, in Milwaukee, the son of a Baptist minister, who later became president of Kalamazoo (Mich.) College. He was graduated from Carleton College, Northfield, Minn., and worked briefly as a salesman and chemist before joining The Journal.

He traveled much of the world from 1927 to 1931 as a roving reporter. He was one of the first American newspaper men to tour extensively in the Soviet Union.

MET WIFE IN SOVIET

It was there, in 1929, that he met Margaret Pollitzer, advisory director of the Walden School in New York, who was also touring the country. They were married the following year.

Besides his wife, he is survived by a daughter, Mrs. Polly Greenberg, program coordinator for the Child Development Group of Mississippi, part of the Federal Head Start program; a son, Allen on the faculty of the University of Rochester, Rochester, N.Y.; two brothers, Edmond and John, and a sister, Mrs. Richard D. Brown of Milwaukee.

[From the Milwaukee (Wis.) Journal, Jan. 3, 1967]

LINDSAY HOBEN RETIRES

A fine editor is a rare man for even a big, important newspaper to find. In Lindsay Hoben, whose retirement was announced Sunday, The Milwaukee Journal had one who was both a fine editor and a rare man separately.

Unusually devoted to his family, he had much the same feeling toward his newspaper and his practically lifelong career with it. He once declined a flattering job offer from another nationally prominent paper with these words:

The Milwaukee Journal is the only newspaper with which I have ever been connected. It is a very personal matter with me, pretty much like an intimate family relationship. I never have felt that it was a newspaper or a job, but my newspaper and my job, a sort of living thing in which I had a part."

His journalism career turned spectacular when, still a "cub" in his twenties, he became The Journal's man on the go around the world. He poked daringly into the remoteness of Russia and China as well as the capitals of Europe. His grounding in world affairs, which he kept renewed, was an enrichment of all his later work.

When The Journal decided to publish a separate Sunday editorial section in 1934, Mr. Hoben was put in charge of formulating the concept and editing the product. Thence he moved into editorial writing, the editorial editorship, then editor of the paper from January, 1961.

Associates and friends found in him a man of many fine facets happily mixed. Appreciated perhaps above all was his instinctive kindly interest in people—all sorts of people.

He sought eagerly the sociability of other interesting minds, especially younger ones. In this he preferred to enjoy the listener's role more than the expounder's, a particularly endearing quality. A colleague of many years has described Lindsay Hoben as the very rare man for whom he could have at the same time both a real admiration and a deep fondness.

As the editor of The Journal Mr. Hoben was more leader than boss; he was guide and arbiter; his influence was more pervasive than obtrusive. While his strong sense of fairness, and his compassion, made him anxious that news should not needlessly hurt people, he also had courage to insist on prinitng what had to be printed, and his staff knew he would back them in this.

If one contribution to the character of The Journal has the distinctive Hoben label on it, this would be his influence to make it a newspaper with a national outlook and a worldwide view, but with no loss of its intimacy with the local and state community. Also, not least, he was a principal creator and the long time monitor of Journal rules on style of writing and usage, a work that he especially relished, which is widely respected in the newspaper business.

The extent to which Mr. Hoben became widely and justly famed within his profession is attested by his leadership activities in the National Conference of Editorial Writers, American Society of Newspaper Editors, International Press Institute, on Pulitzer prize juries and Nieman fellowship selection boards . Literally around the world, fellow journalists became his devoted admirers.

We here record not only the affectionate salute of colleagues and friends, but also a loss to the city and state communities that Lindsay Hoben did much to serve and uplift for 41 years.

Adult Education Association Resolution on Human Dignity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A. and the National Association for Public School Adult Educators, at their 1966 national conferences held in Chicago this past November, adopted a resolution reaffirming the support of both organizations for a vigorous effort to protect the rights of all individuals in American society and to win for all individuals full participation in American life.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the resolution be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the text of the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION ON HUMAN DIGNITY

The resolution that appears below was passed by the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A. and the National Association for Public School Adult Educators at their 1966 national conferences held in Chicago in mid-November. The resolution reaffirms the support of both organizations for a vigorous effort to protect the rights of all individuals in American society and to win for all individuals full participation in American life.

Be it resolved that:

It is the shared conviction of the national conference of the Adult Education Association, USA and National Association of Public School Adult Educators that: the adult education movement in the United States of America, in this historic moment of national movement toward the realization in life and in our communities of our national goal of a free, equal and democratic society, should:

1) Devote major attention to the fact of racial equality in our country, with special attention to the needs of the Negro, the Spanish-Speaker, and our brothers and sisters of American-Indian and Oriental ancestry, laying emphasis on the spiritual, legal, economic, political and communal consequences of hatred and fear among any part or group of our society.

2) That this special attention include public statements by your leaders of our association, vigorous lobbying for better law and better practice, vigilance within our own institutions in the construction and operation of program-planning and program-managing staffs to ensure fair representation of all ethnic, religious and regional interests, careful emphasis in our educational programs upon the historical and ideological basis of our national doctrine of racial, religious and regional equality, and a continuing effort in all that we do to practice better ourselves what we ourselves preach.

3) That we recognize and move vigorously with courage and patience to confront and overcome the resistance to practical working equality in the details of our national life, at work, at play, in the class room and conference room, a resistance (sometimes called "backlash") in itself a tribute to the approaching realization of real equality, and that we combat this not only in the dominant majority groups in our society but also among the long-disadvantaged minority groups within our culture.

4) That we accept these responsibilities as citizens, as professionals, as neighbors, and as concerned men and women, depending upon such faith in the American dream of a democracy under law, with equal rights for all, as we have learned from our fathers and mothers, our teachers and our children.

Statement by Representative Theodore R. Kupferman To Eliminate the House Committee on Un-American Activities

. SPEECH

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I today announce my support of a resolution to amend the rules of the House eliminating the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a standing committee and transferring any functions which it might possess vital to our internal security to the Committee on the Judiciary.

I do not believe that this committee performs any function useful to the Congress or to the country.

The so-called hearings staged by this committee this past summer were a fiasco. I agree with the senior Senator from the State of Illinois, Hon. EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, who on August 20 stated that "This spectacle can do the Congress no good." It did no good for the country either, I might add.

The only legislation offered by the committee during my short time in the House since I took the oath on February 23, 1966, as the Congressman from the 17th District, New York, was the ill-conceived H. R. 12047, to amend the Internal Security Act of 1950—also known as the Pool bill—which I found necessary to oppose as, among other things, an exercise in futility and frustration. My statement on this is at page 25181 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of October 12, 1966.

We can find better ways to spend the taxpayer's money than to continue this committee.

Whatever functions encompassed by the committee that need continuing can be performed by the Judiciary Committee in a quasi-judicial atmosphere without sensationalism.

Harrison E. Salisbury Reports From Hanoi—I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, Harrison E. Salisbury, the Pulitzer Prize-winning assistant managing editor of the New York Times, has been reporting from Hanoi, North Vietnam. His reports, which have been commented upon throughout the world, are one of the most important reporting assignments in the history of journalism. According to these on-the-spot reports by a reputable U.S. journalist, the bombing of North Vietnam has caused civilian casualties but has not appreciably affected North Vietnam's war effort. The Salisbury reports raise most serious questions about the policy of bombing North Vietnam and must be studied by all who are involved in that policy.

Since most of the reports were published while Congress was out of session, I intend to bring them to the attention of my colleagues. The first report follows:

[From the New York Times, Dec. 26, 1966]

VISITOR TO HANOI INSPECTS DAMAGE ATTRIBUTED TO AMERICAN RAIDS

The writer of the following dispatch, reprinted from yesterday's late editions, is an assistant managing editor of The New York Times, who reached Hanoi Friday.

(By Harrison E. Salisbury)

HANOI, North Vietnam, Dec. 24.—Late in the afternoon of this drizzly Christmas Eve the bicycle throngs on the roads leading into Hanoi increased.

Riding sidesaddle behind husbands were hundreds of slender young Hanoi wives returning to the city from evacuation to spend Christmas with their families. Hundreds of mothers had small children perched on the backs of bicycles—children being returned to the city for reunions during the Christmas cease-fire.

In Hanoi's Catholic churches mass was celebrated, and here and there in the small foreign quarter there were more elaborate holiday observances. Five Canadian members of the International Control Commission had a fat Christmas goose brought in specially for them from Vientiane, Laos, on the I.C.C. flight into Hanoi yesterday.

VISITORS HAVE A PARTY

And in Hanoi's rambling, old high-ceilinged Thongnhat (Reunification) Hotel (formerly the Metropole), there was a special Christmas party for a handful of foreign visitors who chanced to be here.

But this random evidence of Christmas spirit did not convey the mood of North Vietnam's capital, at least not as it seemed to an unexpected observer from the United States.

The mood of Hanoi seemed much more that of a wartime city going about its business briskly, energetically, purposefully. Streets are lined with cylindrical one-man air-raid shelters set in the ground at 10-foot intervals.

The shelters are formed of prestressed concrete with concrete lids left ajar for quick occupancy—and they are reported to have been occupied quite a bit in recent days with the sudden burst of United States air raids. There is damage, attributed by officials here to the raids, as close as 200 yards from this hotel.

Hanoi was laid out by French architects with broad boulevards over which arch leafy trees, and with squares, public gardens and pleasant lakes. Today it seems a bit like a mixture of the Moscow and Algiers of World War II. There are khaki and uniforms everywhere and hardly a truck moves without its green boughs of camouflage. Even pretty girls camouflage their bicycles and conical straw hats.

MANY COMB WRECKAGE

Christmas Eve found residents in several parts of Hanoi still picking over the wreckage of homes said to have been damaged in the United States raids of Dec. 13 and 14. United States officials have contended that no attacks in built-up or residential Hanoi have been authorized or carried out. They have also suggested that Hanoi residential damage in the two raids could have been caused by defensive surface-to-air missiles that misfired or fell short.

[Although American authorities have said that they were satisfied no bombs fell inside Hanoi and that only military targets were attacked, the State Department said Thursday that "the possibility of an accident" could not be ruled out. A spokesman said that if the bombing had caused civilian injury or damage, the United States regretted it.]

This correspondent is no ballistics specialist, but inspection of several damaged sites and talks with witnesses make it clear that Hanoi residents certainly believe they were bombed by United States planes, that they certainly observed United States planes overhead and that damage certainly occurred right in the center of town.

LARGE, SPRAWLING CITY

Hanoi is a very large, sprawling city. The city proper has a population of 600,000, and the surrounding metropolitan area brings the total to 1,100,000.

The built-up, densely populated urban area extends for a substantial distance in all directions beyond the heavy-lined city boundaries shown on a map issued by the State Department and published in the New York Times of Dec. 17.

For instance, the Yenvien rail yard, which was listed as one of the targets in the raids Dec. 14 and 15, is in a built-up area that continues south west to the Red River with no visible breaks in residential quarters. Much the same is true of the Vandien truck park south of the city, which was another listed target.

Oil tanks between Yenvien and Gialam, listed as another target, are in a similarly populated region. It is unlikely that any bombing attack on such targets could be carried out without civilian damage and casualties.

The location of two of the damaged areas inspected today suggests that the western approaches to the Paul Doumer Bridge may have been the targets.

Both damaged areas lie in the Hoankiem quarter of Hanoi. Other administrative quarters of the city are Badinh, Haiba and Dongda. All have suffered some damage.

The first area inspected was Pho Nguyen Thiap Street, about a three-minute drive from the hotel and 100 yards from the central market. Thirteen houses were destroyed—one-story brick and stucco structures for the most part. The Phuc Lan Buddhist pagoda in the same street was badly damaged.

SAYS BOMB EXPLODED

Five persons were reported killed and 11 injured, and 39 families were said to be homeless.

Tuan Ngoc Trac, a medical assistant who lived at 46 Pho Nguyen Thiap Street, said he was just going to the clinic where he works when an air alert sounded, indicating planes 25 kilometers (about 15 miles) from Hanoi. He had stepped to the street with his medical bag in his hand when he heard a plane and flung himself to the ground.

He said that the next instant a bomb exploded just over a row of houses, collapsing nine on the other side of the street. Tuan Ngoc Trac displayed an American leaflet, which he said he had found in the street, warning Hanoi residents not to remain in the vicinity of military objectives.

The North Vietnamese say that almost simultaneously—also about 3 P.M. Dec. 13—about 300 thatch and brick homes and huts along the Red River embankment, possibly a quarter of a mile from Pho Nguyen Thiep Street and equally distant from the Thongnhat Hotel, were hit. The principal damage was again done by a burst just above the houses, but there were also three ground craters caused either by rocket bursts or small bombs.

This area, 200 by 70 yards, was leveled by blast and fire. Four persons were reported killed and 10 injured, most of the residents having been at work or in a large, well-constructed shelter.

HOUSE IS INSPECTED

Another damage site inspected was in the Badinh quarter, which is Hanoi's diplomatic section. There, on Khuc Hao Street, lies the rear of the very large Chinese Embassy compound, backing on the Rumanian Embassy. Minor damage was done to the roofs of the Chinese and Rumanian Embassies by what was said to have looked like rocket fire. Both embassies produced fragments, which they said had come from United States rocket bursts.

Also examined was a house on Hue Lane in the Haiba quarter. It was reported hit Dec. 2, with the death of one person and the wounding of seven others, including two children.

Contrary to the impression given by United States communiqués, on-the-spot inspection indicates that American bombing has been inflicting considerable civilian casualties in Hanoi and its environs for some time past.

The North Vietnamese cite as an instance the village of Phuxa, a market gardening suburb possibly four miles from the city center. The village of 24 houses was reported attacked at 12:17 P.M. Aug. 13 by a United States pilot trying to bomb a Red River dike. The village was destroyed and 24 people were killed and 23 wounded. The pilot was shot down.

A crater 25 feet deep was reported blasted in the dike, but it was said to have been filled within three hours. The village has now been completely rebuilt, and has a small museum of the mementos of the attack. In this museum is the casing of a United States fragmentation bomb, which bears the legend, "Loaded 7/66." A month after that date it was said to have fallen on Phuxa village, releasing 300 iron spheres, each about the size of a baseball and each loaded with 300 steel pellets about the size and shape of bicycle bearings. Those missiles are reported to have caused most of the Phuxa casualties.

It is the reality of such casualties and such apparent byproducts of the United States bombing policy that lend an atmosphere of grimness and foreboding to Hanoi's Christmas cease-fire. It is fair to say that, based on evidence of their own eyes, Hanoi residents do not find much credibility in United States bombing communiqués.

Slanting the News

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, while the editorial I am requesting to be included in the RECORD carries a past date, it is of sufficient import to share with my colleagues. It speaks of matters that are of intense interest to every citizen of this land. It is refreshing to know that there are those, whose responsibility it is to keep the public informed, who can cut through the fog of contradictions and get at the facts as they are. I congratulate the editor of one of Wisconsin's great newspapers, the Janesville Gazette, for his clear understanding and concise comments.

[From the Janesville (Wis.) Daily Gazette, Dec. 28, 1966]

SLANTING THE NEWS

The author of "Advise and Consent," Allen Drury, has a new book out in which one of the central figures is identified only as The Greatest Newspaper That Absolutely Ever Was. There is no doubt whatever that Drury refers to the New York Times.

The New York Times now has its own staff correspondent in Hanoi. Harrison Salisbury, an assistant managing editor who first gained notice as a Moscow correspondent back in the days when American newsmen in the Russian capital were as scarce as stockbrokers, was recently granted a visa and flown into North Vietnam from an undisclosed base in Cambodia.

Since the Communist ideal relative to freedom of the press is that the press should say precisely what it's instructed to, it seems a valid assumption that Salisbury would not have been allowed to report from Hanoi unless the Ho Chi Minh government had fair assurance it would be beneficial to the Red cause. And what is being transmitted under Salisbury's by-line should be satisfying beyond Ho's wildest dreams.

In essence: stop the bombing of North Vietnam.

Under the guise of factual reporting, the dispatches are so slanted as to evoke murmurs of envy in the editorial offices of The Daily Worker. Mostly taking the word of North Vietnamese officials, the stories filed so far make the direct charge that U.S. airplanes have been "systematically" attacking civilian population centers for the past year and a half.

Slyly, sympathy is drummed up for the Vietnamese Communists: the woman mayor of the city of Namdinh is described as "petite"; in Namdinh, Salisbury writes, not saying how he obtained the figures, 12,464 homes have been destroyed, 89 persons killed and 405 wounded by Air Force and Navy fliers. Yet, he states, the only installation which could conceivably be regarded as a legitimate target is a textile plant "whose most dangerous output from a military point of view would presumably be cloth for uniforms." It's been hit 19 times, he says.

In a dispatch datelined Hanoi, the Times correspondent again turns on the water. References to "slender young Hanoi wives" returning to the city to "spend Christmas with their families," "hundreds of mothers and small children perched on the backs of bicycles," the "mood of Hanoi . . . a city going about its business brisky, energetically, purposefully," "pretty girls camouflage their bicycles and conical straw hats. Why in the name of Goebbels anyone in the middle of a large city should bother to camouflage a hat against air bombardment is something that requires further contemplation.

Because of the assumed prestige of the New York Times and the fact that its syndicated news service is picked up by several other papers, some of which ought to know better, the Pentagon has been forced to issue a statement admitting—as though everyone over the age of six didn't already know it—that in the pursuit of military objectives bomber pilots occasionally, either accidentally or inadvertently, hit something else; that the North Vietnamese deliberately disperse their supplies of fuel and ammunition throughout populated areas, hoping they'll be spared.

This forced admission will, of course, be utilized to the fullest by the Communist and pro-Communist press around the world.

We had hoped that the New York Times, with its large and influential circulation, had learned a lesson in Cuba. With similar techniques it was instrumental in picturing Fidel Castro as a patriotic reformer struggling against the evil Batista dictatorship and thereby blunting the efforts of more perceptive observers who saw what was taking place.

Evidently The Greatest Newspaper That Absolutely Ever Was is still engaged in directing our foreign policy, not forthrightly in its opinion columns, but with front page editorialization of the most blatant kind.

We, too, are sorry for the noncombatants, old people and middle-age people as well as children, who are blown to bits during an air raid.

But we're even sorrier for the American kids who are riddled by enemy machine-gun fire in a crummy jungle halfway around the world while Great Thinkers back home demand that the aggressor's supply bases be left untouched.

The Merits of Old-Fashioned Discipline

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, Alan C. McIntosh, in a recent editorial in his Rock County Star Herald, took a look at a couple student demonstrations and decided "Razor straps were good character builders." I include his editorial at this point in my remarks.

IT'S SAFER IN SAIGON THAN IN OUR "HALLS OF IVY"

Too bad the old fashioned straight edge razor went out of style. Razor straps were good character builders.

Time will never dim the memory of the razor strap that hung in the bathroom on the second floor of the Park River, N.D. Presbyterian parsonage . . . or the frightful taste of yellow laundry soap used to wash out mouths that had said naughty words.

We have college campus demonstrations that could benefit greatly from a razor strap or a bar of laundry soap.

Hard to believe but true—a top military man is safer in Saigon than on an American college campus.

Twice in a week two of our highest military officials have had their lives jeopardized. Not by Saigon bombs or mobs but by American students.

Secretary of Defense McNamara had to be ignominiously sneaked to safety thru an underground steam tunnel at Harvard. General Earle G. Wheeler, Joint Chief of Staff chairman, was the target for angry demonstrators who tried to get at him when he spoke at Pembroke College, Providence, Rhode Island.

These disturbances didn't "just happen." It was far more than right of dissent and expression of views.

Men are fighting and dying in a dirty, ugly, bloody war so that young punks can have the privilege of calling the head of the Joint Chief of Staff a "war criminal."

Their actions convinces us that Darwin's theory is entirely right . . . we did come from apes . . . and the class of 1967 seems to be going "ape" again.

These are the punks who scream for freedom of speech—for themselves—but howl down anyone who tries to voice a different opinion.

These are the punks that demand freedom of assembly—so that they can launch mob action.

A razor strap course in character building early in life would have been a wonderful treatment.

A sad commentary but true—twice in a week it has been proven true that if you are a top military man you are safer in Saigon than in our "Halls of Ivy."

Reforming the Draft

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the President in his state of the Union message mentioned that the National Commission on the Draft will shortly report its findings. There seems to be no doubt that the selective service law will be revised in one way or another. In the fall edition of the Public Interest, Prof. Eli Ginzberg of Columbia University published an article in which he suggests the establishment of a lottery to remove the inequities of the present draft system. Professor Ginzberg, a highly regarded economist, who is an expert on manpower, has written a cogent article which deserves our attention as we prepare for the expected debate on the draft. It follows:

[From the Public Interest, fall 1966]

Reforming the Draft—The Case for a Lottery

(By Eli Ginzberg)

The problem of the draft has surfaced. The President, Congress, and the public now know that the process by which we procure our military manpower is defective. The mounting casualties in Vietnam have unquestionably helped focus attention on this issue: the fact that a high school graduate is 50 percent more likely than a college man to serve in the Army may be glossed over in times of peace, but will not go unnoticed once the number of wounded and dead begins to mount. The Act under which young men are drafted is entitled the Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1951, as amended. Today, this concept of "universality" is defined by the fact that only 46 percent of all men reaching 26 have served in the military.

The coincidence of military escalation in Vietnam and the jump in the number of young men reaching eighteen—reflecting the rise in the birth rate after World War II—have precipiated the debate that successive Administrations and Congresses have assiduously sought to avoid. Since, under existing arrangements, the Pentagon obtains without difficulty the number and quality of manpower it needs, and since the colleges are assured of the student flow which they need to operate optimally, it is understandable that policymakers have avoided disturbing the status quo. But they can avoid doing so no longer.

It is relatively easy to identify what is wrong with the draft as it presently operates. It favors those who have the financial and intellectual resources required for college attendance; until recently, it encouraged young men to marry in order to be deferred; until the recent expansion of the Armed Services from 2.7 million to 3 million, older men were more likely to be drafted than young men—a double disadvantage since men's lives are more likely to be disrupted at an older age and the military prefer younger men. A less obvious but still clear debit has been the influence of the draft in encouraging many students to enroll in college or graduate school for no reason other than to avoid the draft. Above all, it violates the concept of universality and has helped to make a mockery out of the democratic principle that the responsibility to bear arms rests equitably upon all males.

This list of shortcomings can be enlarged by noting that many presumably eligible men are rejected from military service; the accident of where a man is registered plays an important part in whether or not, and when, he is called up; and there has been no uniformity in the criteria which local boards follow in granting deferments.

THE MERITS OF SELECTIVE SERVICE

Nevertheless, there are strengths in this system which help explain why the American people were willing to accept it for more than a decade.

First of all, the draft has been a highly flexible instrument. During the year when the Korean buildup reached its height, 587,000 men were drafted; a decade later, the annual intake had dropped to 60,000; during a recent twelve months (July 1, 1965—June 30, 1966) 335,000 men were drafted.

Secondly, the draft has contributed markedly to enabling the Air Force, the Navy, and the Marine Corps to rely overwhelmingly on enlistees. Many men "volunteer" for these services because they know that otherwise they will be drafted. According to a special study of the Department of Defense, 38 percent of the regular enlistees "volunteered" for this reason, as did 41 percent of the officers and 71 percent of Reserve and National Guard enlistees. To the extent that the Armed Services gain from having their requirements met by enlistees—they serve longer and they are likely to have better morale than draftees—to that extent much of the credit belongs to the draft.

Finally, the draft has been operated so as to inhibit an inflow of large numbers of men who could not be readily absorbed into a military organization, whether because of lack of aptitude or because of other shortcomings. Not all of the selectivity in "selective service" has been unreasonable.

General Hershey would call attention to some additional benefits. He believes in citizen responsibility for the operations of the Selective Service System. He sees great merit in a system whereby call-ups and deferments are made by informed persons who live in the same communities as the registrants. The inventory of draft eligibles, maintained by the Selective Service System, is a major support of our mobilization base. In addition, General Hershey would note the remarkable freedom from bribery and other forms of chicanery which characterizes the Selective Service System.

There can be no doubt, then, that the draft has many assets as well as some liabilities. Since no system is perfect, why should we not leave it alone? Besides, there have been recent improvements. Since August, 1965, marriage has not been a ground for deferment, though it still often works out that way; the Armed Services have revised their criteria for selection and now accept certain men whom they formerly would have rejected; Congress has recently passed a new GI bill which is at least one step towards greater equity; and the Armed Services' requirements are such that they now induct men shortly after their twentieth birthday. What more can one system do?

THE DEMOGRAPHIC IMPERATIVE

If the demographic picture were to remain unchanged; *if* the strength of the Armed Services were to remain at the present ceiling of 3 million; *if* the Department of Defense were to cease its efforts to substitute civilian for military personnel—then there would indeed be a strong case for preserving selective service. However, we face a certain and continuing rise in the number of eighteen-year-olds to a level of over 2.1 million in 1974, which will represent more than a doubling of the number available during the early 1950's and a 40 percent increase over 1964. At pre-Vietnam force levels this would mean that, in 1974, only 1 out of every 3 young men reaching twenty-six would have served in the military; and even at the current force level the number would be only slightly more than 2 in 5. And such a surplus of eligible manpower would again threaten to force up the age of induction: our selective service system, operating to catch men before they reach the escape age of twenty-six, takes older men first. The Armed Forces would receive the wrong type of manpower; therefore, before long the present system will have to be changed because the Department of Defense itself will demand a change.

Before discussing desirable changes in the draft, we should explore the alternatives to the draft. Possibly we can get on without it; possibly not. A small number of people, including General Hershey, continue to favor the institution of universal military training, which was the proposal of the War Department at the end of World War II, but which was ceremoniously buried despite strong support from the Compton Commission and the advocacy of General Marshall. Such a proposal would mean that every young man capable of military service at the age of eighteen would undergo four to six months of military training, and from this total group the Armed Services would obtain—by enlistment or some form of compulsion—the numbers required to meet their needs. But UMT would meet only part of the equity problem—it is unlikely that there would be enough enlistments to obviate the need for a selective draft; it would be inefficient—the short training would not be of much value; and it would be very costly—perhaps as much as $2 to $3 billion every year.

Another proposal aimed at better matching the large numbers available for service and the limited needs of the Armed Services is to reduce the required length of service for draftees to below the present two-year minimum. However, even with two years of service for draftees the Army gets limited use out of many men, since so much time must be devoted to processing, training, and traveling. The small gains which would be made in equity by drafting larger numbers for a shorter period of time would be more than counterbalanced by large losses in efficiency and economy.

Can we eliminate the draft completely and have the Armed Services rely solely on volunteers? The Department of Defense has recently estimated that even after taking into account the larger pool of eighteen-year-olds who will be available in the early 1970's, the maximum all-volunteer force that could be maintained would be 2 million at the present 4 percent level of unemployment, and 2.2 million if a 5.5 unemployment rate were postulated. This would leave a significant deficit even if force levels returned to their pre-Vietnam figures. An even more serious problem would be how the Armed Services could attract the specialists who play an even larger role in the successful operation of modern military organizations. For example, how could the Armed Services induce 3,000 physicians to volunteer for active duty?

Despite the contentions of some economists, such as Milton Friedman, it is doubtful that the American people would approve of an additional annual expenditure of between $4 and $17 billion dollars for our Armed Forces; this is the sum which the Department of Defense calculates would be necessary to recruit and support an all-volunteer force at the pre-Vietnam level. These sizable additional expenditures have taken into account offsetting savings in training costs and in reduced turnover that a career force would make possible.

A further objection to an all-volunteer force is that it would be exceedingly difficult to man the active reserves. Moreover, the costs of responding to a sudden increase in requirements, such as during the buildup in Vietnam, could be horrendous if we had to rely on monetary incentives to attract quickly several hundred thousand additional men.

A third approach would be to develop, under universal "military" training, a system of civilian assignments which would be considered the equivalent of a term of duty in the Armed Services. Currently, two years in the Peace Corps is treated in this way by most draft boards. Can we designate a large number of such positions—teaching or social work in depressed rural and urban areas, scientific or technical work in specified fields, civilian jobs in U.S. overseas operations other than the Peace Corps? The list of high priority useful jobs can be readily enlarged.

However, there are many objections to this proposal, too. Among the most important are the clear advantages that this would give to young people from middle and upper income homes who attend or graduate from college. In addition, the problem which would result from paying these young people at the prevailing rate of civilian wages would be enormous—as would be the problem which would result from paying them less! Furthermore, the availability of alternatives to military duty might have a serious effect on the inflow of trained manpower into the Armed Services; any other assumption would not be realistic. Finally, our liberal-democratic traditions view with strong distaste the kind of large scale and permanent governmental direction of civilian labor that such a program would entail.

These arguments against the suspension or abolition of the draft hold for now and for the proximate future. If the fighting in Vietnam were to come to a halt; if no other front were to become active; if the size of the Armed Forces could be reduced from the present three million to closer to two million; if energetic efforts were made to replace several hundred thousand men in uniform (in clerical positions, in base maintenance, in hospitals) with civilians; if the reserve structure could be further reduced—then in fact it might be worthwhile to see whether the conditions of military service could be improved to a point where the Armed Services might obtain the military manpower they need solely through enlistments. But this is clearly something for the distant future, not for tomorrow.

THE LOTTERY AS A WORKABLE ALTERNATIVE

The real challenge is to design an alternative that will result in a more universal sharing of the risk of service while providing the Armed Services, at a reasonable cost, with the numbers and quality of manpower they require. In my opinion, a lottery can substantially meet the test for equity. If all young men are not needed by the Armed Services, a lottery is the fairest method of determining on whom the obligation should fall. However, even a lottery should not mandate the induction of all those selected at one specific age, such as nineteen. It is clearly advantageous for the Armed Services if certain young men complete college or even go further in their education before they are called upon to serve. Those who receive a deferment to continue their education, however, must take their chances when they complete their schooling. They would enter the lottery at that point. A rough estimate suggests that since more than 70 percent of all young men complete high school, and since half go on to junior or four-year college, approximately one-third would enter the lottery at an age older than nineteen.

The key element of a national lottery for military service is an annual list of all young men liable for military service. The requirements of the Armed Services would determine the proportion of the group to be called. Those not called in any one year could make their plans reasonably assured that they would not be called at all, except in an emergency. Such a system could be put in effect just as soon as the international situation begins to stabilize. Unless the Vietnam war accelerates far beyond our worst fears, the number of young men available for service will grow steadily larger than the number required.

General Hershey is fundamentally opposed to the lottery. He argues that it has not worked satisfactorily in the past and that it would be unsatisfactory again. He states that the American people would object if such fundamental decisions as who should serve and who should be deferred were to hang on the turn of a wheel. He believes that reliance on the decisions of local citizens is much to be preferred.

Now, it is quite true that no system can be perfect and that the most carefully constructed lottery will have its faults. Thus, if the requirements of the Armed Services fluctuate, the risk for men entering the lottery in one year instead of another will not be the same. This kind of multiple chanciness can be nerve-wracking for those who are involved. But the fact remains that the present system cannot be continued and will not be continued once the Congress and the Presidential Commission highlight its gross inequities. Given that fact, a lottery would appear to be the most sensible and least problematic of all alternatives to selective service.

A lottery can be reinforced with "fringe benefits" to make the incidence of luck less brutal. Since there would still be gross differences in sacrifices between those who serve and those who do not, the gap could be reduced by raising the level of military pay and by providing educational and training benefits for the inductee and enlistee. For instance, it would be desirable if the armed services were to provide educational and training benefits, prior to their entering upon a term of active duty, for young men who join the enlisted reserve. Such a system would prove both efficient and economic, since it would reduce the amount of time and resources that the Armed Services have to devote to training their own specialists. The G.I. bill, which was recently passed, also makes a contribution to greater equity. I would further favor providing transitional education and training benefits for career men who, at the end of twenty years service, must fit themselves into the civilian economy.

One other point: present standards for military service lead to the rejection of large numbers of young men of limited aptitude and education—roughly one third of the age class. The manpower pool is sufficiently large that the Armed Services do not have to induct the hard-to-train and hard-to-discipline. From the vantage point of the Armed Services, such a policy is easy to appreciate. But if the frame of reference is broadened from the military to the national scene this policy is not the only possible—or the only correct—one. Under recent federal legislation, we have been spending over two billion dollars annually in training and retraining young people without jobs; and we shall probably soon spend much more. In World War II, the Armed Services, particularly the Army, did an outstanding job in providing special training opportunities for a half million illiterates.

The establishment of the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and other training and training-related efforts under civilian auspices appears to have decided the issue in favor of the civilian sector.

Yet the recent statement of the Secretary of Defense that the Armed Services will induct annually about 100,000 men with low aptitude scores suggests that some policy ambivalence exists about the preferred manner of dealing with disadvantaged youth.

This move by the Department of Defense may provide the opportunity for a good experimental study of the relative effectiveness of military versus civilian efforts at socialization of, and skill acquisition by, disadvantaged youth. It is by no means clear that private corporations, nonprofit organizations, or civilian governmental departments will be able to do as good a job as the Armed Services.

This much is clear: military manpower policy can never be effectively separated from national manpower policy. And national manpower policy must always be the concern of the entire citizenry.

Tribute to Pfc. Milton Olive III, Congressional Medal of Honor Winner, by Edward C. Logelin III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, the American people have, during the past few months, been shocked, ashamed, and disgusted at the actions of those who have in various ways obstructed the war effort. It is my firm belief that such irresponsible elements represent only an infinitesimal percentage of our population.

While many of those who have attempted to stop troop trains, hinder the operations of defense industries, and interfere with the draft are young people, they do not speak for more than a handful of our youth. More representative of the attitude of the younger generation was the action of Milton Olive III, who made the supreme sacrifice in Vietnam.

The following account by Edward C. Logelin III, which appeared in the 1966 edition of Ariel, a publication of Lawrence University, Appleton, Wis., is an eloquent recognition of the heroism of Private Olive. Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert Mr. Logelin's tribute:

[From the 1966 edition, Ariel, Lawrence University, Appleton, Wis.]

(By Edward C. Logelin III)

In a small jungle clearing near Lai Khe, South Vietnam, five young men sat around a flickering fire and talked.

They talked of many things: Vietnam, home, civil rights, and the future.

Finally, a young Negro P.F.C. rose to his feet calling an end to the discussion by saying, "What it all boils down to is that you gotta care. You just gotta care."

A few weeks later, that same young man became the eighth member of his race to win the Congressional Medal of Honor. He did it by diving on top of a Viet Cong handgrenade to save the lives of his buddies at the price of his own.

At that moment, he did not stop to ask whether or not he had been fairly treated as a citizen or if one of the men he saved thought of him as less than a man. At that moment, he passed beyond the questions of race, creed, or color.

Maybe this is what we can learn from Vietnam and the meaning we can find in such a controversial situation. In that moment, P.F.C. Milton Olive III was saying that he believed, that he hoped, that he cared. Perhaps in Vietnam we can find a preview of what a country and a people are capable of being—what a people and a country will be.

Today in Vietnam, the American is being asked to be more than a fighting man to do more as an individual than in any other war in our history. He is asked to be a witness for that which he believes in, an ambassador for his way of life and his country.

Yesterday, he may have been walking to a class or boarding a bus; Today, he is walking down a jungle road or jumping from a helicopter. Vietnam's worth is being debated today and will continue to be debated in the future. Achievements from a limited war never offer complete satisfaction for both sides, but in the satisfaction inherent in an individual's fulfillment of a goal affecting a nation, Vietnam does offer a "Year of Opportunity."

Gang Revenge More Feared Than Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, crime on our city streets has now reached an intolerable level. In the state of the Union speech last night, it was proposed that in order to cope with this growing problem we must spend more Federal dollars to improve local law enforcement. But what good is better law enforcement when today's criminal has been given the impression—rightly or wrongly—that even if he is caught and convicted, it will only be a short time before he is back on the streets. Many of the recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States have undermined the efforts of our local law-enforcement agencies. In the following editorial from the Peoria Journal Star of January 6 it is made clear that today's gangs and crooks have more fear of their own criminal associates' brand of law enforcement than they do of the police.

I include this editorial at this point in the Record:

GANG REVENGE MORE FEARED THAN COURT

The other day a youth told a Peoria court that he did not fire a shotgun at another young person and would not because he knew that if he did and killed anybody he himself would be killed within a week.

He proceeded to describe a series of youth gangs in our city that he said were heavily armed, describing all manner of weapons "imported from Chicago." He did not fear being tried in court if he killed someone. He feared being executed by the authority of such a gang . . . and promptly.

The real significance of this testimony, as has been the conduct of other accused persons and too many witnesses, lies not in the degree of truth or possible exaggeration of such remarks.

It lies in the reality that a growing number of young people in some districts of this city, as in many other towns, are not the least bit afraid or respectful of police, courts, or law enforcement . . . in comparison with the awe they have for "enforcement" practiced by "the gang" or by the criminal element.

In our search for aesthetic perfection in the laws and enforcement of society, we have abdicated the power of society and made it a poor second to the "laws" laid down by gangs and by crooks.

A few days in jail, a fine, a warning, or a ten per cent bond simply do not carry the weight that a terrible beating or murderous execution at the hands of a gang or the hands of criminals who don't give a hoot about "constitutional rights" carries.

A witness is not inclined to testify to an assault, for example, knowing that even if the youth they are testifying against is convicted the probability is that he will be free that night—and surely in a few days. The witness is not afraid of the court nor of perjury. He or she is afraid of being killed or maimed or badly hurt if they do speak.

By being so very, very civilized in the safe and comfortable marble halls of the U.S. Supreme Court building, we have succeeded in turning over a large proportion of our young people to the tender and unrestrained mercies of the most irresponsible hoodlums in town—with no effective protection. (Not to mention a growing number of the elderly.)

We have established the "laws" of outlaws as the effective law in the streets of our "progressive" society—and the supposedly real law as a kind of game for legal philosophers with little relation to the social purposes it was intended to serve.

Historically, of course, such conditions tend to get worse until they become absolutely intolerable.

At that point, society re-establishes its authority with a vengeance.

Thus, it may well be that our "humanitarian" excesses will lead us not toward a perfect justice but toward a more ruthless "justice" than has been that of the past.

Harrison E. Salisbury Reports From Hanoi—II, III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to call the attention of my colleagues to two dispatches from North Vietnam by Harrison E. Salisbury which appeared in the New York Times of December 27, 1966. They follow:

[From the New York Times, Dec. 27, 1966]

U.S. RAIDS BATTER TWO TOWNS; SUPPLY ROUTE IS LITTLE HURT

These dispatches depict two aspects of the war in North Vietnam—the extensive bombings and the enemy's speed in repairing communications. The writer is an assistant managing editor of The New York Times. He reached Hanoi on Friday from Pnompenh, Cambodia, on a plane of the International Control Commission for Vietnam after his visa application had been approved by Hanoi and his passport validated by Washington for travel to North Vietnam.

(By Harrison E. Salisbury)

Hanoi, North Vietnam, December 25.—Hanoi's Christmas quiet was shattered at 2:30 P.M. today when an air alert sounded, antiaircraft guns roared and a United States plane was reported shot down.

Residents in the center of Hanoi reported that they had heard the sound of aircraft shortly after the alert sounded. Almost immediately, antiaircraft guns fired and the United States plane was reported downed. Another alert was sounded when a second plane appear about 12 miles from the city.

Hanoi's alert was apparently the same as that touched off in Namdinh, 50 miles to the southeast, where this correspondent was inspecting earlier bomb damage. The alarm sounded at Namdinh at 2:26 P.M., when it was announced the plane had been sighted approaching from the north.

Mayor Tran Thi Doan, a petite 40-year-old woman, led a group of officials to a shelter beside the City Hall, where she continued to tell of a series of 51 raids on the city up to Friday. None of the raids, as far as she knew, had ever been announced in the West.

The Namdinh alert continued until 2:47 P.M.—which residents thought remarkably long since fast-flying planes had time to make several round trips from the vicinity of Hanoi in that period. However, this duration may have been occasioned by the reported downing of the American plane. The 2:26 alert, at Namdinh was the third on Christmas Day. Namdinh officials attributed the alerts to American reconnaissance, which they believed had been continued despite the Christmas truce.

Christmas wasn't a joyous occasion for Namdinh although strings of small red pennants decorated the old gray, stucco Catholic church and a white Star of Bethlehem had been mounted on the pinnacle of the tower. Few Americans have heard of Namdinh, although until recently it was the third largest North Vietnamese city.

Mayor Dean regards her city as essentially a cotton-and-silk textile town containing nothing of military significance. Namdinh has been systematically attacked by American planes since June 28, 1965.

The cathedral tower looks out on block after block of utter desolation; the city's population of 90,000 has been reduced to less than 20,000 because of evacuation; 13 per cent of the city's housing, including the homes of 12,464 people, have been destroyed; 89 people have been killed and 405 wounded.

No American communiqué has asserted that Namdinh contains some facility that the United States regards as a military objective. It is apparent, on personal inspection, that block after block of ordinary housing, particularly surrounding a textile plant, has been smashed to rubble by repeated attacks by Seventh Fleet planes.

The town lies only 20 miles inland, which may explain why the Seventh Fleet seems to have made it its particular target. "The textile plant, whose most dangerous output from a military point of view would presumably be cloth for uniforms, has been bombed 19 times, but is still operating under great difficulty.

Other industries in Namdinh include a rice-processing plant, a silk factory, an agricultural-tool plant, a fruit-canning plant and a thread cooperative. All have been damaged in raids. The least affected operation is the rice mill, which is working at normal capacity.

Street after street in Namdinh has been abandoned and houses stand torn and gaping. One deserted street is Hang Thao or Silk Street, which was the center of the silk industry. Almost every house on the street was blasted down April 14 at about 6:30 A.M. just as the factory shifts were changing.

Forty-nine people were killed, 135 were wounded on Hang Thao and 240 houses collapsed. Eight bombs—MK–84's accomplished this. These are huge weapons weighing about 2,000 pounds.

The residents of Namdinh have become specialists in United States weapons. They rattle off names like MK–81, MK–83 and MK–84 and various categories of missiles, including Bullpups, as baseball fans do batting averages, most attacks have been carried out by F–105's and F–4's but B–57's, A–3's, A–4's and A–6A's have also been used.

Another target in Namdinh has been the Dao (Black) River dike. The dike has been hit six times and there have been many near-misses. Breaching of the dike would seriously affect the region's rice agriculture. However, supplemental and reinforcing dikes have been built. And with a plentiful labor force always at hand to repair gaps quickly, the danger of serious damage by air attack seems minimal.

CALLED AN OBJECT LESSON

Why have American planes devoted all this unannounced attention to Namdinh? "Americans think they can touch our hearts," Nguyen Tien Canh of Namdinh's City Council said, apparently meaning that Americans thought they could intimidate the populace by continuous attacks.

A second suggestion was that the unannounced assault on Namdinh was supposed to be an object lesson to show Hanoi what United States air power could accomplish if it was directed more powerfully to North Vietnam's capital.

Whatever the explanation, one can see that United States planes are dropping an enormous weight of explosives on purely civilian targets. Whatever else there may be or might have been in Namdinh, it is the civilians who have taken the punishment.

A brief tour of Namha Province in which Namdinh lies, shows Namdinh is far from being exceptional.

President Johnson's announced policy that American targets in North Vietnam are steel and concrete rather than human lives seems to have little connection with the reality of attacks carried out by United States planes.

A notable example is Phuly, a town about 35 miles south of Hanoi on Route 1. The town had a population of about 10,000. In attacks on Oct. 1, 2 and 9, every house and building was destroyed. Only 40 were killed and wounded because many people had left town and because an excellent manhole-shelter system was available.

The community had no industry, but lay astride a highway and a railroad line running from Hanoi, which had a couple of sidings in town. Presumably, planes were attacking the railroad. But in the process they destroyed another residential community.

Since bombing is far from an accurate process, at best, and since people in Vietnam work, live, study and amuse themselves in the same streets as those on which military targets are situated or on adjacent blocks, the outlook is for more destruction to life, residential quarters, schools and every other variety of nonmilitary facility. The same rule applies whether the target is so-called Hanoi vicinity, a crossroads, a village or a hamlet.

[From the New York Times, Dec. 27, 1966]

Foe's Transport Little Affected by Raids on Key Supply Route

Hanoi, North Vietnam, December 26.—Viewed from air reconnaissance or on photographic maps, National Route 1, the old French-built highway that runs south from Hanoi to Saigon, must look like a bombadier's dream target.

The highway and a railroad run parallel only a few feet apart, mile after mile, straight across the table-flat delta of the Red River. The highway is marked by lovely, regularly planted shade trees, and camouflage, disguise or concealment is utterly impossible.

This is no jungle country. This is no tricky mountain terrain. This is rich, flat ricelands crisscrossed by irrigation flows and paddy fields. The railroad and highway could not be a plainer target if they were picked out by continuously flashing beacon lights.

It is easy to imagine Air Force strategists inspecting a map and concurring that Hanoi's southward supply services can easily be interdicted by a few easily placed bombs.

But appearances can be remarkably deceiving, as ground-level inspection of Route 1 quickly discloses. Viewed on the ground, it is obvious that the "dream target" is in reality a snare and a delusion.

The railroad and highway have been bombed again and again and again, but it is doubtful that rail traffic has ever been held up more than a few hours, and the highway seems capable of operating almost continuously regardless of how many bombs are dropped.

The secret of the railroad is simple and it lies beyond the ability of air power to interdict.

If the track uses small, light equipment when a bomb smashes the rails or overturns a car, removal and repair problems are simple. Gangs of workmen can easily clear the line. Moreover, repair materials probably sufficient to construct two or three additional railroads are kept on hand, seldom more than a few hundreds yards from any possible break.

The same thing, only more so, is true of the highway, which can be repaired and restored even more rapidly by the use of readily available manpower and repair materials similarly stockpiled in advance, apparently along the whole expanse of Route 1.

The results of American bombing of the route are readily visible—particularly in small villages and hamlets along the route. They have suffered severely, often being almost obliterated. But the effect on transportation has been minimal.

Another factor in this situation is not visible to reconaissance planes. This is that almost everything movable in North Vietnam can be moved equally well either by train or by truck, and the truck routes are virtually noninterdictable.

There is a third major alternative—human backs, bicycles and carts. As the Korean War demonstrated, where trucks and human carrying power are available as alternatives, it is impossible to interdict supply movements.

Even in the region of the Seventeenth Parallel, which divides North and South Vietnam, where United States bombs have leveled the whole countryside, movement continues by night with little impediment.

A basic flaw in the bombing policy from a military viewpoint would seem to be its failure to take into account the nature of the country and the people to which it is being applied. If the Pennsylvania Railroad and the major highway to Washington were bombed out, the disruption of United States supplies and services would be enormous and the military consequences in wartime would be grave.

Here it is hardly felt. Traffic and supplies simply flow around and past the point of interuption and the damage to rail or highway is quickly made good. The principal sufferers are the people who have the misfortune to live along the railroad and highway and on whose homes far more bombs rain down.

Another example of the ground-level reality of United States bombing compared with the communiqué version relates to air attacks carried out Dec. 13 and 14 in Hanoi. One of the United States targets was specified by the communiqué as a "truck park at Vandien."

Vandien is in the southern part of Hanoi along Route 1. Administratively it is separate from Hanoi, but actually it is a continuous part of the urban center. United States maps show the truck park as situated just east of Route 1.

In fact, there is a large, open area with light buildings and compounds that may or may not have been a truck park, lying possibly a quarter-mile east of Route 1, which has been badly smashed by bombs.

But the bomb damage does not halt at the compound lines. It extends over an area of probably a mile or so on both sides of the highway, and among the structures destroyed in the attack was the Vietnam-Polish Friendship senior high school, lying on the west side of the highway, probably three-quarters of a mile from the presumed United States target.

It is the conviction of the North Vietnames that the United States is deliberately directing bombs against the civilian population although ostensibly contending that "military objectives" are the target.

Technology and Mining

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, the application of research and technology to one of the most ancient of man's industrial pursuits—mining—has contributed in no small measure to the continuing leadership of this Nation in the world marketplace. As an outstanding example of this constant industrial progress, I submit for my colleagues the remarks of Mr. Frank Coolbaugh, chairman of the board of American Metal Climax, Inc., delivered at Climax, Colo., on November 19, 1966, on the occasion of that company's dedication of a molybdenum oxide chemical recovery plant.

The address follows:

Governor Love, Congressman Aspinall, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen; representing AMAX, but more importantly as a long time resident of Climax, I am most happy to welcome you on the occasion of this dedication of our oxide molybdenum plant. This facility which you will see this afternoon does not represent a large production unit in terms of molybdenum output when compared with many of the other expansions which have previously taken place at this mine. It does, however, represent a new plateau in the development of processes for the economic recovery of molybdenum from associated minerals which had heretofore stubbornly resisted practical extractive techniques. This new plant also serves to highlight the stress which this company has given to research in its long range plans for growth and stability.

Sometimes it takes the tenacity of a bulldog, and more, to fight an idea through to fruition. Such has been the case with the recovery of oxide molybdenum. The first test work for oxide recovery was not initiated in the 30s or the 50s but in 1919, shortly after our original mill was put on stream in 1918 during World War I. Because molybdenum was strictly a war material at that time, the mill was shut down before midyear in 1919. A laboratory was rented in Golden, however, to pursue the exide recovery problem along with other metallurgical approaches. This program was carried on for something under a year when it had to be terminated for budget reasons. The seed of this idea never died, however, and now, after some 45 years, it has germinated. An interesting sidelight on that little laboratory which was rented in the old experimental plant at Golden in 1919 is that it served as the starting point for the Research Foundation of the Colorado School of Mines, which is today one of our country's great metallurgical research institutions.

I am proud to consider myself as one of the Climax pioneers and, while I can't lay claim to playing a part in its early development or operation during prewar and World War I days, I am sure I am safe in saying that since the time I was employed as a laborer in the Climax mine in 1933 I have witnessed most of the expansion steps and, in some instances, might even claim to have assisted in the decisions which have made this company the industry leader it is today.

I will now take this opportunity to bring you up through the years since Climax's inception, briefly outlining our development pattern, and describing our progress toward meeting our obligations to the public, our customers, our shareholders, and our employees, by the almost continuous application of the processes and products of research, experimentation, and innovation.

The earliest ore reserve determination and the methods for mining and concentrating the ore above the Leal Level of this mine (which would be well above the 12,000 foot elevation mark) were predicated on producing an average grade of ore between 1½ and 2% MoS_2. In fact, at that time the cutoff grade was 1%. Even with this high grade ore, production costs were high and a price of $4 a pound for molybdenum realized only a nominal profit.

Of course, what was considered a substantial ore reserve then would be exhausted in 3 or 4 months' time at today's production rate. Our latest indicated reserves, added to the tonnage which has been extracted from the mine since 1919, are more than 100 times greater than the economic reserves indicated before World War I. From that time until now we have pursued a steady and successful campaign whereby both technological application and individual effort and experience have made it possible for us to periodically lower our cutoff grades of ore in the mine, and thus effect a complete change of concept regarding production levels and economic reserves. Even in the face of the steady trend toward higher costs for manpower and materials, we have, over the years, substantially increased the productivity rate and lowered the unit costs of processing the ore. Today, however, in an all-out effort to maximize our production and reserve picture and to employ the highest degree of conservation of this great mineral asset, we have reduced the cutoff, or break-even, grade of ore to something less than 2/10 of 1% MoS_2 and no amount of research has as yet indicated a way of reversing the trend toward a gradual diminishing margin of profit which we must realize on each pound of molybdenum produced.

The research and experimental efforts and applications at Climax have taken many forms. In the first place, most of the ideas have been conceived and planned by the doers we find in our own operating, technical and service organizations. Secondly, they may be the result of the follow-up or adaptation of some technique or methods developed by another company. And, while we do brag a lot about our high standing as a research oriented company, we can hardly lay claim to knowing it all and, seriously, could not afford to overlook the tested and proven developments or techniques worked out by others. That is, of course, assuming they are available to us for study, testing and eventual implementation. Thirdly, is the direct use of research teams or organizations whose primary purpose is research and development and who may be charged with either specific or multiple research objectives. Within the Climax organization we have several permanent research organizations and laboratories. Our largest and our basic unit is located in Ann Arbor, Michigan, where it adjoins the University of Michigan campus. In this facility, where 90 people are employed, a major emphasis is directed to alloy applications in iron and steel which, of course, is responsible in a large part for putting molybdenum on the map and keeping it there, by means of the demands for quality and dependability which have been established in Industry throughout the world. While primarily occupied with the metallurgy of iron and steel, this laboratory works in close harmony with the process research laboratories of the company, located at the Climax refinery in Langeloth, Pennsylvania, at its Golden, Colorado, laboratory, and at the Climax laboratory here. These three process research establishments are the work horses of the operating plants. They continue to hammer away at the basic objective of improving process efficiencies even though they realize it will never end. Concurrently, they must also be ready to assist, plan and implement whatever new problems or ideas are brought to their attention which might have a beneficial impact on the company's business.

Even with this pool of experience, and the scientific and experimental facilities which are provided, it has often been necessary to retain special consultants and to farm out research or experimental projects to outside organizations. Such was the case in our determination to get along with the oxide project. In this instance, two Colorado research organizations and a Canadian firm of metallurgical consultants were called in to work with a carefully selected group of technical men from the various company research laboratories and from its operating management. I can only say that I feel this specific joint enterprise has represented one of the most productive and efficient research teams with whom I have ever had the opportunity to be associated.

How have we applied research and technology to our mining system at Climax?

The problems which have faced our mine managers and engineers throughout the years are much the same as have faced mine operators everywhere. I like to feel, however, that the extra, special effort which has been directed to planning and research at Climax has been the rule rather than the exception, and it has paid us back handsomely many times over. A completely new caving method of mining was developed by Climax engineers and miners and tailored to the Climax ore deposit through years of study and pilot experiments. A continual process of improvement and technological change keeps this unique system up to date. This mining method has been used as a pattern at several other major mining operations. The mine loading and haulage system is also under continual study and change much as traffic and transportation problems are covered in an efficient highly populated industrial center. Special emphasis in the design and planning of the loading and haulage systems, as well as in the development of improved mining and blasting techniques, has proven effective and rewarding in establishing the best safety and ventilation applications. Dozens of items of mining equipment have been conceived, built and adapted to Climax use from which they have provided major efficiencies and cost savings. As the newer mining levels dropped deeper under Bartlett Mountain, improved techniques for underground crushing, and for lifting the ore to surface, provided special and knotty research problems. The resultant incline conveyor system for the 600 and 900 foot mining levels, which has been accepted and is under construction, will undoubtedly provide another industry model for efficiency, production and low cost.

The Climax surface plant has been a research man's dream. In its early operations the mill produced a very low grade molybdenum sulfide concentrate from a very high grade ore at a very low recovery rate. To enumerate all of the in-process and laboratory projects which have been completed in our desire and drive to improve on these metallurgical processes would literally take days. I will not try, in fact, except to point out that at our present plateau we produce a very high grade molydbenum sulfide concentrate and maintain a high recovery rate. (I wouldn't want it to get around, however, that I think the present recovery rate is good enough.) At the same time, the grade of mill feed has fallen so low that it would have been classified as "potato dirt" and worthless a few years back.

While our main target has always been to produce more moly with less waste from this rock pile under Bartlett Mountain, we have, since the mid-30s, also been intrigued and possessed with the possibilities and problems of extracting the economic metal and mineral by-products which are associated with the molybdenum sulfide in the ore. In other words, to use a timeworn phrase, to get everything out of the pig but the squeal. We have now progressed a long way toward this goal but feel that there may still be further substantial by-product contibutions. As a result of our research efforts to date we are now an important producer of tungsten at Climax. In fact, I believe the second largest in the United States. We are the only domestic tin producer, although it is minor production compared to the other by-products. And, we are a substantial producer of high grade pyrite for the chemical industry. Now, of course, we have added moly oxide. Some of the other by-products which we know exist in substantial quantities, and which we feel may be included as potential future products, include topaz, fluorite and a few of the rare earths.

As we look ahead toward production from our developing project at Urad in the upper Clear Creek Valley, or from other likely prospects in Colorado and elsewhere, we are confronted in each case by a new set of parameters on which to base our technological assessments. Since we expect, in most cases, to be dealing with marginal projects, as compared to Climax, the research phase is doubly important if we are to justify their existence as operating entities.

In closing, I hope I have not overworked this research concept and have, in fact, successfully conveyed to you the importance which we attach to research and its proper application throughout all phases of our business. This is true not only in the Climax Company but also with every other division and subsidiary unit of American Metal Climax.

Harrison Salisbury Reports From Hanoi—IV, V

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of the Members of the Congress the dispatches by Harrison E. Salisbury from North Vietnam which appeared in the New York Times of December 28 and December 29, 1966.

They follow:

[From the New York Times, Dec. 28, 1966]

HANOI DURING AN AIR ALERT: WAITRESSES TAKE UP RIFLES

(By Harrison E. Salisbury)

HANOI, NORTH VIETNAM, December 27.—Just before 2:25 P.M. yesterday, there was a muffled distant roar, 10-foot windows in this old French-built hotel rattled and heavy gray curtains gently swayed inward.

At the count of three there was another tremendous distant rumble and again the windows shook and the curtains swayed. Moments later came a third.

The wail of a siren then sounded the alert, and the hotel's defense staff scrambled for tin hats and rifles.

Guests emerged from their rooms and hurried down the great marble staircase, through the long lounge with its slightly bedraggled tropical Christmas tree, its bar with a remarkable collection of liquors of all lands—including Stolichnaya vodka from Moscow, rice wine from Peking and Gordon's gin from London—and out across the interior courtyard, where shelters are situated.

By the time the guests had begun to descend into the sturdy concrete bunker, little waitresses in their black sateen trousers and white blouses stood ready with rifles to fire at any low-flying planes.

Inside the shelter, by curious coincidence, Americans found themselves in the majority—four members of an American peace delegation, Mrs. Grace Newman of New York; Mrs. Joe Griffith, whose husband is a Cornell instructor; Mrs. Diane Bevel, associated with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and Miss Barbara Deming of Liberation magazine, and this correspondent.

But it was a widely international group, including the deputy director of Tass, Aleksandra A. Vishnevsky, who chanced to be in town; a correspondent of the Italian Communist newspaper L'Unita, members of a Soviet trade-union delegation, two Cubans and an East German, there were no Chinese.

The foreigners chatted a little excitedly about what was to most a new thrill. But to the Vietnamese air alerts and air raids are no novelty and no thrill; they are deadly serious business.

The pretty waitresses with rifles are part of this serious business. It is unlikely that United States planes are brought down by rifle fire, but the population is trained to man posts and throw up a hurricane of small-arms fire in support of conventional antiaircraft and missile defenses.

The small-arms fire has two purposes.

First, it is designed to make United States low-level attacks increasingly hazardous. According to Hanoi residents, low-level bombing is frequently employed by United States planes in an effort to circumvent the radar and missile system.

Second, the firing of rifles gives the populace a feeling of participation and of fighting back—important in maintaining morale and counteracting the feelings of helplessness and defenselessness that civilian populations often experience.

The alert yesterday was only six or seven minutes long. It was caused, the authorities said, by the appearance of a pilotless American reconnaissance craft near the city. The three tremendous blasts presumably were SAM surface-to-air missiles. The same kind of robot plane, it was disclosed caused Hanoi's Christmas alert at almost the same hour.

Today the foreign press corps was taken to see where the drone that appeared on Christmas was shot down. They went on a convoy of half a dozen cars, most of them covered with camouflage fishnet, which quickly slides over the roof and hood and into which leaves and greenery can be slipped.

Hardly a car or truck moves outside Hanoi without camouflage, and most cars in the city are permanently bedecked. So, for that matter, are many people, who wear sprays of leaves and branches in their helmets or straw hats. This too is part of an organized, well-designed effort to reduce bombing hazards.

The caravan made its way northeast across the Paul Doumer Bridge. . It appeared, from this trip across the bridge, that bombing on Dec. 14 was directed at its approaches and fell short in each case, striking residential quarters. The bombs dropped in the Hoan Kiem and Gialem and Yenvien quarters.

Describing the Yenvien attack, an American communiqué said the target was rail yards. Some bombs certainly fell along the railroad. But there are large numbers of apartment houses close by, and one after another was blasted out.

Because of the highly organized repair facilities, rail traffic is moving normally, but residents who were not casualties have been compelled to leave their destroyed homes.

The drone downed on Christmas Day fell 12 or 13 miles northeast of the city in the Tienson district of Habac Province. It proved to be a Ryan model with a wingspread of about 18 feet that the Americans call the Firebee.

The wing and fuselage, somewhat crumpled, lay in a pile. Eight or nine girls dug in muck about seven feet deep for the engine, which was gradually being recovered.

The robot plane, which was shot down adjacent to the main rail line linking Hanoi to China, presumably had been dispatched to transmit photographic intelligence on rail conditions and traffic movements. According to the girls digging out the engine, the drone was at an altitude of only about a mile when downed.

The seriousness with which the North Vietnamese take the air threat has undoubtedly kept civilian casualties lower than might be expected in comparison with the vast damage said to have been done to ordinary living quarters and the destruction reported in small towns and villages.

The key to this is the manhole concrete shelter, which seems to be a North Vietnamese invention. There are hundreds of thousands of them along every highway and every city street, and they are still being put in place by the thousands.

At 5 o'clock the other morning I saw one lonely man patiently digging one in. They are made with concrete, exteriors like drain pipes, largely by hand. With their two-inch-thick concrete covers they are impervious to anything but a direct or very close hit.

The other factor reducing casualties and loss is dispersion. Everything dispersible has been dispersed. The countryside is strewn with dispersed goods and supplies. The same is true of the people.

Two-thirds of the machinery and workers at the big textile plant near Gialem have been sent to the countryside. The wisdom of the precaution was demonstrated, it was said, when the plant suffered damage from United States rocket fire Dec. 13 and 14.

[From the New York Times, Dec. 29, 1966]

NEW CAPITAL CITY PLANNED BY HANOI—NORTH VIETNAMESE ASSUME WAR WILL RUIN PRESENT ONE

(By Harrison E. Salisbury)

HANOI, NORTH VIETNAM, December 28.—Hanoi officials say they have blueprints for a complete new capital to be built after the war on a site already selected not far from the present capital. The new capital is being planned on the assumption that sooner or later Hanoi will be destroyed in the war.

President Ho Chi Minh has warned the country that it must be prepared to face the destruction of both Hanoi and its port, Haiphong, as well as all other cities or towns of any size.

The new capital will probably be built in any case, since the present city is small, shabby and incredibly run down after more than 20 years of almost continuous warfare involving the French, the Japanese and now the Americans.

Unlike most capitals of Communist countries, Hanoi has no massive new government buildings, no grandiose sports palaces, no glittering opera house. The old French-built opera house is still the city's biggest assembly hall, and it is closed now because the authorities forbid large gatherings for fear of air-raid casualties.

Such funds as have been available to North Vietnam in the war-torn years since it came into existence in 1954 have gone largely into factories and the construction of housing.

A visitor finds that shops are generally open for only a few hours early in the morning. Hanoi still rises at 5 or 6 A.M.—and again early in the evening.

Bicycles are almost the universal form of transport, and in late afternoon and early evening the streets are jammed eight abreast with whirring cycles, most of them carrying two persons or one person and a burden of some kind.

A consensus of officials suggests that about one-third of the city's population has been evacuated or dispersed to the nearby countryside. Many institutions have been evacuated. Most of the Polytechnic University's departments have been sent to the provinces. The Museum of Fine Arts was sent to out-of-town caves for the safe-keeping of most of its more valuable collections, including 14th-century Buddhas.

CHILDREN ARE EVACUATED

About half the walls of the museum, which is a relic of French days, is occupied by full-size photographic reproductions of the objects, which were sent away last year and early this year.

An intense effort has been made to send schoolchildren away from Hanoi, although not necessarily far. A visit to a high school at Xuandinh, about seven miles outside the capital, found 300 pupils from Hanoi in a body of 710. The evacuated youngsters include many whose parents are officials and workers in Hanoi.

The school provided an example of the intensive precautions against air attack. The school is dispersed throughout the village, with not more than one class in any building and no classes less than 150 yards apart.

The classes are installed in simple structures, including huts with earth floors. Foxhole shelters are dug right under the children's desks. The schoolrooms are surrounded by great walls of earth and clay and the network of paths from one class to another is edged with slit trenches, concrete manhole shelters and earth-packed lean-to shelters.

The children and many adults wear heavy, woven straw hats about an inch thick, that are said to be highly effective against fragmentation bombs. They also carry first-aid kits along with their books.

Xuandinh has not suffered from air attaks, but the authorities said several youngsters were injured Aug. 13 when they were buried in a shelter in a nearby village.

BASIS OF CASUALTY ESTIMATES

It should be noted, incidentally, that all casualty estimates and statistics in these dispatches are those of North Vietnamese officials.

However, descriptions of bomb damage are based wholly on visual inspection.

As far as this correspondent is aware, there has been no censorship of his dispatches although they are read by North Vietnamese officials before being transmitted. A number of photographs have been taken by this correspondent, and these must be cleared by officials before they can be mailed or otherwise transmitted.

Dispersion of population and enterprises has brought hardship and difficulty to individuals and to the economy. To ease supply problems, the distribution of foodstuffs and consumers goods has been decentralized and is controlled by provincial authorities. This is also designed to minimize the effect of any strikes on major depots in Hanoi and Haiphong.

The authorities contend that there has been little fluctuation in food prices although shortages have occurred. In the villages and in many places in Hanoi and vicinity, peasant women appear with their straw baskets of cabbages, cauliflower, lettuce, greens, leeks and other vegetables and squat beside them along the roadsides.

At this season there appears to be no shortages of vegetables. Restaurants, at least, have ample supplies of rice and all the ingredients of the spicy Vietnamese cookery—peppers, pork, chicken, turkey, beans, onions, bean sprouts, carrots, soy sauce, pepper sauce, delicate China tea and thick French-style cafe noir made from a coffee that North Vietnam grows and exports.

The Story of Frank Boyden of Deerfield

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SILVIO O. CONTE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, in the issue of the New Yorker magazine for March 19, 1966, there appeared a biographical profile of a most remarkable man, the world renowned headmaster of Deerfield Academy in Massachusetts, Mr. Frank Boyden. The article, written by a Deerfield alumnus, John McPhee, traced the long and productive life of Frank Boyden, now in his 86th year and the only headmaster Deerfield Academy has had in its 60-odd-year history.

I am privileged to count Frank Boyden among my good friends as well as my outstanding constituents. I am proud also to count Deerfield Academy among the many outstanding academic institutions located in the First Congressional District of Massachusetts.

I was delighted, therefore, to read the long and fascinating piece appearing in the New Yorker and, because there are so many notable men in public life today and in this very body who count their days at Deerfield as among the most important and rewarding of their lives, I was further pleased to insert the New Yorker article in the pages of the Congressional Record. In my judgment, the life and career of Frank Boyden is a superb example of the capacity for our free society to produce dedicated visionaries and to be able to profit from their endeavors.

Soon after the New Yorker article appeared, it was republished in book form by Farrar, Straus & Giroux. The book has now also been condensed and republished by the Reader's Digest magazine.

All this attention was bound to generate a book review sooner or later and, sure enough, the Washington Post, on December 27, 1966, did publish a fine review of "The Headmaster" by its book editor, Geoffrey A. Wolff.

Mr. Wolff, in addition to a technical review of author McPhee's efforts, provides some further and valuable insights to the subject himself, Frank Boyden.

Under unanimous-consent procedures, therefore, I am pleased to insert at this point in the Record the book review entitled "Go to Deerfield and Never Grow Up":

Go to Deerfield and Never Grow Up

(By Geoffrey A. Wolff)

Fifteen years ago, my parents were shopping around for a school to which to send me for my intellectual and moral edification. One ruled out of consideration was Deerfield Academy in Massachusetts. Deerfield seemed unpromising because its excellent reputation was so completely a function of its headmaster, Frank Boyden, and he was 71, had run the school since 1902 and it was thought that the repeated rumors of his impending retirement must finally be translated into fact.

He is now 87 and seems no closer to retirement than he was 15—or 50—years ago.

Deerfield is among the half dozen or so names that invariably are included on any list of America's best private schools: Exeter, Andover, Groton, St. Pauls, Choate and Deerfield. And among these it is *sui generis*.

While Andover and Exeter, largest and richest of the group, are sophisticated campuses which attempt to prepare students for college by imitating the freedom and high intellectual pressure of the university, Deerfield is famous for solid, but not brilliant, teaching, close parental-type supervision and its compulsory athletic program.

Unlike Groton and St. Pauls, it is not modelled after an English public school. Unlike Choate, it eschews pages of detailed regulations, violations of which account for a considerable body of alumni whose wedding notices announce that Mr. Jones "attended" (but was not graduated from) St. Grottlesex. Only five boys have been fired from Deerfield in 64 years. It has no student government, no faculty committees, no catalogue.

Instead it has Frank Boyden. He is a man of incredible ego whose conscience is so clear of guilt and whose consciousness so free of angst that we are told by McPhee that he can sleep anytime, anywhere and for so long as he pleases whenever he wishes. Nowhere in this rather adulatory history is the suspicion raised that there may be ways to educate and shape young men that are not Frank Boyden's ways.

McPhee gives us a headmaster who is devout, energetic, and canny, and who believes in the elementary verities. The school is his life: he corresponds with its graduates and advises them long after they have become grandfathers and board chairmen and college presidents.

His office is the central hallway of the main building and he sees each of his 500 students at least once a day. He is only 5-feet-4 but his presence is the central fact for those students.

Like Thomas Arnold of Rugby, Boyden is an autocrat. McPhee quotes him as calling himself "indestructible and infallible." He labels him elsewhere as a "magnanimous despot" and a "patriarch."

Until he was nearly 80 he was head coach of the football, basketball and baseball teams. He has never delegated authority: as McPhee relates it, "At Deerfield, all ranks between the five-star general and the noncommissioned officers are vacant."

What is frightening, as well as impressive, about such unchallenged rule is the dependency it creates. Boyden speaks in short, pithy sentences; his judgments are simplistic ones, unconditioned by doubts or alternatives.

McPhee, who wrote a complicated and sophisticated account of Bill Bradley, Princeton's recent basketball hero, seems to have been so greatly affected by the Boyden presence that his prose imitates his subject: his sentences are simple and often simplistic.

Boyden is acutely self-conscious of his school's image. His finely honed sense of *panache* extends to the careful selection of hearty, good-looking athletes to be the first students to emerge from buses on road trips.

He has a Dance Committee, made up of like ambassadors of ruddy good will which makes trips to various girls' schools to carry the banner of Deerfield's social eligibility. McPhee quotes one recent graduate as saying "We sometimes felt like signed postcards: 'You must come and see our school'."

For all he has accomplished, and he has unquestionably accomplished more than any headmaster in the history of this country, it is still probable that his school will change radically with his retirement, whenever in the next 100 or so years that may come.

And in a complicated world it is unnerving to hear a man who has successfully barred the 20th century from his school grounds quote with approval and certainty Harvard Dean Henry Pennypacker's dictum that "After a man is 30, he is going to settle most of his social and moral problems in terms of his training in secondary school."

Harrison E. Salisbury Reports From Hanoi—VI, VII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I am sure my colleagues will be interested in the articles by Harrison E. Salisbury from Hanoi, North Vietnam, which appeared in the New York Times on December 30 and 31, 1966. They follow:

[From the New York Times, Dec. 30, 1966]

Hanoi Propaganda Stresses Tradition: War Against Odds

(By Harrison E. Salisbury)

Hanoi, North Vietnam, December 29.—The Vietnamese fighting tradition, a tradition of struggle against long odds, of unyielding battle against powerful foreign enemies, is the focal point of North Vietnam's central internal propaganda. It is carried into every aspect of daily life.

At a concert presented in a chilly converted movie house last night, 12 of 14 song-and-dance numbers celebrated the heroic feats of individual Vietnamese against Americans. In each case the Vietnamese won against overwhelming odds.

One ballet depicted a group of ferry men who pulled their craft across a stream despite United States air attacks. Several were killed but the ferryboat crossed the river and the plane was shot down.

There were songs celebrating Hanoi's antiaircraft defenders, South Vietnamese jungle troops and the defenders of Conco Island, which lies off the coast not far north of the demarcation line between North and South Vietnam and has been the scene of intense antiaircraft barrages.

BINDING UP THE WOUNDS

Another dance number dealt with a Red Cross worker whose husband had fallen in the war and who takes from her brow the traditional white mourning band and uses it to bind up the wounds of an antiaircraft gunner. Still another ballet shows Vietcong troops storming a United States strongpoint and unfurling a banner after capturing it with heavy casualties.

One note of satire was introduced: A Vietcong youngster captured a horrible appearing American captain and chased off ferocious G.I.'s with an imitation hand grenade made of a jungle nut.

By the end of the evening the United States Air Force had suffered heavy losses, but it was notable that Vietnamese casualties were not light. The audience was being conditioned to accept heavy sacrifices in the war.

The audience, which included large numbers of youngsters wearing a variety of uniforms and semi-uniforms, reacted with vociferous applause. However, it did not seem to take too seriously a group of maidens in native costumes who sang, to the plucking of long-necked, three-stringed mandolins, that they were going to shoot down a United States plane and promptly announced that they had downed not one but two.

The theme of the Vietnamese David conquering the United States Golaith is struck constantly. The State Revolutionary Museum here is largely devoted to exposition of the Vietnamese military tradition.

TWO LEGENDARY QUEENS

The story begins in A.D. 40, when Vietnam's legendary Trung sisters raised an army against a Chinese garrison, slaughtered it and reigned as joint queens until a Chinese expenditionary force defeated them. The queens, who then took their own lives, are venerated as a kind of double Joan of Arc, with both religious and patriotic significance.

The next Vietnamese hero was Than Hung Dao, honored as the commander who defeated an invading force of 300,000 Mongols. Than's 31-year battle is much celebrated these days. So is the great victory of Nguren Tral in the 15th century against invading Chinese of the Ming Dynasty. A monument to his defeat still stands in Hanoi.

The Vietnamese frequently recall that the Chinese were defeated after a 10-year battle and, when they admitted defeat, were given food and assistance to return home. This exemplary tale is often recited to Americans.

The main line of the museum's theme really begins with the French take-over in the eighteen-seventies and the opening of the long struggle for Vietnamese independence, which is presented as a constant battle continuing to the present.

LIKE A CHAMBER OF HORRORS

The museum then becomes something like a chamber of horrors—an endless catalog of the cruelties and tortures inflicted on the Vietnamese and of the ingenious and terrible weapons by which they fought back.

From the earliest times the Vietnamese employed iron arrowheads with a fishhook configuration that are impossible to withdraw. They were used against the French, and now, it is said, are still used by hill tribesmen against the Americans. Jagged spikes were implanted in jungle trails to pierce the bare feet of troops. A similar, more complex trap, constructed of dozens of whirling, barbed hooks that bite into a soldiers legs in a dozen points when he crashes through its leafy cover, is used against the Americans.

The museum displays daggers used to kill French officers and disemboweling knives assertedly used against Vietnamese men and women.

There are also contemporary horrors—captured arms turned against the French and then against the Americans, as well as samples of bombs dropped in Vietnam and photos of the effects of napalm and air bombardment.

Most of the Hanoi institution visited have at least a small collection of bomb fragments or samples of United States aerial weaponry, including fragmentation bombs. Two varieties are displayed.

An older type known to the North Vietnamese as the pineapple, which was dropped with wind vanes and exploded on contact, has a yellow canister about the size of a coffee mug. This, the North Vietnamese say, is being replaced by a more efficient device known as a Guava, which is a small cylinder. Three hundred Guavas, dropped in a large canister, scatter and roll some distance, then explode, saturating 600 square yards with pellets.

A FADING DISTINCTION

In Hanoi's propaganda, distinctions between the French and the Americans virtually disappear. Thus the great Dienbienphu defeat of the French becomes a classic example of the ability of a small Vietnamese force to deal a shattering blow to a powerful foreign enemy. If the North Vietnamese only fight on, eventually another Dienbienphu will be achieved—so goes the official line.

Official after official insists that there is no alternative to the continuing struggle because otherwise freedom and independence will be lost, and, they say, it is better to die than to be enslaved.

[From the New York Times, Dec. 31, 1966]

No Military Targets, Namdinh Insists

(By Harrison E. Salisbury)

Hanoi, North Vietnam, December 30.—North Vietnamese sources said today that, as far as they are aware, a United States communiqué yesterday was the first to mention Namdinh as a bombing target. The communiqué said the Namdinh freight yards had been bombed.

[Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, said in Washington Thursday that Namdinh had been mentioned three times as a target in communiqués from Saigon. He also said the targets in 64 attacks on the city were military ones.]

Namdinh, North Vietnam's third largest city, is about sixty miles south of Hanoi. Its population until recently was given by officials as a little more than 90,000.

REPEATED RAIDS ALLEGED

Namdinh has been repeatedly bombed since June 28, 1965, according to city officials. They contend that the city is essentially a cotton and silk textile center containing no military objectives.

It is the contention of city officials that, at least until yesterday's communiqué, the United States had never officially described Namdinh as having military objectives.

Are there or have there been military objectives in Namdinh? the railroad runs through town and presumably there are freight yards and depots.

There are a textile factory and a rice mill, both of which this correspondent saw. Both are operating, but the textile mill has been severely damaged.

There was also a silk mill, which officials said had been destroyed. There are a fruit-canning plant and a thread cooperative.

Whether the cannery is operative this correspondent cannot report since he did not see it and the officials did not say. They said the thread cooperative had been destroyed. I saw the main street, where the thread co-op was said to have been situated, and it is badly smashed up.

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

About an agricultural-implement plant nothing was said except that it was one of the city's industries. Was it converted to war production? This correspondent cannot say. Are there other war plants in town? This correspondent cannot say.

He saw intensive destruction of civilian housing and ordinary business streets in considerable areas—damage so severe that whole blocks have been abandoned. These areas lie largely but not entirely in the vicinity of the textile plant. There is severe damage all over town.

The bombed areas of Namdinh possess an appearance familiar to anyone who saw blitzed London, devastated Berlin and Warsaw, or smashed Soviet cities like Stalingrad and Kharkov. The effects of bombing at ground level seem to have changed little since World War II.

How was the destruction of Namdinh accomplished? The data on the bombings come from city officials, who have an elaborate dossier of times, dates, places, numbers of planes, casualties, houses destroyed, and so on.

OTHER PLANES MENTIONED

They contend that Seventh Fleet bombers carried out the most persistent and destructive of the raids, but they did not say that only the Seventh Fleet was involved. They listed strikes by F–105's and F–4's, RB–57's, A–4A's, A–6A's and A–3J's.

According to the officials, the first serious attack was that on Hang Thao (Silk Street) at about 6:30 A.M. on April 14 by two low-flying United States planes of unspecified type that dropped eight mark 84, bombs. Casualties in this attack were put at 49 killed, and 135 wounded, with 240 houses demolished.

The officials said the casualty rate was sharply reduced because only 2300 of the normal population of 17,680 remained there, the rest having been evacuated.

The officials contend an attack was made on nearby Hoang Van Thu Street, formerly the Chinese quarter, on May 18. This attack, they say, was carried out by two F–4H's from an altitude of about 1,800 feet at 11:04 A.M. in heavy rain, which had flooded many raid shelters. Casualties were put at 13 dead, including a number drowned, and 11 wounded, and 372 houses were listed as destroyed. Only 230 of the normal population of 7,858 remained in the street, the others having been evacuated.

Regarding the question whether United States planes deliberately attempted to breach the Black River dikes, the city officials contend that on May 31 and July 14 six bombs were dropped on a mile-long section of the dike, causing a number of breaches.

There were other raids on July 20 and July 31, they say, and a large number of near misses at other times.

The damage has been repaired the officials say. However, bomb craters are still visible.

[The United States insists that no effort has been made to breach dikes, though it is conceded that they may have been hit accidentally.]

ATTACKS CALLED DELIBERATE

The Namdinh officials think the attacks were deliberate. The dikes are in the open area outside the city with no recognizable targets in the surrounding landscape, at least at this time.

In any event, officials take the view that the Americans will breach the dikes and are expending tens of thousands of man-hours building emergency supplementary dikes, which snake through the city itself, as well as massive secondary reinforcing earthworks outside the city.

The question of dikes is a question of life and death in this Red River delta. In the high-water season Hanoi lies possibly 20 feet below river level and most of the countryside would be inundated, with the ruin of crops and enormous loss of life should the dikes be blasted.

Vivid in North Vietnamese memories is the 1945 flood, when the dikes burst partly as a result of Japanese action. In the resulting disaster of flood, crop failure and famine, it is estimated, 1.5 million to 2 million lives were lost.

[From the New York Times, Dec. 31, 1966]

PROBLEMS OF COVERAGE

(NOTE.—*In the following dispatch, Mr. Salisbury describes how he arranged to get to Hanoi and the conditions under which he is working there.*)

HANOI, December 30.—To a correspondent with years of experience in Communist countries, reporting from Hanoi has many familiar aspects. But the fact that the reporter is behind enemy lines in a real, if undeclared, war gives the experience a special atmosphere.

The first problem in reporting from North Vietnam is of course, to get there. The effort to win Hanoi's permission for a visit began nearly 18 months ago and was pursued systematically through a number of channels.

The effort was intensified just a year ago when the fact that Hanoi had permitted a visit by Prof. Staughton Lynd of Yale University suggested that a reporting opportunity might be ripe. However, telegrams and letters to North Vietnamese officials produced no response then.

The endeavor was renewed last spring as a preliminary to a long trip around the perimeter of Communist China. In the hope that representations on the spot in Asia might bring a favorable response, this correspondent had his passport and that of his wife, who acocmpanied him then, cleared by the State Department for travel to North Vietnam, China and North Korea.

VISA AVAILABLE IN PARIS

In June Hanoi indicated that it might be possible to make the trip, but, after hesitation, North Vietnamese officials advised that the time was not convenient but would probably be before the end of the year. After that there was nothing to do but wait and send frequent reminders of continuing interest.

The break finally came just before Christmas, when North Vietnam advised that a visa could be picked up in Paris .

Another problem in covering Hanoi, for an American journalist, is getting here. Communist China is issuing no transit visas for United States newsmen. The sole entry route for them is on the once-weekly plane of the International Control Commission, which flies the Saigon-Pnompenh-Vientiane-Hanoi route.

I picked up my North Vietnamese visa in Paris Dec. 20 and boarded the Hanoi plane in Pnompenh Dec. 23, arriving at 7:30 P.M.

Details of coverage have been handled about as they would be for a correspondent visiting an Eastern European country a few years ago. Interviews, trips and visits are arranged by the Foreign Ministry's press department.

The first request submitted was for an opportunity to inspect sites in Hanoi that it was reported United States planes bombed on Dec. 13 and 14. The Foreign Ministry made a car and interpreter available and sent the party to streets where damage had occurred.

On the question of pictures, it was said that black and white film could be shot but not color film, apparently since facilities for developing color were not available. All film must be developed here for inspection by the military authorities. No photos taken by this correspondent have been held up so far.

ONE REQUEST REFUSED

Permission to take a picture has been refused only once—by the director of a textile factory in Hanoi who did not want photos of his girls working at their looms. In this case the objection seemed bureaucratic rather than military.

Again because of the sensitive position behind the lines, this correspondent asked in general terms to be shown around the country where the authorities would permit. A trip to Namdinh on Christmas Day was the fruit of such a request.

Most trips are made with one or another correspondent. With the exception of the Agence France Presse man, all the others here are from either Communist countries or the Communist or left-wing press. There are always interpreters or Foreign Ministry or press officials accompanying the press parties.

Dispatches are submitted to the cable office through the Foreign Ministry, which obviously reads them before transmission but, as far as is known, has not censored anything.

HAZARDS OF BOMBING

These procedures are about what one would encounter on brief trips to many Communist countries. The authorities are not willing to expose a correspondent to the hazards of bombing, which are only too real outside Hanoi. Even for a trip of six or seven miles outside the city, cars are camouflaged.

The trip to Namdinh was deliberately timed for the Christmas truce and would not have been made otherwise.

Hanoi's Western colony is small. There is a French representative who is something like a consul. There is the Canadian component of the Control Commission, which is assigned to enforce the Geneva agreements on Vietnam. There is also a scattering of non-Communist diplomats, including the Indian consul general and the Indian component of the Control Commission, which also has Polish members.

There are two hotels populated generally by foreigners, including a mixture of Eastern Europeans, visiting delegations and representatives of Asian and African countries.

Hanoi is not exactly a swinging town, but there is more bounce to it than one American at least had foreseen.

Lindsay Hoben: A Truly Great American Journalist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the integrity, the independence, and the forward-looking approach to the news that together have made the Milwaukee Journal one of the truly great American newspapers are a fitting memorial to Lindsay Hoben, who died Sunday, January 8, a week after he retired as its editor and vice president.

A product of the Journal organization, Mr. Hoben's career spanned 40 years of dedication, not only to his profession, but to the community, the State, and the Nation. His sound judgment, wise leadership, and keen sense of truth and justice, have left a permanent mark on both the contents of the Journal and the staff that produces it.

Although Mr. Hoben's death leaves a void that will be difficult to fill, his foresight in educating and training younger executives for the responsibilities that lie ahead bodes well for the future of the Milwaukee Journal. That too is a great tribute to Mr. Hoben.

He joined the Journal staff as a church writer in 1926. Later he toured much of the world, and was one of the first American newspapermen to visit the Soviet Union. His knowledge of local, national, and world affairs eventually led him into the editorial writing field. He became chief editorial writer in 1949. Many felt the sting of his penetrating analysis of the news, yet he was respected equally by friends and critics.

Mr. Hoben was a product of the great traditions and accomplishments of the Milwaukee Journal. Just as surely, those who follow will be a tribute to the genius and ability of Mr. Hoben.

How Armed Citizens Aided Austin Police

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent editorial appearing in the Trenton, Mich., Times, an outstanding weekly newspaper published in the 16th District of Michigan, discussing the honorable action of citizens assisting law enforcement agencies in the apprehension of a dangerous and deranged sniper.

This splendid editorial chronicles how law-abiding armed citizens aided Austin police in the prevention of more hazards to other law-abiding citizens. The editorial is as follows:

HOW ARMED CITIZENS AIDED AUSTIN POLICE

Among the obstacles to countering Charles J. Whitman's deadly fire from atop the University of Texas tower at Austin was a determined lady librarian who threatened to revoke a student's library card because he wanted access to a vantage point for firing his carbine.

That incident, reflecting campus shock and disbelief over the whole episode, figures in hitherto unpublished aspects of the Austin case in the November issue of the American Rifleman, magazine of the National Rifle Association. A special report relates the service rendered by three armed citizens, two students and an ex-serviceman then employed at the university, in cornering the crazed mass killer.

The students, James M. Damon, of Austin, studying for a Ph.D. in Comparative Literature, and Robert A. MacQuigg, of Dallas, a native of Canton, Ohio, both were walking to meet their wives nearby for lunch when Whitman opened up. Both sped home for arms.

Damon fired probably the first rifle shot at Whitman, helping to drive him behind the tower parapet and disrupting his accuracy. Later when Damon sought access to a roof patio as a better firing point, a librarian temporarily turned him back. MacQuigg, a biology graduate now at Naval Officer Training School at Newport, R.I., joined in the firing and sent one shot close over Whitman's head when the sniper reached for an ammunition box on the parapet.

Allen Crum, the ex-serviceman who courageously went to the top of the tower after Whitman with three policemen, is quoted by the magazine as saying: "This ground fire was a Godsent to us, inasmuch as it pinned Whitman down in one spot, on the west wall. The right of the private citizen to bear arms was never more graphically demonstrated.

The two students, using military surplus arms, fired 35 and 31 rounds respectively. Theirs, the magazine said editorially, was part of the ground fire that "neutralized the sniper within 30 minutes and held him virtually harmless for an hour, until he was killed."

Whitman inflicted nearly all of his casualties in the first 20 minutes, the magazine said, because few on the campus readily recognized the report of a high-powered rifle and the shots echoed until it was hard to tell where they came from or how to avoid them. Damon in his account said, "People flocked to see a killing and this curiosity literally cost several of them their lives. Most could have escaped injury if they had not been ignorant of what a skilled shooter can do with a modern telescoped rifle; yet many people consider this ignorance of firearms a virtue."

Commenting on the actions of Austin's armed citizens, Police Chief Robert Miles said, "They did it on their own. I don't want to condemn their action because their fire did help to pin him down. And most important, it was not irresponsible shooting. They shot only at the tower."

Harrison E. Salisbury Reports From Hanoi—VIII, IX

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, as the new year opened, the New York Times continued to publish the series of articles by Harrison E. Salisbury from North Vietnam. I wish to call my colleagues' attention to the articles which appeared in the issue of January 1 and January 2, 1967. They follow:

[From the New York Times, January 1, 1967]

North's Economy Badly Disrupted—Despite Big Drain, It Seems Able to Continue War

(By Harrison E. Salisbury)

Hanoi, North Vietnam, December 31.—The North Vietnamese agree that the conflict in Vietnam is a rough affair for them.

Every official interviewed stresses the difficulties, handicaps and hardships that must be overcome to carry on in the face of American bombing.

A collossal number of man-hours must be devoted to the transport of goods and supplies, to the repair of bombed railroads, highways and bridges, and to the dispersal of goods, people and industries over the countryside.

Effects on industry and agriculture are inevitable, but no precise statistics are available, possibly because they are regarded as military secrets. One official estimated food production last year at 6 per cent above 1964, but he had no figures for 1966.

Eastern Europeans here say the rice crop has fallen short by a substantial margin, largely because of bad weather but possibly in part because of a diversion of men and women to the war effort. The result is expected to be additional rice imports from Communist China and the Soviet Union, probably mostly from China.

Food is rationed and thus far, according to foreign sources, supplies have apparently been maintained. The rice ration ranges from 13.5 to 20 kilograms (29.7 to 44 pounds) a month, supplied at a low, fixed price. In December 10 per cent of the ration was provided in maize.

There is a monthly ration of half a kilo to a kilo of sugar and about the same for meat, which may be provided in the form of butter and fat. Vegetables and fruits are available in peasant markets, as are some chicken and other meats.

It is the conviction of non-Vietnamese that as long as the Communist Government is able to maintain the rice ration at about the present level, the ability of the populace to sustain the fighting effort will be unaffected.

The question of distribution is serious because of United States bombing of supply routes, but is being met at least in part by radical decentralization.

Observers from Eastern Europe who have been resident in Hanoi for a year or two concur that there has been a decline in the living standard in the last year and that the American bombing has had a serious impact on North Vietnamese industry despite valiant efforts to keep factories going.

In this connection, they point out that North Vietnamese industry never was extensive and that the general level of the economy was not dependent on advanced technology and comforts. The life of the Vietnamese is hard, but the Eastern Europeans say it has always been hard, so that the deterioration is not really tangible.

The Government has reduced prices on a handful of consumer goods, notably bicycles, which have been cut 30 per cent to 200 dongs (the dong is nominally valued at 3.53 to the dollar and there is no free rate). Bicycles, which are manufactured in North Vietnam, are vital to every aspect of life.

There has been a 50 per cent cut in the cost of medical supplies and pharmaceuticals, 30 per cent in radios, to bring their price to 100 to 200 dongs, and 50 per cent in school textbooks, but none of these have much effect on every-day life.

As far as interdiction of supply movement by American bombing of highways, railroads, supply depots, bridges and rail yards is concerned, discrepancies between United States estimates and ground-level observations will undoubtedly continue. Essentially the same argument raged all through World War II and was repeated in the Korean war, which provided conditions more nearly parallel to those in North Vietnam.

Korea demonstrated that, by the liberal use of manpower, night transport and multiple routes, amazing quantities of materials could be moved in the face of the heaviest bombing. North Vietnamese conditions are somewhat more difficult for ground movement, however, because so much must be transported across the flat delta region around Hanoi and Haiphong.

That is no easy task in view of United States air strength. It requires an enormous concentration of manpower, and the North has a population of only 17 million.

This population is almost totally organized. Even foreign embassys' cooks and maids must devote at least two of their free days to Government work each month. Children spend about a third of their time on studies, a third on defense or defense-related tasks and a third on farm or industrial production.

The same sort of utilization of labor runs across the board. In July, according to an official announcement, a million men and women were mobilized. They are used on defense, civil defense and labor tasks such as repair of railroads and emergency dikes.

It is no secret that for months almost all supply and personnel movements have been, as in Korea, only at night.

What happens when a bridge is knocked out by bombing? One non-Communist diplomat described a particular bridge between Hanoi and Haiphong that, to his knowledge, has been knocked out and quickly restored four times. Pontoon ferries of boats and bamboo are kept available and put into service within a short time. A labor force appears and goes to work with previously stockpiled materials to put the bridge back into service.

Another non-Communist source told of passing through Vandien, which is on the southern outskirts of Hanoi, and has been specified by United States communiqués as the site of a truck park that has been attacked several times. The foreigner reached Vandien a couple of hours after a raid, he said, and found about a quarter-mile of railroad track plowed up by bombs. By the time he departed, he added, 1,000 men and women were at work and had already relaid a substantial section of the track.

One key favor in North Vietnam's ability to fight on lies in the aid poured in by the Soviet Union, Eastern European countries and China. The quantities are closely guarded military secrets, but it is no secret that they are large and vital to the maintenance of the war effort.

Westerners who have visited Haiphong recently agree with Eastern Europeans that the port is jammed with shipping carrying huge quantities of essential supplies.

There has been no bombing of the Haiphong port area. One Westerner said the city was untouched and that the attacks on oil depots there had been precise and effective.

The great quantities of supplies and, presumably, arms are moved out of Haiphong into the countryside. It is certainly true, as a British observer, Norman Barrymaine, has reported, that quantities of material are scattered over the landscape. This is particularly visible at distances from Hanoi.

To this observer it looked like deliberate dispersion. Half the supplies in the country seemed to this correspondent to be dumped at random. However, they looked normal for wartime military dispersion.

The basic question would seem to be: Has all this hurt the North Vietnamese so much that they are ready to quit? Their answer is, "By no means!" And they say that they expect their task to get a lot harder before it gets easier.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 2, 1967]

Villagers Tell of Raids in North—Bombing and Strafing Are Reported in Phatdiem

(By Harrison E. Salisbury)

Phatdiem, North Vietnam, January 1.—A cock's crow and the back of a village dog brought the new year in to this rich delta land in Ninhbinh Province 75 miles south of Hanoi, and at 6 A.M. the iron toll of church bells called the faithfull to early mass.

Phatdiem is a complex of Roman Catholic villages lying six miles from the Gulf of Tonkin. Jesuits brought the faith to this region in the 17th century and it has never died out. From the doorstep of the Anhoa commune's administrative committee building, five church towers loom up over the landscape like a kind of tropical Millet painting.

It was peaceful in the Phatdiem area today. The Rev. Nguyen The Vi was busy from morning to night celebrating mass in a number of village churches. The big central cathedrals are no longer used, he said, because of danger to the congregations from air attacks.

In village streets peasants laid out their straw in bundles for thatching. It was chilly in the early morning but the sun finally made an appearance to dry out the straw.

On hardearth courtyards women spilled out rice to thresh and clean. On wattle fences rattan for basket weaving was set out to dry after it had been dipped in dye of maroon and deep green.

The village barber set out his chair and proceeded to give customers shaves and haircuts in the open air. Youngsters herded great gray water buffalo and women heated kettles for rice, which is the area's great crop—rice so tasty that here it is known as the "rice of the kings."

CANDLE USED IN CHURCH

The atmosphere seemed peaceful in Phatdiem because the New Year's truce was in effect and residents did not expect planes to be flying overhead. When Father Vi returned to his parish house after his rounds about 7 P.M., he lighted a kerosene lamp and turned the wick up with pleasure, saying: "Ordinary nights we can't have light like this. We can only use a tiny candle. That's what we use in church as well."

Phatdiem is a heavily populated area. Behind every wattle fence three or four little brown faces appear to stare at the tall American visitor. In every thatched hut there seem to be at least a half dozen people.

This complex of villages lies southeast of Ninhbinh and south of Namdinh. Ninhbinh and Namdinh, provincial centers on a railroad, have attracted great attention from the Seventh Fleet, according to local authorities.

According to Phatdiem residents, Seventh Fleet bombers frequently come in low over the coastline and, flying westward, bomb and strafe Phatdiem. Sometimes, the residents say, the planes come in from the west and bomb and strafe. The map suggests that bombers might be on runs to and from Ninhbinh and Namdinh if they cross over Phatdiem.

Phatdiem has no visible military objectives. That is not to say that there may not be antiaircraft sites in the vicinity or military barracks or supply barns.

SOME CHURCHES DAMAGED

A half dozen Catholic churches in the village complex have been damaged, some severely. Speaking sadly of the destruction, Father VI said that many churches in the Ninhbinh region had been built with the aid of contributions from Roman Catholics in the United States.

There is a cemetery in Ninhbinh that, he said, Americans had helped to maintain. Two nuns who were killed in some earlier Vietnam war are buried there, he said.

The cemetery has been damaged and the nuns' grave and monument smashed. The priest expressed the hope that there might be fellow members of his faith in the United States, who might sympathize with Phatdiem's time of trouble.

The principal part of the town, which is laid out along a canal in front of Phatdiem Cathedral, has been abandoned, residents say, because of the frequency of bombings.

Phatdiem's main street fronted on the canal and was lined mostly with one-story shops and a few two-story residences. Across the canal, and connected to it by a footbridge more than a hundred years old, was a movie house.

In the district as a whole, officials said, there have been more than 150 attacks since 1965. They said the worst raid in the village complex was on Kientiung village April 24, in which 72 persons were listed as killed and 46 as injured.

Fourteen were killed, according to the authorities, in an attack Nov. 20. Vu Cat, chairman of the Roman Catholic community, said he was in church when the bombers came. He rushed back, he said, to find his wife and five of his children dead. One boy of 4 who survived was wounded and a 16-year-old boy who was tending a water buffalo was not hurt.

The 4-year-old is still in a hospital, one leg badly injured and the other amputated. Also in the hospital are Than Van Mui, 12, who lost part of a foot and most of one hand, and a woman who has lost her voice because of a neck wound.

The hospital has been dispersed into half a dozen thatched huts around the countryside. Authorities say it is too dangerous to occupy and is not a substantial building. Most such buildings in the region, they say, have been hit by bombs.

Save the New Metropolitan Opera Company Instead of the Old Opera House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include a letter I have addressed to the Honorable Anthony J. Travia, speaker of the New York State Assembly, on Thursday, January 5, 1967. The text of the letter follows:

Dear Mr. Speaker: Because you are a devotee of opera and Speaker of the New York State Assembly, this letter is written to you.

The Court of Appeals of our State has declared unconstitutional a law, passed by the Legislature at its last session, aimed at preventing the demolition of the Old Metropolitan Opera House. During the period that this Statute was considered by the Legislature and reviewed by the Courts—from the Supreme Court to the Court of Appeals—this sole asset of the Metropolitan Opera Company was frozen. The Opera Company could not exercise full control over this property on Broadway at 39th and 40th Streets, Borough of Manhattan. It could not use it for security to meet its current financial difficulties. It faces a deficit of staggering sum. About $500,000 annually, to be used to reduce its current deficit, may be lost to the Metropolitan Opera Company unless it can go forth with its contract of sale of this old structure. Most of us, who are subscribers to seats at the Opera have liberally contributed towards making up this deficit. Many others have made contributions, but the deficit still lingers.

It would be impossible to operate two huge Opera Houses in New York City on any profitable basis. The Old Opera House could not possibly compete with the New House at Lincoln Center. Oscar Hammerstein, some years ago, tried to operate a second Opera House on West 34th Street—the Manhattan Opera. He woefully failed. Even the glittering operatic stars that Hammerstein gathered together could not make the venture pay. A similar fate awaits any new attempt to salvage the Old Metropolitan Opera House.

It is said that ballet, Comic Opera as well as Grand Opera, concerts, and orchestras could perform there. But could it be done profitably? Town Hall, Carnegie Hall, the Lincoln State Theatre, City Center Theatre, Philharmonic Hall, Madison Square Garden, many theatres, and hotel ballrooms would all compete.

It would cost a King's ransom to recondition and air-condition the Old House. Where is the money to come from?

Although I understand full well the objectives of those who seek to extend cultural activities in New York City, I do not believe that the so-called "Old Met Committee" is anxious to provide additional facilities. If they were, they would contribute to the new Metropolitan Opera House instead of seeking to preserve, for sentimental reasons, an ugly, outmoded, and by now, dilapidated building. I believe the enthusiasm of the members of this Committee is misguided.

Undoubtedly, a bill or bills will be offered to replace the Statute declared unconstitutional. In the interest of the aesthetic and cultural values of New York City and in the interest of strengthened opera, as now produced at Lincoln Center, I urge your opposition to any legislation that would interfere with the legitimate use by the Metropolitan Company of its asset, namely, the Old Opera House on Broadway.

Very truly yours,

Emanuel Celler.

Grim Choices in Southern Africa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, one of the most perceptive articles written about the explosive situation in Rhodesia in recent weeks appeared in the December 7 New York Times. The article was written by Drew Middleton, the Times correspondent at the United Nations.

Although Mr. Middleton's observations were made a week before the U.N. Security Council approved economic sanctions against Rhodesia, many facts in the article remain pertinent. Predictably, Britain did not seek sanctions against South Africa. And—again predictably, I think—the sanctions against the Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia will be insufficient to topple the regime, as Mr. Middleton's ambassadorial informants indicated.

Because the United Nations, with U.S. support, has not taken firm enough action against Smith, black Africans, who now bear the responsibility for effective action, face the grim choices of using force or seeking help from the East instead of the West. These opinions are attributed to African diplomats.

The potentials in southern Africa are summarized in this frightening sentence:

> Veteran diplomats, not prone to exaggeration, consequently saw the Rhodesian action as a torch laid to the trail of gunpowder that can explode the whole racial situation in southern Africa.

It is the obligation of the United Nations and the United States to do everything possible to avoid that explosion. So far we have not done enough.

Following is the full Times article:

West May Lose Trust of Africans if Sanctions Fail To Curb Rhodesia

(By Drew Middleton)

United Nations, N.Y., December 6.—At the Salisbury Club bar one day last spring a Rhodesian Tobacco planter slapped a South African business man on the back. "As long as they don't dare touch you, chum," he said, "we'll get by."

This sentiment was echoed in more formal terms today by many ambassadors, European and North American as well as African, as news circulated of Rhodesia's rejection of Britain's terms for a settlement of their quarrel.

The ambassadors are convinced that Britain will not ask for the application of selective, mandatory, economic sanctions against South Africa in the Security Council and that, as a consequence, the sanctions it seeks, and may get against Rhodesia, will be insufficient to bring down Ian D. Smith's independent regime.

No ambassador, of 22 questioned, believed that the United States would support the application of sanctions against South Africa although it was agreed that the American Administration would back sanctions directed against Rhodesia alone.

Veteran diplomats, not prone to exaggeration, consequently saw the Rhodesian action as a torch laid to the trail of gunpowder that can explode the whole racial situation in southern Africa.

Rhodesia is the touchstone of a continuing crisis that extends from Mozambique, the Portuguese territory facing the Indian Ocean, westward through Rhodesia and South Africa to South-West Africa and Angola, Portugal's West African territory.

The outcome of the Rhodesian dispute will also affect, as President Kenneth Kaunda of neighboring Zambia warned last month, the continued tolerance by black African societies of the white minorities that exist and flourish in Zambia, Kenya, Tanzania, Nigeria and half a dozen other countries of central and west Africa.

The Zambians have done their best to encourage rebellion against Mr. Smith, although Mr. Kaunda is basically a man of peace who hopes for a rational solution of an issue that now appears to have developed beyond a negotiated solution.

The widely expected refusal by Britain to go all the way and call for economic sanctions against South Africa, will place the responsibility for effective action upon the black Africans. For if they believe, as they say they do, that sanctions on Rhodesia will be ineffective, that neither the Americans nor the British will apply sanctions against South Africa and that the British will not use force, the ball is in their court.

Can the black Africans organize and use force? Some African diplomats believe this is possible. But they are in a minority. In the Organization of African Unity, veterans of the Old Britsh and French colonial armies contend that black Africa does not have the trained soldiers, the equipment, particularly in the communications field, the gasoline or the coherent command to launch an attack on a well-trained, fervent Rhodesian military force.

The other choice for black Africa is one that few of its leaders would take. It is to abandon hope of help from the West, which means Britain and the United States in the Security Council, and turn to the East. Both the Russia and Chinese Communist parties have done their best to exploit African feelings about Rhodesia and its associated problems in Southern Africa.

But there appears to be scant desire in the key African countries to call in the East to redress the failure of the West.

The long-term view, which may be as valid now as it was last April, was put by a young British intelligence officer then in Dar es Salaam:

"If we don't do anything on Rhodesia, and that's you Yanks as well as us, and the Africans can't do anything, we're both finished in Africa. I don't mean they'll go to the Commies right away. But if we don't help them, it'll be the Commies they listen to in the future. And it won't matter if Barclays Bank is lending them money or the Agency for International Development is helping them build waterworks. If we can't help on Rhodesia, we're through."

Harrison E. Salisbury Reports From Hanoi—X

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I have been bringing to the attention of my colleagues the series of articles written from Hanoi, North Vietnam, by Harrison E. Salisbury, the Pulitzer Prize winning managing editor of the New York Times. In the New York Times of January 4, 1967, Mr. Salisbury reported on his discussion with Premier Pham Van Dong of North Vietnam. I am sure that his report on his conversation with the North Vietnamese Premier will be of great interest to my colleagues, and I include it at this point in the RECORD:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 4, 1967]

PHAM VAN DONG PLACES STRESS IN INTERVIEW ON ENDING THE FIGHTING

(By Harrison E. Salisbury)

HANOI, NORTH VIETNAM, January 3.—In a detailed discussion of North Vietnam's views on the war in Vietnam, Premier Pham Van Dong emphasized that once hostilities were brought to an end, it would be possible to "speak of other things."

"The moment the United States puts an end to the war, we will respect each other and settle every question," he said. "Why don't you [the United States] think that way?"

At another point, he said that with a cessation of hostilities, "we can speak about other things." He added: "After this there will be no lack of generosity on our part—you may be sure of that."

The Premier, who conducted the four-hour conversation in a reception room of the Presidential Palace, spoke vivaciously, swinging around in his chair to face his interviewer directly.

He said that he did not care for interviews because he thought they hampered a free exchange of opinions. He took as a framework for his remarks a series of questions put to him by the correspondent in advance, but these were merely take-off points in a wide-ranging discussion.

The Premier also took the occasion to discuss proposals from various quarters for bringing the war to an end by discussion. He appeared thoroughly aware of the wide variety of proposals that have been advanced, and did not hesitate to express his views on some questions privately.

The discussion closed on an optimistic note. Mr. Dong said that frank talk was a good thing and was essential to understanding.

"If we do not agree today we will agree tomorrow," he said. "Otherwise the day after tomorrow."

At the same time the Premier stressed again and again that North Vietnam was prepared to fight 10 years, 20 years, or any number of years in support of its sovereignty and independence in its "sacred war."

"We are determined to fight on until our sacred rights are recognized," he said, stressing Vietnam's valiant history in resisting invaders.

Three times the Vietnamese drove the Mongols out of their country, he recalled, and he asked how many times the Pentagon wanted to fight.

"We are an independent country," he said. "We have our policy of independence and sovereignty. We are masters of our destiny, of our affairs, of our policy, of our policy both major and minor. If we were not independent we could not wage such a war as we are now waging. We are independent and sovereign in all our foreign policy. That is the situation up to the present, and so it will be in the future."

He stressed Vietnam's independence, he said, because in the United States "there has been so much misunderstanding on this point."

One question submitted to him was: Under what circumstances North Vietnam would accept volunteers? The Premier replied:

"This depends on the situation. We have made preparations. Volunteers are not lacking—volunteers for the armed forces and civilians as well. If we need them, many will come. This is an important point on which we rely. This point also shows the independence of our foreign policy."

By this he presumably meant that volunteers would come only if North Vietnam asked for them and set the conditions for their coming.

Premier Dong entered into an extended discussion of Hanoi's four-points for ending the war, which are as follows:

Recognition of the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam, and the withdrawal of United States forces from the area; pending reunification of Vietnam, respect for the military provisions of the Geneva agreements barring foreign forces; settlement of South Vietnam's internal affairs by the South Vietnamese under the guidance of the National Liberation Front and peaceful reunification of Vietnam by the peoples of North and South without foreign interference.

The Premier stressed that the four points were not to be considered as "conditions" for peace talks. He described them as providing a "basis of settlement of the Vietnam problem." He said they were to be understood as "valid conclusions for discussion."

"The big question," he added, "is to reach a settlement which can be enforced."

"The party which has to make first steps is Washington," he continued. "We have no doubt on this point. We cannot press history forward. If this does not come about today, it will come tomorrow. It's no use to make haste. If we show haste, the question will be put wrongly and we will have to wait again. So let the situation ripen."

Mr. Dong said he thought the most difficult of Hanoi's points for the United States to accept was the third, concerning South Vietnam. On this, he said, the North fully supports the Communist-led Liberation Front, the political arm of the Vietcong, and nothing can divide the two parts of the country. However, he thought actual reunification would not be a sudden process and he said there was no intention in the North to annex the South.

"We will consider this among ourselves," he said. "We will settle it by the most convenient means. There is no rush about it."

As to how long the war might go on if unresolved by negotiation, he said:

"We are prepared for a long war because a people's war must be a long war, a war against aggression has to be a long war. Nobody knows how long it will be. It lasts until there is no more aggression.

"We are preparing for that kind of war. Everyone of our citizens thinks like that. This is the kind of question often put to us by foreigners because they don't understand."

"This kind of question surprises us," the Premier commented. "How many years? What I used to tell our friends was that the younger generation will fight better than we—even kids just so high. They are preparing themselves. That's the situation.

"I'm not telling that to impress anyone. It's the truth. It's the logical consequence of the situation. Our Vietnam nation is a very proud nation. Our history is one of a very proud nation."

"How many years the war goes on depends on you and not on us," he added.

A repeatedly emphasized point was that the determining aspect lay not in American material superiority but in the fact that the Vietnamese fought for "independence, freedom, for life itself." The Premier said that the war "stands for everything for this generation and for future generations."

He conceded that this determination on the part of the Vietnamese was difficult to understand, not only for Americans but for many of North Vietnam's friends in Europe who did not see how the North Vietnamese could withstand an American expeditionary force well equipped with weapons and the nearby Seventh Fleet.

Now, however, he said, the North Vietnamese are able to demonstrate to their friends their ability to stand up to American material force.

"I have no hope of convincing you on this point," he added, "but I must tell it to you because it is very important."

Premier Dong based his presentation on an analysis that found the North Vietnamese position one of strength, not weakness. He said Saigon and Washington did not agree with this analysis, but suggested that perhaps they would in the future. The bombing of the North, in his view, has on balance proved a military failure.

It has caused severe damage, he said, but it has not compelled the North to capitulate. On the contrary, he indicated, northern military strength has increased and will continue to do so after passing through a most difficult period.

The key factor in this, Mr. Dong said, is the courageous strength of North Vietnamese youth. He said three million had volunteered for the army.

The economic aspects of bombing have been overcome, he said, and the country is in a position to continue the war and expand its potential.

He insisted that the situation in the South had turned very favorably for the Vietcong and he particularly stressed political weakness in Saigon where, he said, intensification of the political struggle against the regime was to be expected.

Noteworthy Sermon by Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure and my pride to number among my constituents Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein of K.A.M. Temple, Chicago. The Honorable Arthur J. Goldberg, permanent Ambassador to the United Nations, Dr. Hans Morgenthau, famed member of the faculty of the University of Chicago, and Judge David L. Bazelon, chief judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, are members of his congregation as are State Representative Robert Mann, former State Representative Abner Mikva, and Alderman Leon Despres of the fifth ward of Chicago.

On September 23, 1966, Yom Kippur eve, Rabbi Weinstein spoke on "Personal Atonement for Collective Sins," and I have had so many letters in compliment from those who listened that I am extending my remarks to include the text of a noteworthy sermon by one of the Nation's great spiritual leaders.

The sermon follows:

There is hardly a High Holyday Service that I have approached these 28 years I have been with you when one solicitous friend or another has not offered me the advice to make these sermons personal, religious, inspirational rather than social, secular and analytical. "Bathe us in the beauty of ethereal thoughts," they say, "not in the blood and sweat stained stuff of the market place and the battlefield." When, on rare occasion, I have followed this counsel I have been charge with being escapist and pollyannish. When I have not, I have been accused of turning the pulpit into a soap-box—which, by the way, should not be such a serious indictment—cleanliness being kin to Godliness.

In a deeper sense however this choice is an unreal one, surely an un-Jewish one—for ours is a Monotheistic faith based on a monistic view of the world. As our God is One so is the world one. Our Unity is all inclusive. We make no categorical distinctions between form and substance, between ends and means, between sacred and secular. So jealous have we been of the Oneness of our God that we have not permitted Him to slough off responsibility for evil onto some Devil or God of Darkness. He is the God of good *and* evil who has given man, His creature, the capacity to distinguish one from the other and the free will to convert the neutral energies of life into acts of goodness (Mitzvot) or acts of badness (Averot).

The chief role of these High Holydays is to take inventory of our souls to determine how well or ill we have exercised that free will. Certain of our sins such as the failure to observe the Sabbath, to pray at stated times, to avoid idolatry, not to take the Lord's name in vain were sins against God and would be forgiven by God since He is a compassionate God extending mercy unto the thousandth generation. We can indeed bespeak His forgiveness for it is more His nature to forgive than ours to be forgiven. The cow, Buber reminded us, loves to suckle more than the calf to suck.

But for those sins which man commits against his fellow man, prayer and penitence are not enough. There must be reconciliation with the one we have wronged on whatever terms that reconciliation can be attained. Though it requires a humility rare indeed in a society which calls on our more aggressive qualities for success if not for survival, it was possible to achieve reconciliation in the intimate circle of family and friends and, indeed, in the entire Shtetl when Jews lived completely within the context of the laws and customs of the tradition.

These homely pieties are still valid and we should not belittle them. *But they are no longer adequate to the human situation.* They are archaic, though delightfully nostalgic—as the horse and buggy, the bed warmer and the butter churn are poignantly nostalgic. The fact is that our anxiety and agony is largely due to the collective sins of our society, to poverty, to race prejudice, to war. We sin by syndicate and atone singly. Our personal repentance can no more atone for these vast corporate sins than a rounded pebble can stop Niagara. That is why the God of the secular city can be found more often in the arena of economics and politics than in theology and philosophy. It is in these areas where man confronts God and where the social conscience is sensitized or blunted, aroused to protect or pressured to conform.

We have long been acquainted with the phenomenon of the cultural lag where society holds on to primitive forms of behavior while professing allegiance to higher norms, but what we are most concerned with here is a social imbalance due to the fact that our aggressive anti-social hates and hostilities are more effectively organized than our altruistic and loving propensities.

I would like to have you consider with me three areas where this imbalance illustrates the gap between mobilized evil and socialized good. There is in each one of us a love of nature in its various forms. We rejoice in green grass, in leafy trees, in clean streams and pure skies. The Psalmists celebrated the God of nature—"How glorious are Thy works in all the world," "He maketh me to lie down in the green pastures, He leadeth me beside the still waters, He restoreth my soul." A good man is compared to a tree planted by streams of water, that yields its fruit in its season, and whose leaf does not wither. That adoration of nature is one of the constant sources of true religious piety. What the Psalmists began, the nature poets of all ages have continued. With Wordsworth, our generation "heard in nature the still sad music of humanity, felt a presence that disturbed us with the joy of elevated thoughts, a sense sublime of something far more deeply interfused whose dwelling is the light of setting suns, and the round ocean and the living air and in the mind of man."

We sorrowed with him that the world was too much with us, so that getting and spending we laid waste our powers, little we saw in nature that was ours. And while some of us cultivate our gardens, or keep a place in the mountains or by the sea, and while others of us have joined Audubon Societies, and Wilderness Societies, and Daniel Burnham Clubs and have contributed to Save the Redwoods, Save the Dunes, Save the Everglades, the Appalachians, Yes, Save the Grand Canyon—these brave sodalities of bird watchers, animal lovers, tree protectors have not proven effective against the Steel Companies who want the Dunes, the Coal Companies who want the coal in the Cumberland hills where, the lumber companies who want the profitable board feet of saleable lumber from those 2000 year old Sequoias, the produce farmers who want the water that nourishes the flora and fauna of the Everglades and the power interests who see the Colorado not as the liquid paint brush of the Grand Canyon but as the procurer of power for their concrete dams. We have not yet proven as swift as eagles and strong as lions in preserving God's gifts for all the generations of men. The High Priests and promoters of profits have organized greed more effectively than we have organized our love of nature.

But there is still hope. We can save at least a part of our natural resources if we take counsel with our conscience and if we truly believe that we are trustees of God's good earth as our faith teaches us and that someday we will have to render an account (as the admonition above the Ark reminds us) "Before Him Who Made The Heaven And The Earth And All That Is Therein." This is not a dispute between the bird watchers and the men of affairs, the poets and the pragmatists, the beachcombers and the convention hucksters. This is a question of enlightened self interest versus short time gain, of those who would heed the beating of the distant drum against those who would take the cash and let the credit go.

* * * * *

Now let us consider another example of the manner in which skillfully organized bigotry—though representing the will of a minority may prove more effective in the actual give and take of the social process than the less adequately organized good though representing the will of the majority and the major premises of our culture.

I daresay that each one of you acts as a decent and thoughtful human being toward any individual Negro who works for you or with you or who happens to be your neighbor. I know that many of you have warm, mutually supportive relationships with Negroes. I daresay that the majority of American citizens in the North would follow their instinct of live and let live and would sustain the implementation of our Constitutional Bill of Rights in granting the Negro equality of citizenship. And yet our streets are full of violence. In our own city the Negro is still ghettoized, still attends the schools where there are the less qualified teachers, and suffers from two and a half times the unemployment of our general population, while the unemployment of Negro youth is four times the general unemployment rate. Now here we confront a situation where the nation's laws and the Federal Government have caught up with the moral mandates of the Judeo-Christian ethic in the field of jobs and schooling but not in the field of housing.

* * * * *

A very unfortunate by-product of the filibuster defeat of the Civil Rights Bill in the present session of Congress, is that it will give an unholy sanction to the backlash of the white voter—and may set back the progress of the Negro in schools and jobs as well as in housing. Such a setback will play into the hands of the Black Power advocates and polarize the issue between Black extremists and white. But this defeat in Congress will not have that dire consequence if we are resolute on the local level. If, for instance, the Summit Agreement reached here several weeks ago is carried out and real estate offices encourage their clients to abide by the Occupancy Ordinances of the city and the state; if we take care to scatter low rise public housing in all the neighborhoods we can more than undo the effects of that legislative defeat. If our new school superintendent benefits from the mistakes of his predecessor and accepts integration as a high priority goal of public education and takes some giant steps toward making quality education available for all our children we shall truly be on the move.

If our End Poverty Programs really cuts the Gordian knot of those economic disabilities of the Negro which have made civil rights a peripheral need of his life and which have made slum Negroes suspicious of the whole white power structure and the Negro leadership which has worked with it, then we will be marching to the Promised Land. Here the long and rocky trail of Emancipation really stops at our individual doors and the issue of human justic is placed in our hands. This is indeed a time to recount the sins we have sinned in the past—the old houses and the old clothes we have dumped on our Negro neighbor, the differential wage we have paid him, the schooling we have withheld from him. It is a time to reckon with the stern law of atonement implicit in a moral universe and to take steps to right past wrongs not only that we may requite those who are oppressed but that we might reunite the white and black children of our common Father and re-knit the inner dark city and the outer white city and restore the House still divided against itself.

* * * * *

Finally, there is one further area where this truth can be illustrated. I saw only a week ago on the television, the burning of a village in Vietnam. American soldiers were applying torches to thatched huts while women and children and old men were weeping in terror. I watched a Vietnamese woman try, in her crazy grief, to enter her flaming hut to retrieve some household object. A young lieutenant * * * explained to the reporter that he had taken the responsibility to order this village burned to the ground because he had detected several gun bursts from the surrounding shrubbery. He did not want his men to be endangered so he took this drastic step which made another score of refugees for the U.S. government to take care of. That act of violence is our act of violence. Those soldiers bear the uniform of our country. We citizens are giving them the weapons to carry on this war. It is true that this is an undeclared war—we were never given the chance to vote on it. In fact many of us thought that we were voting in 1964 to make this very kind of war impossible. But the Congressman and Senators who represent us do, in great majority, support the Administration in this war and as long as that is the case we are responsible.

I want to avoid the air of self-righteousness. I do not say that all those who favor the war are barbarians, guilty of murder in the first degree. Many, I grant you, are patriots. Loyalty to America is their highest loyalty and they do not hesitate to say: "My country, right or wrong, my country." It is enough for them that they are in a fight and they believe that they are acting in the most responsible manner to see that they win that fight. Many others would clothe this elementary patriotism with the cloak of idealism. They are, they say, in this fight not only to affirm the power and prestige and national interests of our country, but to save the world from the total domination of the Communists. They believe that they are acting in the best interests of humanity by stopping the expansion of Communism now—even at the cost of hundreds of thousands of lives rather than by waiting until Communism becomes too strong to stop. A surgeon, said one proponent of this point of view, cannot be accused of immorality or cruelty if he amputates a limb to save the whole body from corruption. This view is so well organized and engineered that our Administration has no trouble getting from Congress any appropiration it asks for to pursue these goals.

Now I am not competent to discuss the whole wide spectrum of issues raised by this war. I am impressed however with the research of some of the best historians and political scientists of our country, including our own member Dr. Hans Morgenthau, who have pointed out these considerations.

1. There is much doubt that this is a legally declared war and that the South Vietnam government was a viable independent Government empowered to invite us to protect them from Communist aggression.

2. There is considerable doubt that the war in which we intervened was originally a war between a country and an invader rather than a civil war between segments of the South Vietnamese population.

3. There are reputable military strategists who doubt that the bombing of North Vietnam is in any way shortening the war. There is evidence pointing to the fact that it is increasing the infiltration of North Vietnamese and thus enlarging the war with the almost certain prospect that we will be enmeshed in a long land war, with the further prospect of involving the Chinese with the still further prospect of inducing fearful pressures to use nuclear bombs to bring an end to the slaughter of American troops.

4. There is a great body of learned opinion that the fear of China on our part and our addiction to the domino theory is an emotional reaction and not sustained by a deeper analysis of the dynamic evolutionary character of Communism as illustrated by its development in Russia. This analysis indicates that Communism becomes monolithic and aggressive under threat of foreign aggression but mellows and becomes more nationalistic, more concerned with consumer improvement when it is free of the fear of invasion.

5. We have misread the nature of the Vietnamese people and their neighbors in Thailand, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Burma who are historically conditioned against China and who would resist a takeover and who would meet the challenge of indigenous Communism successfully on their own and even more successfully if America continued her economic aid to overcome the poverty that often breeds Communism and if, in addition, we sent peace corps aids and technological and academic missions to demonstrate that people can have economic security without surrendering political freedom.

These considerations are, I believe, reasonable and historically valid. But as Rabbi I would oppose this war on even higher ground. I cannot accept war as a just instrument of social progress. I do not believe that my religion permits me to stretch the justification of self-defense to fight Communists in Vietnam to prevent their coming into the Philippines or Hawaii. I cannot join in the holy crusade aganst the anti-Christ of Communism because my reading of history convinces me that most crusades were pious frauds, a mere sprinkling with holy water of greed, venality and looting. I cannot find in the religious tradition of Judaism a sanction for using the land and people of a third nation—Vietnam—as a testing ground to prove the restraining military power of this country. I cannot find in my tradition sanction to reduce the men and women and children of Vietnam to faceless data in an experiment in the uses of power. I have looked into these faces and I find them to be my brothers and sisters. I do find in my religious tradition the sanction to consider loyalty to mankind more ethically imperative than loyalty to one portion of the human family.

I find in my tradition and in the experience of my people a consistent disillusion in war as an instrument that can settle anything. I do find in my tradition the clarion call for the nations to come to the Mountain of the Lord and reason together and beat their swords into ploughshares and learn war no more. How fervently then must we join in the hope that the plan for de-escalation proposed by Ambassador Goldberg will be received by the North Vietnamese; that they will not be discouraged by our Government's peculiar performance of announcing greater military intervention side by side with our peace offers; but that they will take the calculated risk of accepting our good faith, so that we can take the first step to peace.

Therefore on this eve of the Great White Day we are bidden to acknowledge our share of the sin in this war of aggression and to resume our character of lovers and pursuers of peace by joining at least one of the many organizations who are struggling to de-escalate this war and by joining the Association of the United Nations or the United World Federalists to help strengthen the only agency we have that may someday speak to national power and make the breakthrough from the tribalism of national chauvinism to World Government under World Law.

Then we can pray with all our heart the prayer of Sim Shalom—for we shall have added to the sacrifice of our lips the energies of purse, of hand and heart.

Grant us Peace, Thy most precious gift, O Lord and enable Israel to be a messenger of peace unto the peoples of the earth. Amen.

Harrison E. Salisbury Reports From Hanoi—XI, XII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I hope that my colleagues will read the further dispatches from North Vietnam by Harrison E. Salisbury, which appeared in the New York Times of January 5 and January 7, 1967. They follow:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 5, 1967]

AID SAYS LIBERATION FRONT IS INDEPENDENT OF THE NORTH—HE ASSERTS IN HANOI INTERVIEW THAT IT MUST BE HEARD ON ALL SOUTHERN ISSUES, INCLUDING A SETTLEMENT OF WAR

(By Harrison E. Salisbury)

HANOI, NORTH VIETNAM, January 4.—The aims, aspirations and operations of the National Liberation Front are viewed by its leadership in terms sharply different from the picture held by many Americans.

This contrast in view was the highlight of an interview given by a member of the Central Committee of the Liberation Front, the political arm of the Vietcong. [The Vietcong are the Communist-led South Vietnamese force fighting against the Saigon regime and its allies, principally the United States.]

The picture of the Front and its role in Vietnam was presented by Nguyen Van Tien, a former Saigon professor, a member of the resistance movement since 1945, a member of the Front's Central Committee and its permanent representative in Hanoi.

Mr. Tien is a distinguished-looking, gray-haired man of quiet manner who has a considerable grasp of English. His office is housed in a newly refurbished villa close to the Foreign Ministry that once was the United States mission's headquarters in Hanoi.

As described by Mr. Tien, the Front is an independent entity. It now has 15 offices in Communist capitals, and several others such as that in Algeria.

His own task in Hanoi is not precisely a diplomatic one but "a special form not seen anywhere in the world," he said. But on all questions relating to the South, he added, his people and the North Vietnamese conduct discussions on the same footing.

"The North cannot speak for the South," he said. "Anyone who has to discuss South Vietnam, must speak with the Front."

If North Vietnam has some question concerning the South, he said, its representatives have to talk the matter over with him.

He was asked whether all aid to his cause had to go to North Vietnam, and whether it was then funneled to the South. Not at all, he responded, explaining that if aid is for the South it has to be arranged directly with the Front. There has to be clear specification of what is destined for the North and what is for the South, he said.

PLACE AT PEACE TABLE

He emphasized that North and South were one people and one nation and engaged in a common struggle and said that this was why each had the right to demand aid from the other.

Asked who ran the armed struggle in the South—the North, as is presumed abroad, or the South—he replied: "The direction of the struggle is run by the South, not the North."

Since all questions on the South are settled by the Front, Mr. Tien said, it naturally must be represented at the conference table when peace talks begin.

What about reunification? The Front and the North would have to discuss that on the basis of equality, he insisted, and the Front would then decide all matters for the South as far as reunification is concerned.

He said Southern thinking was that reunification could occur only step by step. The first step would be to renew trade, mail, and travel between North and South. Because of the division of the country, many people have not seen their relatives for 10 years, Mr. Tien remarked.

As to what steps would be taken after that or what time period might be involved, he offered no specifics but conveyed the impression that there would be no hurry and that there were many complicated questions to be resolved.

Some of these may arise from differences between the program of the Front and the policies of North Vietnam.

The Front has a five-point program calling for national independence, democratic freedom, peace, neutrality and reunification. The neutrality plank envisages a government generally aligned with neutralist Asian states such as Cambodia, Laos and Burma. In contrast, North Vietnam is a firm member of the Communist bloc.

The Front says it wants to end all alignments to any bloc or system, whether American or Communist.

How the neutrality question might be worked out has not been indicated.

Another point of some divergence lies in the political complexion of the Front's Central Committee, which includes, according to Mr. Tien, not only Communists but bourgeois intellectuals and members of the religious sects and other parties. There are differences among them as to the type of government that should be set up after the war, he said, some believing it should follow the socialist path and some the Communist, with the most powerful group standing firm for neutrality.

Mr. Tien's picture of the Liberation Front differed sharply from that held by many in the United States that it is an organization created and directed by and subservient to the Hanoi regime. Such ideas, he contended, are a serious miscalculation.

He said the United States should recognize the leading role of the Front in the South, both now and in the future, once peace is restored.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 7, 1967]

NORTH VIETNAM RUNS ON BICYCLES—PARTS ARE PRICELESS—OTHER TRANSPORT IS USUALLY POOR

(By Harrison E. Salisbury)

HANOI, NORTH VIETNAM, January 5.—The best present you can give your girl friend in Hanoi is not a box of candy or even a diamond ring. It's a new chain for her bicycle.

The bicycle is just as essential to the North Vietnamese as the auto is in Los Angeles. Without the bicycle Hanoi's life would come to a halt. If by some magic weapon all the bikes in North Vietnam could be immobilized the war would be over in a twinkling.

Hanoi citizens, according to foreign residents, are notably honest and theft is almost unknown. Diplomats say there is only one thing that sometimes disappears—a bicycle.

On the broad boulevards great sections of sidewalk are roped off in the early evening just before the movies start. Outside the theaters 600 bikes, each with its wheel lock, will be parked row on row in portable wooden racks. Each also has a license tag issued by the municipal authority, which averts confusion since so many of the bikes are identical.

One of North Vietnam's leading light industries is bicycle production. Bicycles are also imported in large numbers from Communist China and from Eastern European countries, particularly East Germany.

A bicycle from China costs 200 dongs since a 30 per cent price cut this year. The dong is nominally valued at 3.53 to the dollar, but its purchasing power is more clearly reflected by pay rates, which for factory or office workers range from 70 to 80 dongs a month.

Bicycles are not rationed, but the market is controlled by the issuance of purchase permits through places of employment. The same Chinese bicycle that costs 200 dongs in a store will fetch 1,000 in a private sale.

TIRES AND GEARS, TOO

Under wartime conditions spare parts are often in short supply, which is why a new bicycle chain is such a priceless present. Tires are good presents, too, as are gears, wheels and other components.

Hanoi has no taxis. Only diplomats and high officials have cars, and they are provided for foreign visitors. There is a small number of hand-hauled, rubber-tired carts, but these are more likely to be filled with boxes and bundles than passengers.

Hanoi has a small municipal streetcar system using half-size tandem cars, but it operates only in the evening and early morning because of the bombing. There is a bus system for the suburbs and nearby towns, but it seems to run irregularly, mostly at night, utilizing a beat-up fleet of old, camouflaged buses.

The bicycle is the key to transport in the country as well as in Hanoi. It is the bicycle that carries fantastic burdens when rail and truck links are impeded by bombing.

FROM TRAINS TO BIKES

One foreign resident told of coming upon a place near Haiphong where bombing had severed a rail line. A brigade of hundreds of bikes was on the scene. Freight was transferred from the train to the bicycles—600 pounds on each. In a remarkably short time, the foreigner related, the freight was moving along the bombed-out tracks to a point where it could be reloaded onto another train.

The most active period for transport is at night since the American air effort slackens then or is more easily evaded. Then the big truck convoys and myriad bicycle caravans roll.

The whole rhythm of city life has been geared to bombing schedules. Most shops open from 5 A.M. to 8 A.M., then close until late afternoon or early evening. The 5 A.M. shopping hour is not difficult for a Hanoi resident. Government offices and factories begin their working day at 6 o'clock, and by 7 o'clock the city is bustling with life.

The slackest period comes from 1 P.M. to 5 P.M., the period when bombing attacks have most frequently occurred.

In those hours foreigners usually stay in hotels or embassies rather than face the prospect of being caught on the street and having to take refuge in one of Hanoi's many individual manhole shelters. They are just the right size for the Vietnamese but Russians, Frenchmen or Britons often find them uncomfortable.

The American Merchant Marine: Our Leaky Pipeline to Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, I am disturbed over the lack of public awareness of the serious decline of the American merchant marine.

Our committee is doing all it can to combat and reverse this critical situation, but we have been severely hampered in our attempts to carry this story to the public, primarily because of a lack of adequate coverage by the Nation's press.

Recently however, several outstanding articles have been published and I intend to insert them periodically into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. One of these, entitled "Our Leaky Pipeline to Vietnam," appeared in the December issue of Reader's Digest. Written by Lester Velie, an editor of that publication, it presents a trenchant analysis of the decline of our merchant fleet as well as the factors causing it and the many problems confronting those of us who are trying to correct it.

Articles like this can help focus public attention on the maritime industry's alarming deficiencies and on the need to rectify this intolerable situation.

The article follows:

Our Leaky Pipeline to Vietnam

(By Lester Velie)

By its shocking neglect of our merchant fleet, the federal government has reduced the United States from first to fifth place among maritime nations and crippled our ability to meet overseas commitments.

In the fall of 1965 the S.S. *Malden Victory*, an aged veteran of World War II and Korea, was towed hastily from the James River where, with other mothballed ships of the reserve fleet, she had been resting and rusting for years. It was the time of the first Vietnam build-up, and the need for ships was urgent. So at a Norfolk, Va., shipyard, men worked around the clock to restore the rust-pitted corpse to life.

Such was the urgency that there was no time to scrape the rust from the hull. New paint was sprayed over old. There wasn't even time for a trial run to prove out the hasty repairs. A little over a month after she had been towed from the "bone-yard," the *Malden Victory* put to sea with a cargo of light artillery and ammunition for Vietnam.

Just out of Norfolk, the main steam line to the power plant sprang leaks at the rusted joints and was patched at sea. Then, south of Cuba, the discharge line to the main condenser gave way, requiring four days of repairs at the Panama Canal. Off the coast of southern California, the temperature in the engine room soared to 130° when the two ventilator motors blew out.

After emergency repairs at San Pedro, Calif., the *Malden Victory* set out on the Pacific again. Now the ancient packing around the rudder post disintegrated, letting the sea in—and the clogged scuppers could not drain it off. The rising water threatened to disable the electric steering motors, crippling the ship and throwing it at the mercy of the heavy seas.

In desperation the crew formed a bucket brigade an, for nine hours, pased pails of water up to the deck above. Finally the ship's first assistant engineer managed to clear the scuppers with a high-pressure fire hose. Out poured broken beer bottles, rusted nuts and bolts that must have accumulated since the ship's launching 21 years before.

The *Malden Victory* never did get to her port of call for Vietnam on that first try. Boiler trouble forced her to alter course, and she limped into Yokosuka, Japan, for 27 days of repairs. Here the Navy's Military Sea Transportation Service—in charge of the Vietnam sea lift—removed her cargo, and she returned home.

ORPHANED INDUSTRY

The *Malden Victory* is one of the 161 World War II reserve-fleet ships on which we have been forced to rely to supply Vietnam—because we have been caught with our ships down. Despite a Congressional mandate—the Merchant Marine Act of 1936—Washington policymakers are allowing the American flag to vanish from the seas. We spend billions to subsidize highways, airlines and space travel; we find money to aid farmers, clear slums. But a babble of contending voices and interests has turned our ship industry, comparatively, into an orphan.

As a result, the 5500 American flag ships we had at the war's end—both privately owned and in the government reserve fleet—have dwindled to a fleet of 900-odd privately owned vessels, plus a similar number of mothballed reserve ships. Although we are the world's leading trading nation, we have so few ships of our own that we must rely on foreign-flag ships to carry 92 percent of our exports and imports. Every year we have fewer ships, for we are building virtually no replacements. Last year our shipyards delivered only 16 deep-sea vessels. And this fiscal year, at a time when we're involved in a major war—and are committed to come, if needed, to the aid of some 40 nations—our budget calls for a *cut* in construction, to 13 vessels.

In war a nation's commercial fleet is its fourth arm of defense—along with the Army, Navy and Air Force. Yet this fact has been ignored by three successive administrations. It is cheaper to have foreign ships haul our goods, they argued; in a war emergency we could rely on airplanes to fly troops and on foreign shipping to haul supplies. And, for insurance, there was always our reserve fleet.

To see how this thinking has worked out, look at the *Malden Victory's* sister ships in the reserve fleet—as they struggle to supply Vietnam over the longest logistics route in our military history.

OUT OF THE GREASE

When World War II ended, some 2,300 Liberties, Victories and other vessels were laid up in Puget Sound, in the James, Potomac and Hudson rivers, and in other "boneyards." Even then, most of the ships were already obsolete, for to speed mass production they had been built from designs of the 1920's. Defense Secretary James Forrestal had described them as "make-shift jobs."

Some were repaired and used in the Korean and Suez crises, then put back. All, swathed in cocoons of grease, lay year after year, their sensitive insides ravaged by humidity in summer and freezing cold in winter. Spare parts disappeared, and some of the ships were "cannibalized" to repair others. When the Vietnam buildup began, it cost an average $500,000 to "restore" each ship.

A Bethlehem Steel Corp. shipbuilding executive described their condition: "The preservative grease on the hull and superstructure had usually hardened and could be removed only by sandblasting or with chemicals. When we'd open up the big engine we'd find the guts all gone." Electric motors were shot, switchboard contacts were covered with verdigris. Spare parts had long disappeared and the original producers, who no longer stocked them, required six months to manufacture them anew.

AT TURTLE PACE

Even after they had been reactivated, some of the ancient ships broke down so often that they spent almost as much time in repair docks as they did under way. By last September 30, according to the Maritime Administration, reserve-fleet ships had lost a total of 1440 days at repair docks.

This would indicate only 4.4 percent of voyage time lost in repairs. But it all depends on how you keep the books. According to the Maritime Administration's reckoning, if a ship limps along at sea with boiler trouble and so prolongs the voyage, the percentage of time lost (repair-dock days, divided by voyage days) actually decreases. And when a ship waits to unload in Vietnam—sometimes for weeks—that too is added to voyage days. So the percentage of repair time is made to look deceptively small.

To the loss of precious time, add the waste of money. By last September, repair costs for the 135 reserve-fleet ships then operating had mounted to $1,230,000. Added to the $3,888,000 in wages and other charges that accrued during repair delays, and the cost of reactivating the ships in the first place, the bill for using these obsolete, turtle-pace ships is close to $75,000,000. Used as matching subsidy funds to encourage new construction, this sum could have added about ten fast, modern vessels to our merchant fleet. Moreover, for all the millions spent on them, the over-age vessels can last only a few years more. Our penny-pinching neglect of our commercial fleet is false economy indeed.

FRUSTRATED CARGO

When cargo is delayed, shipping men say it is "frustrated." To the story of frustration already told, add delays caused by crew shortages. For obvious reasons, skilled seafarers—marine engineers, mates, oilers—have been abandoning our dwindling merchant fleet. For example: because of lack of opportunity less than 15 percent of the men who graduated from the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy in 1960 have followed careers in the merchant fleet. Most of the others took jobs in industry, as did many men already holding licenses as chief engineers or assistants.

So, time and again, we have rushed reserve-fleet vessels from mothballs, run up overtime bills to repair them in a hurry—only to have them lie idle for as long as two weeks while the ship's operator scratches frantically for crews. Last July, 15 sailings were delayed for an average 4.5 days each. And, as more ships were broken out, the crew situation worsened. On almost any day during late September, 14 or more reserve-fleet ships were being delayed at their docks for lack of crews.

To permit the ships to sail for Vietnam at all, the marine engineers' union has waived minimum crew requirements, allowing ships to go to sea with two less marine engineers than the normal union-contract complement. Ironically, this has sometimes worsened the crewing problem, because of the additional burdens put on the men. Sometimes, after a trouble-plagued voyage, the engine crew simply walks off in disgust.

Yet even as the crew shortages were growing critical last summer, the head of the Maritime Administration was telling Congress that there was no shortage of skilled seamen. And an inter-agency committee of government officials told the Selective Service that shipping was not an essential industry, that seamen—including marine engineers—need not be deferred!

COLD TURNDOWNS

Although the pipeline to Vietnam is leaking, we have muddled through, so far. But suppose the 320,000-man force now in Vietnam is escalated to, say, 500,000? Or suppose the war lasts several years while our ancient reserve-fleet ships deteriorate further, or that another Vietnam blazes up?

Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara told Congress in 1962 that we could fly troops "even to areas 10,000 miles away." Alas! The theory never got off the ground. Even if there were enough aircraft, it was found more desirable to move the men in groups of 2500 to 3500 together with their equipment—to maintain unit integrity. So far 66 percent of our troops have had to move by ship, and so have 98 percent of the supplies.

The notion that we could rely on foreign shipping was exploded, too. Trouble began in the summer of 1965 with a foreign vessel chartered for Vietnam duty, the *El Mexicano*. For three days American longshoremen worked overtime to load the ship with trucks and other construction equipment. Then suddenly the Mexican government wired the ship's officers that they couldn't sail for Vietnam. To do so would violate Mexican neutrality laws. The cargo had to be unloaded.

Next, when the longshoremen began to load the equipment on a Greek vessel, the *Stamatios S. Embiricos,* they were called off again. This time 12 of the freighter's Greek crewmen refused to sail for Vietnam. The offer of a $10,000 bonus failed to move them. They lined the ship's rail, shouting gibes at the "American imperialists." Only after the cargo was transferred to the American S.S. *Bay State,* did it move for the war zone. The supplies had been delayed two weeks.

At various times, Indian and Chinese crews aboard British ships, Japanese sailors, even Okinawans, have refused to sail to Vietnam. Seven crews turned us down in the space of several weeks. Meanwhile, not only did our NATO allies not come forward with ships, but some permitted their vessels to be chartered by the Russians, thereby freeing regular Soviet vessels to supply North Vietnam. The bitter lesson is that we cannot rely on others for ships.

SURGE POWER

But can't we, then, call on all the foreign-registry ships owned by Americans? They are said to be under the "effective control" of our government: their owners are committed to turn them over for emergency use. Trouble is—as we've seen—we can't rely on their foreign crews. Also, most of these vessels are tankers or bulk carriers, built to haul grain or cement or ore, and aren't suitable for the Vietnam run. In late September, *not one foreign-flag vessel,* including those under "effective control," was helping supply Vietnam.

Finally, Vietnam has rubbed our noses in the crucial need for "surge power"—a country's ability to divert commercial ships to war use without stripping its sea lanes. In 1965 the Pentagon learned about "surge power" when it sought and obtained almost 50 of the 300-odd subsidized liners which ply regular scheduled routes under the house flags of U.S. Lines, Moore-McCormack, Lykes Brothers and others. Their owners raised such a hue and cry about losing some 50 million dollars yearly of hard-won business to foreigners—which, they said, they'd never regain—that the Pentagon returned one third of the ships.

HAMMER AND SICKLE

Although time is running out, I could find no sense of urgency in Washington among those who have the power to reverse our disastrous shipping course. There's no evidence that our admirals have succeeded in convincing their boss, McNamara, that we need a strong merchant fleet. And at the Department of Commerce—home of the Maritime Administration—Secretary John T. Connor, who champions a strong fleet, states simply: "The President does not give shipping the highest priority."

In dramatic contrast, the Soviet Union *does* give shipping a high priority. Since 1947 the U.S.S.R. has risen from eleventh place among maritime powers to seventh, while we have fallen from first to fifth, a place we won't hold for long. We have a meager 41 seagoing vessels on order; the Russians, 464. In fact, one fourth of all ships being built today will fly the hammer and sickle, and within a decade Russia will dominate the world's sea lanes. Unless, of course, we take the Russians' sea challenge as seriously as we take their space challenge.

Ships represent a crucial political and economic instrument. The Russians already send ships to 91 nations, and are opening up routes to underdeveloped countries in Africa and South America—a cold-war development of the utmost significance. We are abandoning routes.

In the light of all this, we had better start asking: Who scuttled our merchant fleet? And what are we going to do about it?

Harrison E. Salisbury Reports From Hanoi—XIII, XIV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times of January 8, 1967, carried two articles from Hanoi by Harrison E. Salisbury which are part of the series which I have been inserting in the Appendix of the Record. I call them to the attention of my colleagues:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 8, 1967]

Hanoi Reiterates Its Stand That Four Points Are Basic—It Comments on Theories That Dong's Remarks Hinted a Change—Clearing Skies Bring U.S. Planes Over the Capital of North Vietnam

(By Harrison E. Salisbury)

Hanoi, North Vietnam, January 6.—So much speculation and excitement were generated in Washington, London and Paris by Premier Pham Van Dong's remarks this week on the war that Hanoi issued an official statement today designed to bring the matter back to earth.

The speculation centered on Premier Dong's statment to this correspondent defining the nature of North Vietnam's program for resolution of the Vietnamese conflict. Foreign diplomats and press commentators read into his declaration two interpretations: that North Vietnam's position had changed and that its four-point program was negotiable.

The passage in the interview that stirred excitement was as follows:

"We have our point of view and we have put forward four points, which constitute the basis for settlement of the Vietnam question. These should not be considered 'conditions.' They are merely truths.

"The most simple thing is to recognize our sovereignty and our independence. It involves only recognizing the points in the Geneva agreements. The ruling circles of the United States do not like to accept our four points, and particularly the third point. That means that they are still clinging to South Vietnam, that means they are still introducing themselves into a tunnel.

"Now what can you do about that? We must come to a solution on the basis of the four points. Whichever way you may go around, finally you must come to the four points."

The Premier continued:

"Besides the four points, we have also put another point. That is to demand that the United States put, unconditionally and for good, an end to the bombing and all hostile activity against the North."

In discussion later on, when Mr. Dong was asked to clarify further the status of the four points, he phrased his response thus:

"It is wrong to say that we are putting some conditions. What I have told you are not our 'conditions,' but conditions for valid settlement. The question is how to reach a settlement which can be enforced."

Those are the Premier's precise words. Today they were officially restated as follows:

"The four-point stand of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam constitutes the basis of a settlement of the Vietnamese problem."

The four-point program is as follows:

1. Recognition of the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam and the withdrawal of United States forces from the area pending reunification of Vietnam.

2. Respect for the military provisions of the 1954 Geneva agreement, including those barring foreign forces.

3. Settlement of South Vietnam's internal affairs by the South Vietnamese in accordance with the program of the National Liberation Front.

4. Peaceful reunification of Vietnam by the peoples of North and South without foreign interference.

The circumstances of the Premier's statements should be explained. He received this correspondent last Monday afternoon in the Presidential Palace. He had familiarized himself beforehand with a detailed group of questions submitted in advance.

Lists of questions had been prepared not only for himself but for President Ho Chi Minh and the Defense Minister, Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap. It was tacitly understood that the correspondent probably would be received by one, but there was no advance indication of which one.

Premier Dong said he would endeavor to discuss the questions, but not in a formal interview, which he finds uncomfortable. He said he would make a series of observations, then the observations could be discussed and questions put in an informal manner.

He asked that since the interview was being conducted so informally, anything written about it be submitted for checking to make certain that the quotations were precise.

With agreement on these ground rules, the discussion was launched. Mr. Dong divided his remarks into two main sections. The first was devoted to the war, its origin and prospects. The second dealt with questions involved in a settlement. There then was considerable interchange, the whole discussion occupying about 4½ hours and touching on most of the vital issues in the conflict.

Certain segments of the discussion were placed off the record. A dispatch reporting on the talk was submitted Tuesday to the Foreign Ministry, which checked it closely, proposing certain textual changes and deletions. Thus the dispatch as transmitted and published represented a careful, accurate report of the Premier's views.

Today's statement was not designed to dispute that dispatch. The ministry rechecked the text after the wave of speculation arose and made some minor clarifications, which are incorporated in the passages quoted in this dispatch as well as in the textual version that accompanies it.

What is the significance of all this?

It appears that the greatest care and caution should be observed in attempting to analyze official North Vietnamese statements. Even when precisely made, they may not be fully understood in the West.

The question of the four points is particularly complex. When Premier Dong says they are not conditions that must be accepted prior to peace negotiation, he is speaking quite sincerely. While Hanoi does not insist that they be agreed upon before it will sit down at the conference table, it does insist on a solution based on them.

Whether this is a distinction without a difference remains to be seen.

If the four points were made the agenda of a conference, the West would certainly presume that there would be give and take and that, in effect, the points were negotiable. But this may not be Hanoi's view at all, especially since the Premier says that the points constitute "conditions for a valid settlement" that "can be enforced."

The speculation and excitement aroused by the interview have been intensified, in the opinion of some diplomats in Hanoi, by a widespread failure in the West to realize that Hanoi has said much the same thing several times.

Whatever the situation, the Premier's entire statement contained a number of illuminating insights into North Vietnamese thinking, not all of which are readily apparent.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 8, 1967]

Clear Skies Bring a Hanoi Air Alert

Hanoi, North Vietnam, January 7.—When the sun finally broke through Hanoi's gray skies at noon yesterday, a resident of the Thongnhat Hotel nodded and said, "We'll be having visitors after lunch." He was right.

Almost on the dot of 2:30 P.M., Hanoi's sirens wailed, the pretty hotel waitresses grabbed their rifles and helmets and the guests filed out into the rear courtyard, where the hotel's three white roosters majestically strut in a tall cage.

Despite the urgings of a small, helmeted, gun-carrying porter, the guests did not enter the air raid shelter, but instead dallied in the warm sun, peering up at the almost cloudless sky.

RIFLEMEN ON ROOFS

On the roofs of nearby buildings, including the State Bank, men with rifles were wheeling right and left watching for planes. Suddenly came the crack of an old-fashioned antiaircraft gun close by certainly within a block or so.

The guests edged a little closer to the bunker's entrance. There was a pause. Then, with deep Martian thunder, Hanoi's SAM's, surface-to-air missiles, opened up and the guests heeded the warden's plea and walked down the concrete steps into the bunker.

The Thongnhat hotel's bunker probably is the flossiest in town. It has park benches and folding chairs on which to recline and a couple of fluorescent lights. It is long and narrow and the concrete floor is clean. It is equipped with old-fashioned red fire extinguishers made by French concern with the unlikely name of "Compagnie Knock-Out."

After the SAM's had let go once or twice, a high-pitched distant whine was heard. It was the first time this correspondent had actually heard hostile planes overhead, although it was the eighth alert he had undergone in a fortnight in North Vietnam. The characteristic sound of supersonic planes was unmistakable. Veteran's of Hanoi's air raids identified them as F-105's, Republic Thunderchiefs, which may or may not have been accurate.

With the sound of the planes high over the city, the SAM's let go several more times and there was a heavy crash of conventional antiaircraft batteries, though they were mostly some distance away.

This was Hanoi's second alert of the day; there had been a 10-minute alert in the morning but without audible gunfire or planes.

After 20 minutes the all-clear sounded and the guests emerged from the bunker.

RESIDENTS NOTE A LULL

Hanoi residents say there has been a decided lull in close-in bombing since the attacks of Dec. 13 and 14.

Some have attributed this to the presence of a United States correspondent and have predicted that with his departure today the attacks will intensify.

Actually there apparently has been considerable air action over Hanoi's more distant approaches.

Efforts by this correspondent to revisit Namdinh, the scene of controversial bombings by United States warplanes, were frustrated because of heavy air action reported in the last few days in areas between Hanoi and Namdinh, about 65 miles to the south.

Many Hanoi residents now consider themselves experts on United States bombing tactics. In recent weeks, they say, American planes have come in from almost any direction and not infrequently are over the city before, or almost simultaneous with, the siren's sound. They attribute this to a low-level approach, which makes radar detection and plotting more difficult.

Not infrequently United States planes are over Hanoi, according to residents, for considerable periods of time. They were reported to have been overhead for about 45 minutes in the Dec. 13 attack, criss-crossing the city as they singled out their targets.

One military observer here expressed some puzzlement over the Dec. 13 and 14 attacks.

He said the targets were small and difficult to hit and had to be approached through antiaircraft fire. He said he was not certain why they had been picked out, since some seemed to have such small military value. The observer said that he knew from personal observation that there were only 12 or 14 trucks and buses being repaired in Vandien, in the southern outskirts of Hanoi, which was heavily hit.

It was reported that in this attack the Vietnam Polish Friendship Highschool, about three-quarters of a mile from the repair yard, was hit.

"There would seem to be more important military objectives in Hanoi, including, for instance, the Paul Doumer Bridge or the city power plant," the military observer said. "Bombs were dropped at either end of the bridge. But whether the bridge was not a target or the action was accidental or designed to show the bridge could be hit if the United States wanted to certainly wasn't clear."

Diplomats in Hanoi are not exactly pleased at the United States air action in and around Hanoi.

"I know just how the Hanoi people feel," on diplomat's wife said. "When American planes are overhead I'd shoot at them, too, if I had a rifle."

CANADIAN MISSION HIT

Among the buildings that have been hit, reportedly in the Dec. 13 attack, was one housing the Canadian mission to the International Control Commission.

One Canadian took some metal fragments, put them in a box and sent it off to friends in Saigon with a note saying, "Look here, chaps, this is getting to be a little bit much!"

"I don't know how well they appreciated his sense of humor down in Saigon," another Canadian said.

A Western diplomat said it was only luck that prevented serious casualties and damage on Dec. 13 at the Chinese, Polish, Rumanian and Russian embassies, which form a quadrangle.

Diplomats from both East and West said that in the attack, a rocket from a United States plane hit a tree just outside the Rumanian Embassy. The rocket engine lodged there. A red-hot chunk of metal was said to have blasted through an open window into Rumanian military attache's office.

The blast is reported to have knocked Rumanians in a shelter in their garden to the floor. Pieces of the rocket shattered a corner of the Chinese Embassy and knocked many tiles from the roof.

Many of the charges and countercharges of the air war remain unresolved as this correspondent's fortnight in Hanoi draws to a close.

Efforts to prolong the stay have been gently discouraged. The original plan was a one-week visit. This was doubled at this correspondent's request.

One thing seems certain: this may have been the first visit of an American correspondent to wartime Hanoi, but it is not likely to be the last.

For a Safer Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I listened with particular interest this evening to the great state of the Union address delivered by President Johnson.

One of the recommendations the President will send us will call for strict controls on the sale of firearms. I have advocated this for many years and I have sponsored legislation to accomplish this purpose—legislation which I expect to reintroduce in this 90th Congress.

An excellent argument for the control of firearms was made in the following editorial from the November 19, 1966, edition of the New York World Journal Tribune. I commend it to the attention of our colleagues:

For a Safer Society

There are spectacular lunacies of multiple murder in Chicago, New Haven, Austin and Mesa. They overshadow individual tragedies that in their way are even more appalling because they are so commonplace as to attract only local attention, so routine as to be relegated to inside pages.

There was, for instance, the 15-year-old New Jersey boy who had previously been in trouble for firing a BB gun at passersby. Like an addict proceeding from marijuana to heroin, he next acquired a .22-caliber rifle from a mail-order place in California.

He used it one night recently, police said, and a 17-year-old high school football star was critically wounded while walking with a girl in a wooded area of the Bergen County community of Woodcliff Lake.

A bullet nicked the victim's spinal cord, perhaps paralyzing him permanently.

The town's police chief called the shooting "senseless," saying "the suspect didn't even know the boy he shot or the girl."

By that account, in other words, it was strictly impersonal. One random victim would have done as well as another. The main thing, one infers, was the impulse to shoot somebody—anybody.

Political reality suggests that both the Johnson administration and the enlarged Republican minority in Congress will be receptive at the next session to domestic legislation with modest price tags.

Here's a suggestion for one vital piece of legislation that would be virtually cost-free: a meaningful federal law to regulate the sale and shipment of firearms.

The suggestion is not new. Nor is the reflexive opposition—the tiresome recital by the National Rifle Assn. concerning the constitutional right to bear arms, the alleged persecution of the sportsman and the fatuous assertion that people, not guns, kill other people. And, oh yes, the "practical" argument that a determined killer will find a weapon, laws or no laws.

We submit that the American public has listened to enough of that rot.

The constitutional right to bear arms relates to a militia. It was not meant to foster crime—or the organization of lethal zanies like the Minutemen.

It is true that people shoot people, but equally true that they need guns to do it.

Finally, it is probably true that homicidal types will always manage to find the weapons they want, including guns.

But that does not dispel the obligation of government to make it as difficult as possible for the immature, the deranged and the criminal to get their hands on firearms—which are unique among hand weapons in having no other function than to fire bullets at something or someone.

President Johnson has made impressive advances under the banner of a Great Society. By articulating, and impressing on Congress, the national necessity for checking the willy-nilly flow of guns and ammunition, he can help measurably to make this also a safer society.

Harrison E. Salisbury Reports From Hanoi, XV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, again I want to bring to the attention of my colleagues an article which is part of a series of reports filed from North Vietnam with the New York Times by Harrison E. Salisbury. This article appeared in the New York Times of January 9, 1967:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 9, 1967]

CATHOLIC CHARITY AID VISITING HANOI

(By Harrison E. Salisbury)

HANOI, NORTH VIETNAM, January 7.—Msgr. Georg Hüssler, secretary general of a West German Roman Catholic welfare organization, has arrived in Hanoi—the first foreign Catholic functionary to visit North Vietnam since the establishment of the Communist regime.

Monsignor Hüssler's mission is one of relief. He came to Hanoi with the Rev. Martin Niemöller, a German Evangelical pastor and one-time submarine commander, who was imprisoned by the Nazis, to hold talks with North Vietnamese Red Cross and medical officials.

For some time the German organization, part of Caritas International, has been making a financial contribution to the North Vietnamese Red Cross, to the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front's Red Cross organization and to the Red Cross in South Vietnam.

Now Monsignor Hüssler is seeking to ascertain what medical supplies North Vietnam can use—possibly penicillin and other antibiotics, quinine and surgical instruments.

His visit is regarded in other aspects as well. It is taken as a symbol of Pope Paul's deep interest in peace in Vietnam and of the Vatican's abiding interest in strengthening ties with Roman Catholics in the North.

Monsignor Hüssler was to confer with the Catholic hierarchy here, instituting the first personal contact between Rome and the Hanoi churches since the Communist regime took over the North in 1954.

One important aspect of Monsignor Hüssler's visit was understood to be a tangible demonstration that the Vatican's interest is not concentrated exclusively on the church in South Vietnam. The intimate association of the southern church with the Diem regime through the late dictator's brother, the Most Rev. Ngo Dinh Thuc, then Archbishop of Hue, was taken by many in the North as a sign of partisanship in the North-South struggle.

According to an estimate provided by the Rev. Ho Thanh Bien, pastor of St. Dominique Church here, and by what is called the Liaison Committee of Patriotic Catholics, a lay organization, there are just under a million Catholics in the North. No estimate of the number who went South in 1954 was offered, but the generally accepted figure outside Vietnam is a million.

Monsignor Hüssler puts membership in North Vietnam now at something over 700,000.

In the heavily Catholic district of the Phatdiem area, 75 miles south of Hanoi, local officials said approximately 10,000 of the region's population of 80,000 went south. The officials attributed the exodus to an intensive campaign by representatives of the Diem regime, who said that under the Communists the church would be suppressed.

The local authorities in the Phatdiem area maintain that they still have 82 churches functioning for a population that is again about 80,000.

Father Bien said that six of the North's 10 Bishops went south, and with them all 10 seminaries operating in the North. He estimated that two-thirds of the North's priests also went south.

He said, and Monsignor Hüssler confirmed, that since 1955 the Vatican had confirmed six new bishops and that all 10 dioceses now had bishops. Father Bien also said that the 10 seminaries had reopened and that about 100 priests were in training. He said the Most Rev. Trinh Nhu Khue, named Archbishop of Hanoi in 1962, was the principal church functionary in North Vietnam.

Both Father Bien and officials of the Patriotic Catholics said that they were in mail communication with Rome, that the Pope's edicts and other materials were being received and that they sent back acknowledgements.

Asked why there had been no personal contact, they insisted that this was not due to Government interference but that such contacts "depend on the situation," which they described as being complicated, at least in part because of the war.

They estimated that 300 to 400 priests were serving churches in the North. Hanoi has 12 churches, with 10 priests and possibly 20,000 worshippers, they said, explaining that Hanoi had never been as strongly Catholic as the countryside.

There are no schools of general education run by the Catholics, but children are given instruction at church, particularly during the two regular vacation periods each year, the churchmen said.

There are still a number of nuns and many convents operating, the churchmen said, but they conceded that many nuns had gone south.

They said the official position was one of noninterference in religious matters. According to these spokesmen, the Government provided considerable funds for rebuilding churches after partition.

Roman Catholic members of the diplomatic colony attend mass in Hanoi churches but have had little contact with the priests. One Frenchwoman goes to a Hanoi priest for confession. Another Catholic, a diplomat, does not, feeling that it might be embarrassing for the priest.

There are constant references in conversations with both laymen and priests to the exodus of Catholics in 1954, and it is evident that deep and bitter wounds have been left.

Regarding the Vatican's efforts for peace in Vietnam, neither priests nor clergy offered any more specific comment than that the church fully supported North Vietnam's peace proposals.

It was said that many churches had been destroyed or damaged by United States bombing and that two priests had been killed.

Supersonic Transport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times of January 2 commented editorially on the present program of construction of a supersonic transport plane, and I wish to place that editorial in the RECORD today.

The Times has presented forcefully many of the arguments in support of a new look at this program. These arguments also lend support to my bill, H.R. 12, which would provide for private financing of the SST project. I am including with my remarks my letter to Mr. John B. Oakes, editorial page editor of the Times, in which I call his attention to H.R. 12 and to the fact that there are many similarities between my proposal and the editorial comments in his newspaper.

I hope that H.R. 12 will receive early and serious consideration by the appropriate committee.

The letter and editorial follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., January 11, 1967.

Mr. JOHN B. OAKES,
Editorial Page Editor,
The New York Times,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. OAKES: I am delighted to note the position the Times has taken as expressed in the editorial, "Paying for the SST", January 2, 1967.

Many of the principles you enunciate are contained in a bill I introduced in the 89th Congress and in H.R. 12, which I introduced on the opening day of this Congress.

I am sending under separate cover a copy of H.R. 12, together with a copy of my remarks when H.R. 12, was introduced.

I welcome any constructive criticism the Times' staff members may wish to offer to improve H.R. 12. A great deal of research and effort has been expended in the preparation of H.R. 12, but I always take the position that it may be possible to improve any projected plan or program.

I heartily agree that open debate in the Congress on the SST costs and financing is sorely needed, and long overdue. To this end, I recently urged the President to join with me in requesting early hearings on H.R. 12.

I earnestly hope the Times will continue to lend strong support toward achievement of the objectives we mutually support in the SST matter.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK T. BOW,
Member of Congress.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 2, 1967]

PAYING FOR THE SST

As winner in the competition for design of a supersonic passenger plane, Boeing will acquire a Government-endowed monopoly on sales of an American SST designed to carry 300 passengers at upward of 1700 miles an hour.

Until recently the race to build an SST had not aroused much attention, perhaps because the whole idea of flying two or three times the speed of sound seemed a little too far out to be taken seriously. Now, the SST is coming—and it should come. But so important and expensive a project must be accompanied by much fuller and more open debate over its costs and consequences.

The key issues to be explored are not technological. The aerospace industry is confident it can solve the complex and intricate problems involved in transporting human beings from New York to Tokyo in less time than it now takes to travel by subsonic jet from New York to Los Angeles. Given the industry's past record of accomplishment, there is no reason to doubt its ability to overcome potential stumbling blocks, including the perplexing problem of sonic boom.

But development of the SST does raise serious financial and ethical questions: Should the nation's taxpayers pay almost all the development costs for the SST without knowing just what the final bill will be? If no single company has the financial and technological resources to build the SST without Government help, should the Government's competition to end competition give Boeing an unassailable—and undesirable—technological lead at the expense of the rest of the industry? Does the threat of foreign competition—both from the French-British Concorde and a Soviet SST—make the development of an American commercial model so essential that Federal expenditures for it cannot be reduced or postponed when the soaring costs of Vietnam call for utmost budget stringency?

The SST's priority is debatable and so is its financing. The industry may be right in asserting that the costs of development are so huge that no company can afford to take the risk on its own. It points out that the backing of both Britain and France has been required to launch the Concorde. But if the combined efforts of two countries and their aircraft industries are needed for that much less ambitious project, the American SST might be more safely and soundly developed if it commanded the combined resources of the entire American industry and the Government.

There are obvious advantages in industry-wide cooperation. It would promote a spread, rather than a narrowing, of technology. It would mean less cost—and less risk—to taxpayers. And it would remove the threat that Government participation might eventually lead to Government control.

In 1964, when the SST was still largely in the dream stage, we suggested that a joint venture would be preferable to a competition that would give one firm a commercial monopoly with Washington as its sole—and perhaps not so silent—partner. We still consider a joint venture the best way to produce the SST at the most economical cost. With the first generation of SST already planned and a second generation being studied, questions of cost and technology can no longer be swept under the rug.

The possibility that SST may not be able to operate at a profit, as one expert involved in the negotiations for its development predicted the other day, makes it essential to put a limit on Government's risk with the taxpayer's money. If the Treasury is to advance most of Boeing's development costs, which seems to be the Administration's plan, there must be iron-clad guarantees that it will be repaid.

It would be preferable if the entire aerospace industry participated, along with the Government, in this big and speculative project. By setting up a new corporation along the lines of Comsat, the SST would have more chance of being a success while strengthening the industry without undue risk to the taxpayer.

What is at stake is not the commitment to proceed with SST. That decision has been made and cannot—and should not—be reversed. But if the SST is to be sound economically as well as technologically, the Administration and the industry must be less secretive and indefinite about costs and how they are to be financed. An open debate is needed on how to get the most for the taxpayers' money.

Letter From India

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, last November I made a brief visit to the city of Bombay in India. On November 25 the Times of India printed a report of statements I had made at a press conference, in response to questions about the future of the American aid program in the light of India's current famine.

I include herewith a letter which I have since received, which I believe to be of interest:

9A/36, WEA, K'bagh,
New Delhi 5: 26.11. 1966.

YOUR EXCELLENCY, This is a salute of warm welcome, admiration and gratitude for making the most significant observation of the century, reported on p. 5 of the Times of India, Bombay, dated Friday, the 25th:

"However, he said, the American people were convinced that no aid programme at the moment was more important than the programme here in India. This was not just because it was the largest programme, which it was, but because the stakes were so high."

That is sense, common sense, good sense such as not every politician in the old world or even the new is always capable of. I salute you!

I take my hat off to you a million times for doing something. Most legislators in my country are too lazy to do—issuing questionnaires more than once to as many as 10,000 constituents to feel the public pulse.

Politicians in my country are content to feel the public purse, not pulse! That is the tragedy. They are as close to public opinion as the earth is to the sun.

Yes, the stakes are high, as you said. Every Indian should be made to lean more and more on democracy and private enterprise.

What would I do to promote that if I were President Johnson, Mr. Rusk or Mr. Bowles? I would devote the American rupee funds in India in their entirety to a swift spread of the English language and through it a knowledge of American democratic values and farming methods. But America's greatest farm is the Congress which nourishes and sustains the democratic growth all over the world, though the farming I have in mind is actually food farming.

Some American model farms in this country—cattle, poultry, fruit and vegetables—as providing firsthand demonstration of her modern methods, would be a great help.

Yes, Your Excellency, we must do something concrete to make India lean more and more on the side of the great democracies. Perhaps, Canada, Britain and Australia, too, have a stake in this. In other words, all the English-speaking or English-*using* democracies.

May I beg you, implore you to send a copy of this letter to every American Congressman and senior member of the Administration? Pray, do!

Yours very sincerely,

C. BALAN.

Tribute to N. Edward Disbrow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I was saddened to learn of the passing away on Friday, December 30, 1966, of one of my district's most distinguished citizens and publishers, N. Edward Disbrow. I extend my deepest sympathy to his family and relatives, and I include in my remarks the editorial of his paper, the Oyster Bay Guardian, which tells more eloquently than I of how he will be missed:

N. EDWARD DISBROW, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER, DIES DECEMBER 30—VILLAGE MOURNS LOSS OF FRIEND—SERVICES ARE HELD TUESDAY, MEMORIAL MASS TO BE SAID SUNDAY AT ST. DOMINIC'S

N. Edward Disbrow, editor and publisher of the Oyster Bay Guardian for almost twenty-one years died in the early morning hours December 30th at his home at 18 School House Lane, Syosset. He was 61 years old. A few hours before, he had put his final issue of the Oyster Bay Guardian "to bed."

Services, held Tuesday at the Beney Funeral Home, Syosset and conducted by the Rev. Paul Bowles of St. Paul's Methodist Church were attended by scores of friends, many of them prominent in the life of the village and the town. Nearly 100 Masons attended Masonic services the night before. On Sunday at 10:30 A. M. a memorial mass will be said for Mr. Disbrow at St. Dominic's Church. Burial was in Memorial Cemetery, Cold Spring Harbor.

A life-long resident of the Oyster Bay area, and a graduate of Oyster Bay High School, he began to work on the weekly newspaper which had been founded in 1899 by his grandfather, Nelson H. Disbrow, and his uncle, Leslie C. Disbrow, when he was only 16 years old. The day after Christmas he started his 46th year on the Guardian.

Ed Disbrow looked out on the world over the top of his printer's specs from "the stone" by the big, grimey window in front of the print shop on West Main Street. And those penetrating hazel eyes missed very little of the passing parade.

KNEW EVERYONE

He knew everyone in town, and very nearly everyone in the surrounding villages. He rarely forgot a name, or a face. He knew the genealogy of every old family in the village, and he knew more about the new families than most of them realized. He loved to talk, and he was a good talker. In a unique way, he made Oyster Bay come alive to those newcomers who found their way inside the Guardian's door.

His memory stretched back into the memory of his forebearers, and far beyond his sixty-one years. He believed in God, the Constitution of the United States, free enterprise, thrift, hard work, Masonry and the Republican party. He knew what he thought was right, and what he thought was wrong, and he could tell you which was which in no uncertain terms.

MASTER PRINTER

He was a master printer. He was fond of pointing out that even the rudiments of the printing business could not be learned in less than seven years. He was a master printer, and he came from a family of printers. His grandfather, Nelson, entered the printing business on the Prattsville (N.Y.) News, from there went to work for J. B. Lyon, the state printer at Albany, later joined the Northport Journal in Northport, Long Island. Finally, on February 10, 1899, the same year that Nassau became a county, he and his son Leslie founded the Oyster Bay Guardian. A strong-minded and intrepid editor (Ed Disbrow said he had inherited his disposition) he delighted in uncovering dishonest politicians; was once shot at through the Guardian window, an incident he later reported in the pages of his publication with great relish.

BIG HEART

Ed Disbrow was a small man (he wore a size 5 shoe) with a big heart and a particular weakness for small girls. He had less use for appearances than he had for his "store teeth," which he relegated to a shelf in his closet. He tried with utter honesty to guide his publication through the annals of Oyster Bay history with an impartial attention to the truth as best he could determine that truth. He believed facts should speak for themselves, and he had no patience with editorializing.

Ed Disbrow was proud to be a member of Matinecock Lodge, No. 806, F. & A.M., and a charter member of Hook and Ladder Co. No. 1, Syosset Fire Department, and the Syosset Volunteers and Exempt Firemen's Association.

He is survived by his wife, the former Mary Allison; two daughters, Allison D. Spencer of Kings Park, and Margaret D. Layton of Syosset; five grandchildren, Kathleen, Susan and Nancy Spencer, and Allison and Margaret Layton; three brothers, George of Sag Harbor, Richard of Syosset, and Stephen of Oyster Bay; and two sisters, Mrs. Sally Wilson of Pennsylvania, and Mrs. Molly Kealey of New York City.

B. M. "Mac" Myers, Jr., Regional Director, U.S. Post Office Department, Dallas, Tex., Addresses Sixth District Postmasters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, while visiting in my congressional district during the recent adjournment of the Congress, I had the opportunity to attend a meeting of all of the postmasters from my district at which time my good friend, Mr. B. M. Myers, director of the Dallas, Tex., region, presented the major address.

All of us realize that the Post Office Department is faced with a most tremendous job and there is no question in my mind but what the problem is being met and it is because of men like Mac Myers and the countless others who have devoted their lives to the Department. Mac Myers' address, however, seems to hit at a basic issue and I commend it to all of the Members of this body.

The address follows:

BANQUET TALK AT NAPUS DISTRICT MEETING, COLLEGE STATION, TEX., BY B. M. MYERS, JR., NOVEMBER 5, 1966

I know that every one of you, like each of us in the region and those in the Department in Washington, have been concerned with the problems in the handling of the explosive increase in the volumes of mail that we have experienced for the past month. We are still experiencing this unprecedented volume but tonight I can proudly say that we have it under control and regionwide are maintaining a current status. The condition we enjoy at this moment was possible only by the Department quickly recognizing the situation and coming through with emergency increases in funds and authorizing the employment of 89-day temps at this time and by concerted, dedicated and effective attention that you postmasters gave to getting the mail moving. I have so often said to you how grateful I am and always proud of the postal personnel in the Dallas region.

But as a result of this sudden, unexpected increase in mail volume and our inability to immediately keep its delivery as current as the public is accustomed to, we have experienced some unfortunate publicity and criticism from the public. I am convinced that those who saw fit to be critical were in the main uninformed. It appears that too often criticism was hastily voiced and based only on one side of the story. It is in that vein that I would like for us to think for a few minutes tonight. Or, to say it another way, "What am I—what are you doing—to the image of the postal service?"

It has been said that there is nothing harder to piece together than a shattered "image," especially if it's yours! And it could happen more easily than falling off a pedestal. We are living in an era when the public seems to have an unquenchable thirst for information, particularly information concerning the care and efficiency we exercise in spending their tax dollar. And I for one think that this is good because it leaves little chance for inefficient management in Government to go undetected or stay out of the spotlight.

So that we can evaluate the present image of the postal service, what it should be and what we are and can do about it, we obviously need to take into account the conditions under which this image is to be improved and maintained. Everywhere we look around us and in all of our own personal activities, we see among our acquaintances, ourselves, our patrons, an ever increasing demand for perfection, for improvement in almost every phase of life. We demand more rapid, positive transportation. We demand better and safer highways. We expect immediate, available quality merchandise and at a convenient location for procurement. We have become accustomed to plentifulness and to the ability or right of demanding quality merchandise and immediate service. So how can we, why should we, expect a tolerant public if the type of postal service we provide is not in keeping with the need of the times in which we live?

We in the postal service frequently refer to the fact that in excess of eighty per cent of the mail is business mail. Not too many years ago, it was the reverse when more than eighty per cent of our mail was the friendly exchange of letters between friends and families.

This change has brought about the awareness of the need of the public of the timeliness and certainty of mail delivery. For example, the average collection of premium payments by a large insurance company sometimes runs in excess of $25,000 a day. They, therefore, are obviously financially interested in prompt mail service. If we delay the handling of their mail just 24 hours it means they have thousand of dollars less operating capital or must pay interest on operating funds borrowed. A mail order concern advertises that they can fill orders within a stated period of time. We fail to give reliable, timely service and they obviously lose business and rightfully blame us.

To best illustrate the sensitiveness of the mail service today to the business community, let me relate a conversation I recently had with the executive of one of the larger mail order concerns. This conversation occurred during the period when we were literally swamped with this unexpected increase in third class and catalog mail. He pointed out that over the years they had made tests to determine when they could best make a sampling of orders received to identify what merchandise should be reordered or restocked because of the demand by the public. They found that within ten days after their catalog had been mailed they could make realistic samplings of the orders received and immediately place their orders for new stock or for printing of their next year's catalog. As a result of the delays that occurred this year, they are deeply concerned over their merchandising policy for next year.

So this is the climate—the demands of the times—in which we must maintain, improve or lose the image of the postal service.

"What am I—what are you—doing to the image of the postal service?"

Now we have made many changes, all designed to give improved postal service to the public. The sectional center concept, Zip Code, airlift, advance businss collection, delivery, and on and on. But what kind of a job have we done to create understanding of these new and improved innovations by the patron? You hear complaints by misinformed people that sectional centers were conceived to bring about gradual discontinuance of trains. You hear and read that there is no direct mail service between two given cities possibly twelve miles apart and that mail is being routed in a circuitous route ninety miles distanct merely to get it twelve miles away. How well have we explained to the public that it may be true that mail from point "A" to point "C" is being routed in a round-about way but that it is more economical and better service than they previously had? Is it of any concern to you when you place a long distance telephone call that it is often routed clear around the country to get to some nearby city? What difference does it make if it is sure and economical service? The public would accept this same thing about indirect mail routing if they understood. How well have we done in creating understanding on the part of the public on the use of the Zip code? Or do too many of them still think that we are requesting Zip codes just to save us work?

Recently, in the analysis of mail service for a city not too distant from where we are tonight, it was disclosed that we were still making a mid-afternoon dispatch by star route at a cost of some three thousand dollars a year. The study proved conclusively that when the mail from that center arrived at the sectional center it stayed there until early morning dispatches on outgoing star routes. There was a late afternoon dispatch from that same city that arrived at the sectional center several hours before the outbound mail runs commenced. It was elementary that we would decide to eliminate the mid-afternoon trip and save three thousand dollars a year when it was accomplishing nothing. Can you imagine what the headlines of the local paper said? They stated "Mail Service Cut in Half." The postmaster was quoted several times. He later stated that he was misquoted and I do not question his word. But I do wonder this: If we had the right image and if there had been mutual respect between the postmaster and the publisher, and if the postmaster had explained at the time the service was being readjusted that it was a good, economical move with no detriment whatever to the mail service from his city, wether those headlines would have appeared.

And as we consider our image as managers, what attitude do we demonstrate to our employees and to the patron in support of administration and postal service policies? Do we have an attitude of respect for authority? How does the employee have any way of knowing which regulation or law to observe and which one to ignore when he sees or hears daily disregard by the postmaster of regulations, policy or instructions from higher authority? In that same vein, almost every newscast contains a new story of some instance showing a growing and widespread disrespect and contempt for law and order. It is easy to blame someone else or say "I'm glad that's not happening in my city," but do we have the right to blame others and we certainly can't be sure that won't happen in our neighborhood. Haven't you and I, by selective disrespect of law, created either this confusion or this lack of understanding among the young people? How many laws did you break today? Do you stop at stop signs because it's law or only when you think a policeman may be around the corner? How often do you exceed the speed limit, one eye on the road and one eye watching for radar? It is fairly obvious that those with whom we associate have no way of knowing when we should and when we shouldn't respect law and order or higher authority. How often do we discuss in the presence of our employees, our children, our grandchildren, methods of evading income tax?

Mr. Parent or Grandparent, which law do I break today? Is today my day to commit murder or is it tomorrow that I commit assault and robbery?

Mr. Postmaster, is this the day that I can destroy that letter or is it my day to loiter or falsify my time card? What law do I break today?

There is one thing for sure. Your family, your acquaintances, your employees and postal associates do have an image of you. How good is it? If we instill in our employees an attitude of dedication, respect for law and postal regulations, a respect for law and order, it must be by demonstration constantly on our part.

Many of you have heard me comment that once you became postmaster, that once I became a regional official, that as long as we hold our jobs we constantly wear the cloak of the office. There is no way that at the close of office hours we can hang our official cloak in the closet and proceed until tomorrow morning as Mr. Plain John Doe Citizen. Wherever we go, wherever we are around anyone who knows how we make our livelihood, we wear the cloak of our office. What are we doing after office hours to create the proper image of the position we hold, of the service we represent, and of our citizenship. We are privileged to be in the greatest of all public services, for not only do we make a livelihood where every God given talent can be used daily for the betterment of our fellowman, both by good postal service and by the image we create.

Harrison E. Salisbury Sums Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, Harrison E. Salisbury, the Pulitzer Prize-winning assistant managing editor of the New York Times, who recently reported from Hanoi, has begun a series of articles summing up his experiences and observations in North Vietnam. Mr. Salisbury's previous articles, which I introduced into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD yesterday, provide useful information concerning the war which had previously been unavailable. I am sure that his summing up articles will also be of great value.

I bring to the attention of the Congress the first article in the series which was published today in the New York Times. I intend to submit the others as they appear.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 11, 1967]

Hanoi Inviting Westerners To Inspect Bomb Damage

Following is the first of a series of articles by an assistant managing editor of The New York Times summing up observations on his visit to North Vietnam.

(By Harrison E. Salisbury)

HONG KONG, January 10.—The parade to North Vietnam has begun—not merely just of newsmen or of Americans—but of Westerners of all kinds.

The North Vietnamese Government has reached a momentous decision—to open its doors and invite the world in to inspect the results of American bombings.

The trip of this correspondent to Hanoi was not the last there for an American correspondent.

There are indications that hardly a week will pass through the winter when one American newsman or another or a distinguished West European guest will not be taken for a walk through the shattered streets of Namdinh.

Visitors will tour the complex of Roman Catholic villages around Phatdiem, south of Hanoi, inspect the flattened village of Phuly or poke through the ruins of Hanoi's Pho Nguyen Thiep Street and the wasteland of the Phuctan area along the Hanoi Red River levee.

Before this correspondent left Hanoi in the pre-dawn hours Saturday on the plane of the International Control Commission, the truce observation body set up under the 1954 Geneva accords ending the Indochina war, the North Vietnamese capital was already receiving more visitors from the West.

The same plane that took this correspondent out of Hanoi had brought in two other Americans, Harry Ashmore, one-time editor of The Arkansas Gazette of Little Rock and now chairman of the executive committee of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, and William C. Baggs, editor of The Miami News. With them was Luis Quintanilla, a former Mexican Ambassador to the United States, who made the trip as a private citizen.

Already in Hanoi were the Rev. Martin Niemöller, a West German Evangelical pastor and one-time submarine commander, and Msgr. Georg Hüssler, secretary general of Caritas, West German Catholic welfare organization. They came for talks on North Vietnam's relief needs.

Hanoi at long last has decided to open North Vietnam's doors not merely to Communists, fellow travelers, leftists, peace advocates and supporters of North Vietnam's cause. It has decided to admit a cross-section of political beliefs and sympathies and visitors from all kinds of countries, but particularly from the United States and Western Europe. Actually Hanoi has seemed to be inching toward this decision for months. For instance, this correspondent began his effort nearly 18 months ago, to persuade North Vietnam's authorities to permit him to visit Hanoi. The first indication that a visit might be possible came six months before the visa actually was granted, namely last June, when a formal visa application was accepted in Pnompenh, Cambodia.

In June the North Vietnamese authorities thought the trip could be made, then changed their mind and said it would have to be postponed, but promised it could be carried out by the end of the year.

It was about that time that Hanoi, after more than six months of requests, permitted the first resident Western correspondent to take up his duties in Hanoi—Jean Raffaelli of Agence France-Presse. During the summer and autumn two or three West European visitors were admitted, including Jacques Decornoy, correspondent of the newspaper Le Monde of Paris, who completed a visit to North Vietnam in early December.

APPLICATIONS RECEIVED

Ngo Dien, chief of information of the North Vietnamese Foreign Ministry, said Friday that his ministry had received so many cables in the last fortnight for permission to visit Hanoi that it had been unable to read them all. He said the applications made a stack of cables nearly half a foot high and numbered in the hundreds from all countries of the world, but particularly from the United States.

This does not mean that North Vietnam will be admitting all those who apply. It simply does not have the facilities to cope with more than a handful of visitors at a time. But the flow of visitors will undoubtedly be maintained, to include many Americans, especially journalists, and to cover all varieties of sympathies and viewpoints.

This decision by Hanoi may well, in the opinion of diplomats in Hanoi, have a major impact on the course of the war.

Visible evidence of damage caused by bombing is apparent to outsiders who walk down the streets of Namdinh or who try to reconstruct in their minds what the village of Phuly may have looked like before bombs virtually obliterated it. It is against these impressions of human suffering and devastation that air strategists' arguments concerning military objectives will have to be placed.

BOMBINGS INVESTIGATED

A Scottish member of a seven-man team that is investigating the bombings for Bertrand Russell, the philosopher, said:

"I am willing to concede that the Americans did not deliberately order their pilots to destroy villages, bomb out housing and kill civilians. It is even possible that the bombers consistently were striving to strike at purely military targets although this seems hard to believe in the case of miserable peasant villages that have been devastated.

"But the fact remains that, whatever the reason, bombs actually have leveled villages, killed large numbers of civilians and destroyed a very great deal that cannot be considered military by any stretch of the imagination."

Lord Russell's group is seeking evidence on "war crimes" to be used at a planned "trial" of President Johnson and other United States leaders. The tribunal, which has no legal standing, is scheduled to meet in Paris in March.

The impact of continuous and detailed reports of the bombing by Westerners should not, in the opinion of diplomats sympathetic to the United States, be underestimated in Washington.

"Who remembers that the Nazis were trying to destroy the motor works in Conventry?" one diplomat said. "All we remember is that the Luftwaffe destroyed the cathedral."

The effect on world opinion may be heightened by television and documentary film coverage of North Vietnam. Japanese and French film crews are already at work there. It is likely that Hanoi will soon also let an American team take pictures for American television audiences of what the bombing looks like from the victims' side.

This involves delicate decisions for the North Vietnamese. Their military men are a little nervous about having so many foreigners, particularly Americans, moving about, making observations and taking pictures. But the basic decision clearly has been made that the advantages outweigh possible risks.

This correspondent has worked under wartime conditions in many countries. Restrictions imposed during his fortnight in North Vietnam were remarkably light. There was no censorship of dispatches although they were read before being transmitted. Nothing was changed or deleted as far as he could ascertain.

The only restriction this correspondent encountered concerned his interview with Premier Pham Van Dong, which was granted with the understanding that certain parts of the talk were to be off the record. In addition the North Vietnamese Foreign Ministry proposed certain textual changes and deletions in a dispatch reporting the interview.

Jacques Moalic, the present resident correspondent of Agence France-Presse, said he had encountered no censorship in four months work in Hanoi with one exception. The authorities told him that they could not permit him to mention certain trips by Communist party secretaries outside the country.

On picture-taking this correspondent encountered similar liberality. Color pictures were not permitted because the North Vietnamese lack processing facilities. Black-and-white photography was permitted, but the film had to be developed and inspected by the military authorities. There was no military objection to any photos submitted.

The authorities asked that one picture not be used, not for military reasons, but because they thought it conveyed a poor impression of people who had been photographed.

No pictures were taken without permission. A textile factory manager once objected to having his factory girls photographed. His reason is difficult to guess. On another occasion a picture was snapped at Phatdien, showing a view across a canal and open field. A security man requested that no more pictures be taken in that direction. Presumably there was a military reason, possibly an antiaircraft battery beyond the rim of the trees.

This correspondent exercised care not to propose pictures that might involve military objectives such as railroads, bridges or antiaircraft guns. In more than 20 years of work as a correspondent in virtually every Communist country of the world, one acquires a sense of what is likely to be regarded as a legitimate news photo by Communist officials and one that is likely to be regarded as violating either military security or the propaganda image of the country.

Comparatively speaking, the North Vietnamese were more relaxed than, for instance, Soviet officials even under today's so-called "relaxed" Soviet regime. Many pictures of village life were taken that revealed a low standard of North Vietnamese life. Such pictures would probably have aroused objections by local authorities, for instance, in Mongolia.

All visits, trips and interviews were arranged through the press department of the North Vietnamese Foreign Ministry. Because of the delicacy of the correspondent's position "behind the lines," requests were submitted in general rather than specific terms.

For example, a request was made to visit areas in Hanoi that had been bombed without specifying which ones, requests were made for trips to towns and cities outside Hanoi where bombing could be inspected without specifying them by name, a request was made to visit country villages to see the life of people without saying which villages, to visit factories, schools and hospitals without specifying precisely which ones.

Some requests for interviews were specific—to talk with the Premier, with President Ho Chi Minh, with Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap, the Defense Minister, with the ministers of health, education and planning, with leaders of the Roman Catholic and Buddhist faiths.

Most requests were met. An interview was granted by Premier Dong, but not by President Ho Chi Minh or General Giap, but it was understood that only one of the trio was likely to receive the correspondent. The Planning Minister was said to be out of town and no good economic spokesman was forthcoming as a substitute.

A request to revisit Namdinh fell through, but this was not the fault of officials. A visit had been set up for New Year's day, but delays on a trip to Phatdiem made it impossible to carry out the Namdinh trip. Efforts to reschedule failed because renewed air activity after the New Year's truce caused the authorities to regard the trip as hazardous.

No request was made specifically to visit Haiphong, and such a trip was not proposed by the authorities. The request was not made because of a feeling that Haiphong might be a sensitive military area. Actually, as conversations with diplomats revealed, the Hanoi-Haiphong triangle is open to diplomats, who travel there constantly despite air attacks.

Thus information on Haiphong and on the routes between Hanoi and Haiphong is already available in detail in world chancellories. Since Haiphong is constantly visited by foreign shipping, there is no real question of military security in that area.

One major request made to the North Vietnamese authorities failed of a possible response. This was a request for interviews with or information concerning American prisoners held in North Vietnam.

It was immediately indicated that this request would be "difficult." It was said that the prisoners were in the custody of the military and that it did not seem likely that the military would grant permission. The request was repeated up to the last day of the visit, but without success.

[Mrs. Joe Griffith, of Ithaca, N.Y., one of four American women who visited North Vietnam while Mr. Salisbury was there, reported after her return to the United States that her group had met two captured American airmen and brought back letters from other captured fliers.]

Efforts to piece together information about the prisoners from other sources, including diplomats, provided little data. It was said by the diplomats that they believed the prisoners were being given relatively good care although it was understood some prisoners found the rice diet of the Vietnamese difficult.

The authorities said the prisoners were not held in Hanoi, but had been dispersed in small groups to various places because of the bombing danger. The prisoners were paraded through the streets of Hanoi last Aug. 1. Foreign diplomats who witnessed the spectacle found it unpleasant, particularly when one Communist diplomat stepped from the ranks and struck one of the wounded Americans.

North Vietnam's decision to open the country for Western inspection has been vigorously urged for many months by East European representatives, especially Czechs, Poles and Hungarians. As far as is known to the East Europeans, neither the Russians nor the Chinese have urged North Vietnam to open its doors to the West.

"We told them again and again and again," said one Polish diplomat, "that they must let the outside world know their story. All they wanted to do was to invite delegations of their closest supporters. We told them that would not do. They must invite right-wing visitors, persons who do not sympathize with Communism, persons who are antagonistic to their system."

This diplomat told how he intervened with the North Vietnamese on behalf of a Scandinavian diplomat who wanted to come to Hanoi and how impressed the Scandinavian was with the results of American bombing and the North Vietnamese war effort.

"This man was a good bourgeois," the Pole said, "he was no friend of Communism. But he could not help but be impressed with what he saw."

The problem of handling the continuous influx of Western journalists and visitors will not be easy for Hanoi. In many cases the North Vietnamese Authorities attach a physician to the visiting groups, although in the case of this correspondent they apparently felt he was rugged enough to get along without medical aid.

They do not like to move people on highways in the daylight as there is never any certainty that American bombers may not appear at any moment. Visitors are usually driven in the early evening or pre-dawn hours to points outside Hanoi. This is not always possible, of course, and diplomats visiting Haiphong have had to take shelter en route.

Hotel facilities for visitors exist only at Hanoi and Haiphong, and even if hotels in Namdinh and Ninhbinh, for example, had not been bombed out, the authorities would be unlikely to permit visitors to stay overnight because of the possibility of attack. On trips about the country, visitors are more likely to be put up in small village hostels.

The number of interpreters and escorts is small and provides another limitation on the size of any Western influx.

Outside of casual shopping and errands and visits to foreign missions in Hanoi, this correspondent did not venture out without an interpreter, not only because of the language barrier, but also because of the delicacy of his position "behind the lines." This provides an unusual quality to a visit by an American to North Vietnam.

To an American who is constantly taken to see houses blasted by American rockets; hospitals where men, women and children hurt in the bombing are being treated; who hears survivors tell how wives, husbands or children were killed, or who hears provincial authorities proudly announce the number of American planes shot down or describe the capture of an American pilot, there is a nightmarish quality that is hard to avoid.

TWO KINDS OF AMERICANS

This aspect seldom leaves the mind of an American visitor, but seems hardly to bother the North Vietnamese, who have been trained by the Government's propaganda to divide Americans into two categories—"American ruling circles," responsible for the war, and ordinary Americans, presented as individuals of goodwill and sympathy. The average North Vietnamese, on meeting an American in Hanoi, automatically classifies him as a "good" American as distinguished from "bad" Americans in Washington and up in the skies.

An additional factor that limits the number of visitors that may be received in North Vietnam is air transportation. There are only two routes open—the plane of the International Control Commission which links Saigon, Pnompenh, Vientiane and Hanoi, and a Chinese plane that connects with services to Canton and Peking at Nanning.

The control commission plane, an old four-motor Constellation, makes the flight three times every fortnight. The service formerly was more frequent, but the commission lost a plane over Laos last year, presumably shot down although the wreckage has never been found.

Because of the dangers of flying over North Vietnam in the daytime, the commission plane remains on the ground at Vientiane until dusk, then takes off for a two-hour circuitous journey to Hanoi. The Cambodian airline maintained a Pnompenh-Hanoi service until late last summer, but suspended it after a plane had encountered United States jets on a bombing mission. The jets warned the Cambodian plane away. It flew back to Pnompenh without landing at Hanoi and further service was suspended.

The commission plane normally arrives in Hanoi about 9 P.M. and takes off on the return trip about 4 A.M. the following morning. This enables it to get across North Vietnam and northern Laos in darkness when ground fire is not likely to be encountered. The impression of travelers is that people on the ground in Laos and North Vietnam are trigger-happy and open up on anything they see in the skies on the assumption that it is out to bomb or strafe.

The Chinese planes flying in from Nanning also make the trip in darkness, usually coming in and taking off the same evening. There are one or two planes weekly on the Chinese service. Both the commission and the Chinese cancel flights at any indication of possible trouble.

Thus access to Hanoi is not easy and has not been made easier by the increasing reluctance of the Chinese to permit the transit of Western visitors bound for Hanoi. There has been speculation that the Czechoslovak airline, which now flies to Pnompenh, may add the Hanoi link, but nothing has been done thus far.

It was an eerie experience to touch down in Hanoi shortly after 9 P.M. on Dec. 23, wondering what kind of reception lay ahead. All the way from Pnompenh and through a pause of several hours at Vientiane, while waiting for darkness to fall, a Canadian sergeant who frequently traveled from Saigon to Hanoi, talked dourly about the dangers of the flight, the possibility of being shot down by ground gunfire or fighter planes of the two or three fighting forces engaged in the mountains of northern Laos.

When Hanoi came into sight, it was not the brilliant pool of light that might have been expected from a city that was supposed to have a population of more than 1,000,000 with its suburbs. The streets were marked by strings of dim little bulbs and the edges of the city faded raggedly into darkness.

When the plane touched down, the runway lights were almost immediately switched off and the aircraft taxied up to the ramp in darkness. When the engines were cut off, the plane was dark except for the wavering light of one flashlight in the hands of a stewardess. The doors opened and two North Vietnames border control officers stepped aboard, by the light of the flashlight, checked off the names of passengers and took up passports.

COLOR FILM SURRENDERED

On the ground two young men who identified themselves as a representative of the Foreign Ministry and a representative of the Hanoi Journalists Association, stepped up and led the way into the dimly lighted small terminal.

There was a half-hour wait while baggage was unloaded from the plane and the authorities checked the passports. The only questions dealt with films and the only request made was that all color film be surrendered against a receipt with the proviso that it could be picked up on exit from the country.

Then the correspondent and the two young Vietnamese got into a black Russian Volga automobile and drove into town along streets that were as dimly lighted as they had seemed from the air.

The weather was on the chilly side and the first impression was one of great activity in the streets and on the highway leading out past the airport. There were bicycles and truck and people in constant motion in the darkness. This, as soon became evident, was a customary feature of the Vietnamese nighttime landscape.

The highway paralleled a railroad line and a long train, moving slowly behind a small locomotive, first could be heard and then dimly seen in the gloom.

The hotel, once called the Metropole, but rechristened the Thong Nhat (Reunification) Hotel, proved to be a cavernous old French establishment. Four or five Europeans were chatting under potted palm trees in the lobby. The dining room was empty except for a head waiter and two waitresses.

A quick dinner was rustled up and the headwaiter then explained that the restaurant's working hours were 6 A.M. to 8:30 for breakfast, 10:30 to 2 P.M. for lunch and 5 P.M. to 8:30 for dinner. The restaurant had been kept open after hours to provide dinner for the late arrival. A bar at the end of the hotel lobby began work at 8 A.M. and stayed open until 11:30 P.M.

While this correspondent was in North Vietnam, foreign visitors included a labor union delegation from Moscow, four American women representing peace organizations, a Japanese group to investigate "American war crimes," another investigating committee sponsored by Lord Russell, the English philosopher, a group of four West Germans including Pastor Niemöller and Msgr. Hüssler and a Cuban camera crew.

To each of the larger groups, several interpreters and guides were assigned. A physician accompanied the American women and examined Pastor Niemöller, who is 74 years old, to be sure that he could stand the physical strain of traveling in the countryside.

Different organizations appeared to be acting as hosts for various groups. Some were under the wing of North Vietnamese peace organizations and others were attached to a North Vietnamese organization devoted to collecting evidence of American "war crimes."

The groups were all housed in the same hotel. Some were given private dining rooms for their meals, others took their meals in the public restaurant.

Most of the visitors were taken to see the same towns and villages damaged by bombing. But in each case the schedule seemed to be made up individually. For example, on the New Year's weekend, this correspondent was taken to Phatdiem.

He drove to the village complex Saturday evening, spent the night there and then toured the villages Sunday, talking with local inhabitants and officials. That same day at least two grounds of visitors were brought to Phatdiem—the Russell committee members and the four American women, but their paths did not cross.

The Japanese group made an extensive tour of North Vietnam. Some of its members went to the demarcation line at the 17th parallel, studying the effects of bombing in many of the smaller villages in the demilitarized zone and along the coast.

The Russell committee split into two sections to carry out inquiries in different parts of the country. Most of the trips arranged for visitors were to the south. The American women were taken on one trip about forty miles north of Hanoi.

As the volume of visitors to North Vietnam grows, it seems likely that most parts of the country will be covered although there is an obvious reluctance to take groups into areas where heavy bombing is expected.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

New York City: The Question of Survival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

NEW YORK CITY: THE QUESTION OF SURVIVAL

(A speech by Robert L. Cummings, president, New York Airways, before St. John's University Annual Business Conference, New York City, October 27, 1966)

Will New York City meet the challenge of progress—or, more bluntly, will New York City survive—and continue to grow?

Transportation, as much as any other single factor, has influenced and shaped the history of civilization. The sled, the wheel, the ship, the airplane—all combined—have enabled individuals to move from their own tiny spheres of influence to any point on earth—and, indeed, perhaps, anywhere in the universe. The travel of man to distant places has brought about the development of natural resources and the exchange of products to the advantage of all mankind.

Improvements in travel have always increased human knowledge and productivity. It can be argued that the Renaissance resulted from Venetian trading voyages to the Middle East.

Man, in his development of commerce, has always tried to use nature's topography to his best advantage. Man has adapted to his own use natural harbors, adjacent to waterways and the seas. From such advantageous centers have sprung rail arteries, highways with their cars and trucks, airports, barges, and other systems of distribution.

New York City is an excellent example of man's adaptation of nature to his own use. A magnificent harbor, waterways, a magnificent geological structure to anchor its skyscrapers, ample surrounding territory for growth. All of these have made this a great city. It has become the heart of world finance, its communications center, the gateway to any point on the globe, and, through the United Nations, the political capital of the world.

New York City's importance began with the exchange of commodities between Colonial United States and England and other European countries, a trade of the utmost importance to the economy of our infant nation. If trade was important then, it is of even greater importance to our national well-being today. Our increasing population needs products of the world while our technical skills produce goods other nations need. With our growing responsibilities and with attendant increases of overseas expenditures, the balance of payments requires that we export more and more. New York City is the center of this trade.

But, neither nature nor man is static. The Ice Age comes and goes. Rivers erode. Political influences fade. Balance of power shifts. National characteristics change. Wars are won and lost. As great as New York City is, there have been other cities in the past which in their days were relatively as great—Ninevah, Babylon, or Persepolis.

Perhaps rivers shifted their courses and climates changed; perhaps political decay set in, perhaps moral corruption contributed its share. In many cases, a conqueror prevailed and destroyed. Perhaps, under changing economic pressures, commerce has gradually drifted away. But, regardless of the cause, the greatness came to naught and all that remains are chiseled tablets and faded scrolls, and sand-covered ruins in now-isolated areas. This story has been repeated over and over since the dawn of civilization.

No one for one moment expects such a fate for New York City. But, it is a statistical fact that growth is more rapid and expands faster in areas of relative newness. Our own West and Southwest are good examples. Older and more mature regions of a country, while perhaps still growing, do so at a lesser rate both in population and productivity. They simply run down. They tend to accept today what was good in the past. Frontiers energize people. Frontiers stimulate youth to do the impossible.

New York City is one of our older, mature cities and in the normal course of history we might well anticipate a slowdown in construction, in production of manufactured goods, in trade, in population, in energy, and in imagination. If this does not happen, it will be stemming the tide of history. Witness Athens, Rome and Venice in relatively recent times—and even London and Paris.

Certain trends are visible upon the New York horizon. To speak of increases in population today usually means gains in the surrounding suburban areas—Long Island, Connecticut, Westchester and New Jersey. The exodus to these areas is changing the character of New York. Major stores find it necessary—and desirable—to follow this migration which is establishing a series of satellite marketing areas around New York proper. And, many more are being built. Many manufacturing plants also are finding locations in the suburban areas to be to their advantage. Obviously, skilled workers follow these plants. It is these areas which will absorb the additional five million increase in population in the next 20 years.

New York's important garment manufacturing industry has remained practically static in the past few years. A shortage of skilled labor combined with high production costs and changes in styles have influenced this trend. Fortunately, specialty stores such as those dealing in high fashions which require a concentrated market for their support have replaced some of the departing merchandising organizations.

New York City is undergoing a period of transition. It is becoming a service city rather than a production city. It is becoming a city of national and international company headquarters, a city of banks, a city of insurance companies and financial houses, of advertising.

New York is a great city today, but this alone is no cause for elation, nor is this any reason for its citizens to sit quietly by and watch the passing parade of progress. Never has there been such competition between sea ports to solicit shipping business. Modern port facilities, assured longshoremen availability, quick turn-around—all encourage the transfer of a shipping man's affection toward some other port.

The hotel, restaurant, and theatre industries are affected by innovations which are changing the pattern of the businessman's life upon which these industries depend. The shift from rail to air has changed the routing and timing of travelers. Businessmen are making one-day business stops in cities, returning home for the night. Others find that the speed of the jet airplane enables them to cover several cities in the same time train travel would have permitted only a single business call. The increased use of private automobiles affects hotel business as outlying motels receive increasing numbers of guests. These are but a few of the ever-changing elements which influence and alter the life of a community.

A city is not a dead thing. It is a living organism which grows, or decays and dies, depending upon the foresight of its administrators. Only the other day, a prominent engineer told me that it was simply impossible to forecast specific results more than five years into the future; and yet, capital investment requirements are such that any well-organized city administration is forced to anticipate at least 30 years ahead if that city is to have an ample supply of water, of highways, parks, telephones, electric power and the other necessities of urban life.

We must force ourselves to realize that acceleration of progress has itself accelerated. Ten years today accomplishes far more than 100 years yesterday, and even the wildest forecasts all too often fall far short of the anticipated goal. Surely, you say, it cannot be true—although it is—that in 1910 an editorial in the *Scientific American* stated unequivocally that "to affirm that the airplane is going to revolutionize the future is to be guilty of the wildest exaggeration." The chances are that many of our senior and wise citizens of that time solemnly nodded their heads in agreement.

Such attitudes of acceptance of the past can be tolerated no longer in these rapidly changing times. We are surrounded with great advances in techniques and applications of vibrant and progressive industries. Of these, perhaps the mammoth transportation industry provides the best example of both progress and debilitation. On one hand, the air transport segment is in the forefront of aggressive development and growth. It continually moves ahead, introducing still more modern equipment on top of already modern equipment. The jet aircraft alone has made the most significant contribution of any method of transportation yet evolved. It has reduced the size of the world; it has enabled peoples of all nations to become acquainted with other people throughout the globe; it has enabled broader exchanges of ideas and understanding which some day will lead to peace on earth; fares have been lowered, making it possible for multitudes to travel. And, we have seen only the beginning. The supersonic transport is just around the corner. Giant passenger airplanes are already on order. Progress in this industry seems never to stop.

On the other hand, the struggling, but nonetheless, deteriorating railroad situation speaks for itself. And, highway construction is simply unable to keep abreast of the avalanche of cars which overwhelms nearly every paved road. The near-breakdown of transportation naturally concentrates itself in and around population centers and New York provides a case in point.

Our problems of commuting, of crosstown traffic, of congested highways and tunnels, are well-known to each of us. The forecast for twenty years hence indicates a gain in population in this region of about 30 percent for which provisions must be planned now. Experiments are being made on high-speed rail transportation and the thousands upon thousands of miles of highways and throughways continue to grow. Transportation for the commuter and the air passenger from outlying airports and neighboring communities to central areas constitutes a major problem which demands solution. Countless methods for solving these problems have been dreamed about but few, if any, have materalized. The monorail is suggested. Faster and automated subways are proposed. Combination buses on subway tracks have been designed. Pneumatic tubes have been devised.

But, it must be borne in mind that unless public mass transportation comes into much more general use, the feed-in of more cars into New York City will only increase the congestion of surface traffic which already is stretched to the breaking point. This clearly casts doubt on the fundamental desirability of new vehicular tunnels and bridges. It is probable they will not speed traffic; they may only impede it. Perhaps some of this traffic is unnecessary. Although 85,000 out-of-towners drive to their work in New York daily, for the most part with only one person in a car, it is equally discouraging to realize that 135,000 New York City residents also drive to work in Manhattan.

Our city planners must consider all methods of transportation, no matter how exotic they may sound at the moment. The rapid transit system must be greatly expanded and improved to provide mass transportation throughout the growing metropolitan region. Indeed this may well be the most important single objective for prompt and continuing action. The degree of success obtained would be a lasting monument to any city administration.

The waterways can help with hydrofoils and hovercraft. Airways, intracity as well as inter-city, must be developed and exploited. To make our city accessible, more attractive to those coming to it or going from it as travelers, tourists, or as businessmen, every available means of transportation must be fully utilized.

Although New York City may be losing some basic manufacturing industries, it has become the service center of the world, as well as the cultural center of the United States. Manhattan alone has become a focal point of common-interest centers, as people gravitate to others sharing similar interests. Madison Avenue is a universal phrase to describe a concentrated advertising locale. The West Thirty-fifth Street area is known as the Garment Center. Wall Street is the financial center of the world. The corner of Forty-fifth Street and the Avenues of the Americas is the diamond center of the nation. As our city grows and expands, other specialized centers will develop, building our economy and attracting other enterprises—just as long as the vital blood stream of transportation continues to flow strongly and steadily.

More and more people will come to New York—but only if they can find some efficient way of getting to where they want to go. They will be flying from all fifty states, as well as from the four points of the world's compass. Because of the low unit cost of operating, the new 500 passenger jumbo jet will generate mass air transportation heretofore unknown. This means that a substantial proportion of the 80 percent of all Americans who have yet to fly will now find it economical. Because of this, our industry is confident that the many seats of these giant new aircraft will be filled. A single one of these huge jets will carry 200,000 passengers across the Atlantic in a year—the transport equivalent of four surface vessels the size of the Queen Mary steaming for one year. The question is: Is New York City ready for them? How are these great numbers of people going to get into the city? Where are they going to live and eat and carry on their daily activities?

Today's jet transport flies the Atlantic in some 6½ hours. If one assumes only an hour spent in London getting to the airport plus only a second hour in transit between Kennedy Airport and midtown Manhattan, we find about 25 percent of the total elapsed time spent on the ground. Furthermore, the 1970's will see the supersonic transport in operation. It will fly London to New York in 2½ hours, but the ground time will, at best, remain the same—two hours. Its passengers will spend 44 percent of their total elapsed time on ground transportation. Obviously, this will be unacceptable. With this potential mass of air travelers descending upon the city in about five years, it behooves New York City to move fast. Planning and philosophy are not enough. Action is mandatory—now.

Against this background, the use of air space warrants attention. The large 150 mile-per-hour, 25-passenger helicopters now flying every half hour between midtown Manhattan and Kennedy Airport and between La Guardia, Kennedy, and Newark Airports and Wall Street are showing the way.

The present helicopter operation between midtown Manhattan and Kennedy International Airport is unique. There is nothing like it any other place in the world. The scheduled time is less than ten minutes as contrasted with up to an hour or more by surface, depending upon the time of day. Beginning operations on December 22, 1965, just ten months ago, this common carrier service has already flown more than 132,000 passengers. The uniqueness lies in the fact that it delivers passengers from an outlaying airport in minimum time to a principal city center, the Pan Am Building in midtown Manhattan. Here is the focal point for three subway lines, two railroads, and vast taxicab fleets. The Pan Am Building heliport lies in the heartland of a population equivalent to that of Denver. The area contains within easy walking distance some forty hotels and thousands of business offices—large and small.

The immediate acceptance of this service exceeded everyone's expectations. Businessmen use this service over and over. The publicity surrounding the rooftop heliport created tremendous interest and cognizance of the entire New York Airways interborough operation. It has been the subject of feature stories, magazine articles, television and radio shows around the world. Although predominantly business and professional men, the passengers are from all walks of life. Their time is valuable. They come from every state in the union and so far from more than forty other nations. They are men and women who are responsible for bringing commerce and many thousands of jobs to New York City. Chiefs of state, corporate officers, justices of the Supreme Court, all have been carried. But, more importantly, this service has been good for the City. The City's endorsement and approval have been recognized as responsible leadership and progress of the highest order.

The increased utilization of air space to bring passengers and cargo directly and quickly into the various city centers can have a substantial effect on relieving the frustrating surface traffic congestion. Aircraft with a capability of vertical flight already have demonstrated their potential. These vehicles go "up and over," speeding travelers to their destinations. Larger, faster, improved helicopters carrying upwards of 70 passengers, are in prospect. Their prototypes are now flying in Viet Nam on combat missions, doing rescue work, and moving heavy equipment and materials from ship-to-shore and to critical positions under fire.

The Pan Am Building heliport is the first transportation terminal to take full advantage of the air space around it, of the highways in the sky, and of aircraft capable of vertical flight. But this is just the beginning. The United States government has sponsored a study of 500 mile-per-hour vertical takeoff and landing aircraft which will operate from midtown areas. To be successful, these aircraft will have to be economically competitive. These flying machines will carry close to 100 passengers and, with high horizontal speed and ability to land in city centers, will provide travelers with a shortened elapsed point-to-point travel time almost beyond present comprehension. On routes, such as that between New York and Washington or Boston, such a machine would be equivalent to an airplane flying at 1,000 miles per hour but dependent on slow ground transport at each end. Midtown Philadelphia would lie within twenty minutes of New York City. The terminals for these aircraft will not require large and costly accumulations of real estate; they can easily be imposed on structures and at locations useful for other purposes and will be self-sustaining economically. Their income will also be derived from functions other than those normally associated with a transportation teminal. Such a facility already exists on the Pan Am Building. Similar structures will be erected in Brooklyn, Queens, the Bronx, and on Staten Island, as business demands require.

Just two weeks ago, Mayor Lindsay, in the interests of our expanding economy, announced plans for the city's *first* major all-purpose terminal for aircraft with vertical flight performance. In addition to handling large volumes of connecting long-haul and short-haul airline pasesnger traffic, it has been announced that this facility will also function as a parking place and garage for some 2,000 automobiles and as a collection and distribution point for substantial quantities of cargo and freight as well as United States mail.

As New York continues its transition into a service type city, more new jobs will be generated, more office space required, more hotel space and added restaurant capacity—and faster, improved transportation facilities to and from and within the entire metropolitan area will be essential. Courageous planning and action are needed now to meet this mounting necessity and to keep our city moving forward and continuing in its position as capital of the world.

If we in the City of New York do not prepare ourselves aggressively and intelligently, our leadership can easily go to some other city. After all, ships that move in the air do not require large protected harbors or rivers. They merely require man-made landing areas. Other cities can, and will, make themselves attractive and accessible. They will do so in order to persuade businesses and people to come to them. We must not be smug and self-satisfied. We must not let this happen.

I do not for one moment believe that the flying machine will eliminate any other type of short-haul transportation. I believe that each type has its place in the transportation scheme and each can serve its purpose. I do believe, however, that the era of vertical flight with its ability to land passengers in midtown has arrived.

I am sure we all recognize the stake each of us has in the prosperity and welfare of the Greater New York area and, I believe, you will agree with me that this depends in large measure on the quick development of a total transportation system which will meet the rapidly growing and urgent needs of this great City.

Tribute to the Late Martin G. Hyltin, Texas Rural Electrification Pioneer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Texas lost one of its leading pioneers in the field of rural electrification with the death recently of Martin G. Hyltin of Austin, Tex., who was the manager for 23 years of two of the largest such rural electric systems in the world.

Martin Hyltin was not only an ingenious manager of rural electric cooperatives, but he was also a longtime and trusted friend of mine. His death at the age of 66 was a personal loss to me, as well as to the many other friends he had made during a lifetime of dedicated service in central Texas.

His career with Texas electrical systems began in 1926, but began to reach national proportions in 1942 when he became general manager of the Pedernales Electric Cooperative at Johnson City and the Lower Colorado River Electric Cooperative at Giddings. The latter system is now known as the Bluebonnet Electric Cooperative.

Mr. Hyltin built these two systems up to a capital investment of $25 million before his retirement in 1965 and saw them expand to serve 32,000 members, including the LBJ Ranch, owned by President Johnson at Johnson City, Tex.

His ingenuity was often demonstrated. Once, during the early years when materials were in short supply during World War II, Mr. Hyltin managed to install powerlines for an airbase in San Marcos, Tex., by utilizing barbed wire removed from the area around the airbase site and stringing it along scrap poles and railroad pilings.

He also served as a director of Texas Electric Cooperatives, Inc., during his career and following his retirement in October 1965, Mr. Hyltin acted as a consultant through a company which he organized called Electrical Power Operations, Inc., until his untimely death on December 27, 1966.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix to the Record articles about this outstanding Texan from the Austin American, the Austin Statesman and the San Antonio Express.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Austin (Tex.) American, Dec. 28, 1966]

ELECTRICAL SYSTEMS PIONEER DIES HERE

Martin G. Hyltin, a Central Texas pioneer in rural electrification who served as manager of two of the largest rural electric systems in the world died Tuesday. He was 66.

Funeral will be Thursday at 10 a.m. at First Methodist Church under direction of Hyltin-Manor Funeral Home.

Hyltin's carer dates back to 1926 when he was employed as a trainee by Texas Power and Light Co. He was soon promoted to district manager.

In 1938, his friend, Max Starcke, was named operations manager for Lower Colorado River Authority and Hyltin went to work with him. In 1942, he became general manager of two rural electric systems which bought their power from LCRA, Pedernales Electric Cooperative at Johnson City and Lower Colorado River Electric Cooperative (now Bluebonnet Electric Cooperative) at Giddings.

He took on management of the two cooperatives at the time of severe shortage of materials due to World War II.

"When the war ended there were more than 11,000 applicants clamoring for electric service," he once said of those hectic early years. "A Congressman of the 10th District named Lyndon B. Johnson put forth every effort to help us serve these folks, but we still had to resort to all kinds of ingenuity."

One example of this ingenuity was the building of lines to serve a proposed air base in San Marcos. Barbed wire removed from the area around the site was strung on poles made of railroad pilings and scrap two-by-fours, and the air base got its electricity.

Before his retirement as manager in October, 1965, Hyltin built the two rural electric systems up to a capital investment of approximately $25-million, and the two systems were serving 32,000 members, including the LBJ Ranch, on more then 12,000 miles of line.

Hyltin also served as a director of Texas Electric Cooperatives, Inc., state-wide organization of the rural electrics, and served on a number of committees for this organization.

When he retired, he continued to act as a consultant through the company he organized, Electrical Power Operations, Inc., with offices in the Perry-Brooks Building.

He is survived by his widow; a son, Tommy Hyltin, Dallas; a daughter, Mrs. Nell Mays, Tulia; and two grandchildren.

[From the San Antonio (Tex.) Express, Dec. 28, 1966]

PIONEER IN ELECTRIC CO-OPS DIES

AUSTIN.—Martin G. Hyltin, a Central Texas pioneer in bringing electricity to thousands of rural Texans, died Tuesday in Austin.

Hyltin, 66, came up with ingenious ways to expand the rural electrification system during the hard-pressed war years. And after the war he had so many requests for service that the two cooperatives he managed until last year served 32,000 persons—including President Johnson and the LBJ Ranch.

Hyltin took over management of the two rural electric systems in 1942. They were the Pedernales Electric Cooperative in Johnson City and the Lower Colorado River Cooperative (now the Bluebonnet Electric Cooperative) at Giddings.

He solved a crisis of short materials to hook up the new San Marcos AFB during World War II by using barbed wire strung from poles fashioned from railroad pilings and scrap pieces of 2x4s.

After the war, 11,000 persons clamored for service from his cooperatives. When he retired in October, 1965, the cooperatives owned 12,000 miles of line and counted $25 million worth of business. He organized the Electric Power Operations, Inc., of Austin during his career and was its consultant when he died.

Survivors include his wife, a son and a daughter. Funeral services will be Thursday in Austin's First Methodist Church.

[From the Austin (Tex.) Statesman, Jan. 16, 1966]

MARTIN HYLTIN RETIRES AS ELECTRIC COOP CHIEF

Martin G. Hyltin, a pioneer in rural electrification, has retired as general manager of two of the largest rural electric systems in the world.

A dedicated man who once ordered his crews to construct power lines from pilings, two-by-fours, and barbed wire when no other material was available and 11,000 applicants were requesting electricity, Hyltin retired after 23 years with both Pedernales Electric Cooperative and Bluebonnet Electric Cooperative. Pedernales Electric serves the LBJ Ranch.

After completing his education in 1926 he worked for one of the major electric utilities until 1938 when his life-long friend, Max Starcke, was named operations manager for Lower Colorado River Authority. Hyltin became associated with that organization. In 1942 Hyltin received the additional responsibility of managing two rural electric systems affiliated with LCRA: Pedernales and Lower Colorado River Electric (now Bluebonnet) Cooperatives. This was during World War II when construction of power lines was almost halted.

It was at this time that Hyltin supervised installation of power lines for an air base in San Marcos. Barbed wire removed from the area around the site was strung along scrap poles and railroad pilings and the base got its electricity.

Although Hyltin has retired from active service with the two cooperatives he will continue to utilize his experience in electrical operations as a consultant through a company he has organized, Electrical Power Operations, Inc., at 1215 Perry-Brooks Building in Austin. He and Mrs. Hyltin will continue to make their home at 3303 Perry Lane in Austin.

The Cost of Bad Air

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, air pollution is one of the gravest problems facing the cities of this Nation. The people of our major cities are literally choking to death on foul air. The Federal Government has finally begun to take action. At the present time, in New York City, the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is conducting an air pollution abatement conference under the Clean Air Act of 1963 as the first step toward Federal enforcement. I testified at that conference and urged that the Federal Government use all the power available to it to set standards and then strictly enforce them. The health hazard of air pollution will be well documented at the New York conference. What has not received much attention is the tremendous financial cost to this Nation of air pollution.

Manhattan East, a leading community newspaper in New York City, has published two articles which clearly outline the staggering cost of air pollution. The articles ably written by Anthea Lahr should be read by all of us, as air pollution affects all of us. The first article, published on December 22, follows:

[From Manhattan East, Dec. 22 and 29, 1966]

THE COST OF BAD AIR

(By Anthea Lahr)

"As soon as I had escaped the heavy air of Rome & the stench of its smoky chimneys,

which when stirred poured forth whatever pestilent vapours & soot they enclosed, I felt a change in my disposition."

Seneca's words, written 2,000 years ago, might have been said by any modern city doctor to a patient suffering from a respiratory disease. In 1966, city dwellers are even more plagued and irritated by noxious air than were the Ancient Romans. The scientific discoveries man has made since Seneca's time have not alleviated, but aggravated the condition of the air.

Americans stationed in Japan after World War II were found to be suffering from what was dubbed "Yokohama asthma," and the only cure was an early removal from the fetid atmosphere of Yokohama. Thousands of Los Angeleans have been told to leave that area for the sake of their health.

Los Angeles, like Rome, is surrounded by hills, which trap the fumes and soot, to make it a potential smog booby trap to people especially suceptible to the dangers of air pollution. The sheltered topography of Los Angeles, which snares the auto fumes in its hollow, forms a melting pot for the polluted air as it is warmed up by the sunlight and turned into photochemical smog, an even more deadly mixture.

Four hundred years before Seneca, Hippocrates had written:

"When a man comes to a city, to which he is a stranger, he ought to consider its situation, how it lies as to the rising of the sun."

Luckily, New York City is a cluster of islands surrounded by sea on three sides. If it had been a city nestling in a ring of hills, it would be *uninhabitable*. The volume of polluted air over New York City is much greater than over Los Angeles, but there are sea breezes and violent weather conditions which disperse the four air. But New Yorkers still have a great problem with their air; the breezes which blow away the smoke and soot either bring polluted air from New Jersey or carry New York's polluted air to the countryside. A sudden change in the weather may cause the air to remain stagnant, or an inversion may trap the pollutants below the ceiling of warm air. This is when the problem becomes serious, when the harmful constituents of the air are *felt* to be harmful, and when the statistics begin to show the dangers of polluted air.

But the problem of air pollution is a continual plague, which does not generate excitement, action, or alarm unless the effects of air pollution can be seen and felt. In reality, however, the effects of air pollution correspond to the visibility of an iceberg.

Air pollution means poor visibility, not only on the roads, but in the air. Some 15-20 airplane crashes a year are caused by poor visibility, and the number of delays is uncountable. Delays not only mean hardship for the transients at the airport where the weather conditions are bad, but the delays grow in geometric progression, until the effect of a delay in New York, because of smog, will be felt in San Francisco, Tokyo, and Hong Kong. Many road accidents are caused by poor visibility, but how many accidents are caused through the irritability and poor judgment of a man suffering from the irritating and fatiguing effects of constant exposure to polluted air?

Air pollution, according to the Mayor's Task Force, means a bill of $500,000,000 for New Yorkers who have to pay for extra cleaning (air pollution doubles home cleaning and clothes cleaning bills), extra car washes and extra coats of paint, as well as a great toll in esthetic cost. Cleanliness is a condition which most civilized beings value for its own sake, and this continual losing battle against cleanliness, which housewives must face in New York City, contributes a great cost in morale.

Air pollution means a large amount of prestige lost and money wasted for the City of New York as a community. Industries are discouraged from building and operating in cities because operating costs are raised in polluted air.

Industry all over the country must develop expensive, corrosion-resistant materials that will survive in the bad air. At the moment, gold is a frequently used material, for, just as gold was highly prized by the Ancients as a metal which remained shiny, it is now valuable as a metal which will stay untarnished in polluted air. If silver could replace gold in this capacity, there would be a saving of $14,800,000.

Because air pollution corrodes industrial equipment, and more expensive materials and extra processes have to be employed to combat the aerial threats, research becomes retarded, and plants and transmission lines have to be over-designed. The electronics industry is especially affected, as electronic equipment can provide no more reliability than the points of electric contact within it. Thus, multiple contact points have to be installed to increase reliability and bigger equipment is needed. This also retards miniaturization, which, in a contracting world and in a space age where minute instruments are required, is vital.

An architect, building in a polluted environment, is faced with two alternatives, both unnecessarily expensive: Corrosion-resistant material for all parts exposed to the air, or a coating, like paint, which must be renewed and maintained.

So, although powerful industrial lobbies try to sell Congressmen on the economic advantages of an air pollution status quo, air pollution is a very high price to pay for urban industrial prosperity. A family of four in a city can pay up to $800 a year extra because of air pollution, a toll of $65 for every man, woman and child in the United States.

Air pollution costs $11,000,000,000 in property damage alone, and valuable buildings and works of art are disintegrating. Sulphur and its oxides are particularly harmful to limestone and marble. James Noble of the Metropolitan Museum has said: "It is pointless to collect outstanding works of art, if they are going to deteriorate so badly as to be virtually worthless."

The economic burden of air pollution is largely hidden in indirect expenses: employee absenteeism; lower property values (living on "the wrong side of the tracks" meant the side with air pollution from the engines); cleaning of grimy buildings; cleaning of clothes and household interiors; deterioration of buildings and works of art; air filtration requirements and crop losses. A sizeable proportion of the population's wealth must be devoted to "living with" a problem created by ourselves, instead of being invested in more creative and socially desirable ends. "A substantial effort toward preventing air pollution can be made at a fraction of the cost resulting from the effects of the pollution"—(Blueprint for Cleaner Air—Council of the City of New York).

"Besides this acrimonious Soote produces another sad effect, by rendering the people obnoxious to Inflammations, and comes (in *time*) *to ulcerate the Lungs, which is mischief so incurable that it carries away multitudes by languishing and Deep Consumptions, as the Bills of Mortality do Weekly inform us."*

Although John Evelyn, writing in the middle of the 17th century, did not have the benefits of modern medical research and statistics, many modern doctors would agree with him.

While it is uncertain which particular mixtures of air correspond to a specific disease, polluted air is known to be harmful to health. This was most dramatically emphasized by the disasters in Belgium (1930), where 60 people died as a result of air pollution; Donora, Pennsylvania (1948) where 17 people died; and London, England (1952), where 4,000 people died.

It has been possible to accept 40,000 auto deaths a year as the price of quick transportation; but how many deaths do we have to pay for a civilization that depends on turning wheels, manufactured temperature and chemical reactions? A modern metropolitan center is a gross alteration of nature, and this process means that it will take some human sacrifices to alert modern cities to the limitations of the air around them.

The menace to public health is far more serious than polio and smallpox, but it is also far less visible. One out of every four American men shows signs of having pulmonary emphysema, a painful and fatal disease, which is severely aggravated by breathing polluted air. There has been great difficulty in ascertaining the relationship between cigarette smoking and lung cancer, and this is largely due to the subtle nature of air pollution. Surveys have shown that breathing New York City's air does the same harm as smoking nine cigarettes a day, and is definitely a contributory cause of lung cancer.

It has been proved that high levels of air pollution can be dangerous and even fatal, but lower levels of concentration continued for extended periods of time also cause and aggravate illness and accelerate death.

Air pollutants act synergistically—any single factor may not tip the balance between health and disease, life and death, but all of them together can cause a striking increase in the disease and death rates of the population. There is little doubt that living in London for a long time increases the risk of dying from a respiratory disease, particularly chronic bronchitis.

Sulphur is one of the most harmful ingredients of the air. The sulphur contained in coal and low-grade oil turns into sulphur dioxide when the fuel is burned, then changes to sulphur trioxide or clings to soot and ash and penetrates the lungs. Sulphurous fumes from Mount Vesuvius killed many Pompeians, Sodom & Gomorrah were destroyed by sulphurous brimstone, and now sulphurous air pollution constitutes a long-range threat for millions of Americans.

"The relations between the air in a town and in its streets and that found in the open country may be compared to the relationship between grossly contaminated filthy water and its clear, lucid counterpart."

Maimonides was right in thinking that air pollution is just one aspect of the whole city environment. It is impossible to separate impure air from impure water. A hundred years ago, the world made a great effort to get clean drinking water. It seemed unnecessary to some, impossible to others, but it was done. Now the world needs clean air.

New York creates 32,000,000 pounds of garbage per day, and getting rid of it, without polluting either air or water, is one of the major problems of the 20th century. Live sewage can be seen floating in the East River on the Lower East Side, and there are only two ways to dispose of refuse—burn it or bury it. Land on which dumps can be made is running out; these dumps are the homes of vermin and the source of underground fires; and the incomplete combustion of refuse, a poor fuel material, causes severe air pollution.

"Big industries are big polluters. They are also big employers, big buyers and big political influences."—James Quigley.

The order of priority for control of air pollution nationally, based on the contribution of this source, is: 1) Motor Vehicles, 2) Generation of Electricity, 3) Industry, 4) Space Heating, 5) Refuse Disposal. Of course, local situations demand local priorities worked out with local control officials regarding local interests, such as auto emission in Los Angeles, refuse disposal and generation of electricity in New York, and manufacturing chemicals in Wilmington; Delaware. Thus, apart from refuse disposal, and private, municipal and business space heating, industry is the prime polluter, and with their immense profits, huge influence and engineering skills, should be the leader in the field, not the reluctant follower.

The steady industry pressure against air pollution control is probably not malevolence or antisocial instinct, but the normal business motivation to cut costs and raise profits. But the recalcitrance of the utility industries is odd—their profits are guaranteed by law and if costs go up, a rate increase is nearly always granted (especially for air pollution control measures) by the appropriate regulatory agency.

Living on Borrowed Resource Capital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, Mr. O. W. Bidwell, an outstanding agronomist at the Kansas Agricultural Experiment Station at Kansas State University, Manhattan, has written an excellent article entitled "Living on Borrowed Resource Capital." The article was published in the September–October 1966 issue of the Journal of Soil and Water Conservation.

Our Nation has been blessed with abundant natural resources, and I think all of us realize that we must begin immediately to preserve and protect our great natural resources for future generations.

I commend the article to the attention of the Senate and the country and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LIVING ON BORROWED RESOURCE CAPITAL

Standard of living has become the symbol of human progress. It has become one of mankind's greatest obsessions, the dictator's justification for a 5-year plan, the internationalist's basis for aiding "developing" nations, and an important means of preventing war. In 1949, Aldo Leopold wrote, "Our bigger and better society is now like a hypochondriac, so obsessed with its economic health as to have lost the capacity to remain healthy. The whole world is so greedy for more bathtubs that it has lost the stability necessary to build them or even to turn off the tap. (He might have added, "or to be concerned with the disposal of dirty water.") Nothing could be more salutary at this stage than a little healthy contempt for a plethora of material blessings."

America's standard of living is largely one of fortuitous circumstances. It is based on the coincidental arrival of North America on the international scene at a time when its natural resources were needed for the industrial revolution, plus the unusual American ability to exploit these resources and invent new machines to use them more easily and fully. Success is a result of our ability to adapt to a new, wild land and exploit the products of its wilderness.

The American ideology has been and still appears to be one of economic growth. Gross national product is the gage of our economic health, irrespective of our population or the size of our national debt. Yet, a sizable proportion of our gross national product may have come from exploitation of natural and human resources for quick profit. One presidential commission asserted faith in the principle of growth because "it seems preferable to any opposite, which implies stagnation and decay."

Samuel Ordway, Jr., said that realization of the American dream is expansion and economic growth. Decreased working hours, increased industrial production, increased wages, and increased corporate profits and investment incomes are possible because our technology has found new and unimagined sources of materials, plus new methods of use and reuse.

Our nation, however, is not a cornucopia, regardless of how vast its storehouse of raw materials maye have seemed to our forefathers. Already, depletion of the Mesabi range, contamination of our once-potable freshwater lakes and rivers, and depletion of groundwater resources in some of our western states make it emphatically clear that these resources have finite limits. By exploiting them, we are, in truth, living on resource capital. Similar illustrative cases could be made for the exploitation of other resources, such as soil, forests, wildlife, and air.

As we are able to enlighten people regarding our limited resources, controls will be established to curtail this pollution, exhaustion, and destruction. These controls may reduce our current increasing consumption of raw materials and the deterioration of our resource base. Success, however, will depend upon rigid control of the exploiting element in our free enterprise system that seeks to expand consumption for quick profits without concern for long-term consequences. Identifying and policing these individuals will be difficult.

The dilemma we face is the maintenance of economic growth without appreciably diminishing resource capital. Until now, maintenance of natural resources has been less important because we could substitute one resource for another that disappeared. What assurance do we have, however, that new resources will continue to turn up as old ones are exhausted?

Leopold asserted that conservation was getting nowhere because it was incompatible with our Abrahamic concept of land. He opined that we abuse land because we regard it as a commodity belonging to us. "When we see land as a community to which we belong," he said, "we may begin to use it with love and respect." He proposed "land ethic" which changed the role of *Homo sapiens* from conqueror of the land community to a member and citizen of it. Land ethic implied respect for fellow members of the community and the community as such.

At this point in time we have arrived at the place predicted by the clairvoyant conservationists, such as Leopold, Vogt, Osborn, Ordway, and Bennett. Increased water shortages, floods, and polluted air and water are beginning to impress our people and, in some cases, our legislators with the importance of joining togther to live cooperatively in mutual comfort.

As increased population demands more fresh air, water, and pure food, it becomes more apparent each day that mankind no longer can afford the luxury of allowing a few individuals to exploit natural resources. We must work diligently for more and better cooperation among men and between mankind and nature. Unless we do this voluntarily, it will be necessary to impose strict government controls. No country is so rich that it can squander its resources for the benefit of a few at the expense of so many. Rather, steps must and will be taken to see that our resources are preserved for ourselves and posterity, for as the Soviet Academicians I. P. Gerasimov and E. K. Fedorov have stated, "The natural resources of the world belong to mankind."

O. W. BIDWELL.

Spain Takes Up Major Defense Role for NATO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Brig. Gen. James D. Hittle, U.S. Marine Corps, retired, which clearly makes a great deal of sense.

For too long we have overlooked the vital importance of Spain in the defense of the free world. General Hittle's statement that the sooner Spain becomes a full-fledged partner in the Western Alliance, the better it will be for all of the free world, is a sound conclusion.

I urge all Members of the House to read this thought-provoking article, which follows:

SUPPLANTS FRANCE—SPAIN TAKES UP MAJOR DEFENSE ROLE FOR NATO

(By Brig. Gen. James D. Hittle, U.S.M.C., retired, director of national security and foreign affairs, Veterans of Foreign Wars)

MADRID.—Spain now has an indispensable role in the defense of Western Europe. This is the direct result of the French military withdrawal from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

French President Charles de Gaulle's pullout from NATO took more away from Western European defense than the numerical total of the French forces involved. With France out of the NATO defense structure, NATO lost its strategic depth of position on the continent.

It is this loss of geographical depth that has hurt NATO's military capability even more than the loss of French manpower. It was the hundreds of miles between the Atlantic and the German border that gave to NATO strategy the vitally necessary depth for orderly dispersal of logistic facilities. France also provided an operational rearward space to cushion the impact of a Communist attack from the east.

Take, for instance, the matter of oil pipelines. Oil and gas supply is a major problem of modern war. The amounts required by a force defending Europe against a Russian armored drive would reach astronomic daily totals.

VAST PIPELINE NETWORK

NATO planners foresaw this. The result was the construction of a vast network of oil pipelines and storage facilities extending through France from the Atlantic coast to the German border.

Today, with De Gaulle's pullout from NATO, the status of this huge pipeline system is, at least, doubtful. But it is certain that whatever arrangement might be negotiated for conditional use of the pipeline will not be as satisfactory from the standpoint of military requirements as what existed when France was a full participating partner in NATO.

But the situation in the case of other supply and operational facilities is even worse. Our air units and supply and hospital facilities have their eviction notice.

France, in terms of broad strategy, was a vast and vital base area for the defense of Western Europe.

NEW SUPPLY LINE

NATO forces in West Germany still have to have supplies. Making the best of a bad situation, NATO planners are now running the new supply line from Bremerhaven southward through West Germany. At best it's an expedient. It cannot, for good strategic reasons, be considered a solution. Military history is full of examples of the disasters resulting from running a supply axis parallel to the operational front. And that's just what we are doing by positioning our supply system along the NATO side of the Iron Curtain.

There is long-range peril in such an arrangement. But fortunately there is an answer to Europe's need for defense in depth. That answer is Spain.

With a land mass only slightly less than that of France, protected by the Pyrenees on the north and the seas on the other flanks, and inhabited by a brave people who were the first in the free world to beat back Communist aggression. Spain has what the defense of free Europe needs.

The sooner Spain becomes a full-fledged partner in a Western alliance, the better it will be for all of the free world.

Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller's Third Inaugural Address

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, on January 2, 1967, Governor Rockefeller, of New York, delivered a most moving address on his concept of a "just society" for all Americans. In this, his third inaugural address, the Governor poses new challenges which are worthy of the Senate's attention and I ask unanimous consent that Governor Rockefeller's remarks be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Text of the Third Inaugural Address by Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, Prepared for Delivery in the Assembly Chamber of the State Capitol, Albany, N.Y., January 2, 1967

Today it is my honor and my promise to to rededicate this Administration and myself to your service for the next four years.

I know from experience the size of the challenges and the weight of the responsibilities of the office of Governor of New York State.

I am well aware that no public official—any more than a private citizen—is or can be infallible.

I have made mistakes.

But one thing I can promise you isthat I shall always try to do my best for all the people.

This is a time of unique opportunity for more complete realization of the people's rights, needs and aspirations—for shaping a future of ever-greater hope, progress and justice.

In the light of ever-changing conditions and new challenges, we must continue to chart an imaginative course.

At the same time continuing to exercise prudence and economy to assure that the course we set is sound and stays realistically within the resources of the people whom the State exists to serve.

The signs of our turbulent times are clear.

Huge and historic human problems are forged by rapidly-changing technology, shifting tides of migration, and drastically altered economic patterns.

These problems come in a vast variety—bad housing, racial discrimination, crime and narcotics, inadequate educational and cultural opportunities, polluted water and air, transport crises and urban disorder.

The paradox is shocking and challenging.

We face such problems on such a scale at a time of record prosperity, a time when employment is the highest in our history, and a time when personal income has risen 42 per cent over the last eight years.

These problems cannot be ignored.

From the urgent tasks of strengthening law and order to the multiple problems of the individual and his environment, they must be the concern of each and every one of us—as individual citizens, as spiritual, civic, business, labor, and agricultural leaders, as well as those in local, state and federal levels of government.

Many of these problems thrust beyond the resources of private action alone or the jurisdiction of local government alone.

It is the peculiar genius of our American Federal system that it is capable of summoning and enlisting resources and initiatives from all sources of creativity in our society—and all levels of public authority—for the single purpose of building a better life for all the people.

Our experience here in New York State demonstrates that this federal system of ours really works—provided always that a state accepts its responsibility and provides leadership.

The federal government collects two-thirds of all the public revenues. It therefore is in a position of great strength to play a crucial role in government action to deal with the people's problems.

But more than 30 years of ever-expanding federal programs have proven that federal authority stands too distant from local conditions to allow efficient use of federal funds by formulas and procedures conceived in Washington.

Moreover, and to an increasing degree in recent years and months, a multiplication of inadequately-financed domestic federal programs has raised aspirations and aroused hopes of many citizens, only to produce grave disappointments.

To criticize federal programs for failing to deliver on their promises, however, is not to disparage the high purposes inspiring many of these programs.

The States cannot nor should they go it alone.

We in New York State quite naturally seek and we deserve a full fair share of these federal funds.

But we do want to see a dollar's worth of work done for every dollar spent.

Our experience in New York shows plainly that federal bypassing of state leadership and ability to act as a guide and a catalyst is both wasteful and self-defeating.

And it is creating an increasingly chaotic condition in the administration of these programs at the local level of government.

Our experience proves that the state has the financial strength and experience to mobilize the resources of all levels while remaining close enough to the people to be responsive to local needs.

In fact, this has been proven over and over again by New York State's experience in developing new programs which have spurred other states and the federal government itself to needed action along sound lines.

For example, our all-out program to clean up our lakes and rivers has finally led to federal action to support the states' initiative against water pollution on a comparable scale across the nation.

This was also true in our land acquisition and comprehensive development program in the field of conservation, parks and recreation—which has been followed by 20 states and the federal government.

In addition, our State's enrichment of our cultural life and encouragement of the arts—with the founding and the work of the State Council on the Arts—has been followed by all the other states as well as the federal government.

This kind of state initiative in meeting the needs of the people along sound and imaginative lines has been traditional in New York State under both political parties.

All such living proof of the capacity for creativity by State leadership offers, I believe, an eloquent argument for federal redistribution to the states of a share of national revenues unencumbered by needless restrictions or bureaucratic regulation.

The red tape and confusion surrounding many federal programs has brought further support to the idea of redistributing federal funds among the States.

Only two weeks ago, the National Governors' Conference endorsed this proposal.

I believe it is high time for the Congress to take at least a first step in providing unencumbered funds to the States—through a procedure such as bloc grants or a partial refunding of federal income tax revenue—in order to achieve more effective solutions of the people's problems under State and local leadership.

But it is not just a question of money alone.

New concepts, new approaches are essential in these times of rapid change.

In the past eight years, through our State programs and assistance to local government, we have sought to provide the leadership for meeting the needs of the people function by function.

In the next four years, the great challenge will be to relate these individual functional programs—both state and local—so we can develop a coordinated approach to maximize opportunity for the individual where he lives and works—whether in the rural areas, the suburban areas, or the big cities.

This demands coordinated planning and effective integration of local, state and federal government action with private initiative and with the people of the communities themselves.

Unless we do so, we will find ourselves choked by our own growth.

We must provide the leadership to cope with the challenge of rapid urbanization and the changed pattern of life in the small towns and rural areas.

We must preserve the best of the past and have the vision and faith to think imaginatively in planning for the future.

This is the heart of the federalist concept:

—The democratic designing of future progress by summoning all levels of government, and all sectors of society, to share in common labor for the common good.

From the federalist approach to our total environment should come broad concepts for the future—a future to be attained through cooperation between individuals, the various groups of individuals in our society, and all levels of government.

It is to the realization of these concepts that I dedicate myself and my administration for the next four years.

Since state leadership is so all-important to the success of the federalist approach, it is vital to assure that it will also be fully effective leadership.

This requires not only responsible, imaginative individuals in government but importantly a structure and tools of state and local government attuned to contemporary problems.

It also demands that we face the hard choices, the controversial issues, as well as the easy ones.

Much can and must be done at the forthcoming Legislative Session.

Much can and must be done by the State Constitutional Convention which opens here in Albany on April 4th.

The Constitutional Convention is of historic importance.

Its work will be vital to our peronal liberties, opportunities, and well-being as citizens of New York.

And it could be as exciting and creative in its own way as those nine months and two weeks in 1776 and 1777 when members of the Fourth Provincial Congress drafted our State's first Constitution.

The 3,000-word Constitution authored by these founding fathers set a pattern of government which guided other state constitutions and the Federal Constitution itself in Philadelphia a decade later.

Delegates to this 1967 Convention, subject to final approval of their work by the people as a whole, must cope with a document now swollen to well over 50,000 words and amended repeatedly, at virtually every general election.

They must decide how best to modernize and clarify the obsolete and contradictory language of the Constitution.

They must make basic decisions on the powers the State and local governments require to plan ahead and to meet today's problems.

They must determine how to remove restrictions where they may hobble vital state and local leadership.

And they must do this without sacrificing necessary safeguards against abuses of these public powers.

They must re-examine the qualifications for voting in New York State—including such questions as residence, literacy and whether to lower the voting age to 18.

The delegates must take a look at our constitutional provisions affecting the concept of separation between church and state, especially in regard to use of public funds.

They must review the procedures for selecting judges and the experience under recent constitutional amendments relating to the structure of our court system.

And they must consider both the threat to personal liberties and the needs of law enforcement (in a period of rapidly rising crime rates) which are involved in wiretapping and eavesdropping.

The delegates must review the desires of local governmental units for expanded fiscal independence.

They must weigh these desires against the confusion and danger to the individual citizen of uncontrolled, ever-increasing and overlapping tax structures—and they must also relate these desires to the needs for statewide fiscal stability, to help expand and attract new job-producing industries—not drive them beyond our borders.

These are but a few of the very difficult issues that will be before the delegates to the Convention.

The potential impact of these and other major issues on the daily lives of all New Yorkers underscore the major responsibilities these delegates must accept and discharge.

It is clear that:

— In this period of ever-mounting urban problems affecting the daily lives and well-being of millions.

— At a time when effective State leadership is vital to the solution or handling of these problems.

The 1967 Constitutional Convention of New York State can and should be a major landmark in the history of effective self-government.

It is urgent that the organization, research and staffing of the Convention be bipartisan, professional and objective—though the great issues themselves must quite properly be hammered out on the anvil of debate.

Of the many pitfalls to be avoided, the most dangerous of all is public apathy.

Without an interested and articulate public, any such Convention might in time be unduly influenced by lobbyists seeking particular advantages or privileges.

It is of over-riding importance that the Convention express the aspirations and interests of all the people of New York State.

To achieve this, we must have a free and open Convention and alert, vitally informed and concerned news media.

Those in charge of the Convention must give the people every opportunity to be heard in advance of their ultimate decisions.

And I urge you the people of this Empire State to take a most active interest in the forthcoming Constitutional Convention,

— To study and judge the issues before they are decided;

— And to make your voices clearly heard by your Convention delegates.

I begin my third term as your Governor with gratitude . . . with pride . . . and with purpose.

I feel pride in our State—its tradition and its people.

We have shown the way of leadership to all others in our great Federal Union.

We have shown that federalism works.

We have shown that we—our State, our Union, our beloved country—have not grown too old still to be pioneers.

For on all frontiers of our life, we know that we pay highest honor to our past by the boldest challenging of our future.

And I sense purpose—high purpose—because I have full faith in our capacity for creativity . . . our common resolve with God's help to build together the dream of free men of all ages: A Just Society.

This is the dream of a society where:
Government is courageous,
Power is benign,
Learning is abundant,
Prosperity is general,
Order is serene,
Law is honored,
Compassion is practised,
And brotherhood is lived.

It is our splendid task to make this society no dream at all—but the world for our children to live in.

Two School Systems in Every School District

SPEECH
OF
HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, on January 10—opening day—I reintroduced a bill which I had offered in the 89th Congress, under which 2 percent of the Federal income tax collected from the several States would be returned to them under a formula which endeavors to take into consideration their respective need; such moneys, however, to be earmarked for the general support of educational programs in those States at the elementary and secondary educational level.

My selection of this bill as the first legislative proposal I am submitting to this Congress is indicative of the high priority which I assign to this area of concern. As one who did not vote for the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, I have felt it incumbent upon me to search for and suggest an acceptable alternative to the benefits provided under that program for I am well aware of the need to find some method for supplementing State and local governmental efforts to finance the ever-increasing cost of education at this level.

Last year, in an effort to ascertain how the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was being implemented in my area, I addressed a rather extensive inquiry concerning it to all the school district superintendants in my congressional district and received back a wealth of information commenting upon the good points, and the bad, experienced to date with this program which is, of course, doing some good but which is also creating a number of administrative problems, as well as questions concerning basic policy.

This inquiry on my part did not produce, as might be expected, any sort of unanimous opinion but it, along with such supplementary information as I have since picked up at firsthand, did show that there was a consensus of sorts developing among school administrators in my area in favor of some sort of Federal tax-sharing plan—of which there are an infinite number of varieties—as representing what might, in the long run, be, a preferable approach to aid to education at this level than that embodied in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Perhaps my own feelings that such an approach should be reconsidered by Congress have been best summed up in a letter from a high school principal in my district which I received only on Monday of this week. It was this letter, as much as anything else, that helped me make up my mind that this bill was the one I first wished to submit to this new Congress.

I would like to share the thoughts of that high school principal with my colleagues, Mr. Speaker, even though I do not have his authority to use his letter in this fashion. He signed off his letter with the phrase, "Your Concerned Educational Practitioner," and I shall only identify him in that fashion, but the pertinent parts of his letter to me, which I now set forth under leave to include extraneous material, were as follows:

> I am so moved by the issues at stake that I wish to communicate these views further to you with the proviso that you clearly understand—these are my personal views and that they do not reflect in any way the official view of my school or school district on this subject.
>
> It is my considered opinion that Federal Aid in its present form is a wasteful hodgepodge of legislation (NDEA-Voc. Ed. Act—ESEA—Impacted Areas—Manpower and Retraining—EOA—and so on and so on). This maze of Federal legislation has led to several significant problems in education and for the society as a whole.
>
> 1. Confusion and bureaucratic red tape is the hallmark of these many laws. The pretext of evaluation via state and national tests along with required records simply reduces the evaluation of aid results to a statistical configuration rather than to a human configuration which is so greatly needed.
>
> 2. The segmentation of education into little packages called "projects" to meet the requirements of individual and specialized aid laws often move our schools completely counter to their overall goal of a unified and balanced educational program sufficiently diverse to meet the needs of almost all pupils. It is my fervent hope that the common or comprehensive school ideal is not dead in America.

The trend of separate accounting, record keeping, organization, and evaluation has in effect created a false schism between "regular" and "federal" programs in the sch[illegible] In effect, we have two school systems in ev[illegible] school district making use of federally-aided projects and it is most difficult if not impossible to properly coordinate the two systems.

3. There is a fundamental threat to the very concept of publicly supported, publicly controlled education in the common interest. As these federal programs erode or eradicate the constitutional provisions of "Separation of Church and State" they inevitably encourage the growth of private schools for private interests at the expense of public schools for the common good. How can we struggle for "integrated" schools on the one hand and "private" schools (publicly supported) on the other? As the old Indian used to say, "White man speak with forked tongue."

4. Federal Aid has brought into being staggering commercial competition and pressure which bears down directly upon the schools. We are hardest hit by the drain on qualified teaching personnel as teachers move into VISTA, Peace Corps, Government positions related to education, Year Institutes made attractive by liberal stipends, and industrial positions with firms who find an ever increasing percentage of their annual business is with schools due to natural growth and the millions of Federal dollars allotted education. In short, the industrial-school relationships have become "Big Business" and "Big Business" is having an ever increasing (though sometimes subtle) voice in the shaping of education itself in America. This is not necessarily bad when private business purpose coincides with the primary purpose of education in a democracy—but this is not always or even frequently the case.

In short, we are attacking social and economic ills in our society through education (this is perfectly legitimate) but we are doing it in such a way as to doom the effort to failure and, even more, to shake the very foundation of our unified, locally controlled public schools.

Let me say that I am in full support of the concept of Federal Aid to *Public* Education but only in terms of a general grant-in-aid to the several states for local distribution on a per-capita basis along lines of a national minimum support level for each pupil in attendance at public schools. I am irrevocably opposed to the kind of hodge-podge, wasteful, and schismatic aid we have been getting. If the trend is not reversed, I believe our educational system is in for some real trauma—perhaps calamity—five or ten years hence.

Your concerned educational
practitioner.

——— ———.

Mr. Speaker, I am well aware of the fact that others have expressed or will be expressing interest in the so-called tax-sharing approach as a substitute for some of the new Federal grant-in-aid programs recently enacted by Congress whether for educational or other purposes, and that there will be other legislative proposals—perhaps better ones—introduced along these lines.

My sponsorship of this bill should not be taken to indicate that I am wedded to its provisions, for I am not. However, I hope it will be taken as evidence of the fact that I believe, as I have often stated, that there are few other domestic concerns which should involve our early and earnest attention than that of seeking still better methods for helping to finance education at the local level than that embodied in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, if such methods indeed exist, and of my hope that this subject will be assigned the paramount role which I feel it should command in the early days of this, the 90th Congress.

Resolution on the Soviet Russian Imperialism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following resolutions adopted at the 12th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League—APACL—held in Seoul, Korea, November 8, 1966:

RESOLUTION ON THE SOVIET-RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM

(Submitted by ABN; adopted at the 12th Conference of APACL in Seoul Korea, November 8, 1966)

Whereas, the national independence of all peoples of the world is an integral part of the progress of mankind, and

Whereas, the emancipation of peoples in Western dependencies into nation-states, done often with assistance from their former colonial masters, makes the spontaneous realization of the idea of nation-states more evident, and

Whereas, the independent nation-states decidedly furthers the development of original national cultures, thus enriching a cultural diversity of mankind, and

Whereas, regardless of their size, wealth, race or religion, the nation-states, as equal and sovereign, are the best safeguard of peace, justice and international security; because, unlike the multinational empire, they have no means by which to exploit the material and technical resources as well as manpower of other subjugated peoples for the purpose of perfecting and stockpiling their armaments and furthering their expansion, and

Whereas, the exercise of human rights, unlimited creative expression, freedom of religion, social justice, self-determination of social and political systems, and the fostering of traditional cultural values, is possible only in an independent democratic nation-state within its ethnographic boundaries, and

Whereas, the Russian empire—regardless of its ideological basis—is opposed to the progress of mankind and the integral realization of human rights of nations and individuals and becomes a most dangerous threat to freedom-loving mankind, because the possession of the resources of an empire allows it to accumulate massive means of destruction, and

Whereas, the idea of national liberation and struggle for human right is the Achilles' heel of the Russian Communist empire:

Now, therefore, the 12th Conference of the APACL, in the spirit of resolutions approved at previous Conferences of the APACL, resolves:

1. (a) to support the dissolution of the Soviet Russian colonial empire into independent democratic nation-states, whose territories would be determined by ethnographic boundaries, and the destruction of the Communist system in all its forms;

(b) to advocate the dissolution of all forcibly constructed state organisms in Europe into nation-states;

(c) to support the reunification into free nation-states of all forcibly divided nations in Europe and Asia;

2. to support the national liberation revolutions of the subjugated peoples in the Russian Communist empire as a means to its liquidation and as a possible alternative to a nuclear war, and to call upon the governments of the Free World to give wholehearted active support to such an action;

3. to convince the Free World of the necessity to concentrate its attention on the principal enemies—Moscow and Peking—as a precondition of victory in the civil and peripheral wars instigated by these two powers and as the eventual means of preventing such wars in the future;

4. to advocate the concept of a united front of the Free World with the subjugated nations, directed *simultaneously* against *both* tyrannies—Moscow and Peking—and to oppose any alliance with one tyranny against the other, because similar practices in the past led to the victory of the tyranny;

5. to condemn Russian colonialism and imperialism in countries subjugated by Moscow and to call upon the UN, to take the strongest measures in accordance with the decolonization resolution, No. 1514 (XV), against the USSR and its satellites because of the continuous violation of human rights of individuals and nations; to condemn the extermination practices of Moscow in all subjugated countries; to condemn Russification, persecutions, imprisonments and sentencing of cultural workers—authors, scientists, artists and students, for their desire of creative freedom; to protest against and condemn the plan already under way of forced deportation and resettlement in Siberia and Kazakhstan of one and a half million young adults from the subjugated countries in order to weaken the revolutionary struggle of the subjugated peoples against their oppressors in their native lands.

6. The 12th APACL Conference expresses its solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Hungarian people who ten years ago rose in arms against their Russian oppressors; it condemns the Soviet Russian aggression against the freedom-loving Hungarian nation and all other subjugated nations of Eastern Europe and Asia; it calls upon the Free World to support the liberation struggle of all subjugated peoples in their striving for freedom and independence.

Seconded by:
Senator Fethi Tevetogla (Turkey).
Admiral Carlos Penna Botto (Brazil).
Prof. J. Kitaoka (Japan).
Dr. Vibul Thamavit (Thailand).
Mr. Rama Swarup (India).
Dr. Nguyen-Tien-Hy (Vietnam).
Dr. Arvo Horm (Baltic Committee Sweden).
Hon Dato Hussein Bin Mohd. Noordin (Malaysia).
Mr. Z. B. Ahmad (Malaysia).
Mr. Alexander Olechnik (Byelorussia).
Prof. Lev Dobriansky (NCNC) USA.
Mr. Philibert Luyeye (Congo).
Hon. John Okwanyo (Kenya).
Dr. M. Brelvi (Pakistan).
Mr. Nicolas Mihanovich Guerrero (Argentina).
Mr. Shakeeb Amawi (Saudi Arabia).
Prof. Dr. Th. Oberländer (Germany).
Mrs. Suzanne Labin (CIGP).
Hon. Ole Björn Kraft (Denmark).
Hon. Sergie Fernandez Larrain (Chile).
Mrs. C. Errazuriz de Fenandez (Chile).
Hon. Ivan Matteo Lombardo (Italy).

RESOLUTION ON PERSECUTION AND RUSSIFICATION OF YOUTH BY SOVIET-RUSSIAN REGIME

(Submitted by the Ukrainian Youth Association in the United States of America and Canada to the Youth Conference; supported by Mr. Valentine S. Perera of Ceylon and Mr. Anil Norendra of India. Adopted at the 12th Conference of APACL in Seoul Korea, November 8, 1966)

Considering that: the Soviet Russian regime in Ukraine and in other captive nations is carrying out a policy of intensified de-nationalization and Russification of

Ukrainian youth, utilizing for this purpose the entire educational network of kindergartens, schools, universities, and youth organizations; that

No efforts and methods are spared by the Russian rulers to indoctrinate the youth of the captive nations with ideas of materialism and godlessness in order to turn them into a tool of Russian imperialism, which destroys all moral and humanitarian values; that

In spite of all efforts and terror, young Ukrainians and others who grew up under the most difficult conditions of Soviet Russian occupation find courage and ways to combat the Russian practice of colonial exploitation and oppression in captive countries, displaying in a dignified manner a high degree of national consciousness; that there is a community of interests in the efforts of both the captive nations and the countries of the Free World to preserve their cultural identity and national sovereignty, especially in the light of the destruction brought about by the recent "cultural revolution" in Communist China and Communist aggression in Vietnam;

We, the 12th Conference of the APACL do hereby Resolve:

1. to support the aspirations of all captive nations to reestablish their independence and sovereignty as the only way to insure a free development of their religious and cultural life as well as economic and political potentialities;
2. to urge the nations of the Free World to adopt the policy of liberation wars designed to bring about the dismemberment of the Soviet Russian empire into separate, sovereign and independent national states, and the downfall of other Communist regimes without resort to nuclear warfare and direct involvement of major powers;
3. to appeal to the nations of the Free World to join us in protest against recent arrests, trials, and convictions of seventy Ukrainian writers, students, and intellectuals by the Soviet Russians in Ukraine for their expression and spirited defence of Ukrainian aspirations to cultural and political independence and for uncovering the colonial status of Ukraine;
4. to urge people of goodwill everywhere to use every means available to them to end persecution in Ukraine and other captive nations and to demand the release of these already arrested or sentenced.

Resolution on Extending Immediate Help to the Nations Enslaved by Russian Colonialism

(Proposed by Byelorussian Liberation Front; adopted at the 12th Conference of APACL in Seoul, Korea, on November 8, 1966)

Whereas, the Free World believes in the principle of self-determination and independence for all nations and is engaged in a mortal struggle against Communist tyrants in order to uphold and defend the said principle of freedom, and

Whereas, contrary to the International agreements and resolutions on Colonialism, Russia maintains its Empire under the guise of the Soviet Union and enslaves many nations both in Europe and Asia, such as Latvia, Ukraine, Turkestan, Georgia, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Estonia, Armenia and others, and

Whereas, the Russians maintain their propaganda that the said nations are "free and independent", and

Whereas, in reality these nations are nothing more than colonies of Russia, and are being systematically destroyed by the oppressors, and the process of national destruction and Russification is continuing unabated at present, and

Whereas, Byelorussia alone lost more than 2½ millions of its population during less than 20 years of Russian occupation, and many other enslaved nations, Latvia, Ukraine, Lithuania, etc., lost large percentage of their population due to deportations, etc., and

Whereas, no country or nation can indefinitely endure such a methodical and systematic destruction of its national life as practised by the Russian colonialists, and

Whereas due to the said genocide the very existence and survival of the subjugated nations is in danger,

Therefore, the 12th Conference of APACL, being an organization composed of many nations which themselves in the past have experienced national persecution and oppression, fully appreciate the very grave position of enslaved nations by Russia, and in pursuance of the accepted international principles of freedom, resolves to adopt the following measures:

1. Make a concentrated diplomatic offensive by member-nations at all levels, particularly at the international conferences, condemning the practised genocide and, using United Nations' resolution on Colonialism as well as other Charters of Freedom as a basis, demand:
   (a) Immediate halt of the national persecution and Russification in the subjugated countries.
   (b) The right to send an international commission to check and verify the true position on the spot.
   (c) The right to hold free elections under international supervision with a view of early liberation of the enslaved nations.

Resolution How To Support Captive Nations and Peoples in Their Struggle To Regain Their National Independence and Freedom

(Submitted by ABN; adopted at the 12th Conference of APACL in Seoul, Korea, November 8, 1966)

(a) On the 50th anniversary of the birth of the greatest contemporary slave-empire, to publish a "White book" on the nature, goals, and methods of the Russian-Communist colonial empire, which keeps scores of nations imprisoned, and on the continuous struggle of these imprisoned nations to regain independence and freedom.

(b) In 1967, each member-nation of APACL should dedicate *"a week in honour of 50 years of liberation struggle"* of the nations enslaved within the Soviet Union, in its capital and in other major cities. An exhibition on this liberation struggle, lectures by prominent Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Turkestanian, Georgian, and other freedom-fighters, seminars, rallies by members of APACL in support of their liberation struggle, press and radio interviews with prominent leaders of the liberation movements, etc. should be a part of this week. The ABN should be asked to organize a travelling group on behalf of the peoples subjugated by Russian Communists for 50 years.

(c) On the occasion of such a week, APACL members should be requested to establish "an international liberation fund" for the nations held captive by Communist Russian imperialists for 50 years.

(d) Hold a seminar in each member-country (at Universities and special institutes) on the history of Communist-Russian subjugation of nations in the Soviet Union and on the struggle of these nations to reestablish national independent states.

(e) In March, 1967, in the national press of each member-country of APACL, publish articles on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the downfall of the Tsarist Russian empire and the outbreak of national revolutions of the enslaved peoples. In October-November, 1967, similar articles should appear on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the rise of the new Russian-Communist slave-empire.

(f) Translate and publish in various Asian languages the works of Vasyl Symonenko, who died in 1963, having been persecuted by Russian colonialists, and is probably the greatest contemporary poet of Ukraine, and of the other non-Russian enslaved nations, he pictured perfectly the whole slave system in all its phases existing now in the Soviet Union.

Fairplay for Hanoi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, our prized satirist, Arthur Hoppe, is still writing his column, and the following one was published in the San Francisco Chronicle on Wednesday, December 28:

Fairplay for Hanoi

(By Arthur Hoppe)

Formation of the Fair Play for North Vietnam Committee has been announced by The Rev. Homer T. Pettibone, D.D.S.

"As evidence mounts that our planes, accidentally or not, have been bombing civilians in Hanoi," Dr. Pettibone gravely told a televised press conference, "our Committee demands that the U.S. government yield to the dictates of fair play."

"We assume, Doctor," said a reporter with a yawn, "that your Committee is calling for an immediate end to the bombing of defenseless civilians?"

"Oh, no," said Dr. Pettibone aghast. "A spirit of fair play merely requires that we declare war on them first."

Several reporters who had jotted "left-wing dove" in their notebooks scratched that out to write in "right-wing hawk."

"The Fair Play for North Vietnam Committee wants us to declare war on North Vietnam?" asked a reporter.

"Fair play is fair play," said Dr. Pettibone, nodding. "The rules of war are perfectly clear: You may bomb anyone you wish, as long as you have declared war on him. But to go around dropping bombs on people you are not at war with is sneaky, infamous and downright unfair." Remember, he added with a frown, "Pearl Harbor?"

Practically speaking, inquired a reporter, how did The Fair Play Committee plan to achieve its idealistic goal?

"Well," said Dr. Pettibone esthusiastically, "as a first step all we have to do is select one Congressman to stand up and propose that we declare war on North Vietnam."

Which one had the Committee chose?

"Oddly enough," he said, scratching his ear lobe, "we've run into a little trouble finding one. The doves understandably show little interest in declaring war on the grounds there's enough shooting already."

What about the hawks?

"Well, they support the President. And while they agree that it is the function of Congress to declare war, they don't wish to function unless the President tells them to."

And the President is against declaring war?

"He's against Congress declaring it. You see, this would require a spirited debate in Congress. And the President feels that a debate at this time on whether or not to declare war would seriously interfere with the war effort."

Dr. Pettibone squared his shoulders. "But we of The Fair Play for North Vietnam Committee aren't giving up. Surely, out of our nearly 600 Congressmen there must be one willing to suggest—or perhaps even just drop a vague hint—that maybe we ought to declare war on these people we have so long been at war with. Fair play will prevail!"

At this point, the reporters scratched out "right-wing hawk," wrote in "some kind of nut" and the press conference ended.

Radio Station, KMAN, Manhattan, Kans., Winner of National Conservation Award in Communications

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, the National Wildlife Federation has called my attention to the selection of radio station KMAN, Manhattan, Kans., as the winner of the federation's National Conservation Award in Communications in the second annual conservation achievement program.

This is significant recognition to KMAN, its manager, Lowell Jack, and his staff for the outstanding service rendered to Kansas and visitors to the great State. I hasten to add my congratulations.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the news release of the National Wildlife Federation announcing the award in the RECORD so that my colleagues will know about this special honor to a Kansas institution. The release follows:

KANSAS RADIO STATION NAMED WINNER OF NATIONAL AWARD

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Radio station KMAN, Manhattan, Kansas, was named today as winner of the "National Conservation Award in Communications" in the second annual Conservation Achievement Program conducted by the National Wildlife Federation under a financial grant from the Sears-Roebuck Foundation.

Managed by Lowell Jack, the station was cited for its efforts in developing interest in outdoor activities, encouraging proper use of recreational facilities at Tuttle Creek Reservoir, and service to non-resident anglers and campers. Included in its outdoor and conservation programs are semi-hourly reports on Tuttle Creek Lake weather conditions, semi-weekly reports from the Kansas Forestry, Fish and Game Commission, weekly programs produced by the Kansas State University Extension Service, reports from the Riley County Fish and Game Association, and weekly state fishing and reservoir reports. The station also helped establish an outdoor church service in the main campgrounds at Tuttle Creek Reservoir, maintains a "locator service" to contact persons needed in an emergency, and annually conducts a fishing clinic. The station also has carried on extensive boating and firearms safety campaigns.

Selected by an impartial review board of professional conservationists, the Kansas radio station will receive the national award during the President's Conservation Achievement Program to be held the evening of January 24, 1967 in the Presidential Ballroom of the Statler-Hilton Hotel here. The award consists of a unique whooping crane statuette symbolic of America's endangered wildlife plus a grant of $1,000.

In selecting Radio Station KMAN for national recognition, the review board and judges considered all individuals or organizations named in 1966 by state affiliates of the National Wildlife Federation as recipients of "State Conservation Communicator of the Year" awards. The station was named in the state program conducted by the Kansas Wildlife Federation.

More than 600 guests have been invited to attend the second annual President's Conservation Achievement Program, including members of Congress, Governors, Cabinet officers, officials of Federal and state government agencies, and national leaders of citizen conservation organizations.

The Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, on the evening of December 1, the Save the Dunes Council of Gary, Ind., gave a victory banquet celebrating the passage of the Indiana Dunes National Park legislation by the Congress in the last session. It was a successful affair and attended by a great number of people who diligently worked in behalf of the successful passage of this legislation to preserve the beautiful Indiana Dunes area for future generations.

Allen T. Edmunds, chief of the Office of Resource Planning from the National Park Service of the Department of Interior delivered the main address of the evening. I am submitting excerpts from the speech he delivered on this occasion:

THE INDIANA DUNES NATIONAL LAKESHORE—SAVE THE DUNES COUNCIL ANNUAL MEETING, MARQUETTE PARK, GARY, IND.

(Remarks by Allen T. Edmunds, chief, Office of Resource Planning, Philadelphia Planning and Service Center, National Park Service, Philadelphia, Pa.)

It is a real pleasure to be here this evening and share with you the accomplishments of your organization over this past year. It is with no small pride that you can point to the passage by Congress of the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore Act as a result of your consistent and persistent efforts over a great number of years and against most unusual opposition. There have been others who have helped in reaching this success, it is true, but it is this group which has never faltered or failed to press the issue at all times to its eventful conclusion.

The Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore is not a large area by Alaskan or Texan standards. It is interlaced with railroads and highways, and is squeezed in between multimillion dollar industries. But it has quality and charm that need to be preserved and enjoyed by great numbers of the nation's people.

A friend of mine related a story of his admiration for a certain man who was most brilliant in his depth of thought and scintillating in his expressions of these thoughts. He asked his friend where he got his ideas and from whom did he receive this great inspiration. The man invited him to his home one evening and took him into his garden. "Here," he said "is where I work and do my thinking." "But," my friend remarked, "this is only a small plot of land scarcely 20 feet long by 5 feet wide, how can such a small area provide you with these remarkable ideas." "Ah yes," replied his friend, "but it reaches to the sky." He had perspective—and this I claim is what you people have had, lo these many years. You looked beyond the handicaps of this area and saw the true value of what remained, and what is would mean to our nation. This Act was a victory for conservation. If this struggle had been lost, conservation would have suffered a severe blow, not only in Indiana, but across the nation.

One of America's famous preachers is Dr. George Arthur Buttrick, for many years pastor of Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City. His father was a British Methodist preacher. One of George Buttrick's childhood recollections is that his father, regardless of the weather, used to walk 7 miles every Sunday to fill his preaching engagements. Why did he walk? One reason was that in that horse-and-buggy era, he had no horse. He could have taken a train. Why didn't he? Because he had strict scruples against riding a train, or any other commercial conveyance, on Sunday. He had the attitude toward Sunday that orthodox Jews have toward their Sabbath. His son's comment on this conduct is interesting. Dr. Buttrick once observed about it, "It may have been silly, but it wasn't flabby."

We'd agree with that judgment—most of us. There is "muscle tone" in such action—intestinal fortitude and spinal spunk. The Los Angeles Dodgers' great pitcher, Sandy Koufax, had some of this when he announced before the 1965 world series that he would not be available to pitch on the high holy days of his faith. Persons who are not flabby have a deep conviction that there is a right way to live, and with God's help they intend to live that way. We don't have to be over-scrupulous about petty pious things to be strong inwardly. But we do have to believe that there is a difference between ways of acting and feeling and thinking. One way is not as good as another. This, I believe, to be true about your Council. It is not flabby—its membership does have deep convictions about what is the right thing to do regardless of what this may mean to each one personally.

Two years ago I had the distinct pleasure of visiting, with Mrs. Edmunds, many of Japan's national parks as a representative of our National Park Service, and with representatives of the Japanese Government. I cannot fully express to you how greatly we were impressed at the sight of thousands and thousands of school children visiting their national parks, climbing mountains, peering into volcanoes, studying, photographing and sketching scenic views, native flowers and the wonders of nature. They were completely enthralled at what they were seeing, and they weren't afraid to climb, walk, run, or quietly observe these things either. We in this country have a great deal to learn from the Japanese in the methods used to awaken such interests in our young people. I believe your organization is one that can play a big part in this—and none too soon.

We have a great deal of work to do—you and I—in the next few months. The first hard-fought battle has been won. Not everyone, however, is in total agreement with what has been done and we will be facing many obstacles in establishing the National Lakeshore. But I have no doubts that your Council will be just as helpful in the progress of establishing this area as you were in its authorization.

I would like to close, before the question period, by telling you one more story which, I believe, illustrates the points I have been striving to make. A preacher in a Scotch village went into the home of one of his members who had boldly declared that he could find God on the Sabbath day as well in his garden or in the fields as he could by attending the services in the village church.

The minister sat in silence with his friend before the open fireplace. The man knew that the preacher had come to take him to task for his boastful spirit. The preacher knew that he was expected to give a deserved rebuke. Yet both remained silent. At last the preacher arose from the chair and went to the fireplace. Taking the tongs, he lifted a single coal from the embers and placed it alone upon the hearth. He waited in silence as it quickly burned into a black ash while the fire in the fireplace continued to burn brightly. Then he quietly went back to his place. "You need not say a word," said the man of the house; "I understand what you mean. I cannot live alone. Next Sunday I'll be in my place at the church."

So it is with your organization and with mine. We cannot live alone—but together we can do much to improve life for all people.

Tribute to Dr. William G. Studer, of Atlanta, Ga.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, it is with a great deal of pleasure that I take note today of the outstanding accomplishments and ministry of Dr. William G. Studer, of Atlanta, who on January 8 observed his 35th anniversary as an ordained Baptist minister. In these 35 years, Dr. Studer has not missed preaching from his pulpit a single Sunday.

There appeared in the January 7 edition of the Atlanta, Ga., Journal an article about Dr. Studer and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REVEREND STUDER TO MARK HIS 35TH ANNIVERSARY

Dr. William G. Studer, who will observe his 35th anniversary as an ordained Baptist minister on Sunday, has not missed preaching on Sunday during this long period of service.

Ordained to the ministry when he was 20, the Rev. Dr. Studer has held four pastorates and has been minister of the Sharon Baptist Church for the past 18 years.

A native of Chattanooga, the Rev. Dr. Studer holds five earned academic degrees and has preached in every state in the United States except Alaska and Hawaii.

As a full-time pastor, he averages more than 400 pastoral calls a year. He also serves as chairman of the mathematics department to Therrell High School and conducts a weekly education program for the 3rd Army's Military Affiliate Radio System (MARS).

Since 1934, the Rev. Dr. Studer has conducted a weekly radio broadcast.

He has served as chaplain of the Georgia Senate and House a number of times and former Gov. Herman Talmadge gave him the rank of brigadier general in recognition of his outstanding achievement as a minister and educator.

He has held many denominational offices and educational offices.

Adam Is of Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAGE BELCHER
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I insert in the RECORD the following editorial entitled "Adam Is of Age," which appeared in the Oklahoma Eagle, January 5, 1967:

ADAM IS OF AGE

Congressman Adam Clayton Powell is making headlines again and in these recent years they are not the favorable kind of headlines. Some months back he made bold type copy on a European cruise in the company of several ladies, who by implication, were not exactly taken along because of their unusual efficiency in the matter of government.

Even more recently he created a stir by his endorsement of the Black Power movement and by the newspaper announcement that he planned to call a "Black Power Conference". He broke with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, discounted Martin Luther King, called for Sargent Shriver's resignation and in general has raised "old Ned" since the death of John F. Kennedy.

As pastor of Abyssiaian Baptist Church, Adam Clayton Powell has always dared to live dangerously. He courted and married Hazel Scott straight out of the night clubs, divorced her and married again, broke the bonds of matrimony again and wedded the Cuban lady with whom he is now reported to be estranged.

He used the power of his office as chairman of the powerful Educational Committee to whip many hungry colleagues into line in Congress. He has refused to answer the summons of the courts or to pay a judgement handed down in favor of a woman he had called a "bag woman". At this writing he has yet to appear before the investigating committeo of the congress.

You've got ta admit that Adam sure lives dangerously. At the time for the challenge of his right to be seated approaches, there are partisan groups cropping up around the country to take up his cause. The standard cry is that Powell is being attacked because he is a Negro, and white men are anxious to oust him because he is a Negro.

There are groups too, that think that Powell should not be dealt with unless all other congressmen are investigated.

For our part we do not "buy" either of these positions. Undoubtedly there are those in congress who would like to see Powell out because he is a Negro, but the reason that puts him in the spot where his position can be threatened is not because he is a Negro but rather because of his indiscretions.

Likewise, we cannot go along with the argument that every Congressman ought to be investigated because Powell is investigated. Powell, not the other congressmen, is the one on trial.

We point out here that Powell has dared to live dangerously and what's happening to him now is the price he has to pay for living so.

It is our thinking that in this age when our aim is to think of men on the basis of their merit, we ought to want an investigation of any public official if there is occasion for doubt, and when that investigation is launched, let the chips fall where they may.

And really, in Powell's case, there seems to be little call for our defense. In the first place, Powell has not asked for it, and in the second place, up to now, he's been able to speak for himself.

We say, Adam is of age. He dared to get involved, let him speak for himself and get himself out!

Portugal's African Provinces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HASTINGS KEITH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, reliable reporting on the troubled issues of present day Africa tends to be scarce, the main reason being perhaps that public attention is drawn primarily to Vietnam where the struggle is more dramatic and our national interest more immediate. Yet the latent turmoil and existing conflicts in the African continent south of the Sahara are potentially as explosive. Therefore it is of the greatest importance for us to understand the nature of the confrontation of political forces in the sensitive parts of that continent, and what they may signify.

The magazine, the Reporter, in its issue of December 29, 1966, includes a very well-balanced article by the British journalist, George Martelli, entitled "Portugal's African Provinces," which casts a great deal of light over the present situation in those territories, as well as on the roles of the Congo—Kinshassa—and Rhodesia.

The article is as follows:

PORTUGAL'S AFRICAN PROVINCES

(By George Martelli)

When rebellion broke out in Angola in 1961, it was widely believed that the days of the Portuguese in Africa were numbered. They had been there for nearly five hundred years, and it was high time, so many people thought, for them to get out, all the more so since all the other main colonial powers—Britain, France, and Belgium—had either relinquished their overseas possessions or were in the process of doing so. But after five years of fighting, and in spite of every outside pressure, Portugal's determination to remain in Africa is as strong as ever and its immediate prospects there brighter rather than darker.

To this unexpected result several factors have contributed: the failure of African guerrillas against disciplined troops, the loyalty—or apathy—of the bulk of the African population, the lack of unity among the various liberation movements, the lack of effective support from other African countries, divided as they are and beset by internal difficulties, and the disillusionment of the West with the results of independence.

Independence, in many cases, has led not to a flowering of democracy but to the establishment, sometimes after civil or tribal war, of one-party states or of personal or military dictatorships, the stifling of all opposition, economic stagnation or worse, and increasing dependence on foreign aid. By contrast the Portuguese territories—outside the areas of guerrilla warfare—present a picture of relative economic and social progress.

Furthermore, events in Africa have convinced some western strategists that the ejection of the Portuguese from Africa would be a victory not so much for liberal ideas as for the Communists in the cold war. Among the rebel leaders in Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea are men who have been trained in subversion in Algeria, Czechoslovakia, or China, and their arms come from the same sources. There are training camps in Guinea, the Brazzaville Congo, and Tanzania. It is not very likely that the Portuguese territories, if ever they gained their independence, would be allowed to remain under western influence. Much more probably they would become bases for the final assault on the "white redoubt" in southern Africa. This thought has had a softening effect on the policies of Washington and London vis-a-vis Portuguese Africa.

DISARRAY IN THE OAU

Portugal has also benefited from the split in the Organization for African Unity, from the quarrels between African leaders, and the elimination of such extremists as Nkrumah and Ben Bella. The military men who have taken over in Ghana, Algeria, Nigeria, and several other African countries are much more concerned with keeping the peace in their own countries than with helping the war against Portugal, and much more frightened of Communist-backed subversion than of western "imperialism." They may pay lip service to the liberation movements, but they have neither the means—in money, men, or arms—nor the will to assist them effectively.

The same could be said of such moderates as Presidents Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Hastings Banda of Malawi. Indeed, Banda is on good terms with his Portuguese neighbors in Mozambique, not only because landlocked Malawi depends for its outlet to the sea on the Mozambiquan railway but also because Dr. Banda and the Portuguese have a common enemy in Tanzania, which provides asylum both for the Mozambiquan rebels and for Dr. Banda's political opponents. Hence he fears that if revolution succeeded in Mozambique it would not stop short at the frontiers of Malawi.

As regards the attitude of the native population of Portuguese Africa, it is largely influenced by the fact that among the primitive peoples of the continent the traditional enemy is not the colonial power but the neighboring tribe, and that they look to the former to protect them against the latter. It was only to be expected, therefore, that when the Portuguese made it clear that they were not leaving them to their fate, tribes not directly involved in the rising should have rallied to the government.

In all three territories the rising took the same form and was confined to one or two tribes—the Bakongo in Angola, the Balantas in Portuguese Guinea, and the Maconde and Nyanja in Mozambique. All these tribes are distributed on both sides of the frontiers, which mostly run through dense bush, and it was thus easy for guerrillas based over the border to infiltrate and persuade their fellow tribesmen, by promises or intimidation, to join them in attacking the Portuguese. If a village refused, it would be pillaged and burned and its headman executed. In this way the rebels have killed many more Africans than Portuguese, whose casualties in five years of campaigning have been relatively light.

To keep out of trouble, hundreds of thousands of Africans have crossed the frontiers of Angola, Portuguese Guinea, and Mozambique to seek asylum in the neighboring countries, where refugee camps have received a large number. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that all these people are running away from the Portuguese. Many left their homes so as not to get involved and to avoid being forced to join the rebels or to work for them.

THE RIVAL REBELS

In Angola and Mozambique less than a tenth of the total area of the territory has been seriously affected, and probably a smaller proportion of the population. In the northern district of Angola, where the rising occurred, the production of coffee, which is important to the economy of the province, has been successfully maintained through all the trouble, while in Mozambique the disturbed area adjoining the northern frontier is sparsely populated and has no economic significance.

Portuguese Guinea is much smaller, and because of the nature of its terrain it is more difficult to defend. When the rebels attacked in 1963 there was a danger of their cutting it in two, from south to north. The Portuguese had very few troops, all black, but the majority of tribes, including the largest, the Fula, who are Moslems, remained loyal and asked for arms to defend their villages. Since then more than ten thousand troops have been enrolled either as native militia or civilian volunteers to fight the rebels. All important villages are defended, and the rebels are confined to hiding places in the bush or to the swampy region south of Bissão, the capital, where it is difficult to pursue them.

Their leader, Amilcar Cabral, president of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), is a mulatto, whose family came to Guinea from the Cape Verde Islands and who was once a senior official in the Portuguese administration. He has been an honored guest in several Communist countries and lives in Conakry, the capital of Guinea, conveniently near the base camp for his guerrillas, which is situated at a place called Kindia and is staffed by Algerians. Algeria is also the channel through which the guerrillas receive arms from the Communist countries.

Cabral's party has a rival, however, in FLING (Front for the Liberation of an Independent National Guinea), whose headquarters are in Senegal, and there is little love lost between the two parties. FLING has not attempted to organize subversion inside Portuguese Guinea; but should the Portuguese ever withdraw, it would undoubtedly assert its claim to be more representative of the Guineans than PAIGC, which is largely run by Cape Verdeans. This would bring the two parties into conflict.

The same kind of rivalry, which in Africa is usually inspired as much by tribal as by political differences, has also weakened the nationalist movements of Angola and Mozambique. It was rightly or wrongly believed that Holden Roberto, leader of the Union of Angolan Peoples (UPA), which staged the revolt in Angola, derived his main support from the United States. This led the Communists to give their backing to the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which is based in Brazzaville, across the Congo River from Kinshasa (formerly Léopoldville), where Roberto has his headquarters. The MPLA has the use of Brazzaville Radio and devotes more of its propaganda to denouncing Roberto as the "tool of imperialism" than to attacking the Portuguese. Its subversive activities are limited to sporadic attacks on Cabinda, the Portuguese enclave situated north of the mouth of the Congo.

Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, president of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), has also been under fire from other nationalists. Mondlane is a highly educated man who was employed for several years in the Trusteeship section of the United Nations, has taught at Syracuse University, and is married to an American. He has claimed to be getting arms from the East and money from the West, and as much of either as he needs, but his preference, if he had to choose, would undoubtedly be the West. This and the fact that he appears to live in comparative affluence, with a comfortable apartment and an office in Dar es Salaam, have aroused resentment in some of the other Mozambiquan parties, three of which last year set up a rival organization called Revolutionary Committee for Mozambique (COREMO), with an office in Lusaka, Zambia. Among other charges, they have publicly accused FRELIMO of killing more Africans than Portuguese.

All of these movements depend, of course, on the support of the countries that provide the bases for their subversive operations. As time goes on, this tends to be less willingly given. The presence of poorly disciplined armed bands, along with their dependents, who need to be fed or given land to cultivate, can be an embarrassment to the host government. Generally speaking, the support of revolution in other countries, besides imposing a drain on their resources that they can ill afford, has had the effect of distracting African governments from their pressing internal problems.

THE THREAT FROM THE CONGO . . .

But while the rebels spend much of their time in squabbling among themselves, they are well supplied wtih bases, arms, and money, and there are signs of an increase of rebel activity, especially in Angola and as a result of recent events in the Kinshasa Congo. There President Joseph Mobutu seems to have made a deal with his neighbors in Tanzania and the Brazzaville Congo. These two countries, through which aid has been sent to the rebels in the eastern Congo, would cease such aid, and in return Mobutu would swing his Congo into the "unaligned," or radical, camp of African states. This would explain his quarrel with the Belgians in the summer, the rupture of relations with Portugal in the fall, the virtual expulsion of the U.S. ambassador, G. McMurtrie Godley, and, more recently, plans to resume diplomatic relations wtih the United Arab Republic and the Soviet Union.

As the springboard for all rebel operations in Angola, the Kinshasa Congo is a crucial factor in the situation there. With the exception of MPLA, which is based in Brazzaville, the half dozen Angolan nationalist parties all have their headquarters in Kinshasa. If Mobutu has really decided to throw in his lot with the African extremists, he may give the Angolan rebels better facilities. One consequence of such a policy could be the return of the Communist-backed MPLA to Kinshasa, and a weakening of Congolese support for Holden Roberto's Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile. The MPLA moved to Brazzaville in 1963 when the Organization for African Unity recognized Roberto's "government." In the last few months, however, Roberto has been losing ground in the revolutionary movement. In October he attended a meeting with MPLA representatives in Cairo, after which it was announced that the parties had agreed to cease propaganda against each other and to co-operate in "military and political affairs." This latest attempt at a reconciliation is unlikely to be any more successful than the others; and it is significant that only a few weeks later the congress of the Congolese Students Union demanded the expulsion of Roberto and his party from the Congo.

The Bakongo tribesmen, who have done most of the fighting in Angola, look to Roberto for leadership and it is doubtful that they would take orders from the MPLA chiefs, whom they distrust because of their better education and strong mulatto element. The MPLA, however, which has had the benefit of Chinese instructors expert in the kind of war waged by the Vietcong, present, in the long run, a serious threat. Until now, it has been handicapped by having its base in Brazzaville and only the unimportant Portuguese enclave of Cabinda as a target; if it is allowed to operate from the Kinshasa Congo, it might prove much more effective.

. . . AND OVER RHODESIA

Another potential source of trouble for Portuguese Africa is the proximity of its white neighbors, Rhodesia and South Africa. The Portuguese railways and ports—Beira and Lourenço Marques in Mozambique and Lobito in Angola—provide the only access to the sea from the land-locked countries of Rhodesia, Zambia, and Malawi. Beira is also the terminus of the pipeline to the Rhodesian refinery at Umtali, while Lourenço Marques handles a large proportion of the traffic bound for the Transvaal, vital to South Africa. Consequently, the attitude of Portugal is of critical importance in any attempt to apply sanctions either against Rhodesia or South Africa, especially an oil blockade of Rhodesia.

The last such attempt, the Security Council Resolution of April 9 authorizing Britain to stop ships unloading oil at Beira destined for Rhodesia, aroused intense resentment that the Portuguese should be involved forcibly in a British internal quarrel. Portugal questioned the legality of the resolution on the grounds that the United Nations had no right to intervene in a matter exclusively of British jurisdiction, as claimed by Britain; that Rhodesia was not a threat to peace; that Soviet and French abstentions invalidated the resolution, which under Article 27 of the U.N. Charter required the affirmative votes of all the permanent members of the Council; and that the resolution violated Portugal's neutrality and the principles of freedom of the seas and free access to the sea of landlocked countries.

Privately, Portugal will try to avoid a collision course by diplomacy. If Britain, however, with the authority of the Security Council, extends the present oil blockade of Beira to Lourenç Marques, the Portuguese reaction may be much stronger. In any case, the restriction of Rhodesian exports and imports as a result of the sanctions affects Portugal adversely by reducing the revenue in foreign currency earned by its railways and ports in Mozambique, thus aggravating the difficulty of financing the defense of the territory and favoring the liberation movement. Generally, the effect of the sanctions must push Portugal closer to Rhodesia and South Africa.

This would seem a strange rapprochement. For what distinguishes Portugal from the other colonial powers, all of which to a greater or lesser extent practiced a color bar, is its declared policy of progressive racial assimilation. The aim of the policy is to evolve multiracial societies in Africa, composed of whites, mulattoes, and Negroes, all speaking Portuguese, sufficiently mature politically and developed economically to be able to stand on their own feet in the modern world. They would then take their place either as equal partners in a Portuguese commonwealth or as independent nations. This at any rate is the theory. Only time can show how it will work out in practice. The big question is whether time will be given in an age that looks everywhere for quick results. The future of Portugal's African provinces will largely depend on the ability of Portugal, itself a poor country, to develop their economies so as to keep pace with the advances necessary in the social, educational, and administrative fields.

Problems of the Post Office

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MORRIS K. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, probably no part of the Federal Government touches the average person so closely and so frequently as the post office. A child writing Santa Claus, a store billing its customer or wooing him with an advertising circular, or a traveler sending a souvenir back home—all use the post office.

As many of us know all too well, the Post Office Department is mired in problems these days. These problems are so acute as to cast doubt on the famous inscription on the central post office building in New York:

> Neither snow nor rain nor heat nor gloom of night stays these couriers from the swift completion of their appointed rounds.

Mr. Jerry Landauer of the Wall Street Journal has written perceptively and knowledgeably of the Post Office's plight. His article appeared in the Journal, December 16, 1966. Without objection, I will insert the article at this point in the Appendix:

POSTAL PROBLEMS—MAIL SERVICE SUFFERS IN MANY LARGE CITIES AS AUTOMATION LAGS—POLITICS, CURBS BY CONGRESS HAMSTRING SYSTEM; O'BRIEN GETS BUSINESSMEN'S HELP—RATE BOOST PROPOSAL LIKELY

(By Jerry Landauer)

WASHINGTON.—To some disgruntled postal patrons, the handsome mosaic map of the world imbedded in the lobby floor of the Post Office Department's headquarters building on Pennsylvania Avenue speaks volumes about why the mail often arrives late: On the inlaid compass medallion that graces the map, the "N" points due South.

Upstairs in cavernous offices (by far the biggest in town belongs to Postmaster General Lawrence O'Brien) top officials reject the implication that the Postal Service, too, is upside down. Frederick Belen, Mr. O'Brien's deputy, dismisses fears of coming chaos. "We're geared up to deliver the mail and we will," he vows.

But other top postmen acknowledge that slow slippage over the years is accelerating dangerously in a number of cities, inviting Christmas collapse if freezing snow should grip New York City, Chicago and other key distribution centers. "Frankly, service is lousy," one of the six assistant postmasters general admits, "and it will probably get worse before it gets better."

POLITICAL, LABOR PROBLEMS

The variety of problems pressing in on the Post Office attests to the accuracy of that forecast. The Postal Service is entangled in politics, hemmed in by Congressional curbs on flexible use of manpower, caught in struggles between railroads and airlines for the mail-carrying dollar. It is scraping the bottom of the worker barrel in a tight labor market while union leaders, appetites whetted by three pay raises in the past four years, clamor for a bigger boost next year. It isn't adequately modernized, mechanized, or prepared for automation.

How well the system functions now no man can precisely tell. For though the Post Office in Detroit is experimenting with optical scanners designed to "read" and sort 36,000 machine-addressed ZIP-coded letters an hour, headquarters has no standards for measuring total performance. Cost analysts profess to know, down to one-thousandth of a cent, average per-piece revenue at different classes of post offices. But the brass doesn't know what percentage of first-class mail reaches the right destination next day.

A long-discussed proposal to combine first-class and air mail into a single new category intended for overnight delivery by the fastest means has been shelved for at least another year. John Gronouski, Mr. O'Brien's predecessor, was too optimistic in 1965 when he said the public could "soon expect" delivery of such priority mail anywhere in the United States.

At the White House, President Johnson knows that poor postal service, because it touches every household and threatens the efficient conduct of every business, could become a potent issue for Republican orators. So he's inclined against the Budget Bureau's desire to cut $175 million from Post Office spending plans for the fiscal year beginning next July 1. "Larry O'Brien came out of the budget hassle very, very well," an Administration source reports.

THE 6-CENT LETTER?

General O'Brien (the top postman is so styled) prefers to put off asking Congress for higher rates until he can improve service. But most indicators point to a request next year for a rise of about $750 million embracing most categories of mail, including a penny rise to six cents for first class. "I fully expect the President to propose an increase," says Chairman Mike Monroney (D., Okla.) of the Senate Post Office Committee. General O'Brien sounds less certain: "It could happen," he says.

The prospect of paying more will surely fuel complaints about the quality of service at current rates, making it harder to wrest an increase from Congress. Near adjournment two months ago, some Democrats seemed more inclined to join Republican cries of "abominable" delays than to defend the unglamorous Post Office. "The American people aren't going to stand for much more of this foolishness and inefficiency," said Sen. Daniel Brewster (D., Md.), a member of Chairman Monroney's committee.

Of foolishness, the critics contend, there is plenty. But most agree that much of the inefficiency lies beyond General O'Brien's power to correct. His sergeants, 34,000 postmasters in places ranging from Los Angeles, Calif., to Hell, Mich., are loyal not necessarily to him but to the Congressmen and Senators who sponsored their appointments. His 700,000 troops, including 95,000 Negroes and 50,000 women, speak through powerful unions direct to the Congressmen who determine their wages and fix his rates.

His key outposts, the big-city post offices, were built mostly as massive landmarks near railroads, often far from the truck terminals or airports that today handle more and more of the cards, letters, circulars, catalogs, newspapers, magazines and sales samples that come cascading in at an annual rate of 80 billion pieces.

When the mail flows heaviest toward nightfall, Mr. O'Brien can't store it overnight as a businessman might warehouse incoming goods. He can't as in Britain where the government owns the railroads and airlines, arrange transportation schedules to mesh with mail flow. Nor can he prescribe specifications for suppliers. Former Postmaster General J. Edward Day has noted that Americans are free to use 700 sizes of envelopes; West Germany permits 12, the Soviet Union 6.

General O'Brien came back from Europe the other day and announced that he'll explore moving the mail within major cities by subway, as London does. Actually this idea occurred to planners in 1961, but a Post Office task force determined that New York's subway trains didn't stop long enough to get the mail on and off. "Right at the time the mail is moving is right at the time everyone else is moving—5 o'clock," Mr. Belen told Congress earlier this year.

Manufacturers can make imperfect products and replace them. Not so if mail handling equipment chews up leters, or if drowsy clerks misplace parcels, or if a Christmas substitute dumps his burden down the sewer. "In our business," says a Post Office official, "you can't call back a mistake."

In many places, to be sure, the mail gets delivered speedily and accurately. In others, service seems abysmal. For example, mail from Chicago generally takes three days to reach Schaumburg, Ill., a community of 7,500 less than 25 miles distant. Recently a depositor in California mailed a check to the Schaumburg State Bank. It was returned with the notation, "No such town in Illinois." The customer was "a little shook up," bank president Ward A. Weaver reports. "He must have thought, 'no such bank in Illinois.' "

Labor-saving machinery is barely noticeable in a system that must cope with more than half the world's mail. In fact, mail-handling methods haven't change much since Pony Express riders rode warily through Indian country. Now as then it takes dozens of hands to collect, sack, unsack, sort, resort, stack and "scheme" mail for other post offices or for local carriers into row upon row of pigeonhole cases. Clerks, flipping 30 or 40 letters per minute into slots, must memorize thousands of departure schedules and carrier routes.

Some hardware is in use: To move sacks, sort letters semi-automatically, unscramble jumbled mail, line up letters for automatic canceling. But the world's most advanced industrial nation, one which sends men flying into space, hasn't developed a mailbox that will stack letters as they drop down.

Skimpy budgets for research and development help explain the absence of the "postal industrial revolution" which several postmasters general have prematurely welcomed. This year the Post Office budgeted $16.1 million for R&D, less than three-tenths of 1% of its total spending; Sargent Shriver's antipoverty warriors spend four times more researching poverty. Moreover, part of the research results get buried in the Post Office bureaucracy. "Valuable data on postal activities is on file in bureaus, but only a few individuals are aware of its existence or importance," complained a headquarters memorandum issued last summer.

BIG-CITY CONSTRUCTION LAGS

Outlays for modernization have been similarly slim. Spending to refurbish postal buildings dwindled from $70 million in 1961 to $17.8 million last year. And despite the enormous growth of metropolitan areas, not one major post office has been built since World War II in any big Eastern city; one in New York is under construction now, the first there in 27 years.

In contrast, the Post Office pampers some rural areas, in part because country Congressmen have long dominated postal appropriation committees. "In my district we're doing everything but opening the mail for our patrons," says Rep. Otto Passman (D., La.). One week before Election Day last month General O'Brien appeared in Oshkosh, Wis., to remind voters that he and Democrat John Race had "arranged to put Oshkosh on our major facilities construction schedule" for a new post office. (Rep. Race lost anyway.)

In certain cities, failure to modernize the postal plant has in turn set back plans to install bulky semi-automatic handling machines. As Deputy General Belen explains, "We've had disastrous experiences trying to put some of this equipment in an old building; by the time you beef up the floors this or that doesn't fit or doesn't work." More often though, mechanizers were required to yield their funds for what higher authorities deemed more pressing purposes.

In 1963, for example, $17.3 million destined for "major mechanization" went for pay raises, leaving $4.5 million for the intended purpose. In the following year mechanizers placed orders for just half the amount Congress supplied, and in 1965 they obligated less than one-third.

JOBS KEEP GROWING

Failure to buy tested machinery even to the limit permitted by stingy Congresses (appropriations committees almost always reduce planned spending for mechanization) contributes to the skyrocketing Post Office payroll. General Day in his 1963 annual report claimed that expert Post Office management "exploded the myth of inexorably rising Federal employment," but since 1963 job slots have expanded to 696,000 from 587,000.

Now General O'Brien wishes to "turn the corner from being almost exclusively a firefighting department, responding to emergencies." He's tapping universities for management trainees, stepping up purchases of machinery and placing orders for what he says will be the world's largest electronic source-data complex. He has also set up a new office of planning headed by Ronald B. Lee, a 34-year-old West Pointer who hopes to apply systems analysis techniques to Post Office problems. Among other notions, Mr. Lee envisages major Post Offices of the future simply as mail processing factories located along highways and close to airports.

To fill another new slot, Assistant Postmaster General for research and development, Mr. O'Brien bagged Leo S. Packer, engineering manager of Xerox Corp. Mr. Packer has a mandate to spend for innovations—computers, automatic handling systems, character reading devices.

Mr. Packer joins two other men in the high command with backgrounds in business—Assistant Postmasters General Ralph W. Nicholson, formerly New York manager of an advertising agency, and William J. Hartigan, an air cargo specialist. Like them, Mr. Packer speaks well of Mr. O'Brien. "He's really an ideal boss. He listens, asks the right questions, encourages me and gives me elbow room. . . . But I can't just snap my fingers, spend a billion dollars and revolutionize the Post Office."

"HUE AND CRY ALWAYS LOUD"

Even if the man from Xerox had that billion, he'd still have trouble pulling the Post Office into the 20th Century. To begin with, the powerful postal unions fear nothing so much as mechanization. "It's in the nature of the job that, whenever I want to make a change, powerful forces inevitably, invariably oppose it," Mr. Gronouski has recounted. "No matter how small the change is, the hue and cry is always loud."

Another obstacle: The headquarters bureaucracy, so mired in routine that one Congressional watcher likens it to a "bull elephant lumbering along, head down." Many third-stringers, having watched a procession of postmasters general take office in high expectations and leave with hopes dashed, ignore the incumbent or resist him when necessary.

An aide to Mr. O'Brien confides: "I can't count how many meetings I've been to where some geezer said, 'Aw, we tried that 20 years ago and it didn't work.' " But a former official sees benefits in the bureaucracy's resistance. "Don't forget," he says, "the old-timers knock down the hare-brained schemes along with the good."

Those in Washington and in the field who view change as the enemy immerse themselves in the four-pound Postal Manual and a vast array of supplemental volumes. A. R. Sabin, a former Post Office statistician, counts 45 regular reporting forms, 26 collateral reporting forms and 38 work forms in one handbook alone, Fiscal Services F-7.

Some handbooks teach how to count the mail. Sample:

"If tertiary volume is not recorded, the tertiary pure distribution standard is weighted by multiplying the percentage of mail from 'feeding' secondary to tertiary by the weighted secondary percentage. This tertiary standard is then added to the secondary standard and applied to the secondary volume as combined 'secondary-tertiary' standard. For example, assume that in the example given in Section 116.51 a tertiary case is added which is fed by 5% of the Illinois' cases' volume. The weighted secondary-tertiary group pure distribution standard is calculated as follows: . . ."

The Green Bay Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, my hometown and its football team is, as you all know, again in the news. For the 10th time the Green Bay Packers are the champions of the National Football League, a record unmatched in professional football history.

It is appropriate that the Packers, who are also the oldest professional football team in the land, should represent the NFL next Sunday in the first playoff between the two major football leagues.

The "Green Bay Story" is an interesting one that has been told many times and bears repetition. A most interesting account appeared recently in the New York Sunday News in an article by William Reel. For the edification of my colleagues the article follows:

PACKERS, GREEN BAY ONE BIG HAPPY FAMILY

(By William Reel)

In the likely event that the Green Bay Packers, the football representative of this frigid Lake Michigan city, wins the National League championship and goes to sunny California for the Super Bowl game next month, the Green Bay fans who accompany them will expose themselves to a hazard never encountered back home—heat stroke.

Here is Green Bay, the name of the game is frostbite. Packer fans are accustomed to enjoying their football in the invigorating fresh air, with a blizzard swirling through the stands to keep the blood circulating. hen the temperature edges up above freezing in Lambeau Stadium, the buffs get to feeling a little close and start loosening their ties.

"Aw, the football weather isn't so cold here," demurs Henry Van Der Heiden, who runs Spookie's Luncheonette on Main St. "Why, I just slip into my bear-skin coat and sit there enjoyin' the game, just as warm as toast! No different than bein' home by the fire."

WRY HYPERBOLE

When teams from the big cities come to this bleak, icy, Wisconsin outpost to play the Packers, the visiting sportswriters amuse their readers back home with wry hyperbole about the bucolic ways of the locals.

"The team got into Green Bay late because the dogsleds were running behind schedule," is one well-worn ribtickler, as is "You can spot the mayor of Green Bay right off—he's the one wearing the clean overalls."

Such cracks elicit supercilious chuckles from the sophisticates back in New York and Chicago and Philly and Los Angeles and San Francisco and the 82,000 proud residents of Green Bay have learned to suffer them with good natured resignation.

But then, they can afford to be tolerant. They get the last laugh on Sunday afternoons when, come hail storms or high water, their beloved Packers usually crush the city slickers on the gridiron.

"They can laugh at us all they want from Monday to Saturday," chortles Howard Blindauer, a local businessman and Packer superfan, "but never on Sunday!"

CITY OWNS FINEST PRO FOOTBALL FACILITY

When you think of Green Bay, you automatically think of football. (Which is probable just as well, since the city is otherwise distinguished by its leadership in toilet paper manufacturing.) That such a small city supports the most successful team in pro football history—the Packers have won a record nine world championships—is an extraordinary civic achievement of which the natives are fiercely, and justly, proud.

More impressive still is the fact that 50,000-seat Lambeau Stadium, which the people of Green Bay voted overwhelmingly to build with their own tax dollars in 1957, is the finest football facility in the business. The field is sunk below ground level, and the fans view the action from bench seats unobstructed by girders. Unlike Yankee Stadium, where many locations are so remote that a football game is only a rumor, there is no such thing as a bad seat in Lambeau Stadium.

What sort of a city is Green Bay? It is a city where, when you call City Hall, the mayor himself is likely to pick up the phone; where people say good morning to strangers on the street; where tall draught beers are a dime and the bar buys regularly; where the big apple is not Broadway, or the Loop, or Sunset Boulevard, but, aptly, Main St.

HASN'T CHANGED

"In many ways, Green Bay hasn't changed much in 50 years," says Mayor Don Tilleman, a soft-spoken, genial native who boosts his city without being overbearingly gee-whiz about it. "Progress has been kind to us. We are thriving economically, but our growth has been gradual and the city remains very much a community, extremely closely knit and civic minded. The Packers, you might say, are our first family. They unite the community."

In many respects, Green Bay and the Packers have grown up together. Mayor Tilleman, for instance, was born in 1919, the same year as the team. He estimates he has missed no more than two dozen home games since he was old enough to understand what all those big guys were doing running around down there on that chalk-stripped field.

Tilleman recalls hanging around the old Hagemeister Park as a small boy, waiting for a sympathetic Packer player to lead him in by the hand. Later he sold candy bars and ushered to gain admission, and now, as mayor, he is entitled to two free tickets to each game.

TICKETS BIG INCENTIVE TO GETTING ELECTED

"Those tickets are one big incentive to get elected," he said laughingly, and he was only half kidding.

All 50,000 seats are sold out for years to come, and the Packer ticket office has a waiting list of 12,000 applicants. If for some reason, such as bronchial pneumonia, a ticket holder can't make a game, he calls the radio station and announces he has a ducat to sell. (At face value, by the way. You go straight in Green Bay, or you get a punch in the nose.) Within minutes, his phone is ringing and a line forming outside his door.

Only major tragedies keep people away from the ball park. Last season a woman slipped on her way into the stadium, and felt a bone snap in her leg. The pain got so bad that, late in the fourth quarter with the Packers safely ahead, she was persuaded to go to the hospital and have the break set.

Ticket possession can be a matter of bitter strife. Last year, when Kathryn Grab of Menasha, a town near Green Bay, won a divorce from her husband, Leonard, the right to the couple's season tickets was a major bone of contention in the property settlement. The judge awarded the ex-Mrs. Grab the pasteboards.

FIRST CITIZEN-FAN

"I'll tell you how tough it is to get into Lambeau Stadium," said Howard Blindauer, a long-time season ticket holder. "The other day, Merrill Knowlton called me and said, 'Howie, I'm in a spot, I've got to get two tickets for Sunday.' Now, Merrill Knowlton is the ticket manager of the Packers. If he can't get a seat . . . well, you get the idea."

Blindauer is probably the most effective unpaid public relations man a city could hope to have. A recent visitor to Green Bay casually asked Chuck Lane, the Packers publicity man, to name the first citizen-fan to come to mind.

"Howard Blindauer," Lane answered before the question was all the way out.

Blindauer owns a sheet metal business which does a brisk trade, but it is strictly an avocation with him during the football season. He watches the Packers practice every day and attends every game, home and away, with his wife, Dorothy.

"My two sons are taking over the business," he explains. "That's how I can get away with all this foolishness. They run the business when Dot and I are on the loose."

HOWIE GLAD TO SERVE AS UNOFFICIAL GUIDE

Like so many citizens one encounters in Green Bay, Blindauer is effusively friendly, forever offering to do whatever he can to help you. When strangers arrive in town and express an interest in the Packers, they are invariably directed to look him up. He considers it a privilege to be unofficial guide.

When actor Robert Preston came to Green Bay several years ago to do a segment for the "This Proud Land of Ours" television show, he was advised to seek an interview with Blindauer. He did, and the following dialogue ensued on national TV.

"How many miles a year do you cover following the Packers, Howie?"

"Oh, about 30,000."

"Does your wife accompany you?"

"Sure, she wouldn't miss a game."

"She certainly must love football."

"No," said Blindauer, not batting an eye, "she just loves me."

"Robert Preston got a great kick out of that remark," Blindauer chuckled.

SOLVES PROBLEM

Blindauer has solved the problem of subfreezing Sunday afternoons in Lambeau Stadium. He starts out with insulated underwear, then adds shirts, sweaters and finally an overall covering of foul weather gear which he providently brought back from his Navy days in World War II. Lumberjack boots complete the ensemble.

He also sports a cap, not to ward off the elements but because he permits himself the superstition that the Packers tend to fare better when he wears it. If the team goes to the Super Bowl, he will be sitting under the Los Angeles sun, wearing that cap.

Blindauer is a typical Packer fan in the sense that his devotion to the team is inextricably tied up with his devotion to the city. In New York, when the Giants suffer their Sunday drubbing, the city does not construe the loss as a black mark on the community. Not so in Green Bay. On Monday morning after a rare Sunday defeat, there is a shortage of happy faces on Main St.

HARD MAKING SALE ON BLUE MONDAYS

"We're a bunch of grouches after a loss," Blindauer says. "I don't even try to sell any thing on a blue Monday. On the other hand, after we win a big one, I always seem to have a good day."

Blindauer bid a visitor goodby, and said he hoped his stay had been a pleasant one.

"Whenever people are good enough to visit us, we like to leave them with a good impression," he said. "Come again."

People have been coming to Green Bay since 1634, when French explorer Jean Nicolet sailed down the St. Lawrence and into the Great Lakes, and docked his birch bark canoe in La Baye Verte, as he called it. The settlement soon became a thriving fur trading center, and was in fact a major base of John Jacob Astor's fur empire.

Today, Green Bay is a major producer of paper products, and exports them all over the United States and abroad. The St. Lawrence Seaway has made the city a flourishing port and, just as Wisconsin is the country's foremost dairy state, Green Bay is its cheese storage capital. The cheese market operates here every Friday.

ETHNIC MAKEUP

"Green Bay is to cheese what Wall St. is to finance," is the way Mayor Tilleman puts it.

The ethnic makeup of the city is mixed, though it includes an abundance of French, Belgian and Polish Americans. As might be expected of an economically stable Midwestern city, the people tend to be sound-money Republicans. Despite the fact that Green Bay is about 75 percent Catholic, Nixon outpolled JFK in 1960. LBJ topped Goldwater in '64, however, "We're not that conservative," a local newspaperman commented.

Mayor Tilleman earns $12,000 a year for administering a budget of $22 million. He is currently immersed in an urban renewal project which will face-lift the city's business district.

"Crime is not much of a problem here," he said. "The police department runs itself on $1 million a year, and its major headache is to convince people to lock their cars. Nobody locks anything in this town."

Tilleman is extremely proud of Green Bay's designation, by Look Magazine and the National Municipal League, as an "all-American City." The award was inspired by a massive, and stunningly successful, civic attack on air pollution. New York could take a lesson from this one.

START AIR POLLUTION FIGHT BACK IN 1950

It seems that back in 1950, a housewife was sweeping her porch, and was appalled by the heavy rug of dust that covered it. She put up a large beef to the League of Women Voters, citing the hazards of dirty air. As a result the City Council adopted an anti-pollution resolution, but was reluctant to enforce it at the risk of offending the paper industry, which was both the city's life blood and the pollution culprit.

"To hell with the paper industry—let them clean up or get out," said Green Bay in unison.

The paper industry cleaned up—at a cost to itself of $10 million—and stuck around. Today, the air in Green Bay is crystal clear, and the paper business is prospering as never before.

Green Bay has never known dire economic straits. The financial history of the Packers is another matter, however. Their fortunes more or less paralled those of National Football League franchises, which never really boomed until the television bonanza of the early 1950s. The Packers do not reveal their assets, but they probably have the highest payroll in pro football, and went for over $1 million in rookie bonuses last year alone. It is safe to say they are rolling in money today.

LAMBEAU STARTED IT

It was not always thus, however. When Curly Lambeau, who had played some football for Knute Rockne at Notre Dame, decided to get up a football team in 1919, he went into the business with flat pockets. He persuaded his employer, the Indian Packing Company, to pick up the tab for uniforms and put up a couple of goal posts.

During the first two seasons the team barely cleared expenses by passing the hat, but was so successful on the gridiron that Lambeau entered the club in the National Professional League that had been formed in 1920. The Packers suffered a lean season at the gate, however, and Lambeau was forced to forfeit the franchise in 1922.

It was then that Green Bay citizens came through with the first of several cash infusions, without which the Packers would be long since out of business. In 1922, the local newspaper rallied businessmen to absorb the club's debt. Again in the 1930s the merchants raised $15,000 to keep the patient breathing, and in 1949 a Wisconsin-wide stock sale netted $125,000 to tide the team over until the TV swag bailed the Packers out permanently.

ONLY COMMUNITY OWNED TEAM IN PRO FOOTBALL

The Packers are thus the only community owned football team in the business. The stockholders, who realize no dividends from their holdings and have only a remote voice in the operation, are content to let a seven-man executive committee administer the team's finances.

Actually the Packers are an autocracy. Vince Lombardi, a Brooklyn boy who was one of the famed Seven Blocks of Granite on the great Fordham teams of the mid-1930s, was imported by the executive committee as coach and general manager in 1959. He took over a team that had won only one game the previous year, and turned it into an NFL champion by 1961. This is conceded to be the coaching achievement of the century, or, in other words, all time.

Lombardi calls the tunes, on and off the football field. The executive committee has given him carte blanche both as coach and administrator. A martinet who demands perfection from the team, he is nonetheless idolized by the players, who revere him for his dedication and personal rectitude. "If you give him 100 per cent—and you damned well better—he will do anything for you," says Jerry Kramer, a Packer guard.

BIG HAPPY FAMILY

Like the city of Green Bay, the Packers are a big happy family. On Thanksgiving Day, for instance, the entire organization from water boy to Lombardi gathered with their families for dinner at a Green Bay hotel. "That sort of thing breeds cohesiveness," says right guard Fuzzy Thurston. When the team is playing on the road, Mrs. Bart Starr, the wife of the Packer quarterback, invites a slew of wives over to watch the game on TV.

What does Mrs. Boyd Dowler say when Mrs. Bart Starr's husband overthrows a pass to her spouse?

"She doesn't say anything," laughs Cherry Starr, a beautiful and vivacious Alabama belle. "I tell her Boyd should have made the catch."

The Starrs, who own one of the thousands of meticulously landscaped split level homes which comprise the outskirts of Green Bay, plan to make the city their permanent home. "Ah just love these friendly people," Cherry exudes.

STARR MOST POPULAR WITH GREEN BAY FANS

And these friendly people love the Starrs. Bart is probably the only man who could take Mayor Tilleman's job away from him. He is the people's choice, the most popular Packer. The spectacular touchdown passes he throws thrill the fans the more because he is one of them, a citizen of Green Bay.

The modest, amiable Alabaman, who came to Green Bay in 1956, claims that the adjustment to the cold climes was less traumatic than the problem of making his drawl intelligible to the natives.

"What I mean is," he explained to a visitor, "did you ever just keep repeating the same thing over and over to somebody, and him just giving you a blank look, not having the faintest idea what you are talking about? It's mighty frustrating, I want to tell you. But after 10 years, I'm beginning to get through to the people."

On the other hand, Cherry Starr points out how a Southern accent can simplify life in a small Midwest city.

"I never bother to identify myself when I call the market to have an order delivered," she said. "I just tell them what I need, and they say, 'Okay, Cherry, we'll send it right over.'

"Now, isn't that just the nicest thing?"

Vice President Calls for New "Partnership" To Meet Public and Private Need

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES M. HANLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, last December 7, Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY delivered a most momentous and timely speech before the seventh general assembly of the National Council of Churches. In his message the Vice President laid before the assembly the great tasks involved in aiding our less fortunate citizens. In cogent and forceful language, he profiled the need for greater involvement by our churches.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to represent a congressional district whose religious community has responded to the needs of the poor, has taken a firm constructive approach to the task, and has become involved. We are aware of the great social ills of our day and we are working diligently toward their alleviation.

I believe the eloquent program outlined by the Vice President is worthy of consideration by every American and wish to include it at the close of my remarks. I also believe the efforts of our combined religious-lay community in Onondaga County are worthy of consideration, and in this context, I wish to include an editorial from a recent edition of the Catholic Sun, the official organ of the Roman Catholic diocese of Syracuse. This latter was written by my good friend, John C. McGuire, one of the most outstanding and dedicated Catholic laymen in central New York.

The material follows:

VICE PRESIDENT CALLS FOR NEW "PARTNERSHIP" TO MEET PRIVATE AND PUBLIC NEED

MIAMI, FLA., December 7.—Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, addressing the National Council of Churches meeting here, called tonight for creation of a new "partnership" between the public and private sectors to meet demands too large for either to meet alone.

"We are beset by physical and social problems, at home and in the world, which demand a far more efficient and effective allocation or resources than those available either to government or the private sector alone," the Vice President said. "Our pluralism is a source of strength. It must be preserved. But it must be preserved in such a balance that it truly meets the priority needs of the times.

"What is needed is a partnership in which our public and private institutions, working together, can meet public and private need without any one institution becoming a dominant monolith."

The Vice President replied in his text to charges that the Administration had failed in its responsibilities in domestic programs.

"If there is criticism that we must do better, we welcome it," he said. "For we know that what has been done is only the beginning of what *must* be done if we are to reach the state of opportunity we seek."

"We recognize our responsibility to higher levels of effort, creativity and performance," he said. "Yet we recognize other responsibilities, too—and here it is time for some plain talk."

"We have the responsibility to meet our obligations in the world," he said. "We have, too, the responsibility to help keep on a sound footing the economy which underpins everything we undertake. To fail in either of these responsibilities would be the surest way I know to guarantee the failure of the course in America to which we are all so deeply committed."

The Vice President called on church and other voluntary organizations to carry a greater share of meeting urgent community needs.

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY TO THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, MIAMI, FLA., DECEMBER 7, 1966

Churchmen are accustomed to taking a longer view than politicians. We political leaders often feel we are doing well if we can see to the end of next year—or to the end of our term of office.

But you churchmen look at events in the aspect of eternity.

Suppose we compromise tonight and talk about what is happening in this decade and in this century.

What has happened in the 1960's is a rebirth of American idealism. It has come under this banner: Equality of opportunity.

What has happened in this century is that we have been forced to recognize the interdependence of the human race. And we must one day go beyond that recognition to march under another banner, the one that reads: Community.

We are seeking to make equality of opportunity real—to create the living, vital, available opportunity that is so much a part of our American aspiration.

The author Thomas Wolfe, writing in a time of despair and hopelessness, described it in these words: "To every man his chance, to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunity. To every man the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever things his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This . . . is the promise of America."

I have learned from my old friend Reinhold Niebuhr that a more equal justice is a sort of stand-in, a local representative in the area of politics, for the higher ideal of Christian love.

There is another, even farther-reaching implication of the ideal of love: The fact of our interdependence; the need for community. We will be reminded of that if we look at the date tonight—Dec. 7, 1966.

It has been exactly a quarter of a century since we Americans were blasted out of our isolation. We were forced, in a most painful way, to acknowledge what a preacher said a long time ago: That no man is an island, entire of himself . . . that every man's death diminishes me, for I am involved in mankind.

Since December 7, 1941, we Americans have been struggling to define the meaning of our involvement with mankind, in many fields.

The story of our American effort to help the unfortunate and poorer nations is a great one.

But long before there were any government programs, the churches were there. So were volunteer organizations, philanthropic foundations, socially-conscious business enterprises and trade unions.

But the hardest field, of course, is international politics and national security. We have fought two wars since Pearl Harbor: we are now fighting a third.

We are a long way from achieving a world-wide community of peace with justice.

I am sure the members of this conference would disagree about the ways we should exercise our responsibility to work for that world-wide community. But we all now agree that we *must* work for it.

That we do have that responsibility.

That we cannot escape that involvement.

In these fields, most of all we need what one of your most distinguished lay leaders, John Foster Dulles, used to call the "discipline of the achievable."

But alone with that discipline there must also be *vision* . . . the vision of a just and durable peace . . . the vision of the day toward which we should be moving.

In the nuclear age a phrase very familiar to you takes on an almost *literal* meaning: Where there is no vision, the people perish.

That may be true here at home too.

We have come right now to a very important moment in that effort. It is a moment of change, of decision, and of danger.

The question is this: Will the forward movement of the 1960's continue?

When I ask that question I do not have in mind the results of the past election, nor am I predicting what a new Congress will do.

I have in mind something deeper: The mood and purpose of the American people.

What has brought about the remarkable out-pouring of progressive social action in the years just past?

I would want to see due credit given to our political institutions. But the roots lie deeper. One of the most important roots is the work of this organization, of one of its predecessors, the Federal Council, and of all the member churches—shaping the social conscience of America for more than half a century.

To read through the famous old Social Creed of the Churches that the Federal Council took over from the Methodists is to see how visionary and ahead-of-its-time that document was. And a good deal of it is yet to be achieved.

The point is: You have been preparing the way for a long time.

You passed a resolution endorsing an anti-poverty program two years before we enacted it in Washington.

Churchmen have been writing about the moral outrage of abject poverty in the midst of fabulous riches for much longer than that.

And there is a more direct role of the churches in the recent recovery of social idealism than the writing of books and the passing of resolutions.

You have preached, lobbied, marched, carried out bold and difficult programs from the Mississippi Delta to Chicago, from Watts to Roxbury.

Churchmen have stirred the conscience of the nation when they have "put their bodies on the line" . . . and some whom we remember with the deepest respect have paid with their lives.

If we ask what groups in the American public led in the recently renewed commitment to social justice the answer I think would be these: The American Negro; American young people; and American churchmen.

Now, what about the government's role?

It has been one of your chief agents, to carry out the purposes of the American people.

There is one theory that puts government on one side, under a cloud of suspicion, and the action of private and voluntary groups on the other side, as purer, better, somehow more righteous and desirable.

And there is the implication that government action and nongovernmental action are competitive, the more of the one the less of the other.

But I suggest to you that it isn't like that at all. Rather, the two go together. Especially, today, they go together.

We are beset by physical and social problems, at home and in the world, which demand a far more efficient and effective allocation of resources than those available either to government or the private sector alone.

Our pluralism is a source of strength. It must be preserved. But it must be preserved in such a balance that it truly meets the priority needs of the times.

What is needed is a partnership in which our public and private institutions, working together, can meet public and private need without any one institution becoming a dominant monolith.

Finally, I would point out that the periods of great government action have also been periods of venturesome action by churches and private groups.

The days of the doldrums have been static times for both church and state.

Think of the difference between 1956 and 1966.

Back then we were not talking about the subjects on your agenda here this week—the crisis of the cities, the desperate needs of the poor, the next steps in civil rights. Or, if we were talking about those matters, there weren't many listening.

But now the atmosphere has been transformed.

The public has been made aware of the new demands of social justice—by the parallel and cooperating work of church and state; of foundations; private corporations, labor unions, of volunteer groups and individual writers, preachers and leaders; of federal, state, and local governments.

Something important began when in 1955 a young minister in Montgomery, Alabama, organized a moving, powerful and disciplined social protest—a bus boycott.

But the movement became much broader with the sit-ins by college students in the spring of 1960—actions in which student Christian leaders played a larger role than is generally recognized—and with the Freedom Rides of the spring 1961, in which clergymen participated.

The movement has grown and spread since then, in what is really one of the most remarkable stories in the history of American social movements.

It came to great peaks in the Washington March for Jobs and Freedom in 1963; in the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; and in the Selma March and Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Churchmen were of fundamental importance in the passage of the Civil Rights Act two and a half years ago . . . to the point that one of my beleagured Senate colleagues struck his brow and said, "Oh, the Clergy!"

Many veterans of that disciplined effort are here today, I know. All of us who participated in that historic event will be proud that we did so all of our lives.

In 1965, Catholics, Protestants, and Jews marched together down an Alabama road. One nun was asked by an angry citizen, "What are you trying to do to the white race?" She calmly replied, "Educate it!"

That's what you have been doing—educating all of our citizens arousing our conscience, pointing to social injustices that are a stench in the nostrils of God.

But now we have come to 1966. And it turns out—there is still more educating that needs to be done.

The mood of the public has changed. There are two parts in this change of mood, I think—reaction and disillusionment. You are needed to counteract both.

The reaction was there waiting, frustrated, scared.

The American people haven't turned into angels.

There is prejudice, in all sections of the country; there are vested interests; there are fears—some legitimate, most illegitimate.

There is, among some, the age-old "hardness of heart"—the contempt for the poor, the fear of the victim of the ghetto, the grudging attitude toward the woman on welfare.

In 1966 all this has begun to come out in the open again.

And there is also disillusionment.

After all the court decisions and all the laws, most Negro children still go to segregated schools, and twice as many Negroes as whites are unemployed.

Thirty-five million Americans still live in poverty; slum schools still turn out children who can't read the labels on a medicine bottle; many of the children in the Head Start program identify the Teddy bear on the chart as a rat.

And now we learn that for many children the Head Start doesn't stick. Thrown back in a poor inner city school, the early advantage they've had soon washes away.

You can conclude one of two things from that: You could abolish Head Start or you could transform the inner city schools. I vote for the latter—and I know you do too.

But many people, learning how hard it is to overcome slumism, have begun to be cynical and despairing about our efforts. Right now is when we need your leadership most of all.

We are now in stage two of this wave of social reform—the tough, working stage of the follow-through, when we find out how hard the job is, how long it will take, how much money it will cost, how many of our efforts need to be revised and improved.

It is a time when all too many crusaders are inclined to leave the march.

As Thomas Paine said so well: "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from thhe service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph."

In the Reconstruction period many of the Northern reformers decided after the war and Emancipation that the job was done, and they withdrew, leaving the Negro to the segregationists, and leading to the lost 100 years of civil rights.

Let us not do that again.

In one of the excellent documents prepared for this conference there is a quotation relevant to this point. The quotation, you will remember, comes from Yale historian C. Vann Woodward:

"Americans have developed over the years a curious usage of the law as an appeasement of moralists and reformers. Given sufficient pressure for a law that embodies reputable and popular moral values, the electorate will go to great lengths to gratify the reformers. . . . But having done this much, they are inclined to regard it as rather tedious of the reformers to insist on literal enforcement. Under these circumstances the new law is likely to become the subject of pious reference, more honored in the breach than in the observance, a proof of excellent intentions rather than a means of fulfilling them."

I'm afraid that has often been true. We all now have the responsibility to see that it is *not* true of the battery of opportunity programs we have started in the sixties.

We in government bear a heavy responsibility to provide the funds, the leadership, the programs, and the follow-through that are necessary.

I believe that we in government, during the 1960's can justifiably assert that we *have* provided these things on a scale never before attempted.

Yet if there is criticism that we must do better, we welcome it. For we know that what has been done is only the beginning of what *must* be done if we are to reach the state of opportunity we seek.

We recognize our responsibility to higher levels of effort, creativity, and performance.

Yet we recognize other responsibilities, too—and here it is time for some plain talk.

We have the responsibility to meet our obligations in the world.

We have, too, the responsibility to help keep on a sound footing the economy which underpins everything we undertake.

To fail in either of these responsibilities would be the surest way I know to guarantee the failure of the course in America to which we are all so deeply committed.

Thus, it is more than ever important that institutions and people outside of government meet their responsibilities in building our freer and better America. I think of the opportunities, for example, that confront you.

You can be the shaper of the public conscience in each city, in each Southern county and each Northern metropolitan area, in each town and region. More and more, that is where the battles will now be fought.

You can leap across the political boundaries of our formless metropolitan areas in a way that government cannot.

You can provide the leaders—the pragmatic idealists, who stick to the job—whom we desperately need in every community.

You can encourage those sensitive citizens in the suburbs who care about what is happening in the inner city.

You can pick up the possibilities offered by new federal legislation and make those real in your own community—the housing projects for black and white, poor and not-so-poor; the supplementary educational centers; the community action agencies to fight poverty.

You can help provide (and I know how much of this you are already doing) the teachers and leaders for Head Start and Upward Bound and remedial reading and basic literacy and foster grandparents.

You can take action within your own institutions—to examine your investments, your hiring policy, your budgets.

We have been urged by religious leaders recently to move toward the day when we will devote two per cent of our national income to economic development in the poorer nations.

I'm for that. It raises the question about how the churches spend their money.

One statistic I have seen puts the total of Catholic and Protestant expenditure on services to others outside the churches at about 500 million dollars per year—only 41 cents per month for everyone who belongs to a church in America.

Recently churches have been urging corporations to place the funds they have for investment in socially constructive places such as low and middle income housing. This is a wonderful idea.

But many people have been disappointed at how slow the churches and non-profit groups have been to take up the government offer to make long-term, low-interest loans available under the 221D3 provision of the Housing Act—a provision making possible construction of low rent housing.

How much of its own money is the church investing in community organization among poor people in city and country?

How much of the church's budget is going to experiment with new ways of serving the old, the poor, the sick—ways which go beyond our present welfare practices?

There is much for all of us to do before we reach the day when every man is treated as he should be treated, as a child of God.

What I have been trying to say in this message is the essence of my religious conviction: Namely, that the way you treat people is the way you treat God.

We are bound together in the common faith of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

How, then, can we be true to our faith in our daily lives?

To me, religious faith must be more than an exercise in theology, dogma, ritual or doctrine. It must be a part of one's life. And the Christian faith, to be an effective force in the modern world, must have practical meaning in the lives of those who inhabit the earth.

I believe that each of us has an obligation to serve God at each level of his existence and within each institution of his society—from doing honor to one's parents and children . . . to performing his work with dignity and honesty . . . to playing his role within his school, his neighborhood, his church, his community and nation.

The building of a better and more peaceful world will never come from any diplomat's ingenious plan. It will come only from the cumulative acts of men who live their lives in respect for their fellow man, and thus, for God.

I believe it is thus that all men may one day march proudly under the banner: Community.

[From the Catholic Sun]

CHRISTIANS IN ACTION

The Vice-President of the United States in his remarks before the General Assembly of the National Council of Churches at Miami Beach, Florida called for greater effort on the part of the Church to aid the poor.

Specifically Mr. Humphrey stated, as one example, that in the field of low rent housing, under governmental programs religious groups or non-profit corporations could give relief to middle income persons. He reminded those in attendance that the Government cannot solve the social problems of the day, acting alone.

We do not believe that the Vice-President is saying the Christian Churches in America are penurious in their treatment of their respective flocks. Rather we feel in his capacity as Vice-President he is calling for assistance not only from the churches themselves but from the laity, in group action, to provide leadership in tackling the social problems in a fast changing world.

He talks of "low rent housing" and recommends the churches give more support to section 221-d-3 of the Federal Housing Act.

In relating this to the Syracuse Diocese what does it mean?

We remind our readers that as far back as 1962 a segment of the Syracuse Catholic laity was wide awake and attuned to the Community need in low rent housing.

PILOT PROGRAM

This group was familiar with the 1961 Housing Act to which Mr. Humphrey refers. They developed a plan, formulated their program and began to act. Comprised of Syracuse business and professional men this band incorporated under the name "Mount St. James Corporation" set out to construct a 140 unit apartment project on Jamesville Ave., at a cost of approximately two million dollars. This was a pilot program, the first initiated in the State of New York. Today it stands completed and fully rented. The performance of this project by the sponsor has been consistent with the objectives of the program. A notable degree of integration has been achieved without fanfare.

Quite an undertaking for these men with such great responsibility. We believe this is what Mr. Humphrey is talking about.

Supreme Court Justice William E. McClusky, President of Mount St. James Corporation sums it up this way. "Our sole motive is outlined in our Certificate of Incorporation."

"To alleviate the hardship and distress of persons and families residing in the City of Syracuse and its environs due to inadequate and obsolute housing accommodations and related social recreational facilities and services for persons and families of low and moderate income."

Justice McClusky added, "The corporation is not organized for profit and does not have any power to issue certificates of stock or declare dividends. Under its Certificate of Incorporation all income must be used exclusively for charitable, religious, scientific, literary or educational purposes."

DIOCESAN PARTICIPATION

This is fine and noble indeed. But is Mr. Humphrey's call for help to the church answered here?

In order to interest the Federal Government to lend support the sponsor group must stand stringent and lengthy scrutiny by the Washington FHA office before approval is granted. In addition recommendation and endorsement of the objectives must receive approval by the Diocese.

Bishop Foery recommended to the FHA the individual members in the Mount St. James group. He endorsed the objectives outlined. Further in response to a request by FHA and Mount Saint James Corporation he appointed a member of the laity to serve on the Board of Directors of Mount St. James. His letter to FHA in August of 1962 states in part:

"I feel that while this activity is not essentially religious in character, it nevertheless is a most appropriate manifestation of the basic social philosophy of the Catholic Church. We are proud of and we encourage the efforts of Catholic laymen in lending their time and talents toward charitable undertakings whose objectives are the betterment of the economic and social conditions of their less fortunate brethen."

"That the purpose of Mount St. James Corporation is laudable cannot be disputed; that the need exists in the Syracuse area cannot be denied; that the membership of the corporation is responsible and dedicated I am pleased to certify."

Isn't this Syracuse's answer, in 1962 and 1963, to Vice-President Humphrey's call to arms in 1966?

But it does not end here.

In 1964, this same group felt the objective of safe, sanitary and decent housing for persons of low and moderate income was not only meritorious but there was still a dire need for this type of project in our community. Believing that nonprofit sponsorship of such projects need not necessarily be religiously oriented they felt that the objective of such a program was a matter of primary Christian concern. Should not our religious bodies through a dynamic laity be the first to wrestle with (and hopefully solve) one of the great social problems of our time? A mere civic benevolence cannot ever be an adequate substitute in this field for the deep moral conviction which impels all Christians.

Therefore, in a true ecumenical spirit did this Mount St. James group seek to join hands with a similar group of the Episcopal laity, headed by Hon. John Farnham. The purpose was the same, only the site was to be different. The City was seeking help in the downtown Urban Renewal area for this same type project. The arduous task of planning, programming and designing for buildings began for the Trinity House arrangement. The hours of 1964 and 1965 were short indeed as this unique group solicited the support of all interested organizations for encouragement and assistance in the development of this program.

FOUR BISHOPS AGREE

In behalf of the Trinity House concept Most Rev. Walter A. Foery and Most Rev. David F. Cunningham, Bishops of the Catholic Diocese of Syracuse and Rt. Rev. Walter M. Higley and Rt. Rev. Ned Cole, Jr., Bishops of the Episcopal Diocese of Central New York joined together in their statement of collective endorsement. Said the Bishops:

"The Sponsor Corporations, composed of laymen of our respective Communions, have our complete moral support and we appoint representatives to serve on their Board of Directors. . . . We are sure that the members of the Sponsor Corporation will bring to this task all the sympathy, compassion and dedication which have characterized the Christian ethic of the Brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God. . . . In addition, the benefits of this program to this community will be an inestimable good, and we hope of great satisfaction to Almighty God. We commend those who stand poised to undertake this task."

Though the Trinity House concept was not selected by the City award committee to develop the downtown Syracuse Urban Renewal

Site, the idea of this unique church union is but a seed, planted, yet to sprout into reality.

However, the grown child of the Mount St. James family, now fully developed and exercising a responsible existence in our community—even now acts in an advisory capacity in other undeveloped areas as far west as Chicago.

This accomplishment would give comfort and cheer to our Vice-President were he aware of this activity in the Syracuse Diocese.

Yes, Mr. Humphrey, we in Syracuse know of what you speak. We are actually working with our Government—both Church and laity—towards alleviating some of our social ills.

This editorial is not written to take credit for the efforts advanced as of this date, but rather to serve as a reminder to both the Church and laity that there is a continuing problem, with many projects to be faced.

—J.C.M.

Admiral Gets Diplomatic Role—"Mr. Seapower" Heads Navy Mission to U.N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I take particular pleasure in submitting for reprinting in the Congressional Record an article from the San Diego Union of Sunday, December 18, 1966, which tells of the great work of a well-known and outstanding naval officer, Vice Adm. John S. McCain, Jr. The Members of Congress know and appreciate Admiral McCain's contributions and we, too, take pride in the exploits which are so well described in the newspaper's article.

The article follows:

Admiral Gets Diplomat's Role—"Mr. Seapower" Heads Navy Mission to U.N.

(By Ray McHugh)

New York.—When Vice Adm. John Sidney McCain Jr. was sent to join the U.S. Mission to the United Nations a year ago more than one eyebrow was raised.

The spunky little two-fisted, cigar-chewing sailor who had won the nickname "Mr. Seapower" would hardly be cast as the typical diplomat.

Even his attractive and intensely loyal wife, Roberta, admits: "I didn't know what to expect."

Now everyone knows. McCain has fit into the U.N. picture as easily as into a naval command.

The three-star admiral has been praised by Ambassador Arthur Goldberg as "the cream of the crop." A strong personal friendship has sprung up between the former submarine commander and the former Supreme Court Justice.

UNDERSTANDING ESSENTIAL

"When I came to the U.N. I had my doubts," says McCain with his typical candor. "But I've been convinced. This is a fine organization made up of dedicated people. It has its weaknesses but too often people overlook its strengths.

"If we are ever to have true international understanding it's going to have to start here. It's our responsibility to keep that hope alive."

McCain waved his ever-present cigar at the towering U.N. building and the massed array of flags along First Avenue that were being whipped by a chill autumn wind.

Despite the cold weather, the admiral spurned a top coat. He just jammed a well-worn slouch hat on his greying, close-cropped hair for the walk across United Nations Plaza to the headquarters of the U.S. Mission.

McCain makes the walk every day, sometimes several times, for sessions of the United Nations military staff committee and other business.

As miiltary representative to the U.S. Mission, McCain advises on military matters and serves as Ambassador Goldberg's link to the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

As vice chairman of the U.N. Military Staff Committee, McCain is the American link with U.N. counterparts from Russia, Britain, France, Nationalist China and other countries.

CONTACTS IMPORTANT

The committee was organized in the optimistic early days of the United Nations. Military representatives of the permanent members of the Security Council were to form a sort of high command for peacekeeping operations. There was to be a special U.N. Armed force.

The cold war, however, soon spiked these ideas. Although the committee has not been able to function as originally planned, the high-level exchange with other Security Council nations remains important.

"We establish important contacts," said McCain, "and sometimes we can discuss military matters without political overtones.

"Tangible accomplishments may be few but, like so many things here at the U.N., we are working for tomorrow, trying to keep all the channels open. The opportunity for eventual understanding must be protected."

The patient outlook that McCain has developed at the U.N. surprises some old friends.

The admiral is noted for his energy and his zest for action. He will admit in an unguarded moment that he has tasted frustration at the U.N. But frustration only seems to fuel his determination.

WALKS ACROSS BRIDGE

McCain also escapes the world of diplomacy every day for a few hours with the Navy he loves so well.

In addition to his duties at the U.N., McCain wears the "hats" of commander, eastern sea frontier and commander, Atlantic reserve fleet. He lives in the 1805 frame commandant's house in the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

He begins his work day with a walk across Brooklyn Bridge to 90 Church St., the lower Manhattan headquarters of the Navy in the world's busiest port.

It is late morning before he moves to his fourth-floor office in the U.S. Mission building and puts aside his duties as a Navy commander for those of a diplomat.

Several times a month McCain returns to the Navy by nightfall. He is still the most popular speaker of flag rank and his peppery lecture on America's "four-ocean challenge" is in demand from coast to coast.

Navy experts regard the speech as the strongest, most articulate argument for American seapower that has been heard since McCain's idol, Rear Adm. Alfred Thayer Mahan, was preaching that the nation's future lay on the oceans of the world.

HEADED TASK FORCE

For McCain to be cast in this role is not surprising. His namesake father was graduated from the Naval Academy in 1906. And while the father was on convoy duty during World War I his wife and young son lived in a Brooklyn boarding house—not far from the commandant's house which the son now calls home.

The senior McCain was commander of a task force in the Pacific during the last two years of World War II and won a reputation as "a man who gives only one order: "Attack!"

His exploits won him the Navy Cross and three Distinguished Service Medals. On his death Sept. 9, 1945, he was posthumously promoted to the rank of admiral.

While his father's carrier planes were pounding the Japanese, the junior McCain was making his own reputation as a submarine commander.

Graduated from Annapolis in 1931, the son became a submarine officer in 1933.

He took the USS Gunnell out of the Electric Boat Co., at Groton, Conn., in 1942 and sailed to North Africa. There he carried out hazardous reconnaisance in advance of the allied landings.

Then he proceeded to the Pacific where the Gunnell inflicted heavy losses on the Japanese.

McCain was one of the first submarine commanders to penetrate the Japanese-dominated East China Sea and the Formosa Straits. He was awarded the Silver Star and Bronze Star for heroism.

DIRECTED LANDINGS

Since World War II McCain has held a variety of surface and submarine commands and has served in the office of chief of naval operations. He spent a year at the Pentagon as Navy chief of information and was commander of amphibious forces, Atlantic when he was ordered to the United Nations.

As amphibious commander he directed U.S. landings during the 1965 crisis in the Dominican Republic and was awarded the Legion of Merit.

"You never have to worry about Adm. McCain forgetting the Navy while he's here at the U.N." joked U.S. Ambassador George Killion. "Sometimes I think he's going to recruit everyone here."

"What's wrong with that?" growls McCain.

The fiery little admiral is one of those rare men who can growl and grin and chew on a cigar all at the same time. No wonder the diplomats like him!

National Water Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, wise use and proper development of our water resources are among the most critical domestic issues that face this Nation and this new Congress. I have today introduced a bill to establish a National Water Commission to provide an effective vehicle to meet our growing problems of water supply and development.

In the 89th Congress we took a significant step forward in the establishment of the Water Resources Council under provisions of the Water Resources Planning Act of 1965. This provides for improved coordination among Federal agencies involved in river planning and development and authorizes the establishment of river basin commissions to help most local, regional, and basinwide planning needs. It is apparent, however, that our water requirements of the future will demand a degree of planning and development that goes beyond the immediate region or basin for which a particular project or solution might appear feasible and desirable. Already we are faced with problems and proposed solutions that have social, political and economic effects of concern to the entire Nation.

The individual water problems of our communities, States, geographic regions, and entire river basins have combined to pose a problem truly national in character. Solutions can no longer be proposed without full consideration of the effects on other areas. I believe a National Water Commission, utilizing the best brains in the Nation in the field of resource planning and river development, would be best equipped to explore all the alternatives in meeting the problems of a particular area; and, by its very nature, would be best able to weigh the impact on other regions and the entire Nation to determine what is in the national interest.

We now have agencies and commissions that are committed to the solution of water problems of individual areas, but there is a need for a body to study these problems without a prior commitment to any region or particular form of solution. A National Water Commission could make these studies objectively and could make appropriate recommendations to the President and the Congress that would be invaluable in meeting the multiple problems of water development.

I would like to quote briefly from a letter by Charles L. Schultze, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, in transmitting draft legislation on the National Water Commission to the Congress:

> We are confronted with critical water shortages in many sections of our country. We are faced with the grim fact that pollution infests virtually every river system. No region is immune—from the Pacific, to the Southwest, to the Great Lakes, to the Northeast. These problems grow more complex and more difficult with each passing day.
>
> Water resource problems do not end at local, county, state, or even regional lines. Their dimensions are truly national in scope. They require intelligent long-term planning and the assessment and development of a whole range of alternative solutions. They require thorough and systematic analysis to assure that the programs undertaken by the Federal government contribute to the soundest long-range water objectives.

Mr. Speaker, the concept of a National Water Commission was proposed to the Congress in the President's message of February 23, 1966, on "Preserving Our National Heritage," and has since been fully supported by the administration through the Department of Interior and the Bureau of the Budget. Legislation introduced by Senator HENRY M. JACKSON to establish the Commission was approved by the Senate in the second session of the 89th Congress. It was considered by the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and was ultimately incorporated, in revised form in H.R. 4671, to authorize the Colorado River Basin project. I objected to its enactment in that form.

I am totally opposed to having National Water Commission legislation clearly jeopardize its essential neutrality and would do violence to the intended purpose of seeking impartial and objective solutions to these problems. It is with the hope that Congress will give separate and thoughtful consideration to the establishment of the Commission that I introduce this legislation today.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, we are all aware of the controversial nature of legislation proposed in the last Congress to meet the growing needs of the Southwestern States to supplement their major water source—the Colorado River. The implications of the proposed solution on national water policy, and the potential impact on other river basins, caused serious concern to many Americans. I think I can say without reservation that the people of the Pacific Northwest were not only alarmed at what was being proposed without their acquiescence but were angered that such a proposal—adopted by a group of other States without their consultation—could be imposed upon the region without first permitting a study of our own water sources and potential future needs.

A National Water Commission, properly authorized and impartially implemented, could avoid in the future any such divisions and conflicts among the major river basins of the Nation. It would better prepare us to get on with the task of developing our water resources in the best interest of all the people of the United States and with special advantage or penalty to none.

Harrison E. Salisbury Sums Up—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, Harrison E. Salisbury, the distinguished New York Times journalist, has completed his journey in North Vietnam and is now writing a series of articles summing up his impressions. Yesterday I introduced into the Appendix the first of the new series. The second article has been published today. I believe that this article is most important as it details the results of our bombing of North Vietnam and presents a picture which supports those who advocate an end to the bombing.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 12, 1967]

NORTH VIETNAMESE ROADS COME TO LIFE AT NIGHTFALL

(By Harrison E. Salisbury)

HONG KONG, January 10.—At 3 A.M. last Friday morning, across Long Bien (formerly Paul Dourmer) Bridge in Hanoi, moved a procession of women, each with a bamboo pole on a bowed shoulder and burdens balanced on each end.

The women moved silently through the night with a delicate half-step, half-shuffle that carried them rapidly across the bridge. Occasionally they halted to rest. The burdens on the carrying poles, mostly bulk paper, vegetables and wrapped bundles, weighed 50 or 60 pounds.

There was nothing unusual in the sight—nothing for Hanoi and North Vietnam, that is. All through the night, people are carrying heavy burdens on their backs into and out of the city and out along the network of roads and trails that thread through a maze of rice paddies and canals in the Red River delta, moving supplies south and moving food into the city.

CYCLISTS CARRY GOODS

The movement goes on not only on the backs of women with their delicate, swaying bamboo carrying poles. It goes on bicycles. Toward dusk, groups of 100 or 200 cyclists collect at various points in Hanoi and outside.

There the burdens are put on bicycles, up to 600 pounds per bike, and the bicycle caravans start out on their way through the darkness.

With the coming of dusk, olive-drab, jungle-camouflaged trucks, topped with brush and leaves, start rumbling out of Hanoi onto the southward trails, and empty trucks begin moving back into the city, having delivered their goods farther south. At nightfall, the central railroad station of Hanoi comes alive, and trains begin to pull out, laden with people and freight.

To a remarkable extent North Vietnam has become a night country. It is darkness that provides the greatest protection against American bombers. And it is the dark hours when movements of supplies and troops are carried out.

This is a pattern that was first seen by the West in the Korean war. The Chinese "volunteers" supplied themselves and reinforced themselves at night over routes and trails dominated in the daytime by United States airpower. The same practice is being repeated on a vast scale in North Vietnam.

VISITORS MOVE AT NIGHT

The sight must be seen to be appreciated. This correspondent several times was taken out of Hanoi by car either after nightfall or in the early morning hours before dawn. Because of the bombing, the North Vietnamese prefer to move their visitors from point to point under shelter of darkness.

Only during the weekend truce periods over Christmas and New Year's did this correspondent travel over highways in daylight except for brief visits into the countryside outside Hanoi. Even on trips into the Hanoi countryside a few miles beyond the city, the precaution was taken to cover the car, a Soviet Volga, with camouflage net into which branches and leaves were stuck.

It is safe to say that not one vehicle moves on North Vietnamese roads without leafy camouflage on its roof. Trucks are painted olive drab or splashed with camouflage. The same is true of the buses that carry people through the countryside, and of the miniature trains that chug across the rice delta. They are all coal burners, and the engines, freight cars and dilapidated coaches are daubed in gray and dirty brown camouflage.

STREET LIGHTS AT MINIMUM

Hanoi is not blacked out at night, but street lighting is held to a minimum to conserve power, giving an eerie aspect to nighttime travel. The streets become archways of big shade trees with tiny lights burning vaguely in the distance.

Outside Hanoi and its suburbs strick blackout precautions are taken. There are no lights whatever showing in villages although occasionally one catches a glimpse of a glowing cookfire in a thatched house or a tiny candle flickering in a window. From dusk to dawn the countryside is dominated by velvet black shadows vaguely illuminated by the stars or on one trip, by a silver moon that cast a baleful glow over endless rice paddies and clumps of bananas and palms.

Along the highways, columns of trucks, bicycle caravans, men and women with their carrying poles move quietly and endlessly. Alongside the main highways, rail lines usually run, and occasional trains can be heard and then dimly seen moving along in the darkness.

The flow of traffic seems shapeless, but it is carefully organized, planned and controlled. There are sentries at the outskirts of the city who control all movement in and out, both by day and by night.

DETOURS ARE EFFICIENT

Guards emerge from roadside sentry boxes, examine passes and then direct caravans onward. They are not only security guards, but traffic officers.

American bombing daily knocks out segments of road, disables bridges or destroys them, makes detours and diversions of traffic necessary if the flow of men and supplies is to be maintained. Convoys move along detours in a brisk and efficient manner. Road blocks are set up at diversion points and traffic is diverted by roundabouts to a point beyond the blockage.

Not infrequently, traffic streams are split, with southward traffic following one route and northward movement coming along a different route. Sometimes detours may lengthen the route by as much as 10 miles, but they seem to provide no really serious handicap to movement.

PONTOON SYSTEM DEPICTED

American bombers concentrate their attention on bridges, which are numerous in the detal area where highways cross canal after canal and many tributaries of the Red River. Many bridges have been knocked out, some as often as four times. But repair crews work constantly to put them back in order.

Since bridges are generally not very long and of relatively light construction, this is done with a speed surprising to an American who is familiar with painstaking construction tasks on United States highways where bridge building or repair may require many months.

At any given moment a large number of bridges on highways leading south from Hanoi may be out of service. However, this does not halt the traffic flow. The North Vietnamese have the best pontoon bridge system this correspondent has ever seen. It is one that beats the British Bailey bridge system of World War II all hollow.

Alongside every bridge that this correspondent crossed, there were materials available for at least one or two pontoons to be constructed and put into use in an hour's time. The pontoons are made of canal boats lashed together, and the roadway is formed of loose bamboo poles of timbers laid across.

This correspondent crossed dozens of these bridges and watched heavy truck traffic move across them with no more problem than the thunderous reverberation of the loose bamboo roadbed.

Even if the pontoons are destroyed daily, they can be replaced promptly with indigenous materials that cost virtually nothing but the manpower required for assembly and transport.

The efficiency of the pontoons raised the question why the North Vietnamese also employed so much manpower to repair conventional bridges along the highways. There may be a psychological factor involved since the pontoons seem to equal conventional bridges in weight capacity and certainly provide a minimum maintenance problem.

RAILROADS AN OBVIOUS TARGET

The same question arises concerning North Vietnam's railroads. This correspondent did not inspect railroads north of Hanoi since all his trips were southward across the delta. However, according to foreigners who have seen the railroad to the north, in the direction of China, there is not much difference between the bombing destruction and repair program in the north and south.

An enormous effort is expended by the Government to keep the railroads working. They offer a gleaming target for attack, impossible to camouflage, easy to hit. And they are being hit.

Bomb damage and craters pepper the railroad mile after mile, thickening in the vicinity of bridges and villages. Life alongside the railroad would seem to be one of the greatest hazards in North Vietnam. As bombers come in to attack the track, there is inevitable damage to civilian habitations along the rail lines and for a substantial distance away from the rail lines. This is particularly true around rail sidings.

North Vietnam's railroad is a single-track affair. Sidings are therefore necessary to permit trains to pass each other. Bombing of such sidings has been devastating to adjoining villages like Phuly, which, for all practical purposes, has been removed from the map by American bombing.

MINIATURE ROLLING STOCK

The North Vietnam railroad is not to be compared with an American railroad. It uses what seem to an American to be miniature locomotives and freight cars. The total amount of rolling stock isn't known to this reporter, but it would be surprising if it totaled as much as the Erie-Lackawanna Railroad has in its truncated New York commuter service.

Unless there is a factor in the situation that escapes observation, the total tonnage moved by railroad must be a small part of the freight moved by truck or by bicycle or by carrying poles.

Nonetheless the North Vietnamese authorities and the United States Air Force seem agreed that the railroad is vital to the war. It is a principal target of United States attacks and the North Vietnamese exert an enormous effort to keep the railroad going, and with remarkable success.

They keep it running by placing alongside it, mile after mile, enough rail metal, ballast, ties and bridge construction equipment to rebuild the railroad several times over. Rail building materials litter the landscape of North Vietnam.

It would be difficult to estimate the total volume of rails that are on hand, as well as angle iron, steel rods, wire for reinforcement, ties and processed ballast. As far as the labor force is concerned, it is available in the countryside and has often been seen by foreign residents rushing into action.

ENDLESS TUG OF WAR

Labor is thrown into the task in such numbers that even serious breaches of the railroad are repaired in times that seem remarkable to Western observers. Trucks and earth-moving equipment is kept on hand, scattered and dispersed, so that they cannot be wiped out by lucky bomb hits. It was the opinion of this observer that the tug of war between the air force and North Vietnam for maintenance of the railroad could go on indefinitely. The only question was whether the effort was worth it, whether the North Vietnamese might not more economically expend their labor on keeping and improving the highway and truck transport system.

However, there is another factor involved here. To maintain truck movement on highways requires constant expenditure of gasoline and oil. Oil storage depots at Haiphong, have been successfully taken out of operation by United States air attacks. The capacity of North Vietnam to store oil and gasoline thus has been considerably reduced.

The country is dependent on a steady renewal of supplies by freighter and tanker through Haiphong and probably by tank cars on the railroad coming from China.

The railroad runs on coal and probably could run on wood as well. North Vietnam produces its own coal in ample supply from mines in the northeast so that the railroad may provide a guarantee of a heavy freight route in the event that gasoline and oil stocks are interdicted by the United States.

If the railroad is not being maintained as an alternative to truck movement, then the only explanation for the enormous expenditure of the labor force and materials would lie in reasons of morale and prestige. These are not unimportant considerations in a small country that has been heavily attacked and in which there is a common pride in keeping the war effort up against a powerful opponent.

From this standpoint the sight of trains continuing to move along the tracks through the dusk, rails being relaid and reballasted within hours of a heavy air attack, and bridges being restored by one means or another within days must bolster the morale of ordinary North Vietnamese.

MANPOWER PLENTIFUL

It is apparent after even casual inspection that the American air offensive has cost the North Vietnamese heavily. It compels them to commit manpower that otherwise would be available to reinforce the armed services, build up factory production, lift agricultural output or simply convey supplies to the south.

Now hundreds of thousands of man-hours are needed to maintain supply routes. This burdens North Vietnam's war effort substantially. But, at the same time, there is no sign that the task of maintaining supply routes southward is beyond the country's capacity.

Manpower is still plentiful and this kind of task is one with which the North Vietnamese are familiar and have in effect lived for many years.

The investment of manpower in the movement of supplies has been a basic part of North Vietnamese strategy and tactics from earliest times. For example, in setting a trap for the French at Dienbienphu in 1953 and 1954, the North Vietnamese moved in from China, largely by human power, heavy artillery and munitions that enabled them to outgun the French.

They had to move all the rice to feed their forces about 1,000 miles from Yunnan. Every grain of rice moved either on carrying poles or on bicycles. It is estimated that only 10 per cent of the rice eventually reached the encampments on the hills around Dienbienphu. But it was enough for the troops, accustomed to tighten their belts and carry on.

The North Vietnamese undoubtedly will grow leaner and thinner if the war of attrition goes on. But this has been their history for so many years that it is questionable whether it will produce the effect that this policy is designed to produce—a willingness on Hanoi's part to negotiate peace.

SHORTAGES FREQUENT

The effects of the war on the populace are noticeable to foreign residents of Hanoi. They say that the standard of living has gone down in the past year, that clothing is shabbier and harder to come by, that the diet is harsher. This is confirmed by the North Vietnamese themselves.

One of them said: "You should see us in peacetime conditions. We aren't very good-looking now. We are thin and worn and the girls aren't so pretty."

But the North Vietnam living standard has never been high. It probably wasn't as low under the French as the Vietnamese now contend. They insist that under the French many people in the north had nothing more than rags for clothing and one of the regime's bragged-of achievements is that now everyone in the north has a dress or trousers and a shirt to wear.

Still, shortages are frequent. During the fortnight this correspondent was in Hanoi, matches were not to be had in stores. Not long previously cigarettes were scarce for several weeks. Soap has been hard to get. Salt supplies have not always been available in villages.

Meat is scarce for ordinary Vietnamese and chickens are expensive in village markets—about 8 dongs a kilogram (2.2 pounds). The dong is officially valued at 3.53 to the dollar. The average wage is 70 to 80 dongs a month. Women get a ration of five or six yards of cotton cloth a year and men the equivalent in cloth or clothing.

Long-time Hanoi residents say these shortages are reflected in the shabbier appearance of residents compared with the period before the bombing began. The city itself is badly run down. Few buildings have been painted in recent years and bombed wreckage remains, with no effort to repair. Cars are worn and gasoline makes them spit and cough.

But none of this seems likely to have much effect on North Vietnam's war effort. In villages, where houses and huts are bombed, they usually are repaired quickly if the damage is not too serious, or new houses are built. Houses are mostly of simple clay and wattle construction with thatched roofs. If residents survive the attack, they can rebuild houses with their neighbors' help in a short time.

It is different with more substantial buildings. In most villages and towns that this correspondent saw, bigger buildings tended to suffer more damage. Residents contended that bigger buildings were more frequently singled out for bombing attacks. In many towns most bigger buildings had suffered damage. Brick structures, whether damaged or not, had simply been abandoned and residences, offices, schools, artisan cooperatives and hospitals had been dispersed into small one-room huts and houses.

FACILITIES ARE DISPERSED

The dispersal puts an economic burden on North Vietnam and almsot anything that is now hit by a United States bomb is likely to be an institution of some kind. This is particularly true in the environs of Hanoi.

Anticipating heavy bombing of Hanoi, the authoriteis have scattered offices, schools, factories and almost everything moveable into villages and towns nearby. Since the Air Force has been paying more attention to the environs of Hanoi than to the city itself, substantial casualties have been caused in evacuated schools. The authorities admit this but say they are caught in a dilemma. If the United States starts a saturation attack on Hanoi, they do not wish to expose the people to mass casualties. They prefer to risk scattered casualties resulting from the evacuation.

The net conclusion of many foreign residents of Hanoi is that while American bombing has damaged North Vietnam severely, causing heavy material and human losses and compelling the Government to invest men and material in the neutralizing attack, it is not likely to provide a decisive factor in maintaining the fight in the south or in compelling Hanoi to capitulate.

Foreigners in Hanoi believe the North Vietnamese when they say they are prepared to sacrifice Hanoi, Haiphong, all their cities and towns, rather than yield under American bomb power.

Bennett's Know-How Boosts FDLS Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to call attention to a fine editorial from the Florida Times Union, Jacksonville, Fla., January 8, regarding our distinguished colleague, the Honorable CHARLES E. BENNETT. The Florida delegation is proud of the fine leadership demonstrated by Congressman BENNETT during his long service here and we consider it highly appropriate that this outstanding newspaper has given recognition to him in its editorial column.

The editorial follows:

BENNETT'S KNOW-HOW BOOSTS FDLS PLAN

The start of Rep. Charles E. Bennett's 10th term in Congress in Washington today directs attention to one among his several qualifications which will prove particularly advantageous to his constituency during the first session of the 90th Congress now beginning.

In his long service, the Jacksonville Representative has attained a ranking position in the councils of Congress, and a close and trusted consultative relationship with the armed forces, in the making and implementation of national policies in national defense.

His military acumen which fitted him so well for the role he has played as a member of the House Armed Services committee and as chairman of its subcommittee on real estate was acquired in almost six years of service in World War II, including extensive guerrilla combat activity in the Philippines. He stepped down from a political career in which he had already won his first nomination to Congress to enlist, and won several decorations for gallantry in action before his discharge with rank of Captain.

Rep. Bennett's rank and prestige among his congressional colleagues and his close relationships with the military and civilian heads of the defense establishment place him in a strategic position to help advance the cause of the Navy's proposed Fast Deployment Logistic Ships project which would put into effect a completely new global concept of support for instantaneous response to enemy aggression wherever it might occur.

The Lockheed Corp., one of three organizations competing for the assignment of carrying out the long-range, multi-million dollar program, has given assurances that if selected, it will locate the building yard on Blount Island, industrial development property of the Jacksonville Port Authority.

Rep. Bennett has won assurances from the Defense Department that the project will be recommended to Congress in the session beginning today, which he called a "giant step forward" toward success of the program.

The Defense Department's intention to request the program of Congress indicates it has been given assurance of approval by the Budget Bureau, and Rep. Bennett's strategic position, backed by active military service, provides him with the "know-how," tactically and logistically, to guide the project to final congressional approval.

After the formal recommendation is made, hearings will begin early in the year looking toward its incorporation in the Defense Department's budget for the fiscal year beginning July 1.

Leadership at the local community level is already putting forth its best efforts to win approval of the project and to make clear the advantages offered by the local site in carrying it out. It is a momentous project for Jacksonville, in which all must join.

North Vietnam Should Be Bombed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Ralph McGill recently penned an editorial entitled "A Shabby Piece of False Piety" which appeared in the Evening Star, Tuesday, January 3. It voices my sentiments completely and I commend it to those Members of this body who might have missed it.

A SHABBY PIECE OF FALSE PIETY

(By Ralph McGill)

Protests against American bombing in North Vietnam continue on the basis that civilians are being killed.

They are. Fewer civilians are being killed or injured in this war, even on a percentage basis, than in any other war in ancient or modern history. This is noted not in any effort to justify war. It is a dirty business or, as a knowledgeable man, William Tecumseh Sherman put it, "hell."

It does interest me, though, that some of the reporting from Vietnam and from too many of the petitions from peace groups in this country seem to be disturbed merely because some North Vietnamese civilians are being killed. The writer was in South Vietnam a few weeks through the past September and October. In that time Viet Cong terrorists threw a grenade into a bar in that city, killed seven Vietnamese civilians and wounded two Americans.

In the same period the Viet Cong smuggled a claymore mine onto a bus and killed a number of Vietnamese women and children, plus a few Vietnamese men. The bus carried no Americans. It was an act of terrorism and intimidation. Also within those weeks the Viet Cong descended on a village that was showing signs of becoming pacified—that is removing itself from Viet Cong control—and brutally killed a number of women and children. They also burned the huts.

These and other similar acts of terrorism go on almost daily and have for a number of years. The victims are civilians. They are the victims of the armed forces of North Vietnam, both the regulars of that government and the guerrilla arm, the Viet Cong.

In fact, since the war began the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese regulars have, by grenade, mine, rifle, machine gun and mortars, killed more Vietnamese civilians, in and out of villages, than have the U.S. bombings.

Again, there is no intent here to argue on an eye-for-an-eye and a tooth-for-a-tooth basis. The war is an ugly but necessary one. But it does create an irritation to have all the peace cultists petition, protest and denounce the United States for "killing civilians," and act as if the civilian population of North Vietnam is a deliberation target. It is not.

The further fact is that the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese troops do make civilians of South Vietnam a deliberate target. They are killed not because they happen to live near or work at a strategic oil refinery, a collection of oil storage tanks, an ammunition dump, an arms factory, or so on. The United States command goes to great trouble, and thereby endangers the lives of pilots, to notify through leaflets and/or loudspeakers of impeding air attacks. (The same thing was done well ahead of the drop on Hiroshima.)

Not to bomb the oil centers, the rail yards, the supply lines and any other concentrations of supply that give the enemy more ability to carry on the war and kill American, Vietnamese, Australian and New Zealand soldiers and allies from 15 other nations working as medical or teaching teams is to betray the men committed. It is a tiring bit of hypocrisy to have the protests, petitions, resolutions, and manifestos so worded as to give the impression that this country's bombing is directed at civilians and that only this country is so guilty. This is, in my opinion, a shabby piece of false piety.

There likely will never be another war "won" in the sense that General Lee took his sword to give it to General Grant or that the Japanese envoys came aboard the battleship Missouri in Tokyo Bay to sign articles of surrender.

We are in Vietnam because the power struggles of our time are in that area of the world. They are not struggles confined to Vietnam. They reach far into our future. We can't abandon the war, ugly and harsh though it is.

VA Endangered

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, elsewhere in this RECORD I have submitted an article from the VFW magazine, authored by the distinguished commander in chief, Leslie M. Fry. I thought it might be of interest to see the editorial comment concerning this article that appeared in the Stars and Stripes, January 5, 1966. I submit herewith that editorial:

VA ENDANGERED

Is there a plan on foot by the Johnson Administration to entirley dismember the Veterans Administration and relegate the veteran to welfare status?

Leslie M. Fry, commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, answers this question with a resounding "Yes." In an article published in the VFW magazine, Fry states without equivocation that the entire structure of veterans benefits chalked up over a period of nearly 200 years is now threatened by extinction.

To justify his claim, Fry points to the fact that National cemeteries are rapidly being closed and no provision is being made for burial of war veterans. He also cites the opposition of the present administration to the pension bill passed by the House of Representatives in the 89th Congress against the President's wishes but bypassed by the Senate in accord with his instructions, Fry says.

The National commander in chief of the VFW is also critical of the provisions of the so-called GI bill patterned to some degree after the legislation approved for veterans of World War II and Korea. Fry labeled it a cut-rate GI measure.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars leader further asserted that the Veterans' Administration itself is in danger of being taken over by some other Federal agency, thereby eliminating the sole Government agency whose purpose is to care for the veteran and his dependents.

There is much to justify the claims made by Fry. Certainly little has been accomplished in the past two and a half years for those veterans who have been adversely affected by the increased cost of living and the threat of inflation.

World War I veterans drawing pensions under old part III of the pension law have not received an increase in benefits since 1954 while living costs have spiraled increasingly higher.

Representative Olin E. Teague, of Texas, chairman of the House Veterans Affairs Committee has declared that it is the intention of his Committee to again bring before the House of Representatives a bill similar to that passed by that body in the 89th Congress. Whether it can be approved in the Senate is highly problematical. It failed there once before and if the Administration maintains its opposition to the bill, it could well fail again.

Veterans feel that Fry is on solid ground in pointing out the deficiencies of the Johnson Administration insofar as favorable legislation for veterans and their dependents are concerned.

We have only admiration for his forthright declarations. He is championing a just and righteous cause.

"Not the Last Tick" and "Friends and Enemies"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to bring to the attention of my colleagues in the House two thoughtful and penetrating editorials from South Carolina's most outspoken newspaper, the Charleston News and Courier. The editorials are "Not the Last Tick," which discusses the attempts to make educational progress in the South notwithstanding the present unrealistic attitude on the part of some Federal Government policymakers, and "Friends and Enemies," which discusses the curiously ambivalent attitude of the British Government toward Cuba and Rhodesia.

I would particularly point out one paragraph in the editorial on education:

Responsible Southerners are keenly aware of the need to upgrade the quality of education, especially for those of any race or color who need it most. The new factories need more intelligent workers than once were required on the farm. White or colored—and opportunities abound for both— the economy as well as the social structure must have literate and competent operatives.

We in the South realize that better education for all people at all levels is a must for economic progress and we can only hope that the policies of the Federal Government will be realistic enough to help rather than impede that effort.

The other editorial points out that while the United States is supporting a trade boycott against Rhodesia, the Queen of England is sending congratulatory telegrams to the President of Cuba and the British Government is working out new trade relations with Cuba. Maybe those who worry so much about world opinion can tell us why the world does not worry very much about our opinion and why what is sauce for the goose is not sauce for the gander.

The editorials follow:

[From the Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier, Jan. 3, 1967]

NOT THE LAST TICK

Though 1967 opens with echoes still ringing from year-end demands for total racial integration of classrooms, we predict it still will be a long time coming in any region of the country.

The time has passed, to be sure, when the South can say "Never!" Integrated classrooms are too commonplace for anyone to suggest either that they do not exist, or that they are a passing fashion. Acceptance of interracial education, especially at the upper levels, is an accomplished fact on a basis of realistic qualification. The likelihood is expansion rather than reduction.

Total integration is something else again. In our judgment, neither race would be happy with such an arrangement. If the mass of people reject a theory of government—as they did with National Prohibition—no amount of pressure can overcome them.

We say these things in full knowledge that the present government policy is determined to make an attempt to enforce its aims. In the last days of December, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals at New Orleans pronounced these judgments:

"The clock has ticked to the last 'tick' for tokenism and delay in the name of deliberate speed . . . We hold HEW's standards are substantially the same as this court's standards. They are required by the Constitution and as we construe them, are within the scope of the Civil Rights Act of 1964."

The standards which the court thus upheld are the guidelines of the Office of Education, a bureau of the U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare.

Last month a spokesman for that office, Assistant Commissioner of Education David Seeley, said this:

"I'm hard put to find any place outside the borders of the Soviet Union where a population is as terrorized as our Negro populations in some of these areas."

Apparently "these areas" refer to neighborhoods of the South, which is the region generally meant when federal officials begin to shout with rage. Actually, of course, great areas of Northern and Western cities are segregating along racial lines. As population shifts, this trend will continue.

As to "terror," Mr. Seeley is indulging in extravagant talk that we would take more seriously if we did not realize that he is making political noises for consumption elsewhere. While it is no secret that many Southerners—Negro as well as white—are not eager for total integration of public schools, we have neither seen nor heard of anything that could be called "terror" with any degree of accuracy. The fables about Darkest Dixie simply will not stand up under fair examination.

If we were looking for a comparison with the Soviet Union, we would find certain similarities in the brutal and bull-headed approach of some Washington bureaucrats to the highly complex and personal problems of the people.

Despite all the hostility, nonsense and in our opinion wickedly biased treatment of the South—a policy that is building up deep-seated anger against the guilty politicians—the Southern educational system is striving to provide suitable and effective schooling for all pupils.

Responsible Southerners are keenly aware of the need to upgrade the quality of education, especially for those of any race or color who need it most. The new factories need more intelligent workers than once were required on the farm. White or colored—and opportunities abound for both—the economy as well as the social structure must have literate and competent operatives.

Vocational training in our opinion is one of the pressing needs of South Carolina. We would like to see the federal government join in helping to promote genuine education, and stop shouting angry words about those who, in the long run, have the responsibility of supplying it.

[From the Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier, Jan. 4, 1967]

FRIENDS AND ENEMIES

On the eighth anniversary of Fidel Castro's seizure of Cuba—marking establishment of a communist outpost on the doorstep of the United States—Queen Elizabeth II of England sent this message to Castro's man, President Osvaldo Dorticos:

"With great pleasure I send to your excellency my cordial congratulations and my good wishes on account of the Cuban national festivity of Liberation Day."

"Liberation" has brought death to many hundreds of Cubans before firing squads, imprisonment to thousands, and misery to millions. Cubans are clamoring to escape from an island that once was a jewel of Latin America.

The irony of the Queen's message is intensified in contrast with her Prime Minister's belligerent attitude toward the peaceful regime of Premier Ian Smith in Rhodesia. On the same day that the Queen's message appeared, Mr. Smith broadcast a bitter message about the treatment of his country. Referring to terms of settlement discussed with Harold Wilson on a British warship off Gibraltar, Mr. Smith said the more he reflected "the more I am satisfied that our decision to reject them was correct." He said the British proposals to return constitutional government in Rhodesia had "all the beguiling symptoms of a well prepared and well laid trap."

The day after the Queen's message to Cuba and Ian Smith's comments on Rhodesia became public, Fidel Castro in Havana launched another tirade against the United States. Likewise came word of new British trade relations with Cuba, a country with which Americans are forbidden to deal commercially. Britain trades with a sworn enemy which at any time again may become a missile base for attack on our country.

At the same time, the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations has supported a trade boycott against Rhodesia, a country at the other end of the world with no belligerent intentions. To us, these foreign policies of the United States make no sense.

As to Harold Wilson's policies in Britain—including a message from the Queen congratulating the monstrous Castro dictatorship of Cuba—we have nothing good to say.

Ten-Point Program To Improve the Social Security System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, a most urgent domestic problem facing the 90th Congress is that of providing an adequate income for our retired citizens living on fixed incomes under our social security system in a time of rapidly rising prices. These people have worked long and have looked forward to comfortable and secure years of retirement. Instead of security, however, they have more and more been plagued by the specter of being unable to provide the minimum necessities of a decent life.

Social security today constitutes the principal or sole income for most retirees. Even after a decade and a half of far-reaching liberalization of the program, its benefits still fall dismally short of the needs of the elderly people. The present act, even considering the new creditable earnings, will not significantly ameliorate the lot of lower-paid workers, their dependents and their survivors. At no level will present social security benefits enable a retiree and his wife to avoid serious reduction in the standard of living they achieved while working.

Our society has the responsibility to provide for our older citizens, the widows, and all those unable to provide for themselves because of old age and disability, so that they may be able to face the future with security and dignity. The Nation owes the retired people a decent standard of living for their past efforts in helping to build the country and achieve its present economic development.

From an economic standpoint it is sound and desirable that this group of citizens receive additional income. Their funds are spent on services or consumer items, and thus the economy as a whole is continuously primed. Even more important is the social and human good that comes from providing a minimum standard of living through the social security program, rather than supplementing inadequate benefits with relief and welfare subsidies.

I am today introducing a bill to amend our present social security system to provide the following increases in benefits:

First. The minimum benefits payable are to be raised from the present $44 to $90 per month, effective January 1, 1968.

Second. There is to be an increase in overall retirement benefits by an average of approximately 50 percent, as of January 1, 1968. The increase will be slightly greater for those whose lifetime earnings were lowest. Thus, persons whose lifetime earnings averaged from $95 to $250 a month will receive a 50-percent increase in benefits, while one who has earned $500 a month during his lifetime will receive an increase of just under 40 percent. In the case of those whose lifetime wages have averaged under $95 a month, they will be entitled to receive the minimum of $90 or $135 a month if there is a wife who is 62 and therefore qualifies for marital benefits. For these low-income persons the benefits will be more than doubled.

Third. Widows' benefits are to be increased under this bill from the present level of 82½ percent of the amount received by her deceased husband to 100 percent. It will allow her to receive her widow's share, as well as any old-age or disability benefits to which she may be entitled.

Fourth. The limitation on the amount of outside income that a retired person may earn is to be raised to $2,400 instead of the present $1,500 while receiving benefits under the social security system.

Fifth. An alternative method is provided for computing benefits, based upon the individual's average monthly earnings during his 10 highest consecutive years of employment. Therefore, benefits will more directly reflect a man's productivity during his best working years, and thus will increase the monthly pension checks for millions of beneficiaries.

Sixth. The amount of time a divorced woman must have been married in order to be considered a wife or widow for social security purposes is to be reduced to 10 years from the present requirement of 20 years. This is intended to help women who were divorced too late in life to be able to work long enough to qualify for adequate old-age insurance benefits based on their own earnings.

Seventh. The payroll tax will be increased from its present level of 3.85 percent, not including medicare, to 5 percent each for the employer and the employee, in order to finanace the additional benefits enumerated above. This is to be done by a series of step increases over the coming years.

Eighth. The earning and benefit levels will be increased to $12,000 upon enactment and $15,000 in 1968, thus returning to the original concept of social security when first introduced; namely, that those contributing to the fund would be doing so on the basis of their full salary. At present, only about 65 percent of those who pay into the social security fund do so on their full salary. To prevent imbalance in the future, my bill provides for the automatic adjustment of contributions and earnings base to reflect changes in national earning levels.

Ninth. A provision for an automatic adjustment of benefits to meet changes in the cost of living is contained in the bill. The adequacy of the social security program in the past has been seriously weakened because the benefits have remained more or less stationary, while the cost of living has risen. Under the bill, benefits will rise 1 percent with each corresponding rise in the consumer price index. The benefits granted by Congress under this bill will therefore continue to keep abreast of inflationary trends, rather than merely make up for what has been lost. The bill does not consider all possibilities for automatic adjustments to keep pace with changing economic conditions. It does not, for instance, provide for additional benefits to reflect the increases in real income that others in the economy receive when productivity rises. This is one of several far-reaching questions which the Congess may want to explore in re-examining the social security program. However, by including automatic adjustment features, the bill will do far more than provide for current needs, and will be responsive to reasonably expected future requirements.

Tenth. Benefits are to be financed partly out of general tax revenues. The bill provides a formula whereby equal amounts will, for the first time, be contributed out of general revenues beginning in fiscal year 1969. By 1977, general revenues will finance 35 percent of the social security system. The partial financing of benefits from general revenue, while a significant new feature, is not a new approach. It was in fact anticipated by the first Presidentially appointed Council of Economic Security, whose deliberations preceded the enactment of the original legislation. Attempting to meet all of the social security costs by means of a payroll tax would be regressive taxation and put a disproportionate burden on those we are trying to help most, and those least able to meet such a burden. Financing cost in part from general revenues would represent progressive taxation, and would take advantage of the broadly based graduated individual and corporate tax structure and place more of the burden on those best able to pay.

These, then, are the 10 essential features and provisions of my bill to revise and improve the social security system. Passage of this bill as soon as possible is essential, in order to provide immediate increases in benefits to the large segment of the population living at or below the poverty level. The bill is also important for its proposed innovations in the use of automatic adjustments to meet changes in the economy, and for financing part of the cost from general revenues. Finally it provides the basis for an intensive and very necessary review of this all-important area of domestic legislation.

The Rewards for Persistence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, all too little is known about the nomadic tribes that roamed this country thousands of years before the birth of Christ. Even the most minute addition to our store of knowledge about North America's earliest inhabitants represents a bright shaft of light into a dark and distant past.

Mr. Jerome DeVisscher of Clinton Township, Mich., a close personal friend of mine and an amateur archeologist with the gift of persistence, located over a period of 5 years a total of four sites where Paleo-Indian artifacts were buried. The sites were all in Sterling Township in my district. These aboriginal tribes lived and hunted in the area in about 9000 B.C.

Mr. DeVisscher was instrumental in getting the University of Michigan to send research teams to comb the area for artifacts and a report on their findings was published recently. I am very proud of Mr. DeVisscher's efforts and I invite the attention of my colleagues to a recent newspaper account detailing his role in weaving together a fascinating addition to the unfortunately meager treasury of information we have on this segment of history and ask that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. The article from the Detroit News of December 25, 1966, follows:

SUBURBIA SPEARHEADED BY A TRIBE FROM B.C. ERA

(By James K. Anderson)

Suburbanites moving into new subdivisions around Dodge and 16 Mile roads in Sterling Township are following a pattern 11,000 years old.

It was about 9,000 B.C. that a group called Paleo-Indians, because of their great antiquity, first inhabited that area.

Then the area, five miles inland from Lake St. Clair, was part of a melting glacier later named by archeologists Lake Clinton. And it was along the shore—called Holcombe Beach—that they made spears which are still being uncovered.

The University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology recently published results of five years' research in that area.

HUNCH PAYS OFF

Had it not been for Jerome DeVisscher, a former Clinton Township supervisor and amateur archeologist, the entire site might have been lost.

DeVisscher discovered the site "on a hunch."

"I work at the Ford Motor Co. plant in Sterling and pass Dodge and 16 Mile twice a day," DeVisscher said, "and I often noticed a small ridge.

"Past experience has shown that wherever there are such ridges, you may find Indian relics."

U-M LENDS AID

"I found a spearhead there, and in a spot that had been partly plowed I found another fragment—of a spear."

Both turned out to be the type made by the Paleo-Indians, he said.

Then DeVisscher and another amateur archeologist, Edward J. Wahla, of Roseville, notified Wayne State University of their findings.

Because of its greater resources, the University of Michigan sent teams to comb the area.

More than 4,000 fragments and tips were found during the five-year study.

While the U. of M. studies were sporadic, DeVisscher continued on his own and located a total of four sites where Paleo-Indian artifacts were buried.

"Every time the wind blew or the rain fell, the ground surface would shift and there would be another concentration of stone flakes," he said.

DeVisscher deduced that the Paleo-Indians camped within a 30-foot circle of where the flakes would be found and that these had been chipped from their spear points.

FINDS NEW SITES

Last summer DeVisscher found three more areas in the vicinity where the Paleo-Indians lived and carried on their industry.

"They would return to this old hunting area, make their tools and repair others," he said.

"They may have come back every 25 to 40 years, staying a dozen days or two weeks, and then moving on as the herds of caribou moved."

"At the original site we found 200 bases of spears and it was significant that the majority were made of material from Ohio—black mercer flint.

"Studies of aboriginal peoples show that they went great distances to get the raw materials for tools and they needed flint for their spears.

LIVE AS NOMADS

"The Paleo-Indians may have followed the caribou for 200 miles. The pattern probably was that, one year they would move 50 or 100 miles, then the next year move further.

"In about 150 years, they probably would have moved 1,000 miles. But they did not wander much in a year because they adapted themselves to an area."

Range of the caribou was from 200 to 500 miles, "and the whole life of the Paleo-Indian depended on caribou."

DeVisscher, who has been collecting arrowheads nearly 40 years, believes the Holcombe Beach finds are worth "a million dollars."

DeVisscher said the type of weapons used by the Paleo-Indians indicates they hunted mammoth and mastodon, as well as caribou.

SPEAR HUNTERS

"They would creep up close on a large animal and jab it over and over again with the spear, he said.

"Later Indians would make spear heads with barbs, so the spear would stay in the animal until it finally died and they could retrieve it.

DeVisscher, Wahla and U. of M. researchers found a caribou bone fragment at one site thought to be where the animals were cooked and eaten.

In a university publication, "The Paleo-Indian Occupation of the Holcombe Beach," DeVisscher, Wahla and James E. Fitting, of the U. of M. Museum of Anthropology, theorize that 20 to 48 individuals traveled in family groups.

"The group which occupied the area of the Holcombe site over 11,000 years ago appears to have been typical of hunting and gathering bands," the authors assert.

OTHER U.S. SITES

The findings at Holcombe Beach here are similar to those in Clovis and Folsom, N.M., sites of some of the most ancient remains of man in North America.

DeVisscher theorizes that about 14,000 years ago, the Paleo-Indians first came to North America, one group going west and another east.

A similar discovery was made recently in Nova Scotia, he noted.

"One of the University of Michigan men worked on the Nova Scotia site and when he came out to Sterling Township, he though he was back in Canada because the finds were so much alike."

DeVisscher said it is now thought that animals such as the mammoth and mastodon became extinct because of the Paleo-Indian hunters, plus the animal's long gestation period.

"The Paleo-Indians killed them so fast that they could not reproduce," he said.

An Invitation To Ski in Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, this is Pennsylvania Ski Week, and I should like to advise that the Commonwealth invites everyone to come up and take advantage of the winter wonderland of the East.

The long trips to New England for winter sports thrills are no longer necessary or practical. Pennsylvania is fast becoming the year-around recreation headquarters for the Middle Atlantic States and their neighbors because our ideal topography and weather have been complemented with necessary facilities and equipment to offer the finest weekends and vacations that nature and man can provide.

Forty-five ski slopes, which include 37 with snowmaking equipment, were planned to satisfy beginners as well as veterans. There were only eight slopes in the State in 1962, and the increasing number has been accompanied by the growth of thoroughly modern lodges, motels, dining rooms, and services for total enjoyment. Most of our attractive skiing sites can be reached in 2 to 4 hours of safe driving from Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New York.

For up-to-the-minute news of weather conditions in Pennsylvania, you may call the Harrisburg Ski Desk of the State's travel department. The number is 717-238-5161, a number every winter sports enthusiast should have on file for use from the middle of December until the latter part of March.

Pennsylvania welcomes you.

Abuse Is a White House Occupational Hazard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson has been the target of attack by reactionary and irresponsible publishers and columnists and by rightwing extremists who seek to discredit him and raise doubts and suspicion about his character and integrity.

Their campaign of deception has influenced many people, despite the fact that few Presidents have contributed more to the national welfare, progress and prosperity of our country than Lyndon Johnson. Like many good Presidents before him, Lyndon Johnson will be remembered in history as one of our best Presidents.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I include an excellent article by Ralph McGill in the January 9 issue of the Washington Star.

ABUSE IS A WHITE HOUSE OCCUPATIONAL HAZARD

"Politics is such a torment that I would advise everyone I love not to mix with it"—Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to Martha Jefferson Randolph, 1800.

Happily for his times—and his country—Jefferson did not really mean it. He wrote it out of a feeling of bitterness that comes to every President who, on one degree or another, is subjected to the slings and arrows of criticisms, calumny, falsehoods and slanders, much of it incredibly petty and malicious.

President Johnson has his share of it. In his case the malice arises out of a success story.

Franklin Roosevelt was slandered and abused because he initiated a fair employment practices commission. It was called communistic, and worse. It would, said the critics, destroy the free enterprise system.

Harry Truman was excoriated and subjected to the most unreasonable abuse because he advanced the civil rights of some 19 million Americans. Southerners walked out of his convention and formed a shabby Dixiecrat party that nominated Democrat Strom Thurmond, now Republican Senator Thurmond.

Lydon Johnson, and the Congress of the United States, made civil rights, including voting rights a legislative and administrative reality. Resistance, ugly and vicious, retards complete realization of those rights, but it will come.

The President's successful culmination of this struggle has earned him most of the abuse from the more mean and petty critics. There are the liberal cultists who do not like his "style." They complain plaintively that he scratches himself when he itches and blows his nose when he has a head cold.

The cruel necessity of war in Southeast Asia has added to his burden and his critics. There now are those perhaps-too-eager prophets who say Johnson may decide not to run again, that the tides run too strongly against him and his party.

This is the season for speculation. It is likely that at the present only President Johnson knows what he will do. The further odds, based on the knowledge that Johnson is experienced in politics, are that he understands that political tides ebb and flow on no precise schedule governed by a distant moon.

One thing seems to be clear.

No break between him and Senator Robert Kennedy is likely to occur. The cultist critics have hoped for it and have sought to bring it off. They have been licking their chops over the prospect for years. There is no reason for such a break. There is every reason against it. Both men are Democrats, important to the present and future of that party. They fall or rise with it. Each needs the other. The party cannot succeed with them divided. Neither can attain goals unless the party is successful.

Both men are legitimately and properly ambitious. (God help a nation which lives by, and with, a representative system if able men, ambitious for public service, decline to enter politics and endure its cruelties and its rewards.) The off-year-election successes of the Republican party, the burden of the war, and the trauma of the Republican party at the national level weld both men to the Democratic party and its future.

It is good there is not complete agreement between them. Each is a product of widely different environments. Each has been schooled in practical politics—but they did not attend the same classroom.

The national conventions and the elections are months away. The political tides will ebb and flow many times in that period. But neither the President nor Senator Kennedy is lacking in common sense and active sagacity of political reality. They need each other. Both need a viable party. The party needs them.

Edward G. Robinson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to insert into the RECORD an editorial written by Abe E. Eisenstein for the East Side News, a weekly publication having wide circulation in my congressional district.

Mr. Eisenstein's article marks the occasion of the 73d birthday of Edward G. Robinson, born and bred on New York's lower East Side, which I have the honor of representing in this body.

Mr. Robinson's long and distinguished career, in a variety of entertainment media, provides outstanding proof of an individual's ability to rise from poor surroundings to achieve fame and fortune in this land of continuing opportunity.

EDWARD G. ROBINSON

(By Abe E. Eisenstein)

On the fifth day of Chanukan, Dec. 12, East Side-New York's Rivington Street alumnus, dynamic, talented, educated, former motion picture producer, art connoisseur, and beloved famed veteran stage and screen "The Whole Town's Talking" super-star actor Edward G. Robinson will be 73 years young.

He is the fifth of six sons born to Morris and Sarah (Guttman) Goldenberg. His family came to the United States from Bucharest, Roumania, when Emmanuel was nine years old. His father opened a candy store on the Lower East Side. This is where Robinson discovered the University Settlement House, there to do his first acting. His Bar Mitzvah speech, it is said, was the longest in the history of the Roumania Synagogue on Rivington Street. For a time, he gave some thought to becoming a rabbi.

Recipient of the American Humane Associations gold medal and the CCNY Alumni's Townsend Harris Medal, Robinson is an alumnus of the famed old P.S. 20 (now P.S. 20-Anna Silver School at Essex and Stanton Streets), Townsend Harris Hall High School, City College of N.Y., Columbia University, and the Academy of Dramatic Arts of N.Y.

Edward G. Robinson served in the U.S. Navy in World War One. During World War II, he entertained the armed forces on a U.S.O. tour and donated $100,000 to their campaign. He also contributed his services to the American Red Cross. He served as a narrator to "We Will Never Die," a mass memorial to the Jews who lost their lives during the Nazi regime.

Prior to his film career, Robinson has reached stardom on the Broadway stage. Some of the plays included: "Samson and Deliah," "Peer Gynt," "The Adding Machine," "The Racket." He appeared in more than forty Broadway plays. He is credited in real life with speaking seven languages. He also was one of the most effective personalities in radio.

In motion pictures since 1923, successful films, Edward G. Robinson achieved international fame having leading roles in numerous (1931) for his interpretation of the title role in "Little Caesar," for his portrayal in the "House of Strangers," and "Dr. Ehrlich's Magic Bullet." He has appeared in more than 100 films. He has just completed two new films: "Grand Slam" and "The Biggest Bundle of Them All."

Friends and admirers everywhere—Congratulate and Salute you—famed East Sider-New Yorker and distinguished character actor—Edward G. Robinson—on your 73rd birthday.

The River of Poison

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the problem of water pollution is recognized as one of the most serious which our Nation faces today. Some preliminary steps have been taken toward an ultimate solution, but the magitude of the problem is such that drastic and immediate measures are a necessity.

The tragedy of polluted water has been described in vivid detail by many writers, and portrayed graphically in photographs.

One of the most impressive descriptions I have ever read was printed December 29, 1966, by the Dearborn Heights edition of the Dearborn Press, which is circulated in my 15th Congressional District of Michigan. It is a firsthand account of a boat trip on the severely polluted Detroit River by members of the Dearborn Heights Provisional League of Women Voters.

The account is so shocking, and so effectively describes the polluted condition of the once beautiful waterway, that I am having it made a part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and brought to the attention of my colleagues in the 90th Congress:

LEAGUE LOOKOUT: THE RIVER OF POISON

(By the Dearborn Heights Provisional League of Women Voters)

We went for a boat ride on the River of poison. It was a lovely day for a boat ride, sunny and warm, with a slight breeze.

We boarded two trim fibre-glass boats at the foot of Southfield Rd. in Ecorse. There were 15 of us, members of the League of Women Voters of Allen Park and Dearborn Heights. The boats were property of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Our guides were officials in the Federal Water Pollution Prevention Program.

We went for a boat ride on the River of Poison . . . it used to be called the Detroit River.

ORANGE WAVES

The powerful motors of the boats raised waves of orange foam behind us as we headed downstream. The waves and foam were orange because the water was orange—with iron and acid flowing out from the E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. Industrial & Biochemicals Dept., just upstream from our boarding place.

We were relieved to reach the green water area. "Is this clear water?" we asked our guide, Phillip Taylor. "Not so", he explained, "green water is algae infested from detergents. Clean water is blue water."

We approached the Wyandotte Chemicals Corporation South Side Works, slowing to study a wide, gaping concrete mouth, called an outfall, pouring chlorine into the river. The edges of the concrete were worn and rough from the power of the 2 to 3 million gallons a day torrent of chlorine pouring forth.

We turned upstream, passing a man-made island. It was made of the sludge that is dredged out of the Rouge River. The water turned again to bright orange as we passed the duPont outfall, then turned to murky pale grey as we approached the Great Lakes Steel Ecorse Mill.

Grey water is from filings.

OIL CLARIFIERS

Three huge structures lined the river bank here, resembling huge erector sets, each with an oil tank on top. They are clarifiers, set up by Great Lakes Steel to pull oil out of the water before it empties into the river. Sometimes they work and sometimes they don't.

The boats pulled out farther into the river, slowing and then stopping in brown water. Forty feet below us, the brown water was surging from the City of Detroit Sewage outlet at the rate of 600 million gallons a day. Our boats rocked violently in the turbulence of the force of the rising brown water, and as the sea gulls swooped in, we were glad our sinuses weren't in good operating condition that day.

The City of Detroit does a good job in disinfecting, according to our guide, except during a heavy rainfall; then, the raw sewage overflows directly into the river.

We passed the Great Lakes Steel Strip Mill where gallons of solids are dumped daily, entering the mouth of the Rouge River, its water completely black with oil. The mountain of logs stacked at the Scott Paper Company was awesome; so was the solid stream of organic waste pouring from their outfall. The water was pale grey-white as we passed the Peerless Cement Company outfall. Allied Chemical's Solvay Process Division added a heavy oil scum.

Rounding Zug Island, then, passing another Great Lakes Steel Division, where 500 to 600 gallons of solids are dumped daily from nine industrial waste outfalls, heading back toward Ecorse through the black, gray, green, and orange water.

It was a nice day for a boat ride. We never saw any blue water, though.

[From information compiled by the Dearborn Heights Provisional League of Women Voters Water Resources Committee, using Federal pollution data.]

Ben Barkin: Milwaukee's Resident Humanitarian

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the people of Milwaukee long have recognized that we have a true humanitarian in residence in our town.

He is Ben Barkin, a man whose volunteer work has extended to practically every major community service project in Milwaukee in the past 20 years.

Now he has received national recognition for his work. In December Mr. Barkin received the national B'nai B'rith award for "distinguished and enduring contributions of a humanitarian nature." It was justly given to Mr. Barkin, the first Wisconsin man ever to win the distinction.

The award was presented at a banquet attended by 800 persons. They included Government officials, business and religious leaders, educators and professional men of all walks of life—testimony to his wide interests and acquaintanceships.

"A special kind of hero in the age of antihero" was the way sculptor-economist, Leo Cherne, characterized Mr. Barkin during the evening. Believing that the life and works of such a humanitarian deserve wide recognition, I am including at this point the citation for Mr. Barkin, given by former Ambassador Philip M. Klutznick, a news story from the Milwaukee Journal on the award banquet, and an editorial of commendation from the Milwaukee Sentinel.

I earnestly commend these items to the attention of my colleagues:

A SPECIAL KIND OF MAN

Ben Barkin is a special kind of man. He possesses not only a pervading love for people, but he practices his philosophy fully in his daily life. The customary Humanitarian Award recognizes broad good deeds in pursuit of the better life. Ordinarily it reflects the dedication of a person to causes and ideas calculated to advance the interests of mankind. This definitely can be applied with utter and unreserved candor to Ben Barkin.

It does not always follow that those who consecrate themselves to the broad principles or ideas addressed to the uplifting of humanity, have the time or inclination to devote to individual people. It is the tragedy of our society that the reality of the predicament of the individual tends to get lost amidst the oratory, resolutions, and programs that advocate the cause of humanity generally. Not all who live in the rarified atmosphere of inspirational idealism equally cope with the ofttime painful experience in the solution of the problems of a single suffering man. Ben possesses that unique capacity of being able to reach for a better world while still remembering that the goal can only be attained through the treatment of the problems of the individual.

This unusual gift is best visible to those who know him as I do and to those countless others who are fortunate to share his friendship. While his heart and mind encompass humanity as a whole, it is to his especial credit that he responds with equal fervor to each of its parts. He is the walking and living truth that to save one man is to save the world—a concept derived from his Judaic heritage, and one which he follows in the American idiom which seeks the universal dignity of man be he an individual or a part of the society as a whole.

Ambassador PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK,
Honorary President, B'nai B'rith.

[From the Milwaukee Journal, Dec. 2, 1966]

BARKIN PRAISED AS HUMANITARIAN

A man who has made a career of polishing the image of others was recognized in his own right Thursday night.

Ben Barkin, Milwaukee public relations man, was praised and applauded by more than 800 friends as he received the national B'nai B'rith humanitarian award at a dinner at the Pfister hotel. Previous recipients were the late Bernard Baruch, Gen. David Sarnoff and Philip M. Klutzneck, a former member of the United States delegation to the United Nations.

"I think you'll have to admit tonight that I'm the richest guy in the country," said Barkin, the first Wisconsin resident to receive the gold medal from the 123 year old international Jewish service organization.

An impressive representation of government, civic, business and religious leaders cited the 51 year Milwaukeean for sparking community projects and for his work with youth. Barkin is national chairman of the B'nai B'rith youth commission.

Said Gov. Knowles: "Whether . . . in art, music or culture—or that wonderful circus day parade—Ben always has contributed a great deal of himself."

Mayor Maier, in a prepared message read by an aid: "No community can hope to achieve greatness unless first of all it can count on great people . . . and on those counts, Milwaukee can have no fear of mediocrity."

County Executive Doyne said that because Barkin had had a hand in so many civic accomplishments, he considered himself one of Barkin's helpers "in ground breaking, ribbon cutting and cornerstone laying. . . . You'd be surprised how many Irish trees are growing in Israel."

Those praising Barkin also included Rabbi Louis J. Swichkow, president of the Wisconsin Council of Rabbis; Father John P. Raynor, president of Marquette university; Bishop Donald H. V. Hallock of the Milwaukee Episcopal diocese and the honorary co-chairman of the dinner, Edmund Fitzgerald, retired board chairman of the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Co., and Robert A. Uihlein, jr., president of the Jos. Schlitz Brewing Co.

Rabbi Swichkow said Barkin had the traits "of the ideal American Jew, as I would want to visualize him."

"All of us have been enriched because of his great love and concern for fellow human beings, regardless of race and creed," the rabbi said.

The principal speaker, Leo Cherne, business adviser, sculptor and authority on aiding displaced persons, described Barkin as a hero in an age of the antihero.

Criticizing particularly young persons who have turned to marijuana or LSD in place of worth while humanitarian pursuits—"the thousands of rebels without the slightest cause"—Cherne said:

"Here's how we use Ben Barkin . . . by really looking at what a man can be.

"By recognizing a hero, we realize what we might have been and what we still can be."

Cherne, executive director of the Research Institute of America in New York city, has been a friend of Barkin since their teen years when they were members of Aleph Zadik Aleph, B'nai B'rith boys' organization.

Two other friends, Sam Beber, Park Forest, Ill., founder of Aleph Zadik Aleph, and Frank Glazer, Milwaukee born concert pianist, also took part in the program. Beber presented the award to Barkin.

Dinner chairman Joe E. Smith, Milwaukee insurance executive, said the event raised more than $50,000 for B'nai B'rith youth work.

In accepting the award Barkin praised young persons and the community. He said, however, that humanitarian undertakings have not kept pace with other advances.

"I'm no longer concerned with bricks and stones and steel," he added. "It is the minds and the hearts of the people that make a community great."

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel, Dec. 3, 1966]

UNCOMMON MAN

By definition, a humanitarian is one who works for the welfare of mankind.

We have a humanitarian in our town, Ben Barkin. And Thursday night, before an audience of 800 persons, he was warmly honored. Barkin was given B'nai B'rith humanitarian award for "distinguished and enduring contributions."

We note with regret that there are not many humanitarians and few awards for such endeavors. So we recognize with eagerness the achievements of this man who has taken the Ten Commandments and has made them his guidelines in a career of public service, especially for young people.

Through the years, Barkin has kept the starry eyed enthusiasm and eagerness of youth. He has brought hope, courage and love into many lives and endeavors. Ben Barkin has burned with a bright, soaring flame. He has warmed us all. And his heart has its reasons.

Adam Clayton Powell

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to comment on the position I have taken on the vote on the previous question on the motion of the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. UDALL], as well as upon the substitute amendment of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORD].

I have opposed the previous question and voted for the substitute amendment because this is the only way by which Mr. POWELL can properly be allowed to present his case and the House can properly examine his qualifications. To have permitted Mr. POWELL to have taken his seat would, under the precedents of this House, have limited the examination of his qualifications to his conduct during this particular term of office, or at best, to events occurring after his most recent election on November 8, 1966. Under the procedures provided by the substitute amendment, Mr. POWELL will have a full hearing and opportunity to present his case. He will also be entitled to all pay, allowances, and emoluments authorized for Members of this House. Moreover, the bipartisan committee appointed is required to report within 5 weeks upon this recommendation, and the House should then act promptly. To have ordered the previous question would have prevented forever a full consideration by the House of Mr. POWELL's qualifications and the charges made against him. It would also have prevented Mr. POWELL from having an appropriate opportunity to present his defense to the charges.

The action taken by this House is the responsible and proper action. It stands in strong contrast to the action of the majority caucus which acted only upon a report of the House Administration Subcommittee and stripped Mr. POWELL of his chairmanship.

President's State of the Union Address

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, the President's state of the Union message last evening gave the Nation and the world renewed hope and inspiration for dealing with the challenges that lie ahead. It was a brave report which in no way sidestepped the dangers and problems facing this country, and at the same time it proposed solutions free from any partisan flavor.

The course charted by the President is a brilliant corollary to the very impressive accomplishments of the 89th Congress. It provides the means of implementing and extending the vital areas of domestic programs, especially those dealing with the budget, Government organization and efficiency, civil rights, social security, health, and crime. None of us enjoys paying taxes, but all of us understand the need for taxation in order to finance the programs we want at home, and our commitments abroad. The President has proposed a tax measure to meet our increasingly expensive obligations in Vietnam, and at the same time maintain the high level of domestic prosperity.

The President's address focused particular attention on this Nation's involvement in southeast Asia, a problem which overshadows all others at the present time. I believe that the ultimate hope in Vietnam lies in proving conclusively to our adversary that force cannot be tolerated as a means of achieving their goals. At the same time we shall pursue every avenue for an honorable and negotiated settlement.

President Johnson treated with extreme candor the problems that always accompany progress. There may be some squeaks and rattles in the new machinery for social progress and the President calls on Congress to help in correcting them. The best of man's ideas are wasted unless experiments are tried. Fortunately, most of our experiments have been extremely successful and a great benefit to the American people. This President is not going to yield to the harsh criticism of chronic complainers and neither is this Congress.

In particular, we all must remember that to fight poverty is not a simple or easy undertaking. More than any other nation in the history of mankind, the United States is committed to the struggle to eliminate poverty and this may well be the greatest and most elevating experiment ever undertaken.

I call on all our people and their elected representatives in this Congress to put aside factional differences and unite behind our President in securing an honorable peace in Vietnam, and a prosperous, orderly society at home free of the scourge of prejudice and crime.

The U.S. Dairyman and the Need for Adequate Import Controls

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the urgent need for import controls to protect the U.S. dairyman can readily be appreciated when certain factors concerning foreign competition are considered.

Surplus European butter is rolling from churns at an ever-increasing rate. In mid-1965, the Department of Agriculture estimated Western Europe had 200 million pounds in surplus, equivalent to 4.23 billion pounds of milk. The butterfat is seeking a market, preferably in the United States.

The swiss cheese maker was favored years ago when our import controls were established. As a concession to Switzerland, swiss cheese was exempt from quotas. Now seven other countries are producing swiss cheese and sending it into the United States.

The New Zealand dairy industry agreed to a voluntary limit of Colby cheese shipments. But eight other countries quickly moved into making cheddarlike Colby cheese for the U.S. market, so the voluntary limitation has been scrapped. Colby imports are now 10 times greater than the current cheddar import limit.

These, and other factors, illustrate the need for adequate legislation which will protect our dairy farmer from excessive competition from abroad. I will certainly support corrective legislation which will insure an equitable income for those engaged in our all-important dairy industry.

The Hoard's Dairyman, the National Dairy Farm magazine carried in its December 25, 1966, issue an informative article on the present plight of our dairymen. I request that the article, "You Have a High Stake in Effective Dairy Import Controls" be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

The article follows:

YOU HAVE A HIGH STAKE IN EFFECTIVE DAIRY IMPORT CONTROLS!

(By E. M. Norton, secretary of the National Milk Producers Federation, Washington, D.C.)

If we have learned anything in this dairy business during the past 15 years, it is that a small surplus has a drastic effect on the price of milk. And, within the past year, we have seen how milk prices can improve if we bring supply and demand into balance.

What every dairy farmer must realize now is that a pound of surplus butterfat imported from abroad has the same depressing effect on farm milk prices as an extra pound produced here. It does not matter whether the butterfat is imported in the form of butter, butter oil, Exylone, Grapex, frozen cream, Colby cheese or some other product.

To quickly illustrate your stake in dairy imports, let me cite just two figures. This year milk production in the U.S. is down about 3.5 billion pounds. Milk prices are up where they should have been for the past decade. But in western Europe there are 200 million pounds of surplus butter looking for a market. This is equal to 4.23 billion pounds of milk! Imagine the impact on our farm milk price should we import dairy products made from this volume of milk.

It is unjust that our dairymen should be flooded with dairy products from other countries just after having reduced domestic milk production to match consumer requirements.

In a year's time, reduced U.S. milk production has resulted in an increase of about $1 per hundredweight in the farm price. The higher prices, however, have increased the pressure of foreign nations to sell in the U.S. market, and American importers are moving to obtain lower cost butterfat from abroad.

The higher prices also have affected the cost of living in the United States and, thus, many persons within the government are encouraging imports as a means of controlling (reducing) consumer prices.

It is ironic that the dairy industry is plagued with imports in view of the law which supposedly controls such imports as a means of supporting prices to farmers.

Dairy imports have been limited since 1953 by authority of section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1935. Under this legislation, import quotas are established for specific dairy products such as butter, cheddar cheese, Edam and Gouda, blue mold cheese, Italian type cheese, and certain other products. The total allowable imports of these prescribed products presently amount to 11 million pounds of butterfat or the equivalent of 292 million pounds of milk.

The problem lies in the fact that imports are controlled on specifically defined dairy products, such as cheddar cheese or butter. But there is no limitation on other dairy products brought into this country.

Although federal hearings have been requested time and again to further restrict imports under present law, the sad fact is that the amount of dairy products imported has been allowed to grow, and foreign exporters are gaining a stronger foothold in the American market.

FAVOR TO SWISS BACKFIRES

When the import quotas were first established, Swiss cheese was exempted. The amount of such imports from Switzerland was small. It was not long, however, before other nations began producing Swiss cheese for export to the United States. During the past year, Swiss cheese was shipped to the United States, from Finland, Austria, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Netherlands, West Germany and, of course, Switzerland.

It just isn't logical to import Swiss cheese from all over the world, particularly when we make the best right here at home. The reason for the imports has nothing to do with need or the art of making a specialty cheese. Foreign Swiss cheese simply enters the market at a lower price [because of lower labor costs] than that produced in the United States.

Another case in point, the 1965–66 fiscal year quota on imported cheddar cheese amounts to 3.7 million pounds. Ironically, however, Colby cheese is not subject to limitation. Colby cheese is very similar to cheddar and displaces cheddar in the market. Total imports of Colby cheese during the first nine months of 1966 were 28.5 million pounds—an annual rate of 38 million pounds. This is more than 10 times the quota for cheddar cheese. If there is no restriction on the importation of Colby cheese, what is gained by placing a limit on cheddar?

Importation of butterfat for the ice cream market perhaps has been the most flagrant violation of the intent of the United States import control law. Butterfat, in constantly increasing volumes, has been imported as frozen cream, butter oil, and mixtures of butterfat and sugar.

Frozen cream imports pose a double threat. They displace sales for the domestic cream, thus serving to break the cream market. At the same time, these imports force our own cream into butter, adding to the supply and adversely affecting the market price for butter. Frozen cream is not restricted by present controls.

The butter quota, as established by the Tariff Commission, is 707,000 pounds per year. The butter quota was first circumvented through the importation of butter oil. When this fact was brought to a hearing, the Tariff Commission responded by placing an import quota on butter oil. This butter oil quota was 1.2 million pounds per year, more than doubling the established quota for butter.

Thus, a quota was established on butter oil on the basis of a history of imports, even though those imports were made in circumvention of the butter quota! Once a product has been imported, it is difficult to have it totally excluded thereafter.

After the flow of butter oil was restricted through quota, mixtures of butterfat and sugar appeared in the market for the first time. The product, called Exylone, was used by the ice cream trade, displacing our own butterfat, which then had to be made into butter.

The importation of Exylone as a circumvention of the quota on butter oil was so obvious that, after a further hearing, the Tariff Commission established a zero quota for Exylone. The quota, however, was made applicable only on products containing 45 percent or more of butterfat.

The dairy industry argued that this limitation would merely serve to invite mixtures containing less than 45 percent of butterfat, and this is exactly what happened. Junex—a product containing 44 percent butterfat and 55 percent sugar—promptly made its appearance.

In the first 10 months of 1966, 83 million pounds of Junex entered the United States market. The Secretary of Agriculture, in a recent order under the Sugar Act, limited imports of mixtures of butterfat and sugar containing more than 25 percent sugar. Both the dairy and sugar industries pointed out that this limitation would be ineffective because products containing less than 25 percent sugar would be imported on a profitable basis.

As predicted, the new regulation merely changed the combination of the product again, as mixtures with 44 percent butterfat and 24 percent sugar are now being imported at a lower butterfat cost than represented by the American market.

CHEESE AGREEMENT FAILS

The first imports of Colby cheese were from New Zealand. When the imports reached a volume which made it obvious that something had to be done, a voluntary limit was negotiated with the New Zealand government, and later was extended to Australia and Ireland.

Now expired, this agreement has not been extended. The reason is that, while exports to the United States were limited by some countries, other countries entered the market.

During the past year, Colby cheese has been shipped to the United States from France, Denmark, Belgium, Ireland, Austria, Australia, Bulgaria, and West Germany.

Thus, voluntary agreements are no answer. They merely serve to penalize those countries which are willing to cooperate with us by limiting their exports to the United States.

These are but a few examples of the dilemma which confronts the dairy industry under present law.

The National Milk Producers Federation, after careful study, developed a new import control program which was incorporated into a bill by Sen. William Proxmire of Wisconsin and co-sponsored by 21 other senators. It was introduced in the United States Senate on April 25, 1966, as S. 3273.

Under this bill, all imports would be subject to limitation. The Secretary of Agriculture would be authorized to permit entry of dairy products for any year in amounts totaling not more than the annual quantity imported during the five calendar years of 1961 through 1965. The total quantity would be adjusted, upward or downward percentagewise, with changes in the total size of the market.

In other words, foreign countries would share in the growth of the United States market in the same proportion as United States producers, but their exports could not grow by displacing United States production.

Under the new proposal, the President may authorize the importation of additional quantities of dairy products in the public interest. No such imports, however, would be permitted if the farm price for milk were less than parity, unless the Secretary removed a corresponding amount from the domestic market. This removal would be in addition to purchases for price support and other commitments of the government.

Under the proposed bill, there would be no circumvention of import quotas. The door would be closed to any article of commerce containing any significant amount of butterfat, solids-not-fat, or any combination of the two. It would be necessary for importers to secure permits, and the amounts would be held in check by the total average annual imports during the 1961–65 base period.

Similar bills were introduced in the House of Representatives. Activities in support of the new program in 1966 were preliminary. The big push should come in 1967. Such legislation can be successful only if fully supported by all dairymen throughout the United States. It could be the most important agricultural legislation to be considered by the Congress since passage of the Agricultural Act of 1949.

Representative Cramer of Florida Calls for Accelerated Air and Water Pollution Control Programs by the States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. HARSHA

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, on October 31 of last year, Congressman WILLIAM C. CRAMER, of Florida, addressed the 17th annual joint conference of the Florida Pollution Control Association and the Florida section of the American Water Works Association in Hollywood, Fla., on the national problems of maintaining adequate water quality and water supplies to meet the needs of the Nation.

As the top ranking Republican member of the House Committee on Public Works which has jurisdiction over legislation pertaining to the major Federal water pollution control programs, and as the author of several key provisions of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended, Congressman CRAMER has distinguished himself as one of the most informed Members of Congress on the intricate problems of maintaining adequate supplies of good water.

Through the efforts of Congressman CRAMER and the other Republican members of the Committee on Public Works, many significant amendments to the Federal Water Pollution Control Act were enacted during the last Congress, including amendments providing additional inducements to the States to more fully participate in the program of constructing sewage treatment works, providing additional bonuses for adopting certain basinwide plans and for enforcing certain water quality standards, and providing reimbursement procedures of State and local funds for construction of sewage treatment works in advance of the availability of Federal participating funds.

Congressman CRAMER's analysis of the nature of the water quality and water supply problems, the extent of the Federal effort, the character of Federal legislation and programs, and the need for the States to assume their rightful responsibilities in the area of air and water pollution control is highly perceptive of the genuine needs in this area of water resources development.

The concepts underlying Congressman CRAMER's proposals on what the role of the State of Florida should be in maintaining adequate supplies of good water and in controlling air and water pollution are ones which should be closely examined by all the States for possible application by their respective governmental machinery.

Mr. Speaker, I have unanimous consent that the address to which I have made reference be printed at this point in my remarks, and I commend it to all Federal, State, and local officials involved in water resources development and to all Americans concerned over the pollution of our air and water.

The address follows:

PHILOSOPHIES OF THE NATIONAL WATER RESOURCES PROGRAMS: WATER QUALITY AND WATER SUPPLY

(Remarks of the Honorable William C. Cramer, before the 17th Annual Joint Conference of the Florida Pollution Control Association and the Florida section of the American Water Works Association, Diplomat Hotel, Hollywood, Fla., October 31, 1966)

Ladies and Gentlemen. Since enactment of the historic Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1956, our Nation's increasing awareness of its water quality and water supply problems has been reflected in the activities of all levels of government to control and abate water pollution and to provide our citizens with a sufficient supply of good water.

Federal, State, interstate, municipal, and intermunicipal agencies have devoted millions of man-hours attempting to solve water quality and water supply problems. Legislative bodies have expanded the authorities of agencies and have broadened the provisions of statutes and ordinances. Hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent on research and development and demonstration projects, water quality control, and the construction of sewage treatment plants, water purification works, and collector and distributor systems. Greater strides have been made to strengthen Federal water pollution control programs during the past few years than ever before, and the government in Washington has similarly addressed itself to the needs for more adequate water supply systems, but the manifold problems of water pollution and inadequate water supply are still very much with us.

THE NATURE OF WATER QUALITY AND WATER SUPPLY PROBLEMS

You are authorities on water pollution control and water supply management. I do not need to discuss with you the startling statistics which reflect the magnitude of our water resoruces problems and which alert us to the great tasks which lie ahead.

You are well aware that our Nation has a critical water resources problem, for there just is not enough water of adequate quality at all the places where it is needed. Our water has been so polluted, in many instances, that taxpayers must pay ever-increasing taxes and user charges to meet the demands for sewage treatment and water purification. As you well know, poor quality water and insufficient water supplies menace public health, reduce property values, raise taxes and water consumer charges, destroy natural beauty and fish and wildlife, drive away existing industry, and discourage the location of prospective industries and residents.

Congress has proclaimed that our water resources problems cannot be ignored; but just because they are national problems, we cannot and should not reply upon the Federal Government alone to correct them. Only by concerted actions on all levels of government can we insure that there will be an adequate supply of clean water. The answer lies in the effective use and reuse of water which cannot be fully achieved without sincere cooperation between all levels of government, without earnest anti-pollution efforts by all present and future pollutors, and without support from all concerned public, semi-public, and private organizations, private enterprise, and aroused citizens.

I will address myself this morning to the present status of the major Federal water resources programs and to what State and local agencies have done and should do to enhance efforts to solve these problems.

FEDERAL LEGISLATION AND PROGRAMS

The Congress has been responsive to the need for controlling and abating water pollution and for enhancing our water supplies. Enactment of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1956, which I cosponsored, better known as Public Law 660, was the first really significant step taken by Congress towards eliminating water pollution. As you know, this Act established a Federal grant program for the construction of waste treatment works and provided for some enforcement procedures for abatement of pollution.

THE WATER QUALITY ACT OF 1965

Additional legislation was enacted in 1961, but the second most significant action taken by Congress was the enactment of the Water Quality Act of 1965.

As you know, last year's Act provided for creation of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, through which the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare was to administer the Federal Water Pollution Control Act. The transfer of this new Administration in May of 1966 from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to the Department of the Interior, as a result of a reorganization act, necessitates my references hereafter to the Secretary and the Department of the Interior.

Under the Water Quality Act, authorizations for appropriations for each of the fiscal years 1966 and 1967 were increased from $100 to $150 million, of which the first $100 million to be appropriated was to be allocated to the States under the formula based on population and income, with all amounts appropriated in excess of $100 million to be allocated on the basis of population alone. The Act provided that 30% project grants could be made from the latter allotment without regard to the dollar ceiling limitations, if the State matched the full Federal contribution made to all projects from such annual allotment.

This provision to encourage State financial participation in the construction of sewage treatment works constructed with P.L. 660 funds is of great importance. Since 1959, I have been in the lead on the House Committee on Public Works urging that increased annual authorizations for the construction grant program be coupled with inducements to bring the States into the P.L. 660 construction program. I offered motions to accomplish this on the House Floor on two separate occasions. Twice my measures were defeated, but at last the States were brought into the P.L. 660 construction grant program in 1965, as far as the additional $50 million annual authorizations were concerned.

Last year's Act doubled the dollar ceiling limitation on grants for construction of waste treatment works for an individual project from $600,000 to $1.2 million and for a joint project from $2.4 million to $4.8 million. As I have indicated, project grants could be made for a full 30 percent of the cost of projects, without regard to the dollar ceiling limitations, if the State matched the full Federal contribution made to all projects in the State from the annual appropriations over $100 million. This was the forerunner of the proposals embodied in the Clean Waters Restoration Act of 1966. The 1965 Act further permitted the Secretary to increase the basic grant by an additional ten percent of the amount of the grant, if the project conformed to the comprehensive plan for a metropolitan area.

The most controversial aspect of last year's Act pertained to enforcement provisions. After extended debate, a change in enforcement provisions was finally arrived at which was acceptable to most and which was the best compromise obtainable. Thankfully, the House position on enforcement provisions was generally upheld in conference committee.

As you know, the 1965 Act provided that if the Governor of a State or a State water pollution control agency filed by October 2, 1966, a letter of intent that such State, after public hearings, would before June 30, 1967, adopt water quality criteria applicable to interstate waters or portions thereof within such State, together with a plan to implement and enforce such criteria, and if the Secretary determined that such criteria and plan were consistent with the provisions of the Act, then such criteria and plan would thereafter be the water quality standards applicable to those interstate waters and portions thereof in that State. All States filed such letters of intent, and Florida was among the first to do so. To me this is an indication that the States will effectively meet their water pollution control problems.

CLEAN WATERS RESTORATION ACT OF 1966

The latest action taken by Congress to improve and make more effective the Federal program was the enactment this month of the Clean Waters Restoration Act of 1966, which now awaits the President's signature.

Inasmuch as you might not yet be fully aware of the many provisions of this year's Act, I would like to briefly discuss its most important provisions with you.

This year's Act authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to make grants to pay up to 50 percent of the administrative expenses of a basin planning agency for a period of not to exceed three years, if such agency provides for adequate representation of appropriate State, interstate, state, local, or, when appropriate, international interests in the basin or portion thereof involved, and if it is capable of developing an effective, comprehensive water quality control and abatement plan for the basin. The grant is to be made only upon the request of the Governor of a State or a majority of Governors when more than one State is involved. The term "basin" is defined with sufficient latitude to encompass most, if not all, areas with clean watersp roblems in Florida.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT BROADENED

The 1966 Act authorizes the Secretary to make grants to States, municipalities, intermunicipal or interstate agencies, private institutions, and individuals for the purpose of assisting in developing projects to demonstrate new or improved methods of controlling the discharge of untreated or inadequately treated sewage or other wastes from sewers carrying storm water or both storm water and sewage or other wastes; to make grants to those entities to assist in developing projects to demonstrate advanced waste treatment and water purification methods or new or improved methods of joint treatment systems for municipal and industrial wastes; and to make grants for the purpose of reports, plans, and specifications in connection therewith.

The Act further authorizes the Secretary to make grants for research and development projects for prevention of pollution of water by industry, including the treating of industrial wastes. The Act authorizes a total of $60 million annually for these three types of research and development projects for each fiscal year 1967 through 1969.

Of importance to the Sunshine State, the Act authorizes the Secretary, in cooperation with appropriate government, public, and private entities, to make a comprehensive study of the effects of pollution, including sedimentation, in the estuaries and estuarine zones of the United States. The study should result in recommendations to Congress for effective means to control and abate water pollution in our estuaries and estuarine zones.

SEWAGE TREATMENT WORKS CONSTRUCTION MONEY INCREASED

Authorizations for appropriations for the construction of sewage treatment works have been substantially increased. The Secretary is required to submit a report to Congress by January 10, 1968, on the reasonable estimated cost of needed waste treatment facilities, which will reveal to what extent these new monetary authorizations may need to be adjusted. In addition to the $150 million previously authorized for fiscal year 1967, the Act authorizes appropriation of the additional sums of $450 million for fiscal year 1968, $700 million for fiscal year 1969, $1.0 billion for fiscal year 1960, and $1.25 billion for fiscal year 1971. This constitutes additional authorizations of $3.4 billion over the next four fiscal years. Dollar ceiling limitations on project grants have been stricken from the existing law; however, the Federal share of the total cost of projects is still not to exceed 30 percent, unless the State agrees to pay not less than 30 percent of the costs of all projects for which Federal grants are to be made from an annual allocation for the construction of projects in that State, in which event the Federal share can be increased to a maximum of 40 percent of the total cost. Furthermore, if a State agrees to pay not less than 25 percent of the total cost of all projects for which Federal grants are made in the State from an annual allocation for project construction therein and if enforceable water quality standards have been established for the waters into which the project discharges in accordance with the water quality enforcement provisions of P.L. 660, as amended, in the case of interstate waters, and under State law in the case of intrastate waters, the Federal maximum share can be increased to 50 percent of the total project cost. The adequacy of enforceable water quality standards established by the State for intrastate waters shall not be subject to review by the Secretary.

The Act makes provision for reimbursements in varying degrees to State and local entities, under conditions set forth in the Act, for the Federal share of the costs of construction of sewage treatment works undertaken in advance of the availability of Federal funds. This section, however, for obvious reasons, is not to be construed to constitute a commitment or obligation of the United States to provide funds or to make or to pay any grant for such project; and by the enactment of this new provision, the Congress has no intent to create a preferred class of projects that would be entitled to reimbursement at the higher percentages provided for in this year's Act. The section was written into the Act on my motion and is consistent with the separate bill on reimbursement which I had introduced.

ENFORCEMENT OF WATER QUALITY STANDARDS FURTHER STRENGTHENED

Enforcement provisions have been slightly changed also. It shall now be the responsibility of the chairman of a conference to give every person contributing to the alleged pollution or affected by it an opportunity to make a full statement of his views to the conference which may be required to be filed in writing rather than given orally in every instance.

The amended enforcement provisions further provide that at the request of a majority of the conferees in any conference, the Secretary is authorized to request any person whose alleged activities result in discharges causing or contributing to water pollution to file with him a report based on existing data, furnishing such information as may reasonably be requested as to the character, kind, and quantity of such discharges by the person filing this report; however, no one is to be required in such report to divulge trade secrets or secret processes, and all information reported is to be considered confidential for most purposes. If a person required to file a report fails to do so within the time fixed by regulation, he may be subject to forfeiture of up to $100 per day. The House conferees clearly spelled out in their statement on the conference substitute bill that it is their intention that nothing in this new additional enforcement provision shall be construed to require any person to submit a report to the conference if he does not wish to do so; if, however, he agrees to file such a report and thereafter fails to do so, he shall be subject to the penalties provided for in the new provision.

This year's Act amendments on enforcement procedures also declare that it shall be the responsibility of the hearing board to give each person contributing to the alleged pollution or affected by it an opportunity to make a full statement of his views to the hearing board and that in connection with any hearing the Secretary is authorized to require any person alleged to be contributing to water pollution to file a report concerning the character, kind, and quantity of such discharges and the measures taken by the pollutor to abate the pollution. Penalty for failing to comply is $100 per day.

OIL POLLUTION CONTROL

Of interest to our coastal State, this year's Act amends the Oil Pollution Control Act of 1924 by transferring the administration of that Act from the Secretary of the Army to the Secretary of the Interior, by making it unlawful for any person to cause or permit the willful or grossly negligent discharge from any boat or vessel of oil by any method, means, or manner into or upon the navigable waters of the United States and adjoining shorelines of the United States, by increasing fines and penalties, and by establishing certain arrest procedures for oil pollutors.

INDUSTRIAL INCENTIVES STUDY

This year's Act also authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to make a full and complete investigation and study of methods to provide incentives for the construction of facilities and works by industry to reduce or abate water pollution, including possible use of tax incentives. This will be a very important study.

I think from my brief discussion of this year's Act that everyone can see the magnitude of it.

OTHER FEDERAL ACTS PROVIDING WATER POLLUTION CONTROL ASSISTANCE

In addition to P.L. 660, as amended, there are also other Federal financial assistance programs in this area. Federal grants for the construction of water pollution control, water supply, and related facilities can be obtained under the Housing and Urban Development Act, the Public Works and Economic Development Act, the Demonstration Cities Act, the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act, and, although not applicable to Florida, the Appalachian Regional Development Act. Loans are also available under the public facilities loan program.

EXEMPTION FROM INVESTMENT TAX CREDIT SUSPENSION

The recognition by Congress of the need for industry to control its pollution was reflected this year in the suspension of the 7 percent investment credit under the Federal tax code. The legislation, as enacted, specifically exempts from this suspension those capital expenditures for facilities, installations, machinery, and equipment which contribute to the elimination, control, or prevention of air and water pollution.

RECENT FEDERAL LEGISLATION ON ADEQUATE WATER SUPPLIES

The increasing awareness of the "water famine" has recently been reflected in the enactment of the Northeast Water Supply Act, the enactment of the Water Resources Planning Act, the creation of a Water Resources Council, the maintenance of full appropriations for the small watershed development program, the provision for Federal grants and loans for basic water supply facilities, and in several other important actions.

THE EXTENT OF THE FEDERAL EFFORT

I have directed my remarks up to this point to the Federal effort to control or abate water pollution and to maintain sufficient water supplies, but I am not trying to make you think that the Federal Government has done, is doing, and will do everything that needs to be done throughout the Nation in this field. That is not and should not be the role of the Federal Government in this program. The Federal Government's efforts have been enormous, but, in my opinion, we are probably very close to the maximum extent of the Federal effort.

There are several philosophies on the Federal role in controlling water pollution and in insuring adequate water supplies. There are those who say the Federal Government should do everything, and there are those who say it should do nothing. There are those, like myself, who say that the Federal Government does have a responsibility in these areas, but I also say the programs will be a success only if all levels of government assume their proper responsibilities.

In my opinion, the Federal Government is largely meeting its responsibilities in the construction of sewage treatment works and pollution abatement enforcement. You have seen in the Water Quality Act and in the Clean Waters Restoration Act several distinct trends which, I am sure, are obvious to you. They are trends toward greater State participation; toward full cooperation among all levels of government; toward bringing the largest single source of pollution—industry—into the picture through incentives; and toward greater reliance on the States to enforce water quality standards.

The recent increase in the Federal effort is not a sign that the Congress is permitting the Federal Government to take over responsibility for the entire program. Rather the intent runs, in my opinion, in the opposite direction. As one of the drafters and principal supporters of workable Federal water pollution control legislation, I say to you that the non-Federal interests must now assume their rightful responsibilities and fully implement effective programs.

THE NEEDED FLORIDA EFFORT IN THE FUTURE

My purpose here today is not only to tell you what the Federal Government has done but also to leave with you some thoughts on what the future role of the State of Florida should be in these programs, if Florida is to meet its responsibilities.

Toward such an end, I offer the following proposals for your consideration in the course of this week's conference:

1. *I propose the creation by the next session of the Legislature of a Florida State Natural Resources Commission,* headed by a person with Cabinet rank and with full responsibility for air and water pollution control and natural resources development programs. It is time to elevate these programs from the bureaucratic jungles of Florida boards to their proper level in responsible State government.

2. *I propose State and Federal tax incentives* for any industrial facilities, installations, machinery, or equipment, which contribute to pollution treatment and provide for the elimination, control, or prevention of air and water pollution, provided those units meet certain standards established by the appropriate Federal and State agencies.

3. *I propose the appropriation by the Legislature of adequate funds* to permit the State to meet its responsibilities under Federal law and to take maximum advantage of the Federal grant program to abate water and air pollution and also to permit the State to take such other action as may be needed to attack air and water pollution, including the training of additional State technical personnel, provided such trainees agree to remain in the State's employment for at least a minimum specified period of time.

4. *I propose the requirement by State statute that all county, metropolitan area, or regional planning agencies must provide for minimal air and water pollution control and abatement requirements.*

5. *I propose that all developers of industrial parks and housing developments of specified size to be constructed in the future by required to construct adequate waste treatment works to treat the discharge from such industrial facilities and residences.*

There are, of course, other proposals which could be made, but I consider the ones which I have just enumerated to be the most important, although their relative importance is not necessarily in the order in which I presented them. Unfortunately, I cannot be with you for the duration of your conference, but your consideration of these and other proposals should be a worthwhile effort. Although the realization of my proposals will require a substantial expenditure by the State, I am confident that the benefits which would accrue to the State, if these proposals are carried out, would more than offset the expenditures. Furthermore, I think these programs should have a higher priority than some of the items we now find in the Florida budget.

IN CONCLUSION

The Federal Government has done much to control and abate water pollution and to provide measures to insure against inadequate water supplies, but the responsibility lies now, more than ever before, on the State and local governments, public and private organizations, industries, and concerned citizens.

It will be groups like the Florida Pollution Control Association and the American Water Works Association and citizens like yourselves on whom will rest the ultimate success of this effort. Like any governmental program, the realization of the goals envisaged in the enactment of statutes and ordinances to rectify our critical water problems ultimately rests with the people in a free society.

Hon. John E. Fogarty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to the late JOHN E. FOGARTY who so ably represented his native State of Rhode Island in the U.S. Congress for the past 16 years.

Those of us who served with JOHN were well aware of his determination to make this country the world leader in all facets of health. I am sure that many of the great advances this country has made in the research on the causes of many of our killer diseases can be attributed to the determination of JOHN FOGARTY in seeing that sufficient moneys were made available to our doctors and scientists.

JOHN FOGARTY was every inch a gentleman, and a most unassuming man; in spite of the many hundreds of awards which were conferred upon him by grateful private health organizations. His presence in this body will be missed, and it is hoped that the many excellent research programs which he nurtured will be carried on by future Congresses.

Policy Statement, American Israel Public Affairs Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to insert in the RECORD the policy statement of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, adopted at the Tri-State Regional Conference on December 18, 1966. This organization is one which concerns itself with maintaining the friendship and good will between the United States and Israel.

POLICY STATEMENT

(Adopted at the Tri-State Regional Conference of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, Roosevelt Hotel, New York, December 18, 1966)

We welcome continuing evidence of the United States Government's commitment to strengthen Israel's defenses, to preserve Israel's sovereignty and to oppose aggression in the Near East.

But we note with deep concern the continuing Arab preparations for war against Israel, the intensification of guerrilla terrorism directed against her people and the costly and dangerous escalation of the arms race.

Thus, we deplore the UN resolution of November 25 which censured Israel while ignoring the provocative Arab terrorism against her. We fear that this resolution, which was supported by our Government, has encouraged Arab aggressors to prepare for new murderous assaults.

To meet the growing danger, we call for a stronger and more dynamic U.S. policy in the Near East in order to reverse the present drift towards war and to transform the UN armistice agreements into an Arab-Israel peace.

1. We recommend that our Government now seek cooperation of the Soviet Union to bring about a relaxation of tensions in the area, specifically by an agreement to reduce the flow of arms and to create a climate which will foster direct negotiations between the Arab states and Israel. Pending such an agreement, we urge our Government to ensure maintenance of the arms balance in the region.

2. We urge a Congressional inquiry to study and recommend legislative and administrative measures to curb the efforts of the Arab states to boycott American business interests.

3. We reaffirm the conviction that the only logical solution of the Arab refugee problem is resettlement in Arab lands. We submit that the United Nations should censure continuing efforts by Arab leaders to mobilize the refugees into an army to wage war against Israel. It is intolerable that UNRWA funds, contributed for refugee relief and rehabilitation, should be diverted to subsidize the Palestine Liberation Army, which is organized for the destruction of Israel.

4. We support continued economic aid for Israel and the Arab states, stressing assistance which will develop agriculture, water resources and the employment and settlement of refugees.

5. We believe that all outstanding issues between Israel and the Arab states can be swiftly resolved by direct negotiations and we urge our Government, in concert with

other great powers, to summon the Arab states to the peace table with Israel. There is no effective alternative.

The United States Should Get Out of Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, with the war in Vietnam escalating, and with the President's announcement in his state of the Union message that we now have nearly 500,000 troops there—see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 10, 1967 at page H 29—more questions are being raised, as I have previously raised them, about whether the U.S. presence in Vietnam serves a useful purpose.

A recent statement in the December 23, 1966, issue of "Commonweal: A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature and the Arts," published in my district by that well-respected lay-edited Catholic Journal of Opinion, deserves analysis, and I bring it to the attention of my colleagues:

GETTING OUT

The United States should get out of Vietnam: it should seek whatever safety it can for our allies; it should arrange whatever international face-saving is possible; and, even at the cost of a Communist victory, the United States should withdraw. The war in Vietnam is an unjust one. We mean that in its most profound sense: what is being done there, despite the almost certain good intentions of those doing it, is a crime and a sin. At a moment when claims of military victory are drowning out quiet admissions that the war cannot be settled for years, this conclusion must be affirmed and reaffirmed.

We have not reached this conclusion because we are pacifists. The moral problem of warfare is bound up with the moral problem of the existence of evil. And the almost incredible apparitions of evil mankind has witnessed within the last half-century, in this nation as well as others, convince us there are moments when force must be met with force.

Nor do we believe there is nothing at stake in Southeast Asia. Vietnamese—on both sides—are fighting for their lives and for their right to live unmolested in their homeland. The threat presented by China, swiftly adding nuclear weapons to its chauvinist ideology and cult of the will, is a real one, not the product of anti-Communist imaginations. To measure these stakes against one another, and against the horror of the war, is a miserable and difficult task, but it is not "blasphemy, while the killing goes on," as a few have maintained. It involves surveying a host of often contradictory political and military reports; it involves numerous subjective judgments; but it remains the only way we know for men to make moral decisions in an ambiguous world.

Measured not by declared intentions but by past performance, a Communist victory in South Vietnam would most likely mean a rigorous dictatorship, bloody liquidation of dissenters, and a certain amount of social and economic reform. By the same standards, a Saigon victory will probably mean a looser form of authoritarian government, suppression of radical dissent rather than its liquidation, and little alteration in the status quo. On the level of world politics, a U.S. withdrawal could lead China to tragically miscalculate American determination in some "eyeball to eyeball" nuclear confrontation of the future. But to be honest, one must admit that any nearly total success of American policy in Vietnam is as likely to lead to a tragic miscalculation on our side. Already some dismiss all too cavalierly China's willingness to fight beyond its borders. However important the fate of the Vietnamese people and the balance of power in Asia, it seems they are but ambiguously served by American policy.

In brief, the outcome in Southeast Asia will make a difference. But not the decisive difference needed to justify a war which may last longer than any America has ever fought, employ more U.S. troops than in Korea, cost more than all the aid we have ever given to developing nations, drop more bombs than were used against the Japanese in World War II, and kill and maim far more Vietnamese than a Communist regime would have liquidated—and still not promise a definite outcome. The disproportion between ends and means has grown so extreme, the consequent deformation of American foreign and domestic policy so radical, that the Christian cannot consider the Vietnam war merely a mistaken government measure to be amended eventually but tolerated meanwhile. The evil outweighs the good. This is an unjust war. The United States should get out.

But is there not a "third way," a negotiated compromise which means less than total success and less than total failure for both sides? Indeed over the years numerous "third ways" have been proposed. An independent South Vietnam joined to the North (and to the U.S.) in a great Mekong River development project was one such conception. Today many contemplate a neutralized Vietnam with a coalition government in Saigon including the National Liberation Front—another "third way." But none of these proposals has become a reality. And none appears likely to do so. More and more doubts surround the expressed willingness of Washington to negotiate a settlement; but there is even less evidence that Hanoi has wanted to talk, at least since 1965 when near-victory slipped out of Vietcong fingertips. To demand a negotiated settlement, supporting the war only in the meantime and only to this end, makes sense if a negotiated settlement is truly in sight. Otherwise, the "meantime" stretches out into five, eight, ten years. One's moral and political judgment is rendered hostage to the fanaticism of Washington and Hanoi.

This does not mean that opponents of the war should cease to point out and encourage every move toward settlement. They should simply make clear that the basic injustice of this war consists in things other than whether it is the fault of Hanoi or Washington that an attempt at negotiation may break down. There are things that Washington could do, even within the narrow range of its present policy, to bring the Vietnamese war closer to an end:

The holiday cease-fire should be prolonged as long as possible. The bombing of North Vietnam should be halted, and the Russians assured there will be no threat of renewing it if they apply all their influence to bringing Hanoi to the negotiating table.

The Saigon military regime tail must cease to wag the U.S.—or for that matter, Vietnamese—dog. There is currently much talk about a "new" war in Vietnam, one in which U.S. troops are winning the day militarily. If only, adds a weak, small voice, social and political reforms can now get under way! That weak, small voice has been repeating the same message for years. And despite the current burst of enthusiasm for retraining and redeploying the South Vietnamese army for "pacification" purposes, there is little hard evidence that this latest effort will be different from past ones. Saigon must dedicate itself to a genuine land reform benefiting the peasants, pledge the maintenance of land distribution carried out by the Vietcong, and develop an honest administration.

At the least, measures such as these will benefit the Vietnamese people; at the most, they might strengthen the Saigon government to the point where the Vietcong would decide it had better negotiate quickly before all is lost, and where Saigon itself would consider a coalition government a possibility.

Saigon need never take such steps, of course, as long as it knows the United States will stay no matter what. Washington should privately warn the Ky administration that it had better produce results soon lest the U.S. reconsider its commitment. Rumors of such a warning might indeed delay negotiations while the Vietcong and Hanoi waited to see whether Saigon could do the job, but at present it looks as if the Vietcong and Hanoi are doing exactly this anyway. Furthermore, such rumors could prepare U.S. public opinion for greeting any eventual withdrawal as justified, not because "our boys" couldn't win but because the Saigon government didn't do its share.

Finally, the United States must de-escalate its settlement demands. So must Hanoi. But de-escalation on the American side would mean a frank and open willingness to negotiate with the National Liberation Front. It would mean acceptance of the fact that there must be a recognized role for organized left-wing and Communist forces in the political life of any post-settlement South Vietnam.

These suggestions are not new nor are they at all surefire. Should they fail, they do not justify going on with this immoral war. They are simply the very least that can be done.

Tribute to Charles Burchfield

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, January 9, 1967, the world lost a blazing talent with the death of Charles Burchfield. It was my honor and privilege to count this master watercolorist among my constituents in the 39th District of New York State and to assist in the dedication last month in the opening of the Burchfield Center at the State University College of New York at Buffalo.

Charles Burchfield was a reticent, bespectacled man who lived and painted in a modest little studio at an unspectacular address in Gardenville, N.Y. He never grew a beard, or abandoned his family to expatriate to Europe, he took buses when he had no car, he raised five children during the great depression and he worked 9 years in a wallpaper factory.

Yet this man has left us an ecstatic, flamboyant wealth of painting. He was a original, an artist of singular vision, a wandered, an explorer, a paitent watcher when he undertook his mission of painting—the first frond of a wood fern, the black terror of a half-iced grotto in March, the irridescent dragonfly's arch through the summer's languor were his ardent obsessions.

His vision of our world, be it the streets of the city, the barren unknown of the "north" beyond the woods, a sagging melancholy house, the terrifying power of the searing sun at high noon in September, or the gentle fantasy of the wondering child with his check on the fragile network of a half-spun spider web were where the real world lay for him.

Charles Burchfield has given his inner visions back to us; we the myopic inhabitants who can see when we are shown, and can remember when one of us can retain his child's eye and endure the tortures of a visionary.

He said last year:

> If I could be assured of a fairly good physical condition and a sound mind, I think I would like at least another half century in order to carry out some of the ideas fermenting in my brain.

The world has been the beneficiary of his 73 years of awakening and recreating. I wish he could have had that additional 50, for with his death comes the profound realization that there will never be another Burchfield painting.

Phase Out Veterans Programs?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker the distinguished commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Leslie M. Fry, has written an article which appeared in the current issue of the Veterans of Foreign Wars magazine expressing concern about the administration's opposition to certain veterans' programs. I believe the Members are especially conscious of veterans' programs at this time because of the Vietnam conflict and I would like to commend to their attention this article by Commander Fry:

PHASE OUT VETERANS PROGRAMS?—JOHNSON SAYS "YES"—CONGRESS SAYS "NO"

(By Leslie M. Fry, VFW commander in chief)

Winston Churchill once said that he had not taken office to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. Churchill stated a position normally taken by a leader charged with responsibilty for the success of a mission.

There are examples. however, of the opposite view and it is possible to point to an example of a national leadership and an administration that has made a beginning toward liquidation of a major federal responsibility that touches the lives of over a third of our citizens: namely, the Veterans Administration and its programs.

The recent adjournment of the 89th Congress did more than put a stop to the deliberations of the Senate and the House of Representatives for the year 1966. The adjournment brought a temporary halt to the Johnson Administration's two-year drive to tear down the structure of veterans programs and set the stage for the gradual elimination of all veterans benefits and programs.

This is a serious charge but let us look at the general orders the Great Society has laid down concerning veterans programs. Taking the results of what the Johnson Administration has done over the past two years, or attempted to do, it is possible now to go back and reconstruct a 1965 White House directive that could have read as follows:

1. Close down veterans hospitals and VA regional offices.
2. Launch a major attack on veterans employment preference in certain federal agencies.
3. If you have to give the Vietnam veterans a GI Bill, keep it strictly "cut-rate."
4. Begin dismemberment of the Veterans Administration by placing administration of any GI Bill in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.
5. Oppose any improvement in veterans, widows and orphans pensions.
6. Close the national cemeteries. (Note: 1966 amendment to this instruction—keep them closed no matter how many men die in Vietnam.)

This indictment of the Johnson Administration has been drawn on the basis of its actions over the past two years. There are, unfortunately, no compensating actions or declarations that would soften in any way the harsh outlines of this reconstructed directive to liquidate veterans programs. In fact, since passage of the 1966 GI Bill, the Congress and the veterans world have been subjected to chronic complaints from the White House over its cost.

There have been saving factors but they have not come from the Administration. They were the result of actions by Congress. Congressional pressure made it impossible for the Johnson Administration to proceed with its VA hospital closing program.

The Senate refused to approve the Hays Bill, which at the request of the President would have eliminated all veterans preference from United States agencies having international responsibilities. How bad was this bill which the President and his Secretary of State fought to have passed? A noted Washington reporter called it "a stench in the nostrils of the nation."

The GI Education Bill recommended by the President was a pitifully cut-rate attempt to limit the application of benefits to a few thousand of today's GIs. And the general tenor of the Administration's attitude with respect to veterans was clearly seen in its recommendation that responsibility for administration of veterans' education be placed in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. This effort was consistent with the Administration's intent to depress veterans' programs below the level of the general social welfare programs of the Great Society as a preliminary to eliminating them.

And what about veterans, widows and orphans pensions? Some 56,000 widows of Spanish-American War veterans, whose average age is 84, receive the princely sum of $65 a month. The Johnson Administration killed a House-passed pension bill that would have raised this pension to $70 per month.

Did the Administration see any merit in the pension program? A total of 188 bills were introduced in the House to provide increases in veterans pensions. Most of these dealt with needed technical improvements in the program and increases in payments necessary to keep pace with the increasing cost of living.

Was there any merit in any of these bills? Not to the Johnson Administration. The Administration's spokesman went before the House Veterans Affairs Committee, reviewed all 188 bills, and opposed every last one of them. When the House Veterans Affairs Committee saw fit to improve a minimum improvement in the pension program, the bill was passed in the House over the opposition of President Johnson.

But this minimum bill was never taken to a vote in the Senate, principally because Senator Russell B. Long of Louisiana, rather than pressing for action as Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, wore his "Majority Whip cap" in the final days of the 89th Congress and the lack of a veterans leader in the Senate prevented the bill from coming to a vote.

Although the Bureau of the Budget had sought for years to effect the closing of our national cemeteries, President John F. Kennedy was the first to make this a Presidential policy. This 1961 policy decision was reaffirmed by President Johnson. Several months ago he had a review made of the policy of closing our national cemeteries and, despite the fact that men killed in action in Vietnam are being denied burial in our national cemeteries, the President has not seen fit to make a change in policy. In fact, the Administration fought attempts initiated by the Veterans of Foreign Wars in the Second Session of the 89th Congress to appropriate $250,000 to reopen Beverly National Cemetery in New Jersey and Fort Rosecrans National Cemetery in California.

The actions of the Administration speak for themselves.

In the light of the Administration's dedication to the suppression of veterans programs and benefits, the coming session of the 90th Congress takes on significant meaning. It is necessary to take a long view. The coming battle of veterans versus the Administration will encompass a two-year period that has already begun and will extend through two Congressional sessions and up to election day 1968.

But the significant clashes will come in the first session of the 90th Congress. As the election of 1968 draws nearer, the Johnson Administration may be expected to become more pliable—if the pressure is kept on it.

Three matters loom large at this point. They involve the proposed Senate Committee on Veterans Affairs, the reopening of the national cemetery program, and passage of equitable compensation and pension improvements. These are way stations on the road that veterans must take to blunt the Administration's efforts to reduce the scope of veterans' programs as the first step in their gradual elimination. It must be borne in mind in this struggle that we cannot expect to have the advantage of facing an Administration effort in which all the cards are placed on the table.

The intent to eliminate veterans' programs will never be acknowledged. What will be sought, however, will be development of a climate which will eventually lead to general belief that the veteran can be better taken care of through participation in social programs designed to benefit all of our citizens.

The question in 1967 is what can be done to halt this process of erosion of veterans benefits and reverse it? First, each veteran must decide whether this whole process or any part of it is of any moment to him or to his buddies.

There is much that can be done if these issues are of concern to you. If they are, or if even a single of these issues is important to you, the eventual reversal of this administration's policy becomes simply a matter of communication.

Communicate first with the President, who sets the policy. Communicate secondly with the Administrator of the Veterans Administration, but remember he's only carrying out orders from the Budget Bureau planners and the President.

But your most effective communication will be with your senators and representatives. When they speak in sufficient numbers they can make even the President listen.

In the coming months I will outline specific issues as they come up for decision in the Congress.

The immediate task however is to fire a broadside that will put the Administration on notice that a reversal of its policies is in order.

Who Owns the Deep Blue Sea?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, in view of America's vast and immensely valuable stake in the resources of the ocean, I am introducing legislation to establish an extended fishing zone beyond the present 12-mile boundary. The seaward boundary lines under my bill would follow the 200 meter depth contour, except that in no case would such boundary be less than 12 miles from the coastal shore. In other words, the new fishing zone would include control of the fishery above the Continental Shelf—resources of which shelf under international convention belong to the United States.

Edward W. Allen, chairman of the American Bar Association's Committee on the Law of the Sea, in an article which appeared in the January 8, 1967, Seattle Post-Intelligencer, reviews history and suggests the importance of offshore research and protection of coastal fisheries from foreign raiders.

Under unanimous consent I include the text of the article by Mr. Allen which points up the need for passage of my bill:

WHO OWNS THE DEEP BLUE SEA?

(By Edward W. Allen)

Seattle can truthfully boast that there is no more suitable area in the world than Puget Sound for an oceanographic research center.

Here are protected fresh and salt waters, and beyond is a continental shelf which in turn slides off into the biggest and deepest of all the seas and stretches from the Arctic to the Antarctic and a third of the way around the world.

Here a great university has already pioneered the way with its Department of Oceanography, its College of Fisheries, its many engineering branches and a School of Law now active in the international field.

Still one may pertinently inject the question: Is the research worthwhile? Who will reap the profits?

Worthwhile? Yes, the stakes are big enough to fight for.

Consider three categories: the continental shelves, the deep sea bottoms and the waters over both.

On our nation's continental shelf it is reputed that 8,250 oil wells have already been drilled, that oil companies have expended over six billion dollars in the field, much of it into the coffers of state or federal treasuries, and oil companies know their business pretty well.

Referring only to one item of deep sea bottoms, it is estimated that more than one and a half trillion tons of manganese nodules await the miner, with more continually forming. Knowledgeable firms like Westinghouse and General Electric are spending huge sums devising means to exploit the depths.

In the sea itself there are 166 million tons of solids in each cubic mile of water. Some articles, bromide, for instance, are already being economically extracted, and the cost of making sea water drinkable is steadily being decreased. There are also millions of tons of edible life swimming or floating in the sea.

Thus the continental shelves, the deep sea bottoms and the waters over both entice the researchers and the prospectors, but it must also be noted that each of the three general areas has its legal as well as physical problems.

As to the continental shelves, the Truman Proclamation of 1945, asserting ownership of our shelf, was followed by the broader Geneva Treaty of 1958. This met with practically universal approval so that it is now recognized that each coastal nation owns its adjacent continental shelf.

This has given a sense of security to the oil companies in the areas where they are drilling, but there still are two unsolved legal problems: 1. Determination of the relative rights of navigators, fishermen and oil or other bottom operators, and 2. How far does the continental shelf extend?

The treaty provides "to a depth of 200 meters or, beyond that limit, to where the depth of the superjacent waters admits of the exploitation of the natural resources of the said areas." Where is that?

As to the deep sea, it begins where the continental shelf leaves off, wherever that may be. That may or may not be a minor matter, but one which unquestionably is major is what and how rights can be obtained or maintained as to deep sea bottoms.

For generations lawyers have argued whether the oceans belong to everybody or to nobody. And what about under the sea? Some able mining lawyers contend that sea bottoms should be subjected to location claims analogous to miners' practices in the Old West. It has been suggested that citizens of a nation should make claims and certify them to their own government which should defend them.

So here are enormous potentials with no present solution as to how advantage can be taken of many of them. Appropriate law organizations are being appealed to to solve these problems and it is hoped will produce answers.

Next come the fish. And here lie more legal complications. A few hundred years ago there was no such thing as "freedom of the seas." By Papal Bull, modified by treaty, Spain purported to own the Pacific Ocean and Gulf of Mexico, while Portugal claimed the South Atlantic and the Indian Oceans.

When Queen Elizabeth ruled England the British privateers (some called them pirates) like Sir Francis Drake, laughed at Spain's exclusive claims, while the Dutch sought to break into the Portuguese monopoly of the East Indies spice trade and at the same time to maintain their own practical monopoly of the herring fishery off the British and Scottish coasts. So in the time of Elizabeth's successor, up rose a great Dutch lawyer and proclaimed freedom of the seas for both navigation and fishing.

It is as desirable today as then that there should be the greatest freedom of navigation, but though in the days when vessel propulsion was only by oars or sails fishing was naturally limited in scope, today's remarkable mechanical progress enables huge high-powered fleets of one nation to raid and largely destroy the coastal fisheries of any other nation anywhere in the world. The Pacific Northwest knows this only too well.

This is not "freedom," it more nearly resembles "piracy." One wonders whether it is impotence or indifference which leads some to say that there is nothing we can do about it, it's the law.

Certainly such raids are in violation of the conservation commitment which the Geneva fisheries treaty does call for, regardless of otherwise wordy weakness. Besides, international law is more flexible than statutory law. Assertion, firmness and justice can play important parts in its interpretation and making.

Unfortunately, our government authorities ignored the fact that the two Truman proclamations which were issued at the same time were correlated. The continental shelf proclamation, while asserting title to adjacent shallow sea bottoms, avoided interference with navigation but did not govern fisheries, whereas, the concurrent fisheries proclamation, while similarly avoiding interference with navigation, was designed to protect our fisheries in these same areas.

Some people think that the reason for this oversight is that there were certain of our own American fishery interests which were as anxious as the Japanese or Russians to raid coastal fisheries of other nations.

The Truman fisheries proclamation was not, as its opponents pretend, a mere conservation gesture. The accompanying White House release asserted that it would now enable the government to protect Alaska's salmon, yet Mr. Truman's Secretary of State not only failed to utilize the proclamation but also refused to follow Cordell Hull's assertion of historic rights and provide fishery protection in the peace treaty with Japan.

To be sure, there was a subsequent fisheries treaty with Japan and Canada (still in effect). It is better than it was feared it might be but still it does not adequately include the rights to which this country is entitled. Much of the difficulty lay in the persistent refusal in certain quarters to recognize the basic distinction in principle between facilitating navigation and maintaining ocean fisheries.

In this situation, the American Bar Association a couple of years ago adopted a resolution pointing out the distinction between freedom of the seas for navigation and management of the sea for the protection of fisheries. Now, however, the government itself, in connection with the recent 12-mile bill in Congress, has given this important recognition.

It is to the interest of the Pacific Northwest that the distinction just pointed out should be developed and the valuable coastal fisheries off these shores should be protected against being raided from abroad regardless of distance.

Oceanography is an enticing subject, it has many facets and the resources of the seas are enormous. All phases of the subject should be subjected to exacting research, and in this connection neither the important legal questions nor the other problems should be left wholly to government office holders to consider.

United States Gives Poland Plan To Cut Debt

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the Cleveland Plain Dealer on December 30, 1966, carried an interesting item which is illustrative of the present U.S. policy to kill the Communist countries of Eastern Europe with kindness. While Poland actively aids Ho Chi Minh in North Vietnam to kill and cripple American servicemen and Vietnamese in his campaign of terror, the United States looks the other way and cancels several million in Polish debt payments, due the United States in the coming year.

This much is certain: a review will be made in the 90th Congress of the many facets of this insane policy with a view to providing for the American voter a compelling argument for changing such policy by changing administrations in 1968.

I ask that the item, "United States Gives Poland Plan To Cut Debt," be inserted in the RECORD at this point:

UNITED STATES GIVES POLAND PLAN TO CUT DEBT

WARSAW, POLAND.—U.S. Ambassador John A. Gronouski handed Poland yesterday a plan to cancel several million dollars in debt payments, due the United States in the coming year, by spending the money in Poland.

Gronouski presented the proposal to Deputy Foreign Minister Jozef Winiewicz and Foreign Trade Minister Witold Trampczynski.

A U.S. Embassy spokesman said Gronouski had received a go-ahead from Washington to discuss the financing of "mutually beneficial" projects with Polish obligations.

The nature of the projects, requiring eventual approval by Congress, and the price tag, were not disclosed. There was no immediate reaction from the Polish government.

The proposal was described as an American initiative within President Johnson's policy of building "bridges of understanding" to Communist nations of East Europe.

Gronouski has been holding informal talks here searching for mutually beneficial projects to help Poland work off its debt to the United States. Heavy 1967 installments fall due starting Monday.

The plan was said to be a "package" of projects including some buildings and public works such as hospitals or a nursing institute, some technical equipment, and some research projects.

Technical equipment under discussion has included tape-recording studios for the teaching of English.

The Late Representative John E. Fogarty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, the sudden and untimely death of our beloved colleague, Representative John E. Fogarty, of Rhode Island, was a grievous shock to those of us who knew him personally and worked with him in the U.S. Congress.

He was an ardent and conscientious worker who, in his 26 years of service in the House of Representatives, gained great stature as a leader and much prestige as a statesman. Many of us in the Congress looked to him for guidance and advice on vital problems facing the Nation. Only 2 days before his death, I came down to Washington with him on the plane from Providence, R.I. He seemed to be in excellent spirits and looked forward to the new session of Congress with much expectation and high hopes.

Congressman Fogarty was a man of humble origin, a great humanitarian, and a true servant of the American people. His services to the Nation in the fields of health and education are well known and have earned for him universal recognition.

The Nation has lost a great patriot, a capable leader, and a fine citizen. Rhode Island has lost a very able and devoted son, a man known for his honesty and integrity. I was privileged to know John Fogarty for a number of years and regarded him as one of my closest friends and advisers. Now I have lost this very sincere friend and shall miss him, his wise counsel, his good judgment, for many years to come.

To his wife Louise and to his daughter Mary I extend my sincerest condolences in these moments of their bereavement. We share their sorrow and their great loss.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert into the RECORD the text of a statement issued by the Honorable John M. Bailey, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, on the death of Congressman Fogarty. His statement follows:

STATEMENT BY DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN JOHN M. BAILEY ON THE DEATH OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN E. FOGARTY OF RHODE ISLAND

The sudden passing of Congressman John E. Fogarty of Rhode Island will be felt as a great void among those in our country who care about the health and welfare of people everywhere.

As an individual, Congressman Fogarty believed that his government should care about people who lacked access to good health and adequate opportunity. As Chairman of the Congressional subcommittee that appropriated funds for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, he provided the leadership that gave his fellow man the opportunity to live a healthier and richer life. His only regret was that he could not do more.

Congressman Fogarty was a Democrat. He was a man of such great integrity and personal courage that he made all of us proud that he served as a member of the Democratic Party.

We shall miss his presence. But his work will live on in those millions of people who have a better life because of his outstanding efforts in the Congress.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

What Makes Frank Sullivan Run?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BIRCH E. BAYH
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, an outstanding Hoosier—Frank Sullivan, of South Bend, Ind.—has been elected president of the 1967 Million Dollar Round Table. The youngest person ever so honored, Frank has made an outstanding record in the life insurance field and in the many other endeavors which he undertakes with enthusiasm and dedication. He has been president of the South Bend Life Underwriters Association, chairman of the board of editors of the CLU Journal, a panelist on the Practicing Law Institute, a bank director, and guest faculty member at different universities.

However, it is not Mr. Sullivan's success as a businessman but his remarkable personal attributes to which I wish to invite the attention of the Senate. For many years I have known this man and have admired his strength of character and moral fiber. He has committed himself to a self-disciplined life with well-defined goals, and he has the courage and will to follow those commitments.

The November issue of the Fielder, which is published by American United Life Insurance Co., contained a feature article entitled "What Makes Frank Sullivan Run?" which well described these qualities. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that certain selected excerpts from the article be printed at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT MAKES FRANK SULLIVAN RUN?

Frank E. Sullivan, CLU, might be compared to football's "man in motion," the halfback on the move as others are still poised at the line of scrimmage.

Why this is true can be answered in two ways. First, Frank Sullivan, at 42, has been elected President of the 1967 Million Dollar Round Table, and is the youngest man ever to serve in that capacity.

For the second answer, you would have to see Frank in action during his "must" commitments of the day.

What are these commitments? One is that Frank devotes at least one hour a day, six days a week, to a physical fitness program, the highlight of which is the running of a mile a day. Some men might call a daily mile a way of "keeping in shape." But those who know Frank Sullivan best recognize it as another manifestation of his dynamic self-discipline.

The stress he places on this commitment is reflected in the widely scattered places in which it has been carried out in the past few months—from the beaches of Cape Cod, Maine, and the Mediterranean, to YMCA's and athletic clubs in Boston, New York, Chicago, Indianapolis, New Orleans, and South Bend.

Frank's other "must" commitment—and he considers it to be the more important of the two—is a daily visit to church, usually at 6 a.m.

Of his "must" commitments, Frank says: "I'm not an evangelist, but if I make certain I get my mind and my values in order at church each morning, and keep my body in the best shape possible, I find that my ambitions, desires and self-discipline force me to do the rest. The physical fitness program gives me the stamina to get about three more hours of work done each day than the average person does."

"Self-discipline"—there's no better way to describe the motivation of a man who, besides his dramatic career as a life insurance salesman, and extensive personal contributions to the leadership and direction of the MDRT, has achieved the following:

He has served as president of the South Bend Life Underwriters Association; as chairman of the board of editors of the *CLU Journal*; and as a participating panelist for the Practising Law Institute; as a guest faculty member at Purdue University and the University of Puerto Rico; as a director of the St. Joseph Bank and Trust Co., in South Bend, Ind.; and as a lecturer very much in demand on insurance subjects and estate planning matters all over the U.S. and Canada. He was the first life underwriter ever to address a main session of the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants at its annual meeting.

In addition, he has written a book, "Selling Life Insurance for Deferred Compensation," now in its third printing and considered perhaps the most definitive work on that subject.

SELLING GUIDES

His 12-part series in *The Fielder*, "Sales Trail to Switzerland," offers a valuable guide to all who aspire to MDRT membership, as did a previous 12-part series on salesmanship which appeared in *The Life Insurance Salesman*.

Frank Sullivan arrives at the top of MDRT at a time when the prestige and membership of the organization are at the highest in its 40-year history. In his year in office, more than 5,500 persons will qualify for 1967 membership, representing more than 300 companies, and at least 24 nations.

As for Frank himself, the Presidency of MDRT is a fitting highlight in his life and career—and it will be climaxed next June when he presides over MDRT's 40th anniversary meeting at Lucerne, Switzerland.

Using time to best advantage is the key to Frank Sullivan's success, and he would be the first to tell you that. He is quite open with his "secrets" of success and gives them freely to younger men whose membership in MDRT is in the dreaming stage.

The Frank Sullivan story began to take its present course in 1946 when the Massachusetts-born Irishman arrived on the University of Notre Dame campus at South Bend, with a 4-year Navy hitch and one year at Boston University behind him. The 22-year old youth enrolled as a sophomore and by 1949 he had earned his degree.

As important as his academic career, at that stage, was his association with Frank Leahy, coach of the Fghting Irish football squad which in that era was in its finest hour of gridiron glory.

Frank became private secretary to Leahy and remained in that job for three years after graduation. Besides assisting Leahy in various duties, Frank ghost-wrote the famed coach's nationally syndicated football column, and organized material for two Leahy books, *The T-Formation and Defensive Football*.

It was from Leahy that Frank Sullivan developed his attention to work habits and self-discipline.

By 1953, Frank had ended his association with Leahy to devote all his time to his practice as a general agent for American United Life. The next year, he qualified for MDRT and has continued to qualify every year since.

How did Frank build up his business to the point where his sales achievements rank him as the alltime leader of 89-year-old American United Life, and in the top five percent of all MDRT members? As you might expect, it was a combination of good organization and self-discipline.

Guided by all the beliefs and practices discussed above, Frank Sullivan has propelled himself and his American United Life agency to an impressive sales record. At one time or another he has led the entire company in all aspects of individual sales. His firm, though small in size, has been consistently among the top five of all A.U.L. agencies. It is the only such agency of any company in Indiana which has three men (Bob Barkley, Jim Brennan and Frank) who not only are all C.L.U.'s but also have met volume requirements for the 1967 MDRT.

MILLION DOLLAR ROUND TABLE

Frank's career with The Million Dollar Round Table is just as distinguished as the sales records which put him in the organization. After serving on numerous MDRT committees, he was elected to the governing Executive Committee in 1964, and now begins the fourth of five consecutive years of service on the Executive Committee. Although his MDRT duties require enormous amounts of time and effort, Frank has continued to meet each year the strict production requirements of MDRT. In fact, the current year is the best year of production for Frank and his agency.

As first vice-president of the 1966 MDRT, he carried the responsibility for organizing the annual meeting in Boston last June, largest and most inspiring in MDRT history. Nearly 1,800 MDRT members heard 48 speakers on a four-day program packed with information, ideas and aids to improve the salesman's abilities to serve the insuring public.

In Frank Sullivan, this commitment to his life work is balanced by a strong family life and a deep interest in community service.

He and his wife, Colette, whom he married June 11, 1949, have four children: Frank, Jr., 16; Mary, 15; Anne, 14; and Robert, 12.

"In one way we might be called a 'togetherness' type family because we enjoy certain things together," Frank says. "However, we're pretty independent individuals who don't subscribe to togetherness as a total way of life."

In the field of community service, Frank Sullivan does not believe in volunteering for everything just for the sake of prestige, but rather in giving his time and efforts to those ventures and organizations where he can truly be of service.

He has held one of the major assignments in charitable drives which have raised more than $12 million. He gave 10 active years to the United Fund and United Community

Services and currently serves as honorary chairman on the St. Joseph Hospital Board and is giving as much time as is needed to the Mayor's Committee on Economic Action.

No one who was there will ever forget the spell-binding talk on "The Making of a Sale" by New York Life's Ben Feldman. While Frank Sullivan, as presider, popped questions from the speaker's rostrum, Feldman moved back and forth on a long platform in the middle of the Statler-Hilton ballroom, answering the questions. It was an interchange between two of the best and most articulate minds in life insurance today, and it left a lasting impression on all who witnessed it.

It was Frank who, with the guidance of the 1964 Executive Committee, made the decision to hold next year's MDRT Annual Meeting in Switzerland—the first meeting to be held abroad. He also was instrumental in dawing up the current MDRT converter form to streamline and simplify the calculation of eligibility credits.

Obviously, such performance within MDRT—often termed "not just an organization, but a way of excellence"—is evidence of one's own philosophy towards business, personal and community service, and life in general. In Frank Sullivan's case, personal philosophy is based on a deep sense of personal responsibility.

THREEFOLD OBLIGATION

He operates on a theory that a successful businessman has a threefold obligation to be a material success in his chosen field, to make major contributions to the industry in which he makes his living, and to make continuing contributions of consequence to the community in which he lives and raises his family.

That he is a business success goes without saying, as his sales records indicate. In contributing to his own industry, he says:

"You have a duty to help others. I believe without a single reservation that it is the deepest moral responsibility of every person who succeeds as a life insurance agent to try to help others who want to succeed. I know of no one in the business who would have made it as a successful salesman without a helping hand from an established agent. Therefore, it is mandatory that anyone who gets on his own two feet should reach out to help as many men as he can. I would not be where I am today if it weren't for Bill Earls of Cincinnati helping me. I'm committed to the fact somebody will say the same of me someday."

"Just an encouraging word, perhaps taking the time to explain a presentation, can work wonders in helping another agent.

"Most of us know our jobs, to be sure; but from time to time we stray off our own 'Critical Path'—and all it takes to turn us in the right direction is an experienced hand.

"I'm amazed at the number of times I've listened to a troubled agent talk for 10 or 15 minutes, and then come back with answers that send him away completely happy and enthusiastic, once again on the road to success.

"Bringing this general philosophy a little closer to home, I can assure you that with the exception of my Round Table presidency, nothing has been so satisfying to me as seeing the growth of my associates, Jim Brennan and Bob Barkley, since they first walked into this office."

As is apparent from the evidence, Frank Sullivan is a success in every way that the concept can be defined. And this success has come to him because of his intense self-discipline.

"You must work at this concept of self-discipline until it comes as automatically as pulling up your socks," he says.

"What's more, you have to keep working at it even when you've attained the goal you may have set some years before. I'll admit that once in a great while I find myself thinking that perhaps it *is* getting easier. Then I remember that tomorrow morning I have to meet a client at 7 o'clock to try to prove why my policy is better than that of another agent who brought one in with a lower rate than mine. (17 cents better on $1,000 over 43 years) This is our challenge. A good salesman is like a good racehorse—he must go to the post every day. What he did yesterday is of little consequence today.

"Sacrifices?" "Sometimes I wonder if that word is ever used correctly. Over the years I've heard many men say, and particularly when rationalizing to their wives, that they don't want to work as hard as guys like Sullivan. They *could* do it, but they don't want to leave the house that early or work on Saturdays, or work at night and deprive themselves and their families of many pleasures. To me the most amazing thing about the so-called sacrifices is that they really aren't—they are just disciplines—once you force yourself to do them they become a habit and actually become enjoyable. And the payoff is that after these so-called sacrifices have become habits, they permit a person to maximize his talents to such a tremendous degree, that he ends up having far more time for himself, his family and for the things he enjoys doing, than does the man who didn't want to work that hard.

"It is as true as it can be, that the disciplined man is the happy man. If he knows where he's going then he knows what he's doing. If he knows what he's doing, then he does it very well. When you do things very well, you derive the greatest of all rewards—that is, personal satisfaction that comes to a person when he himself knows that he has done his job well."

That's what makes Frank Sullivan run.

Transfer of Veterans' Administration Hospitals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the "Washington Report on the Medical Sciences," dated January 9, 1967, makes reference to a secret report given to Secretary Gardner of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The report was prepared by Dr. John Corson, of the Brookings Institution, at the request of Secretary Gardner. Added weight is given to the recommendations of the Corson group because of the recent recommendations made by the same committee which led to a reorganization of the Public Health Service.

What concerns me, Mr. Speaker, is the following paragraph:

> HEW should—focus health efforts in a Department of Health; include in the new Department an environmental health bureau made up of FDA, the Division of Biologics Standards, and PHS environmental health activities; take over successful Office of Economic Opportunity demonstration health programs after 3–5 years; develop stronger regional offices with authority to approve state health plans and award funds; simplify HEW grant structure; make the PHS bureau of health manpower a key part of the new Department; and consider at a later date absorbing health programs in other government agencies such as Veterans Administration and Agriculture.

In view of the unfortunate recommendations of the administration in the last Congress concerning the closing of Veterans' Administration hospitals, I am shocked that any further tampering with the operations of the Department of Medicine and Surgery of the Veterans' Administration would be considered by any other Federal agency. I am also constrained to make the observation that in view of the magnitude of the operations of the Veterans' Administration, if there is to be any transfer of medical functions, logic would dictate that the health functions of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare would go to the Veterans' Administration.

Why Economic Sanctions Against Rhodesia?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Why Rhodesia?" published in the Bedford, Va., Bulletin-Democrat of January 12, 1967. The editorial was written by the copublisher, Mrs. Mary Lee Harvey.

Many persons are asking the same question as does the Bedford Bulletin-Democrat: If the United Nations wants to boycott someone, why not boycott North Vietnam?

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY RHODESIA?

Just before Christmas, Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr., issued a statement opposing support by the United States of economic sanctions against Rhodesia. He pointed out that during the past 11 months, 70 ships from Free World Nations have delivered cargo to the North Vietnamese ports and asks the pertinent question:

"President Johnson this week is expected to sign an Executive Order to prohibit American trade with Rhodesia. Would not this be a good time for him to demand that our allies immediately cease trading with a nation which is killing United States' soldiers in Asia?" It does not make any more sense to us than it does to Senator Byrd that "the United States Ambassador to the United Nations voted for and vocally endorsed economic sanctions against Rhodesia, yet no such sanctions have been sought against North Vietnam."

As a matter of fact, Ambassador Goldberg's reasons en toto for turning in this manner against Rhodesia make no sense to us. If Rhodesia wants independence from Britain, it's not our business, nor that of the United Nations to interfere in what is obviously a family matter between her and Great Britian.

Rhodesia has not done a thing to hurt us; North Vietnam is killing our soldiers every day, right this minute. North Vietnam is an aggressor nation and don't let us forget it. There are some people both here and abroad that yell bloody murder when we bomb them, but conveniently forget that our people, civilians and soldiers, have been bombed in hotels in Saigon long ago in this war, in some of the sneakiest and most treacherous attacks imaginable.

If the United Nations wants to boycott someone, let them boycott North Vietnam. As for our helping to boycott peaceful Rhodesia, we think it's a disgrace. We are pleased with the stand that Senator Byrd is taking on this and hope that he can muster enough support to put a bug in the Ambassodor's ear. (Or put a new United States Ambassador in the United Nations; we could use one.)

Johnson on the Hill: An Unhappy Tuesday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, it occurred to me that James J. Kilpatrick's column giving his views of the President's state of the Union message is an independent opinion well worth considering. His column "Johnson on the Hill: An Unhappy Tuesday" appeared in the Washington Star as of Sunday, January 15. His column follows:

JOHNSON ON THE HILL: AN UNHAPPY TUESDAY

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

Lyndon Johnson motored up to the Hill on Tuesday night ready to play a few hands of consensus with old friends of the House and Senate. His face was aglow with brotherly love; his heart was filled with kindness. As it turned out, he might better have stayed home in bed. As State of the Union messages go, this one went on four flat tires.

In retrospect, it seems unlikely that the President might have said much of anything constructive in the field of civil rights. After all, his leadership had produced the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the school desegregation guidelines, and a host of executive orders intended to promote the Negro's interest. But the tendency of any constitutency is not to inquire what their leader has done, but to ask what he has done for them lately. Mr. Johnson had the misfortune to arrive in the House chamber only six hours after the explosion over Adam Clayton Powell. He stood in the bitter fall-out of that eruption, smiling benignly, and favored his anguished Negro followers with precisely two sentences in an address that ran on for 69 minutes.

The President did not even renew his request for home rule in the District of Columbia. He did not even avow, in the conventional rhetoric, that broad solutions must be found. "We should continue to seek equality and justice for each citizen," said the President, "before a jury, in seeking a job, and in exercising his civil rights. We should find a solution to fair housing, so every American, regardless of color, has a decent home of his choice." And that was absolutely all he said.

He had nothing more for Walter Reuther than he had for Martin Luther King. "I now propose," said the President, "that we establish a new Department of Business and Labor." It was a footless proposal, and manifestly not new. For 10 years, from 1903 to 1913, a Department of Commerce and Labor functioned under such forgotten secretaries as Cortelyou, Metcalf, Straus and Nagel. On the day that Wilson came into office, the one department split into two. Mr. Johnson has no more chance of getting them back together than he has of suppressing the Kennedy brothers. In this proposal, he asked for a needless licking.

Yet the address caused no raptures in conservative camps. True, the President did not call for repeal of Taft-Hartley's section 14(b); he did not demand vast expansion of welfare programs, but neither did he ask, as he asked a year ago, for legislation to curb strikes that threaten irreparable harm to the national interest. The business community, already harassed by the paperwork of existing laws on job discrimination, will writhe at the prospect of a new law prohibiting discrimination by reason of age. A six percent increase in corporate income taxes is hardly a joyous prospect. The President's request for a fat boost in Social Security benefits is bound to be reflected, sooner or later, in higher payroll costs.

The country's intellectuals, groaning with dyspepsia, are drowning their sorrows these days in Bromo-Seltzer on the rocks. Nothing the President might have said could have relieved their acid indigestion, but Dr. Johnson's bedside manner managed to make bad matters worse. In terms of prose style, his address was Middle Harding; he came no closer to the arts than beautification of the roadsides; he exhibited no charisma.

Turning to foreign affairs, the President left his sophisticated critics mumbling in discontent. Just a year ago, in his State of the Union address of 1966, Mr. Johnson had been full of ideas for giving "new and daring direction" to foreign aid. He had proposed an International Health Act and an International Education Act. Only a faint echo of this remained on Tuesday night. To be sure, the President spoke warmly of expanding East-West trade; he took an advanced position on world population control; he expressed a properly pasteurized view on Africa. But when he got to Vietnam, Mr. Johnson offered his academic mentors merely kindergarten stuff. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., commenting on TV, very nearly died.

To judge from the solid, spontaneous applause that greeted his pledge to stand firm in Vietnam, Mr. Johnson pleased his listeners in the Congress; and the support of the House and Senate, though it seems blasphemous to say so, may count for more in the President's view than the support of Mr. Schlesinger. Even so, as the Senate demonstrated last year in adopting the Byrd-Pastore resolution censuring West Germany, the Congress is not enchanted by expanded East-West trade. There is small sentiment on the Hill for differing "quietly and with courtesy" with the Communist world. Sen. Everett Dirksen already has made known his opposition to the pending consular treaty with the Soviet Union, and the Illinois Republican will not stand alone.

So beginneth the 90th Congress deep in discord before it has really tuned up. The fight over Powell left some bloody wounds behind, and Mr. Johnson's unguent speech did little to soothe the pain. It was not the happiest Tuesday in the history of the Hill.

Progress of the War in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, the Reader's Digest has published in its January 1967 issue a condensation of an article entitled "The Three-R War in Vietnam," written by Miss Ruth Sheldon Knowles, and originally published in the magazine U.S. Lady.

In this timely and interesting account, Miss Knowles points out the high priority which education and learning are receiving in Vietnam alongside our military efforts in that unfortunate part of the world.

We can all agree that education is a principal and basic need in all the underdeveloped areas of the world. In Vietnam, as Miss Knowles points out in her article, the United States is attempting to train the Vietnamese to operate their own educational system, to upgrade their own economic system, to improve their own government, and to broaden and strengthen through knowledge the very foundation of a revitalized nation. No part of our struggle in Vietnam is more important.

This is one aspect of our commitment in that part of the world which needs more publicity. Miss Knowles' article is of such significance that I ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE THREE-R WAR IN VIETNAM

(By Ruth Sheldon Knowles)

"Human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe."

—H. G. Wells.

The paradox in Vietnam is that to win the war, we must first win the peace. And the peace can be won only at the "rice roots," among the rural people in the small hamlets of South Vietnam.

On a recent trip throughout Vietnam, I found that we are winning this peace—by means of an unsung and practically unknown program of education drawn up at the request of the Vietnamese people. Indeed, I found the big news of the war's turning tide not just at the battlefront but in hamlet classrooms where for the first time thousands of Vietnamese children have the opportunity to go to school.

In South Vietnam, parents are as eager to have their children in school as you or I. Education is so highly prized that on opening day hundreds of fathers and mothers gather to see if some child fails to show up—in which case their child may get a seat. Nine years ago, there were only 600,000 children in school. Today there are more than 1,700,000. Since 1963, the U.S. Agency for International Development has helped build 8500 hamlet classrooms, trained approximately 8000 teachers and distributed 7,500,000 textbooks. The U.S. military is also helping to build classrooms, and any large increase in U.S. troops sent to Vietnam is based on the expectation that one third to one half of the men will spend part of their time in similar "nation-building" projects.

All this is being accomplished despite Vietcong bombing and burning of schools, despite the kidnapping of teachers and control of roads. Regrettably, almost a million children are still out of school; but by the end of 1970 there will be enough additional schools and teachers to cut that number in half.

One of the major driving forces behind the hamlet-school program is an American woman, Mrs. Gladys Oakes Philpott. A former professor of education at Northern Illinois University, she arrived in Vietnam in 1957 as a teacher-education adviser for AID. Her first two years were devoted to training teachers for urban centers and setting up a demonstration elementary school. She traveled all over the country steeping herself in Vietnam's history and customs, and meeting province education chiefs.

In 1962, an AID survey found that the one service that rural Vietnamese wanted more than any other from their government was education for their children. This insatiable desire can be understood in terms of the educational vacuum which existed when the French left in 1954. Ninety percent of the people were illiterate—more than when France took over in the 1890's. The French cut back the free-education system of the Vietnamese emperors, under which learning had been accessible to poor and rich alike and was the path to mandarin office, which was neither hereditary nor for sale. Under the French, only a few were educated, for jobs that the French wanted them to have.

When Vietnam became independent, the educational attitude was still so French-oriented that in 1960 a study made for AID reported that "few persons in government positions at the ministry level consider elementary education important." Until 1958, all instruction was in French, which effectively prevented rural education. The chief aim of education officials seemed to be to keep the majority of children from attending school, and to concentrate on producing an elite who would administer the country.

The Vietcong made the situation worse by murdering teachers and sabotaging buildings. By 1960 they had forced 200 South Vietnamese primary schools to close, depriving 25,000 students of schooling. When Mrs. Philpott and a team of education advisers took hold, everything was lacking, schools, teachers, books, money, plans.

Where to begin? Mrs. Philpott initiated the idea of sending small groups of provincial education chiefs to the United States for six weeks' training at the University of Illinois, with tours of community-development programs in Detroit and of Berea College, the celebrated self-help school in Kentucky. The education chiefs returned to Vietnam with heightened prestige, held seminars, wrote and published papers, gradually upgraded the education system. By 1963 a framework existed for launching the rural hamlet-school program.

Mrs. Philpott went to the education chief of Binh Dinh province, which had the most difficult problem of all because its 700,000 population had been swollen by 100,000 refugees. "He was a particularly good education chief," Mrs. Philpott relates. "And I wanted the leadership of the program to come from that group. I asked him to make a survey of provincial needs and the ability of the villages to support schools. I also asked him how he felt the program should be developed. With a committee which he chose, we worked out the first year's program. A master plan for all Vietnam evolved from this."

Thousands of people in the hamlets constructed their own school buildings—altogether one third of all the new classrooms—under the U.S. AID Self Help program, which supplies materials and food for those working. Vietnamese and U.S. Army units helped on the projects together. Americans naturally don't consider a school complete without a playground. Members of the famed Green Berets, who used their jungle-warfare ingenuity to build playground equipment, told me how much they enjoyed doing it—they discovered that Vietnamese children had never seen swings or seesaws before!

In the Central Vietnam highlands, where the fiercest battles were being fought during late 1965, the school program had equal priority with the military. Every military supply plane carried at least 75 bags of cement, enough to build one classroom. Armed convoys delivering food to beleaguered hamlets always carried cement for schools also.

"The big push of 1965 was due to Gladys Philpott's unremitting efforts," a U.S. AID official stated. "She spends approximately 95 percent of her time in the field, living under dangerous conditions." Mrs. Philpott's many Vietnamese friends warn her in advance when they consider an area unsafe, but safety in Vietnam is never predictable. In one area which she was told was "95-percent safe," 25 people were killed by a mine on a road along which she travels frequently.

In the beginning, the Vietcong warned hamlet officials that they would destroy anything the government gave them. In one hamlet, when the government built a school, the Vietcong blew it up the next day. The people themselves immediately built another school. The Vietcong did not touch it, realizing that they had turned the hamlet against them. Recently, school bombings and kidnapping and harassment of teachers have been decreasing. Vietnamese and U.S. officials attribute this to the success of the school program in rallying the people to the government side.

One of the outstanding achievements of the program has been among the Montagnards ("mountain people") in the Vietnam highlands, 800,000 members of a racial mosaic of primitive tribal groups. Montagnards live in a world of hunger, cold, fear, ignorance and disease. Both the French and the Vietnamese treated them somewhat as strange animals. But the war has made them important, because geographically they occupy almost half of South Vietnam—the mountainous jungle highland area between North Vietnam and the great rice bowel of the Mekong River Delta.

Because of the remoteness and small size of Montagnard communities, boarding schools in central areas were the only feasible means of education. U.S. AID had sparked the first one in 1958. "Fifteen- and sixteen-year-olds started in the first grade," Mrs. Philpott recalls. "They came in beech cloths and sarongs, and with no idea about combing their hair. They were from seven tribes, and the first year we just taught them a common tongue so that they could understand one another. Within two years you wouldn't have known they were the same young people. They knew how to wash and to eat with chopsticks. They were eager to learn."

To the rural people, the greatest miracle of the education program is that for the first time the children have textbooks. Before, there were only slates, and teaching was entirely by rote. A joint Vietnamese-American educational committee has designed modern, attractive, illustrated textbooks which, in addition to the "three R's" teach greatly needed health principles, science, history and geography. The textbooks, in Vietnamese, bear the message on the back cover: "This is a gift to the Vietnamese people from the American people."

To meet the need for skilled industrial workers, AID has sponsored the establishment of four coeducational polytechnic schools. Today, approximately 10,000 students are enrolled in technical and agricultural schools. Seven rural trade schools are in operation for youths who might not be able to continue education beyond elementary school, and another seven will be opened later this year. More are planned.

"The Vietnamese children are truly bright," Mrs. Philpott says. "This accelerated education is helping to prepare them for self-government. Democracy *needs* mass education."

I learned how eager the Vietnamese are to fill that need when I stopped at a hamlet in the mountains where avery able-bodied person was working on a one-classroom school. When I asked the hamlet chief what the rush was, he explained that the province education chief would be there in a few days to dedicate it. "This is the most important thing that ever happened to our hamlet," he said proudly.

In the long run education is the only way in which freedom can be achieved. The base for freedom in South Vietnam has already been laid. Textbooks don't make flashy headlines today, but the cumulative effect of the educational effort in Vietnam will create the headlines of tomorrow.

Economic Sanctions and Those Wicked Rhodesians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Polish American is an independent weekly publication with readers principally located in the Chicago metropolitan area but its columnists and editorial writers cover the international scene.

One of the most penetrating and provocative columnists is a young educator, Harry E. Dembkowski, who in the January 14, 1967, edition of that publication provides a very penetrating and certainly provocative commentary on the question of Rhodesia:

ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AND THOSE WICKED RHODESIANS

(By Harry E. Dembkowski)

UN Ambassador Arthur Goldberg's recent announcement that the United States is joining an economic boycott of Rhodesia, while not unexpected, nonetheless represents an amazing action on the part of our government—from almost any aspect of the question one seeks to examine. Space permits us to point out only a few of the many absurdities involved . . .

When the Rhodesian government of Ian Smith—which had been elected in accordance with the colony's constitution—unilaterally declared its independence from Britain more than a year ago, Britain, lacking the military power to force it back into submission, resorted to an economic boycott. That still failing, it requested the UN to vote mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia so the former colony would be economically isolated from the rest of the world and forced to capitulate.

(This, despite the fact that Britain, advocating "world trade" as one cure for the world's ills, insists upon trading with the Communist dictatorships including Cuba, Red China, and North Viet Nam . . .)

The UN, which supposedly dislikes delving into the "domestic affairs" of sovereign nations (except for the Republic of South Africa of course) immediately took up the challenge. American troops are fighting in South Viet Nam and bombing North Viet Nam; Fidel Castro continues to plot the subversion of Latin America; China, is in the midst of a purge which borders on civil war . . . But none of that is important, nor even discussed. Rhodesia constitutes a "threat to the peace," or so decrees the mighty UN—that "Last Great Hope On Earth"—and economic sanctions—the first in the history of that international organization—were quickly voted against the government of Ian Smith.

This resolution failed to satsify many member-states of the UN who, although critical of U.S. "aggression" in Viet Nam, clamor for a British-led invasion of Rhodesia. But it does succeed in preventing vitally-needed Rhodesian products from reaching American ports. The loss of our chrome ore supply, for instance, so vital in the production of stainless steel, may now be dependent for its replacement upon—Russia!

The U.S. participation in anti-Rhodesian economic sanctions—which, in itself, constitutes the real "threat to the peace"—is opportunistically inspired and fraught with cynical hypocrisy. The opportunism is clear: cater to the whims of the irresponsible and immature Afro-Asian majority in the UN at the expense of the only truly civilized and stable elements left in sub-Sahara Africa. The demogogic excesses of the UN may be excused, or at least explained, on the basis of its domination by the over-represented, under-civilized Afro-Asian bloc, but how does one begin to justify such irresponsibility from the U.S., the supposed leader of the Free World?

Some observers, advocates of the sanctions, claim it is a false analogy to compare the Rhodesian attainment of independence with the American Revolution of 1776—the two being the only successful revolts against Britain on record. Yes, there are some major differences. But not in the manner those observers believe.

While the early Americans colonized the North American continent through a genocidal policy of exterminating the native aborigines (i.e. Indians) or relegating them to various concentration camp-enclosures known as reservations, the white settlers of Rhodesia are approaching the problem of nation-building quite differently. The African tribes of Rhodesia, rather than being exterminated or driven off their ancestral land, are being educated in the ways and means of economic and social development. (Ian Smith, in contrast to General George Washington, owns no slaves.)

Yes, there are differences between Rhodesia's attainment of independence and our own. But in contrast to the granite certainty of an Arthur Goldberg, this columnist is not at all certain that we have any right to point an accusing finger at our southern African counterparts in the type of democracy they possess or in the manner they are dealing with the "racial problem." (Anyone asking the average American Indian or Negro our right to be the moral judges of the world risks hearing some earthy and uncomplementary replies.)

Rhodesia, for all of its faults, remains one of the few bastions of calm, order and progress in that turbulent and still-primitive continent of Africa. For the nation's white minority to relinquish its position of leadership to the tribal groups who happen to form a numerical majority, would be tantamount to inviting another Congo—years of strife, misery, and a descent to savagery. And for the U.S. to risk such a calamitous possibility, merely to please Britain's pride and the irresponsible demands of the Afro-Asians, would be an abdication of America's supposed position as guardian of Western Civilization and leader of the Western Alliance.

Eastern Europe remains Communist, the Soviet Union is a prisonhouse of many nationalities, Stalinist purges sweep China, and war decimates Viet Nam . . . Yet, we are assured, it is Rhodesia which constitutes the real "threat to the peace," a threat which must be liquidated by UN action.

Nonetheless, despite the torrents of venom which continue to be directed against Rhodesia by the demagogues of the UN, it is here predicted that the sanctions will fail; that Rhodesia will survive the crises to merge, in time, with the Republic of South Africa, in some form of union;—and the U.S., by the unbridled opportunism it has displayed in this matter, will emerge with diminished stature and tarnished reputation.

Score another victory for those "Liberal" principles displayed since the days of Yalta and before, principles which were examined some years ago by James Burnham in a book most aptly titled—"Suicide of the West."

Burlington, Vt., a City for a Career

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WINSTON L. PROUTY

OF VERMONT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, the New York Times of last Thursday, January 12, 1967, published an advertisement entitled "Burlington, Vt.; Great Place To Ski, but Could You Build a Career There?" The advertisement was sponsored by the International Business Machines Corp.

Burlington is unquestionably recognized as the Queen City and it may truly be said that throughout its history it has been one of the foremost intellectual and cultural centers of New England. It has continued to prosper because of its constructive and progressive industries, its skilled workers, a large professional population, fine hospitals, colleges and an ever-expanding university, and the dedicated and conscientious efforts of its citizens.

I recommend a reading of the advertisement to all recent and prospective graduates who are seeking employment opportunities, and I ask unanimous consent that the advertisement be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the advertisement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

February and June 1967 Graduates—Burlington, Vt., Great Place To Ski, but Could You Build a Career There?

Chances are you could if you're an engineer or technician. With IBM.

Especially if you have your eyes on the slopes and your mind on a challenging, fulfilling career.

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Poor Standard of Values: The Case for Tax Sharing

SPEECH

OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial in the Wausau Record Herald in my congressional district entitled "Poor Standard of Values" cites specific examples of why the tax-sharing approach is a better way for Americans to do things than the discredited approach of Federal grants-in-aid. The experience of Stevens Point, Wis., with regard to its application for a storm sewer expansion program as contrasted to Racine County, Wisconsin's probability of qualifying for Federal aid for its first county golf course dramatizes, I think, the way in which federally established priorities often defy logic.

Under unanimous consent, I include the editorial, entitled "Poor Standard of Values," in the Record at this point:

Poor Standard of Values

The priorities which the Johnson Administration assigns to various federal aid programs continues to be unbelievable.

For example, from Stevens Point comes a recent report which indicates that an inquiry to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development has indicated that the City of Stevens Point will not qualify for federal aid for its storm sewer expansion program now or in the immediate future. This is a shock, considering the Administration's voiced concern for the pollution problem and the acknowledged public sentiment to get the job done.

While Stevens Point can't get money to separate storm from sanitary sewers, Racine County is quite certain it will qualify for federal aid for its first county golf course. In fact, a federal application asking $107,000 toward purchase of property for the golf course has already been submitted.

A recent news story from a Democratic senator in Washington revealed that a northern Wisconsin electric cooperative had qualified for funds to extend an electric line at a cost of several hundred thousands of dollars.

This federal grant which will assist no more than 250 families, is made at the same time that federal highway funds, which affect all of Wisconsin's millions of people, are being cut in half.

We read in the Washington Post that nearly $12 million of Poverty War gold was dropped in Mississippi just before the November elections in five hasty and hectic give-away days, some even before applications were made. Rust College, a small Negro institution, was reported to have been granted $1.2 million before the college's president had completed the application showing how it would be spent.

The crowning blow to Marathon County will come if it does not qualify for federal funds to construct a new county hospital to replace one which a state official has described as "no longer fit to live in." Yet the preliminary indication to county officials is that the county may not qualify for federal funds for this worthy purpose.

Where are those who say Washington can do the job better?

The Attack on Rule XXII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Rule XXII Under Fire," published in the Charlottesville Daily Progress of January 14, 1967.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RULE 22 UNDER FIRE

The annual effort is on in the Senate to change Rule 22, the cloture rule which permits closing of debate on pending legislation by the vote of two-thirds of the Senators.

The attack on Rule 22 this year is being led by a group of liberal senators, one of whom wants to allow a simple majority of 51 to cut off debate, or to end a filibuster. The other, and smarter, approach by Sen. McGovern (D-S.D.) would reduce the two-thirds requirement to three fifths. In other words, with all senators present, 60 could invoke debate-limiting cloture instead of the 67 now required.

While battered Rule 22 is considered now to be a civil rights issue, a liberal vs. conservative issue or a labor vs. capital issue it has not always been that way. It has been employed in the past by liberal and conservatives and by supporters of labor and capital to do just what it was designed to do, which is to provide some protection for the rights of minorities.

While Rule 22 has been used by opponents of civil rights legislation, the fact remains that virtually all civil rights proposals have been enacted. What is wanted badly enough by the majority in the Senate is usually obtained. A vast number of bad measures, paid lip service by the majority, have gone down the drain as the result of extended debate and discussion protected by Rule 22.

The so-called liberal bloc of the Senate used Rule 22 several years ago in an attempt to defeat the communications satellite legislation. Rule 22 was employed last year to defeat repeal of state right-to-work laws, a repeal ardently sought by labor leaders who forget that a few years ago, the two-thirds debate cutoff permitted a filibuster to prevent the drafting of striking railroad workers into the Army.

Senate liberals also enjoyed the protection of Rule 22 to continue an educational filibuster against legislation designed to override the Supreme Court ruling on reapportionment.

If cloture is a matter of concern for liberal senators today it should not be forgotten that it has as often been a matter of concern for the conservative bloc.

The two-thirds vote applies not only to debate, but to impeachment proceedings, expulsion of a member of Congress and to ratification of treaties by the Senate. It is not an unreasonable requirement.

Rule 22 was designed to provide protection for all sides on all matters. It has been demonstrated time and again in the Senate that where there is sufficient public interest, support and demand, legislation will be passed. But there is no harm in providing the means for a cooling off period of long debate and discussion that might prevent Congress from being stampeded into the passage of legislation of dubious value to the nation.

The Honorable Lester G. Maddox, of Georgia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. FLYNT, JR.
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, most of us are familiar with the successful candidacy of the Honorable Lester G. Maddox for Governor of Georgia because Georgia's 1966 election story has received extensive coverage throughout the Nation and abroad.

On January 11, 1967, accompanied by Congressman G. ELLIOTT HAGAN and Congressman W. S. STUCKEY, JR., I was a platform guest at the inauguration of Governor Maddox when he took the oath of office as Governor and delivered his inaugural address.

I would like to share this speech with my colleagues in the Congress because it gives a keen insight into the personality and views of Governor Maddox. Its message is one of tolerance and responsibility, advocating strength and progress for Georgia. Above all, it reflects the desire of a great misunderstood man to serve as the Governor of all the people of his State and to promote progress, peace and tranquility. It should serve to dispell the doubts in the minds of many.

At this point in the RECORD, on behalf of my colleagues, Representative HAGAN and STUCKEY, and myself, I include a text of the inaugural address of the Honorable Lester G. Maddox, Governor of Georgia, delivered in Atlanta, Ga., on January 11, 1967:

Text of Inaugural Address delivered by Gov. Lester Maddox at noon, Wednesday, Jan. 11, 1966, at the State Capitol.

Governor Sanders, Lt. Gov.-elect Smith, Speaker Smith, distinguished members of the General Assembly, distinguished jurists and state officials and my fellow Georgians:

The emotions of this moment are many and mixed.

But that which is uppermost in my heart . . . is a deep sense of humility.

I am humbled by the honor you do me . . . by the magnitude of the task you have entrusted to me . . . by the gravity of the responsibility you have vested in me and—most of all—by the confidence you thus have demonstrated in me.

For this I shall be eternally grateful . . . But, more than gratitude . . . I pledge to you my fullest energy and every effort for the next four years . . . to measure up to your honor . . . to fulfill your trust . . . to discharge the responsibility you have delegated to me . . . and to merit your confidence.

And in setting out this noon . . . to labor toward those ends I do so with the prayer of Solomon of old:

"O Lord my God . . . Thy servant is in the midst of Thy people whom Thou has chosen . . . give Thy servant therefore an understanding mind to govern this Thy people, that I may discern between good and evil; for who is able to govern this Thy great people?"

A LONG TRAIL

We meet today at the end of a long and tortured trail . . . from the political platform, to the ballot box, to the courts and into the legislative forum. It has been a journey which has tried the public patience and has tested the procedures of democracy.

There were issues which divided us and there were inconclusive results . . . which brought us several times to the brink of despair.

But because of the vitality of our institutions . . . because of the adherence of our people to the processes of law and order . . . and because of the faith of Georgians in the ultimate triumph of their will . . . continuity of government has been maintained and an orderly transition of leadership effected.

We have reason to be proud of the restraint of the partisans of all sides . . . of the forebearance of the electorate as a whole . . . of the dispatch and dignity with which the courts resolved the points at issue . . . of the statesmanship of our able and respected outgoing governor, the honorable Carl Sanders . . . and, most particularly, of the courage and responsibility with which the members of this General Assembly faced up to and discharged the difficult duty imposed upon them by the Constitution of our state.

ONE STEP REMAINS

One step yet remains to bring a satisfactory conclusion to our year of searching and indecision.

And that, my friends, is for all of us—those gathered here and the remainder of Georgia's four and one-half million citizens who are elsewhere—to unite in the cause we all hold in common.

That cause is the building of a greater and more prosperous Georgia with expanded horizons of opportunity for all.

That is a cause which is greater than any one or group of us.

That is a cause which transcends all differences of philosophy and politics.

That is a cause which requires the help and support of all Georgians—young and old, poor and rich, farmer and city dweller and Democrat and Republican regardless of race, creed, color or national origins.

I seek that help.

I ask that support.

JEFFERSON QUOTED

The great architect of our democracy—the revered Thomas Jefferson—faced division when he assumed the presidency. And the words with which he dealt with that subject in his inaugural address are as vital and as apropos to our situation now . . . as they were to his then.

"Let us," he declared, "restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things. And let us reflect that having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered . . . we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic . . . as wicked . . . and as capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions."

Mr. Jefferson then went on to state that "difference of opinion is not a difference of principle." And he concluded that "error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

More than a century and a half have proved the Jeffersonian concept of government—that the people, when given the facts and the opportunity to act upon them, can be counted upon to decide public matters wisely.

EMPHASIZES UNITY

I subscribe to the principles of Jeffersonian democracy with its emphasis upon unity in the pursuit of common goals . . . upon the free interchange of ideas in areas of differing opinion . . . and upon final determination of issues by the people themselves.

That is the American way.

That is the Georgia way.

That will be the way of the Maddox administration.

Much has been said and written about there being no mandate for anyone in our primaries and election of last year.

I dispute that.

I consider the people to have spoken loudly and clearly . . . not only about what they want and expect from their new administration . . . but also about what they do not want and will not tolerate from it.

They want a public school system equal to the best in the nation . . . and they want every child regardless of his circumstances or where he lives to be prepared to compete on an equal basis . . . with every other child in the country.

HIGHER EDUCATION

They want a system of higher education adequate to the needs of today and of the 21st century just ahead . . . and they want that education made available to every youth capable of profiting by it.

They want swift completion of our interstate highway system . . . a solution to the traffic and transit problems of our cities . . . and an end to the slaughter on our highways.

They want dignity, comfort and adequate facilities and treatment for the mentally ill . . . the retarded and the aged . . . and they want a decent, modern correctional system dedicated to rehabilitation.

They want training for the unskilled and unemployed . . . and they want a vigorous, effective industrialization program to assure jobs now and in the future . . . for all who can and will work.

They want aid for our strangling cities and our struggling smaller communities and they want to be allowed to solve local problems on the local level.

They want all citizens to be safe in their homes and on the streets . . . and for private property to be protected from the thief . . . the hoodlum and the mob.

BUSINESSLIKE BASIS

They want their state government to continue to be operated on a sound, economical, businesslike basis . . . with morality and honesty scrupulously enforced in all its agencies and activities.

Those are the positive aspects of the people's mandate.

On the other hand, we have been told:

The people do not want any undue change in the direction or policy of their state government.

They do not want a single school closed or the right of a child to be educated or a teacher to teach to be impaired.

They do not want riots in the streets or breaches of the peace in public places or institutions.

And, above all, they do not want any extremist organization or group to have any voice or influence in any state programs.

These points, my fellow Georgians, constitute the mandate I read into the returns from the ballots you cast in 1966.

It is a mandate for progress and responsibility . . . which I accept wholeheartedly and without reservation . . . as your servant and as the instrument of your will.

It is a mandate which the Maddox administration will follow as the chart for its course over the next four years.

It is a mandate which will be carried out in accordance with the advice from the best wishes of the people as expressed through their elected representatives.

No one realizes more than I that the administration of four years of multi-million-dollar budgets . . . and the formulation and implementation of complex policies . . . is not a one-man job.

Immediately following this ceremony, I will announce my appointments to the key offices of the Executive Branch. I have called upon people I believe to be capable, competent and committed to no interest except that of Georgia and its citizens . . . to serve you in these jobs. I have impressed upon all of them that I shall expect their services to be in accordance with the yardstick set by Henry Clay when he said:

"Government is a trust, and the officers of the government are trustees, and both the trust and the trustees are created for the benefit of the people."

As soon as possible, I will name a number of task forces to make specific recommendations for legislative and administrative action in fields of major interest and concern.

I will call on leaders in all areas of endeavor throughout the state—women as well as men—to serve on these groups.

These men and women will make thorough studies of all aspects of our problem areas. In some cases they will hold hearings to ascertain public thinking and to get citizen recommendations. And in all cases they will be requested to present detailed programs dealing with how as well as what . . . for my consideration in time for presentation to the 1968 Session of the General Assembly.

TASK FORCES

There will be task forces in the fields of education, mental health, highways and highway safety, industrialization, corrections and law enforcement and perhaps others where the need for studies in depth is evident.

We will take steps to avoid any further repetition of the confusion and controversy caused by the primaries and general election last year.

First, during the coming months, . . . I will study and evaluate the State Election Code in light of our experience since its adoption in 1964 . . . consulting election officials as to means of strengthening and improving our election machinery in Georgia . . . and such changes that might be needed will be prepared for submission to the earliest possible session of the General Assembly.

And, second, I will ask the General Assembly to submit to the voters for ratification in the 1968 General Election a constitutional amendment to require a run-off election for Governor between the top two candidates . . . in the event no candidate receives a majority in the general election.

The people have made it very clear that they want to do the electing of their governors themselves. That this is their right is a conviction I have long held and expressed often . . . and the assurance of that right under all circumstances is a priority goal of the Maddox administration.

The Maddox administration will not shirk its responsibility in the matter of legislative reapportionment.

RIGHT TO APPORTION

Georgians believe, as I do, that the states should have the right to apportion one House on the basis of population . . . as in the United States House of Representatives . . . and the other on the basis of geography . . . as in the United States Senate.

But Georgia is under federal court order to reapportion the General Assembly in accordance with the "one man—one vote" principle by May of this year. The only alternative to acting ourselves is to let the federal courts do the job for us. And such a course is wholly unacceptable to all of us who believe in states' rights and states' responsibilities.

It would be unwise to complicate the deliberations of the regular session of the General Assembly now under way with this complex and controversial task. Therefore, I have decided to call a special session next spring for that sole purpose. And, at an early date, I will confer with the lieutenant governor and the speaker of the House to reach agreement on a date for a special session.

Believing . . . as I do . . . in the separation of powers of government, I will make no recommendation as to how reapportionment should be accomplished . . . unless it becomes evident . . . that a majority of the members of the General Assembly cannot agree on an acceptable plan. I am confident they will meet their responsibility in this regard and will enact a plan the federal courts will approve.

A NEW CONSTITUTION

The Maddox administration will address itelf to another grave need of our state—that of a new, modern state Constitution.

It is all too obvious that we cannot expect our state and its government to continue to be responsive to the demands upon them under our present patchwork Constitution. The multiplicity of amendments on which we had to vote last fall was proof of its failure.

We cannot legislate at the ballot box so we must have effective home rule and social self-government for our cities and counties. And the only way we can get them is through writing a new Constitution attuned to a modern, growing Georgia.

I will ask the reapportioned General Assembly to call such a Constitutional convention. This will be done with a view toward submitting a new Constitution to the people before the end of this administration.

We will not hesitate to meet head-on these and whatever other problems subsequently may arise and endeavor to resolve them in the best interests of the people.

Of this one fact, all Georgians may be assured: We will solve Georgia problems in Georgia and channel change to the benefit of the people of our state while Lester Maddox is governor.

There is no necessity for any conflict to arise between federal-state authority. We should—and we can—solve any disagreements under the framework of the Constitution . . . respecting the authority of the national government . . . and being ever-mindful of protecting the rights of Georgia and Georgians.

WILL DO UTMOST

That will be true because the Maddox administration will do its utmost here at home . . . within the framework of law and order . . . to solve those issues and problems which must be solved at home.

I say this to you: I will keep my eyes fixed awarely on the proper conduct of state business and service of all the people of Georgia. Our single goal is that of restoring the voice and involvement of the people in determining their own destinies through solving local problems on the local level.

The Maddox administration will support and provide increased financial assistance to cities and counties . . . in solving their own problems locally, or, where those problems are statewide in scope or beyond local capacity to solve . . . we will act promptly on the state level to deal with them realistically and effectively.

Law and order will be upheld in Georgia during the Maddox administration.

The first responsibility of government is protecting the lives and property of all its people. That responsibility will be met!

No person need counsel others to engage in riots and disturbances because there will be no need for any person or group to take grievances or problems into the streets.

Should any person or group in the state of Georgia have any problems or grievance, the place to take it is to duly-constituted authority on the local level, if a local matter, or to me, as chief executive, on the state level, should it require a state solution.

There will be no place in Georgia during the next four years for those who advocate extremism or violence.

Peace and tranquility will prevail in this state while Lester Maddox is governor.

COMPASSION, CONCERN

The Maddox administration will be one of compassion and concern. Those Georgians who cannot help themselves will have a friend in the governor's chair for the next four years.

That goes for the school child who will be the product of the kind of education we give him.

That goes for the bright youngsters with the potential of greatness who cannot afford a college education.

That goes for the unfortunate victim of mental illness and for the forgotten and abused inmate of a correctional institution.

That goes for the poor fellow who has lost his job and would work if only he could find another or learn another skill.

That goes for the high-minded mother of the slum family who would inspire her children to a better future if only she could break the chains of poverty that bind her and them.

My friends, you now have a governor who knows what it is to be poor . . . to want an education and be denied one . . . to toil for a living and to meet a payroll the hard way.

I will not forget those lessons of the past but rather will do everything possible to apply them in a constructive way so as to spare the children who come after us some of those agonies and hardships.

In this moment of beginning and dedication, I would emphasize my total commitment to the proposition that there is room enough for everyone in our great State of Georgia.

There is room enough for every faith, every ideal and every shade of opinion—and room enough for full freedom to express them by the individual citizen . . . as well as by the press and communications media.

There is room enough for the right of dissent as well as the right to conform.

There is room enough for the right to pursue one's honest livelihood without fear of oppression, for the right to live at peace with one's neighbor and for the right to be left alone, secure and unafraid, by one's own fireside.

There is room enough for honest, effective, efficient government at all levels, . . . each acting within its proper sphere of authority . . . and for the right of each person to speak out and to act when, in his own conscience, he feels there are things which must be set to rights.

Liberty!

Freedom!

Those are the watchwords of American democracy and the foundation stones of the Georgia philosophy of government.

LOVE FREEDOM

Georgians love their freedom and they believe with Daniel Webster that:

"God grants liberty only to those who love it, and are always ready to guard and defend it."

Thus, on this solemn occasion, I pledge myself, and your new state administration . . . not only to the protection and preservation of these inalienable rights we hold so dear . . . but also to the responsible exercise of them.

My deepest and most heartfelt desire to weld all Georgians together into one unified force to improve our state and the opportunity it affords our people, particularly our children.

Georgia belongs to all of us.

She belongs to every citizen.

Her interests and welfare are the interests and welfare of all.

As I promised you as the people's candidate, I promise you as the people's governor, ours shall be a people's administration.

Accordingly, the governor's office shall set aside specifically the first and third Wednesday afternoons of each month for the people to meet their governor and for their governor to confer with them.

As I had the opportunity to shake the hands of Georgians during the campaigns of last year, so I look forward to having this twice-a-month opportunity to shake them again during my administration as your governor.

When the record of this administration is written four years hence, let it be said that in the conduct of daily affairs of the office of governor the people's interests were protected first, last and always.

Let it be said that bold, courageous leadership was offered.

Let it be said that in all state dealings, they were handled honestly.

Let it be said that the rights of the state and her people were guarded jealously and protected fully.

Let it be said that in these four years emphasis was put on the true values of government and of life.

Let it be said that those who worked in this administration did so with sweat, toil and prayer in dedication to get the job done.

Let it be said that there was full citizen participation in the state government during these years.

Let it be said . . . notwithstanding the fact that the goals set at the outset were high . . . that they were achieved in the realization . . . that no worthwhile accomplishments can be attained without setting great goals.

Let it be said that we did not seek things merely because they were easy to accomplish.

Let it be said that we recognized the challange and met it.

Let it be said that we were not content with being average but rather sought and achieved nothing less than leadership in all areas.

The task is before us.

Our duty is clear.

Georgia's destiny is in our hands.

Toward its realization I ask for your advice, your support, your help and prayers . . . and, in turn, pledge to you my best and my all.

National Community Senior Service Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a bill that would establish a National Community Senior Service Corps.

This bill would authorize grants to States which establish part-time employment programs for senior citizens in projects of value to the community. Small salaries could be paid in amounts that would not interfere with full social security benefits and short-term training may be provided.

Modern medicine has prolonged the productive and useful years of Americans to the extent that retirement age often catches them by surprise. Consequently, many an alert and capable older person finds himself banished to the rocking chair on the front porch long before he is ready to go.

This often results in a feeling of discouragement so intense that physical health begins to deteriorate, to say nothing of the psychological damage that is done.

Although compulsory retirement may sometimes be a mixed blessing, involuntary unemployment is always a frightening experience and many, many senior citizens, facing discrimination on the job market because of their age, eke out an inadequate living because they are unable to secure employment.

At the same time, every community and neighborhood has unmet manpower needs. There are never enough hospital workers, or helpers for working or invalid mothers. There are many cultural and civic projects that are stalled because they need the touch of enthusiam and the time that the fully employed work force is not able to provide.

Therefore we are faced with the paradox of available jobs and willing manpower that simply have not been brought together.

The National Community Senior Service Corps would provide the catalyst for bringing the two together. The small salaries that could be paid under its auspices would make the difference between poverty level living and modest comfort for many. For the discouraged and unwilling idle, it can return a sense of usefulness and of being needed that all humans must have.

Above all, no amount of schooling and sophisticated training can substitute for the wisdom and understanding that comes with years of living. Our Nation cannot afford to disregard the importance of these two qualities.

I hope that we will see the early passage of this sensible and compassionate legislation.

Two Articles by Columnist Arthur Hoppe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, during the congressional recess, Columnist Arthur Hoppe placed two articles in the San Francisco Chronicle which are of interest. The first appeared on November 1, and the second on November 3. His columns follow:

GEORGE HAMILTON DESERVES OUR HELP

(By Arthur Hoppe)

I trust all of you kindhearted folks out there who believe in happy endings will give generously to our latest do-good crusade—The National Fund-Raising Drive to Support George Hamilton's Mother.

You can see how, if successful, this fund-raising drive will happily resolve all the complexities of the warm story that is second only to Peyton Place in the Nation's heart.

For Mr. Hamilton has been telling reporters for years over lunch at Sardi's, El Morocco and 21 that he'd love to march off and fight for his country. But he can't. He can't because his darned draft board keeps deferring him on the grounds that he's the sole support for his sainted mother—Mrs. Anne Something Something Hamilton Something Spaulding.

Can he march gaily off to war leaving mom all alone in their 39-room Hollywood mansion, down to her last Bentley, trying to eke out an adequtae staff of upstairs maids on an Army allotment of $95.20 a month. Of course not.

Worse yet, though Mr. Hamilton is far too much a gentleman to admit it, this is obviously what has kept him and Miss Lynda Bird apart. Can a young man who is the sole support of his sainted mother run off and get married? What a cruel and heartless thing that would be to do.

It's no wonder Miss Lynda Bird has gone to work, hoping to add her pittance to Mr. Hamilton's $300,000 a year so as to build a nest egg—a nest egg with which to buy Mrs. Spaulding an annuity so that some day these two young people can wed.

Think of the unhappiness this tragic situation has caused. Think of the President. There can be no doubt that every time he picks up a newspaper mentioning his daughter, Mr. Hamilton and the draft in one paragraph, he gets all choked up.

But now is our chance. For next Monday Mr. Hamilton once again reports for his physical examination. Once again his draft board will consider his plight.

And if only we can be there, friends, with a big bundle of money for his mother, they will accept him at last!

Then Miss Lynda Bird can give up her job! They can get married! Hand in hand, they will stroll off into the sunset to basic training!

And as for the President, he won't be losing a daughter, he'll be gaining five points in the polls.

So give. Give till it hurts. Give to the National Fund-Raising Drive to Support George Hamilton's Mother.

She'll thank you. Miss Lynda Bird will thank you. The President will thank you. And if you don't hear from Mr. Hamilton, remember:

We don't do these things for gratitude. We do them because we love happy endings.

Elbie Jay Travels In Great Circles

(By Arthur Hoppe)

Howdy there, folks. How y'all? Time for another tee-vee visit with the rootin'-tootin' Jay Family, starring ol' Elbie Jay—an energetic feller ready to travel half way 'round the world to make friends. If'n he can't make any at home.

As we join up today with ol' Elbie, he and his pretty wife, Birdie Bird, have just collapsed in the parlor of their big white house amid a heap of suitcases and souvenirs. That's their cute tad, Myna Bird, asking 'em questions. She's on her lunch hour.

Elbie (with a happy sigh): I guess that was just about the most interesting, rewarding, enriching trip anybody ever took. My, we sure did learn a heap and get a heap done.

Myna Bird: I want to hear all about it, Daddy, minute by minute. In about (glancing at her watch) 37 minutes.

Elbie: Well, now, we started out in . . . Where'd we start out, honey?

Birdie Bird: Honolulu, dear.

Elbie: That's right. Then we went on down to . . . Well, I know we went to Australia, 'cause that's where your ma had a passle of fun digging up old pots and things.

Birdie Bird: No, dear, that was in the Philippines. Australia's where they threw paint on our car.

Elbie: You sure? Well, anyway, Malaysia was mighty nice, excepting it rained a lot so we couldn't do much but sit around the lobby writing postcards and . . .

Birdie Bird: Excuse me, dear. But I think it was Thailand where it rained. And a little bit in New Zealand.

Elbie: New Zealand? You certain we . . . Oh, sure enough, that's where I took that farmer in a funny hat for a helicopter ride. Fine place, New Zealand.

Birdie Bird: South Korea, dear.

Elbie: Yep, and then I snuck off from there for the afternoon to visit our boys in Vietnam. "Come home," I told them in my ringing words, "with that coonskin on the wall."

Myna Bird (puzzled): I thought our soldiers called them gooks.

Birdie Bird: That was Manila, Elbie.

Elbie: What do you mean? Our boys are fighting in Vietnam. Or is it Thailand? Or is it both? It's hard to think straight.

Birdie Bird: I mean you snuck off from Manila. Remember, that's where you had your conference?

Elbie: Conference? Say, I plumb forgot! That's where I got a real lot done and made a heap of fine friends I'll never forget, like . . . Like . . . Hand me my address book there, Birdie Bird.

Birdie Bird (sighing wearily): You know, Elbie, I'm not saying it wasn't a great trip, seeing all those countries. But, my, all that traipsing around! Next year, let's just pick the country we like best and spend the whole two weeks in one place. Seems to me, you'd accomplish just as much.

Elbie (snorting): Accomplish what? You think I could keep those Republicans off the front pages by spending two weeks in Texas?

Well tune in again, friends. And as you mosey down the windin' trail of life, remember what Elbie's ol' granddaddy used to say:

"When skies are grey, when you haven't got a friend, when the whole world's down on you—look busy."

Space and the Free Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the April 1966 issue of the Aeorspace Industries Association of America, contained an analysis by Mr. Karl G. Harr, Jr., president of the association, which was presented before the annual meeting of the American Astronautical Society. Mr. Harr has provided an incisive description of the place of our national space program in our society, examining closely the reasons why our Nation must establish and maintain preeminence in space.

It is interesting to note that he has identified our space program as part of our society and a major impetus in its vitality rather than an adjunct to our national need. Mr. Harr's thoughtful article clearly identifies the challenge of space as a part of our need as a growing society in the years ahead. The article follows:

Space and the Free Society

All of the men and women professionally involved in our national space program strive constantly, and with spectacular and meaningful results, to broaden the application of their efforts. In this way, scientists, engineers, businessmen, teachers, government officials and many others seek to fulfill their aggregate role as the human embodiment of the national space effort. They do an excellent job.

I suggest that this is not enough.

I suggest that, in a free society, a man's work is not done unless he has fought for and achieved recognition of the true nature and importance of his work to society as a whole.

As a spokesman for the aerospace industry, I have been able to proclaim "all's well" with respect to most of the key aspects of our national space efforts and industry's role in it. The achievements of 1965 certainly have demonstrated the effectiveness in depth of this nation's overall space activities.

But there remains one very disturbing aspect of our space effort: The close relationship between this effort, with all its ramifications and implications, and our total national growth and posture is almost completely unappreciated by our society.

The responsibility for this lack of understanding must fall primarily on those of us in government, industry and private scientific research who are engaged directly in carrying out the national space programs. For even we who are most closely connected with this effort are often guilty of defensiveness, justification on negative grounds, and an air of apology about our national space commitment.

Such attitudes are wrong. The most important thing we can do is to recognize our responsibility to reverse them. Our national space effort is not a boondoggle, a toy, a gimmick, a camouflaged military venture, a luxury, or anything of the kind. It is, rather, a multi-faceted national adventure with great scientific, technological, economic, spiritual and political connotations and components which go to the very core of our national character and posture. The impact permeates all aspects of our society.

Until this fact is popularly recognized and appreciated, our space effort will proceed on a false premise. And we who are most closely connected with it will have failed in our responsibility to our society.

Part of the price of a free society is that its members understand the premises upon which they are called to act. Despite the many successes we have enjoyed in our space program, we cannot count such an *understanding* among them.

By virtue of the technological and scientific advances of recent years and the political and economic strength of our nation, the challenge of space exploration was offered to us on terms within our national reach. The challenge fell on virtually every aspect of our society. No scientific discipline, no capacity for technological innovation, no political institution, and no aspect of our national, regional or local economic life lay wholly beyond its impact. Most were substantially affected. As a result no consideration of this nation's future could be made independently of our national decision as to the nature and scope of our space commitment.

To put it simply, we could choose either to accept the space challenge or to reject it. However, there was no choice about accepting the effects of that decision. Whichever way we decided would to a large degree determine the measure of the greatness of our society in the years ahead. For the decision and its effect were and are inseparable, and were and are essentially a decision as to the dimension of our future.

It follows that no one need be defensive or apologetic about our nation's commitment to the exploration of space. On the other hand, leaders, both governmental and private, would have been hard put to justify a decision *not* to accept this challenge with all of its attendant ramifications. As proof, one should test the attitudes in those national societies which, by choice or necessity, have decided not to be part of the space adventure. For the impact of such an option is as dramatically pervasive as is the impact of assuming the challenge. Rest assured that those nations who have not wanted or been able to accept this challenge are not unaware of what it has cost them in many ways.

Our society cannot remain free and viable by choosing to reject the major challenges with which it is faced; nor can it arbitrarily amputate areas of scientific and technological advance without cauterization of the whole. It cannot turn its back on technological advance, because so many of the solutions and so much of the dynamism available to a great democracy is associated with technology. Technological advance is not separable. You are either in the technological flow of the times or you are not. A great society allocates human and material resources to its space effort commensurate with the challenge, not because the space effort is more, less, or equal to medical research, for example, in importance, but because it believes its chances of improving its research are better if the space effort is undertaken. A great society does not apologize for its speace effort as depriving school systems of a measure of resources, but rather proceeds in the strong conviction that its school systems will be better because of the space effort.

The heart of the matter is the inseparability, on the one hand, of advancing where advance beckons and, on the other hand, overall national advance.

It is a narrow and specious contention to justify America's space effort in terms of competition with the Soviet Union or any other nation.

If we were the only nation in the world that had the capability to proceed into this new dimension, we should do it.

We should do it because of the difference it will make in the scope and depth and nature of the opportunities to be afforded our boys and girls ten years from now.

We should do it so that we will be a stronger and richer country in the future in *all* ways.

We should do it to preserve and refresh the spirit of innovation which has been so singular a factor in our national greatness. We should do it as part of a national renaissance on all fronts; for a great society, like a great university, cannot confine its attention to certain challenges selected under past conditions, but must, to sustain its greatness, move comprehensively to accept the challenges of the future.

Elements of our greatness are interrelated and interdependent. The advance of one helps the advance of every other. The attitude and climate of pursuing advance on all fronts greatly advances the whole. As the huge challenge of space generates and consumes and then regenerates our material and human resources, so does it widen the scope of the environment in which our citizens will exist and make their contribution in the years ahead. We will not have denied the future; we will not have fixed rigid horizons; we will not have tried to call a halt to technological advance; we will not have forfeited serendipity. We will continue to move forward as a free and greater society.

These are the real reasons we should proceed positively and proudly to seize this national opportunity—*not* because of the Soviet space effort, important as that is in some political and perhaps military contests; *not* to climb any mountains just "because they are there"; and *not* to create a Christopher Columbus syndrome. We are heavily involved in the space adventure because it is good for the country across the board.

This means we have a job to do in patiently and carefully establishing this proper perspective about our national space effort.

A free society does not tolerate silence, inattention, or neglect of responsibility in such matters. In a free society, you can't retreat to, or hide behind, your expertise. Just as the national space effort permeates all aspects of our national life, to that same extent does every member of our society have a responsibility toward it. It is everyone's business. But everyone must understand it. In a free society, people are not generous enough to assume your case. That case must be argued and reargued in the marketplace of ideas. And such a function can neither be delegated nor purchased.

Space is indisputably a key element in our national future. If we are to remain great, we must continue to accept this challenge with a commitment commensurate to its size and nature. If we are to remain free, we must also move ahead in accordance with the tenets of a free society. Thus, engineers, scientists, busiessmen, teachers, and government officials, whose aggregate contribution is the national space effort, have not finished their job until they have convinced our free society of the true nature of the great idea and purpose which they represent.

Hanoi Is Not Talking Yet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, there is a great deal of emotional and wishful thinking which enters into conjecture on the situation in Vietnam. I felt one of the most rational and timely editorial analyses of the situation appeared in the Wednesday, January 11, 1967, Chicago Daily News, which I insert in the RECORD trusting it will be closely scrutinized by the Members:

HANOI ISN'T TALKING YET

A detailed study of Premier Pham Van Dong's statement to a New York Times representative last Monday reveals little real basis for suspecting any important shift in North Vietnam's attitude toward negotiations.

True, the premier put a somewhat different face on his previous proposition when he said that the oft-repeated "four points" should "not be considered 'conditions,' . . . merely truths." Of itself that might seem to indicate some withdrawal from the position that even negotiations are impossible unless the four points—including withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam—are honored. And on the basis of this seeming shift a new wave of hope swept across the world, that Hanoi might be nearing a willingness to accept President Johnson's offer for no-strings talks.

But what needs to be borne in mind is that Pham Van Dong, a highly intelligent, subtle and articulate man, could have made it crystal clear that Hanoi would come to the conference table without prior fulfillment of the four points. Not only did he not do so; he added a fifth point. ". . . that the United States put, unconditionally and for good, an end to the bombing and all hostile activity against the North."

The imposition of fresh conditions hardly supports the picture of a nation softening its previous stand.

The new condition, moreover, was in the same martial key as most of the balance of his statement, which contained such remarks as these:

". . . We are determined to fight this war and win this war. . . .

". . . We are fighting a just war. That is clear and that is the explanation of our victory. . . .

". . . We are preparing for a long war. How many years? Ten, 20—what do you think, about 20?"

And a further official statement issued on Tuesday declared: "The four-point stand of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam constitutes the basis of a settlement of the Vietnamese problem."

There are those who say the problem is largely a semantical one—that if each side better understood the meaning of the other's words, a solution would be easier to reach.

As to the conditions for merely talking it over (as contrasted with the conditions for U.S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia) the American proposition of "unconditional negotiations" could hardly be clearer. The obfuscation is on the other side, and with so keen a man as Pham Van Dong this can hardly be laid to the inscrutability of the Oriental mind. When his country is ready to sit down and talk, he will find a way of saying so.

Harrison E. Salisbury Sums Up—III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, last week I brought to the attention of my colleagues the 15 articles filed from Hanoi, North Vietnam, by Harrison E. Salisbury, the Pulitzer Prize-winning assistant managing editor of the New York Times.

After leaving North Vietnam, Mr. Salisbury began a series of articles summing up his experiences and observations.

On January 13, the New York Times published the third article of the new series. In this article Mr. Salisbury takes up the question of what targets the United States is bombing. According to Mr. Salisbury, while military targets are being bombed, nonmilitary targets are also being bombed.

Mr. Salisbury reports:

What are the nonmilitary targets that can be seen to have been bombed? They are several residence areas in Hanoi, substantial areas of mixed housing, small shops and miscellaneous buildings in the suburbs of Gialam, Yenvien and Vandien in the Hanoi metropolitan area, several schools in the Hanoi area, villages and hamlets along highways leading south from Hanoi, large areas of housing and shops in towns like Namdinh and Ninhbinh and in the Phatdiem village complex, and a variety of other objectives, including cemeteries.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 13, 1967]

BOMB CONTROVERSY: VIEW FROM THE GROUND—UNITED STATES SAY ITS TARGETS ARE ALL MILITARY—HANOI DISSENTS

Following is the third of a series of articles by an assistant managing editor of the New York Times summing up observations on his visit to North Vietnam.

(By Harrison E. Salisbury)

HONG KONG, January 11—The most controversial subject concerning military operations in Vietnam is the United States air bombardment, what the United States is seeking to bomb and what the bombs are hitting.

President Johnson has stated American policy in simple terms. He said that the United States was bombing "steel and concrete" and that he was convinced American pilots were carrying out those orders.

The North Vietnamese contend that the United States is pursuing a deliberate policy of terror bombing, with civilian population and nonmilitary objectives as the target.

Wherein lies the truth? After two weeks of painstaking observation and inquiry on the ground in North Vietnam, this correspondent can report only what he saw and what he heard. Many bombs have fallen on targets that unquestionably are military objectives by any definition. Many bombs have also fallen on targets that are not military targets.

What are the military targets that have evidently been bombed? Foremost are the railroad and the railroad bridges running south across the delta from Hanoi and Haiphong. Foreigners in Hanoi report that the railroad north from Hanoi has also been bombed.

Highways running south and bridges along them have been bombed.

Other targets that this correspondent saw and that had been bombed are railroad sidings, antiaircraft gun sites, the Yenvien railroad yards and the so-called Vandien truck park in the Hanoi metropolitan area, several factories, and several buildings that probably served as military barracks.

In addition, Westerners in Hanoi confirmed that oil storage depots in Haiphong were destroyed in the initial United States attack last June 29.

What are the nonmilitary targets that can be seen to have been bombed? They are several residence areas in Hanoi, substantial areas of mixed housing, small shops and miscellaneous buildings in the suburbs of Gialam, Yenvien and Vandien in the Hanoi metropolitan area, several schools in the Hanoi area, villages and hamlets along highways leading south from Hanoi, large areas of housing and shops in towns like Namdinh and Ninhbinh and in the Phatdiem village complex, and a variety of other objectives, including cemeteries.

MISSILES MISFIRED

When Hanoi officials first reported that American bombs and aircraft-fired rockets had struck the city Dec. 13 and 14, United States officials contended that the damage might have been caused by the misfiring of one of the surface-to-air missiles used by the North Vietnamese to protect Hanoi against American air attack.

Later one American airman who had participated in the attack said he had seen two missiles misfire and had observed the missiles hitting the earth in open areas outside Hanoi.

The possibility of misfiring of missiles is not excluded by this correspondent. But no person with whom he talked in Hanoi, either official or unofficial, either North Vietnamese or foreign, either Western or Eastern, believes that the major areas of damage in the attacks of Dec. 13 and 14 resulted from missiles. Rightly or wrongly the opinion in Hanoi is that the damage was caused by the Americans, not the North Vietnamese.

THE ISSUE OF THE DIKES

There is also the question of dikes and levees. Are they legitimate military targets? That seems to be a matter of definition. If they were to be destroyed, the richest areas of North Vietnam would be devastated with a heavy loss of life. The United States contends that the dikes have never been cleared as targets and in fact have never been bombed.

However, North Vietnamese officials charge that the levees have been attacked repeatedly, particularly last summer during the high-water stage, when a breach in the dike system could have been catastrophic.

This correspondent has seen craters in and around dikes where bombs have fallen. Other Westerners have seen bomb hits on dikes and strings of craters along a line of levees.

Whatever the reason for the bombs falling on dikes, the effect was the same as if the bombing had been intentional. The North Vietnamese authorities regard the attacks with such seriousness that they have mobilized thousands of laborers to throw up auxiliary walls and dikes to hold back the water if the main system is breached.

CARRIER BRIEFINGS REPORTED

It is easy to establish that widespread harm has been done to civilian housing and nonmilitary institutions and that civilian casualties have been extensive during the United States bombardment of North Vietnam. It is not so easy to determine the cause of the damage and the casualties.

This correspondent has talked with two non-Americans who have been present at Seventh Fleet carrier briefings on the bombing of North Vietnam. According to these witnesses, pilots are assigned precise targets. They are warned against jettisoning bombs on civilians or at random in the countryside.

The instructions for attacks on North Vietnam differ radically from briefings for attacks on the demilitarized zone between North and South Vietnam, the witnesses said. In the demilitarized zone, pilots are given wider latitude.

"They are permitted to fire on anything that moves," one witness said. "Man, woman, child or goat. But they do not have permission to bomb at random in the North."

Those on the ground in North Vietnam cannot tell whether pilots jettison bombs at random despite instructions, but in the view of at least one Western military observer in Hanoi the fliers undoubtedly do.

A pilot en route back from a mission may "lighten his load" by disposing of remaining bombs or letting off a rocket or two for causes that cannot always be precisely ascertained, according to this view. And if bombs or rockets hit civilian targets, who is to know?

There is a good deal of speculation among Westerners in Hanoi about United States target selection. Some Westerners believe United States target specialists tend to pick imposing buildings as military objectives without necessarily precise information.

This line of speculation is stirred by the consistency with which buildings of more than one story seem to have been hit in town after town and hamlet after hamlet.

The North Vietnamese like to point to Roman Catholic churches that have been damaged, some severely. There are also bomb-battered Buddhist temples. Despite North Vietnamese contentions that churches and pagodas have been deliberately attacked, few Westerners accept this explanation. It sems more likely that churches are damaged accidentally in attacks directed at adjacent buildings, even if they are nothing more than ordinary stores or houses.

Damage to school buildings, hospitals and other public institutions, which is also readily visible, may be attributed to the same tendency to attack buildings of prominence and to the fact that hospitals and schools inevitably are situated in built-up areas.

LIKELIHOOD OF ERROR

Another factor that cannot be ignored in an examination of American bombing is pilot error, bombing error and error in target selection.

In the opinion of those who have witnessed attacks on Hanoi and Haiphong, errors are more likely than the United States defense authorities may recognize.

"It is not easy to bomb around Hanoi," one Westerner said. "Hanoi and Haiphong are heavily defended. This is where the Vietnamese have concentrated their air-defense missiles, their MIG-21's and other MIG's. This is where there is a heavy concentration of conventional anti-aircraft guns.

"For United States planes to slip through all these defenses, precisely place bombs on a small target located amidst nonmilitary objectives and think that pilots can carry out a mission without bombs splattering over nonmilitary targets just is not realistic."

As described by foreigners who have watched Americans come over Hanoi, the planes appear suddenly, often simultaneously with or ahead of an air alert. They achieve surprise by approaching from the sea, where the North Vietnamese lack radar stations, and they come up the Red River flying low to avoid radar detection.

The Americans are said to possess a healthy respect for the air-defense missiles and for this reason avoid coming over the city at high altitudes where the missiles are effective. But by coming in low, the Americans expose themselves to conventional antiaircraft guns and to small-arms fire that Hanoi residents send up in volume as soon as a plane whisks into sight.

MIG's are seldom used in actions directly over Hanoi or Haiphong, it was said, because they cannot be employed together with ground fire, at the risk of being shot down along with the Americans.

The air defense of the Hanoi-Haiphong triangle is regarded by foreigners as effective enough to present a problem for attacking American bombers. How many batteries are in the Hanoi area, this correspondent would not guess. They opened up only twice during his fortnight stay in Hanoi. On other occasions, gunfire was desultory or at such a distance that it was impossible to judge the volume.

COMPARISON WITH LAST WAR

The only standard of comparison for this correspondent is World War II. The titanic crash of modern air-defense missiles is a sound new to his ears. It is very impressive. The conventional antiaircraft guns, however, sound as they did in London during the Blitz or during occasional experiences in North Africa or the Soviet Union.

Hanoi's conventional air defense did not impress this correspondent, either when the guns were firing or when judged by the number of emplacements observed or suggested during trips out of the city. Its antiaircraft guns do not appear to be in a class with the defenses of London or of German cities during World War II.

Of course, the raiders sent to attack Hanoi and Haiphong also are not to be compared in numbers with World War II offensives. For what it may be worth, the opinion of one non-Western military observer in Hanoi is that North Vietnam's defenses are far from first class.

"I don't like to say this," he commented, "but our Vietnamese comrades simply haven't got the experience and the technical ability to man their defenses as well as they should. They insist on running their own radar and, as soon as they get basic instruction in missiles, they insist on manning these, too. It would be more difficult for the Americans to attack Hanoi if the crews manning the defenses were more skillful in handling the advanced equipment they now possess."

A Western resident in Hanoi said the comparatively light losses suffered by the Americans supported the contention that North Vietnam's defenses were not very efficient, at least by World War II standards.

If the defenses in the Hanoi area are not regarded as being first-class what about the defenses in the countryside?

Conventional antiaircraft emplacements are visible near bridges, crossroads and towns. One American pilot estimated that there were 500 installations in the Namdinh area. Based on what this correspondent saw, 500 would overstate the number of installations in the entire Hanoi-Haiphong complex by a wide margin.

Many North Vietnamese batteries are mobile and are evidently moved from place to place to make the task of American aircraft more difficult. The North Vietnamese also use false gun emplacements in which dummy wooden guns are mounted to divert American attention from camouflaged emplacements nearby.

Americans also employ ruses to confuse North Vietnamese defenses. For example, United States robot planes are sent over Hanoi, both to touch off radar systems and to communicate back electronic data on the defenses. The robot planes bring guns into action as vigorously as piloted planes. Some foreigners think the Americans put robots into the air at the same time as bombing missions to confuse North Vietnamese ground defenses.

American statements justifying damage to civilian targets on the ground that Americans are seeking to silence adjacent antiaircraft batteries arouse indignation among Hanoi residents.

"What are we supposed to do," one North Vietnamese exclaimed, "sit with hands crossed when American bombers come over to bomb us? It seems to us a curious philosophy to justify an attack on the ground that the person being attacked is trying to defend himself."

GUNS FAR FROM TARGETS

Actually, the North Vietnamese do not seem to place their antiaircraft installations especially close to civilian housing or nonmilitary installations. There are many guns in open rice fields on the approaches to Hanoi. This correspondent saw installations defending the railroad and crossroads emplaced at some distance from the potential targets.

In Hanoi itself, it did not appear that guns had been installed next to civilian objectives, but in a big city ordinary people are never far away. Even if guns are installed in parks, as was the case in London, civilians are right alongside.

It seems certain to Hanoi's foreigners that as long as Americans attack targets that are physically small and situated in a great metropolitan Asian complex where residential and industrial areas are not clearly defined, there will inevitably be a toll of civilian damage and casualties.

INTENT IS QUESTIONED

Justly or unjustly, there is a persistent feeling among foreigners in Hanoi that the United States attacks of Dec. 13 and 14 had a psychological motivation as well as military.

"I can't help but feel that the United States was trying to tell Hanoi something during that bombing," a Westerner, friendly to the United States, said. "The actual targets that they seemed to be aiming for were so small, in fact, almost trivial. It seemed to me that the United States was exposing its pilots to enormous risks and dangers for very small military consequences."

This Westerner thought that the United States might be trying to demonstrate to Hanoi its ability to attack more important targets in Hanoi if orders were given.

"I am still puzzled by bombs and rockets dropped on the Hanoi side so close to the Long Bien [Paul Doumer] bridge," this Westerner said. "Of course, it could simply have been a mistake. Pilots were up there for three-quarters of an hour and ack-ack fire was really intense.

"A pilot may have been in trouble and simply jettisoned his bombs to get out of the neighborhood fast. But that wouldn't explain the rocket fire in Pho Nguyen Thiep Street or the rocket fired in the embassy quarter. I keep thinking that the United States wanted Hanoi to understand what could happen if the signal were given."

Although the bombing occurred at both ends of the two-mile-long Long Bien bridge and causeway, most Westerners are not convinced that this was the actual target of the American planes.

"If the Americans had wanted to take out the bridge," said one military man who is not from the West, "I would have expected them to attack it in the middle of the river, where presumably it is more vulnerable. Attacks at either end seem rather puzzling."

BRIDGE A MAJOR TARGET

Hanoi residents regard the Long Bien bridge as the most shining target in town. It is the only rail and road link with the east side of the Red River. Traffic moves in two lanes, going east on the left side and west on the right side while a railroad runs in the middle.

While the bridge is long and seemingly vulnerable, it is also heavily defended. Unless a plane scored a lucky hit, it might prove a costly target to attack.

However, American planes in the raids of December 13 and 14 attacked targets that were just about as well defended and had only minimal military value, in the opinion of Westerners. Thus diplomats reached the conclusion that the primary objective of the December bombings must have been in the nature of a threat of worse to come.

What has the North Vietnamese bombing offensive cost the United States in planes lost? The American official total now runs to more than 500. The North Vietnamese place the losses three times higher, about 1,500. The North Vietnamese insist that they are conservative in listing kills and that President Ho Chi Minh has revised claims downward when the army is unable to provide positive evidence of a downed plane.

Past wars have demonstrated that the defending side overstates kills and the attacking side understates losses. It is known that the North Vietnamese total includes robots while the United States total does not. While American losses on a percentage basis are low by World War II standards in terms of missions flown, the losses are beginning to mount to a considerable figure and the cost in plane replacements is not small.

DATA ON BOMB TONNAGE

The weight of the bombs dropped in the North has been estimated by the Pentagon at more than 300,000 tons, a high figure in relation to the kinds of targets attacked. North Vietnam is not a built-up, industrialized nation. It is essentially a peasant country. Most of its people are peasants and they live in poor villages. Even if every town in the country were destroyed, the total urban destroyed area would hardly equal that of one big German industrial target of World War II.

It is apparent that most American bombs are falling in mud and wattle villages, on dirt roads, on rice fields or around gun sites that are more often set in fields than in towns.

Based on cost calculation, it seems likely that bomb expenditure per enemy soldier killed or enemy installation destroyed must run higher than in any previous war.

Some North Vietnamese, in estimating the net tonnage of bombs dropped on particular villages or areas near the demarkation line, use figures of several hundred or even several thousand tons per acre.

American bombs are apparently being replenished at a rapid rate. The North Vietnamese are impressed when they pick up bomb fragments and find they bear assembly dates sometimes less than a month earlier.

The American arsenal includes a number of technological innovations that makes World War II bombs seem outmoded. There is less reliance on conventional high explosive bombs in North Vietnam than there was in strategic air force bombings of World War II. Incendiary bombs and napalm have been little used in the North.

High explosive weapons are usually 1,000- or 2,000-pound bombs and they are employed against large industrial installations and bridges. Sometimes they are delayed-action bombs. In one effort to knock out a particularly important bridge, the North Vietnamese contend, naval mines were floated down river but were intercepted before they could take effect.

A particularly destructive weapon against light Vietnamese structures is rocket fire from planes. A rocket can knock down or damage a whole block of houses on both sides of a narrow street. The Americans also use air-burst bombs that explode over structures by the use of proximity fuses.

Two terms often on North Vietnamese lips are "Bullpup" and "Lazy Dog", expressions not yet in the vocabulary of most Americans.

These are new developments in American military technology. The Bullpup is a guided missile fired by a plane. It has a range to four miles, according to the North Vietnamese. The pilot feeds distance data into the missile's memory bank, then fires it.

The missile is capable of changing direction up to 90 or more degrees, can dive, bank and turn if so instructed by the pilot. The Bullpup carries a heavy charge and samples of damage attributed to it by the North Vietnamese were impressive.

The Lazy Dog is an advanced anti-personnel weapon introduced last spring. It consists of a mother bomb made of light metal that bursts over a target at low altitude or on the ground. Within the mother bomb are 300 metal balls about the size of a baseball that roll out across the ground.

They have a delicate time fuse that enables them to scatter over a widespread area and then explode, sending a rain of murderous steel splinters in all directions. One Lazy Dog is supposed to cover an area of 300 square yards with lethal fragments.

United States authorities say that the Lazy Dog has never been used on civilian populations and that it is designed primarily for use in attacking antiaircraft installations and other manned military posts.

It is evident from examining this weapon that it is indeed designed for antipersonnel use and, judging from its effects on civilians, the casualty rate among exposed troops must be considerable.

The problem that is posed by the use of this type of weapon in North Vietnam is that if it is dropped over gunsites, for example, there is no real assurance that a small pilot error will not cause the explosion to include within its effective area some civilian foxholes or even peasant huts where there may still be children or adults.

The bombs scatter so deadly a hail of steel fragments over so large an area that they can easily encompass segments of the terrain that the bombardier may not aim for at all.

These bombs are plummeting out of aircraft that may be moving at speeds of 600 miles an hour or more. A fraction of a second's delay in release may make a difference of hundreds of feet in the landing point.

PINEAPPLE ANOTHER WEAPON

A considerable number of Lazy Dogs have not exploded for one reason or another and the North Vietnamese now possess a collection of them that they display to visitors before taking them to hospitals to see children wounded by Lazy Dog fragments.

The Lazy Dog with its cargo of what the North Vietnamese call guavas has begun to replace earlier antipersonnel weapons called "pineapples," with which the North Vietnamese are also familiar. The pineapple is a small cannister, about the size of a large tuna fish can, to which aluminum vanes are attached. It is filled with steel pellets and has a sensitive pressure trigger that is set off by impact. Sometimes pineapples fall into trees where they may hang undetonated.

The North Vietnamese have a collection of these weapons, too. They say that in South Vietnam undamaged pineapples are widely used as lamps in huts, either standing on up-ended vanes or swinging from bamboo poles and fitted with wicks and kerosene.

So many American bombs of all types have fallen on North Vietnam that collections are found almost everywhere. They are to be seen in peasant cottages and in government offices. The metal from downed American planes is beginning to be put to a variety of uses. At first it was largely used for souvenir cigarette cases, lighters and rings. Now it's beginning to turn up fashioned into kitchen articles and even surgical instruments.

One Hanoi resident commented on the American bombing that "when the war is over, the North Vietnamese will have the foundation of a good little steel industry. They will have more scrap iron available than any other Asian country."

The appearance of new kinds of military technology in North Vietnam causes its people to charge that the United States is using the country as a field laboratory for testing armaments. Visitors to North Vietnam are likely to hear many expressions of outrage on this subject.

So that Children May "Breathe Free"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BYRON G. ROGERS
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, on the opening day of the first session of the 90th Congress, I introduced a joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim "National CARIH Asthma Week," beginning May 1, 1967.

Although the Children's Asthma Research Institute & Hospital is located physically in my district, it presently is caring for 165 children from 118 different congressional districts. And in a very real sense, it is serving all mankind. I would therefore like to tell you something about this remarkable institution and to solicit your support for my resolution.

CARIH is a free, international center, open to all races and creeds. Its research program is the only one in America dedicated solely to finding the causes of asthma and other allergic diseases. It is recognized as the leader in the treatment, care, and rehabilitation of the intractable asthmatic child. Only children with intractable asthma are eligible for the free care and treatment offered at CARIH.

The colorful history of this unique institution is set forth in its descriptive booklet entitled "A Child, a Disease, a Challenge."

It tells how, at the turn of the century, Denver became a mecca for people suffering from tuberculosis:

> Hundreds of families migrated to this mile-high city with its pure, dry mountain air. As parents went into sanitariums for treatment—and sometimes died there—their children, unafflicted, were left destitute, wards of the Denver community.
>
> Moved by their plight, a small group of philanthropic Jewish women in 1907 opened the Denver Sheltering Home. Its child population grew from an initial 20 to 103, and within a few years of its founding it had attracted nationwide support as the National Home for Jewish Children.
>
> By 1939, in the wake of new knowledge, drugs and treatment techniques, local communities were better equipped to care for their own tubercular patients. Hence, there was no longer the same need for the National Home's unique services.
>
> The Board of Trustees, realizing that the sheltering home was no longer an imperative need, accepted an unmet challenge and a new use for their facility: the development of a home for the tragic little victims of asthma.
>
> Today the former sheltering home is known as the Children's Asthma Research Institute and Hospital, a name that truly defines its purpose and function as a unique and total treatment-care and research center for asthmatic children. Its goal being the abolishment of a disease that afflicts thousands of children each year. In its more than a quatrer of a century, CARIH has rehabilitated thousands of asthmatic children from every state in the Union and several foreign countries.

I commend to your favorable attention "National CARIH Asthma Week" and the splendid work of the institution which it deservedly salutes.

The Future of the Great Lakes Waterways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, I take great pleasure in submitting to the RECORD a fine speech by our distinguished junior Senator from Indiana, Senator BIRCH BAYH. His speech before the Great Lakes Commission's annual meeting concerns a subject of interest to all of us in the Midwest—the future of the Great Lakes Waterways.

The speech follows:

THE FUTURE OF THE GREAT LAKES WATERWAYS

(Speech by Senator Birch Bayh, of Indiana, before the Great Lakes Commission annual meeting, Indianapolis, Ind.)

I am pleased to have this opportunity to speak to you tonight on a subject of particularly vital importance to the continued economic prosperity of the Midwest—and therefore a subject of great importance to the nation's economic health as well—the future of the Great Lakes Waterways.

It is especially fitting, it seems to me, that today the Great Lakes Commission is meeting in Indianapolis. For, as you know, Indiana was the only state bordering the Great Lakes which, until recently, did not have a deep-water public harbor. During the 89th Congress, however, we were fortunate in passing a measure authorizing the construction of the Burns Waterway Public Harbor. I am happy to report that work has already begun on this project. As a result, Indiana is now a full-fledged partner in the development of the Great Lakes Region.

The Great Lakes Waterways provide economical transportation for an immediate area of 300,000 square miles, and extend their facilities to a tributary region totaling over 1 million square miles—or about one-sixth of the North American continent. Living within the Great Lakes complex are more than 70 million people; one-third of the total combined populations of the United States and Canada. It is a region producing 50 per cent of all U.S.-Canadian manufacturers, including 70 per cent of the steel output, and over 40 per cent of the agricultural produce. The Great Lakes States alone provide the Federal Government with more than 40 per cent of its tax dollars.

The opening of the St. Lawrence has transformed the Great Lakes from a poorly-connected waterways network into a prized fourth seacoast for the United States.

In 1960, the St. Lawrence carried a meager 20 million tons. In 1965, tonnage had jumped to 43 million, and in 1966, it is expected to handle almost 48 million tons. Grain traffic along the St. Lawrence has increased 80 per cent since 1961.

In the State of Minnesota alone the Seaway is directly responsible for a 75 per cent increase in farm exports since 1959. In 1965, Minnesota's foreign trade jumped 32 per cent. And in previously land-locked North Dakota, foreign trade has increased 50 per cent since 1960. Similar increases were reported for South Dakota, Wisconsin and Iowa.

The Chicago Board of Trade estimates that the opening of the Seaway has resulted in a savings of $60 million on grain shipments from the Midwest. The total savings in reduced transportation costs for all Seaway traffic exceeds $200 million.

The St. Lawrence Seaway is the key to the economic development of the previously land-locked "Bread Basket" of America. The Seaway is the Midwest's window on the world, providing us with access to the all-important markets of Europe and beyond. Naturally, we in Indiana would like to share in this tremendous expansion for which the St. Lawrence is largely responsible. The importance of the Seaway to Indiana's economy is pointed up by the fact that 22 cents of every dollar's worth of farm products sold by Indiana farmers originates from export sales.

Our future economic development as a region, as you can see, depends upon the ability of the St. Lawrence to retain, and exploit, its competitive advantages.

In conjunction with the expansion of the Seaway, the individual Great Lakes States have undertaken extensive programs to develop the full potential of their ports. The success of these programs is seriously threatened, however, by a proposed 10 per cent toll increase on the Seaway. According to Commerce Department officials, the increase is necessary in order to retire the Seaway Corporation's debt.

To tamper with the toll rates at this point, it seems to me, is dangerous, too dangerous for the continued growth of the Seaway. As a 1965 report by the Stanford Research Institute pointed out, "important traffic patterns are still in a state of flux. . . . a long run pattern has not yet been established." This was particularly true with respect to grain shipments, the Report concluded. And grain shipments, it should be pointed out, constitute the single most important item in Seaway tonnage.

The present toll, in terms of cost per bushel of wheat, is approximately one cent—a 10 per cent increase would neutralize the Seaway's natural advantages, and result in the loss of shipments to the Gulf ports whose outlet would otherwise be the St. Lawrence.

It seems fairly certain, then, that a toll increase now would disrupt emerging traffic patterns. It would curtail our foreign trade at a time when we already have a delicate balance of payments problem.

The Stanford University Study on which the Commerce Department has based its recommendation for an increase points out that "in general, it appears that the routing of grain shipments for export is responsive to fairly small differences in the shipping charges on alternative routes." It went on to say, however, that "While it appears that routing of marginal grain shipments would be influenced by changes in the present level of tolls, moderate toll rate changes probably would have only a small influence on total tonnages moved via the Seaway." It seems to me that this is having the best of both possible worlds—in most cases a toll increase would very definitely affect traffic, but in this case it doesn't!

What the Stanford Study doesn't say is probably just as important as what it does say. It fails to point out, for example, that the Seaway would have even greater competitive advantages if, in the first instance, it was not required by statute to set relative high toll rates. The lag in Seaway revenues is due, for the most part, to gross miscalculations on projected tonnage. For the period 1959 to 1966 traffic is approximately 52.5 million tons lower than the original estimates. Could excessively high toll charges have been responsible for this failure to live up to expectations?

The St. Lawrence Seaway is the only public waterway in the United States to bear the original costs of construction and operation. I repeat—the Seaway is the only public waterway in the history of the United States whose traffic must bear the total cost of construction and operation, with repayment due in 50 years.

Why has the St. Lawrence been singled out for such a dubious distinction? What was the economic rationale behind a self-liquidating Seaway? These are questions to which I have no answers.

Recently, in discussing the Seaway's unique financial arrangement with the man directly responsible for administering the nation's transportation system, Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation Alan Boyd, the Secretary offered this observation: "It is my understanding that the policy of the Congress today is that transportation plans generally should be paid for by the user as a matter of policy, but as a matter of implementation, except in the case of the Seaway and the sum of the user charges on the passengers and freight of airlines, the Congress has not implemented this policy." In short, there is no logical explanation as to why the St. Lawrence alone must bear these burdens.

It was a costly mistake for the supporters of the Seaway to have succumbed to political expediency. Selling the St. Lawrence on the basis of self-liquidation was wrong. The Seaway was, and continues to be, an economically justifiable undertaking.

Remove its financial straight-jacket—let the Federal Government treat the Seaway the same way it treats the New Orleans Industrial Canal, which has already received $100 million and which charges no tolls; or the Delaware River Basin, in which we have invested over $170 million, and which is toll free—treat the Seaway in this manner and we will have a prosperous St. Lawrence and an economically healthy Midwest.

I do not ask that these projects bear the burden of construction costs. Our tax dollars invested in these waterways have resulted in substantial public benefit. But I do ask that the St. Lawrence be included in this category. It is no less a national, and no more regional, waterway than the Houston Ship Canal or the Delaware River Basin.

While I sympathize with the Seaway Corporation in its present predicament—at the end of 1965, the outstanding balance was $141.7 million, or about $8.2 million more than the original cost with one-seventh of the repayment period already elapsed—I do not agree that the proposed toll increase is the solution. The Seaway's current indebtedness is evidence enough that the repayment scheme is not feasible.

Faced with the prospect of a toll increase, the bipartisan Great Lakes Conference of Senators supported a measure introduced by our colleague from Minnesota, Senator Mondale, which was designed to relieve the St. Lawrence of the onerous and discriminatory financial burdens imposed upon it by the Seaway Act of 1954.

The Mondale Plan, with which many of you are undoubtedly familiar, proposed to refinance the Seaway Corporation debt by converting the outstanding principle and interest owed to the Treasury into interest-bearing capital stock owned by the Federal Government. Under this proposal the Seaway Corporation would save $1.8 million annually, and at the end of 60 years will have paid into the Treasury a total of $285.5 million.

The Great Lakes Conference of Senators is the first to admit that the "recapitalization" formula is not the only possible solution. It is only a beginning. In fact, as I mentioned during the hearings on the Mondale bill, "I just wonder if, maybe, we are not asking for too little."

Another possibility which has often been suggested is the imposition of a nominal "user charge." Of course, I see no reason for singling out the Seaway for a "user charge" when other federal waterways remain toll free. But this is a possibility that needs to be explored. Hopefully, a comprehensive review would result in a uniform federal waterways policy.

With the tragic death earlier this year of Senator Pat McNamara, we lost a valuable public servant whose efforts in behalf of the Great Lakes States, I'm sure, are well known to all of you here tonight. He was Chairman of the Senate Public Works Committee, which has major responsibility for navigational problems. Now with his passing, only Senator Steve Young and myself represent the Great Lakes States on this all-important Committee.

For this reason, in recent months I have focused more of my attention on Seaway problems than ever before. I would like to list some of the trouble spots, in addition to the toll question, which continue to plague the operation of the Seaway and the Great Lakes Waterways. And I would like to offer, what I feel, is a very definite step toward solving these problems.

From the standpoint of operations, we have a problem which has only recently come to light. In testimony before the Senate Public Works Committee, the Seaway Corporation admitted for the first time, publicly, that the Eisenhower Lock was built to faulty specifications, and as a result, the Seaway's operations are being hampered. This requires immediate attention, and it should be repaired with Treasury funds, for the Army Corps of Engineers is solely responsible.

The Great Lakes Ports, as I am sure you know, have not engaged in as extensive a promotional campaign as they should. The Port of New York spends over $1 million annually for advertising and promotion. How much are the Great Lakes States spending? Is it $100,000 or $200,000? Whatever the exact figure is, we need to do more—substantially more.

The Seaway Development Corporation, of course, is limited in its promotional activities because it is an official government agency. But this restriction does not extend to the individual port authorities and the Great Lakes Task Force, who should be joined together for their mutual benefit.

Then there is the pilotage problem. Increasing the tolls 10 percent is not going to help ships experiencing delays because of the difficulties in securing pilots.

And who knows how much traffic has been lost to the Seaway because of the discriminatory rate schedules of inland carriers. Some of the trunk lines servicing the Great Lakes ports have improved their service—but most of them have not.

Finally, there is the problem of United States flag-vessels on the Great Lakes—or, more appropriately, the lack of U.S. vessels. Why can foreign carriers operate so profitably plying the Seaway and American shippers find they can not. Is it profit or expedience that keeps them from serving the Great Lakes.

This lack of American flag ships, naturally, has resulted in a tremendous loss of government cargo. Government purchased goods produced in the Midwest are being diverted from their natural outlets along the Great Lakes. The cheapest and shortest way to ship Kaiser Corporation products produced in Toedo, provided there is adequate rail service, is through the Port of Toledo. Not the Port of New York or Baltimore—as is now being done.

In January, 1962 a Defense Department task force published a report entitled "Study of Surface Movement of Export of the Department of Defense to Europe and the Mediterranean Area." Behind that lengthy title, which was probably designed to scare away prospective readers, was a recommendation that the Military Sea Transportation Service begin providing service to the Great Lakes Ports with controlled ships if the U.S. flag carriers continue their de facto boycott of the Lakes.

This recommendation was based upon the fact that American flag service was so poor that the Department of Defense was not able to take advantage of reduced transportation costs on the Seaway.

I am sorry to report that the Defense Department has not acted on this recommendation. It is an area that merits further study.

These are problems that require immediate attention, as does the toll question. Hopefully, this matter can be brought to the attention of Congress, and the necessary remedial action taken before the Seaway is strangled.

Harrison E. Salisbury Sums Up—IV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, in the fourth article of his recent series summing up his observations in North Vietnam, Harrison E. Salisbury discusses the program of industry dispersement being carried out by North Vietnam. The article appeared in the January 14 edition of the New York Times. The article follows:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 14, 1967]

HANOI'S INDUSTRY BEING DISPERSED—PLANTS CONTINUE TO OPERATE WITH REMAINING MACHINES

(By Harrison E. Salisbury)

HONG KONG, January 11.—The main hall of the March 8 Textile Factory in Hanoi has a lopsided appearance. To the right stand row of looms, busily weaving cotton yard goods. To the left is open cement flooring, broken by patches where machines have been wrenched out.

The factory is typical of North Vietnamese industry. About two-thirds of its equipment, in the estimate of the assistant director, Mai Uan But, has been moved out to villages and towns in a radius of 40 to 60 miles from Hanoi.

The assistant director described the work of his factory over cups of steaming green tea in a chilly office at about 6 A.M., an hour that North Vietnamese officials favor for interviews. This is the hour Government offices begin work. It is also the hour the day shift goes to work in factories.

The factory, whose name derives from International Women's Day, celebrated in the Communist world on March 8, normally employs about 7,000 workers, of whom more than 70 per cent are women, mostly young women.

Mr. But contended that despite the evacuation of much machinery, the plant continued to produce close to normal levels. It operated on three eight-hour shifts—seven and one-half hours of working time and a half hour off for a meal.

The office was decorated with a portrait of President Ho Chi Minh, before which was placed a vase of salmon-colored gladiolas, a feature observed in almost every Hanoi office. There were also a small panorama of Moscow's Kremlin, a colored photograph of Peking's Tienamen Square and three Chinese silk embroideries.

On a tour of the plant, the assistant director said the cultural and social activities of the plant; the workers' club, the library and kindergarten had been evacuated.

CLUB NOW A DRILL HALL

He did not say what the workers' club across across an open square from the main plant was now being used for. Judging from a throng of workers moving in and out in a fairly orderly fashion it seemed a reasonable guess that it was now being used as a drill hall.

Drill halls and defense training fields were a feature of most factories that this correspondent saw in North Vietnam. Each factory has its own civil defense unit to which rifles and helmets are issued.

Despite air defense training, civil defense work, military training, life goes on in Hanoi. Women visit the beauty parlors to have their hair waved, children play in the streets, couples visit the lakeside cafes, shoppers throng the stores, strollers pause to look at newspapers posted on the walls or inspect exhibits of news photographs, and the eternal cyclists course through the streets, some pausing to have the bicycles repaired.

When an alert sounds the workers take their guns and tin hats and rush for the roof or posts in the open beside the air-raid shelters. There they stand with guns at the ready, scanning the sky for sight of an American plane. If one comes, they open fire.

A diplomat's wife in Hanoi whose residence was next door to a factory said she was in almost more fear from the rifle fire than the bombs, so intense was it when the planes came over.

In Namdinh, a textile town south of Hanoi that has been heavily bombed, workers in a rice-flour mill had guns beside them or stacked on nearby walls.

GIRLS RUN OBSTACLE COURSE

Outside the mill an obstacle course had been set up with hurdles and jumps. Young factory girls carrying rifles were running the course—about 100 or 150 yards and hurling themselves at its end full-length on the concrete, aiming their guns at an imaginary enemy.

Guns seemed to be everywhere in North Vietnam. Sometimes it appeared that every other person walking down the street had a rifle or a submachine gun slung across his or her back.

In World War II guns were not so evident among the civilian populace. This is another kind of war and everyone in North Vietnam, whether schoolteacher, textile weaver or housewife, is enrolled in civil defense.

The North Vietnamese are aware that it is unusual, especially in a Communist country, to find so many ordinary persons with guns in their hands.

"Where else have you ever seen this?" one asked. "Can you imagine the regime in the South giving guns to its people? They would never dare. Here you can see for yourself that the people support their Government. If they didn't they have the weapons in their hands with which to change it."

The March 8 textile factory suffered a small hit in an air attack Dec. 13. A rocket exploded over the main building or might even have hit the roof. Large sections of broken glass roofing were replaced with oiled paper.

There were still shards of glass on the cement floor and the factory director, like other North Vietnamese enterprise managers, had a stack of bomb fragments piled on a table next to a display case where the factory's cotton print goods were being exhibited.

WORK ON DEFENSE CHORES

One of the principal products of the plant was black sateen cloth, from which North Vietnamese women make their trousers. Workers in the textile plant are expected to devote one-third of their time to work, one-third to defense chores and one-third to their home and family.

They have drills several times a week, and several times a month they are rounded up for road building, rubble clearing, digging of gun sites, repairing bridges or other defense tasks.

It could hardly be said that they were overexerting themselves in the textile plant. The work force seemed small by the standards of similar establishments in Mongolia or Bulgaria. But it did not seem to be overworked.

Girls were gathered in twos and threes giggling over their private talks. They looked up when the assistant director and a foreign visitor came by, but hardly paused in their personal preoccupations.

North Vietnam's economy, in general, is organized along the lines of other small Communist countries. All industry and commercial establishments are run by the state. However, small private trade is permitted—sellers of cakes and buns, repairers of bicycles, street venders of soft drinks, peasant women selling flowers, bootblacks, sidewalk brazier cooks, and similar one-man ventures.

Two kinds of industrial establishments exist.

The larger factories are owned, organized and run by the state. The textile factory is an example of this type of industry. Its production quotas are fixed by a state plan, its wage scale is set by the state and its price structure is state-controlled. Workers are paid a small minimum wage and the take-home pay is determined by output.

In the textile plant they earned 70 to 80 dongs a month. The dong is nominally valued at 3.53 to the dollar. Workers receive a 20 per cent premium for night work. Their minimum base pay is 2 dongs a day. The factory director estimated their cost of living at one-third their base pay. He said rent cost about 1 percent of wages and health and medical services were free.

The other common type of enterprise is the cooperative handicraft shop. Workers in the cooperatives share the profits of their enterprise and work under conditions closely resembling those of private enterprise.

Agriculture has been collectivized, with farming put in the hands of cooperatives or communes that seem to resemble the Chinese commune more than the Soviet collective farm.

It was difficult to determine how well the system worked since all efforts, both industrial and agricultural, were geared to the war effort. However, it was evident that the country had not proceeded far along the path to industrialization when war hit.

The most serious effect of the war on industry, outside of physical destruction of plant, seemed to be the extensive evacuation and decentralization program.

The evacuation of the textile plant began in February, 1965, at the start of the American bombing. In conversations with directors of other institutions, it was disclosed that a general evacuation program got under way at that time and was still in progress.

One problem was that while institutions could be moved out of Hanoi, people had a tendency to drift back. Many offices and plants were scattered in suburban villages and towns, producing heavy traffic in and out of Hanoi over the weekends.

Husbands who are working during the week in an office 10 miles away are likely to hop on a bicycle and go to the city for Saturday and Sunday. If the man cannot leave his job, his wife in Hanoi gets on her bicycle, puts the two children on behind, and pedals out to visit him.

The roads in and out of Hanoi, already cluttered with vehicular traffic moving south and empty trucks coming back, thus are even more jammed.

The national treasures in the Museum of Fine Arts began to be evacuated in the winter of 1965, largely to caves in the north. Much remains to be moved and there were packing boxes and valuable buddhas disassembled and awaiting removal in several museum halls one evening in late December.

The evacuation of schools from Hanoi and Haiphong began about the same time, on the theory that, whatever the United States might say, the utlimate targets were Hanoi and Haiphong and the two cities would ultimately be hit hard.

"Our calculation was very simple and I think it was correct," one of North Vietnam's editors said. "First, the bombing was extended from the 17th parallel to the 19th. Then to the 20th and 21st, then to the northwest part of the country. Then to the extreme north along the Chinese frontier. And after that to the northeast. Finally to Hanoi and Haiphong.

"Now all the provinces of the North are being bombed. Don't you think it is reasonable to expect that Hanoi and Haiphong will be attacked more strongly? All our preparations have been based on that expectation."

At the same time, according to North Vietnamese calculations, the weight of the United States attack has steadily increased. The North Vietnamese say that 1,700 missions were flown in the North in January, 1966. This rose to 2,300 in February, to 3,300 in April and more than 5,000 in September 1966.

The total missions dropped in October and November to 2,500 and 2,000 because of bad weather. Figures for December, 1966, are not yet in. The North Vietnamese said nearly 30 per cent of the missions were now being flown at night.

What this kind of bombing means at the provincial level was explained by Nguyen Xuan Luong, deputy editor of the provincial newspaper of Ninnbina, the capital of Ninnbina province south of Hanoi. He said Ninhbinh Province, with a population of 500,000, had been badly damaged by repeated United States attacks.

Up to Dec. 15, 1966, provincial authorities calculated that 2,338 missions had been flown against the province, including 303 night missions. They contended that 24 raids had been on military targets, 31 on economic targets and the rest at random, including populated areas.

Of 123 agricultural cooperatives in the province, 96 were attacked, and 24 towns and the provincial capital as well, the authorities reported. They added that 13 dikes, 10 sluices and 20 markets and other agricultural facilities had also been struck as well as five hospitals and 10 churches.

The provincial authorities said 6,347 bombs had been dropped in the province. As of Dec. 1, the province claimed 41 United States planes, including four unmanned reconnaissance planes. Three were said to have been brought down by rifle fire.

It is against this scale of bombing that North Vietnam's dispersal effort must be viewed.

All of Hanoi's schools have now been evacuated from the city. The move began in the late winter and early spring of 1965. The entire Polytechnic University, the highest educational institutions in North Vietnam, was evacuated at the same time. Its 2,500 students were dispersed in half a dozen provinces. The 5,000 students of the teachers' college were also moved out.

These steps have not prevented casualties among students and schoolchildren nor the destruction of schools in outlying regions. Many classes are now being conducted in village huts quite indistinguishable from the air or from the ground from ordinary peasant habitations.

For example, the Polish Friendship School, which is situated in the Hanoi suburbs, in the same general area as the Vandiem truck depot, was first hit in a bombing raid Dec. 2, according to Nguyen Van Huyen, Minister of Education.

Mr. Huyen, a long-faced serious educator who wore a blue serge suit, discussed the problem of evacuation and protection of children over endless cups of China tea.

Because the Polish Friendship School was located in the suburbs, it had not been evacuated. But on Dec. 2, Mr. Huyen said, 10 bombs fell around the school. The pupils and teachers were in shelters. One shelter caved in from the blast. Six pupils and two teachers were trapped, but were rescued with minor injuries. The bulding was again struck Dec. 13–14 and damaged so badly that it can no longer be used.

"We have great anxiety about the loss of life among our children," the minister said, "and about their nervous systems. The first thing we teach our kindergarten children now is how to get quickly into a shelter and how to maintain the shelter in good order."

The shelters are, in fact, foxholes dug right under the children's wooden desks so they merely have to slip down into them.

"We have no real way of protecting our schools," the minister said. "If bombs drop right on the school or beside them there is little chance for the children. We can't protect them against a direct hit."

The schools that this correspondent saw in small towns and suburbs were generally equipped with earthen blast walls to protect doorways. They had intricate trench systems connecting each hut in which classes were held so that children or teachers could move from one to another under some cover.

While all of Hanoi's schools have been evacuated, far from all of Hanoi's children are out of the city. Some are still there because the parents have no one to whom to send the children. Some are there because parents are unwilling to part with them.

The Hanoi authorities said the toll of child casualties in the raids of Dec. 13–14, which they placed at 14, was unusually high because many were small children left unattended at home while their parents were working. The youngsters either did not know how to get into shelters or did not realize that the attacks were in progress.

The same factor was cited by municipal authorities in Namdinh and by village authorities. They said the most difficult task was in coping with small children, big enough to be left alone but too small to understand the bombing danger.

The problems that the war has created for North Vietnamese health authorities are as great as those in the educational field. According to Dr. Nguyen Dan Tin, Deputy Minister of Health,, 180 medical institutions were badly damaged or destroyed in United States bombing between February, 1965 and June, 1966. Among these institutions were six provincial hospitals and 10 district hospitals.

The most important target of United States bombers, according to Dr. Tin, was the North Vietnamese leprosarium at Quynhlap on the coast in Nghean Province. The question of whether the United States attacked the leprosarium and, if so, why, has become a matter of controversy.

The institution was a comprehensive center for careand treatment of leprosy and included 160 buildings with accommodations for 2,000 patients. The North Vietnamese contend that the United States, in a series of attacks from July, 1965 to May, 1966, methodically destroyed the institution. The United States position is that only military targets were attacked.

The health official said the lepers had been dispersed in a number of small makeshift hospitals in other rural areas.

The Health Ministry has concentrated on building up small secondary hospitals in villages, evacuating nurses, doctors and patients from city institutions. However many Hanoi hospitals remain fully staffed to handle victims of any mass raids that may occur.

American Seapower: Where Are We and Whither Are We Tending?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday evening, January 10, we heard the President of the United States report to the Nation on the state of the Union. At the very beginning of his address, the President stated:

> I have come here tonight to report to you that this is a time, a time of testing for our Nation. * * *
>
> As President Abraham Lincoln said, we must ask "where we are, and whither we are tending."

Well, to paraphrase the President's words, when can we expect to receive an answer to the question: "American seapower: Where are we and whither are we tending?"

No mention whatsoever was made in the President's latest state of the Union address concerning the American merchant marine. Yet, on January 4, 1965, in an earlier state of the Union address, the President said:

> I will recommend . . . a new policy for our merchant marine.

Two years now have passed since that earlier Presidential promise of a new policy for our merchant marine and we are still waiting. Neither wishful thinking nor academic debate will cause the perplexing problem of the plight of the American merchant marine to miraculously disappear. But, this is all we seem to have witnessed over the past 2 years. How much longer, I ask, must we wait?

Meantime, through inaction we are abdicating our former position as a major world seapower to none other that our foremost cold war competitor—Russia. The Soviet Union is placing increasing and effective emphasis upon the development of a modern and well-balanced fleet of merchant and naval ships.

In February of last year when speaking before the Commonwealth Club of California, I forewarned:

> The Soviet Union, I assure you, is not as apathetic as we to its merchant marine. It recognizes the rewards of sea power. It acknowledges the need for ships to obtain these rewards. It has faced up to the fact that such rewards are not without cost. Once considered a non-maritime nation, Russia is rapidly becoming a major maritime power.

Again, in July of last year when addressing the Republican Associates of San Diego County, San Diego, Calif., on the topic, "American Seapower—Where Are We Going?" I made the following observation:

> What is really most disturbing about this generally unfavorable direction being taken with American sea power is that while we appear to be "fiddling and declining," Russian sea power is modern and growing at a fantastic pace. Two years ago, Hanson W. Baldwin noted in his article, "Red Flag Over the Seven Seas," and I quote: "If to vast Russian land power is added major maritime power, the problem of deterrence becomes formidably difficult. If we lose control of the seas, it becomes impossible." Yet, this is the very real danger that now stares us in the face.

Because of this growing threat of the Soviet Union at sea—both commercially and militarily—I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD today the following copy of an editorial which appeared in the San Francisco Examiner of December 29, 1966, requesting that my colleagues pay particular heed to its concluding sentence:

> GROWING SOVIET POWER AT SEA
>
> The authoritative British publication Jane's Fighting Ships—a periodically updated compilation of naval strength throughout the world—has come up with a sobering estimate of Soviet sea power. The USSR, "Jane" notes, is now second only to the United States as a naval power, and possesses the biggest submarine fleet in the world.
>
> The Soviets, moreover, are inching closer to Japan—now the world's leading merchant shipping nation—and may soon be challenging the Japanese for supremacy in the vital field of civilian maritime tonnage.
>
> The Soviets steadily outbuild the United States in merchant tonnage. Last year the USSR accepted delivery of 129 ships; this country took 16. At the beginning of this year, the U.S. had 41 ships on order, the Russians more than 100. At the beginning of 1967 Russia expects to carry 75 percent of its trade in its own bottoms; the U.S. will carry 9 percent.
>
> Thus we are served with timely notice that the Soviet Union is not only the huge land military power everyone knows it to be, but is also ominously strong at sea.
>
> It will be a long time, however, before the Soviets can match the United States as a naval power. The USSR is considerably behind the U.S. Navy in the nuclear-powered field; the U.S. Navy, in fact, is aiming for total nuclearization of its vessels by the 1970's, and is thought to be far ahead of anyone in this aspect of naval technology. But the Soviets are making prodigious efforts in the nuclear field, too.
>
> Both the naval and merchant shipping aspects of Soviet sea power are no doubt receiving close and appropriate attention in the Pentagon and the Congress. So they should and not one whit of relaxation in this surveillance must be permitted. No budgetary or other consideration must prevent the U.S. from maintaining its position as the world's leading sea power.

Milwaukee Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry

SPEECH

OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, on December 11, 1966, in Milwaukee, Wis., the Milwaukee Conference on Soviet Jewry held a mass protest rally to express their strong protest against the discriminations leveled at the Jewish community of the Soviet Union. A resolution was unanimously approved calling upon our Government to exert its effort and influence to bring about an amelioration of the plight of Soviet Jewry.

Under unanimous consent, I include the resolution in the Record at this point.

The full text of the resolution follows:

Resolution of the Milwaukee Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry Mass Protest Rally, December 11, 1966, Milwaukee, Wis.

Whereas, three million Jews in the U.S.S.R. are threatened with spiritual and cultural extinction because of the denial of their rights to develop a religious, cultural and community life; and

Whereas, there has been an official use of anti-Semitism to scapegoat Jews for the social and economic ills of the U.S.S.R.; and

Whereas, it has been the policy of the U.S.S.R. to refuse to allow the reunification of Jewish families torn by the Nazi holocaust; and

Whereas, Jews have been denied equality with citizens of other religions and nationalities in the U.S.S.R.; Now, therefore,

Be it Resolved: That we, the representatives of the Milwaukee Jewish Community, assembled here today, call upon the government of the United States to urge the government of the U.S.S.R. to permit fully the free exercise of religion and the pursuit of culture by Jews, and all others, within its borders.

I Am Frightened Because

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am enclosing a portion of a letter from C. V. Hallenbeck, of Eckert, Colo., which deserves the study of every American and which is in part as follows:

I am frightened because—Our last claim to freedom, America's, yours, mine, is too near the point of no return. Our Republic seems fast turning into a dictatorship. It must be turned back. You are one of the 500 plus persons throughout this nation picked by its people to make our laws and spend our money. If you fail to carry out your every responsibility, then you will have let yourselves, this nation, its freedom, and our future, down.

I am frightened because—We have sent our boys, spent thousands of their lives, spent money by the billions throughout the world, and in too many places are being paid in disrespect and disdain.

I am frightened because—Workers of America are geared to our economy, and the rug is being pulled out from under segments of their source of revenue to use that money for many foreign and domestic uses where it is unappreciated, contains grafts, waste, or rewards laziness.

I am frightened because—Our dollar is being measured in numbers and not by value. Who is he that should waste, or devalue, our exchange for man's efforts? Who is he that should change man's ownership of government to government's ownership of man? We can only look to our Congress to make necessary corrections before it is too late.

I am frightened because—I see coming federal control of our educational system. Parents, towns, and cities can best handle the raising and education of our children. There is no need to send a dollar to Washington to receive in return a part in money and the rest in brainwashing. Of course, Washington (as yet) does not dictate, but simply says "Do as we say, or we'll keep your dollar." Let our educational system grow throughout the land; don't have it narrowed down by political edicts from Washington.

I am frightened because—Part-truths, waste, debt and taxation, each with a lethal punch of its own, are running wild and have been so popularized and become so monstrous and integrated that action must be taken now. Will raising taxes be to control inflation, or will it be for more foolish spending? Facts must be used freely. No nation in the past has and no nation in the future can endure under such throes.

I am frightened about many other problems—But I am frightened most because, as I have seen it, our past Congress had "yesses" instead of sound legislation and deserted its leading role in the government of the United States. These things our 90th Congress must not do. Our Republic can only be kept by a powerful Congress, honestly elected by a free people.

Compassion and Toughness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the crime rate in the District of Columbia is of great concern to everyone in the United States. The people in my congressional district were greatly disappointed when the President vetoed the omnibus crime bill enacted during the second session of the 89th Congress. The concern that my constituents have for adequate law enforcement in the District of Columbia is ably set forth in an editorial which appeared in the January 5, 1967, edition of the Shelby Daily Star, Shelby, N.C.

I feel that my colleagues will find the editorial to be of great interest, and I insert it in the Appendix of the Record:

Compassion and Toughness

Superior Court Judge Frank M. Armstrong's statement that there is "too much social doctoring in the administration of criminal justice" should be read in full to the assembled members of Congress as that body again in 1967 grapples with what to do about rampant crime in the District of Columbia.

The President and the Justice Department might also profit from copies.

Judge Armstrong's remarks are particularly timely, coming as they do on the heels of President Johnson's recent veto of an omnibus crime bill for the District, the long-awaited report of the President's District of Columbia Crime Commission and an ever-deteriorating law and order situation in the District.

What Judge Armstrong calls for is nothing more or less than equal protection of the recognition of the rights both of criminals and of law abiding citizens who are the victims of criminal acts.

How does this directly relate to the District of Columbia?

The District is gripped by a fantastically high crime rate (up 116 per cent over 1959) and serious differences between Congress and the administration as to what can and should be done, a fact dramatized by the President's veto of a crime bill which passed the House 208 to 79 and the Senate without a roll call vote.

It was an intricate bill. It contained a questionable section or two, which might eventually have required judicial review, as did the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which the President did not choose to veto. But, in the main, it was a reasonable piece of legislation which could have been immediately effective against a crime rate which has climbed to new heights every month for something like 60 consecutive months.

The bill would have authorized police to question suspects for up to four hours without an arrest if there was probable cause that he was involved in a crime. It would also have allowed six hours of questioning, exclusive of interruption, after an arrest if the individual waived his rights. Other provisions were for a form of precensorship to ban obscene literature, a provision to set stricter terms on which insanity pleas could be used and stricter mandatory minimum sentences.

Over-all it was a get-tough bill.

For example, there was one section which provided that where a person is convicted "more than once" of having committed a crime of violence in the District when armed or having available any sort of dangerous weapon, the court might not then suspend the sentence or grant probation.

Herbert J. Miller Jr., a former assistant attorney general and chairman of the President's district crime commission and a man who supported the omnibus crime bill said in support of this section: "Since over 30 per cent of those convicted of a felony in the District in fiscal year 1965 had a prior conviction for a crime of violence, this seems an eminently proper decision."

President Johnson justified his veto, however, on grounds that "it (the bill) does not strengthen law enforcement in the District and does not meet the needs of the fight against crime, but rather introduces confusion and uncertainties into police and judicial practices."

Once again, the District was left without improvement of its crime-fighting tools.

Now the President's anticrime group has filed a 1,800-page report on the District situation and backs it up with more than 200 suggestions for improving things.

As yet, we have not had an opportunity to read the full report or to evaluate the recommendations individually. However, we detect in news reports of the document a continued preoccupation with the socioeconomic aspects of the problem when the crying immediate need is for tightening up on enforcement and prosecution, and prevention in the process.

Commission recommendations include more control of guns, tougher bail laws, creation of a youth commission to deal with juvenile offenders, construction of a new city jail, release of more policemen from administrative work and a study of the city's courts.

Since the commission found—as have others before it—that high-crime areas are those of low income, high unemployment, family instability, poor housing, etc., heavy stress is laid upon the need for better education and housing and enhanced employment opportunities.

If past experience is a guide, we fear it is this angle that will continue to get the major play. What the District badly needs is a blend of the commission's approach and the 89th Congress' get tough policy.

Only a fool would argue that "social doctoring" is the District's major weakness or that toughness can solve every problem. Just as absurd is to contend that "social disorganization" caused the problem and that environmental juggling will resolve it.

"It'll take compassion—and toughness.

Home to Roost

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, shortly the Congress will be called upon to consider the proposed budget for fiscal 1968 as presented by President Johson. The Wall Street Journal, on Friday, December 9, 1966, had an excellent article on this subject, which follows:

HOME TO ROOST

Budgetary trickery sometimes comes home to roost. That's the message, we think, implicit in President Johnson's announcement that he will seek a supplemental appropriation of $9 billion to $10 billion for the Vietnamese war.

For in preparing the fiscal 1967 budget the Administration assumed—as conceded by its spokesmen when the budget was released last January—that the war would end on June 30, 1967. Thus Defense Department expenditures were provided to prosecute the war through the end of the fiscal year, but not to prepare to carry it beyond that. The huge supplemental request is an eloquent commentary on the baselessness of this assumption.

It would not greatly matter, we suppose, if the budget could be finally dismissed as an exercise in political fiction, or if it concerned merely the mundane task of Government bookkeeping. Unfortunately, the budget is also a tool, indeed a foundation, of economic planning.

"This is a classic example of a bad budget document," University of Michigan economist Paul W. McCracken told a Tax Foundation Inc. meeting on the day the President announced his intentions on the supplemental appropriation. Professor McCracken observed that the defense spending figures "were bad estimates even at the time." And since economists must rely on budget figures in their projections, "it was pretty hard to make the case" for the especially stringent anti-inflation measures which obviously should have been employed.

The upshot is that no anti-inflationary fiscal measures were taken—no really significant budget cuts, not even the much-discussed temporary tax increase. Indeed, the Great Society expenditures were allowed to mount. As they added themselves to the necessities of supporting troops in the field, inflation inevitably resulted.

By now the rising prices are far enough out of hand, if we understand Professor McCracken's analysis, that it may be too late for effective Government policies to take hold any time soon. The Government allowed a "demand-pull" inflation to develop. Despite the possibility that business may now turn down, the higher prices stemming from that phase increase business costs and make unions restless. A second "cost-push" phase of the inflation is almost certain to run its dreary course.

No one can be sure, of course, that all this would have been prevented by less heady estimates of defense spending. Even given the best information, economists are far from infallible. Anyway, there's many a slip between the most correct economic analysis and the political will to apply it. Because of the faulty estimates, however, neither analysis nor application was given a fair chance.

Why, then, did the Administration make such a colossal budget blunder? Certainly, it had no indication the war in fact would end by the close of the fiscal year—or for that matter, soon enough to lend credence to Secretary McNamara's official explanation that the assumption was made to guard against accumulation of surplus stock. Rather, the error seems rooted in the fact that if budget-watchers had known in January what they officially learned the other day, expansion of the Great Society would have been enormously difficult.

We do not necessarily mean to say that the Administration consciously underestimated defense costs to facilitate passage of further social-welfare appropriations. But it is plain that the wishful thinking displayed in the Defense Department estimates could have resulted from intense pressures to hold military estimates to a minimum for domestic political reasons.

Ironically, the wishful thinking proved bad politics for the Democratic Party, as the recent election shows. More seriously, the connection between the budget estimates and the inflation the public now suffers convicts the Administration of one or the other of two grave sins.

Either it wasn't entirely honest with the public, or perhaps even more frightening, it wasn't entirely honest with itself.

Automation in Burlington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, in recent years the First District of Iowa has experienced unprecedented economic growth. New industry has brought jobs to hundreds of people in southeast Iowa.

Burlington, Iowa, has been one of the cities in the First District which attracted a number of new industries. General Electric established a plant in Burlington January 1, 1961, while I was in the Congress. It gave me a great deal of pleasure to help the people in Burlington present their proposal to General Electric.

Recently, the editor of the Burlington Hawkeye, John McCormally, wrote an article about the operation of the General Electric plant in Burlington. He points to the phenomenal technological advances which have been made in recent years and their impact on industry.

The article follows:

[From the Burlington (Iowa) Hawkeye, Jan. 9, 1967]

MEMO FROM MAC

(By John McCormally)

An engineer in Philadelphia is on the phone to a production chief in Burlington, Iowa, explaining a design change in a component of a piece of electrical equipment.

The production man in Iowa can't quite understand how the engineer wants the whoozit attached to the refstrum. He asks for more explanation.

"Wait a second," says the engineer, "I'll show you." He presses a button on his phone and out of the phone base in Burlington comes a copy of either a photograph or a drawing, which shows the production man instantly what the change looks like.

Twenty-first century stuff? Not on your life. It happens every day at the General Electric plant in West Burlington. It is one of the ways the plant here keeps in touch with other GE operations in the country.

"It's cheaper than airmail," says Finance Manager Dick MacDonald, with a shrug.

This photo-telephone is symbolic of what impressed me most in my informal visit to GE the other day. I went out for a tour of the plant, after a jovial lunch with Bill Hauck, the new, jovial manager of Burlington GE.

Burlington is rightly proud that it has branches here of several internationally famous organizations such as GE. But, what I realized for the first time, is that this connection is not merely a matter of our plant wearing the same trade mark emblem as plants elsewhere in the world.

It's more than that. The fact is that they are actually, physically in contact with one another.

Across the hall from MacDonald's office, in the communication room, all sorts of IBM machines are whirring all the time. Computer punch cards are slithering along under their aluminum guides, carrying production commands or change orders which have come almost instanteously from Schnectady or Philadelphia.

You see all this automation—all this science fiction stuff—in operation and you worry a little about why, in the community, we're not as advanced as those who use our community for their home base.

Out among the assembly lines—and there's seven acres under one roof—Bob Burt, the shop manager, an absolutely unperturbed fellow, shows you around, explaining all sorts of complicated things you don't understand, but pretend you do.

A member of a somewhat disorganized profession, you marvel at the precise organization, the orderly flow of raw materials through the various stages to completion of the product.

Burlington is the home of GE's switch gear plant and it was Bill Hauck who finally explained to me what a switch gear is. It may be an overly-simplified explanation, but I'm satisfied with it.

"You know that fuse box you have in your basement," Bill said. I nodded knowingly. "Well, he continued, "in a big industrial plant, these units we produce serve the same function. They take the huge amount of electrical power which the power company sends into the plant, and they switch it to the various places and the various uses within the plant, which the plant work calls for. That's all it is."

I thanked him, and walked down the assembly line, noting the carcasses of switch gear units, with tags on them saying they were going to DuPont in Delaware, to Buick in Michigan and to the U.S. Navy in Guam. It made me kind of proud of Burlington.

Bill Hauck is obviously not worried about his 400 and some people filling the orders that come into that communication room. He has other worries. Basically, they're Burlington's worries.

He needs more people and Burlington hasn't the housing to attract them. Some 200 more will be needed to man the still dormant assembly line in the latest addition to the plant. Other additions are possible if enough people can be found. But he's worried about losing several score of his present workers when new industries open up in neighboring towns.

"What are you going to do," I asked Bill, "when you're ready to put these additional lines into operation?"

"Oh," he said cheerfully, "I hope the war will be over by then and we'll get some people from the Ammunition plant."

It gave me a thrill. I'd heard so much about the peace scare—how awful it would be for business if we suddenly settled Vietnam. Bill was the first businessman I'd met who would enjoy peace. I even offered to buy him lunch next time.

Harrison E. Salisbury Sums Up—V

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues the fifth article in Harrison E. Salisbury's series summing up his experiences and observations in North Vietnam. In this article Mr. Salisbury indicates that the bombing of that country has strengthened the resolve of North Vietnam. The article, which was published by the New York Times on January 15, follows:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 15, 1967]

NORTH VIETNAM SPIRIT FOUND HIGH

Following is the fifth of a series of articles by an assistant managing editor of The New York Times summing up observations on his recent visit to North Vietnam.

(By Harrison E. Salisbury)

HONG KONG, January 11.—"I know that you will not understand what I am going to tell you," Premier Pham Van Dong said, "but I must say it anyway because it is the most important thing."

And the Premier proceeded to talk with earnestness and intensity of the spirit of the North Vietnamese people that is such an important aspect of their war effort.

The Premier said he had tried hard to explain that spirit to close friends in Europe and had failed. It seems to be a combination of natural vitality and intense patriotism, a determination to run Vietnam for and by Vietnamese and an element of teen-age cockiness and daredeviltry.

There are other elements, too. A middle-aged English visitor to Hanoi said after a few days: "Somehow the spirit of these people reminds me of the days of the Spanish civil war—a civil war without the International Brigade."

Last week almost every movie house in Hanoi was jammed with youngsters going to see the newest hit. It was the story of Nguyen Van Troi, a Saigon teen-ager who was executed after having been convicted of an attempt on the life of Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara during a visit to Saigon in 1964.

This episode suited the ideals of the North Vietnamese. It represented a heroic effort by a single youngster against the symbol of an enormous enemy who gave his life in battle against great odds.

The would-be assassin of Mr. McNamara has become the object of a virtual cult in North Vietnam. There are books and biographies and fictionalized versions of his story everywhere. The North Vietnamese were amazed to meet an American visitor who not only had never heard of the Saigon youngster, but only vaguely recalled the incident.

The Vietnamese are a warm, direct people. They tend to glorify martyrs to their cause. Often mentioned in North Vietnam is the name of Norman R. Morrison, who burned himself to death in front of the Pentagon in November 1965 to protest United States policy in Vietnam.

The fierce independence of the North Vietnamese is a source of anecdotes in the Hanoi diplomatic colony. Premier Dong, in speaking with this correspondent, went out of his way to deliver a homily on North Vietnam's independence of its foreign friends. He had in mind the persistent view in the United States that North Vietnam was a "puppet" of the Soviet Union or China or both.

No one in Hanoi's diplomatic colony believes that the North Vietnamese are anyone's puppets. In fact it is their determination to be independent of both the Soviet Union and China that often drives their closest friends to despair.

A Westerner was talking recently with an East European diplomat. They were discussing a military matter and the East European criticized certain North Vietnamese tactics.

"Why don't you tell them your views?" the Westerner asked.

INTERFERENCE IS RESENTED

The East European laughed.

"You're joking," he said. "Even the Russians don't dare give the Vietnamese advice on military subjects."

The gossip in Hanoi is that the Russians are not pleased at the way the North Vietnamese handle Soviet-made air-defense missiles and MIG–21 jet fighters. But there is nothing they can do about it.

"Do you know how the Vietnamese handle the SAM's [surface-air missiles]?" one Westerner said. "The SAM's arrive in crates and packing boxes. A Russian procurement officer and a Vietnamese procurement officer check over the shipment. They exchange the signed papers and the Vietnamese take the SAM's away. That's the last the Russians know of them. If they learn where the SAM's have been emplaced, it is only by accident."

True, Soviet specialists were assigned to instruct the North Vietnamese in the use of missiles and of MIG–21's. But as soon as the elementary operational techniques was imparted to the North Vietnamese, it was said, the North Vietnamese thanked the Russians and said that henceforth they would be capable of training their own teams and using the equipment on their own.

Easterners confirmed that the North Vietnamese insisted on handling all materials themselves. They are quick to resent anything that they interpret as interference in their internal affairs.

North Vietnam's independence even affects its relations with the Cubans. Psychologically the Vietnamese feel drawn to Cuba, and vice versa. Many Cuban delegations come to North Vietnam, and friendship is pledged with great emotion.

"But can you imagine?" one Cuban said. "They are very polite, but they decline our help."

This attitude saddens the Cubans, In fact, they find it hard to comprehend. They regard themselves as experts in fighting against the United States and are certain they could be of assistance to North Vietnam. But the North Vietnamese thank them warmly and say they prefer to do it themselves.

North Vietnam's spirit seems to consist of strong elements of nationalism and patriotism engendered in years of struggle for independence against the French. The struggle against the French is now cited as merely the opening phase of the war against the United States.

Official propaganda blurs the line between French and Americans by contending, for example, that 80 percent of the arms and matériel used by the French at Dienbienphu was provided by the Americans. Dienbienphu was the site of a major Vietnamese victory in the Indochina war that led to French withdrawal from Vietnam in 1954.

In this capsulized version of the struggle against the French, the Americans appear at an early stage and as the French fade out of the picture, they take over the war against the Vietnamese.

In the fusing of the national spirit, the full panoply of Vietnamese national heroines is employed. The first were the Trung sisters, Trung-Trac and Trung Nghi, who raised an army against Chinese garrisons that occupied Vietnam in the year 40 A.D. The sisters defeated the Chinese and established a joint queenly regime.

But the Chinese returned, the sisters were defeated and they commited suicide. Thereafter they were elevated to godhood in the Vietnamese iconostasis. Their heroic deeds are glorified in Hanoi as the first step in Vietnam's passage to nationhood.

By a bizarre coincidence that goes unnoted in the North, the Trung sisters were venerated by Mrs. Ngo Dinh Nhu, sister in law of the late President Ngo Diem of South Vietnam. After his downfall, a great statue of the Trung sisters that Mrs. Nhu had ordered set up in Saigon was pulled down.

BATTLES AGAINST MONGOLS

Vietnamese battles against the Mongols and the Chinese of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) play an important role. They are constantly discussed by North Vietnamese as indications of the ability of the Vietnamese to defend their independence.

Mongol invasions and Ming invasions are mentioned in terms almost interchangeable with those employed in discussing the present war against the Americans.

A central role in the current self-image of North Vietnam is provided by Dienbienphu. That victory against the French burns in Vietnamese memory and is constantly refurbished. It is memorialized in paintings and poems.

Dienbienphu is the name of one of Hanoi's principal streets. It is the name of a brand of cigarettes. Exhibits associated with the battle occupy special sections in the Museum of the Revolution and in the Army Museum.

There is probably not a single North Vietnamese youngster who cannot tell in glowing detail about the defeat of the French (or the Americans—sometimes the two are confused) at Dienbienphu. In the national ethos the battle has assumed the importance of a combination of Waterloo, San Juan Hill and the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781.

As the war against the United States continues, new epics of heroism are elaborated and woven into the fabric of national patriotism.

ISLAND BATTLE GLORIFIED

One of these revolves around the defense of Conco Island. Few Americans, except possibly some in South Vietnam, have ever heard of Conco Island. But few Nort Vietnamese have not. It has assumed a role in their war similar to that of Corregidor in the Pacific war of the United States against Japan in 1941.

The island is a small one, about a mile off the coast near the demarcation line. Judging from a film glorifying its battle, it bristles with antiaircraft defenses and presumably serves as an important radar installation.

The battle of Conco Island goes on day after day and week after week in newsreels, newspaper articles and radio talks. The theme is the one that is constantly stressed in North Vietnam—of the struggle of a small determined band of men and women against the enormous material superiority of the United States.

A documentary film shows Conco defenders manning antiaircraft guns and firing rifles at wave after wave of attacking American fighter-bombers, holding their posts through violent bombardments and repeatedly shooting American planes into the sea.

Premier Dong conceded that many of North Vietnam's friends did not see how such a small, poor country could stand up against the Americans' superiority. But he added that North Vietnam offered a practical demonstration of what an inspired populace could achieve.

Another epic that has been publicized concerns Hamrong Bridge across the Ma River at Thanhhoa. This bridge, on the main supply route to the south, has been attacked hundreds of times by the Americans, but by some quirk remains intact though badly battered. The bridge is defended by strong antiaircraft batteries.

SPEAK SIMPLY OF HEROISM

Its defense has been publicized as a demonstration of what bravery and determination can achieve against determined American air attacks. The defenders of Hamrong Bridge are pictured as models for other North Vienamese to emulate.

North Vietnamese speak simply and often about heroism and their willingness to die for their country. They say that they are no more willing to die than anyone else, but that, if they must die, the best way is to die fighting for Vietnam.

"We do not fear death," an official said. "We try to stay alive and to fight the enemy. We do not wish to die unnecessarily. It is important to stay alive because we have so much to do. We have to grow rice and we have to fight at the same time. We think heroism is both courage and creation."

A Communist visitor who had visited a North Vietnamese air force unit said he could not imagine other people carrying on under similar conditions.

"Imagine!" this man said, "Their pilots get up at 4 a.m. They go out into rice paddies and work for three or four hours standing in cold water up to their hips. Then they come in and fly their planes against the Americans. I have never heard of such people."

PATRIOTISM AVOWED

It was impossible to finish any conversation, even with a family that had been bombed out of a house or a mother who lay on a hospital cot with a youngster wounded in the bombing, without winding up with a patriotic declaration.

At first it seemed as if all these people must have been coached to make little patriotic speeches testifying to their anger against "United States aggressors" and to their determination to fight to the end for "independence and sovereignty."

But finally it began to appear that no one had to do any coaching. This spirit has been dinned into the people so that it comes naturally. Or perhaps it was always there and is just brought out by their long-odds war. Whatever the cause, a priest even could not conclude a discussion of the Roman Catholic position under a Communist regime without a soliloquy along the same lines.

One official contrasted what he thought was the attitude of American youth with that of North Vietnamese youth.

"We don't underestimate American youth," he said. "If American youth had to fight and defend the United States, it would fight well. But American youth has been sent over here to fight a war that they do not understand and is not a just war. So they do not fight like our youth. Americans have good weapons, but they cannot cope with our fighters because they do not have the kind of spirit that we possess."

One Communist observer who has been in North Vietnam for two or three years said he had noted a steady growth in the intensity of nationalist feeling as the war went on. He said nationalism had been particularly strong since the launching of American air attacks on the North. He said that while the attacks had confronted the regime with serious economic problems and had made the support and supply of the south more difficult, they had stimulated mass patriotism among the people, who, in his opinion, now felt that they were all in the war together.

"I think something like this happened in England in the blitz," this diplomat said. "As a Communist I have been interested to see ideological propaganda gradually replaced by national patriotic appeals. Maybe you remember this in the Soviet Union during the critical days of the German attack."

Patriotic fervor in North Vietnam is also lashed by one of war's most frequent handmaidens—atrocity propaganda. The kind of atrocities that are ascribed in the most casual manner to Americans and their South Vietnamese allies are blood-curdling and revolting.

They are recited daily to the North Vietnamese populace. Whether people take them at face value is difficult to say, but history suggests that it is easy to believe anything terrible concerning an enemy.

Nevertheless this correspondent did not experience the slightest sign of ill will, unfriendliness or hatred because of being American. Other Westerners said they had never noted any animosity from Vietnamese.

North Vietnamese officials attributed the lack of ill will toward ordinary Americans to the Government's propaganda line that draws a distinction between "American aggressors" and the mass of the American citizenry, which is pictured either as friendly to Vietnam or as kept in ignorance of the true state of affairs.

However, the North Vietnamese do particularize some propaganda targets, Chief among these are President Johnson, Secretary of Defense McNamara, Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Gen. William C. Westmoreland, Commander of United States forces in South Vietnam.

All four are caricatured savagely and are the object of vituperation and ridicule in the press and radio. President Johnson is probably the most frequent subject of wall caricatures in North Vietnamese towns. They are drawn in chalk directly on walls of buildings.

It should not be supposed that the North Vietnamese go about the war scowling and grim. On the contrary, teen-agers in the army, in transport brigades and construction teams seem to be full of jokes, judging from their chatter mixed with outbursts of laughter.

Youngsters throng to the movies and concert halls. There they devour a fare that is about 90 per cent patriotic propaganda, such as the story of a girl sharpshooter who brought down a United States plane or of a truck driver who got his cargo through in spite of being wounded in an air raid.

THE FEAT OF FEATS

The feat of feats is the shooting down of a United States plane. Everyone who has a rifle participates if planes come into sight. If by chance one is brought down by rifle fire—and the North Vietnamese say this occurs several times a month—villagers for miles around rush to the scene to share in the glory.

The only thing that tops the downing of a plane in popular esteem is the capture of an airman. Legends of such captures are legion and generally involve an unarmed villager who spots an airman coming down by parachute, grabs a hoe or pitchfork and captures the airman, who is armed to the teeth with survival weapons.

Or the story may be a band of villagers who see pilots coming down and manage to surround the field and head them off before they can escape into the jungle.

Such feats are the subjects of popular ballads, music-hall skits and songs. The shooting down of Untied States planes has become a kind of national contest. Papers print the official North Vietnamese figure on downed planes daily, now 1,600 by Hanoi's count. Commemorative postage stamps have been issued to mark important milestones—500, 1,000, 1,500.

It is all of these factors taken together that fuse into North Vietnam's spirit. Probably there are other factors that have been overlooked. But one thing appears certain: it is a powerful force and there is no doubt that this, more than anything else, is what keeps North Vietnam in the battle.

New Politics and New "Societies"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 16, 1967

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, everyone will enjoy reading witty Will Muller's insight into the new politics and the new "societies." The following article is an excerpt from the Detroit News of January 6, 1967:

GOP "GREAT SOCIETY" WOULD ALSO BECOME "JUST" AND "CREATIVE"

(By Will Muller)

A seven-letter word once never recognized by the politician replaced an old five-letter favorite in weekend inauguration speeches.

The word is "society." In earlier, shagbarked America it referred to the select few, with table silver and hanging lamps, who could afford to hire chapped-handed menials to groom horses and empty commodes.

The word it replaced is "unity." Any vacant-eyed press agent with a hangover in times past could whip up an inaugural speech after New Year's midnight on the theme of binding up old wounds and marching toward a common purpose behind a united front.

This season New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller announced he was starting something on the East Coast called "the Just Society." As he explained it, it is a state of mind in which everyone lives in intellectual brotherhood with radiant heating.

Fr. Charles E. Coughlin had somewhat the same idea in the '30s when he edited a magazine called Social Justice. At the time the Royal Oak radio priest thought of the Rockefellers as just more international bankers.

Out on the West Coast, Gov. Ronald Reagan moved into the California executive office with promises of a Creative Society. He quoted some statesmen, now ashes, who said if an office holder carried with him the principles of the Prince of Peace and put them into effect, he would change everything.

Reagan said it would be presumptuous of him to indicate he was the man to emulate the Prince of Peace, but he would be willing to try. After all, he has had some success playing Western sheriffs.

Reagan's inaugural left the younger set fogged on what was going on, but the older generation caught it. Reagan's new Creative Society is going to be something in the format of Christian Endeavor.

ROMNEY SHUNS LABEL

Between East and West, Michigan's Gov. George Romney steered his customary course of independence.

"We refuse to be neatly packed and labeled into economic, religious, racial or ethical blocs to be used by political brokers," he said.

"We will not be deceived by any promises of group favoritism and social privilege."

He then importuned his listeners to shun big government in Washington with all its gifts and red wines and rely on the unlimited human spirit and imagination. Any literate politician recognized that right away—transcendentalism.

It first broke out in New England under Ralph Waldo Emerson. A transcendentalist, says the dictionary, is one whose mind goes beyond matter.

Society long has frowned on four-letter words. It has now outmoded one—"deal." There was President Franklin Roosevelt with his New Deal and President Harry S. Truman with his Fair Deal and all manner of Republicans arguing for what they called a "square deal."

In a brief transition period, the late President John F. Kennedy originated "the New Frontier." It died with his passing for obvious reason. The rhetorical sequel to "the New Frontier" is "the Last Frontier" as any reader of historical novels knows. Democrats wanted no part of that.

IS IT A CONSENSUS?

So President Johnson came up with "the Great Society." What does "the Great Society" have to do with "the Creative Society" and "the Just Society"?

That's like asking what relationship there is between the state medical societies and the American Medical Association. The local societies can elect their own officers and make their own speeches—as long as there is what used to be called unity but which now is called consensus.

VFW Commander in Chief Fry Speaks Out on Our Veterans Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to point out to my colleagues and the Nation an article in the January issue of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States magazine by that great patriotic organization's commander in chief, Leslie M. Fry of Reno, Nev.

Mr. Speaker, we here in this body have been watching the steady erosion by the present administration of the rights of a vast group of our citizens and their families. I speak of the more than 26 million veterans. These men and women, who offered their lives to our Nation in its time of need, have through bureaucratic fiat of the administration, been made second-class citizens when, by the sole light of their personal sacrifice, they should be constantly honored.

Commander Fry's article points out in succinct detail the manner in which the administration has gone about to liquidate veterans programs. This is a harsh charge but Fry substantiates his charges. On the GI bill of 1966, he says:

> The GI Education Bill recommended by the President was a pitifully cut-rate attempt to limit the application of benefits to a few thousand of today's GI's. And the general tenor of the Administration's attitude with respect to veterans was clearly seen in its recommendation that responsibility for administration of veterans' education be placed in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. This effort was consistent with the Administration's intent to depress veterans' programs below the level of the general social welfare progrgams of the Great Society as a preliminary to eliminating them.

The Fry article has been acclaimed by leaders in and out of the veterans world. One of the leading spokesmen for all veterans, is Roy Chittenden, editor of Stars and Stripes-the National Tribune. An editorial in the January 5, 1967, issue acclaims the Fry article and points out:

> We have only admiration for his forthright declarations. He is championing a just and righteous cause.

Mr. Speaker, so that my colleagues and the Nation might have a chance to read this editorial, I include it in the RECORD:

[From the VFW magazine]

PHASE OUT VETERANS PROGRAMS?

(By Leslie M. Fry, VFW commander in chief)

Winston Churchill once said that he had not taken office to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. Churchill stated a position normally taken by a leader charged with responsibility for the success of a mission.

There are examples, however, of the opposite view and it is possible to point to an example of a National leadership and an Administration that has made a beginning toward liquidation of a major federal responsibility that touches the lives of over a third of our citizens: namely, the Veterans Administration and its programs.

The recent adjournment of the 89th Congress did more than put a stop to the deliberations of the Senate and the House of Representatives for the year 1966. The adjournment brought a temporary halt to the Johnson Administration's two-year drive to tear down the structure of veterans programs and set the stage for the gradual elimination of all veterans benefits and programs.

This is a serious charge but let us look at the general orders the Great Society has laid down concerning veterans programs. Taking the results of what the Johnson Administration has done over the past two years, or attempted to do, it is possible now to go back and reconstruct a 1965 White House directive that could have read as follows:

1. Close down veterans hospitals and VA regional offices.
2. Launch a major attack on veterans employment preference in certain federal agencies.
3. If you have to give the Viet Nam veterans a GI bill, keep it strictly "cut-rate."
4. Begin dismemberment of the Veterans Administration by placing administration of any GI bill in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.
5. Oppose any improvement in veterans, widows and orphans pensions.
6. Close the National cemeteries. (Note: 1966 amendment to this instruction—keep them closed no matter how many men die in Viet Nam.)

This indictment of the Johnson Administration has been drawn on the basis of its actions over the past two years. There are, unfortunately, no compensating actions or declarations that would soften in any way the harsh outlines of this reconstructed directive to liquidate veterans programs. In fact, since passage of the 1966 GI bill, the Congress and veterans would have been subjected to chronic complaints from the White House over its cost.

There have been saving factors but they have not come from the Administration. They were the result of actions by Congress. Congressional pressure made it impossible for the Johnson Administration to proceed with its VA hospital closing program.

The Senate refused to approve the Hays bill, which, at the request of the President, would have eliminated all veteran preference from United States agencies having international responsibilities. How bad was this bill which the President and his Secretary of State fought to have passed? A noted Washington reporter called it "a stench in the nostrils of the Nation."

The GI education bill recommended by the President was a pitifully cut-rate attempt to limit the application of benefits to a few thousand of today's GIs. And the general tenor of the Administration's attitude with respect to veterans was clearly seen in its recommendation that responsibility for administration of veterans' education be placed in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. This effort was consistent with the Administration's intent to depress veterans' programs below the level of the general social welfare programs of the Great Society as a preliminary to eliminating them.

And what about veterans, widows and orphans pensions? Some 56,000 widows of Spanish-American War veterans, whose average age is 84, receive the princely sum of $65 a month. The Johnson Administration killed a House-passed pension bill that would have raised this pension to $70 per month.

Did the Administration see any merit in the pension program? A total of 18 bills were introduced in the House to provide increases in veterans pensions. Most of these dealt with needed technical improvements in the program and increases in payments necessary to keep pace with the increasing cost of living.

Was there any merit in any of these bills? Not to the Johnson Administration. The Administration's spokesman went before the House Veterans' Affairs Committee, reviewed all 188 bills, and opposed every last one of them. When the House Veterans' Affairs Committee saw fit to approve a minimum improvement in the pension program, the bill was passed in the House over the opposition of President Johnson.

But this minimum bill was never taken to a vote in the Senate, principally because Senator Russell B. Long, of Louisiana, rather than pressing for action as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, wore his "Majority Whip Cap" in the final days of the 89th Congress and the lack of a veterans leader in the Senate prevented the bill from coming to a vote.

Although the Bureau of the Budget had sought for years to effect the closing of our National cemeteries, President John F. Kennedy was the first to make this a Presidential policy. This 1961 policy decision was reaffirmed by President Johnson. Several months ago he had a review made of the policy of closing our National cemeteries and, despite the fact that men killed in action in Viet Nam are being denied burial in our National cemeteries, the President has not seen fit to make a change in policy. In fact, the Administration fought attempts initiated by the Veterans of Foreign Wars in the second session of the 89th Congress to appropriate $250,000 to reopen Beverly National Cemetery in New Jersey and Fort Rosecrans National Cemetery in California.

The actions of the Administration speak for themselves.

In light of the Administration's dedication to the suppression of veterans programs and benefits, the coming session of the 90th Congress takes on significant meaning. It is necessary to take a long view. The coming battle of veterans versus the Administration will encompass a two-year period that has already begun and will extend thru two Congressional sessions and up to election day 1968.

But the significant clashes will come in the first session of the 90th Congress. As the election of 1968 draws nearer, the Johnson Administration may be expected to become more pliable—if the pressure is kept on it.

Three matters loom large at this point. They involve the proposed Senate Committee on Veterans' Affairs, the reopening of the National cemetery program, and passage of equitable compensation and pension improvements. These are way stations on the road that veterans must take to blunt the Administration's efforts to reduce the scope of veterans' programs as the first step in their gradual elimination. It must be borne in mind in this struggle that we cannot expect to have the advantage of facing an Administration effort in which all the cards are placed on the table.

The intent to eliminate veterans' programs will never be acknowledged. What will be sought, however, will be development of a climate which will eventually lead to general belief that the veteran can be better taken care of thru participation in social programs designed to benefit all of our citizens.

The question in 1967 is what can be done to halt this process of erosion of veterans benefits and reverse it? First, each veteran must decide whether this whole process or any part of it is of any moment to him or to his buddies.

There is much that can be done if these issues are of concern to you. If they are, or if even a single one of these issues is important to you, the eventual reversal of this Administration's policy becomes simply a matter of communication.

Communicate first with the President, who sets the policy. Communicate secondly with the Administrator of the Veterans Administration, but remember he's only carrying out orders from the Budget Bureau planners and the President.

But your most effective communication will be with your Senators and Congressmen. When they speak in sufficient numbers they can make even the President listen.

In the coming months I will outline specific individual issues, as they come up for decision in the Congress.

The immediate task, however, is to fire a broadside that will put the Administration on notice that a reversal of its policies is in order.

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION ENDANGERED

Is there a plan on foot by the Johnson Administration to entirely dismember the Veterans Administration and relegate the veteran to welfare status?

Leslie M. Fry, commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, answers this question with a resounding "Yes." In an article published in the VFW magazine, Fry states without equivocation that the entire structure of veterans benefits chalked up over a period of nearly 200 years is now threatened by extinction.

To justify his claim, Fry points to the fact that National cemeteries are rapidly being closed and no provision is being made for burial of war veterans. He also cites the opposition of the present administration to the pension bill passed by the House of Representatives in the 89th Congress against the President's wishes but bypassed by the Senate in accord with his instructions, Fry says.

The National commander in chief of the VFW is also critical of the provisions of the so-called GI bill patterned to some degree after the legislation approved for veterans of World War II and Korea. Fry labeled it a cut-rate GI measure.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars leader further asserted that the Veterans Administration itself is in danger of being taken over by some other Federal agency, thereby eliminating the sole Goverment agency whose purpose is to care for the veteran and his dependents.

There is much to justify the claims made by Fry. Certainly little has been accomplished in the past two and a half years for those veterans who have been adversely affected by the increased cost of living and the threat of inflation.

World War I veterans drawing pensions under old part III of the pension law have not received an increase in benefits since 1954 while living costs have spiraled increasingly higher.

Representative Olin E. Teague, of Texas, chairman of the House Veterans Affairs Committee has declared that it is the intention of his Committee to again bring before the House of Representatives a bill similar to that passed by that body in the 89th Congress. Whether it can be approved in the Senate is highly problematical. It failed there once before and if the Administration maintains its opposition to the bill, it could well fail again.

Veterans feel that Fry is on solid ground in pointing out the deficiencies of the Johnson Administration insofar as favorable legislation for veterans and their dependents are concerned.

We have only admiration for his forthright declarations. He is championing a just and righteous cause.

Right of Privacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, the question of invasion of privacy has become a controversial matter, especially with the use of new "bugging" devices which present a substantial new threat to individual privacy.

I am pleased that the President, in his state of the Union message, expressed concern about the use of wiretapping, electronic "bugging" and "snooping," and shall await with interest his proposals to deal with the issue.

In the interest of congressional study of this problem, I call the attention of the House to the following editorial in the Los Angeles Times of December 13, 1966:

RIGHT OF PRIVACY IN PERIL

The extraordinary public quarrel over responsibility for FBI bugging practices again points up the lack of restraints upon official invasion of privacy.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover contends that Sen. Robert Kennedy (D-N.Y.) knew of electronic eavesdropping by the bureau while the senator was U.S. attorney general. Kennedy replies with equal vigor that he was not aware of such activities and did not sanction them.

Who is right in the Kennedy-Hoover dispute is far less important, however, than what must be done to clarify the confusion surrounding the use of devices that permit law enforcement officials—or anyone else—to monitor virtually any private conversation.

Basic federal legislation was enacted in 1934 when Congress made wiretapping illegal in the Federal Communications Act. The Justice Department circumvented the law, however, by insisting that federal wiretapping is permissible so long as the information gained is not used as evidence. Although California forbids wiretapping, some other states permit its use under various forms of restraint.

The problem of protecting the right of privacy was greatly magnified with development of electronic eavesdropping devices that require no tapping of telephone lines. Only certain Federal Communications Commission rules govern the use of such devices in the absence of any statutory regulation by Congress.

Specific authorization for the employment of wiretapping in cases affecting the national security was first given by President Franklin D. Roosevelt and reaffirmed by succeeding Presidents.

In June, 1965, President Johnson reportedly continued such authorization but banned all other forms of eavesdropping by federal officials. Unfortunately, the contents of his confidential order have never been made public.

In the confusion of circumvented laws and confidential memos, abuses of the right of privacy by official agencies are almost inevitable. Abuses by individuals acting outside of the law have become commonplace.

This dangerous situation obviously cannot be allowed to continue.

Congress should act without delay to define what is meant by "national security" when used as a justification for official eavesdropping.

As a start, President Johnson should divulge the details of his June, 1965 order. For unless the terms of such permission are clearly and openly stated, the public will never know to what extent their rights have been abridged.

After Congress determines the circumstances when the national safety should take precedence over the rights of the individual, then, and only then, should such conditions be enacted into law.

The Times believes that so essential and basic a right should be pre-empted only in those cases where the security of the nation is endangered.

To surrender that right in lesser cases would be to invite an intolerable proliferation of official eavesdropping.

The Amtorg Trading Corp.—Soviet Spy?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, today's New York Times, the January 16, 1967, issue, carries a two-page Soviet advertisement soliciting interest of American businessmen in trade opportunities in the Soviet Union.

Interested firms are invited to get in touch with the Amtorg Trading Corp. in New York. The Amtorg Trading Corp. acts as agent for most of the foreign trading organizations of the U.S.S.R. in transacting and carrying out operations in connection with the import of goods from the U.S.S.R. into the United States, and with the export of goods from the United States to the U.S.S.R.

When Mr. Hoover appeared before the House, State, Justice, Commerce, and Judiciary Appropriation subcommittees last session on February 10, 1966, I asked Mr. Hoover about Soviet trading organizations and about the need for American businessmen to be alerted to the great care that must be exercised in dealing with Soviet organizations such as Amtorg because of their espionage activities.

I am sure that the membership of the House and the public will be interested in our colloquy on this matter and under leave to extend my remarks submit it for inclusion in the RECORD:

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Director, there seems to be an increase in the contact that American businessmen are having with Soviet trade missions. You, upon other occasions, have warned and alerted American business that they should be careful in dealing with trading organizations such as Amtorg and other Communist trade organizations.

Are these trade organizations working now, do they still conduct and fit into the espionage picture?

Mr. Hoover. Amtorg fits into it 100 percent. It is the main trade organization of the Soviet Government in this country.

Mr. Lipscomb. American business, in their interest to expand trade with the Communist countries, should still be very careful?

Mr. Hoover. I think they should be particularly alert and keep their guard up.

I wrote an article for the Harvard Business Review some time ago on that very subject, on the businessman and the spy. It concerned efforts to obtain information through businessmen and their concerns, that would be of value to the Soviet bloc in their activities in opposition to this country.

Mr. Lipscomb. I think it is important they keep alert.

Mr. Hoover. I think it is highly important they keep alert, that they know what is going on.

Mr. Lipscomb. This is like so many other things. They fail to realize that the Soviets are still out to "bury us" and that is economically and militarily.

Mr. Hoover. Some forget that and think we can live in peaceful coexistence, which I think is a complete fallacy.

Mr. Lipscomb. Again, Mr. Director, my thanks to you and to your associates for the dedicated job you are doing.

Mr. Hoover. Thank you, Mr. Lipscomb.

In the article referred to by FBI Director Hoover in his testimony, entitled "The U.S. Businessman Faces the Soviet Spy," Mr. Hoover discusses efforts and methods of the Soviets in their attempts to obtain information from businessmen and their firms that would be of value to the Communists.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a section of the article which contains Mr. Hoover's comments and recommendations on how to meet the threat:

The American businessman, previously scorned as a warmongering capitalist exploiter, is now being assiduously courted by the Communists.

What is the answer? What are the implications for corporate action?

First of all, the threat must be met within our democratic tradition. True, Soviet-bloc personnel, in making personal contacts, in purchasing government documents, in visiting conventions, are exploiting our freedoms in a free society. They take advantage of our system of government to advance their own interests.

Yet this should not scare us into rash and intemperate action. Any response to the Communist threat based on hysteria or alarmism will do more harm than good. Just as no successful business is run on emotion, so too the campaign against this conspiracy must be a sustained, intelligent effort. This Communist attack can be defeated without compromising our free institutions.

The businessman can do much in a *positive* way to help in the fight not only against Soviet-bloc espionage but also in the nation's over-all struggle against the Communist enemy. Being a highly respected, influential, and farsighted individual, he has the imagination, ingenuity, and aggressive thinking which will help us find successful ways of combating the threat. He has a heavy responsibility—one which cannot be performed by any other segment of our society. This entire problem should not be of auxiliary or minor concern but of deep and continuing interest—for him and for all other members of his organization.

KEY STEPS AND POLICIES

What steps should management take? Let us examine the most important ones.

1. *Immediate Plant or Industrial Security.* Industrial security programs, of course, vary from company to company, depending on size, materials manufactured, and whether government contracts are being handled. This is as it should be. However, experience teaches us something about what to emphasize.

Where applicable, the industrial executive should give priority attention to perfecting immediate plant security, involving such items as the control of documents (classified and nonclassified), the identification of visitors, access to restricted areas. Many plants already have effective security programs. However, experience teaches that they must be constantly evaluated, analyzed, and reviewed.

Actually, plant security is our last line of defense. Business executives probably do not realize how carefully the Russians scrutinize their industrial security setup, looking for loopholes and weaknesses. If one can be found, it will be exploited; if not, they will move to another company. By constantly evaluating its security program, the company can often find places where it can be strengthened.

If the business manager wants the very best security in his plant, he must make certain that he employs competent and experienced people for the job. And he must see to it that they have adequate facilities, that their recommendations are carefully considered by their superiors, and that adequate funds are available to meet their needs. A dollar spent in protection is a dollar well spent.

2. *Long-Range Educational Programs.* Industrial executives can do much to effectively educate their employees to the problems involved in Soviet espionage and communism. Many companies have provided lending libraries, published articles in their company magazines, secured qualified guest lecturers, and shown movies and training films. Special training sessions, especially for supervisory personnel, can be most productive.

The question of security should not be something which is taken for granted or left exclusively to the security officers. In today's business world, the responsibility belongs to each employee. The Russians may contact an executive officer of a company, a salesman, an engineer employed in the plant, or an exhibitor at a technical convention. They are not restricted by inhibitions! To illustrate:

In one instance, a Russian official had the audacity to go to a company's front office and ask for an employee to be called off the job. The diplomat, not identifying himself, was a complete stranger to the engineer. During a luncheon conversation, the Russian attempted to secure the engineer's cooperation as a "consultant." When the American determined that the stranger was actually a Soviet national, he immediately broke off the conversation and reported the incident to the proper authority. The vigilance of that engineer is commendable. His information was of great value to the FBI.

Every employee should know his responsibility in the field of security and to whom to report factual information he possesses.

3. *Reporting of Pertinent Security Information.* The FBI is the governmental agency charged with investigating espionage, sabotage, and subversive activities. The FBI is *not* interested in legitimate business dealings of Soviet-bloc officials with American business firms. If, however, there is an indication that the Soviets are abusing the right, in ways indicated in our John Smith story, the FBI should be immediately advised.

Many times a businessman may think that a piece of information in his possession is insignificant or nonpertinent. Resolve that doubt by reporting it to the FBI. Many times a small scrap of data, when coordinated with information we already possess, may help us solve a case. In one instance, a photographer called the FBI headquarters in Washington and reported that a client was very much interested in securing an aerial map to be taken at extremely high altitude. We quickly identified this individual who, by a ruse, was trying illegally to secure a map of military value. Based on this report, the Russian diplomat was declared *persona non grata* by the Department of State.

The manager should not attempt to conduct his own investigation. This is a job for the FBI, which has experienced, specially trained agents. If a private citizen tries to conduct his own investigation, he may unknowingly jeopardize other counterintelligence operations of the FBI.

Never should an individual think it is too late to contact the FBI to supply information! A person may have been contacted by the Russians, even given them sensitive data—but this should never mean he is irrevocably "lost." His patriotic duty is to come to the FBI promptly. This is the best way to overcome previous mistakes and to serve not only his own personal interests but also the welfare of his country.

4. *Public Service and Community Programs.* In our society the progressive businessman can no longer think only of his own business, his own product, his own operating techniques. He has an obligation not only to his immediate community but to the entire country. Through public service and community programs, advertising, and general public relations, companies can do much to encourage Americans to be better citizens, to take a deeper interest in the affairs of their community and nation. We need today a deeper awareness of what American freedom means, of the positive role the American competitive business system is playing, and of the importance of the individual in a free society.

Americans are often too apathetic in understanding their duties and responsibilities. Businessmen can perform a valuable service by reawakening in our citizens those historic values which have made our country great—personal initiative, service to others, a willingness to do one's share.

Our approach toward communism must not be negative or defeatist. We are against communism, but that is not enough. *We must stand for something*—the moral and spiritual forces which make for decency, honesty, and understanding. These ideals are what give strength to America.

This means that businessmen must be willing to do their share in supporting programs to eliminate problems such as unemployment, corruption in public life, juvenile delinquency, organized crime, poverty, and discrimination. These are weaknesses which the Communists seek to exploit. By making a more healthy nation—economically, socially, and spiritually—we will illustrate to the entire world that free man can outproduce, outlive, and outthink Communist man.

Oshkosh and Chilton Cited for Efforts in Traffic Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, each year traffic accidents take a tragic toll in human lives. In the State of Wisconsin alone, in fact, some 1,000 lives are lost annually in traffic accidents and the economic loss is almost $200 million yearly.

One of the chief causes of such accidents is faulty mechanisms. Many automobiles are being driven that need repairs and do not belong on our highways.

Two cities in the Sixth District of Wisconsin were cited last week for their programs to combat highway accidents by conducting voluntary vehicle inspections.

I would, at this time, like to join the citizens of the Sixth District, Mr. Speaker, in expressing our thanks and our congratulations to Oshkosh and Chilton, Wis., for their fine efforts toward making our highways safer.

A. J. "Dutch" Bergman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, it was my honor and pleasure to attend the 32d annual awards dinner of the Touchdown Club of Washington, D.C., Saturday evening and view my good friend "Dutch" Bergman receive a special award from the club which he founded.

"Dutch" truly is a special kind of person, a wonderful human being who spends virtually all of his time in doing things for other people. I am proud to be able to say that he is my friend. The program for the 32d annual awards banquet contained a brief sketch of "Dutch" which I include in my remarks:

MEET "DUTCH" BERGMAN

Almost 32 years ago, Arthur J. "Dutch" Bergman, then coach of the Catholic University football team, was invited to be the principal speaker at the New York Touchdown Club.

Dutch was intrigued with the camaraderie and the close association between men in the football world and the fans. "Why not this for Washington?", he thought. Upon his return, the energetic Bergman set the wheels in motion, wrote the charter and the bylaws and launched the Touchdown Club of Washington.

Appropriately, Dutch was the Club's first President. Since the modest beginnings of the Club, it has far outstripped the parent Touchdown Clubs throughout the nation. Today, our Club is known from coast to coast for its unparalleled sports banquet each January and, in particular, for its promotion of the American game of football and its dedication to the welfare of the youth of the city.

Dutch Bergman was a great athlete at Notre Dame. He was one of three famous brothers who attended Notre Dame, a family that won more athletic honors than any other family in Notre Dame's history.

Dutch participated in football, baseball and track. In football he was named on many All-American teams. In the field of track he was known at Notre Dame as the "Flying Dutchman." He tied the world's record in the 40, 50, and 60-yard dashes.

World War I interrupted his career, both as a student and athlete at Notre Dame, when Bergman became a pilot in the American Expeditionary Force. After service in France, Captain Bergman returned to Notre Dame in 1919, and played the other halfback with the immortal and fabulous George Gipp, who was also Bergman's roommate.

Dutch had a most interesting and successful career as a coach at New Mexico State College, the University of Dayton, the University of Minnesota, Catholic University and coached the Washington Redskins to win the Eastern Division title in 1943. He has been elected to the Touchdown Club Hall of Fame and the Helms Foundation Football Hall of Fame.

At present Dutch is Manager of the D.C. Armory Board, which operates D.C. Stadium and the National Guard Armory.

Harrison E. Salisbury Sums Up—VI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, in his sixth article in the series summing up his observations in North Vietnam, Harrison E. Salisbury reports today on the differences between North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front. This article is most important as it discusses a little known facet of the Vietnam situation. The article, published in the New York Times on January 16, 1967, follows:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 16, 1967]

HANOI DENIES AIM IS TO ANNEX SOUTH—PROGRAM OF NORTH IS FOUND TO DIFFER FROM VIETCONG'S

(By Harrison E. Salisbury)

HONG KONG, January 11.—About 10 days ago Le Duan, First Secretary of the North Vietnamese Workers' (Communist) party, made a speech to army cadets, outlining the basis of party policy.

The party, he said, stands for "socialism in the North, democracy in the South."

His declaration was the talk of Hanoi, not because he had enunciated a new line, but because he had found it essential to restate the policy at this particular moment.

The party secretary's name is not well known outside North Vietnam. But there, it is regarded as quite possibly even more important in party circles than that of Premier Pham Van Dong.

There are some who believe that if President Ho Chi Minh were to die, he would be succeeded either by Mr. Le Duan or another figure equally little known in the West, Truong Chinh, a Politburo member, who heads the Party Control Commission.

ALLIES HAVE DIFFERENT PROGRAMS

The fact that North Vietnam and its southern ally, the National Liberation Front, possess basically different foreign policies seems to have gone almost unreported in the Western press. It came as a surprise to hear their representatives talk in casual terms of these differences, which are of long standing, and in a way that made it apparent that neither side expected an early change.

The existence of different programs raises a question that has hardly been studied in the United States. It is whether the differences are so large that even in the event of a victory for the North Vietnamese and for the Liberation Front, which is the formal name for the organization that most Americans call the Vietcong, a coalition and unification of North and South would not automatically occur.

PROPAGANDA PERVASIVE

Both the Northern regime and the Liberation Front are committed to reunification and the creation of a single Vietnamese state Northern propaganda for reunification is pervasive. The old Metropole Hotel in Hanoi has been renamed Thong Nhat (Reunification) Hotel. A new park built by young people around the lake adjacent to the Polytechnic University is called Reunification Park.

No speech by a North Vietnamese politican is complete without a demand for reunification. No official, even when presenting statistics on health or education, would think of concluding his presentation without putting on record North Vietnam's insistence upon reunification.

Yet, when the question of when and how is posed, the answers begin to become vaguer and vaguer. Premier Dong, in speaking with this correspondent, emphasized the insistence of North Vietnam on reunification. But as to when this might be accomplished, that he said, was for North and South to work out "as between brothers."

ANNEXATION AIM DISAVOWED

In discussing the same question, the spokesman of the Liberation Front in Hanoi, Nguyen Van Tien, said reunification was a matter that would require substantial time and a careful working out of details.

Premier Dong rebuked those who, he said, mistakenly credited the North with a desire to annex the South. The North has no intention of doing such a "stupid, criminal" thing, he asserted.

Most Americans have assumed that the Liberation Front is a puppet of the North, that was created by the North, that it is the creature of the North and that it is directed by the North.

This was not the impression given by representatives of the Liberation Front or of the North.

But, it may be asked, aren't the North and the Front just putting on an act? Won't they drop the mask and eliminate all their supposed differences if they win the war?

There is no way of telling, but if the published programs of the two groups are genuine reflections of attitudes, there seem to be sufficiently wide differences to make rapid unification difficult.

REGIONAL PERSONALITIES

Specialists in Vietnam have also noted marked differences of temperament and personality between natives of the South and of the North. These regional differences have been evident in the governments of Hanoi and Saigon, both of which include natives of the two parts of Vietnam. Saigon residents seem to possess a certain sophistication and big city gloss not found in the average Northerner. The Southerner seems to be more a man of the world. The Northener is simpler, more direct, blunt and forceful.

These differences could be put aside for the sake of the common cause of Communism. But in other countries it has been demonstrated that Communism does not necessarily eliminate regional conflicts. This has been noted in the Soviet Union and in some of the Eastern European countries.

The front has now been in existence as a separate quasi-governmental organization for six years. In that period of time its leaders have acquired vested interests.

In the last few years they have established quasi-diplomatic missions in each of the Communist countries and in some other African and Asian countries. However, no foreign governments are represented at Liberation Front headquarters in South Vietnam. Only North Vietnam maintains a permanent representative in the South.

Who conducts the war in the South? The Front insists that it does, that all military operations are under its command and under its direction. Its representative in Hanoi was asked whether this meant that any forces sent south by Hanoi were put under Front command. He insisted that this was true.

TROOP JURISDICTION AN ISSUE

Diplomats in Hanoi are dubious about this. They doubt that regular North Vietnamese army units sent to the South are taken out of the North Vietnamese command. There have been rumors of disagreements between North and South regarding the employment of troops and the tactics to be followed in combatting the Americans.

The basic difference, the diplomats said, lies in a desire by Hanoi to engage the Americans in large-scale battles whereas the Front, with years of experience and confidence in hit-and-run tactics, is reluctant to commit large units.

Some Hanoi diplomats also contended that while the North Vietnamese were splendid combat troops, they had not proved as capable as the Front in carrying out guerrilla operations since their basic training had been for normal military service rather than special combat.

Neither Northern nor Southern representatives said in so many words that the North was sending regular combat troops to the South. But no one said that this was not the case. In two weeks in Hanoi, this correspondent never heard a denial of the presence of Northern forces in the South.

INDEPENDENCE IS AVOWED

On the contrary, the idea that the North was rendering aid to its Southern allies was stressed repeatedly.

The Front insisted that one reason for its success in the South was the independence of its leadership. It stressed its independence in contrast to what it called the dependence of Premier Nguyen Cao Ky and his Saigon Government upon American backing.

On one point both the Front and the North were agreed. This was that the Front was the only legitimate representative of the people of the South and that no settlement of the war could be expected without direct United States dealing with the Front.

"Anyone who has anything to discuss in connection with South Vietnam" said Mr. Tien, "must discuss it with the Front. The North cannot speak for the South."

Premier Dong said the same thing and asked how the United States expected to settle the war unless it was willing to negotiate with the Front.

"The National Liberation Front must be represented at the conference table," Mr. Tien said. "Later on, the Front and the North will have to have discussions of reunification on the basis of equality."

DIFFERENCES ILLUSTRATED

Neither North nor South suggested any means for reconciling the divergent economic and political platforms on which they stand. The North stands for a system of Communist organization of the economy in which industry and commerce are run and directed by the state and agriculture is organized on a collective basis.

The South stands for a mixed economy in which there would be both socialized, or state-run, elements and private and cooperative elements, something on the order of the systems of Cambodia and Burma.

The political policy differences are equally marked. The North bases itself on membership in the so-called camp of socialism, the Communist world bloc.

The South proposes a policy of nonalignment, without adherence to any bloc, either Communist or non-Communist. It seems to envisage itself as a possible member of a neutralist bloc of states that would include Cambodia, Laos, Burma and Indonesia.

How these two policies could be reconciled in a reunified Vietnam is difficult to imagine. Either one or the other presumably would have to be given up or the two segments of Vietnam could not be rejoined.

The party basis of North and South is also different. The North has a tightly integrated Communist party. True, there are a few so-called nonparty men in government posts, but the leadership of the Communist party is supreme.

The Front represents a coalition of Communist and non-Communist parties and groupings in which the Communists are a minority. It is believed, however, that because of superior ability, cohesiveness and leadership the Communists dominate the Front. They say, however, that they do not intend to pre-empt political leadership of the South and that the Front will go on after the war with a diversity of membership.

REDS MAY SEIZE POWER

This, too, would seem to make a coalition difficult unless the Southern Communists simply seized power for themselves as has happened in past coalition governments, particularly in Eastern Europe immediately after World War II.

In population the South has 14 million people, the North 19 million. Both areas are mixed, however, since possibly one million Northerners took refuge in the South after the Communists came to power in Hanoi. Many thousands from the South went North at that time.

The North and South have been separated politically for 12 years now. Contact between the two areas is physically cut not only by the war but by restrictions established by both sides. Persons from one region are not permitted to visit the other. No direct mail service is provided between South to North.

The only way families can communicate is through third countries. The only way members of separated families can be reunited is by being smuggled across the frontier or arranging a meeting outside either North or South—a difficult matter in wartime.

In these circumstances the first step proposed by both the Front and the North is the restoration of trade, visits, travel, mail and similar facilities between North and South.

No steps beyond that have been publicly proposed by either side. If a well thought-out or coordinated plan for reunification existed, it would undoubtedly be publicized. Both the North and the Front insist no such plan has been drafted.

TERRITORIAL CLAIMS

The Front's picture of its political power and dominance in the South differs from what most Americans believe.

The Front has prepared maps that purport to show that four-fifths of the total area of the South is now in its control and that more than 10 million of the region's 14 million people live in "liberated" areas. It contends that even in Saigon large city areas are for practical purposes under secret Front control.

It insists that underground Front organizations exist in all communities of the South and that when Front forces "liberate" a region the underground groups simply come to the surface and begin to carry out publicly functions that previously were accomplished secretly.

Even if only part of the contentions of the North Vietnamese and the Front are founded in fact, it would seem evident that the question of what would happen in Vietnam when peace comes is far more complex than is generally realized.

It is difficult to imagine a powerful, self-centered group like the North Vietnamese Communist party sharing power in any coalition rule, even if the other group is Communist or Communist-dominated. The possibility of open divergencies between the Front and Hanoi is a subject of speculation among Hanoi diplomats and is discussed seriously by Eastern European Communists.

Message Concerning the Death of Representative John E. Fogarty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, at the request of Mrs. Sylvia N. Rachlin, executive vice president of the Myopia Research Foundation of 415 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y., I include herewith the following message from the board of trustees of that foundation, to be added to the multitude of statements and messages expressing universal grief at the death of our distinguished colleague from Rhode Island, Representative John E. Fogarty:

> The Board of Trustees of the Myopia Research Foundation is deeply grieved over the untimely passing of Congressman John E. Fogarty. He was a devoted friend and humanitarian. Millions of Americans are indebted to him for his foresight and understanding in proposing and developing splendid programs for the improvements of the Public Health facilities of the nation.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the Record.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

Appendix

Settling the Archives Dispute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, I have been requested by Maryland Gov. J. Millard Tawes to take legislative action to settle a dispute that has been running between the Maryland Hall of Records Commission and the Librarian of Congress for about 30 years. It involves eight documents now in possession of the Librarian of Congress.

The Maryland archivist is convinced that these documents are of Maryland origin and are authentic Maryland records and thus belong in our State's archives. However, the Librarian of Congress has steadfastly refused to surrender these documents to our Maryland officials.

The joint resolution I am introducing today directs the Librarian of Congress to turn the eight documents over to the State hall of records commission. I sincerely hope that it will serve to settle this dispute once and for all. Under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include the following letter from Governor Tawes and newspaper article from the Washington Evening Star:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Annapolis, Md., December 2, 1966.

Hon. HERVEY G. MACHEN,
Hyattsville, Md.

DEAR HERVEY: The Hall of Records Commission, at its last meeting on November 10th, asked me to broach the subject with you of the possibility of introducing a joint resolution in Congress which would have as its purpose the return of certain Maryland records now in the custody of the Librarian of Congress. We have made every effort to persuade the Librarian of Congress to return these records without congressional action, but the present Librarian, and his predecessors, beginning in 1936, have consistently refused. They give as the reasons for their refusal, first, that they are not confident that the records actually once were official archives of the State of Maryland, and second, that they lack authority to return these records without declaring them surplus.

The first concerted effort to have these records returned was made by Dr. James A. Robertson, the first Archivist of Maryland, by George L. Radcliffe, at that time the Junior Senator from Maryland, and by Judge Carroll T. Bond, Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals and Chairman of the Hall of Records Commission. The present Archivist, Dr. Morris L. Radoff, has appealed directly to Dr. Mumford, the Librarian of Congress, and he has also attempted to negotiate the matter through Congressman Mathias.

I am convinced, as are the other Commissioners, that these records of which I am sending you a list herewith (1), created by agencies of Maryland, originally did belong among the archives of the State and should be returned. I am also convinced that the Librarian of Congress, if he so wished, might return them without the intercession of the Congress. However, since he has refused to do so, we have no other choice.

I am sending you some examples of the restoration of records by the Librarian of Congress and others (2), and the text of Manning v. Georgia (3), which is constantly referred to in the matter of title of public records and which I think you will find interesting as well as relevant.

I shall be very much obliged to you for any action which you take pertaining to this case, and I shall be glad to furnish you with any additional information which you might need.

With kindest personal regards, I am,
Sincerely yours,
J. MILLARD TAWES, *Governor.*

[From the Washington Evening Star, Dec. 12, 1966]

TAWES AIRS STATE FIGHT WITH UNITED STATES ON ARCHIVES

ANNAPOLIS.—A battle of archivists, fought discreetly for the last 30 years between Annapolis and Washington, has now flared into the open.

It involves some records in the Library of Congress which Dr. Morris L. Radoff, the Maryland state archivist, claims properly belong in the State Hall of Records here.

Dr. L. Quincy Mumford, librarian of Congress, has steadfastly refused to surrender them, as did his predecessors.

At one point—some five years ago, according to the correspondence—Radoff threatened Dr. Mumford with a "friendly suit" or, worse yet, "publication of our exchange of correspondence."

Mumford's reply to this letter is not revealed, but Gov. J. Millard Tawes decided it was time to bring the dispute itself into the open.

SEEKS CONGRESSIONAL AID

He had written a letter to Maryland's two U.S. senators and eight congressmen urging them to bring pressure on the librarian, perhaps in the form of a congressional resolution. Tawes released a copy of the letter to the press along with some photostats of background information from the Hall of Records, for which Tawes, as governor, is a commissioner.

"I am convinced, as are the other commissioners, that these records of which I am sending you a list herewith, created by agencies of Maryland, originally did belong among the archives of the state and should be returned," the governor said.

"I am also convinced that the Librarian of Congress, if he so wished, might return them without the intercession of the Congress."

"FUGITIVE ARCHIVES" LISTED

The records cited by Tawes include two journals of the Maryland legislature, dated 1778–81 and 1778–85; the account book of Thomas Harwood, treasurer of the Western Shore, 1781–83; Rough Letter Book of the intendant of revenue, 1785–87; Journal of (Hugh Lyle?), accounts with military officers, 1781; record of the Vice-Admiralty Court, 1754–75; record book of the Committee of Observation of Baltimore County, 1774–76; and record book of William H. Brown, notary public, Anne Arundel County, 1799–1802.

According to official sources here, these records apparently found their way in the last century into the Peter Force collection, which was later acquired by the Library of Congress. They are referred to in one memorandum as "fugitive archives of Maryland," and state officials think there may be others in the Washington institution.

The state began trying to reacquire them in 1936, shortly after the Hall of Records was established as a depository for all public documents.

Tawes noted that the early efforts were led by Dr. James A Robertson, the first archivist of Maryland, and Radoff's predecessor who died in 1939; by George L. Radcliffe, when he was the junior senator from Maryland; and by the late Carroll T. Bond, chief judge of the Court of Appeals of Maryland from 1924 to 1943.

"We have made every effort to persuade the Librarian of Congress to return these records without congressional action," Tawes told the congressmen. " But the present librarian, and his predecessors, have consistently refused."

"They give as their reasons for the refusal, first, that they are not confident that the records actually once were official archives of the State of Maryland, and, second, that they lack authority to return these records without declaring them surplus."

Gust Skordas, the assistant state archivist who has inspected the records in Washington and compared them with others in Maryland's possession, says, "There is no question about the authenticity."

He said the Hall of Records has, for example, ledgers of the legislature that correspond to the Maryland journals in the Library of Congress and are companion volumes to them, and that it has also verified the other documents as missing links in Maryland records.

To Cure Asthmatic Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, asthma is a disease which afflicts more than 5,400,000 Americans, of whom more than 2 million are children aged 16 and under. Only recently has this affliction become the focal point of national attention, despite the fact that the disease itself has been recorded as a medical problem for at least 1,800 years.

The November 1966 issue of McCall's has an interesting article on asthma as it affects children by a distinguished specialist in the field, Dr. C. J. Falliers, medical director of the Children's Asthma Research Institute and Hospital (CARIH) in Denver, Colo., the country's largest facility for the total care of child asthmatics.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A CURE FOR ASTHMATIC CHILDREN?

Every mother of a severely asthmatic child knows the frightening symptoms of an acute attack. The child's mouth gapes open. His nostrils distend as though screaming for air. A blue haze around his mouth shows he is suddenly without oxygen. Striking somewhere along the vast network of air tubes of the bronchial tree, a muscle spasm has caused a strangulating asthma attack. When there is release from this spasm the child can breathe normally again—only to live in fear of the next major attack.

Fortunately for most asthmatic children, these life-threatening attacks do not occur very frequently. According to estimates of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, more than two million children aged sixteen and under have asthma, and a relatively small quarter-of-a-million of these children have asthma that is considered chronic and intractable, i.e., resistant to conventional treatment. But last year close to five thousand adults and children died from asthma attacks like the one described above. At best, children with bad cases of asthma live highly restricted lives, are kept home or sent home from school for long periods and exist in constant fear of major attacks.

Can such severe asthma ever be fully controlled or eliminated? Specialists at several excellent centers which treat asthma believe that the disease indeed can be conquered. To this end, at CARIH, we continuously select the worst cases we can find among children aged six to fifteen, anywhere in the United States, and admit them to our resident "family" of 165 boys and girls. They live with us free of charge, attend the Denver public schools and remain here for about two years.

During this time we use every known means to rehabilitate them, and in a high percentage of these cases we are totally successful. While "rehabilitation" does not mean "cure," eight out of every ten children who have been admitted and discharged during the nine years I have been at CARIH can lead completely normal lives through management of the disease—about half of them without depending upon continuous medication. Our patients comprise only a tiny fraction of the country's afflicted children, but their case histories provide an ever-growing research file which is available to all doctors and health organizations everywhere. It is our hope that these findings will help eliminate asthma as a serious problem.

A child comes to CARIH after his case history—prepared by his physician, a social agency and his school—establishes that he is seriously in need of help and that nothing more can be done for him in his home environment. Upon arrival at the Denver airport he is greeted and brought to CARIH by a carefully trained houseparent, who will be caring for him as well as for the other fifteen to twenty children in the cottage where he will live. The 17½-acre grassy campus, with its hospital, research and recreation buildings and eight bright cottages, is deliberately planned to seem as uninstitutional-looking as possible. Our professional staff of medical specialists, psychologists, researchers, dieticians, nurses, physical therapists, recreation leaders and houseparents generate a congenial and informal atmosphere.

From the beginning we purposely set a pace for the children that leaves little time for pining and homesickness. Besides regular attendance in the Denver public schools, it includes a supervised year-round recreation program, psychotherapy, continual medical testing and observation and group living with other asthmatic children. During the first twelve weeks of a child's stay we make a comprehensive rundown of everything contributing to his asthma. Continual checks are made of his blood, respiratory system and the foods and medications to which he may be allergic. The child's dependence on cortisone-type drugs (which almost all have used prior to admission) is assessed, and a program set up to wean him from the drugs. In addition, each youngster's abilities and emotional problems are analyzed by the cottage psychologist.

With the insight gained from this initial twelve-week period, intensive planning for the child's rehabilitation begins, and from here on his case is under continuous review until his two-year stay is finished. Participating in these conferences are the members of the senior medical staff, the psychologist assigned to the youngster's cottage, houseparents, the chief of the nursing service and the public school's principal.

For the children, living at CARIH is much like going to school while living at camp. As students they walk to and from the nearby public schools, do homework and get report cards—which are inspected carefully by the houseparents. Once their treatment has begun our children have school attendance records equal to those of other Denver children, even though they may have missed previously as much as three months or more of school per year because of asthma. Should a child begin to feel ill at school, the school nurse may provide medication. Or, if the child shows any indication of becoming seriously ill, we are called immediately and a houseparent picks the youngster up.

Like campers, the children eat, sleep and play together and are responsible for keeping their rooms in order. Enjoyable activitties—overnight hikes, talent shows, barbecues, swimming, horseback riding, arts and crafts—are frequent, but the children participate only if they wish to and only with medical approval. Living with and competing against youngsters with similar handicaps play an important role in the self-reliance and independence we foster in each child.

In the course of our research, we analyze the asthma attacks during their "peak" periods by subjecting them to special analyses—breathing, bloodgas and biochemical—on a minute-to-minute basis. During these tests we study the effectiveness of various approaches to inhalation therapy and physical therapy. We examine the relationship of psychological factors to asthma and the degree to which psychological techniques can be used to prevent them. We also study the effects of asthma on a child's personality and family life. Attention is given to the effects of asthma and drugs on the growth rates of children with intractable asthma, as well as to the long-term effects of all types of prolonged drug therapy.

The role of foods, the questions of how and why the course of asthma varies in children and a method for creating immunity to asthma are studied.

Although each child's two-year course of treatment costs an estimated twelve thousand dollars, no charge is made to any child's family. Admission to CARIH is based entirely on the severity of the child's affliction and the degree to which he can be helped better at CARIH than at home. We are a non-profit organization, and the funds which make our treatment and care of asthmatic children possible are contributed as a result of direct mail appeals, the activities sponsored by 140 CARIH Auxiliaries throughout America and the solicitation of professional and business groups. The U.S. Government and numerous philanthropic foundations also contribute generously to our resources.

"Credibility Gap" Impedes L.B.J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, while spending our vacation in Portugal and Africa during the month of December, I ran across an article in Newsweek, which I believe was published in Europe, and one of their articles was on the credibility gap, which gives one a good idea of the information which is being given to the readers of that publication.

The article follows:

"CREDIBILITY GAP" IMPEDES L.B.J.

Down on the L.B.J. Ranch, where a dry November turned the purple sage brown and produced a dismal harvest of election returns, Lyndon Johnson was reported by friends to be in a blue mood last week.

The President was discouraged, they said, not by the seeming insolubility of some of the problems he faces, such as the war in Vietnam, but by his apparent inability to get a fair shake in the Press.

The problem, very simply, is that Mr. Johnson lives with a credibility gap. Like his bodyguards, the Presidential Seal and the nuclear-strike code book—like the "little shadow that goes in and out with me" of the nursery rhyme—it moves with him wherever he goes.

In Manila, as well as Johnson City, wary newsmen are inclined to look for "the angle," to wonder whether the President is "on the level" whenever he speaks or acts.

The gap began as a mere earth fissure three years ago when the President led reporters to believe he couldn't possibily keep his budget below the 100-billion dollar mark, and sapped them with a look-how-good-I-am 97.9-billion dollar figure. Now it has reached wide gulch proportions.

That was evident last week in Texas, when as many White House reporters were willing to believe the A.P. as the White House on the speeding story.

By 1968, the way things are going, the Republicans will be making the credibility gap a major issue.

But the credibility of the President is a problem not just for Lyndon Johnson, the politician, but for Lyndon Johnson, the leader of the free world.

So far, the chasm has been more apparent at home than abroad. Yet if the President isn't believed in Manila or at the United Nations when, for example, he says he is willing to discuss peace in Vietnam "anywhere, anytime," then he may increasingly be doubted in London, Bonn, Rome, Seoul and Canberra.

WHOPPER

Unlike most of Mr. Johnson's problems, it is one of his own creation.

If the President doubts this, then I invite his attention to a few jottings from my notebooks. In them is a compendium of deceptions that makes Dwight Eisenhower with his occasional lapses and John F. Kennedy with his artful dodges look like congenital undeviating truthtellers.

First there was that 1964 budget whopper. How the President made himself look like a frugal Sir Galahad, slaying the 100-billion dollar budget monster dutifully erected by a trusting White House Press corps, is still a bitter page in history to his instant historians.

White House correspondents were glad he saved the money, but not that he did it at their expense.

Then came that word through U Thant that Hanoi was willing to talk with American representatives at Rangoon about peace in Vietnam.

This message came—and we have the word of both Thant and the late Adlai Stevenson that it came—at a time when Mr. Johnson was telling us at every opportunity that he was watching for "any signal", that he would walk the last mile to sit down with anyone for "unconditional" peace talks on Vietnam, but no one over there was signaling.

We might never have heard of the Hanoi offer if Thant had not made a speech in February, 1965, stating that the American people were not getting all the facts about the Vietnam war.

Then the Administration's story that Hanoi had shown no interest in talking peace began to crumble. We still don't have a straight story from Lyndon Johnson on why those two Hanoi gestures, one in 1964 and one in 1965, were rebuffed.

One typical enlargement of the credibility-gap occurred back at the ranch in November 1964, at L.B.J.'s first Press conference after his landslide election victory.

At that time the President ridiculed reporters for "premature" speculation about his intention to escalate in Vietnam.

The Vietnam speculation came true in 3-D, living colour a few months later.

In February 1965, when the Vietnam speculation materialised in the form of a U.S. Navy carrier air strike on Dong Hoi, north of the 17th parallel, White House reporters who were routed out of bed to get the news inevitably asked: was the President escalating the war?

No. It was a "reprisal" raid answering a Viet Cong mortar attack on the American barracks at Pleiku the day before, they were told.

This might have been defensible as a mask for the next day's air strike. But in the weeks that followed, President Johnson stubbornly refused to admit escalation. He had not changed strategy, only tactics, he insisted, as he changed the entire character of the war.

Just two months later, in April 1965, the President ordered 2,500 paratroopers into the Dominican Republic. The sole purpose of his intervention in the Dominican revolution, he solemnly announced, was to protect the lives of some 2,500 Americans living there.

When after 1,100 Americans had been evacuated and the President had escalated the U.S. troop commitment to 21,500 (nearly 20 times the number of Americans remaining to be saved), he was asked whether this was still just a life-saving mission. The answer, unbelievably, was "Yes."

Not until the next week did L.B.J. acknowledge that he had intervened to prevent a communist takeover in Santo Domingo. Then, the following month, in what is sometimes excused as Texas hyperbole, the President told a news conference that "some 1,500 innocent people were murdered and shot and their heads cut off"—an assertion that has yet to be verified by anybody.

HALF TRUTHS

The list of outright prevarications, half-truths, concealments and misleading denials by the Administration is almost as long as its impressive list of achievements.

The record, in fact, once got so murky that Mr. Johnson's own U.N. ambassador, Arthur Goldberg, declared a "crisis of confidence."

Some of the questions involved are important, some trivial. In the latter category, no one can find a record of a great-great-grandfather L.B.J. recently claimed as an ancestor who died at the Alamo.

There are also nagging doubts about the authenticity of his "birthplace" recently opened to tourists with his blessings.

Plain-spoken cousin Oriole has said he wasn't born there.

Johnson aides once cautioned a TV network against showing pictures of a bed in which the President said on camera, that he was born. "It may not be the ACTUAL bed," an embarrassed Johnson staffer explained gingerly.

The list is long enough to suggest that the problem of credibility ought to be high on the President's agenda—along with Vietnam, the future of the Western Alliance, his legislative programme for 1967, his own prospects for 1968 and his ultimate place in history.

His believability is intertwined with all those other problems. But unhappily the problem of an incredible White House cannot be solved by a task force or a Johnsonian burst of cyclonic energy. It has to be a quiet, soul-searching operation.

In such an undertaking, it has been suggested, President Johnson could not have a better helper than the one ordained minister on his staff, the Rev. Bill D. Moyers, who is in a unique position to argue that truth, like tapioca, is good for you.

This week, however, Mr. Moyers said he was resigning as L.B.J.'s Press Secretary.

Tax Haven in the Virgin Islands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE D. AIKEN

OF VERMONT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, on January 12, 1967, there was published in the Evening Sun, Baltimore, Md., an article by Jonathan Cottin, entitled "Business Men Finding Tax Haven in the Virgin Islands." On January 13, 1967, the Evening Sun published a second article by Jonathan Cottin entitled "Government Cost Hits Zenith in Virgin Islands."

Mr. President, inasmuch as Mr. Cottin in these articles makes reference to the good work of Peter A. Bove, a Vermonter who is now serving his 10th year as comptroller, I ask unanimous consent to have both of these articles printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Evening Sun, Jan. 12, 1967]

BUSINESSMEN FINDING TAX HAVEN IN THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

(By Jonathan Cottin)

ST. THOMAS, V.I., January 12.—The United States Government comptroller here has strongly hinted that this American-owned island paradise is fast becoming a tropical tax haven for business men weary of Internal Revenue Service agents.

Peter A. Bove, the comptroller, says tax-free status is granted often "to businesses in full operation . . . These businesses clearly did not require the stimulus of such benefits for their establishment."

The islands, owned by the United States since 1917, have authority to excuse incoming businesses from paying all local taxes. Seventy-five per cent of the income tax and 90 per cent of the Federal customs impost can also be forgiven a company by the local government.

LITTLE ECONOMIC GAIN

The Bove audit offers strong evidence that the tax subsidy program provides little permanent economic gain for this trio of palm fringed isles washed by the sun-dappled Caribbean.

Tabulating the incentive program, Mr. Bove found 23 of 27 companies that were tax exempt "ceased operations" when their special grants ran out.

He adds: "Most exempt businesses, excluding hotels, cease operations either before, or shortly after, the termination of their grant."

OTHER BYPRODUCTS

The tax forgiveness system has also produced these developments:

1. Although geared to promote employment of islanders, the incentive program permits tax-exempt firms to hire aliens.

2. Stateside watchmakers, up in arms over competition for the American market from tax-sheltered island rivals, have prevailed on the United States Treasury Department to impose an import quota on V.I. producers.

The island Government has granted refunds and abatements to more than 125 firms since the incentive program began in 1949. One of its first awards backfired ten years after the grant was made.

ISLAND EMBARRASSED

The Van B. Hooper grant so embarrassed the local Government that it was forced to bypass its own attorney general and ask the United States attorney to seek recovery of more than $1,000,000 given Mr. Hooper from the island treasury.

Mr. Hooper was publisher of a Stateside magazine. He moved down to St. Croix to pursue his publishing career.

A key factor in his decision to move was the islands' pledge to return 75 per cent of his income tax payments. He had no such break on the mainland.

In return for this boon, purpose of which was to stimulate a then-lagging economy, Mr. Hooper took these steps:

1. He hired a native housekeeper at 25 cents a day.

2. He hired his daughter to come down from the States to be his secretary.

3. He continued to publish his magazine, Ideals, in the States.

AWARD CHALLENGED

Mr. Bove, a frugal Vermonter, challenged the incentive award in 1961 and again 1964. By that time, the Government in annual installments had refunded more than $1,000,000 to Mr. Hooper on his income tax payments.

"This case . . . in our opinion, does not and never did come within the category of cases worthy of consideration for tax exemption," said Mr. Bove.

"We all know that the basic philosophy of tax exemption is to give employment and to do something of a substantial nature to improve the economic conditions of the community," he added.

"How can we justify this givinng away of money that could be used for so many things of a more beneficial nature?" asked the comptroller.

The United States Third Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia wondered the same thing. It found the incentive grant illegal.

The Supreme Court in its October, 1966, term, upheld the lower court's ruling.

Virgin Islands Attorney General Francisco Corneiro, who twice found the incentive award was legal, now is trying to recover the money from the Hooper estate.

REFUNDS OF $5,500,000

The incentive award law has meant traceable tax refunds of more than $5,500,000 to 126 firms since 1950, according to the audit.

But the Government comptroller says the $5,500,000 subsidy figure is only part of the tax exemption story.

Because of "serious weaknesses" in the collection of taxes, says one audit report, companies enjoying tax incentive status, as well as those without such privilege, escape payment of local taxes in large numbers.

Six firms whose exempt status expired were not paying any local gross receipts tax, although required to, said the audit.

PROPERTY TAXES

One company with a plant valued at $1,500,000 was excused from paying $20,000 annually in property taxes, even though it did not own the property for which taxes were forgiven, an audit disclosed.

Another business which did not own the land on which it operated has been excused from more than $7,400 in property tax payments.

The owner in each case was also excused from the payments.

In another case, the auditor discovered that a hotel operation obtained more than $64,000 in income tax subsidy payments after the exempt status had been switched to another firm.

VARIATIONS OF THEME

Another variation of the theme involved a firm which asserted part of its cost of doing business was $310,000 it paid in customs duties.

It failed to report that the customs payments were repaid by the island Government because of a tax exemption. Thus, when it filed its income tax return, it escaped payment of about $69,000 by omitting mention of the customs reimbursement.

The comptroller said the customs charge "may not be properly claimed." The matter is now in the hands of the islands' attorney general.

Administration of the incentive program also includes the basic decision to make the award. On this score, the comptroller argued.

NOT REQUIRED

"The Board has granted tax exemption and subsidy to businesses in full operation at the time of application. These businesses clearly did not require the stimulus of such benefits for their establishment," he said.

In reply, the board chairman merely says his "minutes were in such form that the application or discussion of the need test may have been inadvertently omitted."

Board chairman Albert J. Prendergast says the board must be "ultra conservative" in the award of subsidies and exemptions.

Mr. Pendergast, Boston-bred business man who holds a doctorate in management, concedes there is trouble in the program.

GROWTH OF ALIENS

To him, one of the most bothersome developments is the fantastic growth of aliens in the Virgin Islands.

Current estimates place their number at more than 11,000, better than one-fifth of entire 50,000 population.

The aliens, mostly from nearby West Indian islands, pose a threat to the Virgin Islands economy, says Mr. Pendergast.

They must be bonded by their employers before they set foot on the United States territory. But they must leave when the bond expires. Mr. Pendergast calls the situation "unhealthy" since one-fifth of the work force can be "taken away at any time."

TWENTY-FIVE PERCENT ALIENS

Under the law, no tax-exempt firm can have more than 25 percent aliens on its work force.

The Government limit was imposed to stimulate hiring of natives.

Mr. Pendergast reports twenty companies with exempt status have Government authority to exceed this quota.

Still another quota system is developing on these islands as a result of the special tax shelter enjoyed here.

The Stateside watch market was put on guard after twelve rivals settled in the islands. Four of them received incentive awards. The eight others do not require incentives, says Gov. Ralph M. Paiewonsky.

SHIPPED TO STATES

All of the island firms import parts from foreign lands, assemble them, then ship them to the states.

All the island companies have escaped duty payments because of a special Federal law. In addition, the four with incentive awards are forgiven 75 percent of their income taxes.

The duty-free status keeps prices for island-made timepieces below those manufactured on the mainland.

When Stateside manufacturers began to feel the pinch, they called for help from the Treasury Department.

QUOTAS DUE

Early this year, that agency will impose quotas on island-made watches. The action will insure a substantial portion of the market for mainland producers.

Governor Paiewonsky, a Kennedy appointee, says the tax incentive program is no giveaway.

He maintains the needs test for companies to qualify for tax bonuses is "difficult to administer."

But Mr. Paiewonsky was brought up short on the issue last year by the chairman of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

After the portly millionaire governor recited a list of economic growth indicators, reflecting the recent boom on his islands, Senator Jackson (D., Wash.) exclaimed: "You are doing so well down there that maybe we will have to take away these tax advantages."

There was no response from Mr. Paiewonsky.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Evening Sun, Jan. 13, 1967]

GOVERNMENT COST HITS ZENITH IN VIRGIN ISLANDS

(By Jonathan Cottin)

ST. THOMAS, V.I., January 13.—The high cost of Government has reached its zenith on the United States Virgin Islands, where spending has jumped 800 per cent in ten years.

The money involved—about $44,000,000 in the last fiscal year—is a drop in the bucket by Maryland standards.

But by the same yardstick, the American territory in the Caribbean, where nearly 25 per cent of the homes are without modern plumbing, spends four times as much as the Free State on each resident.

$800 PER PERSON

The $44,000,000 in revenue collected last year, spread over the 50,000 islanders, breaks down to about $800 per person.

In contrast, the Maryland Government last year expended less than $900,000,000 on its 3,500,000 inhabitants, or less than $260 per person.

More than 75 per cent of the cash supporting the Government is derived from levies that Uncle Sam allows the islands to keep. The Federal income tax is kept in the island treasury. And Washington returns, with no strings attached, all of the liquor taxes collected on island-produced liquor.

RUM TAX TAKE

Last year, the rum tax amounted to $10,400,000, according to the United States Interior Department.

The islands, which spent only $5,800,000 ten years ago, use a substantial portion of the Federal largesse to pay Government employees.

The Government was unable to provide annual salary costs, but did reveal that the number of Government employees has nearly doubled in just three years.

In 1963, there was 2,413 on the island payroll. In 1966, that number jumped to 4,026, making the Government the biggest employer, with paychecks going to almost 10 per cent of the entire population. Only 1 per cent of Maryland's residents work in State government.

Moreover, the number of political appointees in Government service has jumped almost 100 per cent in one year.

Gov. Ralph M. Paiewonsky increased the number of unclassified jobs to 654 last year, up from 380 the previous year.

ACKNOWLEDGES WASTE

The island executive, who speaks in a lilting Galypso accent, condones the massive growth in Government workers and acknowledges there is waste.

"I could run the Government with less people and more efficiently with people from the United States," he told a visitor.

"But what would happen?" he asked rhetorically. "As soon as the Americans leave, we are back where we started."

The Governor said he "must start building up a permanent staff of trained people" who are native islanders.

State-siders who come to work for his Government rarely stay very long, Paiewonsky said.

The island Government has made every effort to make Government service attractive, using a high wage for the bait.

WORKS DIRECTOR'S SALARY

The public works commissioner, for example, earns $19,300 a year. Albert P. Backhaus, Maryland's public improvements director, whose assignment is much like the public works director's, was authorized $14,300 last year.

The social welfare director on the islands earns $17,200 a year to administer a program for 2,200 persons. Raleigh C. Hobson, who directs Maryland's welfare program that serves more than 80,000 residents, earns $21,600.

Two of eight assistant attorneys general on the islands are paid $15,000 each, more than several assistant attorneys general in Maryland who earn between $10,000 and $13,000.

What happens to the money left over after salaries?

According to United States Government Comptroller Peter A. Bove, there is considerable waste.

Bove, whose audits produce Paiewonsky's wrath, is America's lone Federal watchdog on the islands. At one point, Paiewonsky said he should have power to name the man who audits the Government, but the Senate turned the idea aside, noting the American financial state involved.

Some of Bove's findings:

1. About $2,000,000 was wasted on a dredging project designed to deepen the harbor of Charlotte Amalie so that big ocean liners could come into thriving tourist port.

2. Poor planning of a low income public housing development which forced the cost of the project up by about $600,000 over estimates due to a series of costly work change orders.

3. Highway construction programs authorized as long ago as 1959 are still not completed, despite the Governments' acknowledgment that the roads are inadequate.

The Government's half-hearted attempt to dredge Charlotte Amalie harbor failed from "a complete lack of coordination between the Department of Public Works and Commerce," Bove said.

SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

The Commerce Department didn't know of the dredging project until the dredge "actually arrived," the comptroller's audit said.

Under the law, Commerce is assigned supervision of harbor improvement.

The sequence of events by Bove's account:

August 19, 1963: Paiewonsky sends off memo to agency heads stressing importance of coordination.

August 19, 1963: Dredging began in the harbor to deepen port for big ships.

August 28, 1963: Dredge left the area, "leaving the most important part of it undredged."

DREDGE RETURNED

September 5, 1963: Dredge returned after deficiency discovered, but removed only "one third of the 300,000 cubic yards required to deepen the entire maneuvering area."

Public Works Commissioner James W. Huston asserts deep draft ships, wary of a "narrow" harbor mouth, would not enter the harbor no matter how deep it is.

But spokesmen in New York for two big steamship concerns said they would "love" to move their vessels into the bustling port if only it were the proper depth.

HOUSING PROJECT

The housing project was designed to clear an unsightly community of sewerless, ramshackle hovels on the main road between the airport and Charlotte Amalie on St. Thomas.

Initially, the local Government was intent on obtaining the slum-strewn flatland along the main road for the $1,100,000 renewal. But the owners of the valuable land balked at selling.

RETAINING WALL WASHED AWAY

Instead of resorting to condemnation, the Government bought less expensive land on steep hillsides several hundred yards above the slums.

During construction, a heavy rainstorm washed away a retaining wall. One home was destroyed and two others severely damaged.

The Government repaired the two homes and spent another $400,000 on retaining walls.

A change order went through providing for a central water collection cistern, rather than equipping each house with its own. Additional cost: $100,000.

More connecting water pipes were required when the switch was made to a central cistern. Added cost: $90,000.

Fences were installed to protect life and limb along the steep hillsides. Added cost: $20,000.

Home buyers still paid an average of $9,400 for their "low income" dwellings—estimated cost per unit before change orders.

ABSORBS ADDED EXPENSES

But the Government was forced to absorb the added expenses, which are expected to bring the total cost above $1,600,000. Initially, the project was figured at $1,100,000.

Moreover, only 16 of the more than 100 shacks below the development have been cleared, partly because the Government controls little of the flat land on which the slums fester.

The comptroller complained that many highways are too narrow for safe passage of two cars.

COMMISSIONER'S RESPONSE

Huston's response:

"Our experience has been that the wider the roads are, the more violations by speeding there are."

Bove also noted the poor conditions of the highways on St. Thomas, where in some sections there is more mud than asphalt.

Huston blamed the condition on the "ultra-violet rays of the sun," which, he claimed, force rapid collapse of the highway surface.

DENIED BY INSTITUTE

But the International Asphalt Institute said in Washington it "never heard of such a thing." Asphalt stands up in the 140-degree sun of the Sudan and should have no trouble on St. Thomas, where temperatures rarely exceed 90 degrees, the institute said.

Huston said that while no new roads were built on the islands last year, he repaired ten miles of highway.

Veterans' Administration Hospital Is a Center for Surgery by Freezing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, just recently I had the opportunity to visit the Veterans' Administration hospital in Buffalo, N.Y. The director of this hospital, Dr. Herbert Fineberg, led the inspection tour and a number of important areas were discussed.

I was greatly impressed with the amount and type of research done at this hospital, as well as the medical services available to our veterans. The staff is dedicated to the highest ideals of public service, and is making a significant contribution in the area of research and development of new techniques.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues an article which appeared in the Buffalo Courier-Express, Buffalo, N.Y., on January 8, 1967, describing the Buffalo Veterans' hospital's treatment of benign and malignant tumors by an actual freezing technique, referred to as "cryosurgery" or "cryotherapy." The article, written by Clare Allen, follows:

RESEARCH ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER—VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL IS A CENTER FOR SURGERY BY FREEZING

(By Clare Allen)

Few persons are aware that the Veterans Administration Hospital on Bailey Avenue, in addition to providing medical and surgical care for former and present members of the armed forces, is also the center for some very interesting and important research. The primary function of the facility and its professional staff is patient treatment. However, these same people also devote considerable effort in the exploration and development of new techniques and equipment for the treatment of human ailments. Currently 78 people are working on 40 research projects at the hospital.

One of the most interesting and encouraging of these studies involves the actual freezing of localized cancers, which, in some instances, has proven more successful than surgery or treatment by irradiation. Known as "cryosurgery" or "cryotherapy" ("cryo" from the Greek "kryos," meaning cold or frost), the technique and equipment have been used in the treatment of benign and malignant tumors in more than 100 patients in the hospital in the past three years.

Basic experimental and clinical work with this technique has been done by Doctors Andrew A. Gage and Fred G. Emmings, who have frozen various tumors in several areas of the body, and by Doctors Maurice J. Gonder and Ward A. Soanes, who have treated prostatic disease and bladder cancers at the Millard Fillmore as well as the Veterans Administration Hospitals. In association with the clinical investigators, Dr. Sidney Shulman of the University of Buffalo has conducted experiments on immunologic responses to tissue freezing.

Cryotherapy is relatively simple to apply. The principal instrument is a probe slightly larger than a pencil, with a freezing surface at the tip. It is linked to a flexible insulated tube which is connected to a container of liquid nitrogen.

In operation the liquefied gas flows to and circulates through the tip of the probe, chilling it to a temperature as cold as −190° Centigrade, although the usual temperature reached during use is about −160° Centigrade. Suitably shaped probes can be used in the treatment of tumors in various areas of the body.

During the operation the surgeon applies the tip of the probe to the cancerous area, holding it in one spot for two or three minutes while freezing is produced. Then the probe is thawed and moved to other areas for freezing until the entire cancer has been treated. In about seven to 14 days the previously frozen tissue falls away, leaving a clean wound with very little scar formation. If examination shows that the initial treatment was insufficient, it can be repeated at intervals until the cancer is completely destroyed. Benign tumors and enlarged prostate glands are similarly treated.

According to Dr. Gage, cryotherapy has proven particularly useful in prostatic disease and in the treatment of easily accessible tumors, such as those of the skin, mouth and throat. The technique has also been advantageous when cancer is close to the bone, for with freezing, the tumor may be destroyed without permanently damaging the underlying bone.

The work done in cryotherapy in Buffalo has contributed very substantially to the knowledge of this relatively new treatment, so much so that the city is recognized by the medical profession as a center for research and development of the technique. However, as is the case in any advanced study, tangible results were neither quickly nor easily attained.

Many months of pioneering investigation were consumed at the Veterans Administration Hospital in order to determine the effectiveness of cryotherapy. Doctors spent countless hours studying the manifold aspects of the new treatment and in laboratories, gaining experience in the manipulation of the specialized equipment and in developing operating technique. Knowledge acquired by the individual was shared with colleagues, and that knowledge and its application has been worthwhile, as indicated by case histories.

Doctors Gage and Emmings, in the treatment of 21 persons with oral cancer, found only three that failed to produce satisfactory results. Eleven patients with skin tumors were treated with the intent to cure, and there has been no recurrence of cancer. In other cases where cryotherapy was used without hope of complete cure, the treatment eased patient discomfort.

Doctors Gonder and Soanes, in the treatment of more than 200 prostatic cases, found that cryotherapy yielded very good results, and their satisfaction with the technique is enhanced by the absence of complications frequently associated with older methods of treatment.

Doctors Shulman, Emmings, Gonder, Soanes and Gage are currently engaged in studies of immune response to cryotherapy. This treatment might be compared to vaccination. However, instead of employing a vaccine or serum to immunize the patient, the freezing technique is used on the tumor, which results in antibody production and perhaps helps combat tumors in other areas of the body.

Reviewing the work done in cryotherapy at the Buffalo Veterans Administration Hospital and looking to the future, Dr. Gage says: "The treatment of tumors by freezing with modern cryosurgical apparatus shows promise of becoming an important new weapon against cancer. Our clinical experience is about three years in duration and few patients with cancer can be considered cured in this short interval. However, our results have been sufficiently good to encourage continued use of the technique in carefully selected patients. Cryotherapy is not a panacea, and hopeless cancer cannot be cured, but some patients have benefited after the usual methods of treatment had failed. The technique is also used to avoid the risk of major surgery in elderly patients with severe heart or lung disease.

"Additional experience with cryotherapy is needed, but the results thus far indicate that the technique could become a standard method of treatment for prostatic disease. It also promises to be of benefit to some patients with localized cancer, especially when the usual methods of treatment cannot be used, are too mutilating, or have failed.

"Whether or not freezing an advanced cancer will produce an antibody response similar to that produced by vaccination and thereby help control cancer which has spread throughout the body remains to be proven, though the results of Dr. Shulman's experiments so far encourage continued investigation of this possibility."

How a State Plans To Cut Teenage Drinking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, the teenage drinking problem is a plague on the American society, leaving in its wake tragedy on the highway, in the home, and in human hearts.

Pennsylvania is, for very good reason, known as the Keystone State, and true to its name it has come up with a Keystone approach to a solution for the teenage drinking problem. This approach gives parents a principal role in this problem-solving effort, thereby calling into service a vital influence for correction.

Because of this unique approach to a very widespread and dangerous problem, I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following article written by Mr. Bill Wingell and presented in the January 16, 1967, issue of the National Observer:

HOW A STATE PLANS TO CUT TEENAGE DRINKING

HARRISBURG, PA.—The Pennsylvania Liquor Control Board, which owns and operates all liquor stores in the state, is conducting a statewide advertising campaign aimed at getting parents to "take the pledge," not for themselves but for their children.

Over a four-month period, the board plans advertisements in some 350 daily and weekly newspapers urging parents to sign a pledge which reads, in part: "I don't care what other parents let their children do. I am not going to let my children drink any alcoholic or malt beverage at home or anywhere else before they are 21." Pennsylvania law prohibits the consumption of alcoholic beverages by persons under 21. The pledge, of course, has no legal status, but the board believes it may at least make parents conscious of teen drinking.

The first advertisement, which amounted to a quarter-page in the large dailies, was run the last week of December. A second is scheduled to appear across the state on January 23. A Philadelphia advertising firm was hired to handle the campaign, for which the board budgeted about $70,000. In addition to the newspaper ads, the agency is sending 60-second, taped, public-service announcements and color films to the state's nearly 200 radio and 28 television stations.

The unusual advertising campaign is part of a continuing effort to curtail illegal drinking by teen-agers; the program began almost a year ago when the state agency became alarmed over the growing number of teenagers arrested for drunken driving.

Teams of enforcement officers were sent out nightly to check on taverns across the state. In more than 10,000 investigations (the board watches over 25,000 licensees, including taverns and restaurants, hotels, and clubs), the officers arrested almost 200 minors for drinking and 80 license holders or their employes for serving the youths.

Declares A. D. Cohn, a retired York, Pa., businessman who serves as the control board's chairman: 'We have given the war on teen-age drinking the highest priority, and we intend to pursue it through every available means." With the night patrols by officers and the co-operation of tavern owners, the chairman relates, "we have succeeded, for all practical purposes, in eliminating teen-age dringing in licensed places."

But teen-agers still have access to liquor in homes—one reason for the liquor board's attempt to enlist the parents' co-operation in deterring teen-age dringing. "After all," says the chairman, "it is their inherent responsibility to guide their children into mature citizenship by instilling in them a practical regard for the laws of society."

"As I See 1967": A Projection on the Immediate Future of Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kans., by Its President, Dr. James McCain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, an indication of how well our colleges and universities are meeting the challenges of today is exemplified in a recent statement which Dr. James McCain, president of Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kans., prepared for the Sunday edition of the Kansas City, Mo., Star for January 8, 1967.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to place in the Appendix of the RECORD, Dr. McCain's account of the significant advancements which will be made by Kansas State during this year. The following is his report as it appeared in the Star:

[From the Kansas City (Mo.) Star, Jan. 6, 1967]

AS I SEE '67 . . .

(By Dr. James A. McCain, president, Kansas State University)

Historically, Kansas State university has played a major role in the economic and intellectual progress of this area. As a result of recent developments on the campus, the university's contributions in 1967 and the years ahead should be greater than ever.

In chemistry, physics, mathematics and biology, for example, with the recent addition of several professors of unusual distinction to an already strong faculty, coupled with new physical facilities, the university is establishing a major center of scientific excellence.

Four years ago a 3 million dollar physics-mathematics building was occupied which houses an astronomical laboratory, a planetarium, a computing center and a 1 million dollar accelerator laboratory. Nuclear physicists share with the department of nuclear engineering the university's Triga-Mark II, a teaching and research reactor.

A $950,000 renovation of classrooms and laboratories in Willard hall, home of the department of chemistry, has just been completed. Late this winter the department will occupy a new $1,250,000 chemistry building annex.

Construction will begin soon on a new 4 million dollar biological science building. It will provide improved facilities for undergraduate and graduate instruction, and an ultra-modern microbiology laboratory to draw upon unusual staff talent in genetics, physiology, biochemistry, biophysics and bacteriology.

The university received eight grants from the National Science Foundation and the Atomic Energy commission, totaling more than $3,500,000, to match state funds for the construction of these scientific building and laboratories.

These same agencies together with private corporations are providing well over 1 million dollars annually in support of research in these departments as an exciting part of K-State's 8 million dollar research program.

An institute for Environmental Research has recently been established at the university and will draw upon exceptional resources in architecture, engineering and industrial psychology.

A $500,000 engineering laboratory, constructed and equipped with funds from the National Institutes of Health and the American Society for Heating, Refrigeration and Air Conditioning Engineering, is conducting studies in air pollution, biomedical engineering, heating, refrigeration, air conditioning and other conditions affecting the health, comfort and productivity of humans.

This program is directed by Dr. Ralph Nevins, KPL distinguished professor and head of the department of mechanical engineering. Application of these research data will be the responsibility of Henry Wright, regents distinguished professor of architecture and design, who is nationally known as an authority in environmental design.

This total program holds great promise as a stimulus to economic growth.

A 3-million-dollar auditorium and music wing on which architectural plans are now nearing completion will enrich the cultural environment of the campus in a variety of ways. The flexibility to be built into this structure (including an adjustable ceiling for "tuning" the auditorium) will make it an attractive setting for recitals, symphony concerts, chamber music, operas, choral groups, drama, student convocations and public lectures.

Two major K-State agricultural programs which have had a strong impact on the economy of the area, involving animal industry and grain and grain processing, are prepared to expand their services in the future.

The department of animal, dairy and poultry husbandry are now housed in modern buildings which provide a livestock pavilion, a model dairy and modern, efficient student classrooms and research laboratories.

New swine and beef cattle research units, being constructed to replace those destroyed by last June's tornado, will be more modern and efficient in many respects.

A program adopted by the Board of Regents two years ago for enlarging the staff and research resources of the college of veterinary medicine will equip this branch of the university for improving and expanding its services to all segments of the livestock industry.

With our nation's commitment to a global war against starvation and malnutrition, K-State's work in the area of wheat and feed grains and grain processing is assuming unusual and timely significance. Present staff and facilities measure up to the challenge and opportunity.

A hybrid wheat in process of development by the agricultural experiment station should be available for commercial use within two years and increase yields by as much as 30 per cent, just in time to prevent serious shortages.

The new flour milling and feed manufacturing laboratories are far and away the finest and most complete at any university in the world. Of the 3 million dollars invested in these laboratories more than $1,300,000 has been contributed by private industry.

As the capstone of this program, the Congress of the United States has now appropriated the full $3,380,000 for the construction at the university of the National Grain Marketing Research center. The largest federal laboratory ever located in Kansas, this facility will reinforce K-State's status as an important world center of teaching, research and service in grain production, processing, marketing and consumption.

Stokely and Dennis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALEXANDER PIRNIE

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, recently one of the fine newspapers in my area, the Evening Times of Little Falls, N.Y., took note of a letter written home by a serviceman from my district now serving in Vietnam, Pfc. Dennis Allmendinger.

I share the pride of the community and his family which is prompted by this expression of loyalty and love of country. The following editorial, which contrasts the attitude of Dennis with that of the much-publicized Stokely Carmichael, is called to the attention of my colleagues.

[From the Little Falls (N.Y.) Evening Times, Dec. 2, 1966]

STOKELY AND DENNIS

"Hell, no, says Stokely Carmichael, the well fed and arrogant would-be Negro Hitler, when asked if he would serve in Viet Nam.

Carmichael, who faithfully serves Communist causes regardless of his political identity, has been convicted of inciting a riot in Selma, Alabama, fined and sentenced to 60 days in prison. He has appealed.

The country would be better served with Carmichael in jail than in uniform. In uniform, such a character would be a disgrace rather than a credit to the United States. We were going to say he might be in a position to actively assist the enemy, but from what we have heard about him he is too loud mouthed and conceited to accomplish much along this line.

Thank God, the United States and the cause of freedom depend for survival not on the Stokely Carmichaels in our midst. Thank God, instead, for such defenders as Pfc. Dennis Allmendinger of Little Falls, now serving his country as a volunteer in Viet Nam. Dennis is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Allmendinger of 611 East Albany Street, this city, and he enlisted in the Army in October, 1965. He spent time in Alaska, volunteered to go to Viet Nam.

The Little Falls soldier had no illusions about what duty would be like in the war—crucified nation of Southeast Asia. But he had matured to the point of understanding what the late President John F. Kennedy meant in his Inaugural Address when he eloquently urged Americans to ask not what their country could do for them, but what they could do for their country.

Pfc. Allmendinger recently wrote home and unburdened himself of some thoughts:

"Sure, people have said I'm crazy to volunteer to come here, but I'm proud to be a part of an Army respected by all other countries in the world, it makes me feel great to have a Vietnamese person come up to me and say 'Hi, Joe.' They are all thankful we are here protecting them.

"As for the draft-dodgers, well they can go to the devil. It's too bad they have to rely on guys their own age to come here and do what they should be proud enough of their country to do. They'd rather sit home safe and sound and laugh at the guys who have the guts to come over here.

"Most of the guys in the office here volunteered to come here. And believe me, none of us are sorry. Sure we miss our families and girl friends, especially me, but we all plan on coming back. And when we do, we can say we served our country the best we could."

The United States of America is beset with global problems and responsibilities because it is the world's greatest power. There are Americans who would renounce the duties that go with greatness. They would hide behind somebody else's shield. But if they spurn the American democratic shield, the only comparable one is the Communist dictatorial shield, which perhaps they prefer anyway.

The United States did not attain greatness and its present role as the world's strongest defender of freedom on the shields of cowards. It is where it is in this critical era of history because through all its trials and tribulations it has had devoted citizens like Dennis Allmendinger who "served our country the best we could."

Congressman McClory Cites Public Support of Automatic Data Processing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, in view of the importance attached to the projected establishment of an automatic data processing facility to serve the Members of the Congress, it is imperative that we draw upon the experience gained in similar projects. Therefore, I submit a listing of studies and articles from the public press which reflect the thinking of government, university, and business specialists who are concerned about the increasingly heavy workloads of the Federal legislators.

The concensus of these writers indicates such a facility as that proposed in H.R. 21 would go far in diminishing the redundant functions which must be performed by Members and committee staffs in certain application areas. Material selected from some of these studies and articles will be quoted in the near future, in the belief that it will be useful as a point of orientation.

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Huntington, W. Va., Job Corps Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, the progress already achieved by the Huntington, W. Va., Job Corps Center for women is a source of real satisfaction to me. On December 18, the New York Times included a special report on the Huntington center by Marjorie Hunter, which describes how far the program has come and what an outstanding job the center is doing. The lives of the young women enrolled there are being transformed and the doors to economic opportunity are being opened.

Beyond the interest that all of us in the House of Representatives share for the progress of our national programs to combat poverty and the conditions which breed it, I have a special interest in the Huntington Job Corps Center. As Miss Hunter's article relates, it is the Xerox Corp. which operates the center. Xerox is among my most distinguished corporate constituents, and I am proud of the contribution its people are making in helping to prepare people for full partnership in the dynamism of our society and its economy.

I take pleasure, now, that Miss Hunter's story is printed with my remarks:

[From the New York Times, Dec. 18, 1966]

JOB CORPS HELPS SLUM GIRLS SHED "MUD OF GUTTER"

(By Marjorie Hunter)

HUNTINGTON, W. VA., December 17.—"You see your future etched in the scars of the dirty counter, in every smashed vodka bottle you've drained, every obscene sentence you've spieled off in retaliation . . ."

The words were those of a pretty young drifter named Barbara Dean.

Tossed out of school at the age of 12 (they called it a nervous breakdown, she said), she wandered alone into the world of pick-up jobs in dirty cafes, of cheap rooms with the vodka bottle waiting to say, "Welcome home."

Last January, she joined the Job Corps. She was just 17 years old.

Today, she is working in a San Francisco office and attending night classes in high school through a Litton Industries scholarship.

LETTER TO A FRIEND

In a recent letter to a friend here, she wrote:

"I'm going to keep on going to night school because I believe if I let myself slip once I may never stop slipping. This I had proven to me once.

"Only, if I start slipping now, no Job Corps is going to come and weep over my broken bones and fix my sore teeth and wipe the mud of the gutter off my face."

A talented writer and artist, Barbara Dean is among the most brilliant of the hundreds of girls who have passed through the Huntington Job Corps Center for Women since it opened nearly a year ago.

But others, too, have had the mud of the gutter wiped off their faces.

They come here from the tenant shacks of the rural South, from the dirty back streets or the ghettos of the big cities.

Some are tough and boisterous. Some are pathetically shy. Most are school dropouts. All are poor.

The first year for the Huntington center has not been easy. Located in the old Governor Cabell Hotel on the busiest downtown corner of this city of 83,000, the center has been very much in the public eye.

The city's reaction has been mixed. Some residents have been sympathetic. Others have been critical.

"Those girls just aren't our kind of people," one man said.

"It's pretty hard to take when you see one of those white girls walking hand in hand down the street with a Negro boy," another complained.

There were complaints too that the girls wandered around the streets in hair curlers and slacks and shorts and that they frequented undesirable "night spots."

As the criticism mounted, officials of the center established new rules last summer; no shorts or slacks or hair curlers on the streets; certain night spots off limits; no hanging out windows; 6:30 a.m. roll call.

The new rules touched off the only major incident of the year. Nine resident leaders—adults who serve as dormitory matrons—walked off the job, calling the new rules "too militaristic."

About 50 of the center's girls set up picket lines on the streets, parading with signs saying, "We refuse to be tin soldiers" and "This is not a reformatory."

Two girls got into a fight, and the case ended up in court.

A TURNING POINT

That was perhaps the major turning point for the center. The incident blew over. The new rules were enforced. The center settled down to the business of training the girls for useful occupations.

There is relatively little effort now to court favor with the townspeople, as there had been in the beginning.

"We have a job to do, and we're trying to get it done," said George N. Mayer, director of the center.

A former official of the Xerox Corporation, which operates the center under a two-year, $4-million contract with the Federal Government, Mr. Mayer is the fifth director at the center since it opened.

The rapid turnover reflects the basic problem encountered by the center, the problem of how to treat the girls.

"My theory is if you get the girls up in the morning, keep them in class and keep them busy, they won't have time to run all over town," Mr. Mayer said.

Some are still smarting over what they regard as too tight a rein, but most of the girls seem satisfied.

Patricia Hal, a teen-ager Fremont, Ohio, dropped out of the 10th grade to help earn money for her family. She is learning to operate graphic arts machines and is anxious to graduate and get a job.

So is Linda Eustace of Albuquerque, N. Mex., who dropped out of school in the ninth grade and is now learning to operate business machines.

Ninety girls have already completed training. Most have gotten jobs—as nurses aides, office workers, keypunch operators and floral assistants.

Patricia Adams of Albany, Ore., won a scholarship to Oregon State University.

SOME ARE BRIGHT

Some of the girls are extremely bright. Others are not. The classroom is geared to individual ability.

There are classes in basic education—reading, writing, mathematics and social sciences. Some are learning to operate office machines, others receive on-the-job training as nurses aides and practical nurses in local hospitals. Some with limited ability are being trained as laundry workers and food handlers.

Certain courses are mandatory—physical hygiene, care of clothes, make-up and personal appearance and homemaking arts.

Last week, the girls tried out their cooking by baking 600 dozen cookies for the soldiers in Vietnam.

Last September, they made 24 outfits for ragged children in the city. They have made and bought Christmas toys for poor children in local hospitals.

Many of the girls will go home for Christmas. Others will stay. Already there is a Christmas tree in the lobby and mistletoe over the doors.

There will be parties and dances with youths from Job Corps camps. There will be movies, too. And a Santa Claus.

And on Christmas Eve, when the last shopper has left the city streets, the girls will bundle up and go caroling.

For most of them, it will be the first time.

Passaic History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, members of the Passaic County Historical Society made the suggestion of including the history of the lower part of Passaic County which until 1837 had been part of Essex County, the upper county until that time being part of Sussex and Bergen Counties. The lower part was settled earlier and has unusual historical and commercial history of its own, particularly Acquackanonk Landing, now part of the city of Passaic, which was the largest shipping port of North Jersey, being the upper most point of navigation and at important crossroads, with at one time the only bridge over the entire length of the Passaic River. Much credit is due James J. De Mario of Passaic, who helped prepare this history, as well as to the Passaic County Historical Society of which he is a member.

GEORGE WASHINGTON SAVED

And what is most important is that George Washington was saved with his army at this same point on his retreat from Fort Lee. Capt. John Post, a local man in his army, destroyed the former bridge, cutting off the pursuing British. If Washington had been caught, we would have lost our independence. This spot has historical markers, but it would seem the enormity of the event merits more. Then, Washington and his men camped up the hill in the church yards. After that the armies made use of several fords, in particular, one at Delawanna and one at Robertsford, both in the Passaic area. Later, during one year, all the famous officers of the American Army were within the borders of Saddle River Township across the river from Acquackanonk.

FIRST CHURCH—FIRST CEMETERY

At this same spot, known as Acquackanonk Landing, there is the first church in Passaic County with the first cemetery and burials of first settlers. Here also 200 or 300 feet away was the county's first district school used for nearly 200 years until 1870, probably longer than any other; also the first store, first tavern in the county, and the first Sunday school in the State. More about this remarkable area follows to satisfy the desires of members representing pioneer families and newer ones in my elective territory.

FIRST SETTLER—FIRST LAND PURCHASE IN NORTH JERSEY

Due to the area being so full of early settler and Revolutionary history, I am proud to give herein some brief highlights on both, plus its most unusual industrial and commercial development. Being at the head of river navigation surrounded with forested rolling hills for hunting, fishing, and farming, it was quickly inhabited by the early Dutch traders, farmers, and explorers from New Amsterdam and Communipaw—now Jersey City—seeking to extend their fur trading or finding better farmlands. One of these was Hartman Michielse—or Vreeland—who is believed to have been the first white man to have set foot upon, purchased land, and settled in what is now known as the city of Passaic, formerly Acquackanonk. He found a well-organized and established Algonquin Tribe Indian village at what is now Passaic's Wall Street across from what was known as Dundee Island. But they were not living in transitory wigwams but in cabins made of timbers covered with grass. An old Indian suggested that Michielse set up a trading post on the island, which he did immediately after getting the deed April 4, 1678, the first building by a white man in the Passaic City area. Evidence of Indian fishing activity can be seen today from several V-shape rows of large stones across the river.

BEGINNING OF ACQUACKANONK LANDING

Early settlers after taming wild Indians and wilderness turned to commerce by harnessing water in the many streams to power many lumber and grist mills and for shipping. Then, several paper mills were established sometime after, one about 1810 was the Whiting Paper Co.—still in existence—where Melville Curtis, father of the owners of Saturday Evening Post and Ladies' Home Journal, made paper, and another was the Kingsland Papermill, both in Delawanna.

RIVER BOAT, STAGECOACH, CANAL, BARGE, RAILROAD, TRANSFER POINT

Here is where the Passaic riverfront, known as Acquackanonk Landing, became famous as the largest shipping port in North Jersey for farm, forest, and mine products, and later for Alexander Hamilton's "Paterson-made goods" wagonned to Passaic for shipping. Incidentally, Passaic came within the 36-square-mile area set up by Hamilton's Society of Useful Manufacturers—SUM. Here was also the first and only bridge over the river and the junction of several turnpikes, some toll, the Plank Road to New York, Hamburg Turnpike, roads to Hackensack, Little Falls, and to the papermills in Delawanna. This was also the stage coach days. Then came the Morris Canal which skirted Passaic and permitted more commerce with other areas. Merchants and travelers stopped at and went through Acquackanonk Landing where there were taverns, small hotels, or rooming houses.

THE RAILROAD ERA

With the railroad era starting in the 1830's, the commercial business at Acquackanonk Landing dropped away as the stagecoaches and boats were being forced to discontinue, although Acquackanonk Township continued as a peaceful and rich farming community as it did for nearly 150 years, the farms being the finest in the State and owners were rich men. But pleasure boating, regatas, and excursions increased and the Passaic River became one of the East's leading boating playgrounds.

The Paterson & Hudson River Rail Road was organized in 1831. The big wagons that had brought to this dockage area iron ores, lumber, and timber from upstate ceased their trips and business dropped. It was one of the first railroads in the country, and operated at first between Passaic and Paterson, but horse drawn at first until the steam engine arrived from England. People far and wide heard of this new train and were curious to see this new method of traveling. The first day was a great success, being witnessed by great crowds, some coming from as far away as Sussex. Enterprising Yankees of Newark did a profitable business conveying parties by boat to Paterson over the Morris Canal, and there board the train to Passaic for their first train ride, even if horse-driven, and many had to sit on the coach roofs. At the peak of the railroad era, there were four steam railroads serving Passaic. Years later, the State's first trolley car line was operating within the Passaic limits.

DUNDEE CANAL AND BEGINNING OF GREAT INDUSTRIAL ERA

The business stagnation at Acquackanonk Landing was more than offset a few years later with benefits to the entire Passaic area when the Dundee Dam was constructed to provide water and water power for new industries which with the railroads brought about the greatest industrial expansion in Passaic's history. Lush farmland was turned over to industry and workers' houses, and rural water-powered saw and grist mills gave way to larger operating units, with industries and population spilling over into Clifton, Wallington, and Garfield, earning for Passaic and its environs at one time "the most progressive, energetic and pushing community in the country."

NEW INDUSTRIES ON DUNDEE CANAL

The railroad brought in a different kind of business and shifted the commercial center from Acquackanonk Landing inland away from the waterfront and increased travel. But the real stimulus started with the completion of the Dundee Canal and Dam in 1859 which was begun by the Dundee Manufacturing Co., owned by SUM and mother of Passaic's industries established in 1832, and later through the efforts of Edward J. C. Atterbury. A special act passed February 12, 1858, by the New Jersey Legislature authorized the building of Dundee Canal and Dam with locks, and so forth to provide a navigation link from the Passaic River at Passaic to Paterson, but this plan was never fulfilled.

The flow of this canal starts at a high dam forming Dundee Lake in Clifton and ends at South Street in the Dundee section of Passaic where it drops back again into the Passaic River, providing water and power to the new plants which were built along the canal. The first plant to be built was the Star Foundry & Machine Co., 1859, and others following were: New York Steam Engine Co., 1869; Reid & Barry, 1869; Waterhouse Bros., textiles, 1870; New York Belting & Packing Co., 1882, in Connecticut, 1846, now part of United States Rubber; Jacob L. Basch, textile; Ammidown Bros., textile; Okonite Co., 1878; Dundee Textile Co.; Clifton Paper Mills; Andrew McLean Co., netting; Botany Worsted Mills, 1890; Passaic Print Works, Manhattan Print Works, Pantasote Leather Co., Forstmann & Huffman Co., worsted, and others. Some of these are no longer in existance and some have merged with others and changed names.

OTHER OLD AND NEW PLANTS NOT ON CANAL

There were other plants built that did not need canal facilities, some built about the same time and some later, some having ceased operating or changed names. Some of these are: Acheson Harden Co., J. L. Prescott Co., Waldrich Bleachery, Paterson Parchment Paper Co., the Manhattan Rubber Manufacturing Co., Gera Mills, wool; New Jersey Worsted Spinning Co., Heyden Chemical Co., Robins Conveying Belt Co., Brighton Mills, tire duck; Robertsford Spinning Co., later Samuel Hird, wool; Magor Car Co., Algonquin Mills, textile; Pitkin-Holdsworth, textile; Passaic Cotton Mills, Richardson Scale Co., Garfield Worsted Mills, Hammersley Paper Co., first waterproof; Falstrom Co., Givaudan Corp., Passaic Metalware Co., now part of Continental Can; Athenia Steel Co., Standard Bleachery, Goodlatte Oilcloth Co., Standard Oilcloth Co. There were many others, large and small among old and newer plants, but these indicate the spread of industry. Here are some of the most prominent among the new in the Passaic area, indicating a further spread in variety but mostly results of newer technology: DuMont-Fairchild, Wright Aero Division, Shulton, Hoffmann-La Roche, ITT Federal Laboratories, Garden State Paper Co., Revlon, Weston Biscuit.

DIVERSITY OF INDUSTRY

The names above indicate the diversity of industry in this area, some being the largest in their fields. Some of the older plants are out of existence or are under new managements. The country's largest concentration of perfume makers is in this area. The Botany and Forstmann plants were the country's largest makers of their respective types of wool cloth. Brighton Mills at one time was the largest manufacturer of duck for high pressure tires and Acheson Harden was the world's largest handkerchief maker. The Manhattan Rubber Division is one of the largest manufacturers of industrial rubber products and the largest makers of rubber-bonded abrasive wheels and one of the largest makers of bowling balls. The Passaic area is one of the country's largest rubber manufacturing centers. The crushing panics of 1873, 1893, 1929, with competition and tariffs have taken a heavy toll of some of the older companies. This area has almost lost its wool, cotton, bleachery, and handkerchief business.

PLANT OWNERSHIPS

Idle plants have been saved due to the continual growth of industry here. Most of the plants idled by declining use of their products or plant transfer have been filled with numerous small space operators or by other single manufacturers. For instance, the Star Foundry & Machine Co. plant was taken over by the New York Steam Engine Co., and when that company failed, the plant was taken over by the New York Belting & Packing Co. as an annex plant to its main one then at Sandy Hook, Conn., the annex later becoming the main plant. The Forstmann plant was sold to J. P. Stevens, and Okonite, a progressive and going company, was purchased by Ling-Temco Vought as an active acquisition. The Okonite plant was built on the unfinished foundations of a then-new rubber company plant to be known as the New York & Boston Rubber Co. to consolidate the plants of the newly merged New York Belting & Packing Co. of Passaic and Sandy Hook, Conn., and the Boston Belting Co. of Boston, both Goodyear licensees, but the plan was dropped due to the severe depression that followed. Later, the Okonite Co. took over the once-idled adjacent Waterhouse Bros. plant. A number of other plants mentioned in paragraphs above have merged or had been acquired by other companies. Manhattan Rubber took over the adjacent plant of the Brighton Mills which had moved south. In it were several lessees, including DeForest Radio where television was born.

INDUSTRIES CENTERED HERE

From all the companies listed above, it is evident that the Passaic area exceeded at some time in the production of wool spinning and weaving, in industrial rubber products, textile finishing, handkerchiefs, stove polish, and bleach and other household products, oilcloth, waterproof paper, types of grinding wheels, submarine electric cables, netting, drugs and cosmetics, and particularly conveying machines as several basic types were developed here, some of these being: belt, bucket, portable, continuous weighing, pelletized, and fluid. As a volume indicator for this area, according to an analysis of distribution of industrial supplies by the American Supply & Machinery Manufacturers Association, purchases of such supplies in the Passaic area equals or exceeds that of the Paterson area, and both together is exceeded only by Newark in this State.

PLANTS KEEP UP WITH INDUSTRY AND PRODUCT CHANGES

Many of the older plants here survived by changing into newer or different products when use of their types of products was waning. A good example is J. L. Prescott Co., originally one of the country's largest makers of stove polishes. They later went into laundry bleach and other household products and are now one of the largest. They started in Maine in 1870 and are still a family-owned company with a fifth-generation family president, an industrial marvel in cooperation and resourcefulness. With the recent development of plastic liquid containers, they now also make their own and for other companies using plastic bottles. With the advent of the automobile, Prescott also designed and produced the Prescott Steamer, making about 700 of them, which at the turn of the century was good production. For a while it seemed that Passaic would be a "Detroit" as about the same time J. P. Lange, inventor and chief engineer for Botany Worsted Mills, was producing some radical designs of experimental "horseless buggies" starting in 1899. The Pantasote Leather Co., which originally made a patented leatherlike carriage cloth switched into vinyl film and other recent plastics and doing very well. The Falstrom Co. went from sheet metal cornices and ceilings to sophisticated control and computer cubicles. The Garden State Paper Co. is the country's first reconditioner of newsprint paper. The several rubber companies in this area have switched from natural rubber to synthetic rubberlike polymers and to various types of plastics to reach more markets, produce improved products, or to reduce costs. Some of the essential oil manufacturers have entered the new and more profitable vitamin field. It was unfortunate that the great woolen mills here did not operate long enough to take advantage of the newer wool like synthetic fibers.

PASSAIC AREA AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

Besides manufacturing, this area had an outstanding agricultural reputation. Alfred Speer had extensive vineyards in Passaic and Athenia, produced much of the best native wines and sherries in this country. He also named Passaic which was previously known as Acquackanonk, and published Passaic's first newspaper. In Carlton Hill and Richfield, Bobbink & Atkins had the country's largest rose nurseries. Richfield also at one time supplied the Nation with horseradish.

ABOUT THE PASSAIC RUBBER INDUSTRY

REMARKABLE RUBBER FAMILIES, FIRST PLANTATION, WELLESLEY COLLEGE, FIRST YWCA

The Okonite and Manhattan Rubber Cos., were family offshoots of the New York Belting & Packing Co. Henry Fowle Durant, a senior member of this rubber-manufacturing family, and John Haven Cheever, not of this family, both operated the earlier Roxbury Rubber Co. founded in 1833 in Boston as the first chartered rubber company in America at the dawn of the rubber industry. Later, both Durant and Cheever incorporated the New York Belting & Packing Co., solely owned by both with equal shares. Mr. and Mrs. Durant founded Wellesley College and Mrs. Durant was first president of the YWCA in Boston.

MANHATTAN AND OKONITE

Col. A. F. Townsend and Frank Cazenove Jones, Sr. were cousins of H. F. Durant and both founded Manhattan Rubber. The Okonite Co. was founded by Cheever and Jones. As mentioned above, Cheever also founded the New York Belting & Package Co., which was organized in 1846. While Cheever was with Roxbury, the prior company, Charles Goodyear was working at times at this plant on his vulcanization discovery, and at times Cheever was of some assistance.

Both the Passaic plant of United States Rubber Co., and the Manhattan Rubber Division of Raybestos-Manhattan, Inc., are leaders in industrial rubber products and both have developed products indispensable to industry today.

MORE ABOUT PASSAIC'S RUBBER FAMILIES—NEW YORK TELEPHONE CO.

The father of F. C. Jones above accompanied Commodore Perry in opening commerce with Japan, and his grandfather was Commodore Jacob Jones, hero of the *Wasp* victory over the British frigate *Frolic* in the War of 1812. He was also a cousin of Alfred I. du Pont and of Commodore A. Henderson. Mr. Jones had also been president of both Manhattan and Okonite. Col. Arthur Farragut Townsend was godson of Admiral Farragut and had also been president of Manhattan and Chairman of Raybestos-Manhattan, Inc.

Charles A. Cheever was a son of J. H. Cheever and a remarkable man. He was crippled and had to be carried around, but he was first president of Okonite. With Capt. Williard L. Candee he founded the New York Telephone Co., forerunner of American Telephone & Telegraph of which it is said he gained control later through his brilliance and keen financial ability.

FIRST RUBBER PLANTATION

Passaic also had an important part in helping to obtain an independent source of crude rubber for this country to avoid foreign price manipulations which in 1910 forced the price of crude rubber to $3 a pound; today it is around 25 cents. The Manhattan Rubber Manufacturing Co. twice undertook growing its own crude rubber in tropical countries, and both times as the first American rubber manufacturer to grow its own crude rubber. The first time in 1898 jointly with other financial interests established a rubber plantation in Nicaragua with success, but English and Dutch growers were planting immense acreages of rubber trees in their Far East colonies and Brazil lost its hold on rubber. Manhattan withdrew from Nicaragua when it had obtained a going plantation in 1910 in Java with a better growing atmosphere. The Okonite Co. also established a rubber plantation in British Guiana in 1911 at the time of the "foreign" squeeze on crude rubber prices.

FIRST INSULATED ELECTRIC WIRE AND CABLES WERE MADE IN PASSAIC

The Okonite Co., made the first rubber-insulated telegraph, telephone, and submarine cables in America. It also developed the high-pressure pipe-type electric transmission cable for high voltage now in general use and a number of other cable developments. Today most of U.S. naval vessels, submarines, city subways, and many powerplants here and around the world use Okonite electric transmission cables.

FIRST RUBBER CONVEYOR BELT

Thomas Robins, Sr., had worked with Thomas A. Edison in developing the first rubber conveyor belt which was made by the New York Belting & Packing Co. Robins then became Manhattan's first secretary and continued his belt conveyor development with them. Robins later founded the Robins Conveying Belt Co. in Passaic in 1896. This company later became Hewitt-Robins with the acquisition of Hewitt Rubber Co., of Buffalo, and today it is a division of Litton. Thomas Matchett was president of both Robins Conveying Belt and Hewitt Rubber before they merged.

TELEVISION DEVELOPED IN PASSAIC

It was in part of the Brighton Mills plant in Passaic, partly idled after moving south, that Dr. Lee DeForest of DeForest Radio Co., with Du Mont, perfected the TV tube and gave us the TV industry. This plant, adjacent to Manhattan Rubber, was acquired by Manhattan about this time.

INDUSTRIAL PIONEERS OF PASSAIC

Some of the pioneers behind the great development of the Passaic area are: Peter Reid and William I. Barry, both founders of Reid & Barry, the first large textile finishing plant on the Dundee Canal, and did much to spur the great industrial expansion of Passaic and both were generous community contributors, including the Reid Public Library; Richard Morrell, founded Campbell, Morrell Co., at one time largest State dealers in coal, grain, and building material, had eastern agency for Erie anthracite coal, built railroad from Dundee mills to Passaic Junction of N.Y.S. & W.R.R. in Bergen County; Gilbert D. Bogart, owner of large part of Garfield, named it, and helped develop it and other areas; R. D. Benson, late president of Tide Water Oil Co., first oil and pipeline company, organized Passaic and county park systems, helped on boards of several large local companies; W. F. Gaston, prominent lawyer who helped organize and manage large companies here—Manhattan Rubber, Okonite, New York Steam Engine Co., Forstmann, others—Frank Hughes, developed industrial property and brought in new industries, developed Athenia, most of which his father owned, and other areas.

Of the more contemporary ones: Julius G. Forstmann, built large integrated woolen mills in Passaic, Clifton, and Garfield employing thousands, very large community contributor and endowed Forstmann Public Library; Dow H. Drukker, Congressman, publisher, builder, banker, and on boards of large local plants; Paul L. Troast, president, Mahony-Troast Construction Co., was chairman of New Jersey Tercentenary Commission, headed New Jersey Turnpike Commission, Chairman S. H. Kress & Co., chairman of New Jersey Manufacturers Association, member of Governors Commission for More South American Trade, made close run for Governor. There were many others, like Paulison, Kip, Howe, and so forth, and others of earlier periods who did magnificent work under conditions difficult to evaluate with today's era, and there are many contemporary outstanding performers in public affairs, industry employing thousands, finance, law, some of big deeds, very large benefactors and community contributors, but space does not permit.

HOUSING PROBLEMS

This great industrial expansion created housing and rooming problems. In addition to many thousands of immigrants, many young men out of school came here to seek their fortunes. To take care of them, rooming and boarding houses were set up almost everywhere, many by upstate farmers or from small rural towns. There were also several housekeeping "bachelor clubs," two of which became famous as the young men come from well-to-do families from different parts of the country. They rotated purchasing and managing, had a cook or housekeeper and gardener. They became favorites at the ball or for whist. Many became responsible and influential executives, like C. T. Young, to vice president, the Manhattan Rubber Manufacturing Co., and F. L. Curtis to vice president of Raybestos-Manhattan, Inc., B. M. Mitchell, who founded the Conveying Weigher Co. and designed the first long-distance belt conveyor systems for construction, like the Wanaque Reservoir Dam, Stamford, Conn., reservoir, Conowingo Dam, George Washington Bridge colossal anchorages, and other executives many with equal accomplishments.

RELIGIOUS AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS

This expansion necessitated worship and recreational facilities, which were accomplished very well. Passaic has some of the largest and most elegant churches in the State of all denominations. It has two of the finest endowed libraries, also has YMCA and YWCA buildings among the State's largest and best equipped. All of these possible through generous public contributions and sizable endowments, both industrial and publicly, all made possible through the fruits of industry. It also has three large and complete hospitals that serve the entire Passaic area and beyond because of specialized facilities. Because of Passaic's early growth, it has become virtually the civic and commercial center of a wide peripheral territory. Passaic schools at one time had the highest scholastic standing in the Nation.

The boom conditions experienced manifested themselves in other directions. The Passaic Fire Department was the first in the country to be completely motorized; that is, no more horses, and shortly before, Passaic had its own trolley car line operating entirely within its boundaries, the first in the State, and again, no more horses.

WILLIAM W. SCOTT

In conclusion, I should like to express a deep sense of gratitude to William W. Scott for writing the history of Passaic and its environs from which much of the early data above has been taken. It was written after middle age and during a time when many old residents were still alive and able to give firsthand data on early events, or they themselves had known oldtimers who had direct or eyewitness information of their times, even to the Revolutionary period, and were able to provide Scott with documentary material they had preserved.

Crippling His "War on Crime"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, the leading editorial of the Washington Evening Star on Monday, January 16, certainly voices the sentiment of millions of Americans, and in strong and unmistakable terms. It is deserving of the attention of every Member of Congress.

The editorial follows:

CRIPPLING HIS "WAR ON CRIME"

The President has always talked in ringing terms of his determination to wage an all-out war on crime, to make certain that the law-abiding American people will be safe on the streets, in their homes and in their places of business. When the chips are down, however, he tends to back away from the fight.

This was demonstrated, we think, in his misguided veto of the District crime bill passed by the 89th Congress after long and careful study. The same tendency has cropped up again in his message to the 90th Congress on the state of the union. Two of his paragraphs illustrate the point.

In the section dealing with "improving the quality of life and enlarging the meaning of justice for all Americans," the President said: "We should protect what Justice Brandeis called the 'right most valued by civilized men'—the right to privacy. We should outlaw all wire-tapping—public and private—wherever and whenever it occurs, except when the security of the nation is at stake—and then only with the strictest safeguards. We should exercise the full reach of our constitutional powers [whatever that may mean] to outlaw electronic 'bugging' and 'snooping.'"

Six paragraphs later the President came to the 1967 version of his War on Crime in a section headed: "This nation must make an all-out effort to combat crime." Here are the key sentences: "Our country's laws must be respected. Order must be maintained. I will support—with all the constitutional powers I possess—our nation's law-enforcement officials in their attempt to control the crime and violence that tear the fabric of our communities."

We do not know who is responsible for the inherent contradictions in this rhetorical nonsense. But we do know that the laws are not being respected, that order is not being maintained, that the incidence of crime is constantly rising, and that neither lofty verbiage nor more federal money, which the President proposes, can reverse this trend.

What, we wonder, does the President think Justice Brandeis meant by the right to privacy—the "right most valued by civilized men"? Does this right of privacy apply to the criminal who kidnaps a child for ransom, and who will not hesitate to kill the child if it serves his purposes? Does it apply to those unconscionable characters at the top who enrich themselves from the sale of narcotics, even down to the level of our schools, and never mind the cost in ruined lives? Does it extend to organized crime, to the racketeers who survive by corrupting law-enforcement officials at the price of tearing apart "the fabric of our communities"?

There are two possible conclusions. One is that Mr. Johnson is insincere in his war on crime. We do not believe it. The other is that he doesn't really know what he is saying. This, we think, is likely.

Nothing is easier than to be against "snooping." Who isn't? But the fact remains that wiretaps and electronic devices are vitally important tools if the war on crime, especially organized crime, is to become anything more than a mouthful of words. To say as some do that these tools cannot be used without invading the privacy of the bedroom, whatever the emotional impact of this contention, is simply not true.

Our hope is that the President will take a second look at the phony advice which has been given him, that he will talk to people who know something about the facts of life in any meaningful war on crime, and that he will exercise all of the constitutional powers he possesses to seek authorization, subject to strict controls, of the use of wiretaps and electronic devices in the many instances in which they are essential to effective law-enforcement. As a companion piece, he should seek legislation imposing a total ban on *unauthorized* "snooping." For this is the area in which the valid right to privacy is being destroyed.

Hon. John W. McCormack, Speaker, Nominated by Representative Philip J. Philbin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, a week ago Monday, in the House Democratic caucus held on that morning of January 9, the distinguished gentleman from the Third Massachusetts Congressional District nominated, for the continuing speakership of this House, our beloved and revered colleague from Massachusetts, the Honorable JOHN W. McCORMACK.

In his nominating speech Representative PHILBIN delivered one of the most eloquent and well-merited tributes ever uttered on such an occasion and it was a privileged experience, for those of us on this side of the aisle, to hear this impressive address. Of course, the nomination was unanimously approved and on the following day the Honorable JOHN W. McCORMACK, of Massachusetts, was formerly and very wisely renominated to preside over this great legislative body as Speaker.

I am sure that all of us here, on both sides of the aisle, agree with and share in the sentiments so ably expressed by the gentleman from Massachusetts, Congressman PHILBIN, as he summarized the tremendous public service record of our revered Speaker and reviewed the remarkable talents of his great mind and compassionate heart, which have endeared him to all who have ever served with him and which assure that the name of Speaker McCORMACK will be forever an inspiring byword in the legislative history of this Nation.

A great many Members, on both sides of the aisle here, asked me to intercede with my dear and esteemed friend and colleague from the Third Massachusetts District for the purpose of having his eloquent address included in the permanent RECORD. He graciously consented to permit me to introduce it into the RECORD and Congressman PHILBIN's nomination speech follows:

Mr. Chairman and friends, it is a great honor, privilege and pleasure for me this morning to nominate the Democratic candidate for Speaker for the 90th Congress.

I am sure that no words of mine would be adequate to portray or to describe the tremendous public record of the great American I am so honored and pleased to nominate.

Speaker McCormack is universally known as one of the greatest Americans who has ever served in the Congress. To talk of his splendid personal qualities and his achievements to those who are so familiar with them as you, would be somewhat of a futility, and of course, it is completely unnecessary.

John McCormack is a man of great, humane sensibilities and a fine spirit of loyalty that dominates his character and the very essence of his being.

His greatness as a public servant; his essential goodness as a human being; his amiable personal qualities; the loyalty of his friendship; the sweep and import of his great accomplishments; his unselfish labors and achievements for the nation, the world and the American people, comprise a glorious chapter in the history of this government.

The magnificent distinction, fairness and impartiality with which he has conducted the affairs of this House—his dignity, the broadness of his vision, the generosity of his impulse, and the kindness and compassion he has shown in the discharge of his weighty responsibilities, are known to us and recognized by the people.

Master of parliamentary law, skilled in legislative accomplishment, resolute and tenacious in seeking his goals, our esteemed and beloved Speaker is an inspired and resourceful champion and fighter for the things in which he believes, willing at all times to give unselfishly of himself to promote human betterment, to broaden the horizons of freedom and hasten the cherished reality of universal peace and a world governed by the rule of law.

Illustrious son of our great Bay State of Massachusetts, unalterably committed to the free way of life for this nation and the world, our beloved and great leader moves unfalteringly with greatest skill, ability and determination to carry out the vital missions of highest responsibility that are entrusted to him.

Endowed with great mind, a great heart, and great spirit, John McCormack ranks with the greatest leaders of our national history, and it is indeed with esteem, with affection and with a very high sense of pride and honor that I am privileged to place in nomination as Democratic Speaker of the House the name of a very great American, a most courageous leader, our beloved, distinguished Speaker and friend, the Honorable John W. McCormack.

Tribute to John E. Fogarty

SPEECH

OF

HON. NEAL SMITH

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, those who have previously spoken have so eloquently described the great contributions that have been made by our late beloved colleague from Rhode Island Mr. Fogarty and his name and his great contributions are so well known by people in the fields of health and education throughout the United States that any further recital of these great contributions would be redundant. His great renown in these fields never changed him from being a most conscientious and humble person never willing to rest upon his morals and reputation for deeds in the past and always eager to plow ahead to met new goals. His passing is a great loss to our Nation and I join with my colleagues with heartfelt sympathy to his family. May his good soul rest in peace.

An Editor Retires

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, Walter Russell, the editor of the Muscatine Journal, Muscatine, Iowa, retired last Friday after 40 years of service to the Journal.

The people of Muscatine and of the First District of Iowa will miss Walter Russell's work on the Muscatine Journal. He has been an effective and hard-working newsman. He has been a leader in his community.

I am confident I speak for the people of Muscatine and the First District when I wish him well in the years that lie ahead.

A well-earned testimonial to Walter Russell appeared Friday, January 13, 1967, in the Muscatine Journal:

[From the Muscatine (Iowa) Journal, Jan. 13, 1967]

AN EDITOR RETIRES

Walter Russell, editor of The Muscatine Journal, is retiring today after more than 40 years of faithful service to this newspaper and the Lee newspaper organization.

Walter Russell has watched Muscatine grow and progress—not as an idle bystander but as an active participant in the life of the community.

"Russ" has been a steady hand during times of change, and during times of difficulty. He always had the time to help a young reporter. He remembered the elusive names and dates, and knew just where to find the helpful information when someone had a question. He retains a storehouse of knowledge about Muscatine and the surrounding area.

He has observed and shared with Journal readers the stories of tragedy as well as the stories of achievement. The accidents and fires, the highway fatalities, the jubilation of success, and the routine of daily events of a living city have all been a part of his life.

He has been devoted to the principles of good journalism. Russ was never too tired to work the extra hours, to attend the special meetings, or to leave home in the middle of night in response to an emergency news report.

Russ has been dependable in his work, and steadfast in his role as a citizen of the community. Others have gained much from his example and influence.

Walter Russell has been a credit to his profession and to his community. The publisher and fellow employees of The Muscatine Journal join in wishing him continued success and pleasure in retirement.

How To Read "Death of a President"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, Roscoe Drummond in the Chicago Sun-Times, January 13, 1967, suggests that William Manchester's book be read with "healthy reservation." Mr. Drummond finds it difficult to accept what he considers to be conjecture as the historical truth. I have unanimous consent that this article appear at this point in the RECORD:

HOW TO READ "DEATH OF A PRESIDENT"

Just about everybody is going to read—or read about—William Manchester's account of the assassination of John F. Kennedy, "The Death of a President."

That's good. It is an honest, well-written, valuable, partially informative, one-sided book.

There are two compelling reasons why the Manchester book needs to be read sympathetically and with abiding reservation. It is an "authorized" account. It is a book commissioned by Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy and Sen. Robert Kennedy, who retained the right to edit the manuscript before publication and exercised that right.

Secondly, in his first installment in Look, Manchester affirms that he is "speculating" at different points but contends that "legitimate speculation is one of the duties of historians." And so it is, but before you have read very far it seems evident, to me at least, that speculation soon becomes assertion and assertion becomes apparent fact and it is hard to tell where the two separate.

Manchester speculates enough about the political rivalry among Gov. John Connally, Sen. Ralph Yarborough, Vice President Johnson and President Kennedy as to make Connally look bad, Johnson look futile and everybody else look good.

In recapturing the atmosphere of political hatred toward President Kennedy in Dallas, Manchester speculates about the effect of this ferment on Lee Harvey Oswald.

He reports from Kennedy's viewpoint on the night-before-the-assassination tension between the President and Vice President Johnson in their hotel room meeting.

And, most speculative of all in the first installment, Manchester assumes to pinpoint the occasion and the minute when Oswald finally lost his reason and asserts that after Marina Oswald's dismissal of her husband on the evening of Nov. 21 "the total eclipse of his reason occurred shortly before 9 p.m."

I can't say it isn't true, but it is certainly unproved. Apparently it is the kind of "legitimate speculation" Manchester deems the "duty" of historians and it shows how constantly the reader must protect himself from speculation clothed like fact and from one-sidedness.

You can't suppress the raw material of history any more than you can commission history by an authorized book. It may take years to reconstruct the full-sized and balanced truth. Meanwhile, we can read without rancor but with healthy reservation.

Buffalo a Principal Center for Hospital Equipment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, with the advent of the medicare program last year, considerable attention has been focused on hospital and nursing home facilities.

Over a period of years, our Federal Government has made grants and loans available to hospitals for remodeling present structures, building new additions, and so forth. Along with this demand for increased hospital facilities has come the demand for more modern and automated equipment, including the use of space age electronics.

The hospital equipment manufacturers in our country have responded admirably to this demand, and I am particularly proud of the accomplishments of manufacturers in our greater Buffalo, N.Y., area. It has been estimated that about 10 percent of all different types of equipment found in hospitals is made in or near Buffalo. I am told that it is nigh impossible for a person to be hospitalized anywhere in the United States without being the recipient of the benefits of some equipment manufactured in western New York.

With permission, I include the following article written by Don O'Hara, which appeared in the Buffalo Evening News, Buffalo, N.Y., on January 4, 1967:

BUFFALO A PRINCIPAL CENTER FOR HOSPITAL EQUIPMENT—AREA COMPANIES' PRODUCTS IN FIELD FORM $15-MILLION-A-YEAR BUSINESS

(Don O'Hara)

Federal medicare and state medicare programs are giving hospital equipment manufacturers in the Buffalo area a shot in the arm.

Buffalo-made hospital equipment already is a $15-million-a-year business, employing hundreds of workers. Many new products now being developed soon will join the long list of items which includes everything from medication trays to complex coronary monitoring systems.

"Business is booming," said a spokesman for one manufacturer. He estimated that 10% of the different kinds of equipment to be found in any hospital is made on the Niagara Frontier.

One manufacturer pointed out that it is almost impossible for a patient to receive treatment from a hospital anywhere in the U.S. "without benefiting at some point by equipment from Western New York companies."

300-PRODUCT LINE

Among the numerous companies here making products directed at a patient's immediate well-being is the Hard Mfg. Co., 117 Tonawanda St. The company makes more than 300 products which are sold to hospitals and nursing homes through a nationwide network of dealers.

These products include a wide range of specialized beds, chairs, desks and other equipment for intensive care centers, special departments and private rooms.

James G. Dyett, president, said that in the last 15 years sales have risen from $600,000 to $7,000,000 and employment jumped from 60 to 300. Hard was founded in 1876 by Mr. Dyett's grandfather, James Dyett.

Earlier this year, Hard introduced an "electronic console" which provides a patient with his own communications center—the console may contain any combination of telephone, nurse's call, radio, TV, clock and light and curtain control switches.

STAINLESS REFRIGERATORS

In the days before electrically-driven compressors the Jewett Refrigerator Co. Inc., 2 Letchworth St., made boxes refrigerated with ice.

Today, its modern, stainless steel refrigeration equipment is used in hospitals across the country to store blood and to keep biological and pharmaceutical supplies.

Harold S. Ruslander, president, said Jewett is believed to be the largest manufacturer of blood-bank and mortuary equipment in the world.

Gomco Surgical Mfg. Corp., 828 E. Ferry St., has become well known for its operating room pump equipment which can be used for ether administration, suction, pressure or combinations of all three.

SPACE-AGE TECHNIQUE

The company said its pumps are standard in most hospitals in the U.S., Canada and many other countries. The late Aaron A. Goldstein formed Gomco in 1931 with three employees. Among them was Harold J. Dunkelman, who is now president.

Gomco now employs 100 persons in the manufacture of a complete line of aspirators and other operating room equipment.

Master Metal Products Inc., 291 Chicago St., produces stainless steel, chrome and enamel-finish indoor waste receivers for medical institutions.

The company has annual sales of more than $2 million. The sales include a line of products for the home, such as canister sets and other pantry items. Master Metal is headed by Robert L. Wilson. There are about 100 employees.

A distinctive feature of a "patient monitoring system" manufactured by Mennen-Greatbatch Electronics Inc., 10,440 Main St., Clarence, is the use of solid-state space-age electronics.

WIRELESS TRANSMITTER

The "Cardio/Sentinel Monitor" is connected to the patient through the use of electrodes. The equipment measures the person's heart rate and displays its findings on an oscilloscope.

Audio and visual alarms are activated when the patient's heart rate exceeds or falls below the limits set by medical personnel. For the ambulatory patient, a wireless transmitter sends the heart signal to a receiver located at a central nurse's station.

A spokesman said Wilson Greatbatch, vice president and technical director of the company, invented the first successful implantable cardiac pacemaker—a small electronic unit which is placed inside the body to provide electrical stimulation to an ailing heart in order to keep it beating at a proper rate.

USED IN OPERATING ROOMS

Mennen-Greatbatch designed a complete physiological monitoring system for operating rooms where a number of body functions are placed under constant surveillance by the surgeon and anesthesiologist.

These functions include body temperatures, blood pressure, heart rate and electroencephalograph and electromyograph information from the patient's brain and muscle activity. Herbert Mennen is president of the company. There are 60 employes.

The Therm-O-Rite Products Corp., 1748 Main St., is producing a thermostatically-controlled device for the application of heat and cold to the patient's body.

The equipment, known as a "Hypo-Hyper-Thermia Unit," is designed to lower, raise or maintain the desired body temperature. Miss Virginia Barnes is president. Thermo-O-Rite has 11 employes.

STARTED IN BASEMENT

Gaymar Industries Inc. was started 10 years ago in a basement-workshop by its founder and only employe, John K. Whitney, who is now president and treasurer of the company. Today Gaymar has a work force of 38 persons.

The company occupies 20,000 square feet of manufacturing space at 701 Seneca St.

Gaymar's alternating-pressure pads are placed under a patent's body. The pads inflate and deflate smoothly with an imperceptible wave-like action which constantly changes the pressure on the body and stops static pressure buildup on the skin.

The John Bunn Corp., 11035 Walden Ave., Alden, produces machines to wash, dry, powder and wrap surgical gloves. "The glove machines are used in hospitals all over the world," said F. Robert Greene, president. Other Bunn products include incubators, oxygen tents, medication trays, diet card systems, sterilizers and stretchers.

World Watching Rhodesia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I place the following editorial from the San Diego Union in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

REPERCUSSIONS WILL MOUNT: WORLD WATCHING RHODESIA

Cecil John Rhodes, the founder of Rhodesia and the Rhodes scholarships at Oxford from which many Americans have benefitted, was undeniably a visionary, but not even he could have foreseen the repercussions following the declaration of independence of "his" country.

Africa is in uproar, the British Commonwealth is seething with inner dissensions and the United Nations is enrolling every member country in a unified and unprecedented trade war on Rhodesia. The waves emanating from this action herald some unsettled weather, politically, economically and ideologically. The precedents are not pleasant to contemplate.

An immediate result of United States compliance with the Security Council resolution was an executive order signed by President Johnson which instituted penalties of fines up to $10,000 and 10 years in jail for Americans who dare trade with the "enemy."

One item banned under the boycott is chrome. Until recently the United States bought approximately one-third of its needs from American-owned mines in Rhodesia, among the largest deposits in the world.

Now we will have to seek supplies elsewhere—most likely from Communist sources like Soviet Russia or Poland, to whom we turned more than a year ago when a political cut-back was made on Rhodesian purchases. Incredibly, to cripple a known anti-Communist country in Africa, we help known atheistic Communists in Europe.

It is not only whether we will buy Rhodesia's chrome or copper, sugar or pig-iron, or whether we will supply oil, autos or aircraft. The trade, in itself, while still important in our balance of payments, is not a major factor in our overall economy, but potent to our ideological pattern.

By helping to crush one of the few viable and pro-Western states in Africa we can only hope to sow the seeds of communism.

The U.N. Security Council action goes even further. If it brings down the Smith government—which is the hope implicit in the resolution—then will assuredly come a demand from the African states for a similar trade attack on the republic of South Africa. There is no wine so heady as that of victory.

If it is unsuccessful, and within a few months Rhodesia shows every sign of surviving, will there then be a demand for a naval blockade? Who will staff it and whose ships will fire the first shell?

The escalation of events emanating from this situation could be serious. While it is right and proper to support firm measures by the world body in efforts to keep the peace, this Rhodesian impasse is neither the place nor the time, and manifestly not the cause. There have been several more blatant cases in the past 21 years of U.N. life which have gone virtually unremarked; and certainly there has been no action.

Hamilton, Ohio, Serviceman Gave His Life in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD E. LUKENS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. LUKENS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of the Members of the House the story of the late Pfc. Robert Hatton, a constituent of mine from Hamilton, Ohio. This young serviceman fought for his life over half of his 21 years and gave it for his country in Vietnam. I ask unanimous consent to have printed an article which appeared in the Hamilton Journal News which recounts in detail this tragic story. The article follows:

HE DIDN'T HAVE TO DIE, BUT HAMILTON SERVICEMAN GAVE HIS LIFE IN VIETNAM

(By Joe Cella)

A young Hamilton serviceman who fought for his life over half of his 21 years, gave it for his country in Vietnam.

Ironically, he didn't have to die.

But Pfc. Robert Hatton was a dedicated man regardless of his physical incapabilities. He was dedicated to his country's cause in a war-troubled world and to the uniform which he wore. He was a rare human being.

No, he didn't have to die. Medical history that went back to his birth was enough to keep him home forever. Pride and a strong will to overcome a birth physical handicap led him to his death.

It was not an unjust death. It was an honorable one—one which he himself must be proud of in his resting place today.

A son of Mr. and Mrs. George F. (Red) Hatton of 1906 Sunset Dr., Hamilton, Pfc. Hatton was born with Hirschsprung's disease, a congenital megacolon. A portion of his bowel tract was partially paralyzed. Medical history reveals the disease is one of the rarest known.

Thus began a fight for life that was to reach proportions that would ordinarly destroy a child's mind and body. Pfc. Hatton was in and out of hospitals for 12 years in an attempt to correct the defect in his system. The number of operations on his frail, young body are difficult to recall. He went through 23 anesthetics in seven years, from age five until he was 12.

Detected at birth, doctors advised the family that the child had a 50-50 chance to live. It was at the age of five that the first major surgery was performed. Up until that time, other methods were employed by local doctors to ease the suffering. Noted specialists at Johns Hopkins University Hospital said that the operation was a waste of time; that the boy would not live.

However, local surgeons and the family physician had faith. They wanted the boy to live, to become a normal child.

THINGS WENT WRONG

Although the initial operation was termed "successful," everything went wrong in a matter of days. Healing became difficult. The incision reopened again and again. When that was repaired, another operation became necessary.

All through this suffering, Pfc. Hatton never complained. His smile, which became his trademark for 21 years, never faltered. He was always concerned about other people, even the young patients near him.

As he grew through the years of mental and physical frustration, various activities which he loved, had to be curtailed. While in junior high and senior high school, he was never allowed to take gym or participate in any sport. Still, the popular Taft High School graduate set goals of his own. He was determined.

"He did a lot of things which we never knew about," said his father. "He helped everyone he could regardless of his condition."

"Throughout his young life, there was always patriotism. When a small boy, he wanted to see parades because that's where the American Flag would be flying. The Flag always left a deep impression on him. How this ever came about will never be known."

TURNED DOWN

Upon graduation from high school, Pfc. Hatton attempted to enlist in the Air Force without the knowledge of his parents. He was turned down. When he was asked, he replied that the scars on his body were enough for the examining doctor. Again and again he tried. The other services also turned him down. His parents pleaded with him, but to no avail.

Then came the fateful chapter in his life. He was called up by the Middletown Draft Board in Middletown, Ohio, even though he was as resident of Hamilton and not registered with that board. He arrived home, all smiles. He had passed the physical examination. His parents were shocked. Asked how this was possible with all his scars, Pfc. Hatton replied "Dad, they didn't even look at them."

Pfc. Hatton entered the Army on Nov. 17, 1965, and sent to Fort Knox, Ky., for basic training. Unknown to others, he carried special medicines with him to ease reoccurring pain. He had to watch his food, as he did earlier in life.

Following Fort Knox, he was sent to Fort Polk, La., where he completed a special leadership preparation course for 11 weeks. He instructed for nine of the 11 weeks before he was selected to attend Officer Candidate School.

ROUGH TRAINING

While at Fort Polk, Pfc. Hatton went through the roughest training in existence for military personnel. It is the base for Vietnam combat operations.

Pfc. Hatton turned down the officer school to be with his buddies. When he was home on a 21-day leave, he hold his parents that he was departing for Vietnam.

"You've got no business in Vietnam," his parents replied "let us go to the Army doctors and tell them the true story, about your medical history."

"No dad, I don't want you to do that. I've got to go," were his last words.

About six months later, Pfc. Hatton, while serving with the 25th Infantry Division in combat operations, was killed in action.

The blow to the family is one which will never be overcome. Questions are repeated over and over. There are no answers. Perhaps Pfc. Hatton knew but never let on. In his letters to his family from Vietnam, he always closed with "am in good health and have no problems." Not once was there ever a complaint about his physical condition, his parents recalled. "Bobby never told us anything because he didn't want to worry us."

LETTERS ARRIVED

When his death was reported, letters came from all over. A total of 103 Masses was said for him at St. Mary Church. Friends from all faiths attended the services.

Three of those letters tell the story of Pfc. Hatton. From Sister Theresa Ann, SND, Dayton, Ohio, fromer teacher at St. Mary School, where he attended elementary school, came these words. "I am not a bit surprised that he died this way. It was like him to give his life in the service of others."

His commanding officer in Vietnam, Capt. Ora L. Boss, wrote: "The feelings of myself and all the men of "A" Company must be expressed. While on operation "Paul Revere IV," the platoon to which your son was assigned, came under heavy enemy fire. Bob was one of the platoon machinegunners and provided cover fire so that the wounded could receive medical attention. In doing so, your son was killed by fragments from a hostile grenade on Nov. 13, 1966. Bob died instantly, suffering no pain, and because of his dedication many of his friends were able to receive medical aid. Your son was a fine man and a dedicated soldier."

A CLOSE FRIEND

Officer Candidate David W. Moreno of the Bronx, N.Y., a close friend of Pfc. Hatton at Fort Polk, La., and presently at Fort Lee, Va., where the two were to attend officer school together, had this to say.

"Bob Hatton was the greatest human being I have ever met or probably will meet. He stood head and shoulders above myself and the other men in our company. He was always willing to help one with a problem as well as the men in his squad. His brilliant smile made me feel a lot better when I was depressed.

"Bob's friendship made the days go faster and the sun shine brighter. The last time I saw Bob, I knew I could never be the same person again. I had become a better man because of him. Bob showed an overabundance of good sense, integrity and moral strength. He tried to do his best at all times and won the respect of all the men in Company D.

MOST PRECIOUS

"Bob paid the most precious price for freedom and it is up to all of us to see it was not done in vain."

Pfc. Hatton's decorations came to light to his family at his death. He was the holder of the National Service Medal; the Vietnam Service Medal awarded by the U.S.; Republic of Vietnam Campaign Medal by the Vietnamese government; Combat Infantryman's Badge; Machinegunner's Medal; and Sharpshooter's Medal.

Pfc. Hatton rests now in St. Stephen Cemetery. His patriotism to his country since a child can only be summed up in the words of his father. "I guess Bobby had the Stars and Stripes in his eyes forever."

Our Space Program—What Next?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, while the United States is going forward with its project to put a man on the moon, there is increasing debate on the question of what our future goals should be in space exploration and research. Decisions will have to be made, and soon.

Two recent editorials which appeared in the Chicago Daily News and the Washington Post discuss this problem in a constructive manner. The editorials follow:

[From the Chicago Daily News]

AFTER THE MOON, WHAT?

Project Apollo is expected to place Americans on the moon in two or three years. Then what? Should there be projects such as the establishment of semi-permanent lunar stations, with costs rising as high as the rockets? Or should there be a cutback in the manned space expenditures that would permit the achievement of other objectives?

In a recent New Republic, American physicist Ralph E. Lapp gives his answer: "I believe that the NASA manned space program must be cut back . . . Manned spectaculars must give way to instrumented programs, and we must relate space spending to national science policy."

Spokesmen for the space program give other answers, of course. Lapp quotes an editorial in the trade press urging a big followup to Apollo: "We feel space exploration is . . . as significant to mankind as any scientific, social or political program on Earth. In the long run, it may be even more important than slum clearance, pollution control, mass transportation, universal higher education, medicare and other vital programs."

This extreme statement helps state the issue, because the space program could be so expensive that the choice would have to be between it and some, or even all, of the other objectives mentioned. Project Mercury cost $500,000,000; Gemini cost $1.35 billion; the cost of Apollo is currently reckoned at $23 billion.

Lapp points to a "multitude of problems right here on Earth which science can help solve." There are social problems such as slums and congested traffic. There are health problems such as cancer, mental diseases and defective human organs. "The biological scientists," says Lapp, "bear a heavy responsibility to chart the future."

In urging that the U.S. space program be cut back to a steady $1 billion or $2 billion a year after Apollo, Lapp is not advocating that space exploration be abandoned. But manned exploration is what skyrockets the costs, and ". . . there is very little use for man in space if one considers the comparative cost of manned and instrumented space missions. . . . The single greatest discovery of the Space Age—the Van Allen radiation belt—was made with only a 30-pound payload."

If, as we believe, logic is on the side of disinterested scientists, powerful forces are nevertheless pushing for bigger manned space programs. NASA's annual budget is $5 billion a year. Because of the long lead-time in NASA operations, some of the Apollo contractors have nearly finished their jobs. Of the estimated 400,000 people employed in space work, 100,000 may well be out of jobs within a year if a post-Apollo project isn't launched soon.

So the time to decide what comes after Apollo is now. And the American people, advised by the entire community of expert knowledge, should participate in giving the answer, weighing value against competing value and one priority against others.

Fortunately, the climate is favorable for rational discussion. No convincing case has been made that there are military advantages in manned stations on the moon. Mao Tze-tung isn't likely to put the Red Guard on Mars or Venus. The prestige race to put the first men on the moon will be lost or won with Apollo. And the astronomical costs of space exploration recommend co-operative international ventures in the future, rather than the blind, national competitions of the past.

[From the Washington Post]

SPACE: THE CRISIS OF DECISION

(By Joshua Lederberg)

Decisions are being made now on the executive budget for the coming year. The public knows almost nothing of the personalities and political philosophy of the men in the middle echelons of the Bureau of the Budget. Yet they play a decisive role in the hard choices that must be made among competing values. The President has the choice of which programs will be implemented, which deferred..

Among the crises of decision, the national space program must be the source of some of Mr. Johnson's and his budgeteers' most painful dilemmas. Besides the committed Apollo program for "a manned landing on the moon within this decade," we have to consider the funding of the next steps in space, a policy that will have important consequences for our overall technical progress.

Three years ago, Sen. Clinton P. Anderson took testimony from a number of scientists concerning the merits of the Apollo program. My position at that time was in support of the program, which put me in the minority among scientists and educators. If my judgment were operative, other categories of work in space or on science might have higher priority, but tearing Apollo down could have no constructive result.

The expected scientific payoff from Apollo was incidental: unmanned scientific missions like Surveyor and Lunar Orbiter have been spectacular successes at a fraction of Apollo's cost. Some combination of possible military utility, anticipated impact on the rest of the world and our spectator-sport interest in astronautics may have been behind the choice of the manned landing among possible programs.

The choice has proven itself pragmatically. Would Congress have sustained its support for space merely for science? It has been cogently pointed out that the nominal goal of Apollo, the lunar landing, is merely the means to create our fundamental technological capacity to operate in space. We cannot readily assess how much more economically this could be achieved if it were attacked directly as the actual goal; if we could afford to dispense with the psychological focus of the living man in space.

Three years have seen enormous advances in political conscience and action. We now have plans and authorizations for education, health and social programs that were only dreams then. We are also told we cannot afford guns and schools and space—we must decide against some programs in order to match a limited supply of dollars.

The most disastrous response in space policy would be a sudden cancellation of existing contracts and suspension of programs in midcourse. The economic and employment dislocations of such a rash reaction are a sufficient argument against it. But now that competing values are so strident, this canont justify an indefinite absentminded extrapolation of past approaches.

NASA Administrator James Webb is a thoughtful public servant, as he showed by refusing to be stampeded into early commitments about major space programs after Apollo. In the present budgetary crisis, the greatest weight will, we hope, be given to effective holding actions—the postponement of major new commitments in favor of preparations for prompt reaction when our finances and our technology catch up.

The Saturn boosters being perfected for Apollo will give us all the propulsive heft we need to explore the whole solar system. Unless we invent further requirements, propulsion need no longer dominate our technological effort. Rather it will be the sophisticated spacecraft—the automated instrumentation on the one hand, or the life-support for humans on the other—that will need to be perfected for the missions of the next decade.

And for long range missions, whether manned or not, we will need better telecommunications, which means electronics and power supplies on board and radiotelescopes of deeper penetrating power on earth.

These are strong hints for a balanced policy, since the new requirements for the exploitation and exploration of space are now far less specialized than before. In their technological foundations, automated instruments to conduct experiments efficiently via an interplanetary radio link parallel those for monitoring the brain waves of a hospital patient under surgery to control the dose of anesthetic. Compact power supplies will also energize an artificial heart.

A budgetary stretchout might force closer attention to the long-term needs and neglected intersections of missions of different agencies. If so, it may be a blessing in the long run.

Fino Reintroduces Bill To Amend Civil Rights Law To Curb Riots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today, I introduced legislation to amend the civil rights law to "prohibit travel or use of any facility in interstate commerce with intent to incite a riot or other civil disturbance."

Before summer comes once again, and riots break out all across the land, Congress ought to pass a law making it a Federal crime to go between States to incite riots. We ought to lay down the law to the agitators.

I am therefore introducing the antiriot section of the 1966 civil rights bill as a separate bill. I hope that Congress will pass it. It is high time we put the strong arm of the Federal Government to work repressing instead of inciting riots. I hope that the 1966 elections have convinced this administration that it is not good politics for high officials like our Vice President to urge people to riot for political goals—rent subsidies, for example. The people of the United States want antiriot legislation enacted. They have made their voice heard—and heard clearly.

Boston's WBZ Radio-TV Stations Endorse H.R. 1166, "Modern Governments" Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the Westinghouse Broadcasting Co.'s Boston stations, WBZ radio and WBZ–TV 4, have long been urging public concern for the problems of modernizing and financing State and local governments. Their first editorials, in 1960, stimulated little or no response.

Still, WBZ continued to speak out on these issues.

In July 1966, the Committee on Economic Development issued its report, "Modernizing Local Government—To Secure Balanced Federalism." The Committee on Economic Development report inspired WBZ to broadcast another series of editorials and documentaries. It also helped me significantly in preparing H.R. 1166, which, if enacted, would become the State and Local Government Modernization Act of 1967.

WBZ stations last week discussed the proposal of H.R. 1166 to offer unearmarked Federal funds to those States which take creative action in modernizing their State and local governments. WBZ describes this policy as "speaking softly and carrying a big carrot."

If H.R. 1166 were enacted, each State would first receive Federal funds—at least $250,000—to prepare within 18 months its own modern governments program, setting forth plans for modernizing both State and local governments. Such plans would have to include specific proposals for dealing with interstate regional problems, for strengthening State governments, and for strengthening and modernizing local rural, urban, and metropolitan governments—for example, by reducing the number of counties, eliminating inefficient local governments, reforming personnel practices, and strengthening local governments in metropolitan areas.

Each State modern governments program would then be reviewed by one of the four regional coordinating committees—to be set up under H.R. 1166 by the participating Governors in each of four regions: eastern, southern, midwestern, and western—and by the existing Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Those States with plans designated as reflecting "sufficient creative State initiative so as to qualify that State for Federal block grants" would then begin receiving, in 1970 or at the latest by 1971, unrestricted Federal grants from a 3-year, $5-billion-a-year authorization.

Funds would be distributed according to population, with not to exceed 20 percent for supplements to those States having a low per capita income; a high degree of poverty, dependency, or urbanization; and an adequate State tax effort, as indicated by the amount of State and local taxes relative to personal income. At least 50 percent of the money going to a State would be earmarked for its local governments.

The text of WBZ's editorial follows:

WITH STRINGS ATTACHED

(Delivered by Perry B. Bascom, general manager, WBZ; Lamont L. Thompson, general manager, WBZ–TV)

Massachusetts took a major step forward in 1966 with adoption of a sales tax. Yet, the start of this new year finds state and local governments strapped for cash to meet obvious needs. There are still changes to be made to bolster our tax structure. But, more and more, it's becoming obvious that the cost of government services is getting beyond the financial resources of both communities and the state.

This problem isn't confined to Massachusetts. It exists in states across the country. And it has led to proposals that the federal government, with its broader tax base, turn back to the states a share of the money it raises. The idea was first put forth by former presidential advisor Walter Heller. It has since been endorsed in various forms by Congressmen of both parties and a meeting of state governors. It seems destined to be a major issue in the new Congress.

WBZ supports the tax sharing principle. And we feel there's special merit to the proposal by Wisconsin Congressman Henry Reuss. He's been impressed with the report on modernizing local government put out by the Committee For Economic Development. That's the same report we've cited in a series of editorials over the past few months. Representative Reuss feels massive federal aid would be pouring money down a rathole unless state and local governments are overhauled to meet present day needs more effectively. So he wants the federal grants conditioned on modernization of state and local administration.

There's no doubt this reform job is needed. And past experience shows that state and local officials will be painfully slow in acting without some prodding. The Reuss plan is massive use of the policy we've talked about before—speaking softly and carrying a big carrot. It offers real hope of solving financial and administrative problems at the same time.

Our Vanishing Wildlife

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to add my words of commendation to those of Secretary of the Interior, Stewart L. Udall, Thomas L. Kimball, executive director of the National Wildlife Federation, and other distinguished conservationists for the excellence of a film, "Our Vanishing Wildlife."

Productions Unlimited, Inc., of New York, recognized the urgent need for con-

servation education and produced this color film covering the subject with truth and dignity. I invite every American to see this film to better understand why it is so important to maintain our national wetlands areas, our forest covers and to husband our soil and water for the benefit of all living things.

Vietnam: Suffer the Little Children—I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, on January 11, the Committee of Responsibility To Save War-Burned and War-Injured Vietnamese Children held a press conference to announce their program. More than 100 prominent physicians, members of the clergy and others have joined together to bring children burned and injured in the war to the United States for medical treatment. This nonpolitical and nonprofit humanitarian committee has received commitments from leading doctors in the United States to treat Vietnamese children free of charge.

Martha Gellhorn, the distinguished author, in an article published in the January 1967 edition of the Ladies' Home Journal has described the plight of these children. I believe that all of us must be concerned with the great tragedy of the war in Vietnam. Therefore, I am inserting part I of her article, which follows:

[From the Ladies' Home Journal, January 1967]

VIETNAM: SUFFER THE LITTLE CHILDREN—PART I

(By Martha Gellhorn)

It's time to talk of the Vietnam casualties nobody dares talk about: the wounded boys and girls.

We love our children. We are famous for loving our children, and many foreigners believe that we love them unwisely and too well. We plan, work and dream for our children; we are tirelessly determined to give them the best of life. "Security" is one of our favorite words; children, we agree, must have security—by which we mean devoted parents, a pleasant, settled home, health, gaiety, education; a climate of hope and peace. Perhaps we are too busy, loving our own children, to think of children 10,000 miles away, or to understand that distant, small, brown-skinned people, who do not look or live like us, love their children just as deeply, but with anguish now and heartbreak and fear.

American families know the awful emptiness left by the young man who goes off to war and does not come home; but American families have been spared knowledge of the destroyed home, with the children dead in it. War happens someplace else, far away. Farther away than ever before, in South Vietnam, a war is being waged in our name, the collective, anonymous name of the American people. And American weapons are killing and wounding uncounted Vietnamese children. Not 10 or 20 children, which would be tragedy enough, but hundreds killed and many more hundreds wounded every month. This terrible fact is officially ignored; no Government agency keeps statistics on the civilians of all ages, from babies to the very old, killed and wounded in South Vietnam. I have witnessed modern war in nine countries, but I have never seen a war like the one in South Vietnam.

My Tho is a charming small town in the Mekong Delta, the green rice bowl of South Vietnam. A wide, brown river flows past it and cools the air. Unlike Saigon, the town is quiet because it is off-limits to troops and not yet flooded with a pitiful horde of refugees. Despite three wars, one after the other, the Delta peasants have stayed in their hamlets and produced food for the nation. Governments and armies come and go, but for 2,000 years peasants of this race have been working this land. The land and their families are what they love. Bombs and machine-gun bullets are changing the ancient pattern. The Delta is considered a Viet Cong stronghold, so death rains from the skies, fast and indiscriminate. Fifteen million South Vietnamese live on the ground; no one ever suggested that there were more than 279,000 Viet Cong and North Vietnamese in all of South Vietnam.

The My Tho children's hospital is a gray cement box surrounded by high grass and weeds overgrowing the peacetime garden. Its 35 cots are generally filled by 55 little patients. One tall, sorrowing nun is the trained nurse; one Vietnamese woman doctor is the medical staff. Relatives bring their wounded children to this hospital, however they can, walking for miles with the children in their arms, bumping in carts or the local buses. Organized transport for wounded civilians does not exist anywhere in South Vietnam. Once the relatives have managed to get their small war victims to the hospital, they stay to look after them. Someone must. The corridors and wards are crowded; the children are silent, as are the grown-ups. Yet shock and pain, in this still place, makes a sound like screaming.

A man leaned against the wall in the corridor; his face was frozen and his eyes looked half-mad. He held, carefully, a six-month-old baby girl, his first child. At night, four bombs had been dropped without warning on his hamlet. Bomb fragments killed his young wife, sleeping next to her daughter; they tore the arm of the baby. As wounds go, in this war, it was mild—just deep cuts from shoulder to wrist, caked in blood. Yesterday he had a home, a wife, and a healthy, laughing daughter; today he had nothing left except a child dazed with pain and a tiny mutilated arm.

In the grimy wards, only plaster on child legs and arms, bandages on heads and thin bodies were fresh and clean. The children have learned not to move, because moving hurts them more, but their eyes, large and dark, follow you. We have not had to see, in our own children's eyes, this tragic resignation.

Apparently children are classified as adults nowadays if they are over 12 years old. During a short, appalled visit to the big My Tho provincial hospital, among hundreds of wounded peasants, men and women, I noted a 13-year-old girl who had lost her left foot (bomb), sharing a bed with an old woman whose knee was shattered; a 14-year-old girl with a head wound (mortar shell); a 15-year-old girl with bandages over a chest wound (machine-gun bullet). If you stop to ask questions, you discover frequently that someone nearby and loved was killed at the same time, and here is the survivor, mourning a mother or a little brother; loneliness added to pain. All these people suffer in silence. When the hurt is unbearable, they groan very softly, as if ashamed to disturb others. But their eyes talk for them. I take the anguish, grief, bewilderment in their eyes, rightly, as accusation.

The Red Cross Amputee Center in Saigon is a corrugated tin shed, crowded to capacity and as comfortable in that heavy, airless heat as an oven. Two hundred amputees, in relays, have lived here. Now 40 Vietnamese peasants, male and female, ranging in age from six to 60, sit on chromium wheelchairs or their board beds or hobble about on crutches and, though you might not guess it, they are lucky. They did not die from their wounds, they are past the phase of physical agony, and in due course they will get artificial arms or legs.

The demand for artificial arms and legs in South Vietnam may be the greatest in the world, but the supply is limited; for civilians it had run out completely when I was there. These maimed people are content to wait; Saigon is safe from bombs, and they are fed by the Red Cross. To be certain of food is wonderful good luck in a country where hunger haunts most of the people.

A girl of six had received a new arm, ending in a small steel hook to replace her hand. Bomb fragments took off the lower half of her arm and also wounded her face. She has a lovely smile, and a sweet little body, and she is pitifully ugly, with that dented, twisted skin and a lopsided eye. She was too young to be distressed about her face, though she cannot have felt easy with her strange arm; she only wore it to have her picture taken.

An older girl, also a bomb victim, perhaps aged 12, had lost an eye, a leg and still had a raw wound on her shoulder. She understood what had happened to her. Since the Vietnamese are a beautiful people, it is natural that they should understand beauty. She hid her damaged face with her hand.

A cocky, merry small boy hopped around on miniature crutches, but could not move so easily when he strapped on his false, pink-tinted leg. Hopefully he will learn to walk with it, and meanwhile he is the luckiest person in that stifling shed, because the American soldiers who found him have not forgotten him. With their gifts of money he buys food from street vendors and is becoming a butterball. I remember no other plump child in South Vietnam.

A young Red Cross orderly spoke some French and served as interpreter while I asked these people how they were hurt. Six had been wounded by Viet Cong mines. One had been caught in machine-gun cross fire between Viet Cong and American soldiers, while working in the fields. One, a sad reminder of the endless misery and futility of war, had lost a leg from Japanese bombing in World War II. One, the most completely ruined of them all, with both legs cut off just below the hip, an arm gone, and two fingers lopped from the remaining hand, had been struck down by a hit-and-run U.S. military car. Thirty-one were crippled for life by bombs or artillery shells or bullets. I discussed these figures with doctors who operate on wounded civilians all day, and day after day. The percentage seems above average. "Most of the bits and pieces I take out of people," a doctor said, "are identified as American."

In part, it is almost impossible to keep up with the facts in this escalating war. In part, the facts about this war are buried under propaganda. I report statistics I have heard or read, but I regard them as indications of truth rather than absolute accuracy. So: there are 77 orphanages in South Vietnam and 80,000 registered orphans. (Another figure is 110,000.) No one can guess how many orphaned children have been adopted by relatives. They will need to build new orphanages or enlarge the old ones, because the estimated increase in orphans is 2,000 a month. This consequence of war is seldom mentioned. A child, orphaned by war, is a war victim, wounded forever.

The Govap orphanage, in the miserable rickety outskirts of Saigon, is splendid by local standards. Foreign charities have helped the gentle Vietnamese nuns to construct an extra wing and to provide medical care such as intravenous feeding for shriveled babies, nearly dead from starvation.

They also are war victims. "All the little ones come to us sick from hunger," a nun said, in another orphanage. "What can you expect? The people are too poor." The children sit on the floor of two big, open rooms. Here they are again, the tiny war wounded, hobbling on crutches, hiding the stump of an arm (because already they know they are odd): doubly wounded, crippled and alone. Some babble with awful merriment. Their bodies seem sound, but the shock of war was too much for their minds; they are the infant insane.

Hickory Boy in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, while the great debate is taking place in the United States as to the reasons why we are fighting in Vietnam, our servicemen are making a magnificent contribution in defense of the vital interests of the United States and the freedom of the people of southeast Asia.

There is no doubt in their minds as to why we are fighting in Vietnam, and I believe that a letter written by Sgt. Arthur D. Miller, a constituent of mine and the son of Mr. and Mrs. James A. Miller of Hickory, N.C., expresses the sentiment of all our servicemen in Vietnam.

I include Sergeant Miller's inspiring letter, which appeared in the "Open Forum" of the Hickory Daily Record of January 16, 1967, in the Appendix of the RECORD:

OPEN FORUM: HICKORY BOY IN VIETNAM

EDITOR RECORD: I was talking to a couple of my buddies here in my tent, and we were discussing the backing, the people in the United States were giving us guys here in Vietnam.

We were talking about our buddies getting killed and other guys that get hurt. I asked one buddy, if he thought anyone in the States knew what we are doing in Vietnam—and his answer was he didn't know. Well I thought I would write my hometown newspaper a few lines. If you would print it.

I have thought about writing before, but since I'll be home soon I thought I'd better write the letter now.

I don't know just what all to say but here goes.

From a soldier in Vietnam to the people in the United States. A question or two for you, and a statement to you. Why can a person turn his back on his country? How can a man refuse to fight for his loved one's, and for their freedom? Why don't the people realize this?

Like someone said, the guys in Vietnam have 50% of the support of the people in the United States—why not 100 percent. Now for the statement I mentioned before:

A person cannot put on paper what Vietnam is like. Like guys and buddies getting killed every day. You cannot realize how it is—no one can, unless they have been through it themselves. I am putting this down on paper so anyone can read it that wants to.

We are not fighting for ourselves alone, but for freedom for everyone. I don't think people understand at all. My own opinion is, if the people themselves would support the Vietnam issue more, we would have more morale than we actually have. Well, I'd better shut up before I really get into trouble.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

ARTHUR D. MILLER

(Sgt. Arthur D. Miller, son of Mr. and Mrs. James A. Miller of Hickory, N.C.).

P.S.—I only have 63 days left over here.

Appraisal of L.B.J. by an Old New Dealer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, when I first came to Congress 20 years ago, one of my most stimulating experiences was coming to know Adolf Berle on a personal basis. In my earlier student days I already had a great admiration for his perceptive, incisive, analytical mind and his tremendous insight into the great social, economic, and political issues of the day.

But even more than being one of the leading intellectuals of our time, is he a truly great humanitarian with tremendous human feeling for the problems of the disadvantaged, the downtrodden, the dispossessed, society's needy ones who never had their fair chance.

Adolf Berle demonstrates all of these many inspiring qualities in the accompanying article which is a refreshing, well-balanced evaluation of President Lyndon B. Johnson's continuing achievements for a better America.

Mr. Speaker, I commend Mr. Berle's article to the attention of my colleagues:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 14, 1967]

TOPICS: APPRAISAL OF L.B.J. BY AN OLD NEW DEALER

(By Adolf A. Berle)

Though President Lyndon B. Johnson may, as pundits say, be in for a spell of stormy political weather, conclusions from the 1966 Congressional elections can be overdone. In 1964, Republicans bolted from Goldwater to Johnson by millions. In 1966 they returned to the fold, perhaps restoring hairline party balance by which President Kennedy defeated Mr. Nixon.

But, since the Camelot era, President Johnson introduced a new element. He launched an irreversible tide in American politics inescapably bearing his stamp. Irrespective of press popularity, or opinions of his "style," or the barring of Camelot castles to him, his conception of the Great Society must dominate the political scene for years to come.

MEANT WHAT HE SAID

Johnson was one of a very few to realize that the impulses of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal had achieved themselves. A new phase transcending mere economics was overdue. Christening it "The Great Society," Johnson blocked out its goals.

Credibility gap or not, he meant what he said. Civil rights, of course. A Southerner, he took the Negro side, converting ideas into measures. Abolition of poverty, plainly possible in a country providing an average income of nearly $3,000 for each American. But that means taking poverty out of people as well as people out of poverty.

A society of beauty, wiping out ghettos, redeveloping cities, cleansing air and streams, cleaning foul highway borders. But that requires liberating and canalizing reservoirs of local energy. A society in which no student must forgo education for want of funds. But that calls for vast increase in schools and universities. A society whose business and labor undertand economic planning well enough to cooperate in handling prices, profits and wages. But that calls for a changed conception of business.

Translation of American capacity to give full bank accounts into ability to cause civilized cultural achievement. But that requires intellectuals and artists to conceive, propose, execute. As in the case of the New Deal, criticism of the Great Society is bitter—but perhaps headed for similar oblivion.

Battle is joined on all fronts. President Johnson should, and does not, have support of many intellectuals who would seem to be his natural allies. Perhaps because of his proletarian experience, he dealt in realities, rather than in unassailable abstractions.

After the Dallas tragedy, he met coolness from some who identified their finest hours exclusively with President Kennedy. In fact, President Johnson did more than continue the Kennedy direction. He opened the gates to a new vista; and these cannot be shut by friend or foe. Already his ablest competitors pay him the compliment of imitation—as did Gov. Nelson Rockefeller on Jan. 2 in proposing the "Just Society."

THE WAR IN VIETNAM

In fiscal policy—to tax or to abandon Great Society spending—the issue comes to this: Will the prosperous insist on saving today at cost of a drab and dangerous tomorrow, or will they—as they can without hardship—assume the costs for tomorrow's America as well as the far from crushing costs of Vietnam? The President is saying they must.

Johnson's really controversial decision—his handling of the Vietnamese war—was that of a big man. At time of involvement, Moscow and Peking were working together. Indonesia was in the Chinese orbit. War was making in Malaysia. To enter Indochina was dangerous; to stand aside meant risking world balance at incalculable peril. Today, the Soviet Union is at odds with China, Indonesia is back in the United Nations, the Malaysian war is liquidated.

Johnson's decisive Dominican action seems to have reduced to minor scale Russian intrigues in the Caribbean. Balance is again emerging, and the Vietnam problem seems moving toward manageable dimensions, offering possibility of peace and disinvolvement without tossing Southeast Asia overboard.

Dissident Democratic Governors and reputed rivals are realizing that in 1968 any Democrat will have to run on the record, achievements and conceptions of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. They cannot do otherwise. These will be the stuff of the next campaign.

Winning or losing, the President emerges as a towering figure. He is not a great politician; his local connections are absurdly weak. He is not a romantic image. The brilliant court and flashing pennons of Camelot are not his.

TRACE-LINES OF THE FUTURE

But neither is he an Andrew Johnson, vulnerable to attack by misguided idealists. Rather, with dogged determination, using what tools he has, and denied the help of some who should have been with him, the small-farmer's son become President has plotted out in his Great Society the contours and trace-lines of the next major social development in America.

Be the outcome triumph or tragedy, as an old New Dealer I am clear that to underestimate him is a historical mistake of the first order.

F.D.R. Memorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have been pleased to serve as a member of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission, which has recently made its choice of a final design for the F.D.R. memorial in Washington, D.C.

Members of this commission in the past year, during which I served, have been Senator Maurine Neuberger; Senator JACOB K. JAVITS; Senator Leverett Saltonstall; Senator EUGENE J. MCCARTHY; Congressman FRANK THOMPSON, JR.; Congressman SEYMOUR HALPERN; Hon. Francis Biddle; Hon. Clark M. Clifford; Hon. James H. Rowe, Jr.; Hon. Anna Rosenberg Hoffman, all under the chairmanship of Congressman Eugene J. Keogh, who recently retired as a Member of the Congress. Reference to the commission can be found in the report of the House, No. 1405, for the 89th Congress, second session, on the Department of the Interior and related agencies appropriation bill of 1967, at page 40.

Ada Louise Huxtable, a well-known writer and connoisseur, has well described the proposed memorial approved by the commission as prepared by Marcel Breuer and his associate, Herbert Beckhard.

Her article appeared in the New York Sunday Times of January 1, 1967, and I commend it to my colleagues:

IF AT FIRST YOU DON'T SUCCEED

(By Ada Louise Huxtable)

All's well that ends well in art and in memoriam. Five years after the competition winning design for the Franklin Delano Roosevelt memorial in Washington was unveiled, attacked, revised, rejected and recommissioned, the Roosevelt Memorial Commission has released its new, handsome and, hopefully, final proposal.

The new design is the work of Marcel Breuer, best known at the moment for his smashingly successful Whitney Museum in New York, and Herbert Beckhard, of the Breuer office. It displays some of the same strengths and sensibilities as that excellent building, and it is the most promising monument to loom on the memorial scene—admittedly overcrowded in Washington—in quite a while.

NEAT TRICK

The Breuer-Beckhard scheme is a thoughtful, contemporary, creative solution that honors the man it commemorates at a representative level of today's esthetic achievement, without doing violence to the classical Washington image. That is a neat trick, and an admirable one, involving a kind of talent and artistic intelligence too seldom seen or understood in the nation's capital.

The $4-million proposal consists of seven wing-like, rough granite walls arranged concentrically, like slanted spokes, around a polished granite cube, on which there would be a Roosevelt likeness.

The slightly canted, triangular walls, 60 feet high on their tallest side, slope gently to earth, and are flanked by slender pools. Where the radial walls focus on the central cube, an open plaza is formed. Set on a granite base, the memorial is penetrated irregularly by parks and trees, without rigid demarcation. Benches will be set within magnolia and cherry groves; columnar beeches will line the approach.

With the approach, the memorial will take up 5.8 acres of the narrow, water-surrounded peninsula of the 66-acre West Potomac Park. It is almost equidistant from the Lincoln, Jefferson and Washington monuments, which measures 141 feet, 129 feet and 598 feet high respectively, above sea level, as opposed to the 73 feet above sea level projected for the Roosevelt design.

The granite cube, raised slightly above ground, will have a picture of Roosevelt on the west, or entrance side. This will not be the conventional memorial portrait. It will be one of the many expressive photographs made during his lifetime, transferred to stone by a new method developed experimentally by the architects and the stonecutting industry. The texture of half-tone engraving—a screen of dots of varying size and density that reproduces the image in printed media—will be cut or sandblasted into the granite surface.

At the large scale that this is planned, the portrait will focus at about 20 feet; short of that distance it will be a pattern of abstract, incised cuts. Beyond that, it will read as an image of Roosevelt as the 20th century knew and recorded him, raised to the level of monumental sculpture through 20th-century techniques.

To this representation will be added another 20th-century technological device, voice reproduction, with excerpts from Roosevelt's speeches at normal voice level audible only in a limited central area near the picture, interspersed with periods of silence. Thus the traditional dignity of simple, monumental forms in stone—the most moving and effective architectural tribute to great men—is combined with contemporary portraiture in voice and image.

Curiously, or rather, not curiously at all, this design has quite a bit in common with the rejected prizewinner. (That ill-fated scheme was the work of Pedersen, Tilney, Hoberman, Wasserman and Beer. With some reservations, Breuer thought their solution good.)

Both approaches have emphasized an enclosing arrangement of severely monumental, free-standing walls; both have stressed a multidimensional, processional experience of the visitor through planes and spaces. A very large percentage of the 574 competition entries five years ago dealt in similar forms and values. Examination of the few postwar memorials of impact and quality show a parrallel reliance on abstract, slablike elements.

This is, of course, the authentic sculptural and architectural vision of our time, and only the genuine expression of this vision will produce a genuine monument. There will undoubtedly be critics of this design who would prefer some version of the exhausted Greek peristyle cum cotton clouds and personified virtues in low relief with the inflated superstatue that has always been the front runner in the Washington galloping graveyard sweepstakes.

The though of still another of those soporific substitutes for nobility invokes nothing but esthetic and emotional ennui. Familiarity may breed comfortably somnolent sensations of patriotic piety, but it says little for the creative character or claims to glory of our times, talents, or statemen. A monument stands for its age, as well as for a man. Those with the criteria to judge will question the greatness of both if the expressive medium of immortalization is mediocrity.

END OF THE LINE

Beyond the conceptual similarities of the two designs, there are significant differences that tip the scale in Breuer's favor. The giant slabs of the original scheme had a strong vertical emphasis, and their height was reduced from a towering 167 feet to 130 feet in response to worried protest that the neighboring monuments would be overpowered. The slabs were to be made of concrete aggregate, an excellent new material, but one for which we are only beginning to observe the weathering process.

The present design is horizontal in feeling and its height is roughly half that of the first proposal. It is secure in the beauty and permanence of its granite masonry. It is also obvious that it is the end of the line. Washington is in no desperate need of memorials, but it is monumentally short of the architectural and esthetic contributions of this extraordinarily creative century. The Roosevelt Commission can either build this one or forget it, for it is unlikely that a more appropriate version will come along.

The 48th Anniversary of Latvian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, it is a matter of great sadness to me that for dacades now the peoples of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania, along with the peoples of several other nations, have been forced to live under Communist totalitarianism.

Since taking over Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania in an infamous deal with Hitler's Nazi regime, the Soviet Union has attempted to stamp out the spirit of liberty which lives in the hearts and minds of the peoples of these three countries. But this effort has been to no avail. Latvians, Estonians, and Lithuanians retain their strong desires for freedom. Unfortunately, we in this country have not been able to remove them from their captive status. However, we must continue to help these people in any way possible.

It is with this in mind that the American-Latvians of Metropolitan Detroit met to commemorate the 48th anniversary of the independence of the Republic of Latvia and adopted on November 13, 1966, the following statement which, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

STATEMENT

The American-Latvians of Metropolitan Detroit, assembled at the Detroit Institute of Arts, 5200 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Michigan on the 13th Day of November, 1966, to commemorate the 48th Anniversary of the Independence of the Republic of Latvia, unanimously agreed to issue the following statement:

"1. As we pause today to observe the 48th Anniversary of the Republic of Latvia, we again thank the United States Government for refusing to recognize the forcible seizure by the Soviet Union of the Baltic States of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania and we urge that this policy be continued.

"2. We urge the President of the United States to direct the attention to the United Nations and to other international forums, to the denial of the rights of self-determination for the peoples of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, and bring the force of world opinion to bear the restoration of these rights to the Baltic peoples.

"3. We urge the United States Congress to establish a permanent House Committee on the Captive Nations.

"4. We oppose the ratification of the treaty with the Soviet Union to establish Consulates in the United States. Past experience shows these offices are nothing but centers of subversion. If the treaty is ratified, undoubtly the Soviet Union will endeavor to interpret it as American recognition of the Soviet seizure of the Baltic States.

"5. We deplore the continuation of the Soviet occupation and attempted russification of Latvia by the Soviets. This continuing crime is poisoning international life and world order cannot be built on violence and crime. It should be based on justice. Otherwise, the world would succumb to a rule of violence and a colonial system, as practised by the Soviet Union.

"6. Being aware that Latvia and other oppressed nations on our globe are looking upon the United States of America as the country chosen by God to become the champion and guardian of freedom in the world, and bearing in mind that appeasement never brings permanent and lasting peace, we fully support our Government's firm stand against Communist aggression throughout the world.

"7. We urge that the Voice of America broadcasts in Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian be increased. These broadcasts carry the message of hope to the Baltic peoples and provide them with proof that they are not forgotten by the Free World. For the same purpose we urge the broadcasts in Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian by the Radio Free Europe, as proposed by the Governor of State of Michigan George W. Romney, June 18th 1966.

"8. We thank the United States Senate for passing H. Con. Res. 416 which asks that the force of world opinion be mobilized to the restoration of the right to self-determination and national independence for the Baltic States.

"9. This statement be forwarded to the President of the United States, Vice-president of the United States, Secretary of State, the United States delegation to the United Nations, Senators and Congressmen from Michigan, Governor of the State of Michigan, Mayor of the City of Detroit and United States Information Agency."

Done in Detroit, Michigan this 13th Day of November, A.D. 1966.

Benjamin Franklin, 1706–90

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to extend my remarks with an editorial written by the late Harry H. Schlacht for the East Side News, a local publication with wide distribution throughout the 19th Congressional District of New York.

Mr. Schlacht's article, commemorating the birthday of Benjamin Franklin, describes in most moving terms the life of this great American.

Benjamin Franklin possessed character, vigor, humility, and most importantly, a love of life.

An account of his achievements, such as this one, can serve as an inspiration to us all. I am certain my colleagues will find it so:

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN—1706–90

(By the late Harry H. Schlacht)

The life story of Benjamin Franklin is one of America's treasures. It has also become one of the world's treasures, for he has been immortalized in prose and poetry for the things he stood and believed in during the birth of our nation. Mention of his name evokes the most pleasant recollections, for he symbolizes the glory of our past.

Ben Franklin, who was born in Boston on January 17, 1706, settled in Philadelphia where he spent the greater part of his life. He founded his own newspaper, "The Philadelphia Gazette," and later published his "Poor Richard's Almanac." Later, his inventions in electricity and optics earned for him a great reputation throughout the world. Subsequently, he founded the University of Pennsylvania.

He was one of the founders of the American Commonwealth, the incarnation of our Democracy, the master builder. He stands second only to Washington in the list of heroic personalities. He was a member of the Continental Congress, who signed the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. To have been so privileged to sign these historic documents assures his perpetuity among the champions of human liberty.

No man ever lived a more virile life in his day and generation. He rose from humblest surroundings, and owed hardly anything to parentage or patronage. He enjoyed no advantage of early education, but he lived to stand before kings and died to bequeath a name crowned with the august halo of immortality. Well may it be said that he never wasted time nor time ever wasted him.

Franklin and Lincoln are the two Americans who typify the American character. Both were alike in their personalities—qualities of good humor, genial friendship, thought, simplicity of ideas, and unwearying industry.

The lessons of honesty, temperance and economy which Franklin inculcated and practiced with such brilliant success in his own person have been of priceless value to civilization. The world was his school, and necessity was his teacher.

Ben Franklin enlarged the boundaries of human knowledge by discovering laws and facts of nature, and applying them to the service of mankind. His writings have been translated into many languages, and they are still the "best sellers" after two centuries.

How glorious a legacy to the youth of America is the history of his abiding patriotism, his faith and his self sacrifice.

Let the young and the old read his writings and refresh their minds with the recollections of his fine maxims and virtuous deeds. We may not achieve his greatness, but we may strive to emulate his example.

Let us behold his calm and gentle face, never clouded by anger, or wrinkled by ill humor, but which beamed with a love for his fellow man. He was never dazzled by elevation, nor debauched by flattery. Neither was he ever soured by disappointment, or corrupted by ambition. He knew how to stand humbly and serenely on the lowest level of obscurity and on the loftiest pinnacle of fame. He won his place in the front ranks of the world's scientists, diplomats, statesmen, men of affairs and men of letters.

Shortly after George Washington took office as the first President of the United States, Franklin "wrapped the drapery of his couch about him and lay down to pleasant dreams." Like Moses, he could see the "Promised Land" from afar, but could not enter. It was on the 17th of April, 1790, that his sun sank in the horizon, to rise again in a purer sphere, in the vigor and beauty of eternal youth. His spirit abides in libraries, universities, and is ever associated with the printing press, the newspaper, the postoffice, and savings institutions.

It may be said of him, as was said of Shakespeare, that Franklin was a "myriad-minded man.'

In diplomacy, he was a Talleyrand; in invention, a forerunner of Edison; in physical science, a Newton; in philosophy, an Erasmus; in satire, a Swift; in style, an Addison; and in power of narration, a Defoe.

The statue of Benjamin Franklin in front of the Philadelphia Postoffice bears the following inscription written by George Washington:

"Benjamin Franklin, 1706–1790,
Venerated for Benevolence,
Admired for Talents,
Esteemed for Patriotism,
Beloved for Philanthropy."

What an inspiring privilege it would be for the youth of America to reflect on the life and achievements of Ben Franklin. May his ideals continue to disseminate throughout the land, and may his spirit protect us from oppression and preserve inviolate our freedoms, and the glories of our Republic.

Ethics in the U.S. Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to establish a permanent Joint Committee on Ethics for the guidance of Members and employees of the legislative branch.

On February 4, 1966, I addressed the New York University Alumni of the New York State Bar Association on the subject of ethics in the U.S. Congress. At that time I described the difficulties which I had in obtaining guidance and advice in connection with separating myself from business activities upon my election to the House of Representatives. I was astonished to learn that there was no one to whom I could turn for official guidance. There were no clear rules for the proper conduct of a Member nor was there a readily available definition of "conflict of interest."

On March 29, 1966, I introduced H.R. 14091 to establish a Joint Committee on Ethics. It is that legislation which I have sponsored again today.

Recent events at the opening session of the 90th Congress point up the need for a meaningful ethics bill, one which would eliminate any accusation of a "double standard" in the present wholly inadequate procedures of the House of Representatives. There should not be a double standard of ethics among Members of Congress. I would expect any Member who has evidence that the U.S. Government has been bilked by a citizen, be he a private citizen or a holder of public office, to present such evidence to the appropriate authority. And if it involved a Member of Congress to which committee would such a complaint be referred? At the moment there is no such committee which points up the need.

The bill which I have introduced today differs from most ethics bills previously introduced in thre major respects:

First, the joint committee, composed of seven Senators and seven House Members, would be permanent, not merely an interim committee authorized to draft a proposed code of ethics and then cease to function. The committee would continue for the purpose of investigating complaints, recommending changes in the code of ethics, and acting as an advisory body to Members and employees of the legislative branch.

Second, the bill requires the disclosure of any and all financial interests—direct or indirect—in activities under the jurisdiction of a regulatory agency. Most other bills on this subject require only the reporting of financial interests in excess of a given figure such as $10,000.

Third, the bill establishes a guidance and advisory opinion procedure by authorizing the joint committee to render advisory opinions on possible conflicts of interest or a future course of conduct contemplated by a Member of Congress. The opinions would be rendered without identifying the parties involved and would serve to establish precedents for the guidance of all Members. This practice is followed by our bar associations and has proved invaluable to members of the legal profession.

The committee would be expected to research and compile all precedents since the first Congress and to review, revise and supplement these precedents and to write a new set of rules and regulations for the conduct of congressional offices and for the conduct of Members of Congress.

I urge my colleagues in the House to support and actively work for an ethics bill which will remove the cloud which has been cast over this distinguished Chamber. We have a constitutional responsibility to police ourselves and we have a moral responsibility to set an example for the American public. There are only 537 elected Federal officials and every one must follow a course of conduct which is beyond reproach.

The time is right to follow the course set forth in Lamentations 3:40: "Let us examine our ways and search them." If we act now the public will have its confidence renewed in the activties of their Representatives in the U.S. Congress.

Vietnam: Suffer the Little Children—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I have inserted part I of Martha Gellhorn's article concerning the plight of the children of Vietnam. The article appeared in the January 1967, edition of the Ladies' Home Journal. I believe that it is a most moving and important article which must be of concern to all of us. Therefore, I bring part II of this article to the attention of my colleagues:

[From the Ladies' Home Journal, January 1967]

VIETNAM: SUFFER THE LITTLE CHILDREN—PART II

(By Martha Gellhorn)

Each of the 43 provinces in South Vietnam has a free hospital for civilians, built long ago by the French when they ruled the country. The hospitals might have been adequate in peacetime; now they are all desperately overcrowded. The wounded lie on bare board beds, frequently two to a bed, on stretchers, in the corridors, anywhere. Three hundred major operations a month were the regular quota in the hospitals I saw; they were typical hospitals. Sometimes food is supplied for the patients; sometimes one meal; sometimes none. Their relatives, often by now homeless, must provide everything from the little cushion that eases pain to a change of tattered clothing. They nurse and cook and do the laundry and at night sleep on the floor beside their own wounded. The hospitals are littered with rubbish; there is no money to spend on keeping civilian hospitals clean. Yet the people who reach these dreadful places are fortunate; they did not die on the way.

In the children's ward of the Qui Nhon provincial hospital I saw for the first time what napalm does. A child of seven, the size of our four-year-olds, lay in the cot by the door. Napalm had burned his face and back and one hand. The burned skin looked like swollen, raw meat; the fingers of his hand were stretched out, burned rigid. A scrap of cheesecloth covered him, for weight is intolerable, but so is air. His grandfather, an emaciated old man half blind with cataract, was tending the child. A week ago, napalm bombs were dropped on their hamlet. The old man carried his grandson to the nearest town; from there they were flown by helicopter to the hospital. All week, the little boy cried with pain, but now he was better. He had stopped crying. He was only twisting his body, as if trying to dodge his incomprehensible torture.

Farther down the ward, another child, also seven years old, moaned like a mourning dove; he was still crying. He had been burned by napalm, too, in the same village. His mother stood over his cot, fanning the little body, in a helpless effort to cool that wet, red skin. Whatever she said, in Vietnamese, I did not understand, but her eyes and her voice revealed how gladly she would have taken for herself the child's suffering.

My interpreter questioned the old man, who said that many had been killed by the fire and many more burned, as well as their houses and orchards and livestock and the few possessions they had worked all their lives to collect. Destitute, homeless, sick with weariness and despair, he watched every move of the small, racked body of his grandson. Viet Cong guerrillas had passed through their hamlet in April the old man said, but were long since gone. Late in August, napalm bombs fell from the sky.

Napalm is jellied gasoline, contained in bombs about six feet long. The bomb, exploding on contact, hurls out gobs of this flaming stuff, and fierce fire consumes everything in its path. We alone possess and freely use this weapon in South Vietnam. Burns are dealy in relation to their depth and extent. If upwards of 30 percent of the entire thickness of the skin is burned, the victim will die within 24 to 48 hours, unless he receives skilled constant care. Tetanus and other infections are a longtime danger, until the big, open-wound surface has healed. Since transport for civilian wounded is pure chance and since the hospitals have neither staff nor facilities for special burn treatment, we can assume that the children who survive napalm and live to show the scars are those who were least burned and lucky enough to reach a hospital in time.

Children are killed or wounded by napalm because of the nature of the bombings. Close air support for infantry in combat zones is one thing. The day and night bombing of hamlets, filled with women, children and the old, is another. Bombs are mass destroyers. The military targets among the peasants—the Viet Cong—are small, fast-moving individuals. Bombs cannot identify them. Impartially, they mangle children, who are numerous, and guerrilla fighters, who are few. The use of fire and steel on South Vietnamese hamlets, because Viet Cong are reported to be in them (and often are not) can sometimes be like destroying your friend's home and family because you have heard there is a snake in the cellar.

South Vietnam is somewhat smaller than the state of Missouri. The disaster now sweeping over its people is so enormous that no single person has seen it all. But everyone in South Vietnam, native and foreign, including American soldiers, knows something of the harm done to Vietnamese peasants who never harmed us. We cannot all cross the Pacific to judge for ourselves what most affects our present and future, and America's honor in the world; but we can listen to eyewitnesses. Here is testimony from a few private citizens like you and me.

An American surgeon, who worked in the provincial hospital at Danang, a northern town now swollen with refugees and the personnel of an American portbase: "The children over there are undernourished, poorly clothed, poorly housed and being hit every day by weapons that should have been aimed at somebody else. . . .

Many children died from war injuries because there was nobody around to take care of them. Many died of terrible burns. Many of shell fragments." Since the young men are all drafted in the Vietnam Ariny or are part of the Viet Cong, "when a village is bombed, you get an abnormal picture of civilian casualties. If you were to bomb New York, you'd hit a lot of men, women and children, but in Vietnam you hit women and children almost exclusively, and a few old men. . . . The United States is grossly careless. It bombs villages, shoots up civilians for no recognizable military objective, and it's terrible."

An American photographer flew on a night mission in a "dragon ship"—an armed DC–3 plane—when Viet Cong were attacking a fortified government post in the southern Delta. The post was right next to a hamlet; 1,400 is the usual number of peasants in a hamlet. The dragon ship's three guns poured out 18,000 bullets a minute. This photographer said: "When you shoot so many thousand rounds of ammo, you know you're gonna hit somebody with that stuff . . . you're hitting anybody when you shoot that way . . . a one-second burst puts down enough lead to cover a football field. . . . I was there in the hospital for many days and nights. . . . One night there were so many wounded I couldn't even walk across the room because they were so thick on the floor. . . . The main wounds came from bombs and bullets and indiscriminate machine-gunning."

A housewife from New Jersey, the mother of six, had adopted three Vietnamese children under the Foster Parents Plan, and visited South Vietnam to learn how Vietnamese children were living. Why? "I am a Christian. . . . These kids don't ask to come into the world—and what a world we give them. . . . Before I went to Saigon, I had heard and read that napalm melts the flesh, and I thought that's nonsense, because I can put a roast in the oven and the fat will melt but the meat stays there. Well, I went and saw these children burned by napalm, and it is absolutely true. The chemical reaction of this napalm does melt the flesh, and the flesh runs right down their faces onto their chests and it sits there and it grows there. . . . These children can't turn their heads, they were so thick with flesh. . . . And when gangrene sets in, they cut off their hands or fingers or their feet; the only thing they cannot cut off is their head. . . ."

An American physician, now serving as a health adviser to the Vietnamese Government: "The great problem in Vietnam is the shortage of doctors and the lack of minimum medical facilities. . . . We figure that there is about one Vietnamese doctor per 100,000 population, and in the Delta this figure goes up to one per 140,000. In the U.S., we think we have a doctor shortage with a ratio of one doctor to 685 persons."

The Vietnamese director of a southern provincial hospital: "We have had staffing problems because of the draft. We have a military hospital next door with 500 beds and 12 doctors. Some of them have nothing to do right now, while we in the civilian hospital need all the doctors we can get." (Compared to civilian hospitals, the military hospitals in Vietnam are havens of order and comfort. Those I saw in central Vietnam were nearly empty, wasting the invaluable time of frustrated doctors.) "We need better facilities to get people to the hospital. American wounded are treated within a matter of minutes or hours. With civilian casualties it is sometimes a matter of days—if at all. Patients come here by cart, bus, taxi, cycle, sampan, or perhaps on their relatives' backs. The longer it takes to get here, the more danger the patient will die."

There is no shortage of bureaucrats in South Vietnam, both Vietnamese and American. The U.S. Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) alone accounts for 922 of them. In the last 10 years, around a billion dollars have been allotted as direct aid to the people of South Vietnam. The results of all this bureaucracy and all this money are not impressive though one is grateful that part of the money has bought moderen surgical equipment for the civilian hospitals. But South Vietnam is gripped in a lunatic nightmare; the same official hand (white) that seeks to heal wounds inflicts more wounds. Civilian casualties far outweigh military casualties.

Foreign doctors and nurses who work as surgical teams in some provincial hospitals merit warm praise and admiration. So does anyone who serves these tormented people with compassion. Many foreign charitable organizations try to lighten imsery. I mention only two because they concentrate on children. Both are volunteer organizations.

Terre des Hommes, a respected Swiss group, uses three different approaches to rescue Vietnamese children from the cruelties of this war: by sending sick and wounded children to Holland, Britain, France and Italy for long-term surgical and medical treatment; by arranging for the adoption of orphans; and by helping to support a children's hospital in Vietnam—220 beds for 660 children. This hospital might better be called an emergency medical center, since its sole purpose is to save children immediately from shock, infection and other traumas.

In England, the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (OXFAM) has merged all its previous first-aid efforts into one: an OXFAM representative, a trained English nurse, is in Vietnam with the sole mission of channeling money, medicine, food, clothing and eventually toys (an unknown luxury) to the thousands of children in 10 Saigon orphanages.

Everything is needed for the wounded children of Vietnam, but everything cannot possibly be provided there. I believe that the least we can do—as citizens of Western Europe have done before us—is to bring badly burned children here. These children require months, perhaps years, of superior medical and surgical care in clean hospitals.

Here in America there are hopeful signs of alliance between various groups who feel a grave responsibility for wounded Vietnamese children. The U.S. branch of Terre des Hommes and a physicians' group called The Committee of Responsibility for Treatment in the U.S. of War-Burned Vietnamese Children are planning ways and means of caring for some of these hurt children in the United States. Three hundred doctors have offered their skills to repair what napalm and high explosives have ruined. American hospitals have promised free beds, American families are eager to share their homes during the children's convalescence, money has been pledged. U.S. military planes, which daily transport our young men to South Vietnam, could carry wounded Vietnamese children back to America—and a chance of recovery.

The American Government is curiously unresponsive to such proposals. A State Department spokesman explains the official U.S. position this way: "Let's say we evacuate 50 children to Europe or the United States. We do not question that they would receive a higher degree of medical care, but it would really not make that much difference. On the other hand, the money spent getting those 50 children out could be better used to help 1,500 similarly wounded children in Vietnam. It seems more practical to put our energies and wherewithal into treating them on the scene in Vietnam." The spokesman did not explain why we have not made more "energies and wherewithal" available to treat the wounded children, whether here or in Vietnam. Officially, it is said that children can best be cured in their familiar home environment. True; except when the home environment has been destroyed and there is no place or personnel to do the curing.

We cannot give back life to the dead Vietnamese children. But we cannot fail to help the wounded children as we would help our own. More and more dead and wounded children will cry out to the conscience of the world unless we heal the children who survive the wounds. Someday our children, whom we love, may blame us for dishonoring America because we did not care enough about children 10,000 miles away.

Loye W. Miller Retires as Editor of the Knoxville News-Sentinel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, recently Mr. Loye W. Miller announced his retirement as editor of the Knoxville, Tenn., News-Sentinel, and I want to take this opportunity to congratulate him on his outstanding career in the newspaper field and to wish him good health and much happiness in the years ahead.

Mr. Miller and I have been friends for many years. I admire his steadfast commitments to report the facts and the dedication that he has brought to his endeavors in the news profession and to the many civic and governmental activities in which he has interested himself throughout the years.

East Tennessee and the whole region have benefited greatly from Mr. Miller's efforts, and I am sure that our area will continue to benefit from his past and his future undertakings.

Many of you know his sons, Mike and Loye, Jr., who have followed in their father's footsteps. Mike was formerly the Capitol Hill correspondent for the Knoxville News-Sentinel and the Memphis Press-Scimitar. He is now the Scripps-Howard correspondent covering the Pentagon. Presently he is on special assignment in Vietnam.

When I came to Washington in 1963, Loye, Jr., was on the Washington staff of Time magazine. He is now the manager of Time's Chicago bureau.

I know Mr. Miller is as proud of his sons' success as they are of his—and I am proud of the great success of both father and sons.

One of the many fine editorials which appeared in the newspapers in my district praising Mr. Miller is from the Newport, Tenn., Plain Talk, and under unanimous consent I include it at this point in the RECORD:

LOYE W. MILLER

After more than forty years of distinguished service, the past twenty-five years as editor, the Knoxville News Sentinel's Loye W. Miller has announced his retirement.

Under the leadership of Mr. Miller, The Sentinel has more than doubled in circulation and become one of the South's outstanding newspapers.

The influence of Loye Miller has been felt, not only in Knox County and East Tennessee, but throughout the state and at times the nation. As president of the Tennessee Press Association and also as a key committee chairman, he has spearheaded many a project in that organization. One of his major achievements is the election law reform that resulted from the hard work of the TPA committee which he headed in 1951. He played an important part on the GETS Committee and has worked tirelessly on many a public service project.

The Knoxville Sentinel editor has added distinction to his profession by his dedication and determination to fight for those causes in which he believed.

Although he is retiring as editor of the Knoxville News Sentinel, he may well find a greater demand for his talents than ever before in the further development of his chosen profession and in serving his community and state.

Secrecy in Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, despite continuing criticisms of the accuracy of information emanating from the White House on matters affecting national security and the welfare of the people, there has been no narrowing of the credibility gap.

At the convening of the 90th Congress, doubts and confusion remain. The Wall Street Journal of December 7, 1966, carried an excellent analysis by Mr. Alan L. Otten of the drawbacks and pitfalls of secrecy in government. And Mr. William J. Eaton of the Chicago Daily News, in a recent article, discusses a case in point, the lack of information about defense spending.

Mr. Otten's and Mr. Eaton's articles follow:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Dec. 7, 1966]

TIGHT-LIPPED TOWN

(By Alan L. Otten)

WASHINGTON.—"Why let the President box you in this way?"

The questioner was a new foreign service officer, one of a group being addressed by a long-time capital correspondent on the role of the press in Lyndon Johnson's Washington.

There were all these reports, the young State Department man observed, that Mr. Johnson wouldn't name a man to a top Government job if the news leaked out in advance, and as a result there had been very few stories recently predicting forthcoming appointments.

Why do the reporters hold back? he wanted to know. Shouldn't they go ahead and print the names as soon as they find out, and leave it to Mr. Johnson to decide whether to go ahead with the appointments or squash them?

There was only one flaw in this, the reporter replied: The supposed reason for the lack of advance stories. The press is still printing the news of prospective appointments whenever it finds them out, he said—but the press simply doesn't find them out much any more.

And that, the reporter concluded, is typical of Washington today: An exceedingly tight-lipped town, where comparatively little finds its way onto television screens and into print except what and when Lyndon Johnson wants.

Solid advance stories about Presidential plans—not merely prospective appointments but legislative proposals, political maneuvers, foreign policy initiatives—are increasingly rare. There's always the deliberate official leak; speculation about how high the next budget might be, reports of determination to hold back wheat shipments until India reforms its agriculture policy. But there have been very few good inside stories lately that the President hasn't wanted out.

Presidential news conferences have been exercises in non-news—a few tidbits he wants to publicize, some self-serving defense of previous actions and large doses of evasion and filibuster. From the White House press office comes a stream of routine that suits the Administration purpose, and great resistance to uncovering anything more. For weeks White House officials denied that any task force was studying new approaches to strikes that damage the national interest; finally, reluctantly, the existence of the task force was admitted when reporters dispalyed considerable knowledge about it, knowledge obtained largely from non-Government members.

Secrecy is, of course, a press complaint in every Administration. Criticism of the Johnson Administration reached floodtide in the spring of 1965, then seemed to subside when the very capable Bill Moyers first took over the Presidential press job that July. But for the past year or so the situation has been deteriorating again, and spreading, as LBJ appointees take over more top jobs and as word whisks through the bureaucracy about Presidential fury over loose talk.

Well-publicized reports of FBI probes of news leaks, of pointed White House inquiries as to which lower-echelon official talked to particular reporters, of Presidential threats to veto policies prematurely discused in the press—these have dampened officials' readiness for even the most casual press contacts. Old friends in Government suggest reporters call them at home rather than at the office, where their incoming calls are logged; they may not be about to say much anyhow, but this way they're not even suspect.

Reporters are told that information is not available, that officials are too busy to talk, that everything about a certain matter must come from the White House which in turn may say the information is available only at the agencies, putting the reporters on a squirrel run.

The President clearly believes this secrecy serves his interest best. He is spared advance pressure to appoint someone else or adopt some other solution, retains his preorgative to change his mind. He can announce his decision at the most favorable time, in the most favorable light. The suspense may provide an extra push to put his decision across to the public.

But is Mr. Johnson right—or might not his interest be better served by a more liberal flow of news?

Some advance word of contemplated actions and appointments might evoke constructive criticisms and alternatives from academicians and other experts, even from the general public. Now all this is accomplished within a small interagency committee or White House task force; the President's policies emerge in speeches and messages to Congress as holy writ, to be defended stubbornly against criticism and change.

There might be substantial benefits for the President, too, in the backing received from a public participating more fully in the preparation of a policy, rather than being asked only to rally round after the course has been decided upon and officially unveiled. How much stronger the popular support for the Vietnam war might be if the Administration had been more open from the start.

The secrecy syndrome has other drawbacks for the President. It deprives him of a valuable channel for communicating with the sprawling Federal bureaucracy for many Government officials below the topmost layers, the press provides the first news of changes in policy; an early report of Presidential intentions could help line up bureaucrats' support or spotlight likely internal opposition.

Secrecy aggravates the President's problem of finding and holding good men. No one is happy in a job where he feels someone higher up is looking over his shoulder every time he talks to a reporter. The news lid, too, often robs projects of the sense of excitement and importance that top-notch people want to feel about their work.

Lyndon Johnson invests huge amounts of time watching TV and reading the papers, talking privately and publicly to reporters and columnists, worrying about his press relations and public image. Yet press relations are worse than ever and the public image is bad. Maybe it's time to allow a little fuller disclosure of news—not only at the White House but all through the Government. Certainly it's a possibility the President has never tried.

[From the Chicago Daily News]

IS L.B.J. AFRAID TO TELL SIZE OF MILITARY BUDGET?

(By William J. Eaton)

WASHINGTON.—President Johnson is opening a new budget-taxation credibility gap by his unwarranted secrecy about defense spending—past, present and future.

Economists inside and outside the federal government are finding that military spending totals are harder to obtain than ever in history. Even members of the Cabinet are reported to be in the dark.

(The Texas White House apparently released some budget figures this week but refused to allow direct quotation.)

This means no one can debate very intelligently the merits of an increase in federal taxes since the Pentagon's outlays now add up to more than half of all U.S. spending.

"The plain unvarnished truth is that nobody can evaluate this situation because he lacks information about defense spending," said one Washington economist.

This is especially remarkable because Defense Sec. Robert S. McNamara is supposed to have mastered the military through a cost-accounting approach.

The President has been making one excuse after another, at least since April, for putting off his tax increase decision.

But he has known for many months that he would need billions more to pay for the sky-rocketing costs of the war in Viet Nam and related military programs. Congressional leaders were talking last October about a possible $12-billion request to pay the Pentagon's bills through June 30.

Mr. Johnson's budget message last January, incredibly, forecast a leveling off of military costs in the second half of this year and assumed the fighting in Viet Nam would be over by mid-1967.

Surely at the start of December the Chief Executive must know that optimistic prediction will not come true. It is also fair to assume that the Pentagon planners know pretty well what they will require to carry on the war during the next seven months. Yet the President insists the Joint Chiefs of Staff are still working on the figures and will not finish before early January.

So the credibility gap widens. Is the situation so much worse than the public has been led to believe that the President is putting off the bad news?

Most economists, including many in the higher levels of government, view a tax increase in 1967 as virtually unavoidable. They regard higher taxes as essential, if only to answer Federal Reserve Board pleas for an excuse to lower interest rates.

The President, however, is delaying any decision until he has "all of the facts." In the meantime, he is telling the country, keep guessing.

Harrison E. Salisbury Sums up—VII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, in today's New York Times, the seventh in the series of Harrison E. Salisbury's summing up articles analyzes the meaning of the Soviet-Sino split to the North Vietnamese and to the Vietnam situation in general. I recommend that all who are interested in the tragic conflict in Vietnam read the following article:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 17, 1967]

SOVIET-CHINA RIFT HURTING HANOI AID—BUT NORTH VIETNAM KEEPS CLOSE TIES WITH TWO ALLIES

(By Harrison E. Salisbury)

HONG KONG, January 11.—Nowhere are the tensions, conflicts and delicate sensibilities engendered by the clash of the Communist giants, China and the Soviet Union, more excruciatingly felt than in North Vietnam.

North Vientam's fighting ability is almost completely dependent upon the aid and support of both China and the Soviet Union. Thus, the conflict between these two nations, in effect, poses a threat to the virtual existence of the small Indochinese Communist state, to its ability to maintain the struggle against America's superior material power.

An East European diplomat who has deep affection for the North Vietnamese and the Hanoi leadership spoke sadly of the "wonderful days," now long gone, when "we were all comrades together." That was back in

1954, just after the Geneva agreements that ended the Indochina war and established North and South Vietnam.

"I wish you could have seen Hanoi then," he said. "The city was so lovely. Every building had been painted, the streets were spruced up and there were flowers everywhere.

It was not only physically that Hanoi was attractive in that time, the diplomat said. The atmosphere for a Communist was fresh and invigorating.

"Everything seemed possible then," he recalled.

"There was no hint of a split in the camp. Russia, China, all of us were working shoulder to shoulder to help Vietnam, to enable the Vietnamese people to create a Communist future."

Another man, also a Communist diplomat, but one of the contemporary generation, said seriously:

"I don't know how they do it, but the Vietnamese have managed so far to keep their relations with both Moscow and Peking. But, honestly, I don't think there is another man in the world who could have accomplished it. I give full credit to Premier Pham Van Dong. He is a miracle of tact and he has had to be."

Both the Soviet Union and China are vital to North Vietnam's defense effort. Both provide supplies, arms and material without which North Vietnam would be hard pressed to stay in the war. Without such aid, Hanoi and its allies in the South, the National Liberation Front would be compelled to revert to small-scale guerrilla actions.

They would have to take cover in the mountains and jungles and dig in for the long 20-year pull that President Ho Chi Minh and the other leaders have warned may be necessary.

TWO ROUTES FOR SUPPLIES

There are two routes by which supplies from the Soviet Union and China and from other Communist states reach North Vietnam. The first is the railroad from China, which can be supplemented by truck deliveries. The second is the shipping route to Haiphong.

North Vietnam receives not only Communist aid through Haiphong. It is through this port that the country maintains small-scale trade with some Asian states, mostly in food products and consumer goods. This traffic is handled in ships of a number of flags in addition to Communist shipping. The United States has blacklisted shipping lines for engaging in the traffic, but it continues.

The Chinese said in late December that they were providing 70 percent of the aid Hanoi was receiving. The Russians have not indicated what percentage they are supplying.

Foreign diplomats in Hanoi believe that China is the main supplier of foodstuffs, particularly rice. North Vietnam has been running a deficit in rice in the last two or three years, largely because of the war. Much manpower has been diverted from the paddies. And this past year was a poor year for a number of rice-producing countries, inculding parts of Indochina.

It is believed that the North Vietnamese may be dependent on China for as much as 600,000 or 800,000 tons of rice in 1967 because of a shortfall in the domestic crop.

Rice and similar bulk commodities are delivered by the land routes from China. It is probable that the North Vietnamese receive much of the rail replacement and angle irons and other repair materials for their rail system from the Chinese by rail and truck.

In addition to materials that originate in China, the North Vietnamese have been obtaining across Siberia and through the Chinese rail network a substantial part of the goods, including heavy armaments, coming from the Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe.

As the Chinese-Soviet split worsened, the problems of maintaining these shipments across China steadily increased. As long ago as last spring the Chinese were pointedly suggesting to the Russians that they ship their military material by sea. The Russians countered that the Chinese had held up shipments, sometimes for weeks, sometimes for months. There were occasions, the Russians charged, when the Chinese did not permit the Soviet arms to cross China at all.

ARGUMENTS OVER TRAFFIC

The Chinese rejoined that the Russians were putting up a smokescreen, that they had in fact been dilatory or reluctant to send aid to Hanoi and that Peking was the main supporter of the North Vietnam regime.

Peking said that far from being a true friend of North Vietnam the Russians were conspiring with the United States against North Vietnam's interests.

The facts behind these charges and counter-charges have been obscured by the polemics of Moscow and Peking. But knowledgeable East Europeans in Hanoi concur that there is fire behind the smoke. They say that on some occasions the Chinese have refused to let Soviet supplies come in and have told North Vietnam that the Chinese will provide the needed item.

"Then months go by and they send nothing," an East European Communist said.

The French Communist secretary, Waldeck Rochet, charged at his party's congress that the Russians, unable to get speedy delivery of essential supplies via the Chinese rail network, had petitioned Peking for permission to set up a special airlift for delivering urgently needed items. Peking was said to have refused.

Asked about this specific charge, a North Vietnamese official observed: "When people are angry with one another, they don't always tell the truth."

There have been rumors that the Chinese removed from flat cars some of the advanced military equipment that Moscow was sending to Hanoi, specifically, unassembled MIG–21 fighters, radar equipment and ground-to-air missiles. This allegation was doubted in Hanoi. It was said that most major shipments of this kind of materiel are supposedly now coming in by sea at Haiphong.

OIL STORAGE DISPERSED

The Chinese are not able to provide such items to Hanoi. They do not produce them themselves. In the armaments line, the Chinese are thought to have provided ammunition, some artillery, rifles, machine guns and possibly mortars.

Oil supplies apparently come from the Soviet Union. At least the oil barrels strewn all over the North Vietnamese landscape seemed largely if not entirely of Soviet origin. These are big 50-gallon oil drums that presumably have replaced Haiphong and Hanoi oil storage facilities destroyed in United States air strikes. It would seem to be difficult to make a major dent in the oil storage facilities in the future since they have been dispersed in big steel drums over thousands of fields and roadsides.

CHINESE PRESENCE DOUBTED

There have been rumors in the West that the Chinese have provided labor battalions and construction crews to keep the North Vietnamese rail system functioning to the Chinese frontier. This correspondent can offer no direct evidence on that aspect of Chinese aid. No one in Hanoi, however, seemed able to confirm or deny the report. The general opinion among foreigners was that the North Vietnamese had mobilized ample labor resources of their own for this purpose.

It is generally agreed among foreigners in Hanoi that the North Vietnamese regime must have the continued support of both the Soviet Union and China to maintain its defense against the United States at the current level.

If the Chinese were to close their railroad to Soviet shipments entirely, it would be difficult to divert all the needed supplies to Haiphong. Neither shipping nor harbor facilities are readily available. Foreign visitors believe that Haiphong is already strained beyond capacity in attempting to handle the volume of freight pouring in.

It would be equally disastrous if the Chinese were to halt their own shipments, particularly foodstuffs. It would not be easy for Moscow to replace Peking as a supplier of rice, for instance.

THEORY OF "PEOPLE'S WAR"

Thus far Hanoi has managed to maintain working relations with both Moscow and Peking because of a variety of factors. Historically, President Ho Chi Minh has had close connections with the Soviet Communists. Among his earliest Communist experience was work with Moscow's Comintern, the Communist International, between the two world wars. His relations with the Moscow leadership have been warm.

At the same time, during much of his revolutionary career, he was actually based in China. He has equally close and long-standing ties with the Chinese party and at one time was a member of that party.

In ideology and political orientation, the North Vietnamese regime has always drawn on both Soviet and Chinese sources of inspiration. Its industry is set up largely on the Soviet model, its rural communes are much like those established by Mao Tse-tung in China.

Listening to North Vietnamese explain their theories of "people's war," a protracted popular struggle against an "imperialist" power like the United States, one hears echoes of the philosophy that underlies the essay of Lin Piao, Chinese Defense Minister, on the same subject. The psychology is much the same. But when asked about this relationship, the North Vietnamese will smile, say, yes, there are similarities, but each country has its own way of doing things.

RUSSIANS AND CHINESE

Because of the extended relationships that the North Vietnamese leaders have had with both the Soviet and the Chinese, they seem to have found it possible to a remarkable degree to keep their two great friends from coming to blows over the Vietnam aid issue.

Since Peking denounces any party or group that maintains speaking terms with Moscow, and since Moscow is almost as violent against any friends of Peking, has required skillful tightrope walking.

One technique that North Vietnam has employed is to deemphasize foreign aid in its internal propaganda. On wall bulletin boards there are no displays honoring the Soviet Union or China. There are group exhibits with pictures and displays from all Communist countries, arranged in aphabetical order.

There are important differences in the way the Russians and the Chinese conduct themselves in North Vietnam. The Russians are gregarious, attend receptions, have personal friends among the North Vietnamese and are prominent both because of their numbers and because of their presence in public places like hotels, restaurants, theaters and stores.

The Russians entertain much as diplomats do in any capital. They invite the French, the Canadians, the British, the Indians, anyone who happens to be in town, to their dinners and receptions.

The Hanoi diplomatic colony is small but active. The West is represented by the French, which maintain what is called a "delegation" headed by François de Quirielle, This is the largest Western establishment in

Hanoi, about the equivalent of a consulate general.

The British maintain a "resident" carefully spelled with a small "r" by the North Vietnamese. He is John Colvin and his calling cards bear the designation "Her Britannic Majesty's Consul General."

There is an Indian consul general and a number of Asian representatives, including those of Indonesia and Algeria.

In addition, there are missions of the three powers represented on the International Control Commission—India, Poland and Canada. The commission, established to supervise implementation of the 1954 Geneva accords on Indochina, occupies one of the largest office buildings in downtown Hanoi, on the shore of the Lake of the Recovered Sword. It is hardly more than one-tenth occupied, however, with the withering away of the commission's functions.

These Western and neutral diplomats mix freely with those of the East. The Russians go out socially with the representatives of the West. Soviet newsmen associate with both their North Vietnamese colleagues and with any foreign correspondents or visitors who chance into town.

CHINESE KEEP ALOOF

Not so the Chinese. They are aloof and withdrawn. They do not appear in public or, when they do, they hold themselves in tight little groups. For instance, one day the Foreign Ministry's press department arranged a trip for accredited newsmen to go out of Hanoi a few miles to visit the place where an American robot plane had been shot down.

Except for the Chinese, the correspondents rode out to the countryside in ordinary cars, Russian Volgas. The Chinese, five or six of them, rode together in an olive-drab command car. They walked stiffly over the fields to the downed drone, peered at it, took pictures, jotted down some notes, returned to their car, climbed in and went back to town, without a word to any of their colleagues.

The Chinese are said by East European Communists to be unhappy concerning many aspects of Hanoi's policies. They do not, for instance, approve of the relationship between the Liberation Front and the Hanoi regime. They do not believe in the programs of "neutrality" and "democracy" that are the official policy of the Front. They do not believe there should be any programmatic differences between North and South Vietnam and, particularly, they do not approve of what they regard as the "revisionist" or "deviationist" content of the Front's program.

One of the controversies between Moscow and Peking centers on the Chinese preoccupation with theories of permanent, or long-range, revolution, the "people's war" theory enunicated by Defene Minister Lin, which underlies part of Hanoi's propaganda concerning its struggle against the United States.

The Soviet Union has indicated that it is not enamoured of the "people's war" theory.

SPLIT AFFECTS THE WAR

Not a few diplomats believe that one of the factors that tend to keep the war in Vietnam locked in its present status with little or no progress toward negotiation or any diplomatic attempt to end the conflict is the vise that the conflicting positions of the Soviet Union and China have created for North Vietnam.

Thus far it has been possible by tact and diplomatic skill for Hanoi to keep both the big Communist powers at its side. But any move by North Vietnam either toward a conference table or toward any new status for the war would set in motion diplomatic groundswells both in Moscow and Peking that may wreck the delicate balance of Hanoi's relations with its allies.

The rise of centrifugal forces within China, the growing preoccupation of the Chinese with their own internal quarrel, Moscow's increasing concern over the possible explosive results of that quarrel further complicate the tasks of Hanoi's leadership.

So far the skill of President Ho Chi Minh, the diplomacy of Premier Dong, the talents of Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap, the Defense Minister, and possibly the special pro-Chinese alignment of Le Duan, the party secretary, have kept the skein of aid and alliance more or less intact. But the question in the minds of informed Hanoi observers is: How much longer can it go on? The answer, they believe, lies not in Hanoi but in Moscow and Peking.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective departments or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the Record.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

REPRESENTATIVES WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON

OFFICE ADDRESS: House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]

Speaker: John W. McCormack

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Addabbo, Joseph P., *N.Y*	
Albert, Carl, *Okla*	4614 Reno Rd.
Anderson, John B., *Ill*	
Anderson, William R., *Tenn.*	3006 P St.
Andrews, George W., *Ala*	3108 Cathedral Ave.
Andrews, Mark, *N. Dak*	
Annunzio, Frank, *Ill*	
Arends, Leslie C., *Ill*	4815 Dexter St.
Ashbrook, John M., *Ohio*	
Ashley, Thomas L., *Ohio*	
Ashmore, Robert T., *S.C*	
Aspinall, Wayne N., *Colo*	The Towers Apts., 4201 Cathedral Ave.
Ayres, William H., *Ohio*	
Baring, Walter S., *Nev*	
Barrett, William A., *Pa*	
Bates, William H., *Mass*	
Battin, James F., *Mont*	
Belcher, Page, *Okla*	
Bell, Alphonzo, *Calif*	
Bennett, Charles E., *Fla*	3421 Rusticway Lane, Falls Church, Va.
Berry, E. Y., *S. Dak*	118 Schotts Court NE.
Betts, Jackson E., *Ohio*	
Bevill, Tom, *Ala*	
Biester, Edward G., Jr., *Pa*	
Bingham, Jonathan B., *N.Y.*	
Blackburn, Benjamin B., *Ga.*	
Blanton, Ray, *Tenn*	
Blatnik, John A., *Minn*	
Boggs, Hale, *La*	
Boland, Edward P., *Mass*	
Bolling, Richard, *Mo*	307 Warrenton Dr., Silver Spring, Md.
Bolton, Frances P. (Mrs.), *Ohio.*	2301 Wyo. Ave.
Bow, Frank T., *Ohio*	4301 Mass. Ave.
Brademas, John, *Ind*	
Brasco, Frank J., *N.Y*	
Bray, William G., *Ind*	
Brinkley, Jack, *Ga*	
Brock, W. E. (Bill), *Tenn*	
Brooks, Jack, *Tex*	
Broomfield, William S., *Mich.*	
Brotzman, Donald G., *Colo*	
Brown, Clarence J., Jr., *Ohio.*	
Brown, Garry, *Mich*	
Brown, George E., Jr., *Calif*	
Broyhill, James T., *N.C*	
Broyhill, Joel T., *Va*	
Buchanan, John, *Ala*	
Burke, J. Herbert, *Fla*	
Burke, James A., *Mass*	
Burleson, Omar, *Tex*	
Burton, Laurence J., *Utah*	
Burton, Phillip, *Calif*	
Bush, George, *Tex*	
Button, Daniel E., *N.Y*	
Byrne, James A., *Pa*	
Byrnes, John W., *Wis*	1215 25th St. S., Arlington, Va.
Cabell, Earle, *Tex*	
Cahill, William T., *N.J*	
Carey, Hugh L., *N.Y*	
Carter, Tim Lee, *Ky*	
Casey, Bob, *Tex*	
Cederberg, Elford A., *Mich*	
Celler, Emanuel, *N.Y*	The Mayflower
Chamberlain, Charles E., *Mich.*	
Clancy, Donald D., *Ohio*	
Clark, Frank M., *Pa*	220 C St. SE.
Clausen, Don H., *Calif*	
Clawson, Del, *Calif*	
Cleveland, James C., *N.H*	
Cohelan, Jeffery, *Calif*	1202 Longworth House Office Bldg.
Collier, Harold R., *Ill*	
Colmer, William M., *Miss*	
Conable, Barber B., Jr., *N.Y.*	
Conte, Silvio O., *Mass*	5619 Lamar Rd., Washington 16, D.C.
Conyers, John, Jr., *Mich*	
Corbett, Robert J., *Pa*	
Corman, James C., *Calif*	
Cowger, William O., *Ky*	
Cramer, William C., *Fla*	6215 Beachway Dr., Falls Church, Va.
Culver, John C., *Iowa*	
Cunningham, Glenn, *Nebr*	
Curtis, Thomas B., *Mo*	
Daddario, Emilio Q., *Conn*	
Daniels, Dominick V., *N.J*	
Davis, Glenn R., *Wis*	
Davis, John W., *Ga*	
Dawson, William L., *Ill*	
de la Garza, Eligio, *Tex*	
Delaney, James J., *N.Y*	
Dellenback, John R., *Oreg*	
Denney, Robert V., *Nebr*	
Dent, John H., *Pa*	
Derwinski, Edward J., *Ill*	
Devine, Samuel L., *Ohio*	
Dickinson, William L., *Ala*	
Diggs, Charles C., Jr., *Mich*	
Dingell, John D., *Mich*	
Dole, Robert, *Kans*	6136 Beachway Dr., Falls Church, Va.
Donohue, Harold D., *Mass*	
Dorn, W. J. Bryan, *S.C*	2030 Laburnum St., McLean, Va.
Dow, John G., *N.Y*	
Dowdy, John, *Tex*	
Downing, Thomas N., *Va*	
Dulski, Thaddeus J., *N.Y*	1705 Longworth House Office Building
Duncan, John J., *Tenn*	
Dwyer, Florence P. (Mrs.), *N.J.*	
Eckhardt, Bob, *Tex*	
Edmondson, Ed, *Okla*	
Edwards, Don, *Calif*	9201 Fox Meadow La., Potomac, Md.,
Edwards, Edwin W., *La*	
Edwards, Jack, *Ala*	
Eilberg, Joshua, *Pa*	
Erlenborn, John N., *Ill*	
Esch, Marvin L., *Mich*	
Eshleman, Edwin D., *Pa*	
Evans, Frank E., *Colo*	
Everett, Robert A., *Tenn*	
Evins, Joe L., *Tenn*	5044 Klingle St.
Fallon, George H., *Md*	
Farbstein, Leonard, *N.Y*	
Fascell, Dante B., *Fla*	
Feighan, Michael A., *Ohio*	
Findley, Paul, *Ill*	
Fino, Paul A., *N.Y*	
Fisher, O. C., *Tex*	Calvert-Woodley
Flood, Daniel J., *Pa*	The Congressional
Flynt, John J., Jr., *Ga*	
Foley, Thomas S., *Wash*	
Ford, Gerald R., *Mich*	514 Crown View Dr., Alexandria, Va.
Ford, William D., *Mich*	
Fountain, L. H., *N.C*	The Westchester
Fraser, Donald M., *Minn*	
Frelinghuysen, Peter H. B., *N.J.*	3014 N St.
Friedel, Samuel N., *Md*	
Fulton, James G., *Pa*	
Fulton, Richard, *Tenn*	
Fuqua, Don, *Fla*	
Galifianakis, Nick, *N.C*	
Gallagher, Cornelius E., *N.J.*	
Gardner, James C., *N.C*	
Garmatz, Edward A., *Md*	
Gathings, E. C., *Ark*	
Gettys, Tom S., *S.C*	
Giaimo, Robert N., *Conn*	
Gibbons, Sam, *Fla*	
Gilbert, Jacob H., *N.Y*	
Gonzalez, Henry B., *Tex*	200 C St. SE.
Goodell, Charles E., *N.Y*	3842 Macomb St.
Goodling, George A., *Pa*	
Gray, Kenneth J., *Ill*	
Green, Edith (Mrs.), *Oreg*	
Green, William J., *Pa*	
Griffiths, Martha W., (Mrs.), *Mich.*	
Gross, H. R., *Iowa*	
Grover, James R., Jr., *N.Y*	
Gubser, Charles S., *Calif*	
Gude, Gilbert, *Md*	
Gurney, Edward J., *Fla*	
Hagan, G. Elliott, *Ga*	
Haley, James A., *Fla*	
Hall, Durward G., *Mo*	
Halleck, Charles A., *Ind*	4926 Upton St.
Halpern, Seymour, *N.Y*	
Hamilton, Lee H., *Ind*	
Hammerschmidt, John Paul, *Ark.*	
Hanley, James M., *N.Y*	
Hanna, Richard T., *Calif*	
Hansen, George V., *Idaho*	
Hansen, Julia Butler (Mrs.), *Wash.*	
Hardy, Porter, Jr., *Va*	
Harrison, William Henry, *Wyo.*	
Harsha, William H., *Ohio*	
Harvey, James, *Mich*	
Hathaway, William D., *Maine.*	
Hawkins, Augustus F., *Calif.*	
Hays, Wayne L., *Ohio*	
Hébert, F. Edward, *La*	26 Cockrell St., Alexandria, Va.
Hechler, Ken, *W. Va*	
Heckler, Margaret M. (Mrs.), *Mass.*	
Helstoski, Henry, *N.J*	
Henderson, David N., *N.C*	
Herlong, A. S., Jr., *Fla*	
Hicks, Floyd V., *Wash*	
Holifield, Chet, *Calif*	
Holland, Elmer J., *Pa*	
Horton, Frank, *N.Y*	
Hosmer, Craig, *Calif*	
Howard, James J., *N.J*	
Hull, W. R., Jr., *Mo*	
Hungate, William L., *Mo*	
Hunt, John E., *N.J*	
Hutchinson, Edward, *Mich*	
Ichord, Richard (Dick), *Mo.*	
Irwin, Donald J., *Conn*	
Jacobs, Andrew, Jr., *Ind*	
Jarman, John, *Okla*	
Joelson, Charles S., *N.J*	
Johnson, Albert W., *Pa*	
Johnson, Harold T., *Calif*	
Jonas, Charles Raper, *N.C*	
Jones, Paul C., *Mo*	1111 Army-Navy Dr., Arlington, Va.
Jones, Robert E., *Ala*	
Jones, Walter B., *N.C*	
Karsten, Frank M., *Mo*	
Karth, Joseph E., *Minn*	
Kastenmeier, Robert W., *Wis.*	
Kazen, Abraham, *Tex*	
Kee, James, *W. Va*	5441 16th Ave., Hyattsville, Md.
Keith, Hastings, *Mass*	4517 Wetherill Dr., Westmoreland Hills, Md.
Kelly, Edna F. (Mrs.), *N.Y*	
King, Carleton J., *N.Y*	
King, Cecil R., *Calif*	
Kirwan, Michael J., *Ohio*	
Kleppe, Thomas S., *N. Dak*	
Kluczynski, John C., *Ill*	
Kornegay, Horace R., *N.C*	
Kupferman, Theodore R., *N.Y.*	
Kuykendall, Dan, *Tenn*	
Kyl, John, *Iowa*	
Kyros, Peter N., *Maine*	
Laird, Melvin R., *Wis*	
Landrum, Phil M., *Ga*	
Langen, Odin, *Minn*	
Latta, Delbert L., *Ohio*	
Leggett, Robert L., *Calif*	
Lennon, Alton, *N.C*	
Lipscomb, Glenard P., *Calif.*	
Lloyd, Sherman P., *Utah*	

Appendix

The Senate Debates Debate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Norfolk, Va., Virginian-Pilot of January 17, entitled "The Senate Debates Debate."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SENATE DEBATES DEBATE

The issue underlying the Senate's antifilibuster fight is simply stated: Shall the will of a simple majority be permitted to prevail at all times on any question? The Senate, however, has not found the problem so simply resolved.

And thus, in the 90th Congress, as in all the others since 1953, the Senate is deeply embroiled in the struggle to alter Rule 22, which provides that unlimited debate can be shut off only by two-thirds approval of those present and voting.

The more significant of the proposed changes would permit 51 of the 100 Senators to invoke cloture after 20 days of debate. The other proposal is merely a compromise, reducing the required majority from two-thirds to three-fifths (67 to 60).

Pervading the current argument for change, as in the past, is the confusion of democratic decision with majority rule. To plead for the absoluteness of majority rule is to ignore the principle inherent in the Constitution of the limitation of *all* power, including that of majorities, and the resultant protection of minorities against coercion. Those who would destroy the power of a minority—often as a means to achieving the goals of another minority—should reflect on the Constitution's specific extension of the limitation of majority power in areas affecting the entire nation, by its two-thirds vote requirement on such matters as Constitutional amendments, overriding Presidential vetoes, and treaty approval.

That either of the two proposals before the Senate would expedite the flow of legislation is obvious. The desirability of it is less apparent. Senator Majority Leader Mike Mansfield's call for a review of legislation passed in recent years suggests that more careful consideration is a greater virtue than speed. That any good measures have been killed by filibusters is questionable; their delay often has had beneficial effects, such as providing adjustment time and prompting moderation in the civil rights field.

It is unfortunate that efforts to make it easier to shut off debate have been so closely associated in recent years with liberal causes. Majorities have an unsettling way of swinging from left to right. In the 1963 debates over Rule 22, Senator Daniel K. Inouye of Hawaii observed that those who would radically change the balance of power between the majority and minority "sow the wind, for . . . the time will surely come when you feel the hot breath of a righteous majority at the back of your own neck. Only then perhaps will you realize what you have destroyed."

Or, as French statesman and author Alexis de Tocqueville once wrote: "If ever the free institutions of America are destroyed, that event may be attributed to the omnipotence of the majority."

Historical Reappraisal of Early Italian Settlers in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of the Members of this House a very interesting article written by Joseph A. Tigani of Rowayton, Conn., about the contribution made by Italians to America's "coming of age" period.

Mr. Tigani's article is not the usual ethnic oratory. On the contrary, it is a well-researched capsule of the pre-Civil War Italian contribution to America.

I would particularly like to commend this article to the attention of my colleagues from Indiana, Minnesota, Georgia, and Nebraska, who may wonder how the counties of Vigo, Beltrami, Taliaferro, and Sarpy in these States, respectively got their names.

The article follows:

HISTORICAL REAPPRAISAL OF EARLY ITALIAN SETTLERS IN AMERICA

(By Joseph A. Ligani)

(AUTHOR'S NOTE.—It is the intent of my critique to outline briefly, a selected number of Italian Pacemakers and their contribution from the 1500's to 1800's; seedtime of collective transplanting and building of Western civilization in America, as well as tilt the injustice of the past and encourage the historical searchers of tomorrow.)

"The place of Italy in civilization is best shown by trying to subtract that place from world history. Take away her scientific accomplishments, her statesmanship, her leadership of the world for many years and what have you left? The world looks badly decapitated. You can subtract Italian culture from civilization only by destroying that civilization," Nicolas Murray Butler, Late President Columbia University.

The times require an historical reappraisal of Italian participation and influence from early Colonial period to the 1800's, unfortunately omitted and hidden in the archives through a chauvinistic historical reporting and miscroscopic observation of the times.

It is historically self defeating to the past glorious history of Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic participation to the birth and making of our nation by attempting to amputate the collective foundation of a glorious age, or expecting to blindfold all future generations to the panoramic seeding and growth of a free society.

Hundreds of Italian words have enriched our English language in expressing the fields of music, literature, science, commerce, etc., starting with the American expression "dear me" ('dio mio) and "Dear Sir" with which we prefix our letters ("Sir" is a contraction of the word "Signor"), unquestionable proof of Italian cultural influence.

Early Italian settlers, true to their heritage of builders, accustomed to hardship, enviable record of performance and deeds, human understanding of inter-racial relations, found in the New World, the climate to apply and exercise their characteristic qualities.

With the 1500's, following the discoveries and exploration of famous navigators such as Columbus, Caboto, Verranzano, etc., a cavlacade of Italian pacemakers settled and explored the Eastern as well as the Western Territory, leaving their imprint and influence in their cavalcade across the country. The historical cavalcade was motivated and inspired by their adventurous spirit, and crowned by their deeds, actions, thoughts, collective cooperation, and above all, their compassion and respect for the American Indian. The latter quality was part of the Italian heritage of assimilating people through race and cultural relation so successfully practised on the Italian Peninsular by their forefathers . . . which explains their justified reaction to the abuses and defrauding of Indian interest.

The early Italian settlers found on their arrival, particularly in Virginia, the impact of indirect influence of Italian culture among the Jeffersonian group and prominent men like Dr. Robert Child and Henry Saltonstall, who received their degrees in Physics at the University of Padua in 1694 . . . and numerous other outstanding Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic personages who quenched their thirst for knowledge at the fountain of Italian thought.

To appreciate and evaluate the Italian participation to collective pioneering of America, we must examine a few individual biographies and accounts to get a glimpse and insight of the varied human elements that built our nation and laid the foundation for its growth in the 20th Century.

After the glorious 1500's, the urge for land exploration was uppermost in the mind of the European powers who were seeking riches in the New World. Fra Marco da Nizza, an Italian, fulfilled this thirst for Spain by exploring an area that ran from the Mexican border to Nebraska . . . subsequently further explored by another Italian pacemaker, Father Eusebio Chino (1600) who penetrated the Southwest and laid the foundation of the great cattle industry.

The Tonti family, in 1650, were the forerunners of American Political dynasties. Their spirit of adventure, resourcefulness, ambition to succeed in a primitive environment, heightened by imaginative and human concern, spearheaded their pioneering march to political power. Their lives sounded like chivalric epics full of thrills and suspense . . . their success was due in large measure in applying leadership, military planning and action whenever required, extending their hold through human understanding of Indians and excellent administration. One of their many achievements worth mentioning was the construction of the "Griffan", the first ship to sail the Great

Lakes. This was followed by their exploration of the Mississippi Valley which the family ruled afterwards for 20 years.

Among their outstanding trade ventures was the establishment of the first Trading Post in Chicago, and the good fortune of establishing another first in the birth of Theresa Tonti, first white child born in the West. Enrico Tonti, the military strategist, organized a League of Indian Nations belonging to the Illinois, Miami, and Choanancous Tribes; resulting in a fabulous fur trade for the French in 1687, thereby strengthening the economic and military positions of the French visavis the British. He gave his life to help the settlers in their battle against Yellow Fever, contracted through imported wives. Americans, French, and Indians mourned his death, and his contemporaries called him the bravest Neapolitan officer of the Colonies. His brother, Alfonso, one of the founding fathers of Detroit, became its Governor for 12 years. Alfonso's son Henri became a noted explorer of the Sioux Territory and later Governor of Fort Charters. John Tonti De Lieto was appointed second in command at Green Bay, Wis. Their Neapolitan cousin, De Lieto, who originally managed their Chicago Trading Post, reorganized Fort Illinois and won the Indian tribal support for the French. Just like their ancestor, Lorenzo Tonti (Neapolitan Banker) who enriched the government of Louis XIV through his Tontine system of insurance; his heirs enriched the Colonies with their organizing ability, business acumen, military leadership, and human understanding.

In 1637 the Tagliaferro family of Genoa settled in Jamestown, establishing a prolific generation of public men, etc., up to and within our times (late House Speaker Sam Rayburn was a Tagliaferro on his mother's side). Major Lawrence Tagliaferro, Indian Agent, following his Italian tradition, befrinded and defended Indians against the defrauding and debasing policy of the Astor fur interest, etc. . . . his ventures are part of a current book entitled "Where the Rivers Met" . . . Benjamin and John Tagliaferro served as U.S. Congressmen in the latter 1700's.

The 1600's lured another adventurous family of builders in the Sicilian noblemen, Antonio and Tomaso Crisafi, alias Sarpi or Sarpy. Among the numerous exploits is their attempt to navigate the Missouri River in Keelboats and their successful pursuit in establishing a pelt trading company, later affiliated with American Fur Company. As a result of their successful achievements, Antonio was appointed Governor of Three Rivers; Tomaso became consultant to Frontenac . . . later Governor of Fort Anondaga, New York, in 1699 and Knighted in The Order of Malta. Their fame and exploits earned them a shower of honors by European Monarchs.

Especially active in the 1600's, contributing to the progress of the Colonies were: Father Richard Blount (Biondi), born in England of Italian ancestry . . . he assisted Lord Baltimore in founding a Colony in Maryland; John Palentine, elected Burgess of the city of Henricus, Virginia, who pleaded for the Colony in London in 1624; Pallavicine, later made Lord by the Crown; Toriano and Torigiano distinguished themselves in the mercantile field promoting trade, especially with England.

The most notable indirect Italian influence was Cesare Beccaria (1738–94), a native of Milan, whose treatise "Of Crimes and Punishment", first published in 1764, proved to be the most revolutionary book of the year. English prisons were chambers of torture . . . life imprisonment was more serious than hanging. Beccaria insisted on credibility of witness, denounced secret accusations, abuse of oaths, and use of torture. His works influenced the reform of criminal jurisprudence in America . . . officially attested to by William Bradford, Attorney General of Pennsylvania, later U.S. Attorney General, in his letter to Count Luigi Castiglioni, dated August 10, 1786.

Following the example of earlier Italian navigators and the great sea tradition of the Italian Admirals, who tutored an English King, commanded and fought on behalf of French, English, and Spanish Kings; Alessandro Malaspina (1751–1810) was appointed by the King of Spain to take command of two war vessels and explore the coastal area of Alaska, Vancouver Island, and the coast of California. His meticulous preparations for the scientific expedition was aided by Italian scientists in Turin, Italy. His discoveries and report on plant life, soil, rock formation, maps and charts of coastal area, etc., are to be found today in the archives of the Spanish Admiralty. His description of Monterey in 1791 stands out among his many reports; his findings of the 58th and 60th parallel were proved correct.

In the 1700's another Italian pacemaker, Constantino Beltrami, explorer and writer, native of Bergamo, Italy and earlier explorer of the Northwest, discovered the sources of the Mississippi. His quote in one of his works . . . "the war, the horrors and policy of the Northwest and 'Hudson Bay' companies, offer new proof that civilized man is more barbarous than the savage", made headlines. His reputation as a writer was equal to his reputation as an explorer . . . his description of American Indian life was used as background by James Fenimore Cooper and others who acknowledged and praised his work.

The 1700's Italian contribution would not be complete without mentioning Colonel Francesco Vigo, native son of Mandovi, Italy, who was fascinated and sold to the conquest of the Northwest through its architect, General Rogers Clark. Clark's dream and military plans lacked financing and credit to pursue his conquest; a vacuum that could not be conquered by his volunteers without Vigo's enthusiastic promotion among French traders who responded to Vigo's appeal, basically due to his reputation as a trader and to his fine credit, which resulted in Clark being able to cash drafts, etc., and finance his initial march to the Northwest. His second great contribution to Clark came through his secret mission to General Hamilton's Headquarters; and thanks to his uncanny memory and power of observation, Clark received from Vigo, fortification plans and detailed report of military preparations; making victory possible at Vincennes. This information came to Clark in the nick of time, as his volunteer army was restless and ready to go home. His contribution to the Revolutionary War can best be appreciated through our experience in two World Wars.

Vigo was asked by General Washington to undertake secret missions on the Western front to observe, pacify, and avoid any Indian hostilities or alliance of Indian tribes with the British, in order to secure his military position as well as to avoid a second front. This mission was officially sanctioned and approved by the Continental Congress . . . its results were so successful that General Washington, at no time, had to divert his forces to protect his flank or rear, and thereby enabled the Revolutionary Army to keep its time table at Yorktown.

Filippo Mazzei, physician, well traveled and connected in high circles of the Continent as well as in the British Isles, was an outspoken champion of freedom, and, like his contemporary countryman, Count Vittorio Alfieri, whose poems, plays, and sonnets ruffled the tyranny of the times . . . Mazzei's writings, speeches, and his untiring effort, was destined to awaken the Colonial apathy towards the British Constitution. Upon suggestion of Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, he came to America in 1773 and joined the Jefferson group in Virginia. His early speeches and writings were translated by Jefferson, who had a knowledge of Italian, like so many other contemporary men in public life. Mazzei's speeches against the British political thought were published by Pinkney's ("Virginia Gazette") from 1774–75. His words and ideas are to be found in the Declaration of Independence. Part of his successful mission as a Virginian Representative in Europe, aided the collective effort of France's entry into the Revolutionary War. Like so many Italian pacemakers, he had a natural gift for military strategy, which led him to draw plans for the capture of the British in New York . . . plan was later adopted and executed at Yorktown. His creative and constructive urge to help the Colonies, culminated in his presentation of plans and theories to increase agricultural output; which led him to receive a land grant of thousands of acres for experimentation purpose . . . enterprise was turned into a stock company by Mazzei, and among his stockholders were Washington, Jefferson, Harrison, Randolph, etc. His successful experimentation produced a variety of agricultural products, mechanical implements for farming, and above all, a celebrated variety of corn which acquired notoriety and known in the trade as "Mazzei's Corn". Needless to state that his words and deeds had a lasting effect on American Colonial history as well as in our Declaration of Independence. According to Professor James Brown Scott, Jefferson was also indebted to an Italian Cardinal, now Saint Bellarmine, who enunciated principles later contained in the Declaration of Independence.

Approximately 34 years after the Pilgrims founded Plymouth, the first recorded group of Italians, natives of Piedmont, Italy, members of the Waldensian Church, landed in New Amsterdam in the year 1656. They were received by Governor Peter Stuyvesant as per prearranged planning made through the West India Company. They settled in New Amstel, now New Castle, Delaware, according to their preference. The first group of Italian Waldensians totalled over 170 . . . later groups settled in Carolina, Georgia, Staten Island, etc. They embarked from Holland where they found refuge after persecutions and the massacre of 1655. They came across on Dutch ships . . . "Prince Maurice", "Bear", and the "Flower of Gudder". Another recorded group of Italians settled in New Smyrna and later in St. Augustine, Florida, in 1768.

In the latter part of the 1700's, Paul Busti, native son of Milan (1774–1824), was General Agent for the Holland Land Company that controlled 23,000 acres situated in the state of New York and Pennsylvania. His visionary and business acumen lead him to the founding of the city of Buffalo. He delegated a Joseph Ellicott to proceed with construction and building of the city of Buffalo. Upon completion of construction, Ellicott tried to credit himself for the planning and founding of Buffalo. He later was discharged for crooked practices, Busti is still awaiting full historical recognition and justice, like so many other unsung Italian pacemakers.

Roundly supplementing the exploits of Italian pacemakers were the Italian arts, best exemplified by the imported Andrea Palladio's designs which gave the Georgian style to early American homes and influenced Jefferson's Monticello (meaning small mound in Italian). The Georgian style symbolizes early American gracious living. Italian sculptors and painters were assigned by Jefferson and succeeding presidents to decorate Washington in keeping with the tradition of their predecessors and contemporaries who received commissions to embellish Capitals of Europe, Asia, and South America. Luigi Palma of Cesnola, archeologist, who revealed the ancient civilizations of Cyprus, founded the Metropolitan Museum of New York in later years.

Italian musical influence of Rosini, Bellini, Vivaldi, and Donizetti was heard in concerts and recitals played and directed by Italian musicians. Among this group worth noting is J. Palma, F. Alberti, N. Biferi, V. M. Pelossi, etc. Italian musicians were engaged by Jefferson to reorganize the U.S. Marine Band, and out of the 14 musicians, Leoni Carusi achieved fame in society circles by opening an establishment of fashionable salons in Washington which served as quarters for Presidential Inaugural Balls for Presidents: Adams, Johnson, Van Buren, Taylor, Pierce, and Buchanan.

Trade was promoted by Italian pacemakers since the 1600's, and at the turn of the 1800's, men such as Reggio, Fabri, and Dominus developed shipping lines with commerce to Europe and the Pacific area . . . over 1,300 Italians served in the American Merchant Marine in the latter 1800's. Italians, such as Morisini (J. Gould's partner), and manufacturers, Tagliabue and Grasselli, contributed to the industrialization of America; as their earliest countrymen established silk and glass industries in the Colonies.

The military achievements of the early Italian pacemakers won them honors and respect of their fellow settlers, Indians, Colonial Governors, and European Kings, while serving under the flags of Spain, France, and England. Their military success was in keeping with the Italian military tradition of the times, when Italian Generals and Admirals served a multitude of Monarchs in Europe and their military leadership conquered and defended territories through their skillful military tactics and commands and their design and construction of fortifications like the Walls of Aigues-Mortes, Fortress of Antwerp, Spandau, etc. The prize of their military fruitage was the 17th Century military genius "Eugenio di Savoia". The Civil War failed to attract the great Garibaldi; nevertheless, seven Italian born Generals and scores of Colonels, etc., volunteered and fought bravely in the Union Army, in addition to Americans of Italian extraction. The latter, gallantly exemplified by General Francis Spinola (1821–92), New York State Senator (Douglas Democrat); who stood up in the State Senate with the flag, and called halt to political differences with President Lincoln, and rallied the people of New York behind the Union.

Italian literature was in the forefront since the 14th Century, spearheaded by Florence, center of European humanism, which influenced England, France, and Spain, as well as the Reformation movement in Europe. Its impact and influence on our Colonial intellectuals and public men can best be attested to by the thoughts, writings, and collection of Italian works found in their homes, plus the report of numerous visitors to the Colonies. Part of their valuable literary collections are to be found today in our Colleges of Harvard, Cornell, Pennsylvania, and Notre Dame . . . all adding to our Italian American heritage and national cultural patrimony. We cannot overlook the great direct impact of Italian culture disseminated by Italian Catholic Priests, Monks, Nuns, etc. and various Catholic Brotherhoods, whose members headed and founded many Colleges in the U.S.; for example, Father Samuel Mazzuchelli (1828), educator, architect, and artist, credited with building thirty schools in Illinois, first Capitol for the state of Iowa, first Cathedral at Dubuque, Court House at Galena, Illinois, Colleges, etc. Scores of Italian professors taught at Harvard, Columbia, Georgetown, Vassar, etc., among whom was Professor Vincenzo Botta of New York University, whose home was the rendezvous of intellectuals in the 1800's . . . honored by the University of Berlin with honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy, voted Vice President of the Union League Club (1863–1894).

In order to have a deeper understanding of the indirect and direct Italian influence, we must take into account that nature had denied Italy natural resources; but had endowed her with a prolific offspring of men who changed the course of world history through their gigantic cultural and religious mergers; namely, Greek and Roman culture, Pagan and Christian faith, and its glorious birth to the Renaissance of Art. With this granite heritage, the Italian pacemakers embarked on a building mission to their former Colonies of old. . . . Spain, France, and England, where they exerted their impact of indirect and direct influence in America. Therefore, the Italian contribution cannot solely rest on the glories of its discoverer, Christopher Columbus; or its explorers, Caboto, Verrazano, etc.; or the fact that our continent bears the name of an Italian navigator, Amerigo Vespucci; but on the full historical disclosure of Italian contribution to our free heritage since the 1500's.

Historical justice requires, in our times, that we establish a truthful reappraisal of our early Italian settlers who have contributed and enriched our land in cooperation with their Anglo-Saxon brethren, etc. We cannot bury under the ashes of history, the unsung builders of America, their deeds and achievements, or hide their identity through Anglicized spelling and omission of source of origin . . . and sit in world historical judgement. It is up to contemporary historians, not subject to ethnic or political consideration and influence, to record from archives here and abroad, for posterity to judge; only then can the true collective pioneering crusade be measured, and its unsung Italian builders receive proper historical credit for their share in building the Bastion of Freedom which has withstood all assaults to date by foreign tyrants and their paid Trojan Horse.

I believe it is apropos to end my critique by quoting the Italian pacemaker, Giacomo C. Beltrami: "The World is now in America; that you are the first actors in it, and that the good or bad example you may set, is the compass which conducts us to the port, or make us run against the rocks."

DECEMBER 1966.

Government Deficits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Norfolk Ledger-Star of January 12, 1967, entitled "The Deficit: Rebellious Genie."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DEFICIT: REBELLIOUS GENIE

The President proposes, goes the saying, and the Congress disposes. So the suggestions for taxing and spending in Mr. Johnson's State of the Union message are now in the speculative stage, and a lot could happen before a budget is voted for fiscal 1968.

We note, however, that the administration shows no signs of kicking the Potomac habit of running sizable budget deficits. By Mr. Johnson's figures, the deficit in the present fiscal year—which still has more than five months to run—will be $9.7 billion. If Congress were to accept his 1968 program in toto, including the six per cent income tax surcharge, there would be a projected deficit of $8.1 billion that could well be pushed even higher by unexpected spending demands in the next 18 months.

Familiarity often breeds contempt, and Congress and the people have lived so long with deficits that they no longer are a bugaboo. But there still is ample reason for caution, if not fear, as a former Director of the Budget warns.

He is Maurice Stans, who held the post for three years under President Eisenhower. In an interview with *U.S. News and World Report*, Mr. Stans urges sharp budget-cutting and speaks of deficits in terms that suggest a genie let out of the bottle and turned rebellious.

By way of preface, Mr. Stans remarks that there is in federal programs a built-in growth factor and that this now operates to the tune of about $4 billion dollars ever year in added cost, compared with a $2 billion rate at the time he was Budget Director. So even without additional programs, the budget will edge toward deficit unless revenues continue to grow.

In recent years, of course, those revenues have grown at a strong pace. But even with federal pumppriming, there can come a point when business slacks off—and this is when the practice of running deficits is most dangerous. The reason is, Mr. Stans says, that once federal spending has built up forces for growth to a peak, these forces get beyond effective control. We don't get enough good information on the economy soon enough to apply the gas, or the brakes, at the optimum time; things are always outrunning us. And even if they weren't, politics, rather than economics, plays too large a role in decisions on taxing and spending.

So what can happen? "If we should have any kind of recession at a time when our expenditures are as high as they are now," declares Mr. Stans, "and when we are already operating at a significant deficit, the government could end up the year with an over-all deficit of 30 or 40 billion dollars." Picture the paralysis in confidence such a situation could create.

Some may challenge Mr. Stans on the grounds that, first, he served a Republican President and political bias may enter into his appraisal: and, second, that he shouldn't talk because, as Budget Director, he oversaw a budget in fiscal 1959 whose $12.4 billion deficit still stands as a peacetime record.

But Mr. Stans was warning against budget deficits even while he served Dwight Eisenhower. And the fact that deficits were rolled up then does not discredit him, but proves his point.

For it was a Congress in political opposition to the President that contributed in large measure to that deficit, one so big that it was a shocker. Moreover, even a popular chief executive who abhorred deficits as much as did Mr. Eisenhower could not stem the tide. What better evidence of how uncontrollable deficit spending can become, and of the effects it can have before the country realizes what is going on?

Our Constitution: Barrier Against Tyranny

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, our forefathers left this Nation a Constitution which has met the needs of our people consistently throughout our history. This document imposes upon the citizen great responsibilities in the fulfillment of the principles embodied in it. Safeguards were written into the Constitution which are our insurance against tyranny.

Miss Donna Lynn Goe entered a contest sponsored by the American Legion in the spring of 1966 on the subject "Our Constitution: Barrier Against Tyranny." Miss Goe, who is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. John H. Goe, of West Memphis, Ark., and is presently a student at Stephens College in Columbia, Mo., was awarded second prize in the contest.

Her article on this subject is an outstanding gem which I am glad to bring to the attention of the Members of the House. The full text follows:

OUR CONSTITUTION: BARRIER AGAINST TYRANNY

The sky melts into pale gold, and the gold spreads into a lake under a fragile film of pink glass; clouds drop away in long shreds of smoky blue; all is still and at peace as Dawn, with her ease of experience, gives birth to another day. Peace; a fiery sun slowly sinking into the horizon beyond a calm, majestic sea. Peace; a friendly neighbor's wave, a warm house, a loving family. Peace; the humble worship of one's God. Peace; peace of mind.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal and they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.

To me, happiness is peace of mind. In few countries today are people given the right to pursue whatever may be happiness to them.

Most countries can be classified as one of the two types of government: Democracy or Dictatorship. Under a Dictatorship one is free only to obey the dictator's commands. People exist for the government, not for Life, Liberty or the pursuit of Happiness.

A Democracy, as Abraham Lincoln said in his famous Gettysburg Address, is "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." The government exists for the people. The will of the people prevails. Citizens are guaranteed their right to Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.

These rights are threatened today as never before. Outside our nation's door wait the dictators, or tyrants. They wait for one false move; they wait for us to tire and our eyelids to close; they wait for us to become over-confident in our security until we neglect our upkeep and in bold ignorance walk outside our door and into their hands.

Our door, our one barrier against this tyranny, is our Constitution. We must understand this enemy called tyranny, and fight it, if we wish to continue Democracy in our country as we know it today.

In ancient Greece a type of government which had authority centered in a single, all-powerful Ruler was called a tyranny. Today the word tyranny means a cruel and despotic government in which the ruler has unlimited power over the lives of the people. As a rule a despot can keep his absolute power only by the use of force. Given a little freedom, people seem always to want more freedom, so that despots are usually compelled to clamp down firmly or give up despotism.

In modern times dictators usually have come to power under conditions of turmoil and confusion. The people's government may not be able to provide security and the people turn to a dictator who promises to get it for them. Often the dictator seizes power through political trickery.

Dictatorships of our own times have much in common with the tyrannies of the ancient world. All tyranny is basically the same, whether it is called dictatorship, despotism, absolute monarchy, racial state, Fascism, Nazism, Sovietism, Communism, or by any other name. In their disregard of the rights of citizens and their contempt for human life, there is little difference among Nero, Mussolini, Hitler, Stalin, or Malenkov. All of these dictators trampled on the liberties of the people, resorted to violence and torture, and seized the power to govern. They all used murder and treachery as a means of grasping authority.

Our forefathers set up a democracy as a safeguard against such tyranny. Where democracy prevails, government is based on the consent of the governed as expressed through constitutions, elections, and public opinion. Precautions are taken to keep power responsible, or limited; dissent is tolerated, and even encouraged, and individual rights are given special protection. These precautions are stated or implied in our Constitution, thus making it our door against tyranny.

Government is admittedly a necessity, but it implies enforcement and restraint. How to get enough governmental authority without creating an agency that will become abusive of liberty is a problem as old as human society. Those who wrote and ratified our Constitution thought they had found an answer to the paradoxical question.

1. They assumed that the people were supreme in power.

2. The organization and powers of their government were set forth in written documents in language as plain as could be commanded.

3. After carefully stating what powers they wished the Federal Government to exercise they left all residual powers to the states or to the people.

4. The three branches of government were separated and made to operate with elaborate checks and balances.

5. Both the Federal and State governments were specifically forbidden to perform certain acts.

6. The military was subordinated to civilian control.

7. Individual and personal rights were protected against invasion by either the Federal or State governments.

8. Powers could be exercised only by elected officers or those duly appointed by officials who had been chosen by the voters.

9. It was provided that amendments could not be added to the Constitution unless desired by an overwhelming majority of the voters.

Recent years have witnessed a decline in emphasis upon keeping government limited in favor of sentiment for bigger and stronger governments. The industrial revolution, depressions, and wars have created conditions that lead many to fear their consequences more than they do strong government. To these people, government has become the champion and protector of the common man. Although insisting upon governmental respect for personal rights, many of the new schools look with impatience upon other traditional restraints that impede prompt enactment of welfare programs. This poses the crucial question of whether American Government can continue to meet recurring crises, provide the manifold services expected of them, and still avoid becoming tyrannical.

In a representative Democracy, "of the people, by the people, and for the people," a heavy responsibility rests on every citizen to take part in civic affairs to the best of his ability. The voters exercise influence through officials selected to express and enforce their will. Citizens who are indifferent soon take their country down the road to un-democratic practices and to tyranny. The responsibility of citizens goes beyond payment of taxes, obedience to law, and service in the armed forces of the nation. It includes willingness to inform themselves regarding the political and social issues of the day. It includes learning how and when to protest and give support. Well-organized protests at the right time can reform governments, change policies, and prevent the abuse of power.

Our Constitution has kept pace with the American people for 177 years, allowing them a maximum of freedom while providing machinery through which order might be maintained, domestic problems resolved with a minimum of violence and national aspirations realized.

Don't let us, the citizens of America today, allow our right of Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness, as given to us by our forefathers, slip through our fingers. Don't let us sit back in our comfortable easy chairs, too satisfied to go to the trouble of voting, much less looking into the matter and choosing the best candidate. Don't let us eat well-balanced meals, work eight hours daily at the jobs of our choices, sleep a restful eight hours in soft, warm beds, own two or more automobiles, go to a movie, concert, or any other type of entertainment whenever we choose, and yet be too busy to keep up with governmental affairs, too busy to offer our ideas which might be just the needed answer to some major crisis, too busy to insure our children and their descendents the liberties we now enjoy but so often take for granted.

Our government cannot exist as a Democracy without the support of the people of this nation. Support in Money, Time, Ideas, and Effort.

Our Constitution is based on "government by the consent of the governed." If the citizens are indifferent, careless in obeying the laws, too lazy to vote, and unwilling to serve as public officers, then government will decline. Good government requires eternal vigilance and personal sacrifice on the part of every citizen. We must look into our political affairs! We must understand the Constitution and adapt it to our changing needs and conditions and interpretation, custom, and usage. We must stand behind our Constitution if it is to continue to be our door against tyranny!

Vietnam: How It All Started

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by K. V. Hoffman, published in the Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch of January 14, 1967, entitled "Vietnam: How It All Started."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VIETNAM: HOW IT ALL STARTED

(By K. V. Hoffman)

The "limited war of indefinite duration" to which Mr. Johnson would commit the American people is generally believed to be the current chapter in a "twenty years' war" that has convulsed Vietnam since V-J Day.

Actually this struggle had its beginning as far back as 1789, when the first French troops landed in what was then loosely known as Cochin China.

Two years previously King Louis XVI had signed a treaty with the deposed King Gia-

Long of Annam, pledging himself to send French naval aid to restore Gia-Long to the throne—in return for French occupation of the port of Hanson and the adjacent islands of Fairfar and Haiwen. These territories were to be ceded outright to France "in perpetuity".

But the French revolution and the ultimate death of Louis XVI on the guillotine delayed implementation of the treaty. Only after a ten years' war was Gai-Long finally restored to the throne, and five more elapsed before Tonkin (what is now North Vietnam) recognized his authority.

Gia-Long remained true to his pledge as long as he lived. But his successors increasinlgy resented French domination, and the intrusion of an alien religion. They fomented persecution of French and Spanish missionaries who were finally ordered to leave the country. When they refused to do so, they were executed.

In retaliation against these atrocities, French and Spanish fleets headed by Admiral de Genouilly bombarded the city of Saigon. Marines were landed, but were outnumbered and defeated by an Annamese army of 20,000. The French dispatched reinforcements and the Annamese resistance was crushed in 1861.

The French then turned to economic pressures to acquire more territory. They cut off the rice supply from Cochin China, forcing Emperor Tu-Duc to negotiate a treaty yielding three provinces to France. However, when the time for final ratification came, Tu-Duc reneged. The French had to fight more battles before they were able to force acceptance of the terms under which they ultimately acquired the richest of their colonies—including Cochin China and the "protectorates" of Cambodia, Annam, Tonkin and Laos.

In 1863 Admiral de la Grandiere was appointed governor of Cochin China. But the native population refused to be "pacified". Sporadic hit-and-run jungle wars continued, mostly in Annam and Tonkin.

The French were not content with control of Indochina. Occupation of Kiaochow by the Germans in 1898 spurred French ambition to create "a second Hong Kong" on the eastern coast of China's Liuchau peninsula—just across the Gulf of Tonkin from Haiphong.

They dickered until they got what they wanted—a 99-year lease, dated 1898, for the port of Kwangchow-wan (now called Chankiang.) This snug harbor, long a nest of Chinese pirates, could have been an ideal spot for a French naval base and a bridgehead for the eventual acquisition of further territory.

Saigon became "the Little Paris of the East", a French enclave in an alien culture on the edge of jungles where memories of past grievances were not erased by improvement in sanitation, the establishment of agricultural colleges and hospitals.

Chankiang proved unprofitable, however, and was returned to China in 1945. As for Kiaochow, the dream of a "German Hong Kong" was shattered by World War I. The port was seized by the Japanese in 1914, and returned to China in 1922.

Ironically, the United States, which has no colonial ambitions in Southeast Asia, now finds itself involved in a quicksand war with the avowed purpose of defending what was once part of a French colony against a Communist takeover from the North.

The cost of that war thus far has been estimated at $30 billion and 40,000 casualties. Our greatest liability in the effort to convince the Vietnamese of our honorable intentions, is the memory of French rule.

The Cost of Greed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, as we start considering the proposed 6 percent surcharge tax as recommended by the President, we should get all of the information we can on the subject, and I believe the editorial from the Wall Street Journal of Friday, January 13, presents some very good points on the subject of the tax.

The editorial follows:

THE COST OF GREED

The case for the President's proposed tax increases is weak from every angle.

In an effort to keep the deficit for the next fiscal year from growing to financially and politically unacceptable proportions, the Administration asks a 6% surcharge on corporate and most individual income taxes. Even so, the estimated deficit for fiscal 1968 is over $8 billion.

That comes atop nearly $10 billion now reckoned for the period ending June 30, or close to $20 billion of red ink in a scant two years. And—especially judging by the course of Federal spending since last January—it could easily turn out to be much worse.

It may be recalled that a year ago administrative-budget spending for the current period was projected at $112.8 billion; now it's $126.7 billion. The figure for the following period is now given as $135 billion.

To call such outlays fiscal recklessness is an understatement. There is no excuse for pushing ahead with the whole hodgepodge of domestic welfare programs in the midst of a war that is rapidly getting very big and very costly.

Yet, while demanding tax boosts, Mr. Johnson made no mention in his State of the Union message of reducing nondefense spending. The omission is all the more striking in the light of his candid acknowledgment that some of the programs are shot through with mistakes and failures. Nothing daunted, the Administration is determined to intensify the effort to create a full-blown welfare state.

The economics of the tax increase are no more logical. Last year the argument for raising taxes was made largely on the ground of fighting inflation. At the moment, with evidence of slowing down in many business areas, less is heard of that contention. It ought to be noted, however, that the inflation is still with us.

How good, then, are the Administration's tax proposals as a way of dampening inflation? The figures speak for themselves. By greatly expanding its spending, running enormous deficits, the Government is still on an inflationary spree. It is attempting to curtail private demand while swelling Governmental demand, an exercise which makes no sense.

It is an exercise, ironically, which could both maintain inflation and help produce recession. For it is a myth, we think, that public spending will automatically compensate for any slack in private demand; most Federal outlays do not have the productive effect that causes the economy to thrive. That lesson should have been thoroughly learned a good 30 years ago.

Admittedly the White House is playing it cagey, figuring that no tax boost would get through Congress, if at all, before July 1. These months of grace will presumably give the economic advisers an opportunity to assess the state of business right up to the last moment. If a recession is upon us or seems to be impending, they could withdraw the tax request.

Perhaps it has not occurred to the learned gentlemen that the threat of a tax rise can itself be a depressant, especially after the tax increase business has just been hit with, namely the Government's recision of the investment credit.

Finally, a word about the individual taxpayer, the harried middle-class man who provides most of the Government's revenues. He finds taxes already going up on almost every front—Social Security, state and local. The Federal authorities have already given him the fat tax of inflation, and today kindly, paternalistic Washington wants to gouge still more in direct taxes.

If it were really to finance a war, even a confused and confusing war, the taxpayer would not mind so much. But it is an affront to the American people to have to pay so much for political greed.

Aid and Comfort to the Enemy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, this country has committed itself to achieving independence for South Vietnam. We are fighting a war to fulfill that commitment and it is most unfortunate that those of our citizens who do not agree with our policy continue to parrot the enemy's propaganda.

As stated in the following editorial from the December 29, 1966, edition of the New York World Journal Tribune, the stopping of the bombing of North Vietnam and prior truce periods have had no effect on the enemy. They still have evidenced no interest whatever in coming to the conference table.

The editorial follows:

AID AND COMFORT

Quite obviously a truce is a bullet-peppered path to peace in Viet Nam—if it is any path at all.

There was a truce over the Christmas weekend. Or so it was called. Yet in the 48-hour period the United States and the South Vietnamese commands tallied 122 attacks by Communists.

Another 48-hour truce is coming up for New Year's and still another Feb. 8–12 to commemorate the Lunar Year among the Vietnamese. What can they promise?

Sporadic lulls at best. Certainly no rationale for a long cease-fire. Certainly no step toward the negotiating table.

And still there are elements on the home front who agitate to stop the bombings. Like the group of Washington clergymen who demonstrated last Sunday at the homes of Secretary Rusk and Secretary McNamara. Like the interfaith group that wrote to President Johnson questioning the policy of aerial attacks "even if civilians die."

Civilians do die during war—but not by design of U. S. military leaders. As for stopping the bombings, the U.S. did that last year at this time for 37 days, and there was not a whisper from Hanoi about ending the war.

It has been well established that declaring a truce or stopping the bombings will not stop the war.

The war will end when our military forces, by carrying the war to the enemy, convince Ho Chi Minh that aggression in South Viet Nam is a lost cause.

Meanwhile those Americans who protest the bombings—though they speak with freedom of expression, as is their right—are giving aid and comfort to the enemy.

A Challenge To Be Considered

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, Nation's Business, a respected magazine, in its January 1967, issue, takes the position that there are jobs for everyone willing and able to work.

In an article entitled "We Can Get Anybody a Job," it is shown that private enterprise makes it possible for individual initiative and desire to prevail over poverty.

Free enterprise is the answer, and not Government handouts except in cases of real incapacity. All Members should read this thought-provoking article which is short and to the point. The article follows:

WE CAN GET ANYBODY A JOB

Government agencies daily hand out taxpayers' money to compensate the country's unemployed, a good chunk of whom could get productive jobs tomorrow if they had to.

The editors of Nation's Business guarantee that there is a job available for every person in this country who is willing and able to work.

This claim is backed by the 1,500-member National Employment Assn., the countrywide organization for private employment agencies.

"We can find a job for any person who is able and willing to work," states A. G. Hayes, NEA's president. "By able we mean any person of integrity who is physically capable of working. By willing we mean any person who has enough desire to work that he will, if necessary, take some training, move to another location and settle for a job reasonably consistent with his qualifications."

While unfilled job openings in St. Louis, for instance, have increased by one third over the past year, the number of job applications is down one fifth.

"And most applicants are people who already have jobs—people looking for better jobs," notes John E. Harmon, executive vice president of NEA.

"Every vocational school has a waiting list of employers who want to hire the graduates. In one vocational school in Los Angeles there are more than nine employers on the list per student."

Although opportunities with private companies are replete for on-the-job training for uneducated, unskilled persons who don't even need to speak English, the government is advertising for people to take taxpayers' money for attending government job-training schools, complains Max Mosner, a partner of Colony-Tilly Employment Agency, Inc., in New York City.

"The government has made a tremendous mistake in taking initiative away from people," he adds. "Everybody now wants to start at the top. They don't believe that some of the best chefs once were dishwashers."

He notes that last November the New York City Neighborhood Youth Corps received government grants totaling $10.5 million to provide jobs for 3,650 youths between 16 and 22 years old. The jobs paid $1.25 an hour in public or private nonprofit organizations.

"That comes to almost $2,900 a placement," Mr. Mosner says. "If they'd come to us, we'd get the same people better paying jobs for only $21.50 a placement."

"There is too much fear today of good hard work, of getting the hands dirty, of working by day and studying for something better by night," observes Robert O. Snelling Sr., president of the nationwide employment firm, Snelling and Snelling, Inc.

"The Bill of Rights offers no protection of the ego. It gives us the freedom of the pursuit of happiness. It doesn't guarantee that society will bring you a happiness package and lay it in your lap. You've got to do your own pursuing."

Mr. Snelling has little truck with many people who think they are too "disadvantaged" to work. His firm recently put a totally blind woman to work at a salary of $9,500 and a totally deaf man on a good job in an aircraft plant.

It also got a bookkeeping job for a man permanently confined to a wheelchair.

Dr. Simon Ramo, vice chairman of the board of TRW, Inc., of Cleveland, Ohio, sums up the problem of unemployed who won't work this way: "It's not socially acceptable to do unskilled work any more. It is much more socially acceptable to do nothing at all."

So Nation's Business, with the support of the nation's private employment agencies, throws out the challenge: We can get anybody a job who is willing and able to work. Write the Editor, Nation's Business, 1615 H St. N.W., Washington, D.C., 20006.

Mr. Will W. Campbell, Dean of Savings Bonds Chairmen, Receives Tribute From the ABA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of this body the significant contributions to the U.S. savings bonds program by one of America's most distinguished bankers, Mr. Will W. Campbell, of Forrest City, Ark.

Mr. Campbell is chairman of the National Bank of Eastern Arkansas. He has served continuously as Arkansas State chairman for the savings bonds program since June 29, 1941—just a few weeks after the program was launched on May 1 of that year with the sale of the first series E savings bond to President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Mr. Campbell is the dean of all State chairman for the bond program.

Thus, it is entirely appropriate that he has been presented the 25-year Savings Bonds Volunteer Award by the American Bankers Association in recognition of outstanding service to the Treasury bond program.

In presenting the award, the Association said that it constituted a tribute to all commercial bankers who have provided leadership for the Savings Bonds program during the 25-year period. During this period of time, more than 2.7 billion individual savings bonds have been sold, valued in excess of $150 billion. Of this total, more than $50 billion in bonds still are being held by Americans, contributing importantly to the support of our men in Vietnam.

Mr. Campbell has contributed significantly to the achievement of this record and merits the respect and appreciation of this Nation.

Kansas Farm Leader Honored With Two Awards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, at the 96th annual dinner of the Kansas Agricultural Convention in Topeka, January 12, Roy Freeland, of Topeka, secretary of the State board of agriculture, received two awards in recognition of his distinguished service to agriculture. One of the awards was from Kansas State University, the other from the Federal land bank.

My colleagues, I am sure, will find the news coverage of this event worthy of note. Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the story written by Patrick Burnau, of the Topeka Capital-Journal, on the awards to Mr. Freeland. The item follows:

TOPEKAN GETS FARM AWARD

(By Patrick Burnau)

Roy Freeland, who in 1950 was the youngest man ever appointed secretary of the State Board of Agriculture, Wednesday night was honored by two institutions for his "distinguished service" to agriculture.

Freeland, 1352 High, 55 years old, was given Kansas State University's distinguished service award in agriculture, and the Federal Land Bank's golden anniversary award for meritorious service to agriculture.

The awards were made at the annual dinner of the 96th Kansas Agricultural Convention in Municipal Auditorium where Kansas Gov. Robert B. Docking and Hawaii Congressman Spark M. Matsunaga both spoke.

AWARD GIVEN

Dr. James A. McCain, president of K-State, presented the university's award, which is the equivalent of an honorary degree.

William G. Plested, president of the Federal Land Bank at Wichita, gave Freeland the golden anniversary award, which is the first presented by the Federal Land Bank to a Kansan.

Plested, in making the presentation, said: "It is evident, the contribution he has made in that we both (the bank and the university) decided to give him these awards at the same time."

After receiving his award from the university, Freeland recognized those working in agriculture—their dedication and help. After accepting the award from Plested he thanked him, and congratulated the Federal Land Bank on its anniversary.

Freeland also joked: "It looks like we hit the jackpot tonight." His wife, Marguerite, went to the stage with her husband to accept the awards.

Freeland has held nearly every major office in the National Assn. of State Secretaries of Agriculture, including president.

OTHER AWARDS

Other awards he has won as Kansas secretary include: honorary state farmer from the National Future Farmers of America; distinguished alumnus of Gamma Sigma Delta, honorary agricultural society; distinguished service to agriculture from the Kansas Grange; and a state 4-H alumni award.

As a 4-H youth, Freeman won the champion barrow award in the junior division at the American Royal Livestock Show three consecutive times. He also received the Thomas E. Wilson award as state swine champion.

At Kansas State University, Freeland won nearly every student scholarship honor available to College of Agriculture students at K-State, including Phi Kappa Phi, highest scholarship society open to all students at the university.

He attended the university on a Union Pacific Railroad scholarship, and was high individual student judge at the National Western Stock Show in Denver and on winning teams at Fort Worth and the International Livestock Exposition in Chicago.

After graduation, Freeland worked with the Corn Belt Farm Dailies in Omaha and Chicago, the K-State Extension Service, as associate editor of Kansas Farmer magazine and as field representative of the Kansas Livestock Assn.

The Freeland's son, Kent, is a K-State graduate in journalism and now attending the University of Kansas law school. He has worked as a reporter for the Capital-Journal the past two summers.

Affiliated Government Organizations Extols Congressman Keogh—Regrets His Departure From Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the Affiliated Government Organizations, Brooklyn, N.Y., recently issued a press release concerning the contributions made by Congressman Eugene J. Keogh in his 30 years of legislative endeavors. I submit the release for the attention of my colleagues, as well as a poem written by the organization:

> When the 90th Congress reconvenes on January 10, 1967 one of its most revered members and a key figure in the halls of the Congress will not be returning. For thirty years, Congressman Eugene J. Keogh has been amassing an amazing record of service to his constituents and to the Federal employees of this country. We in the Federal Service will especially miss his untiring efforts for the advancement and welfare of civil service employees.
>
> His greatest work was accomplished on the powerful Ways & Means Committee, where he was known as the authority on Social Security. Civil Service employees will remember him, especially, for his efforts in 1966 in sponsoring a bill which would have permitted employees to attain SS in addition to their CSR annuity, on a voluntary basis. The bill HR 15262, was the high water mark for this important fringe benefit.
>
> We have had the good fortune of conferring with Congressman Eugene J. Keogh and have constantly marvelled at his knowledge, imparted with such skill and in such a gentleman-like fashion. However, we were not alone in offering accolades on this great man. In the last few weeks of the 89th Congress, scores of his colleagues praised him as a legislator and as a gentleman.
>
> Congressman Eugene J. Keogh, may you enjoy happiness and fulfillment of all you desires in the years ahead.

CONGRESSMAN EUGENE KEOGH

A man of enduring charm and immaculate dress
Faithful to his loyalties; giving more, never less
For thirty years in Congress, a respected voice
With logical analysis, presented the right choice

A man of true word, action and deeds
In House ways and means disseminated the seeds
For social security and kindred measures
To the aged and infirm veritable treasures

Dedicated his every effort to public life
Composed differences; avoided strife
The welfare of people was his foremost thought

Now voluntarily retired with respect
Among the best he can stand erect
The years, we pray, will treat him well
He worked for mankind; his programs did sell.

East-West Trade and Export Control List

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, last October, President Johnson added another important span to the bridges his administration is building between the American people and the people of Eastern Europe. He announced the removal of some 400 items from the list of export control.

I believe it was an important gesture in our efforts to ease cold war tensions.

Some thought otherwise. Some looked over the list of items and concluded that they were insignificant and had little, if any, trade potential. I recall that manhole covers was one of the items used as an example.

So it came as a surprise to me to learn that my distinguished colleague from California [Mr. Lipscomb] is now criticizing the list on the ground that it contains strategic materials—materials that could conceivably be used against our fighting men in Vietnam. And he has accused the administration of misleading the American public with regard to the items in question.

Mr. Speaker, the last thing I want to do is add to this confusion. If possible, I would like to clear it up.

What are the facts?

First of all, the gentleman from California [Mr. Lipscomb] contends that the list of 400 items contains, among other things, jet aircraft engines, diesel engines, and machine tools. The Department of Commerce has already addressed itself to this assertion. These items are not on the list. They never were. They are still under export control to Eastern Europe. Mr. Lipscomb was misinformed.

As to the actual list, I am not certain what the gentleman from California [Mr. Lipscomb] might have been referring to. I have read it carefully. It appears innocent enough to me.

But more to the point, this list is not something that was hastily drawn up and carelessly reviewed. The ground rules were quite explicit: each item had to be of a nonstrategic nature—and each had to be available on the foreign market.

And, while the list was made public last October, I am told by the Commerce Department that it was actually compiled last February—8 months earlier. At that time, it was distributed to the members of the Interdepartmental Committee on Export Controls for a complete review. This committee is represented by the State Department, the Defense Department, the Treasury Department, the Department of the Interior, the Department of Agriculture, the Federal Aeronautics Administration, the Atomic Energy Commission, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and the Office of Emergency Planning. A copy of the list was also supplied to the Central Intelligence Agency.

Each had a crack at it. And, in point of fact, some 10 items included in the original list were actually deleted at the suggestion of several of the agencies; some because they were in the scarce national supply category, and others because of their possible strategic implication.

So I, for one, cannot fault the administration.

I believe it has taken a bold and courageous step in the field of peaceful international trade.

I believe, further, it has been prudent, keeping the ultimate objective of national security in sight at all times.

I hope we will continue to build such bridges to Eastern Europe. For it is in our own national interest to do so.

An Ex-Mayor Reminisces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday a former mayor of Davenport, Iowa, Ed Frick, was given an opportunity to reminisce about the accomplishments of his administration and to talk about the future of the city he loves.

In a guest editorial which appeared in the Davenport Times-Democrat, Saturday, January 14, 1967, Mr. Frick was rather modest in talking about his experiences as mayor. Ed Frick has made a fine record as a community leader. His advice and counsel is still sought by the present city officials.

What follows, Mr. Speaker, is the guest editorial authored by Mayor Frick:

MEMORIES OF AN EX-MAYOR

(NOTE.—Our guest editorial today is by Ed Frick, who served as mayor of Davenport from 1941 through 1944. He was asked to reminisce on problems and accomplishments of his administrations and to comment on municipal problems of the present.)

It was my good fortune to serve as ward alderman and alderman at large under two able mayors of Davenport before I was elected to that office.

The men who served as mayor during my years of council service, were Merle F. Wells and the late John Jebens, father of our present mayor. Working in harmony with both of them I had a good chance to size up the problems of the city and of the way a mayor must deal with them before I was called to take over the gavel following the death of Mayor Jebens.

During my own years in office I had an evenly divided council—four Republicans and four Democrats—but there was little political sharpshooting. The council members were all interested in good government for our city and were ready to vote for city betterment projects regardless of their party.

Looking back I sometimes think of my years as mayor as the "good old days"—the city was then only nine square miles and did not have as many or as expensive problems to wrestle with as today.

I got good advice and support from my city attorney, Ed Doerr, from Public Works Commissioner Ralph Graham and from community leaders like the late E. P. Adler and J. M. Hutchinson, then active in the Chamber of Commerce.

Since I took a keen personal interest in street and highway developments I am proud to report we made excellent progress in those fields when I was mayor. During the years I was mayor or streets committee chairman Marquette Street was paved from 2nd Street to Locust; Lombard Street was paved as was Locust Street from Warren to Washington Street; E. 3rd Street from Mound to Iowa Streets.

My administration was also responsible for starting the underpass under the government bridge approach—at the time it was sometimes called "Frick's Folly" but during the years it has given good service. We also launched the project of removing streetcar tracks from our streets.

The council today has my sympathy. Costs have risen so much many necessary things just can't be done as quickly as they should. However I feel that the council members of my time had success in facing up to their problems and am confident the members of today will meet with equal success. They, too, seem to be men dedicated to the public good.

Conservation in the Space Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, social historians have tried to label each succeeding generation of man as an age of something or other: The age of this or that invention or condition which perhaps emerges for that era as a dominant characteristic. Through the centuries, for example, we have cataloged the stone age, the bronze age, the iron age, the age of exploration, the age of sail, and the Age of Discovery, to name but a few.

More recently, we have seen the age of flight, the atomic age, and the space age. It seems as time progresses, each of these new ages is shorter lived and yields more rapidly to a new phenomenon and a new age.

Nowadays, of course, technology and science have become the prime movers in man's progress and achievements. The electron tube and the test tube have replaced the more primitive tools of ax and sword.

We think nowadays of space travel, journeying to the moon and beyond in vastly complex machines undreamed of barely a generation ago. We think of beans of light cutting through thick steel plates—the ray gun that aws a figment of a comic strip artist's imagination just a few years ago.

We think, too, of the nightmares of atomic energy, of nuclear destruction, and of manmade forces that defy the imagination.

And in this age of complexities, we tend to lose sight of things that have transcended all of man's ages and all of man's endeavors; that have survived and endured first in spite of man and now, to an increasing extent, because of man. I speak of the world of wildlife, of nature and nature's wilderness, the world of trees, and birds, and animals.

It may seem at times highly incongruous to many that we should devote not only a considerable amount of time and attention, but of funds as well, to the matter of preserving wildlife and wilderness resources. To the less sensitive, perhaps, it may seem odd indeed that the wilderness which man once was forced to conquer for survival, he now seeks to protect and safeguard. It may seem incongruous if not ridiculous to one whose horizons have seldom extended beyond walls of glass and brick, or whose footfalls have always been carefully guided by white lines painted on cement and macadam paths.

For those of us who have been blessed not only with a boyhood of experience with the outdoors, but who are presently fortunate enough to represent an area of the country that can still boast of a large measure of outdoor beauty and wildlife, there is nothing strange or unusual about our concern for the continued preservation of these things.

I am pleased to boast that I represent such a congressional district, the First District of Massachusetts which comprises the Berkshire Mountains and a lengthy stretch of the Connecticut River. And I am also proud to boast of a constituency to whom the value of these natural resources has never been questioned, much less scoffed at.

Their attitude is clearly reflected in a recent editorial in the pages of the Athol Daily News, published in Athol, Mass. Under unanimous consent, I would like now to place this editorial at this point in the RECORD and respectfully commend it to the attention of my distinguished colleagues.

The editorial follows:

[From the Athol (Mass.) Daily News, Jan. 10, 1967]

PROGRESS ON WILDLIFE

An observer from afar might think it passing strange that the richest and most powerful nation on earth should devote some of its official energies to counting everglade kites and whooping cranes. It might seem rather out of keeping with our demanding worldwide and domestic obligations that we spend money and manpower trying to keep these and other beleaguered wildlife species from dying out.

Some—and not necessarily from afar—may even be inclined to go a step further and say that fooling around with such concerns in a world on the brink of a disaster is plain silly. They would be wrong.

America's varied and abundant wildlife is an essential part of our heritage, a link with the natural world. It is important that we not allow the world of nature to be overwhelmed and spoiled by the spread of our civilization. As much of it as possible should be preserved for future generations of Americans, who will have even greater need than we do for the healing beauty and solitude of the wild.

Nurturing those species of wildlife that are in danger of extinction is a part of this effort to conserve. Thus it is heartening that, in general, the latest report of the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife is optimistic about prospects for saving such species. For the most part, during the past year there has been progress in handing on our natural heritage to Americans yet unborn.

The New GI Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, early last year the 89th Congress enacted the Veterans' Readjustment Benefits Act of 1966. The act was signed into law on March 3, 1966, as Public Law 89–358. Among other things, the new legislation authorized a permanent program of educational assistance for individuals serving in the Armed Forces after January 31, 1955. Having shared the responsibility for the enactment of this legislation, I have followed with close interest developments in connection with its operation and administration since June 1 of last year, the effective date of the new law. I am confident that my colleagues will share my interest in certain statistics and profiles that have emerged to date.

The open-ended feature of Public Law 89–358, meaning that there is no closing date of the service period during which entitlement may be earned, makes every new active-duty serviceman a potential GI bill student. Of the 4.5 million discharged veterans who became qualified by the passage of the law, over 300,000 have already entered some form of training. More than $80 million has already been paid in educational allowances to veterans and servicemen across the Nation during December 31, 1966. For the month of December, $32 million in educational allowances was paid.

In Ohio, an estimated 228,000 veterans were eligible. More than 12,300 of these were enrolled by December in the 263 schools in Ohio currently approved for veterans' training. Veterans' Administration checks in the month of December to all students in the State of Ohio amounted to $1.4 million. In the 14th District of Ohio which I have the privilege to represent in the Congress, there are an estimated 15,310 veterans eligible for educational benefits under the new law. They constitute about 6.7 percent of the total in the entire State. Approximately 850 of these eligible veterans have thus far availed themselves of the benefits of the new law.

The initial participants are 99 percent male and have a median age of 27. About 28 percent of the veterans enrolled are under 25 years of age. The largest group, 47 percent of the total, are between 25 and 29 years of age.

Approximately 51 percent of the veteran enrollees attend school full time. More than 65 percent are in college as undergraduates, while 17 percent of the total enrollees entered school at the graduate level. Vocational and trade schools received 11.4 percent of the total applications. Technical institutions received 2.4 percent with business schools enrolling 3.1 percent of the total. Less than 1 percent of the veterans have entered secondary school to attain their high school diplomas.

In Ohio, the larger colleges and State universities have already accepted and enrolled over 10,000 veteran students with Ohio State University, Kent State, and the University of Akron accounting for one-fourth of the total. More than 100 institutions of higher learning in Ohio are participating. The remaining trainees are enrolled in 157 vocational, technical, and business schools or are participating in some form of hospital training. About 300 active duty servicemen based in Ohio are availing themselves of extra schooling on a part-time basis in preparation of civilian careers after discharge.

The Cleveland Veterans' Administration office, under the extremely capable direction and guidance of Manager Bill Blackwell, has jurisdiction over the claims of all GI bill students in the State. They will process the applications of the 21,700 Ohio veterans and servicemen who will be enrolled in fiscal year 1967. This number will probably increase to about 23,000 in 1968 and 26,000 by 1971. A total of $13.3 million in veterans' educational allowances will be received by Ohio veterans in fiscal year 1967. The next year is expected to provide $15.7 million with a continuing increase each year until 1971 when the program will probably stabilize at about $20 million a year coming into Ohio.

These impressive statistics, Mr. Speaker, indicate that the Nation's younger veterans and servicemen have been eagerly awaiting this benefit which a grateful government has provided for them. A word of congratulations and a vote of thanks for a job well done is in order, Mr. Speaker, for Bill Driver, the competent Administrator of Veterans Affairs, and his staff, who without fanfare, publicity, or unusual expense to the taxpayer, expeditiously processed the additional heavy workload created by the new law.

Despite the magnitude of the initial response, an analysis of the correspondence I have been receiving indicates that further refinements to this legislation should be considered. For example, consideration should be given to increasing the monthly educational allowances so that veterans may receive the same allowance for attending school as is presently paid under the war orphans' educational assistance program. Consideration should be given the feasibility of authorizing on-the-job training or apprentice training as was provided in the World War II and the Korean GI bills.

Consideration should be given to authorizing more liberal criteria for flight training. Finally, Mr. Speaker, we should address ourselves to the wisdom of authorizing a certification fee to schools for the additional administrative and clerical workload involved in processing veteran enrollments. Such a fee was authorized in the World War II program and the Korean program. We should consider the propriety of providing a similar fee in the current program.

The results of the World War II and Korean conflict bills were gratifying, with more than 10 million veterans educated by a Federal Government investment of approximately $19 billion. The excellent early response to the new GI bill promises vast benefits for the entire Nation as the educational and economic status of our veteran-citizens increases.

Tax-Free Foundations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CORMAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, the tax-exempt status of foundations has been a matter of great concern and should merit the attention of the House. The Select Committee on Small Business and the Subcommittee on Foundations of the select committee, of which I am a member, are greatly concerned about the effects of tax-exempt foundations on small business, and will continue the study of this issue begun in the 89th Congress. It is important that the Congress make certain that foundation exemptions are valid. I believe that the nature of the problem is clearly expressed in the following editorial appearing in the Los Angeles Times of December 23, 1966, which I call to your attention:

SOME TAX-FREE FOUNDATIONS' ABUSES

Under federal statutes on the books for more than a half century, corporations organized exclusively for religious, charitable or educational purposes are exempt from income taxation.

The 1950 Revenue Act provided that this exempt status would be revoked if foundation income was unreasonably accumulated, or if any part of earnings inured to the benefit of any individual. The act also listed various prohibited transactions, including payment of exorbitant salaries, purchasing of securities or property for more than adequate consideration, and selling such holdings for less than adequate compensation.

Although the law seemed clear enough at the time, there have been complaints of abuses and intensive investigations almost from the time it was enacted. There also have been repeated requests for Congressional action. In January President Johnson proposed a six-point program to correct conditions. His request came after the Treasury Department and the House Small Business Committee found that some foundations were using their tax exempt status for empire building rather than benevolence.

Rep. Wright Patman (D-Tex.) chairman of the House committee will press for corrective legislation in the 90th Congress. His latest committee report shows that over a four-year period 575 foundations returned to education and charity only 48% of the $4.6 billion they collected. This is possible, Patman says, as the result of "expert tax dodging" through loopholes which Congress should close.

While the vast majority of foundations serve worthy purposes within the clear intent of the law, it is obvious that some have cheated. And Patman's report, one of a series issued in the past four years, plainly indicates that the practice is becoming more widespread.

Two years ago the Internal Revenue Service cracked down on tax-exempt organizations engaging in political activity and propaganda. Perhaps the IRS could also act to stem some of the current abuses to which President Johnson and Rep. Patman refer.

If not, then Congress most assuredly must enact corrective legislation to reverse the trend and head erring foundations back toward their proper function.

Journalistic War Likely To Escalate Sharply

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, as more and more Americans lose their lives fighting in Vietnam, the policy of the Government toward responsible news coverage of the war effort grows in importance.

The following column, written by Crosby S. Noyes, and published in the Washington Evening Star on January 3, 1967, points out this problem and shows how current official policy is inadvertantly undermining America's credibility and, to a growing extent, morale on the home front. I offer this article to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD:

JOURNALISTIC WAR LIKELY TO ESCALATE SHARPLY

(By Crosby S. Noyes)

Now that the North Vietnamese have seen the light and started issuing visas to high-powered American newsmen, the journalistic war in Vietnam can be expected to escalate dramatically.

Under the preposterous ground rules that apply to reporters in this war, it could hardly be otherwise. For this is the first U.S. government in history to have committed American lives to the outcome of a war and at the same time permitted—one could almost say invited—the systematic subversion of this commitment by the press.

The responsibility in this case lies squarely with the government. Say what you like about the attitude of individual newspapers or individual reporters toward the war in Vietnam. Their first obligation is to go where they are permitted to go and tell the truth as they see it.

But it is the paramount responsibility of any government to define the national interest and to defend it, in time of war, by every means at its command. The failure to do this in the case of Vietnam is unprecedented. And the seeming indifference of the government is matched by an utter lack of identification by an important segment of the press with what the government defines as the national interest of the United States.

The attitude of the goverment cannot be justified by the legal fiction that there is no war in Vietnam because Congress has not declared one. It is not justified either by the argument that our objectives in the war are limited. The same was true in Korea. But in that war the government exercised effective controls on reporters in the field. And no one, so far as I recall, suggested that he should be permitted to go and see how they were making out in Pyongyang.

It is, in short, simply incredible that a government can ship 400,000 men to fight in a war and at the same time cheerfully accede to visits by reporters, handpicked by the enemy, to tour the territory and write straight-faced dispatches on what they are told and shown.

The folly of the government is compounded by the divisions of public opinion that exist in this country over the war. No matter how conscientious the visiting reporters may try to be, it is inevitable that what they see and hear will serve the cause of the enemy and further confuse opinion at home. Their dispatches are already being seized on by domestic critics who for years have done everything in their power to subvert the effort in Vietnam.

What are the leaders in Hanoi supposed to make of all this?

Success in South Vietnam depends on convincing these leaders that whatever happens, the United States is determined to prevent a Communist takeover of the country by force of arms. From the outset the great hope of the Communists has been that public dissension in the United States will force the government to abandon its effort. How can the presence of American reporters in Hanoi fail to nourish these illusions and prolong the war?

And what is the American public supposed to make of it?

The public is told by the government that a vital national interest is at stake in Vietnam. In the large majority, they are prepared to believe it to the extent of sending 400,000 of their sons to fight and perhaps to die half way around the world.

But how long will they go on believing it as long as this same government allows its own credibility to be undermined by the same people it is fighting?

Or is this war, after all, so half-baked that there is no such thing as an enemy who can be given aid and comfort, no such thing as loyalty for people out of military uniform and no national interest apart from what every individual decides for himself? If so, someone had better start explaining again what those 400,000 American soldiers are doing in Vietnam.

When it comes to fighting the war, President Johnson is dead right, I believe, in using the utmost restraint to prevent unnecessary destruction and a possible enlargement of the conflict. He is dead wrong, I submit, in persistently minimizing the cost of the war, both for ourselves and the enemy and in failing to convince people that Vietnam is as serious a commitment as any the United States has ever made.

At this stage, very certainly, there is no excuse for a business-as-usual attitude on the part of the government. It is simply not possible to justify such an attitude and also justify the sacrifice of thousands of American lives. And in the case of the visitors in Hanoi, this is precisely what the government is trying to do.

The Past Lives Again in Memories

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the oppression of individuals by communism and the conflict between totalitarianism and the freedom of an individual is a factor often forgotten by our State Department policymakers as they blindly pursue their policy of coexistence with the Communist dictators of Eastern Europe.

A very dramatic article which gives us an effective insight into the individual's battle against tyranny which we must not forget is woven into a Christmas Day article by Columnist Dumitru Danielopol, of the Copley Press, which appeared in the Aurora (Ill.) Beacon News, as follows:

THE PAST LIVES AGAIN IN MEMORIES—A MAN'S THOUGHTS ARE TURNED TOWARD HOME ON CHRISTMAS

(By Dumitru Danielopol)

WASHINGTON.—What does a man think about at Christmas?

Home.

But for a man who hasn't seen his native land for more than two decades, I think Christmas has an extra meaning—especially if that land is now in the grip of communism.

In the Carpathian Mountains of Romania, when I was a boy, we used to ski to Pestera Ialomicoara, 6,000 feet above Sinaia where Romania's kings spent their summers.

In Romanian "pestera" means cave. Ialomicoara is the name of a storied river that runs deep underground through the mountains, then spreads out across the broad Romanian plain. In summers as a boy I used to swim in that river.

But at Christmas time memories do not dwell long on skiing trips or fabled rivers.

Inside one cave high in the Carpathians I remember a small church, built centuries ago by early Christians who sought refuge from the barbarians and pagans who stormed across south central Europe in a see-saw struggle that spanned much of what American school children call "ancient" and "medieval" history.

Christianity came early to my country. It was brought by the Roman legions in the second century. When Rome declined, Romania saw the Goths, Visigoths, Huns, Tartars, Slavs and Turks. But in the mountains and on the high Transylvania plateaus guarded by impenetrable passes, Christianity lived on.

The people surrendered their homes and their fertile plains along the Danube to the invaders and retreated to the refuge of the stormy mountains that centuries later were to defy the best of Nazi Germany's Wehrmacht and Josef Stalin's Red army.

In remote caves and in hidden valleys, these people built their crude churches. At Pestera Ialomicoara the one in the cave still survives and on a Christmas Eve, skiers carrying torches used to light the snowy mountainsides as they sped to midnight worship.

The church was simple, built of wood. It had none of the elegance that marks the Orthodox faith. There were no gold and silver icons or handsomely painted murals.

A few bearded monks and a collection of skiers made up the congregation. The austere surroundings and hardy worshippers evoked memories of the church's origin. On a Christmas Eve 30 years ago it wasn't hard to imagine that one was again in the time of the barbarian and that this little gathering had formed, under the threat of persecution, to worship the God of their choice.

As a young man we imagined the past. Today in Communist dominated nations in Eastern Europe, the people live the past.

The pagans have returned to Romania on the coattails of the Russian army. Not only the Christians have felt their torture. The Jew and the Muslim has felt the same whip.

But according to all reports, religion survives in a sort of "invisible church."

One of its leaders was the Rev. Richard Wurmbrand, a Lutheran minister who survived 14 years in Communist jails and finally escaped Romania with the help of Scandinavian Lutherans. Today he continues his fight from Glendale, Calif., as director of an organization called "Underground Evangelism."

In testimony before the United States Senate this year, the Rev. Wurmbrand told of holding clandestine services in a Russian army barracks in Romania.

"God is not dead," Wurmbrand told the senators.

On this Christmas day, I wonder if some hardy band of worshippers is riding the ski slopes above Sinaia, bound for the little wooden church in the cave. If they are, they won't relive the past. They'll be proof that the present is only like the night.

Morning always comes.

Even the Communist can't stop it.

A Tribute to a Kansas Journalist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wichita Beacon of Saturday, January 14, 1967, paying tribute to the late Martin N. Perry, managing editor of the Wichita Beacon, Wichita, Kans.:

A LOSS

Being a good newspaperman, Martin N. Perry disliked cliches, trite phrases.

This is one reason it's hard to write about him. Because only the familiar words—integrity, talent, energy, vision, devotion to duty—can describe the qualities that won him the respect of his colleagues at The Beacon and The Eagle, of fellow newspapermen across the country, and of his community.

Martin Perry knew and loved our community. He was born, reared, educated here—and returned to Wichita when the opportunity came. And this affection for and interest in our community led him not only to wise use of the tools of his calling in the community's behalf, but also to constructive participation in its activities.

But words are unnecessary as well as inadequate. Wichitans can discern for themselves each day, in the quality of the community we enjoy, something of his contribution. He would have contributed more, had not death taken him this week at the age of 43. Those of us who remain—individually, his friends; collectively, the community—are diminished.

Mr. Speaker, it was with a deep feeling of regret that I learned of the death of Martin N. Perry, of Wichita, Kans., who was an outstanding newspaperman and a highly regarded citizen in the community where he lived. Martin Perry demonstrated a sincere interest in his community, State, and Nation. He was a keen observer of all that was going on about him and this awareness and interest distinguished him as an editorial writer. Later he was given an even larger assignment as managing editor of the Wichita Beacon, which he performed so successfully. It is indeed sad that his time was so short, but Martin Perry has left his mark in the field of journalism. We extend our heartfelt sympathy and condolences to his wife, Betty, and his two children.

Pull Up in Front of My House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following column from the December 16, 1966, edition of the Bulletin of the East Midwood Jewish Center of Brooklyn, N.Y.:

PULL UP IN FRONT OF MY HOUSE

We came across an editorial which appeared in the Colorado Springs Gazette-Telegraph. It was written by William Aiken. Mr. Aiken is not a Jew, even as the Gazette-Telegraph is not a Jewish house organ or Journal. It was Mr. Aiken's comment on the slogan which appeared during the recent flurry of Nazi scrawlings on Synagogues and other public buildings. We republish it herewith because we thought that many of our readers would like to read it. It was titled, "Reflections on the Revival of a Slogan." Here it is.

"Jews go home—Well, now, this is nothing new. Never in the past have you ever taken this gentle suggestion to move on. But Heaven forbid, suppose just this once, you thought that expression of a few sick people actually expressed the conviction of all the people in this wonderful land of ours, and all of you started to pack your bags and leave for parts unknown.

Just before you leave, would you do me a favor? Would you leave your formula for the Salk Vaccine with me before you leave? You wouldn't be so heartless as to let my children contract polio?

And would you please leave your knack for government, and politics, and persuasion, and literature, and good food, and fun and love, and all those things, and would you please leave with me the secret of your drive to succeed?

And please, have pity on us, please show us the secret of how to develop such geniuses as Einstein and Steinmetz and oh so many others who have helped us all. After all, we owe you most of the A-Bomb, most of our rocket research and perhaps the fact that we are alive today, instead of looking up from our chains and from our graves to see an aging, happy Hitler drive slowly by in one of our Cadillacs.

On your way out, Jews, will you do me just one more favor? Will you please drive by my house and pick me up too?. I'm just not sure I could live too well in a land where you weren't around to give us much as you have given to us. If you ever have to leave, love goes with you, democracy goes with you, everything I and all my buddies fought for in World War II goes with you; God goes with you. Just pull up in front of my house, slow down and honk, because so help me, I'm going with you, too."

Direct Popular Election of the President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the rites of democratic presidential elections are so thoroughly traditional in this country that it is startling to reflect that this system is totally extraconstitutional. As the Washington Sunday Star reminded us on January 15:

> For 177 years, the presidents of the United States have been elected, not by the people, but by the faceless, nameless membership of the Electoral College. . . . Indeed, the citizens of the United States have no constitutional right to vote for their president, even indirectly. They do so solely at the pleasure of their state legislatures.

This month the persistent campaign to reform the electoral college system has been given new momentum by the report of a special commission of the American Bar Association, calling for a constitutional amendment to institute a process of direct popular election of the President. This reform presents a number of serious problems, including these of fixing a percentage of the total vote required for election; providing for a runoff election, by the people or by Congress, if necessary; protecting minority parties; and determining the extent to which Congress should be able to oversee election procedures set by the States. But direct popular election proposals also have great merit. In my judgment, the House Judiciary Committee should give thorough hearings to the entire problem early this year.

The tremendous defects and dangers of the present constitutional provisions, and the merits of direct election, were set forth clearly in a thoughtful editorial in last Sunday's Star. The editorial follows:

IT'S TIME TO ELECT THE PRESIDENT DIRECTLY

For 177 years, the presidents of the United States have been elected, not by the people, but by the faceless, nameless, membership of the Electoral College.

The people's voice is heard, to be sure, in the election of the electors. And usually, but not always, the people's mandate to the electors is carried out. But nothing in the Constitution binds the electors to vote for their partys nominee. Indeed, the citizens of the United States have no constitutional right to vote for their president, even indirectly. They do so solely at the pleasure of their state legislatures.

The Electoral College system was adopted by the constitutional convention over bitter but splintered opposition. Today the system is still with us, substantially unchanged. So is the general opposition to that system. And so is the disagreement over how to go about changing it that has, up to the present, stymied hundreds of attempts at reform.

From the beginning, opposition to the existing electoral system has divided itself into four camps favoring rival reform plans. These are: (1) The proportional vote plan that would split a state's electoral vote in proportion to the vote cast for each candidate; (2) the district vote plan, whereby the electoral vote would be divvied up according to the outcome of the election in a state's election districts; (3) the automatic electoral vote plan under which the Electoral College would be abolished and a state's entire electoral vote would automatically go to the candidate that carries the state, and (4) the direct election plan that would abolish the electoral vote as well as the Electoral College, and would choose the president and vice president—our only two national officers—in a direct national referendum.

Now, as the 90th Congress settles down to business, there is a growing feeling in and out of Congress that the archaic system can best be reformed by doing away with the electoral middlemen and by guaranteeing, through constitutinal amendment, the right of the voters to elect their own president directly.

The movement toward popular presidential election picked up significant momentum with the release, earlier this month, of a report by a special commission of the American Bar Association, set up to study Electoral College reform. The substance of the commission's argument is that the system has never functioned as the framers of the Constitution intended; that it is "archaic undemocratic, complex, ambiguous, indirect and dangerous," and that it should, therefore be abolished.

The ABA report backs up this strong language. For example, on the question of democracy, while it is true that the voters speak every election day, their voice is not always heard by the presidential electors. In 1948, 1956 and 1960, individual electors took it upon themselves to vote contrary to the mandate of the voters. Three time in American history the candidate receiving the greatest number of popular votes has turned out to be the loser. And under the present winner-take-all system, all of a state's electoral vote goes to the candidate who carries the state, regardless of the margin of victory, so that all the votes cast in that state for the loser count for nothing in the election of the president.

As to the dangers, it is the ABA's contention that the republic has survived in spite of the system, not because of it. Perhaps one chilling near miss will serve to show how lucky we've been. In the election of 1948, a shift of less than 0.6 percent of the popular vote for Truman in two states would have thrown the election into the House of Representatives where each state would have had one vote for president. It is quite possible, in view of the political division of the House at that time, that no majority could have been achieved either by Truman or Dewey. The Senate, meanwhile, would have been fulfilling its constitutional function of picking a vice president. Assuming that no deadlock developed, either Alben W. Barkley or Earl Warren would have been named. If the House was still knotted by inauguration day, the vice-president elect would have been named president. The possibilities, then, were Truman for president with either Barkley or Warren as his vice president; Dewey for president with either of the same men as his vice president; Barkley or Warren as President, or—if the Senate as well as the House should deadlock—no constitutional president at all!

Granting then that the present system is undemocratic and dangerous, what are the arguments that have kept the Electoral College in existence to date?

It has been said that direct election would undermine the two-party system and would lead to a proliferation of parties. In answer to this, the ABA report argues that many factors besides the Electoral College system work to produce and maintain the two-party system. In addition, the ABA proposal makes it necessary for a candidate to get at least 40 percent of the popular vote in order to be elected; in the event that no candidate received the required 40 percent, a runoff election would be held between the top two candidates. This provision would tend to minimize the importance of splinter parties.

Too, it has been the prevailing view that a direct election amendment can never pass Congress or be ratified by the required number of state legislatures. The opposition, it has been said, would come from the small, least populous states which are benefited by the present system which provides for a minimum of three electors, regardless of the population. Under this formula, for example, a single vote cast in a presidential election in Alaska is worth more than five times as much as a California vote.

Yet recent supporters of direct election include members of Congress from both large and small states. And a recent poll of state legislators showed that 58.8 percent favor direct election, including a clear majority of the legislators in the small states. Significantly, only 9.7 percent of the legislators favor retaining the present system.

In 1956, The Star supported the Lodge-Gossett amendment, which would have apportioned a state's electoral vote according to the popular vote. At that time, such a step seemed the most that could be hoped for—and indeed even that limited reform was turned down by the Senate.

But today, the prevailing mood has changed. A series of Supreme Court decisions supporting the one-man, one-vote principle have lent support to the idea that all the voters should have [illegible]qual say in the selection of the highest elected official of the nation.

On Wednesday, the first day of regular business for the new Congress, Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana introduced an amendment based on the ABA proposals. From all indications, the nation's voters and the legislators of the separate states are ready for the change. It is now up to Congress to follow through on this proposal to guarantee, under the Constitution, an orderly and democratic means of electing the nation's chief executive.

Hon. Victor L. Anfuso

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, while Congress was adjourned, a former colleague, the Honorable Victor L. Anfuso, of New York, passed away on December 28, 1966. As a fellow Brooklynite, I remember when he first came to Congress in 1950, I too was considered a freshman in Congress. Unfortunately, he had to give up his seat at the end of 2 years because the area he represented was redistricted due to a population change in Brooklyn.

Victor Anfuso, in his strong desire to represent his people, ran again for election in 1954 and was elected to the 84th Congress. While in Congress, he served on several committees, among them the Committee on Science and Astronautics, the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and the Committee on Agriculture where he achieved the reputation of "window-box gardner." He was chairman of the Subcommittee on International Cooperation and Security and was a congressional adviser to the U.S. representative on the United Nations Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. He also expressed his great interest in foreign affairs and U.S. foreign policy and, as a Member of the House of Representatives, he was sent on a special mission to study stockpiling and handling of American surplus food in Europe and the Middle East.

He was dismayed when he learned that his district would again be redistricted in 1962. He agreed to step down in favor of another colleague and Democrat, the Honorable JOHN J. ROONEY.

Victor Anfuso regretted leaving the House of Representatives but the people of Brooklyn elected him as a justice of the supreme court so that he would not lose the opportunity to serve his people, whom he loved and enjoyed helping. He was well liked by all who knew him and was sorely missed by his colleagues.

I extend to Mrs. Anfuso and to his family my deepest sympathy in their irreplaceable loss.

Speaker McCormack: Great Legislative Captain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the tribute which the President paid you on yesterday was most fitting and appropriate and no words I might say are needed and necessary. However, as one who has served with you and worked with you, I feel compelled to go on record emphatically as reinforcing and endorsing President Johnson's great tribute to your distinguished record of service and leadership in the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, permit me to say that you are a great leader—a great captain of our legislative ship of state. You have a great heart, a warm heart filled with compassion and understanding. You are one of the outstanding Americans of all time, Mr. Speaker—and history will record that fact.

History will record that JOHN McCORMACK—the great leader, our great legislative captain—steered through the processes of our legislative body the greatest and most far-reaching body of legislation ever enacted by two Congresses, the 88th and 89th Congresses.

You, Speaker JOHN McCORMACK, are fair—firm—and forceful. You are a leader of honor, courage, and great ability—a warm personality with qualities of leadership that are needed in our times.

History will record that JOHN McCORMACK was Speaker when this Nation enjoyed its longest period of uninterrupted growth and prosperity—due, in great part, to the legislative record of the Congress, enacted under his leadership.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, the President was absolutely correct when he said that you have never retreated from your responsibilities, never withdrew, never flinched. How right the President was in his words of praise of Speaker McCORMACK.

Harrison E. Salisbury Sums Up—VIII and Final Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the final report by Harrison E. Salisbury was published in the New York Times today. In his report, Mr. Salisbury indicates the determination of the North Vietnamese people to continue to fight for what they consider a struggle for independence. There are very few writings which delve into the attitudes of our adversaries in this tragic struggle. Mr. Salisbury's report is most illuminating. The article follows:

[From the New York Times, Jan 18, 1967]

A TURNING POINT IN WAR IS SEEN AFTER HANOI VISIT—MEETINGS WITH OFFICIALS AND DIPLOMATS INDICATE THAT NEW PHASE MAY RESULT IN EVENTUAL PEACE OR SUDDEN ESCALATION

(By Harrison E. Salisbury)

HONG KONG, January 11.—Nearly two years after the United States began bombing North Vietnam, the war appears to be entering a new phase—one that may lead to eventual settlement or to a sudden and extreme escalation.

Two weeks of on-the-scene inspection of North Vietnam, dozens of talks with Hanoi officials, including very high officials, and discussions with leaders of the National Liberation Front, the political arm of the Vietcong guerrillas, and with informed neutral, Communist and Western diplomats indicate the long war has reached a turning point.

Although both Hanoi and Washington suggest in public statements that their positions on negotiations have not changed, there appear to be signs of below-the-surface movement that could lead in that direction.

Neither Hanoi nor Washington, it is apparent, is as immune to the forces of world opinion as the propaganda statements sometimes would indicate. And it is behind the facade of that propaganda that soundings suggest that not every position may be quite as rigid, fixed and unchanging as the public declarations would indicate.

Nonetheless, a visitor to Hanoi comes away with a feeling that the road to peace cannot be anything but an arduous one.

And the alternative to a successful negotiated settlement looms on the horizon: a deadlier, vastly escalated war. Both the North and the United States, it seems clear, are prepared for the possibility of such an escalation.

Premier Pham Van Dong made plain that it is within the power of North Vietnam to call in "volunteers" that are waiting in the Communist states of the world. The country where they stand nearest and in greatest numbers and perhaps most eagerly waiting the call is China.

The volunteers have not been called thus far. The Hanoi leaders make it abundantly clear that it is their fervent hope that the call will never go out.

They see in the presence of volunteers a possibly deadly blow to their most cherished ideal—national independence.

They have gone to what seems to an outsider to be fantastic lengths to preserve and maintain independent control of their affairs and their destiny. But they give the impression that if, and the "if" is a big one, the United States takes another important step to increase the level of the war the call will almost certainly go out.

DIFFERENT APPROACHES

At lower levels North Vietnamese officials say that if the United States takes another major escalation step, China will be called in. This is not said in unequivocal terms by the highest leadership. The decision probably remains to be made. But the weight of probability appears to be on the side of acceptance of volunteers.

The result of such fateful action could be explosive, not only in terms of Vietnam but also of the world. If Chinese volunteers went in, could Soviet volunteers stay out? Possibly, but not probably, observers feel, in view of the present balance of forces in the Communist world. In other words, when the North Vietnamese pose this question, they are really posing the question of direct confrontation between the United States and the two leading Communist powers in the world.

Lurking in the shadow of such a confrontation are the deadly armories of nuclear weapons now possessed by all three powers.

What would North Vietnam regard as an escalation so marked as to evoke the call for volunteers? At lower levels this was described specifically: carrying the land war north of the 17th Parallel, amphibious landings in the North, military action to cut off the land supply routes to China, possibly the bombing of Vietnam's dikes.

Would the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong produce a call? This is not being said specifically. At higher levels none of these eventualities is specified. The impression is left that in any of these events a determination would have to be made.

In North Vietnam there appears to be a general conviction that, judged by past conduct, the United States sooner or later will escalate and not merely by introducing 100,000 more troops. The indication given by North Vietnamese officials was that such an increase in United States strength was not what they were speaking of. They seemed to feel confident that they could handle many more troops in the South. Indeed, they suggested that more troops in the South would be more of a hindrance to the United States than a help.

But radical intensification of the war in the air or a move of land forces into North Vietnam apparently would come under a different category.

If a negotiated settlement is not achieved, what course does Hanoi think the war will take? Everyone there talks in terms of a war that will go on 10 or 20 more years if that is what the United States wants. They seem to have confidence that their people, particularly their youth, will not become exhausted.

APPEAR TO BE SERIOUS

When they speak of retiring into the hills and the jungles to carry on interminable guerrilla warfare against the United States, they appear to speak in utter seriousness. They point out that they have been fighting that kind of war for 20 or 30 years, that they have survived the experience and grown tougher in the process. And they think more can do it for two or three decades more and in the end come out with the possession they say is their most priceless, their liberty and independence.

Hanoi's version of what those 20 years of guerrilla warfare would be like is a picture of a total population dedicated to the struggle, to fighting the enemy, to providing an eternally hostile environment for the United States forces.

In this vision it is the total population that occupies the central position rather than the organized armed forces. Or there would be, as there already is, a blending of the regular army and the civilian population.

In two weeks in Hanoi this correspondent did not see a major unit of the North Vietnamese Army. But by the same token he seldom failed to see some members or units of the North Vietnamese defense forces.

The reason is that the defense forces now combine regular troops, newly mobilized youth groups, home guard units, civil defense units and ordinary housewives who carry a rifle with which to fire at United States planes.

They are all around, in the city streets, on bicycles or riding in big olive drab Russian trucks toward the south.

Is it possible to see any path toward a negotiated peace? It is possible but the path is thorny. The chief obstacle is certainly the deep suspicion held by Hanoi toward any and all suggestions of peace talks made by the Americans or others such as Secretary General Thant or the British Foreign Secretary, George Brown, or Pope Paul VI.

The suspicion the North Vietnamese feel is reinforced in part by experience with the Americans and perhaps in greater measure by experience with the French.

Hanoi feels that twice it went in to peaceful negotiations and twice it was robbed or cheated of the fruit of those negotiations.

The first time was when the French, in Hanoi's view, repudiated the 1946 post-war agreement made with Ho Chi Minh.

The second was when, again in Hanoi's view, the United States at French instigation repudiated the 1954 Geneva agreement and started the country down the path that has led to the tragic present.

Those two experiences, whether the North Vietnamese interpret them correctly or not, have left deep and possibly permanent scars. These have been exacerbated by the experience of the last two years with the United States.

Hanoi contends that each peace move by the United States has been accompanied by or has been designed to conceal a step toward further escalation.

It does not propose to be caught short again. The war has become a war for survival, for "life," as Premier Dong put it.

The populace has been aroused to a state of solidarity that represents a formidable asset for a country struggling against a foe many times more powerful in material means and techniques.

If negotiating should be embarked upon and came to nothing, officials feel, the fighting edge of the North Vietnamese would be lost and might not be regained, and if the war were resumed it might be on terms much less favorable to Hanoi. Since the struggle is viewed as a life-and-death one for Hanoi this is a risk it will not take. Premier Dong said this specifically. Other North Vietnamese echoed the thought.

Since the United States possesses the somewhat similar fear that if it starts on the path to the conference table it may touch off irreversible changes in the South Vietnamese political situation, the inhibitions toward taking the first step toward a conference are great on both sides.

There is another inhibition on the North Vietnamese side. Hanoi regards itself as the aggrieved party. Hanoi says it was the United States that attacked and has been bombing its territory, actions it categorizes as both aggressive and illegal.

Therefore, Hanoi says, the United States must be the one to halt—not North Vietnam. Nor, says Hanoi, should it be compelled to pay a "price" to persuade the United States to halt what it ought not to be doing in the first place.

This is not a mere semantic point. It bears directly on the question of which side will take the first step toward the conference table and what the other side will do once a first step has been taken.

The United States contends that it has said again and again it is ready to negotiate but that Hanoi has not responded. Hanoi rejoins that there will be no response so long as the United States continues to attack her.

If the United States took a first step, would North Vietnam respond? This is the great question but the answer to it seems to have been given quite clearly in the past week.

QUESTION OF RESPONSE

While he made no specific promise or pledge, Premier Dong in speaking with this corresponded left the impression that if the United States acted positively, for example, by halting the bombing, North Vietnam would not ignore it.

This impression was strengthened by the statement of North Vietnam's representative in Paris, a senior envoy, who said that if the bombing stopped Hanoi would respond.

Speaking with a West German correspondent a few days later, President Ho Chi Minh echoed the same sentiment, saying that if the United States halted the war "then we would take tea."

Mr. Thant has offered the opinion that a halt in bombing is a requisite to talks. This is the view this correspondent brought away from Hanoi.

But, if a conference were agreed upon, what kind of solution could be evolved?

Here is the thorniest question of all. For the real issue then is the question of the fate of South Vietnam. Hanoi has said repeatedly and echoed the statement last week that the fate of South Vietnam must be settled between the North and South, dealing together as partners and that the appropriate representative of the South is not the Saigon Government but the National Liberation Front.

There is no reason to doubt that North Vietnam would adhere to this position in any conference.

Would the United States accept such a solution? There has been no sign of it up to now. However, this correspondent uncovered some interesting areas for further research in talking with representatives of the Front and the government in Hanoi.

The two are not a single entity in so far as political, social and economic views are concerned. The stated differences are deep and would be difficult to compromise or bridge—if they are real. They suggest that another and closer look might be taken at the Front to see whether on inspection it proves to be the puppet of the North that the common United States view has supposed.

PEKING FROWNS ON FRONT

It might prove that the Front possesses not only more independence but more iconoclastic views in Communist terms than have been attributed to it. One thing is certain; the Chinese Communists take a very dim view of the Front's platform.

Behind the maneuver and countermaneuver in Vietnam are other forces that cannot be ignored. The Chinese, for example, have made no secret of their strong approval of the general nature of the Vietnamese conflict. They think it is going very well. They see it as the opening phase of possibly 25 or even 50 years of similar guerrilla conflicts that will spread through Asia, Africa and Latin America, eventually leading to the "encirclement" of the West.

By "West" they mean North America, Western Europe and the Soviet bloc. It is the great phase of the battle of the "country versus the city"—the same struggle that was won in China by the "country" and which the Chinese see as being won in world terms by the "country"—that is, the peasant masses, which they would lead.

China apparently has no interest in seeing the Vietnam war ended. It has no interest in a peaceful negotiated settlement. Not only has it no interest but also it is likely to oppose any step in that direction with great force.

This includes some powerful persuasives. China could at a single stroke close the frontier to the passage of arms and aid to Hanoi. China could cut off the supplies it provides. It might even do more. It might seek to reverse Hanoi's policy by calling on sympathizers within North Vietnam's leadership to oppose any effort to end the way.

A small clue as to China's reactions: diplomats of Eastern Europe eagerly inquired into the significance of this correspondent's trip to Hanoi. They wondered if he was bringing a peace bid from Washington or taking one back from Hanoi.

When he told them that he was not acting as a messenger, they plainly did not entirely believe the denial. They made no secret of their earnest desire that an end be found to the war in Vietnam. They expressed fervent hope that maybe at long last some steps toward that end were being taken.

The Soviet reaction was more restrained. But the Soviet press published and commented on this reporter's dispatches from Hanoi and their possible significance on the progress toward the conference table. There was no reaction from China or the Chinese. Not a word about the visit appeared in the Chinese press.

There was even speculation among some Hanoi diplomats that the visit of an American journalist to Hanoi and the succession of visits of other non-Communists might bring some real problems in North Vietnam's relations with Peking.

One diplomat thought that the Hanoi reaction to the peace proposals of Mr. Brown were couched in somewhat sharper language than might have been expected, simply to reassure the Chinese that Hanoi was holding the line.

There is another nightmare that haunts Hanoi's leaders as they ponder the future. This is the possibility that at some moment the Chinese internal political struggle will bring on an open struggle between the contending factions and that in the process China's ability to continue aid to Hanoi will be radically affected.

Associated with this fear is another: that the quarrel between Moscow and Peking might grow from a polemic and diplomatic struggle into a major military conflict. While many diplomats who closely follow events in the Communist world feel that this is an extreme possibility, they cannot entirely discount the angry mutterings the Russians now make for almost anyone to hear, mutterings that the quarrel may evolve into a military conflict.

No one in Hanoi can fail to observe the signs of the intra-Communist struggle. They are visible in personal and diplomatic relations, in difficulties North Vietnam has in getting transit facilities for invited guests, in the open wrangling between Moscow and Peking about methods of shipping in aid.

"North Vietnam has enough problems with the Americans," a Communist diplomat said, "without having this terrible quarrel with all its dangerous possibilities going on all around her."

With these factors in the background it would seem to be prudent to watch carefully for any sign of a situation that might lead to an honorable settlement. But here North Vietnam is divided against itself.

The declarations that Hanoi statesmen make about national honor, about independence, about survival seem entirely genuine. That is what they believe they are fighting for.

They look askance at suggestions that the object of their struggle is to spread the influence of "international communism." Once, perhaps, that might have been a goal. Some day in the future it might be again. But today the struggle as they see it is for the survival of Vietnam as a nation. They feel that the United States seeks to establish a "puppet" regime for the whole of Vietnam. This they are willing to give their lives to prevent and in this the Hanoi leadership appears to have the strong support of the country.

It is generally believed by non-Communist diplomats in Hanoi, rightly or wrongly, that the American bombing in the North not only has strengthened the regime in its conviction that the Americans aim at its destruction but also has crystallized a national spirit of patriotism and self-defense that gives the country a united aspect in standing against the United States regardless of how some citizens may privately feel on the question of Communism.

"The United States has never shown any signs of goodwill," Premier Dong said. The same sentiment was echoed by other Government members and by ordinary North Vietnamese. It was their conviction that the United States had set itself resolutely against them and that there was no real alternative but to fight it out to the end.

"We will die but we will not submit," was a phrase echoed repeatedly. It was apparent that to the North Vietnamese mind there was no alternative—no real road to an honorable conference to resolve the disagreements without further fighting.

This kind of attitude makes it difficult to take even a small step toward peaceful talk. When this was pointed out to the North Vietnamese, they fell back on the view that it was up to the United States, not them, to take the first steps toward halting the conflict. As to what would come later they did not say precisely but did leave an impression that they would not sit with folded hands if—against all their expectations—the United States did halt its bombing.

What influence do the Russians have on Hanoi's attitude toward negotiation? Not much, it seems evident. Soviet representatives stress the independence of the Hanoi officials.

One Soviet diplomat, bemoaning a New Year's hangover, said in despair: "And this is the day I'm supposed to turn in my annual report on the North Vietnamese economy!"

WON'T GIVE FIGURES

A friendly Westerner expressed his sympathy, adding, "After all, it's just a matter of writing up the figures."

"Don't make jokes," the Russian said. "That's the whole problem. They won't give us the figures on anything."

The North Vietnamese resent suggestions from Moscow about the conduct of the war and they resent suggestions from Moscow about making peace. In part, it would seem, this is deliberate policy on Hanoi's part. In order to maintain some kind of relations with its two big allies it emphasizes its independence of both. It takes no advice from Moscow and none from Peking.

In that fashion neither side can accuse it of favoritism. But if this acts to reduce the effectiveness of Peking's arguments in favor of protracted war it equally reduces any advice that Moscow may proffer about the advisability of cutting the conflict short.

The continuation of the war is difficult for the North Vietnamese people—they make no bones about that. But they insist that on balance it is not going too badly. Their towns, villages, cities, roads and railroads have taken a beating. The danger to the dikes is considered great. The rice crop is down because of bad weather and lack of manpower.

But the movement of forces, materials and arms to the south goes on. And in the south, too, although rosy expectations of major victories against the Americans have not been fulfilled, the Front says that in 1966 it actually extended its territorial sway over larger areas than in 1965—a claim that some neutral observers believe is pretty well founded.

The Americans have conducted some effective "spoiling" operations in the South but when they are completed the control of the territory drifts back into the hands of the Vietcong. Nothing has happened that has made either the North or the South feel continued persecution of the war impossible or too costly.

And, as Hanoi says, if worst comes to worst and the people are bombed back into the caves—well, they will go into the caves and the jungles and carry on from there until the Americans tire of it all.

That is a grim prospect, but the North Vietnamese have faced up to it and this correspondent found no one, Vietnamese, Communist or non-Communist who doubted that they were prepared to go through with it if necessary.

Nonetheless, this correspondent left Hanoi with a private impression that if the conference table ever was reached it would be possible for statesmen on both sides to hammer out a settlement that could well surprise each side by its effectiveness.

One other impression: in spite of all the harsh language that each side has used against the other, in spite of the desperate fighting, the death and destruction and cruelty, if the war could be ended, the North Vietnamese and the Americans could well end up excellent friends.

It would not, for one thing, require much actual contact with Hanoi for Washington to come to a clear understanding that, whatever else they may be, the North Vietnamese leaders are never going to be stooges for Peking, Moscow—or, for that matter, the United States.

They have—or think they have—fought all comers to a standstill for nearly 2,000 years. That is one reason the thought of ending the present war ever comes as a shock and a surprise to some youthful North Vietnamese.

"End the war?" one said recently. "End the war? What would we do with ourselves without the war?"

Release Highway Money

SPEECH

OF

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the Federal-aid highway program should proceed as rapidly as available revenues in the Highway Trust Fund permit.

Last November the Bureau of Public Roads announced a substantial reduction in Federal funds for highways because of increased costs associated with our involvement in Vietnam.

I think this was an unwise decision. We need excellent highways not only to reduce injuries and fatalities and to improve normal domestic transportation, but as an important part of our Nation's defense. The state of our transportation system could spell success or failure for us in any national emergency. Surely the war in Vietnam is a reminder that improved highways should be high on the priority list of necessary expenditures.

In the Interest of Foreign Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, the decision by President Johnson to rescind the 1954 escape-clause tariff increases on watch movements was both courageous and correct in my judgment. After 12½ years, it is certainly high time to restore watch tariffs to the levels agreed upon in 1936. Even at the reduced rates, watch duties will continue to be among the highest on any imported product.

The domestic watch industry has had every opportunity to adjust to import competition, and the evidence that they have successfully adjusted is persuasive. The domestic industry has steadily increased its sales and profits in recent years. Domestic production is up about 45 percent since 1960.

Some people have the mistaken notion that the U.S. industry has only a tiny share of the domestic market. But the fact is that each of the domestic watch manufacturing companies is substantially larger than the largest watch importing firm and the domestic producers account for three-fifths of all U.S. watch sales. Furthermore, it is worth pointing out that each of the so-called domestic producers owns large overseas facilities.

There is nothing wrong with this, but it helps to explain why those who have been close to this subject over the years have always looked on the tariff dispute as a commercial fight between two competing segments of the industry. It is a fight that ought to be settled in the marketplace, and the President's decision will help to assure that result.

Following is the splendid editorial on the watch decision which appeared in the New York Times of January 14, 1967:

MR. JOHNSON'S TARIFF COURAGE

President Johnson's decision to roll back watch and sheet-glass tariffs—despite powerful opposition mobilized by those industries in a Congress he no longer dominates—was an act of political courage with broader world implications than trade in those products would suggest. It affects the atmosphere of the entire Kennedy Round of trade negotiations now nearing completion in Geneva.

The Kennedy Round centers on an American offer of deep tariff cuts to persuade the Common Market to lower trade barriers toward other European countries and the outside world as a whole. Economically, success is vital to the export trade of Britain and many other countries, including the United States. Politically, the unity of the Atlantic Community is involved.

The decision on watches, a major Swiss export, eliminates the danger that Berne will withdraw many of its Kennedy Round offers, a move that could trigger similar action by the Common Market. The partial rollback in glass tariffs is symbolically important because the tariffs were raised in 1962, only a few months after a previous reduction. This circumstance outraged Belgium, and the Common Market as a whole joined in retaliatory tariff increases against several American export products.

Even more significant is the fact that the original American tariff increases for watches and glass took place under an "escape clause" which long had been a psychological impediment to trade liberalization. Europeans had come to suspect that the United States would rescind tariff cuts whenever foreign industries really succeeded in penetrating the American market.

Business requests for escape clause protection were, in fact, rarely granted by Washington. But the frequency of such requests and the lengthy procedures involved often created enough uncertainty to discourage European companies from the huge investment in product adaptation and merchandising needed to crack the American market.

To persuade Europe to enter the Kennedy Round, the 1962 Trade Expansion Act turned toward a new concept, "adjustment assistance" to American business and labor affected by foreign competition. The escape clause itself was made more difficult to use and a Presidential review was instituted that promised to roll back tariffs previously raised under escape clause procedures.

With his action on watches and glass, President Johnson now has kept that promise in all five of the cases on which he has had to rule and given Europe new reason for confidence that the tariff cuts made in the Kennedy Round will not be easily reversed.

Hon. Walt Horan

SPEECH
OF
HON. THOMAS S. FOLEY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I yield to my colleague from the State of Washington.

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to join in everything that has been said by the gentleman from Washington [Mr. PELLY], the distinguished minority leader, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. GERALD R. FORD], the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ALBERT], and the majority whip, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOGGS], but I wish to add a personal note.

I am, I think, in a special position in the House in relation to Walt Horan. I have the honor to be his successor, and I am from another party.

On the day that I was seated as a Member of this House in January 1965, Walt was to my knowledge the only man to come from another side of the aisle to congratulate a successor who had been his opponent in the previous election.

I know I do not need to assure my Republican friends of the esteem in which Walt was held by the Democratic Members of this House. He was a dedicated Republican, but he could never have applied a partisan test to friendship. There was simply nothing small or narrow in his nature.

When I was introduced as a new Member in the Democratic cloakroom many of my new colleagues could not conceal their deep regret at Walt's defeat and it was clear that no one found any pleasure in it. Walt himself was undaunted and immensely generous to me. He took me through the Capitol to introduce me to his colleagues and countless friends. It was more than a magnificent gesture of good will; I think it was symbolic of the best traditions in our American political life: That the responsibility and service can be passed not only without violence but indeed without rancor. It was a day that I shall always remember.

Not long ago it was said here that to be gracious in victory required one to be a gentleman, but to be gracious in defeat required one to be a man. Walt Horan was a man as well as a gentleman, a warm, kindly, dedicated man who served his district longer than any other Representative and served it always with honor.

His passing brings grief to his wonderful wife and family to whom he was so devoted. Their grief is shared by all who had the privilege of knowing him. That is a rare testament.

Would You Believe Drew Pearson Defending the Right to Privacy?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, we all know the reputation for truthfulness and accuracy earned by Drew Pearson over the years: a very bad reputation. In addition, of course, he is a notorious invader of privacy.

Thus, as pointed out in the following column by William F. Buckley, Jr., which appeared in the December 29, 1966, edition of the New York World Journal Tribune, it is rather astounding to see Mr. Pearson defending the right of privacy.

The column follows:

PEARSON'S STRIKING OUT IN ATTACKS ON HOOVER

(By William F. Buckley, Jr.)

Would you believe Drew Pearson defending the rights to privacy? It is of course Pearson who has done more than any man in recent times to sanctify the violation of privacy—by trafficking, endlessly, in documents stolen from the private files of a United States senator by thieves who did not cavil even at the removal of the senator's correspondence with his children.

Drew Pearson is not alone. Alas. There are others like him who will fast for forty days and forty nights to proclaim the absolute right of Miranda and Escobedo to keep to themselves the details of their rapes and murders, but who sate themselves on every revelation by Pearson of the little transaction in the life of a public and decent man.

Pearson-observers will have noted that the gentleman is widening the net. The goal is to discredit J. Edgar Hoover who, Pearson keeps reminding us, is 72 years old, and hence presumably ill-equipped to carry on the rigorous duties of presiding over the greatest fact-gathering agency in the land.

Last summer Pearson accused Hoover of misscheduling an arrest of an American caught giving security information to the Communists, and the expulsion of two Communist diplomats who were receiving the secret goods. Hoover did this, said Pearson, at the most inopportune possible moment for the sole purpose of getting himself and the Bureau some favorable headlinage so as to distract attention from recent revelations about the FBI's bugging activities in Las Vegas.

Pearson's theory was that it would have been better to let the American traitor and the two diplomats continue under surveillance in the hope that other undetected spies would be exposed. He quoted the American State Department employee who had provided critical assistance to the FBI as, in private conversation, blasting the FBI's incompetence in the whole matter. Another charge, another tedious search for the truth, which however is easily come by.

(1) The State Department and the Justice Department, not the FBI, decide with reference to their own interests, as coordinated through the Presidency, when to make arrests and when to declare foreigners non grata, and cannot be assumed to schedule such decisions solely to oblige the p.r. requirements of the FBI at Las Vegas, Nev.

And then, (2), the gentleman who was professedly porked off at the FBI wrote to Hoover on seeing the Pearson story: "When I was contacted by Jack Anderson (Pearson's associate) I had no idea that he would bring forth an unjustified attack using half-truths and twisting facts in a brazen attempt to tarnish the superb image of your organization." Pfft, there go the charges. But Pearson is unrestrained.

It is Pearson's current thesis that Hoover is regularly using methods of crime detection which are outside the boundaries of the law and the crystallizing boundaries of good conduct, and that moreover he is doing so without the knowledge of his superiors, the attorneys-general. We have seen that the specific dispute over whether Hoover has acted in concert with Attorney General Kennedy turned out to be an unprofitable encounter for Kennedy.

Concerning the matter of convention, Pearson admits that the Soviet Union bugged the American Embassy in Moscow—but "this was over 20 years ago. Today if a bug were found in the Moscow hotel suite of an American visitor there would be an international uproar." Has the gentleman taken leave of his senses? There wasn't even an international uproar when a young American was, by the evidence of his mutilated corpse, beaten to death by the Communist police in Russia as recently as six months ago. If the redundant bug were discovered in an American embassy behind the Iron Curtain, it would cause less of an international uproar than the discovery of an accurate statement in a column by Drew Pearson.

"American Economy To Get 'Breathing Spell' in 1967," Says Wells Fargo Bank's Ransom Cook

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, on January 6, Mr. Ransom M. Cook, chairman of the executive committee of the Wells Fargo Bank of California in San Francisco, made an address before the Commonwealth Club of California on the subject "American Economy To Get 'Breathing Spell' to 1967." Excerpts from his address, as published in the Commonwealth, follow:

"AMERICAN ECONOMY TO GET 'BREATHING SPELL' IN 1967," SAYS WELLS FARGO BANK'S RANSOM COOK

(From address by Ransom M. Cook, chairman, executive committee, Wells Fargo Bank)

"American business decisions in the international field must constantly be approached long range to keep our projections for the future from becoming too romantic. We make our plans for ten to twenty years into the future with short-range plans subject to modification as conditions warrant, but always with a steady eye on our long-range objectives.

The emotional trail may have even more significance for the future. Why are we in a dilemma over our balance of payments and the Great Society program? Do we believe improving the economic lot of the poor here and all over the world is good business or is our conscience bothering us? Or, perhaps it is fear of war induced among frustrated and despairing people by troublemakers, where seeds of discontent can blossom into fighting? All three of these factors influence our foreign policy and aid programs.

FREE-ENTERPRISE TO EXPAND

In 1967 we will have to do some deep soul searching respecting our balance of payments. New rules have already been laid down for industry and banking which might hurt our long-range international position and even be detrimental to world economic development.

A sharp increase on the part of American industry in Europe and Great Britain has occurred in the past several years stimulated by Marshall Plan aid, glowing prospects for the European common market, and an improved attitude toward change. This has absorbed a lot of money, created many jobs in Europe. On balance it would seem that this activity has been stimulating, generally beneficial to the standard of living of people in Europe, and profitable to the American businessman.

EUROPEAN STOCKS SLUMP

For some lines of business the opportunity for profit and growth still seems nearly twice as favorable in parts of Europe as it does in the United States.

But some of the glow is off the common market picture. Profit prospects in many lines are less attractive than in the past few years. European stock market prices have declined.

American industries are finding that their original business policies need more attunement to European attitudes.

Aggressive American policies have brought about some change in the business pattern in Europe. While the "mama-papa" type business is still very important, it naturally under these conditions loses position somewhat. This enforced change in business habits has created resentments.

WARY JAPANESE

For Asia, Japan is coming out of the slump following a too rapid expansion and is depending for its future growth and economic stability on expanding export markets. American industry would like to base more operations in Japan to export from there, and is impatient with Japanese reluctance to permit foreign equity—while accepting foreign loans.

Short range, there seems no probability of a change in their attitude, but long range the opposite might come about. If or as the Japanese become less wary and fearful of foreign participation in their business affairs, as they expand their business horizons and if or as they move to a better proportion of equity to debt in their business structures, they will no doubt come to accept more foreign participation in business ownerships.

Expansion of economic activity in Southeast Asia must be slow. It promises to be, with our government's blessing, very much in the hands of the Japanese but national and religious prejudices will not disappear quickly.

COMMONWEALTH VERSUS COMMON MARKET

It will be some time before fully responsible governments will emerge in some parts of this area, a step precedent to some of the activities of the Asia Development Bank. And even more time may be needed before these economies will produce credit-worthy prospective borrowers who are able to productively use loans from the bank, and repay them.

Much hinges on England's relationship with the common market. The road in is rough but desirable. Should they be successful, however, Canada, Australia and New Zealand may find themselves much more closely identified with the United States and the economy of the Pacific.

FOOD PRICES UP

The pressure to increase food prices will mount and our food grants to other parts of the world, in addition to our aid in developing food production in other countries, will have a continuing adverse effect on our balance of payments.

Regarding our balance of payments, we have to make a number of assumptions.

First, domestic conditions for the coming year will continue for several months more in a declining rate of domestic growth in business volume and profits. While the profit squeeze will in some cases actually reduce earnings, the broader indication is that a high volume of inflationary pressures will more than offset the softening price tendencies and increased wage payments, so that gross business volume will increase significantly although less than last year. However, earnings may increase only half as well proportionately.

When we talk of a business downturn the downturn we discuss is only in the rate of increase. Our economy is structured for growth and dislocations would be severe even if all that happened to our economy would be that growth stopped.

HIGHER PROFITS ABROAD

Second, the war in Southeast Asia will be with us for a long time. Cash and manpower drains will not be expected to diminish in the coming year but to continue at somewhere close to present levels. When the war is over, we are committed to very large expenditures for rehabilitation and development in the Southeast Asian area. This type of expenditure has a very adverse effect on our balance of payment, and we seem to be locked into it.

NO MORE COMPLAINTS

Third, money in this country will ease to a degree, although not drastically.

The fourth assumption is that our fiscal federal budget through 1967 will be in substantial deficit and that there will be no tax increase, at least within the time necessary to have any very drastic affect on this budget.

There seems to be a case for expanding both production and sales in several world markets. Failure to do this might potentially weaken our financial postion and deprive American corporations of higher profit margins than are available domestically.

We will find American banks with overseas branches releasing the Euro-dollars they borrowed in '66 at very high prices and returning them to the available supply of Euro-dollars.

A few years ago Europeans were complaining that we were exporting inflation to them by flooding their markets with dollars resulting from our world aid programs. As American industry moved into Europe, attracted by the prospects for the common market and the expansion of European business, the balance of payments was further aggravated by big movements of capital abroad.

WORLD HOUSE CLEANING

This coming year, we can see the American banks releasing perhaps as much as $2 billion back into the Euro-dollar market. We will also assume that trade balances will not change too much as the coming year looks like a house-cleaning period with everyone working on increasing exports and reducing imports. We seem to be staring at a very substantial overall increase in short-term dollar claims against us owned abroad.

While the demands of American industry for Euro-dollars exceeded the supply last year, the opposite could be true this year. Rates should soften somewhat and would seem to provide funds for American industry to tap to finance foreign expansion. Two warnings seem indicated. First, that these dollars are short-term more or less hot money, and the needs of American industry for expansion are generally for intermediate or long-term money. The marriage of these two kinds of money transactions can be quite disastrous.

NEED SELF-DISCIPLINE

Second, a flood of Euro-dollars to Europe resulting from an increase in our balance of payments deficit could provide Europeans with more dollars than they want to own and renew the drain on our gold supply. This would certainly heat up the discussions on the suitabitily of the dollar as a reserve currency and bring us a whole nest of embarrassments.

Most European nations have reduced government spending and government borrowings in the private market. This is going to have a retarding effect on their business activity for 1967 but makes 1968 look good. Having taken this punishment themselves, they will take a dim view on holding an excessive supply of dollars, when we have not used the same kind of self-discipline.

GREAT NEXT STEP

The indicated down-turn in the private sector in this country poses a real problem for our government in deciding how to handle the budget deficit, a balance of payments deficit and maintain confidence in the dollar.

We think the American economy will get a well-deserved breathing spell in 1967 which will slow down the strong inflationary pressures and will no be too alarming. The Vietnam war will keep disposable income high and when the 1967 adjustment has been completed, there will be the renewal of housing construction and programs of the Great Society to recharge business activity. Relatively hgh interest rates will stimulate savings and provide the financial base for our next step ahead. The better we control inflation, the faster the savings will grow and the greater our next step ahead can be.

PROSPECTS GOOD FOR 1968

While financing of foreign capital expenditures seems reasonably available through Euro-dollar sources, the nature of these funds will limit their use. Interest rates in Europe will drift a bit lower.

The general period of adjustment going on in the coming year in many parts of the world make prospects for 1968 look better than 1967.

SOBER DECISIONS A MUST

A prominent European banker recently made this observation—"Booms in the past have been predicated on social changes or new products that excited the consumers and stimulated markets." Housing has done it, defense activities, color television is perhaps the latest. What do you have up your sleeve now that is new and will provide the stimulant for the next boom? But even if you don't have anything, what better currency is there to own than the dollar?

We believe that a more responsible tax position will be taken in the months ahead and are encouraged by the signs throughout many parts of the world, including our country, that some more sober fiscal decisions are being made and publicly accepted.

Don't Stop With Powell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, there has been unfortunate emphasis on the personality of Representative ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, of New York, rather than on the ethics and legality of his actions. A very timely and practical editorial in the Saturday January 14, 1967, Chicago Daily News merits the attention of all who serve in the legislative branch:

DON'T STOP WITH POWELL

Adam Clayton Powell's bleat that he had done no worse than many of his colleagues was, of course, irrelevant to the matter at hand. Congress had plenty of reason to keep him out of his House seat until further inquiry. He has been a disgrace to his office, and to the nation he represents. Most particularly, he has by his profligate conduct brought shame to a race that, whether it wholly realizes it or not, deserves far better than to be represented by Adam Clayton Powell.

And yet it is safe to conclude that Powell could have gone on his free-wheeling, free-spending way indefinitely without causing a ripple among his colleagues, except for his involvement in a criminal contempt of court charge. That put him on the wrong side of the law for sure, and put Congress in the position of not being able to ignore him.

For Congress dearly hates to expose or censure one of its own.

The record of congressional starts and stops (especially stops) in various probes of its members gives credence to Powell's suggestion that certain of his colleagues are up to their elbows in petty or grand chicanery.

This would be a good time to ventilate that subject, too—not for the purpose of diluting the case against Powell, but in the interest of a little more rectitude in a body that should be at constant pains to keep itself above reproach.

Whether Congresses of the past had any better morals than those of recent years we cannot say. But there is no mystery about how members occasionally get corrupted these days.

With hundred-million-dollar government contracts commonplace in a context of lax and fuzzy laws governing conflict of interest, the legitimacy of campaign contributions, and so forth, temptation is constantly present. When a half-dozen votes rounded up in the cloakroom could spell a million dollars of profit for a firm and a tithe of that sum for the man who made it possible, the only insurance against corruption is eternal vigilance. The Dodd case, the Bobby Baker case, the Powell case all testify that there has been little vigilance.

The House will and must look into the Powell case. At the same time, it should give prompt consideration to means of tightening checkreins on all congressmen, to make the law clearer, corruption more difficult, and exposure surer than now.

Government Consolidation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, Los Angeles County has taken a significant step in the matter of consolidating fragmented local government by merging its city and county health departments. Careful study is now being given to the very important area of consolidating Los Angeles' law enforcement agencies. I cannot stress too strongly the paramount importance of this study.

The following editorial in the Los Angeles Times of January 9 concerns itself with these problems, and I call it to the attention of the House.

The President, in his state of the Union message, raised the same issue, pointing to the need for greater efficiency in the organization and methods of administration on all levels of government. His proposal to combine the Commerce and Labor Departments in Washington dramatizes this point.

The editorial referred to follows:

THE GOVERNMENTAL MAZE

Los Angeles County is 7 million people living in a bewildering maze of fragmented local government—and looking for a way out.

The proliferation of separate cities and special districts produced a divison of authority that increasingly diluted governmental responsibility. Duplication and competition inevitably led to waste and inefficiency.

Historically, as the population of the metropolis grew larger, the average size and scope of its sub-governments grew smaller.

As the problems of urban existence expanded and became more complex, the capacity of the decentralized agencies to meet new challenges diminished.

Once formed, this labyrinth of 76 municipalities and more than 600 special districts has resisted structural change. But now population growth has so compounded urban problems—and the price of their solution—that new approaches are essential.

Political boundaries demand new scrutiny when they become artificial barriers to effective action on area-wide problems or to more economical supplying of public services.

Yet the remedies are often more apparent than real. There is no single, simple formula for making local government more efficient, more responsive and less costly. The difficulty, however, must never deter continuous efforts for improvement.

The proposed merger of the Los Angeles Police Department and Sheriff's Department provides an example of the complex factors involved in governmental consolidation.

At first glance, the uniting of the county's two major law enforcement agencies seems eminently reasonable. Any such decision, however, must be carefully examined to make certain the end result is not merely a larger force but one that operates more effectively and at less cost.

The Board of Supervisors acted properly in calling for a thorough study of the possibilities of consolidation by its outstanding Citizens Committee on Economy and Efficiency. Surprisingly, no such independent, in-depth examination has ever been conducted, despite periodic discussion of the merger by various official bodies.

Committee members may find that consolidation should be limited to certain police services and facilities, such as training, records, communication and purchasing. A complete merger would pose major questions of control, organization and assimiliation of personnel, as well as inevitable political problems. Further, it must be noted that the over-all level of law enforcement in the county cannot be substantially raised until the dozens of smaller municipal police departments are part of a comprehensive plan.

Functional consolidation, however, already is widespread in law enforcement. Training, laboratory and investigative assistance is continuously provided other departments by both the Sheriff's Department and the LAPD. A total of 29 communities also contract with the county for all police protection services.

Such consolidation of functions also occurs frequently in other areas of public service throughout the county. The county government provides health, assessment and tax collection services for all but two cities while assuming countywide responsibility for air pollution and flood control. Numerous other contracts link the county and cities as well as cities with cities for more advantageous joint action.

Study of the proposed law enforcement merger should develop many other possibilities of mutually advantageous joint effort, including fire departments.

The potential seems limitless, but it can be achieved only after thorough study and thoughtful consideration of the disadvantages as well as the benefits of further consolidation.

The General Practitioner Is Not Being Replaced

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, with all our appropriate concern about matters involving public health—and the Federal role in relation thereto—one problem, though a very real one, has so far escaped all but the periphery of recent congressional attention.

That problem, which day by day is assuming ever greater urgency, is the serious shortage of general medical practitioners. The problem is especially acute in rural areas and suburban areas, though its effect is likewise being felt, in this age of specialization, in urban centers, as well.

There are numerous approaches toward alleviating the problem that could well be worthy of our consideration, but—and this is my point—consider them we should. As a beginning point, perhaps the following piece from the Wall Street Journal for January 17—which I now include under leave to set forth extraneous material—will be of interest to those of my colleagues who share my concern with the diminishing numbers of general practitioners, and may also serve to interest others not yet aware of such a problem.

The article follows:

NEW MEDICAL "SPECIALIST": THE GP

(By Jonathan Spivak)

HERSHEY, PA.—This famed cocoa-making community will soon be the setting for an adventuresome experiment in medical education.

The Pennsylvania State College of Medicine, which opens this fall, will seek solutions to one of the nation's most pressing medical problems—training doctors dedicated to the art of general medical practice and capable of caring for the entire family.

The spread of medical specialization has already drastically diminished the rolls of the American general practitioner. There are only 72,000 now, compared with 112,000 three decades ago. The GP is outnumbered by the specialist three to one and the fragmentation of medical care continues unabated. "The threat is not that the GP is being demeaned; he is not being replaced," declares Dr. Raymond Pruitt, Baylor University's vice president for medical affairs.

To help reverse this trend, Penn State Dean George T. Harrell has persuaded three local general practitioners to join the new medical school as fulltime faculty, forming a Department of Family and Community Medicine. The local doctors, now taking refresher training for their professional chores, will continue to care for their own 2,000 patients at the school. Offices and examining rooms are being provided, as well as access to the new 350-bed hospital being built at the Hershey Medical Center.

"Here we will try to define the area of competence of the general practitioner," says Dr. Harrell. As part of their training, students will participate in the care of the same families for four years, ministering to minor ailments, handling emotional upsets and managing chronic medical difficulties.

COPING WITH NONMEDICAL NEEDS

Dr. Harrell's hope is to interest students in the rewards of routine family practice or, at least, infuse them with a personal concern for patients, however specialized their subsequent careers. Courses in religion, sociology and other such subjects will be emphasized, to develop the physician's ability to cope with his patient's non-medical needs.

Traditionally, medical schools have concentrated on the coldly clinical aspects of medicine, particularly training in the diagnosis and treatment of the acutely ill. Usually the student sees the patients only briefly in the hospital; there is scant emphasis on preventive or follow-up care or on the medical needs of other family members. Education efforts at the hospital's outpatient clinic, which most closely approximates the GP's practice, are usually poorly organized and often ignored. What's missing is a stress on providing comprehensive, continuous care.

But now many leading medical educators, at Penn State, Harvard, Vanderbilt, Baylor and elsewhere, are beginning to grapple with the problem of properly preparing students for general practice.

The best approach, many experts agree, is to elevate general practice to a specialty itself—paradoxical as that may sound—because specialty status promises more pay and prestige. Instead of a catch-all year of hospital internship after medical school, the student receives three or four years of residency training in family practice.

The influential American Medical Association and the American Academy of General Practice, the GPs' professional group, favor the change. But the details are already being debated.

One issue: Who sets the educational standards? The General Practice Academy insists it should have the major role, but many medical educators lean to the internal-medicine specialist. Clearly, family-practice training will draw heavily on the talent of the internist, who deals mainly in the diagnosis of disease. But many internists become specialists in the ailments of a single organ, such as liver or lung. The family physician doesn't need such an intimate knowledge of infrequent afflictions. But he does need some training in obstetrics, pediatrics and emergency surgery, plus a grounding in psychiatry, because many of his patients will have emotional as well as physical complaints.

Whatever their educational content, the family-practice programs will encounter organizational obstacles. Many medical-school deans are eager to start, but their department heads, specialists themselves and frequently more powerful personages, may feel more allegiance to their specialty organizations than to the school.

Also, where will the added faculty come from? Experienced private practitioners may hesitate to return to the campus. Talented young graduates may be unwilling to immerse themselves in routine medical care concerns when academic advancement and research renown repose in the specialties.

The toughest task, though, will be insuring that prospective family doctors acquire practical experience by treating patients. To do this, the medical school must take on responsibility for care of a large group of local residents; Dr. Stanley Olson, who heads a family-practice program at Vanderbilt, estimates the desired number at about 5,000. Many schools will hesitate, however. Extension from teaching into service is likely to stir savage struggles with local practitioners. One way schools can minimize "town versus gown" rivalries is to limit care to the poor or to patients referred by local doctors. But a full-fledged family-practice program almost inevitably invades the private practitioner's domain.

Better education alone won't solve all of the general practitioner's problems, medical men point out. Family practice must be made more satisfying, personally and professionally. "You could set up general practice programs in every school in the country, but if that was the only thing that was done you'd still not solve the problem," declares Dr. Robert Marston, an associate director of the Government's National Institutes of Health.

In many parts of the country the GP has trouble acquiring hospital privileges; thus, the specialist automatically takes over when the GP's patient becomes seriously ill. Even in rendering routine care the GP is handicapped by a lack of convenient, dependable X-ray and laboratory facilities. Much of his time is consumed in counseling patients, for which he cannot command high fees.

The GP's temptation is great to perform costly surgery, particularly high-frequency operations like appendectomies and tonsillectomies. Yet his formal surgical training is slight, his skills acquired largely by practice; regularly he risks encountering dangerous unforeseen complications.

Some medical men discount the prospect of promoting family practice to a specialty. Given the many difficulties the general practitioner encounters, it may be that "you are asking for a second class citizen," in the words of Dr. Arthur Richardson, dean of the Emory University School of Medicine. It's argued that a well-trained non-MD, perhaps even a professional nurse, could with equal effectiveness perform the basic functions, tending to patients' minor problems and channeling the more severely ill to suitable specialists. Or medical schools could begin providing relatively quick and inexpensive training for cadres of GP's to provide such fundamental treatment.

Still, steps could be taken to lighten the family physician's load and make his career as a specialist more challenging. Non-professional assistants could take over some of his duties, such as giving nutritional and prenatal advice and taking routine histories. The physician would be free to serve more patients, spend more time with the acutely ill, make his medical judgments more deliberately.

More widely available post-graduate education could keep the practicing doctor abreast of medical developments; brief refresher courses already are offered at medical centers and elsewhere. Teaching aids such as closed-circuit television could be installed in his office. But many educators insist that more radical remedies are required, that changes in medical practice come too fast and reach too far to be mastered by such makeshifts.

DOCTOR WOULD RETURN TO SCHOOL

So there's growing support for some system that would regularly return the family doctor to medical school for months or a year at a time, at government expense (Dr. James Shannon, NIH director, is one advocate). Young residents could be dispatched to care for the doctor's patients, as the final preparation for their own private practices.

Even more directly could the Government help GPs render better service. Indeed, this is one aim of the NIH heart-cancer-stroke program now getting under way. The NIH wants to export high standards of urban medical care to smaller communities. Modern X-ray machines and laboratory equipment could be provided so local practitioners are assured high-quality diagnostic help; special units for care of heart patients and others acutely ill could be installed at local hospitals; the list is probably limitless.

Also, the GP of the future may be a member of a many-specialist medical group, coordinating the care his patients receive from other medical men. At Houston's famed Methodist Hospital, for example, this role is filled by a doctor known as the general internist. "He's the key to my care," says Hospital Administrator Ted Bowen. "He's the one I relate to."

Thus, the trend toward specialization may increase, not diminish, the patient's preference for a general medical adviser. How well today's educators succeed in overcoming the doctor's distaste for general practice could be the key to the public's satisfaction with medical care in the decades ahead.

Ukrainian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, among tens of millions of non-Russian people suffering under the Communist regime of the Kremlin, the Ukrainians are the largest ethnic element. They have sacrificed much. For more than 45 years they have been among the most victimized national minority groups in the Soviet Union.

Before the end of the First World War when the callous autocracy of the czars in Russia collapsed, the Ukrainians hoped to attain their freedom. The Russian Revolution of 1917 offered them the real opportunity; they seized upon it and proclaimed their national independence on January 22, 1918. Unfortunately for the Ukrainians, and their friends everywhere, that independence lasted for only a short time. In 1920 the country was attacked by the Red army, overrun, and the Ukrainian Republic vanished as quickly as it was born 2 years earlier. Soon the country was incorporated into the Soviet Union, and to this day remains chained to that Union. There in their homeland more than 40 million Ukrainians are prisoners, being isolated from the outside world. They are deprived of all forms of freedom, even though in recent years there has been considerable relaxation and thawing in the unrelenting Communist regime. We in the free world observe the anniversary of their Independence Day and hope that they will again regain their freedom and live in peace in their homeland.

Rhodesia: Colony, Not State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks a number of arguments have been made in opposition to the United Nations sanctions against the Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia.

Among the most articulate opposition I have seen was an article on the editorial page of one of the Nation's leading newspapers. The article raised several questions about the legality of the U.N. position.

To clarify my thinking on this subject, I sought the advice of a man I consider an expert, Prof. Charles H. McLaughlin, chairman of the Political Science Department at the University of Minnesota. Professor McLaughlin, who is spending the current academic year teaching at the University of Hawaii, responded thoughtfully and in detail to the assertions in the article. His reasoning was so sound that I want to include his letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The article took issue with, among other thing, "vociferous U.N. partisans of 'action now' against Rhodesia" who "argue that Salisbury isn't legitimately independent, just because its declaration of independence was 'unilateral.'"

Professor McLaughlin had this to say in answer to my letter:

> I have little doubt of the correctness of your view that Rhodesia must in a legal sense be regarded at this stage as still a self-governing colony of the United Kingdom. There would be no objection to saying that it is a state in a *de facto* sense, since it has maintained its control of the territory and population of the colony in the face of British economic sanctions for more than a year since the declaration of independence on November 11, 1965. But it is not a state in the *de jure* sense of one recognized as a member of the society of nations, subject as an international legal person to the system of international law; i.e., it is not a legitimate state.
>
> Of course it must be conceded that if a *de facto* government succeeds in maintaining its independent control of the territory and population against the mother country from which it has broken away, for an indefinite period successfully resisting any pressures the mother country can apply, there must eventually come a time in which it must be considered independent in the fullest *de jure* sense.

The author of the article, Professor McLaughlin went on, "apparently thinks that point has been passed."

He continues:

> I do not, for two reasons:
>
> First, the United Kingdom has neither conceded independence nor ceased to apply measures designed to bring the Smith government to terms. On the contrary it has plainly stated that independence would be granted only if the Rhodesian government accepts and incorporates into its constitution certain conditions designed to assure rapid movement toward majority government, or alternatively if independence under the 1961 constitution can be shown to have public approval by a referendum of the entire population or at least of the present electorate plus all African taxpayers. When the Smith government refused to meet these conditions the British Government indicated that it would apply such non-military sanctions as might be required to compel submission. That the sanctions have to date proved unsuccessful does not demonstrate that the British position has been lost, for far from abandoning economic pressures the British Government has now secured a very substantial escalation of them in the United Nations sanctions program. Even without this it was by no means clear that Rhodesia could continue indefinitely to resist the more limited program.
>
> Second, there has been no general recognition of Rhodesian independence by other states which could be pointed to as overruling the British position. Indeed, *de jure* recognition of Rhodesia at a time when the British are still actively applying pressures to compel submission would in international law constitute a premature recognition and therefore an improper intervention into a civil conflict. As far as I know only the Union of South Africa and the Portuguese African colonies have assisted Rhodesia, and other states have refrained from extending aid or recognition to Rhodesia. Further, a great majority have voted for the United Nations sanctions. Under these circumstances it surely cannot be said that there has been any support from the society of nations for Rhodesian independence. As we have no other test of *de jure* independence than the crude one of general recognition of it by other states, this would seem to be decisive.

In discussing the principle of national self-determination as it applies to Rhodesia, Professor McLaughlin wrote:

> Rhodesia has long been a self-governing colony. A few years ago Great Britain formed the Federation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, but the Federation presently came apart at the seams, mainly because African nationalists

feared it might become subject to a regime of white minority supremacy. Subsequently Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland became the independent states of Zambia and Malawi, respectively. The United Kingdom Government could hardly admit their right to self-determination and independence without conceding as much to Southern Rhodesia, i.e., what we now call simply Rhodesia. This is so clearly true that we need not enter into discussion of the difficulties of the principle of self-determination as it appears in other contexts. It is in fact a principle which, although often applauded by the United Nations and others, has never been defined with precision. The determination what is a "nation" for purposes of self-determination may well fix in advance the result of the process of determination by including or omitting peoples whose vote is critical to the result of the plebiscite. Again, a feeling of nationality among a people is no guaranty that it possesses the means of defense and economic viability requisite for effective statehood. Fortunately we escape these perplexities in the case of Rhodesia, for it seems sufficiently integrated by historical circumstances and economic development that no one seriously contends it is not an appropriate unit for self-determination. Why then, [the author] seems to ask, do we not recognize the act of national self-determination which has taken place?

The answer, surely, must be that we cannot regard what has happened as a true act of national self-determination because the nation was not generally involved in it but only a small minority comprising the white population and a few unrepresentative African chieftains. This is precisely the point the British Government made in stating that it could not accept independence on the basis of the 1961 constitution unless this were shown to have truly national support by a general referendum. The Smith government in refusing to accept this challenge declined to abide by the normal tests of self-determination.

The article stated that:

It ought to be impossible for the U.N. to shrug off paragraph 7 of article 2 setting forth the "principles" of the Charter:

"Nothing in the present Charter shall authorise the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state"—

To which Professor McLaughlin responded:

There is a substantial literature of legal monographs and articles in which the writers have tried to determine the meaning of the domestic jurisdiction limitation both by textual exegesis and by reference to the practice of the UN organs in applying it. The results are unsatisfactory. Such terms as "essentially within the domestic jurisdiction" and "to intervene" are clearly very fluid and relative to context. We have the authority of the Permanent Court of International Justice for the conclusion that "domestic jurisdiction" is not an absolute concept but one which must be defined in terms of current and ever changing national and international functions. Fifty years ago one might have said that the regulation of labor was a matter not only "essentially" but almost exclusively of "domestic jurisdiction." Now we have a substantial international apparatus, the International Labor Organization, which regularly busies itself with establishing labor standards by international convention and has already produced a large mass of such regulations. A further difficulty is that the organs of the United Nations have never really defined the paragraph; they have simply observed the limitation or not observed it as they thought proper. We are therefore left with little standard other than the good sense and restraint of the delegates.

These difficulties do give some color to [the author's] charge that if the United Nations reserve the right to intervene whenever a state's domestic acts are so provocative that they may stir other states to use force to restrain them, then we may open the way for interventions in the name of peace against states which are acting very properly just because less worthy states don't like their conduct. But I think he is to a large extent demolishing a straw man, for the United Nations has not advanced so broad a proposition. They have merely said that when a state is engaging in domestic conduct which violates fundamental principles of the Charter, such as racial discrimination or genocide, this is so likely to lead other states to a *just* intervention to restrain such conduct, that the United Nations should regard it as a threat to the peace and take appropriate measures. There is a very clear sense of who are the virtuous and who are the miscreants in this formulation. And certainly there is no notion, as he suggests in his examples of intervention by Arab States into Israel or of Castro-leaning governments into democratic states of Latin America, of providing a justification for interventions by states or groups of states. The only intervention contemplated under this principle is intervention by the United Nations in some form of collective action authorized by it.

However difficult it may be to arrive at clear definitions in this area, I hardly see that the world can afford to revert to the principles [the author] advocates. If the United Nations may occasionally err in overzealous application of collective measures (although I can't agree that it has done so to date), it at least will do so in the name of principles we can all applaud. There is less risk in a collective action taken after full deliberation than in the kind of international anarchy we must otherwise tolerate.

The Poverty War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, in many New Jersey cities, the war on poverty is opening the doors to opportunity for thousands of our less fortunate fellow citizens. The war on poverty is helping people to help themselves, and in so doing is bringing a new measure of hope and justice to our communities.

On December 15, the editorial page of the Trenton Trentonian featured a report by our distinguished friend and colleague, Congressman THOMPSON, regarding the outstanding job being done by Trenton's antipoverty agency, United Progress, Inc., as in most New Jersey programs, the biggest problem facing UPI is an urgent need for additional Federal funds. But even on an extremely modest budget, the war on poverty in Trenton, as in Newark and other cities, is a growing success.

Mr. Speaker, I include Congressman THOMPSON's fine report, entitled "Much Can Be Said for Poverty War," at this point in the RECORD:

CONGRESSMAN THOMPSON'S REPORT—MUCH CAN BE SAID FOR POVERTY WAR

(By FRANK THOMPSON, JR., Member of Congress, Fourth New Jersey District)

Despite the truly remarkable record of the 89th Congress, there was one major disappointment—the failure to fully fund the anti-poverty program for the coming fiscal year. It will be recalled that while Congress authorised continuation of the program at the level of $1.75 billion as requested by the Administration, it appropriated only $1.6 billion.

It would serve no useful purpose now to single out scapegoats—there is enough blame for everybody to share. But in retrospect, I suspect the old American custom of expecting instant success has a great deal to do with the general lack of enthusiasm in the Congress for the anti-poverty program.

This is a great pity for the nature of the problems to be overcome for the most part precluded easy solutions. Indeed, I have had men highly experienced in government administration tell me it was a minor miracle that the program got off the ground at all considering the enormity and complexity of what was and is being attempted.

Certainly, one of the major difficulties which confronts the Office of Economic Opportunity is that of devising criteria by which to measure the effectiveness of the several parts of its program. The lack of such criteria has given the critics a field day. Who, for instance, has not read or heard the invidious comparison made between the cost of educating a student at Harvard and a high school dropout at a job corps center? The fact that any such comparison is pure nonsense is lost.

Of the several programs administered by OEO, the one whose effectiveness is the most difficult to assess is almost certainly the Community Action Program. Not unsurprisingly, this is the program that elicits the least enthusiasm in Congress. And yet, I think a good case can be made for CAP in my home city of Trenton.

One of the major efforts of Trenton's community action program has been directed against reducing hardcore unemployment. United Progress Inc., the city's antipoverty agency, has launched manpower training programs, basic education programs and has made available job development, counseling and placement services. In its relatively brief tenure, it has placed more than 3,400 people in jobs, training programs or in work-experience programs.

Consider these facts: About 125 former welfare recipients now have permanent jobs as a direct result of UPI programs; in October, UPI extended services to 800 unemployed persons, 24 per cent of the official total as compiled by the State Division of Employment Security; more important, more than one third of the 800 had never registered with the state employment service and, therefore, presumably were not even counted as being among the unemployed.

In short, UPI is obviously reaching people through its community action programs that are not being reached by the regular governmental agencies. Does this mean that the CAP programs are responsible for the fact that Trenton's rate of unemployment (2.5 per cent) is the lowest in the State? I don't know. But I'll bet those slide rule operators in the Bureau of the Budget can't prove otherwise!

In short, a lot can be said for the poverty program if people are willing to listen.

U.S.S. "Constellation"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, many Marylanders were distressed earlier this month when the U.S.S. *Constellation*, the Nation's oldest warship, sprung a leak at her berth in Baltimore harbor and had to be extensively repaired. This mishap dramatized the need to provide more complete protection for this historic vessel, and to preserve her and restore her to her original trim.

I am pleased this year to joint Congressman GARMATZ in reintroducing legislation to achieve these objectives by establishing the U.S.S. *Constellation* National Historic Site adjacent to Fort McHenry. This bill would complete the task which has been carried forth so far through the dedicated work of many Maryland citizens and groups.

An article by Jack Kneece of the Associated Press last week summarized the proud history of the *Constellation*, and I would like to insert in the RECORD his story, as it appeared in the Washington Post on January 12:

OLD WARSHIP REGAINS FIGHTING TRIM

(By Jack Kneece)

BALTIMORE, January 11.—Walking the creaking wooden decks of the oldest U.S. Navy ship, one can almost hear the cannon fire and wind in her rigging that day long ago when she and her crew won America's first victory at sea.

An antique contrast at its downtown mooring, the U.S. frigate Constellation is a National Historical Site being restored to fighting trim.

It is hoped that the ship soon will be as it was that day in 1799 when she attacked L'Insurgente, a French ship of 40 guns to the Constellation's 36.

Exploring musty below-decks, it's easy to imagine the bright Caribbean day when the United States finally struck back at France for officially sanctioned French piracy during the "quasi war" of 1797–1800.

The French, and Barbary pirates too—safe in the knowledge that the fledgling American Eagle was still a landlubber—had been plucking ripe U.S. merchant ships from the high seas.

The Constellation, reportedly named by George Washington, was one of five wooden frigates built expressly to stop these inroads.

On Feb. 7, 1799, Commodore Thomas Truxton, whose love for the Constellation began as he supervised her construction, wrote this simple log entry: "I discovered a large ship to the southward on which I bore down."

The speedy Constellation, dubbed the "Yankee Racehorse" by later foes, closed the distance on the L'Insurgente after a 90-minute chase. After a succession of skillful maneuvering and accurate U.S. gunnery, the French ship lost its mizzenmast and 29 French sailors were killed and 40 wounded.

It was America's first victory on the high seas. It cost the life of only one American—a sailor run through by an officer for cowardice.

The Constellation saw much service and won many battles—some much more spectacular—representing her nation well. She escorted merchant ships and sailed until she was rebuilt at Norfolk in 1852.

Disputes over whether the Constellation is the oldest U.S. ship afloat (it was launched in 1797), and whether it is actually the same vessel after the 1852 reconstruction have been settled once and for all by the Navy. The Navy says yes to both questions.

The Constellation was sailing off the west coast of Africa on May 21, 1861, when its captain, John S. Nicholas, spotted what appeared to be a brig flying an Old American Revolutionary War flag.

He ordered a shot put across the smaller vessel's bow and his crew boarded the brig and learned that it was part of the Confederate Navy—that the bombardment of Ft. Sumter several months earlier had started the American Civil War.

This also was the first sea victory by the Union over the Confederate Navy.

Steam and steel armament soon relegated the Constellation to a new role as training vessel. It continued in this capacity after the Civil War.

When the Constellation was discovered rotting in a Boston Navy yard after World War I, a 30-year public outcry by Baltimore citizens culminated in the return of the ship in 1955.

Work, including building new masts and installing original iron fittings, has been progressing steadily since.

But, could the ship talk, her proudest moment would undoubtedly have been when she finally was returned to Baltimore aboard a barge, with colorful code flags flying the words, "Yankee Racehorse."

Industry Objection to FDL Program Welcomed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, the Baltimore Sun of January 18 carried an account of a speech made by Mr. Stewart S. Cort, president of Bethlehem Steel Corp., regarding the fast deployment logistics ship program. He called it a prime example of "ill-conceived government activity in the transportation field" and said that it was based on misconceptions.

The Bethlehem Steel Corp. is one of the largest shipbuilders in the United States and its president speaks with a high degree of authority on the subject of shipbuilding.

I, and the members of my committee, have been pointing out the fallacies of the concepts embodied in this program ever since it was originally announced and I am very pleased to see that our judgment is being vindicated by such an expert as Mr. Cort.

I believe that the vast expenditures called for by the program would be an utter waste of public funds and that the use of such money for commercial ships would not only supply the same service that the FDL ships will furnish but will carry a greater portion of our commerce as well.

The article follows:

CORT WEIGHS, REJECTS SHIP DEPLOYMENT PLAN—BETHLEHEM HEAD CITES DEFENSE IDEA COST, INFLEXIBILITY

(By Richard Basoco)

A major figure in the shipbuilding industry for the first time took strong exception yesterday to the Defense Department's proposed Fast Deployment Logistic ship program.

The president of Bethlehem Steel Corporation said last night that the Government's plan to construct fifteen to twenty cargo ships which would be loaded with military supplies and deployed around the world was too "expensive and inflexible."

Stewart S. Cort, Bethlehem president, criticized the FDL program in remarks for the annual meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of Beaumont, Texas.

WANTS COMMERCE CARRIERS

He declared that "a large, modern merchant fleet" could meet the same wartime needs for which the FDL ships are to be designed, "and, in peacetime, can carry our commerce and earn money in the process."

Cort condemned the program as a prime example of "ill-conceived Government activity in the transportation field," and said it was based on "misconceptions."

He thus appeared to break with the Shipbuilders Council of America, which last week cautiously indorsed the "rationale" of the FDL program.

NEED OF WATER TRANSPORT

The Bethlehem executive, whose shipyard division operates six facilities around the country, said that the theory behind the deployment program is that "such vessels would permit a quicker response to brushfire wars than we can make with present transportation arrangements."

Such a premise, he suggested, is based on a belief that it is no longer necessary to depend primarily on water transport to support military operations.

The error of such a view he said, can be found in two facts:

1. During World War II "about 99 per cent of the personnel and materiel used abroad was carried by ship."

DEPLORES SHIPS' AGE

2. "A quarter-century later—after immense expenditures on aircraft design and production and very little on ship construction—we find that 98 per cent of the personnel and materiel needed in Vietnam is being carried—you guessed it—by ship."

He added that "unfortunately" the nation is still having to rely on ships built under World War II programs.

Cort challenged another "misconception" which, he said, suggested that only "modern management techniques" can meet the design and construction requirements of the ships—"although the vessels themselves do not appear to involve any radically new design problems."

Just to design the FDL, he said, will take eighteen months and perhaps as much as $25,000,000. He contrasted this with the private development of the high-speed Mariner class of cargo ship which took one month to design at a cost of $1,000,000.

NOTES MARINER SUCCESS

The soundness of the Mariner design, he said, has been demonstrated by the fact that 35 ships were built from those plans and another 50 built from modifications of the basic plans.

Cort took special aim at "the notion that existing private shipyards are obsolete and their managers too ignorant or stubborn to adopt modern techniques."

"This basic error arises from a profound ignorance of shipbuilding economics," he said, noting that it is difficult for shipyards to adopt mass production techniques because "each purchaser insists on and gets a tailor-made suit."

YARDS AND BIG ORDERS

He defended the shipyard industry, saying that, if large ship orders are placed, "amazing results" can be achieved.

He pointed to Bethlehem's experience during World War II when "we produced at such a rate that we could complete 500 ships in eighteen months—the time required merely to arrive at a design for the projected FDL vessels."

He also said that the creation of "a whole new shipyard" envisioned as a part of the FDL program "may cost the taxpayer quite a lot of money, because no one in his right mind would build such a yard unless he thought he could recover his investment."

"NIGGARDLY" MERCHANT OUTLAY

And because of the "niggardly" merchant shipbuilding program, the builder will want to write off the yard's cost against the fifteen to twenty FDL ships thus far announced, he went on.

He described as "nonsense" the image—created, he said, by publicity attending the FDL project—of established shipbuilders as having resisted modernization and change.

Violence in the Streets: Challenge to Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am pleased to include a speech given by my esteemed colleague, the Honorable JONATHAN B. BINGHAM, of New York. The statement, which follows, was delivered at Columbia University, January 6, 1967, on the occasion of the first annual dinner of the New York State Board of Regents for Herbert H. Lehman fellows in the social sciences and public and international affairs.

VIOLENCE IN THE STREETS: CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY

Mr. Chairman, Mrs. Lehman, distinguished guests, Lehman Fellows, and friends, it is indeed an honor to have been asked to address this first Dinner for the Herbert H. Lehman Graduate Fellows.

First of all, I should like to congratulate you who are the first Fellows, as well as those who had a hand in giving reality to this splendid program, which is such a suitable memorial to a man who was to universally and so deservedly loved and admired.

I want to discuss with you this evening a topic that was close to the heart of Herbert Lehman, the battle for civil rights, and particularly recent trends in the course of the battle which are profoundly disturbing.

By way of background, let me first of all say a few words about the Negro in predominantly White America.

In a sense, it seems truly incredible today, *not* that Negro demands for equal rights should be so vigorous, but that the Negro community had accepted second-class citizenship for so long. The paradox of American life has been that while we have been one of civilization's few "open societies", we have managed to remain largely oblivious to the condition of Negro Americans.

The myth of American society proclaims this to be a land where all men have rights and privileges equal before the law, and where all have an equal opportunity to rise within the society. This American Dream was an inspiration to immigrants struggling to reach a new country and then to survive, and generations watched paupers become millionaires and sons of immigrants rise to become President.

But while this myth—which is part social justice, part freedom—became more and more real for growing numbers in the white majority, it almost never included the Negro—neither in the minds of the whites nor in the minds of the Negroes.

Even today, when the question of equal rights has been under constant discussion for over a decade, most Americans have no real idea of the problems facing the minority communities. There have been moments, particularly during 1963, 1964 and 1965, when examples of brutality in the South, especially to children, gave many Americans a fleeting glance at symptoms of the intolerable condition. But the depth and complexity of the problem could not be shown in a one-minute newsreel clip. That the "Society of the Poor" is a cancer that can undermine the entire society unless treated and cured, is a concept that has not been accepted by the American public.

The height of white support for civil rights appears to have come during the fight for the Civil Rights Bill of 1964 and the Voting Rights Bill of 1965. Most northern and western legislators and even some from the south, felt that they had strong support in their constituencies for such measures. The nation's imagination had been caught by such events as the enormously dignified March on Washington and the story of Selma.

For the Negro, however, voting rights and elementary legal protection were only a beginning. What was presented to the White Majority as a culmination of the civil rights effort, only marked a shift in battlefields for the Negro. Victories in the courtroom and legislative chamber led to a new impatience for equal opportunities all along the line, and new spokesmen for Negro rights emerged to exacerbate that impatience and ride it to personal prominence.

Arguing that traditional methods were too slow, and existing and proposed programs insignificant or even fraudulent, these spokesmen urged direct action to break down the barriers of the ghetto, to change the educational system, to re-do housing patterns, to increase job opportunities—in fact to change the shape of urban life.

And the field was wide open—the ground fertile—for this fierce approach for, from the point of view of the Negro community, previous efforts had not even begun to scratch the surface of the problem.

Whether we speak of the "other America" or the "underclass" in American society, each passing year intensifies the problems of minority groups buried in our urban slums. Poverty becomes frozen into the way of life of ghetto America. Hopelessness, bitterness, disease and crime become the norm, even for the young, and it becomes more, rather than less, difficult for individuals to break out of the pattern and enter into the mainstream of American life.

Faced with such conditions, Negro leadership obviously felt compelled to try to speed the process of change. They wanted new tools to attack the poverty cycle. But in their effort to accelerate the process of change, the Negro leadership found itself in direct conflict with much of the white community. The demand for school and housing integration and for entrance into closed unions met serious resistance, especially because many northern whites were able to separate off in their minds the problem of segregation in the south from discrimination in the north. To many whites, the northern Negro community projects an image of crime and violence, widespread narcotics usage, families on welfare, irresponsible men, unwed mothers. And this kind of image, plus long inherited prejudices, created a new and fierce resistance to the efforts of civil rights groups to speed integration.

This was bad enough, but the resistance might have been overcome by good will and wisdom on the part of the Negro community and their white allies.

The tragedy was that, when the call for "freedom now" became "black power" and when orderly demonstrations gave way to anti-social acts and lawlessness, the opponents of Negro rights were given new encouragement and support.

To already prejudiced and frightened whites, the Negro then became not so much mistreated, as the destroyer. The stereotype of the ghetto was reinforced: "the Negro has no concept of law and order; he is violent; he is a danger to the rest of society."

The simultaneous emergence of lawlessness as a pattern of protest and of war-cries that sounded like black racism accelerated the reaction against civil rights activity in the white community.

As a result, we are in the midst of a new and destructive cycle: the white community is reluctant to support new efforts in the civil rights field. This results in Negro leadership taking to "direct action" again, which in turn hardens white resistance.

Both communities believe they are demanding justice. For the ghetto, justice implies full social justice, the right to participate and share in the fruits of the broader society—without delay, without further litigation, without more legislation. To the white community, justice has come to mean, more and more, law and order and security.

Both concepts of justice are of course compatible—until the debate moves from the courts and legislative halls into the streets. For, as the vast majority of Americans firmly believe, street riots and action tending toward anarchy undermine the very structure of democracy.

This, then, is the tragedy of the civil rights movement at this time. Driven by incredible pressures from below, many of the new Negro leaders have chosen a course that is not only ineffectual, but positively harmful to their objectives.

The impression is inescapable that some of these leaders actually welcome the worsening situation. They seem to want to prove that our society is rotten and is incapable of providing equal rights for all. So when achievement is within their grasp they spurn it as insufficient. As has been well said, they will not take yes for an answer."

In the light of the record, one can understand their mistrust of our system of government. But what they are ignoring is the truth of Winston Churchill's remark "democracy is the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time."

Do the advocates of Black Power really think that a minority will do better under some other system, under a system where power is the only language? (James Madison had something to say, you will recall, on the natural tendency of majorities to oppress minorities. As he pointed out, our system, with its separation of powers and federal character, was well designed to prevent the majority from coalescing and thus realizing its full potentiality of power.)

Do those who advocate direct action, regardless of what the law is, really want a situation where the laws are disregarded by all? If so, what happens to the principle that *Brown* vs. *The Board of Education* is the law of the land and must be obeyed? After all, the main hope for justice and equal rights lies in the idea that ours is a government of laws, not of men.

(I am not saying, of course, that there is no place for civil disobedience in the fight for civil rights. Obviously, many of the most important court rulings in recent years have come about because some one had the courage to act in defiance of a local law that was in itself discriminatory and therefore unconstitutional. But there is all the difference in the world between those who advocate disregard, say, of a local police ruling that infringes the right of free assembly, and those who seek to organize, say, a "stall-in" on expressways at the rush hour.)

And a third question is: Do the Negroes who want no part of their white liberal allies ("liberal" has become a dirty word in some quarters) really think they will do better on their own?

Obviously what progress we have made in recent years has been brought about by action of whites as well as Negroes.

It was joint action that enabled the Congress not only to pass the various civil rights bills, but to establish and fund the war-on-poverty program two years ago. Limited as this program was, it was a step in the right direction. And it contained tools that could be broadened and expanded. Its commitment to job retraining and development of leadership and opportunity in the ghettos was constructive. So was the idea of programs which bypass the traditional bureaucratic channels and which bring the government into the ghetto and the ghetto into the government.

Fortunately, there are many prominent Negro leaders—probably a majority—who would basically agree with what I have been saying, who fully understand the wisdom—indeed the necessity—of joint action with like-minded whites. But one senses that they are beleaguered by the extremists, that they find it difficult to hold on to their leadership in the face of those who promise "action now". The very fact that the N.A.A.C.P. and the Urban League receive heavy financial support from white-run foundations—desirable as that financial support is—will no doubt be used as ammunition by the demagogic critics of these organizations.

As the cries for "Black Power" multiply, as extra-legal activity mounts, the ability of most Congressmen to focus on the real problems—poverty, injustice, and their effects—diminishes. When forced to choose between social justice and law and order most constituents will choose law and order. In this kind of an atmosphere, the dialogue between an elected representative and his constituents—a dialogue in which he tries to explain why he votes their tax moneys for projects that may or may not succeed, why he supports programs specifically designed to help the poor, why the interests of the poor are in fact the interests of the nation as a whole—this dialogue is choked off.

To this unfortunate picture I must add yet another unhappy dimension. As the reaction to violent demonstrations and extra-legal action intensifies, those who promise to restore peace and order by whatever means are necessary will play a growing role on the American political scene. I mean, of course, the right-wing and conservative groups throughout the country who have been campaigning for years against the civil rights movement.

Against the demands for freedom to move into new spheres of employment, housing, education, the right wing promises freedom to reject, freedom, in Thomas Mann's phrase, "to be with one's own." We dare not underestimate the strength this appeal can have, particularly if recurrent violence provides a convenient excuse, a handy rationale.

It is not fantasy to warn that frustration and fear can be mobilized by evil forces in an effort to gain power. It is particularly not fantastic when one looks at the growing conservative vote, the growing number of conservative candidates, the growing respectability of anti-civil libertarian groups, and the growing financing that is available to them.

One of the tragic ironies in the situation is that the use of extra-legal methods by those who struggle for Negro rights is sure to strengthen the hand of those very right-wing fanatics who itch to use the same techniques to frustrate the struggle.

Obviously, I am not calling for any relaxation, any slow-down, in the struggle to wipe out the ghetto. On the contrary, the very dangers I point to, the very fact that we may be heading into an era of terrible and widespread violence by extremists on both sides, makes it all the more imperative that we redouble our efforts to promote equal rights and opportunities. And these efforts cannot wait until peace comes in Vietnam. The time for more vigorous action is now.

But answers to the problems of the ghettos will not come quickly or easily. And they cannot come at all unless we can keep before the majority of Americans the simple fact I mentioned before: That the interests of the poor are the interests of the nation as a whole.

As a Congressman I shall try to encourage my colleagues and the Administration to expand our programs in the cities and the ghettos—rather than to cut back in the name of false economy. But those of us who will be calling for greater efforts, greater courage, greater imagination, cannot hope to succeed if the public turns against the struggle.

Many of us are willing to accept the challenge of securing the "Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and" to *all* of our posterity, but we face defeat if the techniques of protest are self-defeating.

"Justice is the end of government," Madison said in the Federalist Papers. "It is the end of Civil Society. It ever has been and ever will be pursued until it be obtained, or until liberty be lost in the pursuit."

If we are to be successful in achieving true justice for all, while at the same time guarding against the erosion of liberty, white and black leadership must work together, functioning as part of the single society we live in. We must reverse the trend encouraged by segments of the leadership in both communities. We must reject the notion that white and black are hostile antagonists thrown into the arena to do battle for the fruits of society.

Business Was Never Asked

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of my colleagues in the House of Representatives the activities of a man I have the privilege to know well and whom I admire greatly. Mr. George C. Seybolt, president of the Wm. Underwood Co. of Watertown, Mass., and a member of the board of trustees of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts has taken on the chairmanship of the museum's centennial fund drive.

George Seybolt's success in business and dedication to the arts call for respect and praise. With this background, he has appealed to Boston area businessmen to support the activities of a museum located in one of our Nation's leading academic and culturally oriented cities. The Boston Museum of Fine Arts, unlike many other large museums, is wholly independent of government subsidy of any kind. The goal of $13.4 million which Mr. Seybolt faces is therefore an even more vital challenge. That he is a man equal to the task is evidenced by the recent article published in the Boston Globe, and I insert it for publication in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

"BUSINESS WAS NEVER ASKED"—HEAD OF MUSEUM FUND DRIVE (A BUSINESSMAN) SOUNDS OFF

(By Alexander Auerbach)

American businessmen are a bunch of capitalistic clods, financial finks whose idea of a work of art is black ink on green ledger paper, right? Nope.

Whatever other failings Boston businessmen may have, they have among their number a core of men unabashedly in love with art; maybe not an army of them, but an effective group nonetheless.

Many of these are associated in one way or another with the Museum of Fine Arts. Some, like George C. Seybolt, are on the museum's board of trustees.

Seybolt is president of the Wm. Underwood Co. of Watertown (Red Devil foods), a job that should be enough to keep him busy. But along with his trustee duties, he's taken on the chairmanship of the museum's Centennial Fund Drive.

What does a trustee do? "We represent the public interest to the general management of the museum, and provide continuity," Seybolt says.

In addition, there are the administrative tasks of appointing employees, supervising the operations of the men who actually run the museum, making policy and discussing and approving large outlays of money.

Money is a preoccupation with Seybolt right now, for he's in the process of raising $13.4 million in the museum's fund drive.

"We've never had a public fund campaign before. We get no Federal, state or city money." There's a look of both pride and indignation as he notes the museum's independence of government subsidy.

"New York City gives the Metropolitan Museum all its money for building programs, and $1.5 million for the salary of guards, etc.

"In Europe the great museums such as the Prado and the Louvre are almost totally subsidized by the governments.

"But here in Boston even the damn trees out front, which belong to the city, have to be trimmed by the museum."

The fund drive will correct some of the museum's major and chronic fiscal problems. Seybolt, a businessman, is helping to raise that money. But how much will other businessmen contribute in hard cash?

Seybolt figures he will know by February how corporate response will be, but he's guessing a toal of $1.5 million or about 10 percent of the total goal of $13.4 million.

"Support from the business community is not great," he admits, "but it's not their fault. Tehy never were asked.

"Before World War II business gave heavily to health—the United Fund, hospitals. Then as educational institutions expanded they approached corporations, and trained them to give money.

"Cultural institutions haven't done this at all. The museum has to make its needs known, and make known what it does for the community."

Well, what does the museum do for the community?

"Boston has no real natural resources—no oil, coal, water power, minerals. The location is marginal for national manufacturing and distribution. It does have human skills, in education, finance, research and the rest.

"Our output here is in terms of I.Q., not tons. Our resources are the brains of our people.

"These people have cultural needs above average, and they look to places like the Museum of Fine Arts, the Symphony, the Museum of Science, the theaters and restaurants.

"My company has ten plants scattered around the world, and I have a hell of a time sending guys to some of them; they're used to certain cultural resources, and want them."

Seybolt leaned back in his chair and rumpled his reddish-brown hair with one hand. "Education provides both customers and workers. Art does the same, but in addition it attracts first-class personnel. Business has to learn that," he concluded.

Our Time in Hell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, during World War II, against almost overwhelming odds, U.S. marines completed the longest combat odyssey in history as they fought their way from island to island across 7,000 miles of the Pacific.

In some of the most savage battles of the war, against top Japanese troops who had vowed to fight to their deaths, the U.S. Marine Corps became an American legend.

Their achievements will for all time serve as inspiration for other Americans who may one day be asked to take up arms in behalf of their country.

Many of their proud exploits were filmed in color by combat photographers assigned by the corps to record for future generations the courage and dedication of this magnificent group of fighting men.

At this moment in Vietnam, U.S. marines are once again defending American ideals and principles against their country's enemies. Another generation of gallant fighting men is carrying on the tradition made famous by the corps since its founding in 1775.

Some among us question the validity of our effort to stop aggression in southeast Asia. A few young men deny their obligation to serve their country in combat. It is well that we review the history of the 1940's and its effect on our lives in the 1960's.

What would life be like in these United States, if we had lacked the perseverance, the will and the courage to resist the Axis powers?

The 3M Co. is to be highly commended for bringing to the American public at this propitious time an hour-long documentary in color comprised entirely of footage filmed under fire by marine combat photographers during World War II.

The title of this production, written and produced by Laurence E. Mascott for ABC-TV, is "Our Time in Hell." It will be narrated by Academy Award-winning Actor Lee Marvin, who as a teenage marine took part in three of these landings.

Mr. Marvin is also to be highly commended not only as a former marine but also as a patriotic American who is donating his entire fee for this narration to the Marine Corps Civic Action Fund. This fund is currently being used to rehabilitate civilian victims of Vietcong attacks.

To anyone who is much less than 30 years old, the awesome battles waged over these tiny Pacific islands are but a page in a history book. However, to the fighting men who participated in them, they are proud memories.

As an example of their courage, it might be well to recall that island invasions are not to be compared with any other type of combat. There is only an angry sea into which one may withdraw. Knowing this, the marines never made plans for retreat. They landed intending to win.

And they did win, island after island, in a magnificent display of raw courage and esprit de corps which won them the enduring gratitude of a grateful nation.

I feel that to be afforded the opportunity to see and relive those moments of glory and personal sacrifice is indeed a privilege which should be taken advantage of by every American.

Our Nation shall always be grateful.

Total Attack on Air Pollution Is Urgent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, there was a grim coincidence in President Johnson's call for measures against air pollution and a report on the death rate among residents of Staten Island, N.Y.

In his state of the Union address, the President called for regional airsheds to attack the problem.

Less than 24 hours later the results of a study financed by the U.S. Public Health Service were announced. They showed that higher death rates from respiratory cancer in northern Staten Island could probably be attributed in part to pollution caused by industrial complexes in neighboring sections of New Jersey.

The same official who reported on this study also said the Thanksgiving Day smog in New York could have been disastrous had it lasted longer.

In commenting on the menace, the Washington Daily News asserts the President's proposal for a total attack on air pollution is urgent. To underscore my agreement, I ask that its editorial on this critical subject be entered in the RECORD:

[From the Washington Daily News, Jan. 13, 1967]

BREATHE DEEP: BREATHE DEADLY?

Less than 24 hours after President Johnson in his State of the Union Message called for "regional airsheds" to attack the problem of air pollution, the need for some such remedy was underscored by grim statistics.

Dr. Leonard Greenburg reported a study financed by the U.S. Public Health Service showed that higher death rates from respiratory cancer in northern Staten Island, N.Y., probably resulted in part from air pollution produced by industrial complexes in neighboring New Jersey.

In the northern area, Dr. Greenburg said, the death rate among white males 45 years and older was 55.4 per 100,000 as against 40.2 in the central and southern areas of the island that were less exposed to pollution.

Dr. Greenburg, former New York City air pollution control commissioner, also said the Thanksgiving Day smog that blanketed the New York area could have been a "disaster" if it had lasted longer. He warned that air pollution, if permitted to continue, would produce a nation of "respiratory cripples."

Altho New York is one of the most populous and industrially concentrated areas of the country, the air-pollution menace has grown so pressing that even wide-open-spaces states such as Colorado admit to grave problems.

President Johnson's proposal for "a total attack on (air) pollution at its source" is urgent. And it is one domestic program from which all will benefit. Congress should give his "regional airsheds" plan high priority.

Chula Vista, Calif., Star-News Outlines Principles of H.R. 1166, Modern Governments Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the Star-News, of Chula Vista, Calif., published on January 5, 1967, an article describing the provisions of the draft text of my State and Local Government Modernization Act of 1967, which I introduced last week as H.R. 1166. Its author noted the growing support both for the Heller concept of unrestricted Federal aid to States and for action for substantial modernization of State and local governments.

H.R. 1166 would, if enacted, provide substantial unearmarked Federal grants to those States which take steps to modernize their State and local governments. Each State would first receive Federal money to prepare its own modern government program, setting forth its plans and timetables for revitalizing its State and local governments. Such plans would have to include specific proposals for dealing with interstate regional problems, and for strengthening and modernizing State and local governments.

Each State modern governments program would then be reviewed twice: first, by one of the four regional coordinating committees—to be set up under H.R. 1166 by the participating Governors in each of the four regions: eastern, southern, midwestern, and western—and, second, by the existing Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Those States with plans designated as reflecting sufficient creative State initiative so as to qualify that State for Federal block grants would then begin receiving unrestricted Federal funds in 1970, or at the latest by 1971.

H.R. 1166, if enacted, would authorize $5 billion a year for 3 years, a total of $15 billion. Funds would be distributed according to population, with not to exceed 20 percent for supplements to those States having a low per capita income; a high degree of poverty, dependency, or urbanization; and an adequate State tax effort, as indicated by the amount of State and local taxes relative to personal income.

The text of the Star-News article follows:

States May Get Streamlining Aid

(By Casper W. Weinberger)

A proposed large Christmas present for the states was unveiled recently by a Wisconsin representative, Henry S. Reuss.

He plans to introduce a bill in the new Congress providing for $25 billion in federal grants, spread over a five-year period, to states that "modernize state and local governments."

The idea appears to combine the carrot-and-the-stick approach for states with the Heller plan for sharing federal revenue with state governments.

Under the Heller plan, 1% or 2% of the federal income tax moneys collected from a particular state is returned to that state with no strings attached.

Recently an increasing number of people have come to support the Heller plan, but many connected with the federal government feel that, however desirable it might be to get additional revenues to states, nothing of permanent improvement can be accomplished until there is substantial modernization of state and local governments.

Congressman Reuss' plan contemplates allocation of approximately $500,000 to each state to enable that state to prepare "a modern government program."

This program must be filed 18 months later by each state governor with one of four regional co-ordinating committees that would be established in the east, south, mid-west and west.

The "modern government program" would outline the steps each state proposed to take to deal with interstate regional problems by use of interstate compacts or otherwise, as well as proposals to strengthen state government by reorganizing the executive and legislative branches, adopting an up-to-date system of taxation, etc.; and strengthening local, rural and urban governments through such means as a merit civil service system.

The regional coordinating committees are to be set up by the governors in each region, and these committees are required to advise Congress which of the state plans submitted to them qualifies the state for a federal grant.

Those states that qualify would then share in the $5 billion annual grants that the bill proposes.

Obviously the Congressman's bill is in its earliest possible stage, and both the drafting and the ideas require considerable refinement before any state would feel very favorably inclined to such a measure.

Of particular concern would be the fact that no state would qualify for the federal funds unless the state's plan met with the approval of one of the regional committees. The bill contains only the vaguest possible standards for determining whether or not "a state modern government" plan would actually qualify.

Nevertheless, the idea of conditioning allocation of free federal funds to states on their adoption of proposals to strengthen and modernize state and local government is an interesting one. It may well be eventually adopted in some form by the Congress.

California would have far fewer changes to make than most states. Our local government is already strong, and, for the most part, modern, and has achieved most of the goals spelled out in Congressman Reuss' bill.

However, the executive branch of our state government does need substantial reorganization, strengthening and modernization.

This may well be accomplished by unilateral action of California's state government without the inducement of vast amounts of federal funds. But it is at least possible that an inducement of the kind proposed in Congressman Reuss' bill would speed the process.

Experienced observers of the legislative scene are unanimous in reporting that few if any bills are harder to enact than reorganization measures.

This is largely because employes and office holders fear proposals to modify, change or lessen their powers and prerogatives. As a result, they fight such bills at least twice as hard as any other measure.

The Cost of Bad Air—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, last week I brought the attention of the House to part I of an article concerning air pollution which was published in Manhattan East, a New York community newspaper. On January 5, Manhattan East published the second part of the article. Air pollution is one of the Nation's most serious problems. The articles by Anthea Lahr highlight the problem in New York City.

The January 5 article follows:

[From Manhattan East, Jan. 5, 1967]

The Cost of Bad Air—Part II

(By Anthea Lahr)

"Big industries are big polluters. They are also big employers, big buyers and big political influences."—James Quigley.

The order of priority for control of air pollution *nationally*, based on the contribution of this source, is: 1) Motor Vehicles, 2) Generation of Electricity, 3) Industry, 4) Space Heating, 5) Refuse Disposal. Of course, local situations demand local priorities worked out with local control officials regarding local interests; such as auto emission in Los Angeles, refuse disposal and generation of electricity in New York, and manufacturing chemicals in Wilmington, Delaware. Thus, apart from refuse disposal, and private, municipal and business space heating, industry is the prime polluter, and with their immense profits, huge influence, and engineering skills, should be the leader in the field, not the reluctant follower.

The steady industry pressure against air pollution control is probably not malevolence or anti-social instinct, but the normal business motivation to cut costs and raise profits. But the recalcitrance of the utility industries is odd—their profits are guaranteed by law and if costs go up, a rate increase is nearly always granted (especially for air pollution control measures) by the appropriate regulatory agency.

The slogan, *Smoke in the Air is a Sign of Prosperity*, is outdated. Smoke-filled air is no longer an occasion for civic pride, but civic shame. But industries can still use the smoke-equals-jobs argument against local councils who try to impose air pollution controls. Industry can always threaten to move, unless state and federal tax incentives encourage installation of pollution-control equipment. However, tax abatement for fighting dirty air is only granted in 7 states. Industry often uses public-relations techniques to keep anti-pollution efforts at the very minimum.

Representatives of the coal industry have in the past placed an advertisement in the news media which said:

"Don't use anything which requires oil, gas, coal or atomic energy in its manufacture—such as electricity, steel, cement, clothes, food, newspapers, babies' rattles . . . any instant end to air pollution brakes our civilization to a halt . . . coal is a minor cause of this contamination but the coal industry is working hard to clean the air . . . "

This irresponsible insult to the American people's intelligence rightly infuriated Mr. Norman Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review*, who replied in his October 8th editorial:

"The American public has a right to resent back-of-the-hand treatment by the coal industry. Are we to regard the U.S. Public Health Service as a collection of quacks who are foolishly trying to deprive the American people of the necessities and the accoutrements of modern society? Are all the people, public and private, who are working on the air pollution problem merely dupes of those who are secretly plotting to undermine the American Way of Life?

"What is being sought is not an 'instant end' to air pollution but better controls *than now exist. It is possible through existing technology to reduce sharply and, in some cases, to eliminate entirely poisons in the air caused by combustion, incineration or chemicals."*

The major industrial offender in New York City is Consolidate Edison, which has 14 generating plants within the City.

Con Ed cannot shut down any of its plants long enough to make repairs and install adequate equipment to reduce air pollution significantly. Con Ed would like to burn more natural gas, but the Federal Power Commission will only allow them very limited and temporary supplies.

Con Ed would like to build an atomic energy plant inside the city, but the City would not allow it. There has to be careful evaluation before building any nuclear installation because the effects of radiation are very serious, and they do not blow away easily or lose their potency. But nuclear plants have operated very satisfactorily, and although it is necessary to proceed carefully in increasing the amount of radiation that could escape to the air, nuclear operations built outside metropoles, with efficient emergency procedures would be safer than inefficient, obsolete generating plants burning sulphur-filled coal and low-grade oil.

The economic arguments against pollution-free atomic energy and natural gas are fundamental. Atomic energy involves a calculated risk with radiation, and natural gas is in limited supply. A reduction of the burning of coal would cause increased unemployment in the Appalachians and would further reduce the role of the railways. Thus Con Ed is investigating the possibilities of mine-mouth generating of power, which would be transmitted to the city; bringing hydroelectric power from Canada as do other American cities; constructing power-generating stations along the Delaware River (this has run into opposition from factions concerned with preservation of beauty and wildlife). The coal would be brought by rail to the power stations, and then the Pennsylvania Railroad would allow the power to be brought in along the rights-of-way owned by the railroad. These are all long-term recommendations which Con Ed is investigating.

In the short-term, Con Ed can try and control the sulphur content of its fuels, plunge into research, and attempt to measure the level of the pollutants. The City is supporting Con Ed's application to the FPC for more natural gas, and facilitating the construction of nuclear plants outside the City, and obtaining a right of way into the City.

Many of these recommendations by the Mayor's Task Force on Air Pollution have begun to be implemented. Con Ed is starting to shut down its City installations, to build nuclear power stations, and to survey other sites for generating plants. Con Ed could cooperate with the City in using garbage to generate heat, as in Rotterdam, but this they are reluctant to do, because it is uneconomical, although public spirited.

"It is time that the City stopped issuing press releases and started issuing the criteria that will permit us to get on with the hard,

costly, unglamorous job of tackling air pollution at some of its most critical sources."

Robert Low, the City Council's spokesman on air pollution, is here referring to the City Administration's dragging its feet in enforcing the City Council's air pollution control law, which places certain restrictions and requirements on landlords' operating incinerators.

Until the City Department of Air Pollution Control issues engineering criteria, work cannot proceed. These incinerators must be updated by May 1967, yet the City is scarcely giving the landlords enough time to comply with the law.

The City Government is the worst violator of its own laws. The City is the greatest device for enhancing culture, facilitating social exchange, and accommodating man's genius for transactions, but the City is also a major contributor to air pollution. Its incinerators have no electrostatic precipitators (as Europe's latest municipal incinerators do), its buses are overloaded, its taxis are uneconomically large and powerful and without pollution control devices and all the department cars, engines and trucks, the City controls, are a prime sources of auto pollution; the City sewage plants pollute the water, and the burning garbage dumps infest the air.

American cities have to dispose of 520,000,000 lbs. of trash every day, and spend $1,500,000,000 for public disposal and $1,300,000,000 for private disposal every year. Only the budgets for roads and schools exceed that for garbage disposal. Each American produces 4 pounds of garbage daily, and this will increase to 5.5 pounds by 1980. The cities are faced with the increasingly difficult problem of disposing of it. U.S. cities are rather inclined to encourage private incinerators because they cost the city nothing, but it is difficult to maintain and supervise private disposals of refuse, and they pose air pollution and fire hazard problems.

Although it is uneconomical at present, but efficacious in the long run, marketable items can be removed from the garbage, i.e., cans, plastic, paper, etc., and then resold. The remaining refuse can be made into fertilizer or compacted (as in Sweden) and buried.

One chlorine user with air pollution controls recovers wasted chlorine at the cost of $19 a ton, whereas the chlorine, if bought, would cost $60 a ton. Conservation of paper (which is done in England) is not profitable, and there is a limited market for fertilizer, which is a bulkly commodity and does not fetch a very high price. San Fernando however, has a plant which removes saleable objects from refuse and converts the rest to compost. The plant works well, but has difficulty in finding a market for its products.

Efforts at cleaning the air are still falling behind the ability to pollute it, and nowhere is this more noticeable than with the buildup of auto emissions in our cities. Los Angeles suffers most from incomplete combustion of gasoline and has taken the lead in imposing a vent on the tailpipe of autos so that the unburnt gas can be reburned.

Since the California legislature required that tailpipe emissions be controlled, there are no air pollution devices on *all* cars in the U.S. But this is not enough; the number of cars is increasing every year (we produce twice as many cars as people per year), and so the total amount of pollution from cars is growing. This is particularly harmful, as the carbon monoxide from the unburnt gasoline deprives a man's blood of its oxygen-carrying capabilities. It is also very wasteful, as $3,000,000,000 worth of gasoline, which is incompletely burned, ends up in the air.

Mr. Norman Cousins has outlined the path that progress in control of air pollution on autos should take: 1) Research should be accelerated on fuel cells; 2) Research should be accelerated on fuel additives; 3) Research should be accelerated on efficient tailpipe electrostatic precipators; 4) We should take a good look at the kind of cars we are driving.

Most American cars are far larger than necessary. They are far too powerful for the speed limits imposed by both law and traffic. This especially applies to New York's 14,000 taxis, which travel almost completely in the city at low speeds and waste both horsepower and gasoline. Fiat 600s are being imported as experimental taxicabs. The Fiats have a submerged motor (thereby utilizing all possible space), travel at 45 m.p.h. (sufficient for City travel) and use ¼ of the horsepower, therefore producing ¼ of the pollutants. Hopefully, this will encourage the automakers of Detroit to produce compact, economical cars which will substantially reduce pollution from motors.

Fuels other than gasoline should be investigated, especially by the City Transit Authority, which could experiment with electric-powered and gas turbine buses, and Fire Department restrictions should be relaxed to allow liquid petroleum gas to replace noxious diesel fuel in fire engines.

"Ultimately, cars will be banned from midtown Manhattan. The question is how long will it take? How many people will have to die?"—Norman Cousins.

"Extreme remedies are most appropriate for extreme diseases."—Hippocrates.

There is a critical shortage of breathable air, and at the moment the atmosphere is a shallow, stagnant pond, and we are the gasping fish at the bottom.

Unless drastic measures are taken to alleviate this situation, all major cities in the U.S. are going to be uninhabitable. The disasters, such as the ones in London, Donora, and the Meuse Valley, will grow more frequent, and the level of air pollution will increase so as to make habitation in a city for a long uninterrupted stretch deleterious to both health and work. The air pollution is warming the air to such an extent that it could, conceivably, melt the ice caps and flood most of the Western World.

Thus, fighting air pollution, a problem bound inextricably with other city problems, could change many aspects of urban life. Cars might be banned from downtown areas (Robert Low has said that they are considering a plan to forbid cars below 59th St.); vehicles would cease to depend on diesel and petroleum, turning to electricity and liquid petroleum gas; cars would be taxed, like buildings, on the amount of area covered; the city would use garbage as a fuel to generate heat and power, having extracted reusable items from the refuse; nuclear power would become increasingly important in a peaceful role; and the Appalachians might become a center for nuclear development, instead of a depressed area, clinging to the diminishing importance of coal.

The battle against air pollution is also a battle against outmoded, inefficient methods of generating power, of transportation, and of disposing of unwanted material. By cleaning up the air we will have improved, rather than undermined, the American Way of Life.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the Record.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided,* That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Public Forum on the Draft

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, on December 21, 1966, I sponsored a public forum on the Selective Service Act in my congressional district. The public forum on the draft was held at Lynbrook High School in Lynbrook, N.Y. My announced purpose in sponsoring the all day conference was to afford an opportunity for those most affected by the draft—the young people—to express their views on the current debate as to the future of the Selective Service Act.

The choice of a high school as the site for the forum was most advantageous as if permitted an added educational advantage because it provided an opportunity for the political science and social studies classes of the school to attend the conference at the time of their scheduled class on the subject in the company of the teacher, and to hear college and high school students present their views to their Congressman. They had a firsthand opportunity to see democracy in action.

We were privileged to have as an opening guest speaker, Major Byron Meader, representing Col. William Boughten the New York State Selective Service Director. Major Meader outlined the present provisions of the act and answered questions relating thereto.

The ground rules which I established for the conference permitted each speaker to address the audience for 3 minutes and to file a written statement of any length. I indicated that there would be no debate, because anyone holding an opposing view to the speaker was able to obtain time to express his own views.

Questions were permitted to clarify any statement of a previous speaker. Thus, though sharply opposing views were presented and differing proposals made, the all-day session was orderly, informative, and enlightening to me as well as to those who attended.

At the start of the conference I presented the issues to be discussed. I explained the nature of the questions raised in mail received in my congressional office and the scope of the suggestions ranging from a complete elimination of the draft to a continuation without change. Between these two viewpoints there were the following wide range of points raised in letters and during interviews:

First. The present draft law should be continued without change.

Second. The Selective Service should be continued but amended to eliminate inequities: (a) College deferments should be eliminated, (b) college deferment examinations should be discontinued, (c) married men should not be drafted, (d) the reserve system should be reviewed, (e) hardship exemptions should be granted, (f) minor physical impairments should not be cause for exemption from service, (g) educational standards should be revised—there is work for all, (h) deferment for Peace Corps Service should be allowed, (i) geographical inequities should be eliminated. Pool should be nationwide, (j) differences between draft boards in same area should be avoided, (k) punitive actions of draft boards should not be permitted.

Third. There should be a system of universal military service.

Fourth. There should be a national service corps.

Fifth. The draft should be abolished in favor of a volunteer army.

Sixth. Establish a national lottery system for selection of those who are to serve.

Thirty-seven students of high school, graduate and postgraduate levels had requested an opportunity to present their views and appeared at the public forum.

The 90th Congress will soon have, and face, the responsibility of deciding whether we are to continue the present Selective Service Act or to revise it. To prepare to formulate my own views, I thought that it would be most appropriate to hear the views of those most affected. These young men of high school, college, and postgraduate age groups, presented their views and suggestions on the above proposals. It is not possible to state that I found a consensus on any of these proposals other than that approached to by almost unanimous feeling that the Congress should correct the existing inequities when the draft law is extended.

During the conference I refrained from expressing my own views on the amendments which were proposed. Since the conference, and based on many of the statements made by the students, I have again reviewed my position.

It is my belief that the 90th Congress should not attempt to draft a universal military service plan or a national service plan at this time. The simple fact that there are over 2 million young men who reach the age of 18 each year makes these proposals costly and difficult to manage or administer.

I believe that many, if not all, of the inequities in the present system can be corrected through a form of national lottery. A lottery would apply to all young men without placing additional hardships on the Selective Service System.

Under a national lottery, students could still be deferred, but Congress should make it clear that the deferment is not to become an exemption. Students would be subject to the lottery immediately after completion of their education. The present college deferment tests could be abolished.

Once manpower requirements for the year have been filled, those young men whose numbers were not drawn from the national pool would know they would not be required to serve barring a national emergency. As a result, the uncertainly about one's future would be eliminated.

National standards under the selective service law could eliminate or reduce to a great degree the other inequities outlined above—inequities arising from geographical circumstances, the prohibition against changing one's local draft board, punitive actions taken by local draft boards and the status of married men.

I plan to make available to the House Armed Services Committee the testimony presented at the public conference for their evaluation and consideration. It is my hope that the 90th Congress will draft Selective Service Act amendments which will correct many of the inequities discussed by these young people.

Philadelphia Naval District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 19, 1967

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I am deeply concerned over the announcement by the Department of the Navy that the naval district headquarters in Philadelphia is being moved to Norfolk, Va. As the birthplace of the U.S. Navy, Philadelphia, I believe, is at least entitled to a hearing in this matter. I ask unanimous consent that an editorial published in this morning's Philadelphia Inquirer be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DON'T TEAR THAT ENSIGN DOWN

Without so much as a warning shot across our bow, the Pentagon has fired a broadside into cherished Naval tradition of Philadelphia. The stripes so valiantly won are to be torn from our sleeve. This city no longer will be the home port for Naval District headquarters, if the Defense Department goes through with its plans.

If savings can be achieved, without loss of administrative efficiency, by consolidating Naval District headquarters throughout the country, and reducing their total number, then so be it. But by what logic can the shifting of Philadelphia's headquarters to Norfolk, instead of the other way around, be justified? Is the birthplace of the American Navy to be unceremoniously stripped of its rank, and relegated to second-class status, without the courtesy of a hearing?

Philadelphia, with its huge Navy Yard, will continue to have the largest Naval installation in the combined Fourth and Fifth districts. This would seem to be, by any reasonable criterion, the ideal locale for the consolidated headquarters. In any event, public officials and civic leaders of Philadelphia should have an opportunity to argue their case before a final decision is made.

With all due respect for Norfolk, which also has gallant traditions as a Navy town, Philadelphia has just claim to be the site of District headquarters on the basis of history, seniority and service.

The Late Honorable John E. Fogarty

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, it would require more time than we have before us today to pay adequate tribute to the life and ideas of John Fogarty. It would take more foresight than we possess to gage fully the effects of his work upon present and future generations.

A great many qualities distinguished John Fogarty. Standing high among these were his dogged determination, his devout dedication, and his fighting spirit. These qualities, perhaps more than any others, characterized John Fogarty throughout his service to the people of Rhode Island and to the Nation.

As those of us who had the honor to serve with him on the House Appropriations Committee are well aware, John Fogarty left an indelible imprint on the proceedings and accomplishments of better health for Americans as well as better health facilities and more and better health research. He was recognized by friend and foe alike as a fighter for the principles in which he believed and for the plain people whom he loved. His steadfast championship of the cause of better health and rehabilitation services; and of his State, his section, and his Nation will stand forever as a monument to his years of devoted service to his country.

I think the following poem well typifies our late friend. He was ever active, always understanding, helpful, interested in the other man's problem:

Sermons We See

I'd rather see a sermon than hear one any day
I'd rather one should walk with me than merely tell the way.
The eye's a better pupil and more willing than the ear;
Fine counsel is confusing, but example's always clear;
And the best of all the preachers are the men who live their creeds,
For to see the good in action is what everybody needs.
I can soon learn how to do it if you will let me see it done;
I can watch your hands in action, but your tongue too fast may run.
And the lectures you deliver may be very wise and true;
But I'd rather get my lessons by observing what you do.
For I may misunderstand you and the high advice you give.
But there's no misunderstanding how you act and how you live.

EDGAR A. GUEST.

I extend to Mrs. Fogarty and to the other members of the family my deepest sympathy in their great loss.

The Vietnam Dilemma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 19, 1967

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, Mr. David Schoenbrun, a distinguished journalist, has written a very interesting article on the Vietnam dilemma which appeared in the Columbia University Forum. His conclusion is that neutralization is the only practical solution to the Vietnam problem. Mr. Schoenbrun wrote:

> I was at the Battle of Dienbienphu; when I saw the Chinese mortars going into position on the crest of the hills above the valley I knew I was watching the end of the era of Western dominance in Asia. I flew from Hanoi to Saigon to Geneva with Prince Buu Loc, then Prime Minister of South Vietnam. I covered the conference and interviewed the principal actors. They came to the conclusion that Western powers could no longer determine the flow of history in Asia; that the best that could be expected for the West was an independent, neutralist Vietnam, Communist but not a satellite of China.

Mr. Schoenbrun's article is one of the most succinct and penetrating analyses of the problem that has come to my attention, and I recommend it to Senators and to other readers of the Record. I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Vietnam: The Case for Extrication

(By David Schoenbrun)

Most of the men who rule Saigon have, like the Bourbons, learned nothing and forgotten nothing. They seek to retain those privileges they have and to regain those they have lost. In Vietnam, only the Communists represent revolution and social change. The Communist Party is the one truly national organization that permeates both North and South Vietnam. It is the only group not dependent on foreign bayonets for survival. For its own strategic and political ends the United States is thus protecting a non-Communist Vietnamese social structure that cannot defend itself and that perhaps does not deserve to be defended. Our responsibility for prolonging what is essentially a civil conflict may be one of the major reasons for the considerable amount of confusion, guilt, and soul-searching among Americans over the Vietnam war. I simply cannot help worrying that, in the process of waging this war, we are corrupting ourselves. I wonder when I look at the bombed-out peasant hamlets, the orphans begging and stealing in the streets of Saigon, and the women and children with napalm burns lying on the hospital cots, whether the United States or any nation has the right to inflict this suffering and degradation on another people for its own ends.

I agree with the paragraph above although I did not write it. It is composed of sentences excerpted from a much remarked upon article in *The New York Times Magazine* of Sunday, October 9, "Not a Dove, But No Longer a Hawk" by Neil Sheehan, who has been covering the Pentagon since returning from Vietnam last August.

Neil Sheehan is not a Nervous Nelly, not a Peacenik, not a Vietnik, not even anything so supposedly un-American as an intellectual. He is a professional reporter who once "believed in what my country was doing in Vietnam," but who, as of October 9, 1966, no longer believes. Along with many of his fellow citizens, he goes so far as to "wonder" whether his country "has the right to inflict this suffering and degradation on another people for its own ends." His is the cry of anguish of an honest man who has gone far toward the realization that his country is doing something very wrong. He has not yet gone that one vital step further to the only attitude that has both practical and moral importance: the willingness to right the wrong. His cry of anguish ends with a whimper: "Despite these misgivings I do not see how we can do anything but continue to prosecute the war"—and with a pious prayer: "I hope that we will not, in the name of some anti-Communist crusade, do this again."

A professional reporter myself, with long experience in Vietnam, particularly the larger region—Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos—once known as French Indochina, I read Sheehan's article with strong emotion: admiration for the sweep and depth of his reporting; respect for his distress and soul-searching; bemusement as to why he did not include more of these facts in his daily reports from Vietnam; finally, a hot flash of anger at his grotesque conclusion that we must continue to prosecute an evil war that cannot be won. How many readers, like myself, clutched at their sanity as an otherwise lucid writer concluded that there is no way out of a frightful mess other than to dig deeper into it?

If this were Neil Sheehan's personal dilemma it could easily be dismissed in light of his valuable documentation. But the greater value of Sheehan's article is that it so fully reflects a national dilemma, broad and deep across the country and, indeed, within the government itself. I have met and talked with many Neil Sheehans, in the White House, in the State Department, in the Congress and in lecture tours, symposia, teach-ins and other public and private discussions of the Vietnamese war. At the Bankers Association of Omaha, the Community Center of Oak Park, Illinois, the World Affairs Councils of Buffalo, Philadelphia, and Chicago, the Forum of Miami, the Merchants Club of Dallas; from Garden City to Beverly Hills, from Minneapolis to New Orleans, in almost one hundred meetings with some hundred thousand people I have heard this same cry of anguish; it's a dirty war but we're stuck in it.

All of the evidence that I have seen, including analyses of the opinion polls, indicates that an overwhelming majority of Americans wants an end to the war. What clouds the issue is that the majority is divided into three groups: those who think the war can be ended by an all-out escalation, those who think it can only be ended by deescalation leading to negotiation, and finally—perhaps the majority of the majority—those citizens neither hawk nor dove, who, as Sheehan correctly describes them, are confused, feel guilty, and let themselves be pulled into deeper and deeper waters by the more powerful tides.

Of all the conflicting attitudes this war has stirred up perhaps the most extraordinary is one that every lecturer and teacher knows well; it astonished Senator Robert Kennedy on his recent trip to the Far West, when he was addressing the student body of a West Coast university. He told them that he was opposed to the student deferment system, which favors those who could afford to go to college. He was almost hooted off the platform. Startled at the outburst, Kennedy then asked the students whether they favored greater escalation, and they roared their approval. Such twisted thinking can be summed up: More War Without Us—or escalation without participation. I have run into this attitude in every part of the country and not just among students. In Omaha, the executive vice president of a bank told me that he hoped we could hit hard enough to get it over before his son was drafted. Another man told me he had advised his son to study a special branch of science that would require four years of post-graduate study. "In the meantime let's bomb the hell out of them and get it over."

Get it over, get it over, is the cry heard across the nation. For some it is a cry of personal fear. For some it is a cry of moral anguish. For most, I am afraid it is only a cry of anger—a howl of frustrated pride that has little to do with morality and everything to do with proving America's power and saving Uncle Sam's face. This attitude is most frequently expressed in the statement: Maybe we shouldn't have gotten into this, but since we have, we must see it through. Perhaps the most prominent spokesman for this view is General Eisenhower, whose recent reversal of attitude reflects this widely held position. In October of this year Eisenhower said we must do everything necessary to wage the war successfully, and he refused to rule out even the possibility of using atomic weapons. Yet I heard General Eisenhower talk very differently two years ago.

I visited Eisenhower at his farm in Gettysburg, on August 25th, 1964, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the liberation of Paris. In the course of a talk lasting several hours the General reminisced about the French Indochinese War and the pressures he had put upon the French to conduct it differently. They could not rally the people to their side, he recalled, adding that no white, Western nation could win a colonial war in Asia. He then talked about our own dilemma in Vietnam and his decision to give economic aid to Ngo Dinh Diem to help him resist communism. "That's the only way it can be done," Eisenhower told me. "We can only help them to help themselves." He thought then that we could not and should not try to do their fighting for them. Today he thinks differently and the reason is surely evident: our massive commitment to defeat communism in Vietnam has in Eisenhower's view created a new situation. Eisenhower has not contradicted himself. He now believes that the context has so changed that we need no longer concern ourselves with what changed it; perhaps we should never have gotten involved, but there is no point in dwelling upon past history. Historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. apparently agrees. He began his article "A Middle Way Out of Vietnam" in *The New York Times Magazine* of September 18 by stating: "Why we are in Vietnam is today a question of only historical interest. We *are* there, for better or for worse, and we must deal with the situation that exists. . . . Our stake in South Vietnam may have been self-created, but it has nonetheless become real."

Nothing could be more dangerous than this kind of thinking. The point in examining the past is not to cry over spilled milk or to indulge in useless blame-finding, but to find out what went wrong and why so that we might see more clearly, first, how to put it right, and, second, how best to answer Sheehan's prayer that we don't do it again.

To illustrate the value of looking backward in the dispute, let us examine the question of the nature of the war, particularly the issue of aggression. The Johnson Administration talks constantly of North Vietnamese "aggression," sometimes simplifying it to "Communist aggression." Over and over at the Manila Conference, and in its final communique, aggression was the word used to describe the war. If we simply accept this charge without checking it against the historical record—that is, if we persuade ourselves that "now" is unrelated to "then" —it will be almost impossible, I believe, to find the way to peace. Hanoi will certainly not enter negotiations as the "aggressor."

Examination of the record would show a situation very different from today. (Is that why we are so often urged to forget it?) Certainly Hanoi is taking aggressive action now in sending regular soldiers to fight in South Vietnam. But Hanoi's views, which is accepted by most observers outside the United States, is that the original provocation was committed by the South Vietnamese and by the United States of America in jointly refusing to carry out the provisions of the Geneva Accords. Vietnam did not send troops south until after the American build-up. Hanoi has been reacting to both the American intervention and the refusal of South Vietnam to hold free elections. It is also reacting to the usurpation of power by a military clique that is not representative of the Vietnamese people, and not even of the South Vietnamese, since Premier Ky and his principal aides are refugees from the North. It does not invalidate these facts to argue that Ho Chi Minh does not represent the people either, or that what we are facing is some new kind of internal aggression. That is precisely what all the turmoil has been about. From the very start there has been a civil war among the Vietnamese, not a Korean-like aggression by the North against the South. And if this fundamental truth cannot be accepted, then any kind of an honorable settlement is beyond hope. You can't settle a fight if you do not know what it is all about.

I do not speak of history only from hindsight. I watched all of this happen. I was at the Battle of Dienbienphu; when I saw the Chinese mortars going into position on the crest of the hills above the valley I knew I was watching the end of the era of Western dominance in Asia. I flew from Hanoi to Saigon to Geneva with Prince Buu Loc, then Prime Minister of South Vietnam. I covered the conference and interviewed the principal actors. They came to the conclusion that Western powers could no longer determine the flow of history in Asia; that the best that could be expected for the West was an independent, neutralist Vietnam, Communist but not a satellite of China. I have come to believe that period deserves the closest study by American citizens, not because errors were made or evil done intentionally, but because the leaders of our country, Eisenhower and Kennedy in turn, were either not aware of the dynamics that would follow from their decisions, or discounted the dangers too readily. If we turn our backs on the dynamical process that led us, without intent, into a war we know we should not be fighting, how will we avoid making the same mistakes in the future?

Our predicament began with the judgment of John Foster Dulles—a correct judgment—that Ho Chi Minh had become so popular a national hero that he would win free elections by a big margin (80 percent, President Eisenhower estimated in his memoirs). Every informed observer concurred. It was not the judgment that was wrong, but the conclusion Dulles drew from it. Dulles decided that we must organize an Asia equivalent to NATO, support an anti-Communist leader in South Vietnam and stall off the free elections provided by the Geneva Accords. This led to Eisenhower's letter to Ngo Dinh Diem, our selection as anti-Communist champion, offering economic aid. Eisenhower then believed that the South Vietnamese needed only our friendly help and guidance. This policy was based on America's brilliant success in Europe, where the Marshall Plan, the Truman Doctrine and NATO combined to provide the fruitful use of economic aid under a military shield against external aggression. The error, of course, was the assumption that a policy that had worked in industrialized, technologically, advanced, white, Christian Europe could also work in rural, backward, yellow, non-Christian Asia.

We also failed to understand how the mechanism of our program of aid leads inexorably from butter to guns. We start with the simple proposition that communism is evil and should be stopped from spreading. Therefore anti-Communists must be helped. When we give economic aid we soon discover we must also provide technological help. To persuade Congress and the people to give tax dollars the anti-Communists are described as fighters for freedom. When they fail to carry out our proposals for reforms the fact is hidden because more aid must now be given to prevent their collapse. The investment in aid and technical advisors becomes so great that soldiers are sent to protect them. The soldiers are shot at, so they are authorized to shoot back. The Communists strike harder to prevent the American program from shoring up the adversary. More soldiers are sent and bases are built. Once our honor and power are committed it becomes our war. And once it becomes our war then we devise new rules. Thus an Eisenhower who once believed that only Asians should fight an Asian war can two years later approve an American commitment greater than the commitment of the South Vietnamese themselves.

How can we avoid the dynamics that lead from economic aid to all-out commitment? The mechanism that springs the trap is our unilateral programming. By giving aid directly, we directly involve our flag, prestige and power in the success of the recipient, and so become the servant of a Chiang Kai-shek or a Marshal Ky—men who stand for the very opposite of the democratic cause we suppose we are defending. If instead we gave aid through international organizations—the World Bank and OECD are two of many—we might find a palliative for the ills of our foreign aid program. We could commit American dollars without committing the American flag.

Maybe then we would not find ourselves in situations that inevitably become polarized into the fatal alternative: victory or defeat. This false dichotomy is what leads a Neil Sheehan from lucidity to absurdity. He and many other Americans see only a continuation of the war or a "precipitate retreat, degenerating into a rout." Or, as I have heard it said again and again across the nation, "we can't turn tail and run." Of course that isn't the answer; trouble is, it isn't even the question. The real question is how to find a middle ground between victory and defeat. Is there, as Sheehan suggested, really nothing to do but make a bigger mess?

It is at this point that a huge dense cloud seems to descend upon even the clearest thinking Americans. We cannot seem to perceive the shape of that middle ground. Mr. Schlesinger called on us to find it in his *Times* article, but did not describe exactly where it might be found. He saw no reason for "our reluctance to follow the Laos model and declare neutralization, under international agreement, our long-run objective," but he only proposed de-escalation and put major emphasis on our need "to regain our cool." President Johnson too employed this in-cliche in his Princeton address when he urged his critics not to blow their cool.

It is at this point that I lose my own cool. It seems to me singularly inappropriate for anyone conducting a major war to accuse others of being overheated. Has President Johnson kept his cool in Vietnam in dropping more tons of dynamite on that tiny country than were dropped on Nazi Germany in World War II? Are doves really more hotheaded than hawks? Is there some intrinsic virtue in keeping cool before so tragic and cruel a war as this? Indeed isn't it about time to *get hot* about demanding an end of the war? It is said that Senators Wayne Morse and J. William Fulbright hurt themselves badly by losing their cool. Perhaps they did. But they have also done their country a great service and were it not for men like them we might still be awaiting responsible nationwide discussion of the Vietnamese and Chinese issues.

It is at this point that I feel only an intense anguish for the crisis of my profession and of my country. I know that Neil Sheehan is not the only reporter to suspect that he had been fooled, not the only correspondent to be torn between the realization that the war is corrupting us and a failure to see any honorable way out of it. I watch my colleagues agonizing about it, struggling to keep cool, but ending up by stepping away from the truth. They denounce the war but advocate that we continue to prosecute it. It is not that the press is cynical, but it seems paralyzed by the war, an avowed mistake, the correction of which appears so difficult and costly that it seems easier just to continue it. Many fellow countrymen, like my colleagues, recognize the mess but cannot agree on how to clean it up. Some advocate greater peace efforts; others, the plurality, greater efforts to win. Both doves and hawks agree, however, on the desirability of ending the war swiftly. Hardly anyone has much stomach for Johnson's policy of a long hard war.

It is at this point that someone inevitably asks: what can be done about it? I would suggest first of all that we stop using such loaded words as withdraw or retreat. Our problem is rather to *extricate* ourselves from a difficult position, not to fight our way out or to turn tail and run. To extricate ourselves would require a lot of truthtelling. Yet very few Americans even try to examine what others think is the truth. We charge China with being aggressive and expansionist, but most of the world believes that *we* are the expansionist power. American soldiers, businessmen, and technicians are seen almost everywhere in the world. Hardly a single Chinese soldier is seen outside China, and few Chinese diplomats or technicians are seen anywhere. We believe we are not expansionist because we clearly do not covet territory, but we fail to see that others regard the extension of influence on a global scale as a new form of expansionism. They do not believe that we are in Vietnam only to prevent a South Vietnamese Communist victory over a South Vietnamese military clique. They have long believed—and feel their suspicions confirmed by President Johnson's Asian tour—that the United States, a Pacific power, now has a new objective: to extend its power from the Pacific to the continent of Asia.

I have never believed that America's vital interests were at stake in the Vietnamese civil war. I have never accepted the correlation between Munich and a settlement in Vietnam. Mao Tse Tung is not a Hitler, nor is Ho Chi Minh his servant. North Vietnam is not a powerful imperialist nation like Germany. If Ho is comparable to any European, he is the Tito of Asia. That is, a national Communist, at the head of a small state, trying to keep independent of an enormous Communist neighbor—in the case of Tito, Russia, in the case of Ho, China. If we can live with Tito to the tune of one billion dollars of aid, why is it so unthinkable to live in a world with Ho? Why do we fight for the South Vietnamese when we did not go to war for the Freedom Fighters of Hungary or for the East Germans? By what logic do we now offer more trade and closer relations with Russian and all of Eastern Europe but feel we must make war in Vietnam?

The crux of the matter is this: should not the Vietnamese have been permitted to determine their own fate in the first place? And is it now too late to reverse that error? Can we not return to the basic principle of the Geneva Accords: the creation of a military cease-fire and the beginnings of a negotiation among the Vietnamese themselves by themselves, between the NLF and Saigon in the South and also between South and North? It seems to me to be possible and certainly desirable for the United States to change its role from belligerent to interested party, one among many who have an important stake in peace in Asia. Japan, India and Pakistan surely should be associates with efforts to end the war and encourage negotiations among the Vietnamese. The only way such negotiations could succeed and produce an enduring peace would be to quarntine Vietnam off from the world power competition, that is to neutralize it.

By "neutralize" I mean something comparable in spirit and form to the neutralization of Austria. All foreign forces—Russian, American, French, and British—were withdrawn from Austria. The Austrians drafted a constitution under which the country would not enter into a military alliance with any foreign power. This did not preclude many forms of cooperation between Austria and the West. Austria was neutralized but not neutral. This represented a real sacrifice on the part of the Russians for they were pulling out of a country they knew would henceforth be Western-oriented even in its neutralized state. They did not, of course, withdraw very far—just across the border to Hungary. But we would not be very far off from Vietnam either, if we withdrew as a result of a treaty of neutralization. Our Navy and Air Force control the seas and air of Vietnam. And we have a firm base of operations in Thailand. There would be no great strategic danger of a phased withdrawal as a result of a negotiated treaty of neutralization. South Vietnam, without direct American military engagement, might not be able to maintain itself as a non-Communist state. The Communists might well be the dominant element of a coalition government. But which is the greater danger to America and the world: a Nationalist-Communist Vietnam, neutralized by an Asian treaty, guaranteed by the great powers, or the current danger that Vietnam might become a world battlefield? I feel strongly that it is possible to bring about a situation now where all foreign forces can be withdrawn, and Vietnam first, neighboring countries later, brought under a general great-power agreement to guarantee the neutralization of Southeast Asia. Britain has already indicated it would approve. So has Russia. General de Gaulle proposed the neutralization of Southeast Asia as far back as 1964. Eventually, and the sooner the better, China would have to be brought into the great-power agreement. There can never be any stability in Asia without Chinese consent—certainly not now that China has become a nuclear missile power. There would still be great problems. Neutralization would not solve any of the internal problems of the states in Southeast Asia, but it would solve the external problem, which is becoming the gravest problem in the world.

Neutralization is not a blueprint. No detailed plan would be of any real value today in any case. What is more immediately important than a plan, is a change of attitudes and of objectives. If it becomes more important to Americans to end the anguish of this war than to continue it, there will be no problem finding a plan. Plans are, after all, only ways of carrying out what one wants to do. If we want to end the war, to keep Southeast Asia from becoming a world battleground, to neutralize it for everyone's safety, then the detailed plan will easily be found.

Neither a plan nor a prayer would be meaningful except in the service of a new policy.

We Propose: A Modern Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 19, 1967

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, as you know, the House Republican Task Force on Congressional Reform and Minority Staffing conducted an in-depth study of the operation and organization of the Congress in 1965–66. The results of some of our research efforts were published last fall by the McGraw-Hill Book Co. under the title of "We Propose: A Modern Congress."

Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the Congressional Record a review of the book by Robert K. Walsh of the Washington Evening Star.

The 21 articles that make up this book were intended, as Mr. Walsh notes, as "pragmatic suggestions rather than a partisan manifesto." Happily, many of our recommendations are reflected in the final report of the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress. In other areas, we will continue to press for needed reforms in shaping a truly modern Congress.

I am grateful to Mr. Walsh for his thoughtful remarks and commend the attention of my colleagues who have not yet found time to read it to a careful scrutiny of "We Propose: A Modern Congress."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, Nov. 20, 1966]

The Problem of Modernizing Congress

"We Propose: A Modern Congress," By a House Republican Task Force. McGraw-Hill. 338 pages. Hard-cover, $5.50. Paperback, $1.45.

Whether men make events, or vice versa, the 1966 congressional elections certainly contributed to the timeliness and usefulness of this book.

Present or former Republican congressmen, aided by the Library of Congress and legislative staff specialists and researchers, deal here with the need for reforming the methods and modernizing the machinery of Congress rather that with the problem of getting there.

Their 21 articles, pragmatic suggestions rather than a partisan manifesto, offer proposals which admittedly are not altogether new or advocated only by Republicans.

As House Republican Leader Gerald R. Ford notes, they were intended to encourage broader discussion and were planned originally "to serve as a reservoir of recommendations should the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress fail to report out a set of comprehensive proposals for modernizing and strengthening the role of Congress in the 20th century."

That bipartisan Senate-House committee submitted numerous but not very startling recommendations last summer under conditions which cramped its range and depth. The 90th Congress probably will act on some of them. The ideas offered in this book go substantially further as the result of more than two years of work by a House Republican task force on congressional reform and minority staffing.

The chapters carry such well-known bylines of present or former House Republican members as New York Mayor John V. Lindsay on the seniority system, Sen. Robert P. Griffin of Michigan on rules and committee procedures, Rep. Charles McC. Mathias of Maryland on "Managing the District of Columbia," Rep. Joel T. Broyhill of Virginia on "Reforms Needed in House Personnel," and Rep. Bob Wilson of California, Republican congressional campaign committee chairman, on "Congressional Ethics."

Most of the articles, in substance at least, began as House speeches earlier this year and were reported to some extent in news stories at the time. In the outgoing 89th Congress several of the proposals were challenged as being impractical or impossible of achievement. But this book deserves not only a revived and larger reading but also nonpartisan reflection and discussion as the 90th Congress prepares to convene in January.

—ROBERT K. WALSH.

Operation On Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 19, 1967

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, at this time when the crime problem grows ever more serious and menacing I would like to draw attention to a publication recently issued by the office of Los Angeles County District Attorney Evelle J. Younger.

The purpose of this booklet, entitled "Operation On Guard," is to inform the public about some of the more widely used methods of criminals as they attempt to victimize people by fraud or force. Materials for the booklet were contributed by various Los Angeles County and city agencies and the office of the Governor.

In the opening message, District Attorney Younger states:

> The mounting crime problem in our county requires that we make a greater effort to alert and inform the public. Individuals need to know how best to guard against criminal assaults and frauds and to know what public services are available in the way of legal information and other assistance.
>
> We hope this booklet will be useful in spreading needed information throughout our county. We ask members of the public to help combat crime by assuming individual responsibility and by helping to educate others. Law enforcement needs your cooperation.

The booklet tells how the public can be victimized by such means as bogus solicitors and inspectors, investment frauds, medical quackery, and home improvement and automobile sales misrepresentations. It covers various of the vicious confidence games and in the area of force, such crimes as robbery, automobile thefts, pickpocketing, intrusion by telephone, and others. The booklet gives helpful tips on how to detect crime and how to obtain legal information and advice.

District Attorney Younger and Los Angeles County are to be commended for issuing this publication to the residents of the county. An informed, alert citizenry is one of our best means of guarding against crime.

A Shortsighted Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 19, 1967

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, for 98 years the people of California have felt that their investment in tuition-free higher education was a sound and profitable one. As the New York Times stated in an editorial on January 11, 1967:

> California has been the leading proponent of the theory that high quality and universal availability of higher education are compatible and essential.

But this 98-year-old tradition of publicly financed college education is now in jeopardy. Gov. Ronald Reagan's proposal that the budgets of the University of California and the California State colleges be cut by 10 percent means either that tuition will have to be charged or that the doors of educational opportunity for many will be closed.

The Governor has stated he intends to make budget economies. But cutbacks at the expense of our young people who increasingly require the training of a college or a university education, would be false economy of the gravest nature.

It should be clear by now that it takes generations to build a university and State college system as fine as California's. But it takes little time at all to weaken or dilute it. Again quoting from the New York Times article of January 11, let me stress that "those responsible for the stewardship of this vital system should know that their academic institutions decline more rapidly than they rise."

Mr. Speaker, this thoughtful editorial deserves the attention of our colleagues and I am including it with my remarks:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 11, 1967]

CALIFORNIA ON THE BRINK

Governor Reagan's threatened budget cut hits the great University of California at a time when it can least afford undermining of its strength.

Disruptive student and nonstudent demonstrations at Berkeley, the giant institution's principal campus, have already caused some faculty members to wonder whether it would be wise to look for greener academic pastures. The prospect of an inadequately financed public higher education system, at a time of serious faculty shortages, could lead to a destructive exodus. The suspicion that politics has entered into fiscal policy conjures up memories of the past fate of other state universities.

To permit development of such a trend would be a national tragedy. California has been the leading proponent of the theory that high quality and universal availability of higher education are compatible and essential.

Those responsible for the stewardship of this vital system should know that academic institutions decline more rapidly than they rise. The small minority of destructive left-wing activists at Berkeley at one extreme, and the fiscal conservatives and political reactionaries at the other, represent a two-front threat. To resist both, and avert a damaging crisis, requires the persuasive strength which President Clark Kerr has shown in the past and which he fortunately seems ready to bring to the battle now.

Equally significant is the declaration by Dr. Franklin Murphy, chancellor of the Los Angeles campus and often mentioned as a likely successor to Dr. Kerr, that he does not intend to "preside at the liquidation or substantial erosion of the quality which fifty years of effort have built up."

Surely Governor Reagan must know that the decline of higher education would jeopardize California's economic growth along with its intellectual prestige. As for the student activists, it should at last occur to them that their aimless fight against "authority" could rapidly replace a progressive system with social, economic and academic retrogression.

Tribute to Senator A. Willis Robertson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 19, 1967

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, under leave heretofore granted me to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a copy of a resolution passed by the council of the city of South Boston, Va., commending the outstanding public record of the Honorable A. Willis Robertson, former U.S. Congressman and U.S. Senator, from the Commonwealth of Virginia.

South Boston is my home city. I am glad to know that the Honorable Wyatt W. Wall, mayor of that city, and the members of the city council have seen fit to express appreciation of the high public services rendered by our distinguished former Senator Robertson. I share fully the sentiments expressed in this resolution, which is as follows:

RESOLUTION

Whereas, A. Willis Robertson served the Commonwealth of Virginia for thirty-four years, fourteen as a representative in the House of Representatives and twenty as a United States Senator, and

Whereas, Senator Robertson, during this time, rendered outstanding service to the people of this Commonwealth of our nation;

Now, therefore be it resolved that the Council of the City of South Boston expresses its appreciation and sincere thanks to Senator Robertson for his many years of loyal, devoted service, and orders a copy of this resolution to be forwarded to Senator Robertson and a copy spread upon the minutes of this meeting.

WYATT W. WALL, *Mayor.*

Attest:

E. K. TUNE, *Clerk.*

Is Lake Tahoe Set To Turn Green From Overnourishment?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, the pollution of Lake Tahoe has been a matter of concern to me for many years, and I have pressed for action to save the lake from destruction by pollution and overnourishment for an equally long time.

On April 30 and May 2 of last year, a special subcommittee of the House Committee on Public Works held public hearings on the pollution of South Lake Tahoe, Calif. The special subcommittee was established at the direction of the distinguished chairman of the full committee, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. FALLON], in response to requests by local citizens and by concerned Members of Congress. The subcommittee was composed of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. BLATNIK], the chairman of the Subcommittee on Rivers and Harbors and the author of many outstanding Federal water pollution control measures; the gentleman from California [Mr. JOHNSON], whose congressional district borders the western and southern extremities of Lake Tahoe; and myself. Senator BIBLE, of Nevada, also participated in the hearings and represented the other body.

The subcommittee held several highly important and very informative sessions on the complex problems of the lake. Federal, State, and local officials; sanitary and civil engineers; wildlife and natural resources authorities; medical doctors; and concerned public citizens presented testimony before the subcommittee. The subcommittee sessions brought out the reasons for the lake's severe pollution and acute overnourishment. Constructive recommendations for the reduction of pollutants and nutrients entering the lake were offered, and from these recommendations we are today much better prepared to meet the intricate pollution problems of Lake Tahoe.

During the adjournment, an enlightening article by Burt Schorr appeared in the Wall Street Journal. The article is a result of deep research into the genuine problems of pollution in Lake Tahoe, and, in my opinion, it is an outstanding presentation of the facts on this matter.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include Mr. Schorr's article at this point in my remarks. I commend it to the attention of every American who is concerned about the pollution of America's waters.

The article follows:

OVERNOURISHED LAKES: TOO MUCH PHOSPHOROUS, NITROGEN PERIL WATER—JOHNSON TO SIGN A BILL SHORTLY TO HELP FIGHT THE POLLUTION; IS TAHOE SET TO TURN GREEN?

(By Burt Schorr)

At a casual glance, it is hard to understand the furor over the danger of polluting Lake Tahoe, high in the Sierras dividing California and Nevada. So crystalline are most of its 192 square miles of blue water that investigators on its surface have spotted a white disc at a depth of 136 feet.

Yet, according to the recent findings of a Federal sanitary engineer and an aquatic biologist, Tahoe is on the verge of turning a murky green, its surface and beaches fouled by thick patches of slimy, foul-smelling algae, its weed growth on a rampage and its dissolved oxygen diminished—thus reducing the fish population and retarding Tahoe's ability to purify itself.

The factors underlying Tahoe's troubles have a familiar ring: A swelling population in the surrounding Tahoe basin is placing an ever larger burden on sewage treatment plants and seepage-prone privies and septic tanks. Contrary to what one might expect, however, the direct threat to the lake isn't from disease bacteria, greasy scum or other obvious signs of human abuse.

Rather, the culprits are the tasteless, invisible compounds of phosphorous and nitrogen that abound in sewage and many industrial wastes. In normal amounts these are essential to the growth of useful algae. But an excess of either pollutant can trigger the explosive algal "bloom" that may destroy a lake's recreational value and impair its use as a water supply.

With the tide of human wastes, detergents and other algae nutrients rising yearly in this country, the problem is receiving increased attention from pollution fighters. A conference of California, Nevada and Federal officials concluded in July, for example, that if Tahoe's pristine water quality is to be preserved, the basin area must be exporting most of its sewage and garbage by 1970, thereby cutting down sharply the underground flow of nitrogen and phosphorous into the lake from present disposal sites.

FIFTY BILLION DOLLARS, 10 YEARS

The U.S., of course, still has far to go merely to shut off the flow of raw or inadequately treated sewage into its waterways: the primary and secondary treatment plants needed to accomplish that goal alone would require 10 years and up to $50 billion to construct, according to one Government official's estimate.

All the same, the realization is growing that a parallel effort against less noticeable algae nutrients also is needed. At stake: The fate of still unsullied lakes and even of heavily polluted ones like Lake Erie, where excessive phosphorus has helped de-oxygenate some 2,600 square miles, or more than a fourth of the water area. Also, the algae question is becoming more critical with the increasing use of dammed lake water for recreation and reservoirs.

"A lake basically is a stagnant body of water," says Murray Stein, enforcement chief of the Interior Department's Federal Water Pollution Control Administration. "Once waste materials get into it, they have no place to go." Consequently, heavy infusions of phosphorus and nitrogen compounds "threaten to destroy a lake forever" by speeding up the natural process of utrophication, or aging, which gradually fills it with organic material and transforms it into a marsh, Mr. Stein says.

RIVERS, TOO

Besides lakes, algae also trouble sluggish rivers and other slow-moving water courses. The resulting odor and taste of their tap water certainly made this clear to some Washington-area residents, for example, during the past summer of severe drought. The Potomac River, chief source of local drinking water supplies, fell to unusually low levels, increasing the relative amount of algae present.

The anti-algae campaign is still in its infancy; most sewage treatment plants today don't even bother to record the amount of algae nutrients released in their effluent. But one result, stricter Federal requirements for phosphorus elimination, already appears likely.

Under the Water Quality Act of 1965, states have until next June 30 to set water quality standards for their interstate waterways as well as to make plans for abating pollution. Approval is vested in the Interior Secretary who, in the absence of satisfactory state action, can impose standards of his own.

If a newly tested method for extracting a higher amount of stubborn phosphorous compounds during secondary waste treatment proves applicable nationwide, as pollution control experts anticipate, Secretary Udall likely will issue phosphorous removal guidelines based on its use. States then would be expected to require municipal waste treatment plants to incorporate the new procedure in their operating practices.

In the years ahead, even more sophisticated processes will be developed. Government water men believe. The Clean Waters Restoration Act of 1966, which President Johnson is expected to sign into law soon, for the first time authorizes substantial outlays for development of practical "tertiary" sewage treatment that would include almost complete elimination of the phosphorous compounds that now get by customary secondary treatment.

LOS ANGELES PLAN

The legislation offers to reimburse states and localities for 75% of the cost of such demonstration projects and authorizes $60 million for this purpose over a three-year period. Los Angeles County, for one, is ready to apply for such aid in helping to create 20 acres of recreational lakes fed entirely by discharge from its Lancaster, Calif., secondary treatment plant.

Starting with sewage effluent from which about 90% of the pollutants have been removed, a tertiary treatment plant estimated to cost $200,000 would take out more than 99% of the phosphorus compounds, then pass the water through 400 square feet of sand and anthracite coal filters. The result: Clear water safe for fishing, boating and, possibly, swimming. The anticipated operating cost, 10 cents per 1,000 gallons, is high compared with the 3 cents per 1,000 gallons charged for secondary treatment alone; but John Parkhurst, chief engineer for the Los Angeles Sanitation District, contends the figure is half the cost of fresh water transported to the arid Lancaster area from the north, and could be reduced with operating experience.

Available figures suggest an even larger sewage bill for taxpayers and industries like dairies, slaughter houses and canneries whose wastes are rich in nutrients.

The Tahoe Basin sewage export scheme carries a tentative price of $50 million, about double what it would cost to expand standard sewage treatment for the area. (The plan also is stirring protests by local governments along Nevada's Carson and Truckee river systems, which have been selected to receive Tahoe Basin effluent; they fear degradation of their water supplies, a view Federal pollution control experts dismiss as groundless.)

Any cost calculation must include a portion of the maximum $30 billion the Federal, state and local governments could need to separate municipal storm sewers from ones carrying human and industrial wastes. Most older U.S. cities employ combined systems, and heavy rains can increase their sewage plant loads 100 times, washing as much as 99% of sanitary wastes into receiving waterways with out treatment. Moreover, street drainage itself usually is rich in phosphates from dripping vehicle oil.

AN UNCERTAIN SCIENCE

Algae control remains an uncertain science because the behavior and interrelationships of the more than 650 common U.S. species are largely uncharted. "We still don't know if, by feeding on each other, algae can become self-perpetuating in a lake, or whether growth cycles can be cut back once nourishment is reduced," says a Federal pollution researcher.

Algae possesses chlorophyl, which enables them to combine water and carbon dioxide in the presence of sunlight to form starch. In a clean, "young" lake, the process performs the useful function of replenishing the dissolved oxygen because the algae produce oxygen faster than bacteria in the water take it up. The plant-like algae themselves serve as an important food source for fish and other aquatic life.

However, relatively modest amounts of nutrient elements—more than 100 parts of phosphorus per billion of water and 300 parts of nitrogen—can touch off frenzied algae growth. Result: Diatom algae, perhaps the most important form of aquatic food, soon are replaced by blue-green species that consume oxygen, form nuisance growths, exude noxious odors and occasionally poison fish, fowl and animals.

The precise factors that trigger sudden algal blooms are far from certain. But most researchers are inclined to view phosphorus as the controlling element. The Agriculture Department figures that phosphoric acid available for such domestic fertilizer uses as lawns and crops increased 80% to 3.7 million tons between 1950 and 1965. In the same 15-year period, sales of synthetic detergents containing up to 50% phosphorous compounds zoomed to 4.9 billion pounds from 1.4 billion, according to the Soap and Detergent Association.

(The detergent industry last year completed the elimination of "hard" detergent materials that caused foaming in waterways receiving sewage effluent. But an association spokesman concedes that use of new "soft" materials doesn't diminish the heavy need for phosphorus in detergent manufacture, and the prospects for replacing the phosphorus compounds now seem remote.)

Sewage experts scoff that, because agricultural runoff is responsible for so much of the algae nutrients in lakes, there's little point in worrying about the municipal and industrial share. But Federal authorities contend that the municipal-industrial contribution appears to be growing fast. "It may provide the triggering amount of nutrient for algae growth," theorizes H. W. Poston, Chicago-based director for the Great Lakes region of the Water Pollution Control Authority.

SAN ANTONIO SYSTEM

Until recently, the lack of a proven, efficient and economical method for eliminating elusive phosphates from effluent by filters, chemicals or other means barred any meaningful, large-scale test of the resulting benefits. The plans of The Los Angeles Sanitation District are one example of an antinutrient process, though. Government officials also are optimistic about a technique recently developed in San Antonio, that suggests the typical modern municipal sewage plant can be adjusted to achieve high phosphorus removal.

Tinkering by a Federal team included closing down two inefficient aeration tanks so the remaining tanks would receive more compressed air. Also, a proportionately larger amount of solid wastes with their helpful bacteria was cycled from the final clarifying tank back into the aeration basin. The aeration basin actually achieved 99% phosphate removal. The overall design and operating changes necessary would, it's estimated, add about 25% to typical sewage treatment costs, which range from $40 to $60 per million gallons.

Should the San Antonio concepts prove adaptable to colder climates as hoped, they'll actually offer bargain-rate phosphorus removal because the required capital investment would be very modest. Other Federally aided experiments promise similar savings.

Thus Chicago, with an eye on protecting Lake Michigan, is studying a tunnel network to store storm water for leisurely disposal into the Illinois River System after the rain lets up. Heavy rains in recent years have occasionally altered this flow, sending sewage into Lake Michigan.

The cost of the tunnel storage, $750 million, compares with the estimated $2 billion it would take to build a separate storm runoff system.

The Minneapolis-St. Paul Sanitary District shortly will begin installing computerized remote control and monitoring of its 65-square-mile network so it can store storm water in the sewer lines themselves or pass it around more harmful human and industrial wastes. Total cost: $1.7 million, 50% paid by the Federal Government. The district will feed rainfall data from the local Weather Bureau office, five of its own remote gauges and possibly its own radar into a computer for hourly predictions of storm flows. In addition, telemetry readings at 40 pipe locations will pinpoint water surges, permitting central plant operators to divert them directly to river outfalls at 15 junction points or hold them in the system.

The waterway benefiting most from the new controls would be the Mississippi River, to which the Twin Cities effluent flows; but Government experts believe the automatic system, if successful, could be applied as easily in communities that contribute to lake pollution.

Anniversary of the Ukrainian Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 19, 1967

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to join with the many thousands of Americans throughout this land in commemorating the 49th anniversary of the proclamation of the Ukrainian National Republic. It was on January 22, 1918, at Kiev, that the Ukrainian people, after a long and bitter struggle, were able to realize their cherished dream—freedom. As was the case with our own American Revolution, the Ukrainian people demonstrated that sacrifices and pain must be endured if a cause is to be won. They showed that a band of courageous and dedicated men and women could indeed affect the course of their country's history. They showed what true patriotism and honor really mean.

Mr. Speaker, not only were the Ukrainian people able to successfully declare their country a republic, but exactly 1 year later in the proclamation of the act of union, it was declared that all Ukrainian lands were united into one sovereign Ukrainian Republic.

What a thrill and privilege it must have been for those gallant Ukrainian patriots who partook in the winning of their country's independence. They must have felt honored to pass on the stories of their beloved Ukraine's liberation.

Today, as we honor the memory of those events of 1918 and 1919, the Ukraine is under the control of foreign rulers in Moscow. It is our fervent hope that someday soon this unfortunate situation will be rectified. But let us not waver in our devotion to the ideals of the men and women who fought and won a free Ukraine. Let us pledge to work faithfully for the redemption of this land for which so many thousands so freely offered their fortunes and their lives.

Franksville Man's Dream Comes True

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 19, 1967

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to bring to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress the story of Mr. A. B. Savage, a humble but truly great man who lives in my district. While outwardly he might appear to be just a plain, ordinary man, inwardly he is made of the strongest fiber. Truly one of God's gentlemen, his achievements make him deserving of that title of which Herbert Hoover was so fond, the uncommon man.

Mr. Savage is an outstanding example of personal initiative to all of us in this age of apathy, of "what's in it for me," of dependency and the outstretched hand for the largest of Government welfare. While countless numbers of our citizens have been talking and demonstrating for more Government programs to take care of this or that need, Mr. Savage has been doing something about it. Often working two jobs, he has put all of his nine children through school. Two of them have master's degrees, one is in medical school, and the others have bachelor degrees or, so far, at least a year in college.

Aware of the danger in giving children everything without real effort on their part, Mr. Savage's philosophy is simple and true:

> We need to push our children, to make certain they get a good education. If they keep their feet on the ground and Jesus in their hearts they are bound to succeed.

And they have been succeeding. All of the Savage children received college scholarships and have worked to help pay their way through school. The future successes of his children will provide an ever-growing tribute to this fine man who in working hard to achieve his dreams of the very best for his children, has given us all an example to follow. Now, as he broadens his efforts to help others beyond his family, I am certain he will inspire many more to follow the path of personal responsibility that has made America the great nation it is today.

I commend the Milwaukee Sentinel for bringing to the fore last December 26, the following story of this admirable man, Mr. Savage:

> FRANKSVILLE MAN'S DREAM COMES TRUE
>
> FRANKSVILLE.—A 66 year old Negro man has found his dream in his nine children.
>
> The dream, represented by a cap and gown, is an education. Two of his children have

masters degrees, a third is in medical school and the rest either have bachelors degrees or at least a year of college.

A. B. Savage, who lives at 4838 Highway H in Racine county, was born in Arkansas and had little chance to get an education.

"My mother was a teacher and she knew the value of an education but she died while I was a child," he said. "My father kept pulling me out of school to work."

"I used to cry, I was so determined to get an education."

At 17, Savage decided to start school in Memphis, Tenn. He stayed there until he was about 25, completing 10 grades.

"Then I became a photographer and took pictures at the school," he said. "Every time I saw caps and gowns I got the blues."

"I asked the Lord, 'If I ever have children won't you help me educate them?'

"For us folks it is a big battle—a hard battle—but God has blessed us."

Today the Savage children are:

Mrs. Lionel (Hester) James, a supervisor of elementary music for Milwaukee public schools.

Mrs. Canary Girardeau, director of program development for the north side area of the Milwaukee YWCA.

Mrs. James (Rosetta) Foote, a teacher at E. B. Phillips nursery school.

Mrs. Alex (Mary) Mitchell, a secretary for the Milwaukee YWCA.

Mrs. Clarence (Cecelia) Dade, a medical technologist in Washington, D.C.

A. B. Savage, jr., chief warrant officer, U.S. Army.

Youlon Savage, child welfare supervisor, department of public works, Denver.

Shelby Gene, who has a service disability.

Daniel, who is in his first year of medical school at the University of Wisconsin. He was valedictorian at North Division high school.

A fifth boy died when he was 18.

"I'm proud of my children," Savage said. "They have made me very happy."

Savage said he met a school principal who had once been in his class in Memphis.

"The principal told me, 'You know, I envy you. You have 10 children—four are in college. You are spreading out 10 ways while I can only teach the children of others.'

"I had the blues about education until then. I haven't had them since," Savage said.

To help provide the children's education, he often worked at two jobs. In Memphis, he worked as a photographer, sold real estate for the government and worked in a bank.

COLLEGE SCHOLARSHIPS

He worked in Milwaukee for 18 years before moving to Franksville six years ago. In Milwaukee, he worked for the American Motors Corp. and said he was the first licensed Negro car salesman in the city.

The children all received college scholarships and worked to help put themselves through school, Savage said.

"We need to push our children, to make certain they get a good education," he said. "If they keep their feet on the ground and Jesus in their hearts they are bound to succeed."

Now that his own children are grown, Savage and his wife have two foster children living with them, an 11 year old girl and her 7 year old brother.

"They had never known the joys of a home," he said. "We are teaching them how to take care of their room, how to be clean and how to work for good marks in school."

Savage said he is now in the ministry working "with the souls of men. I have done this all my life but now I am doing it full time."

He doesn't have a church, he said, but visits hospitals and homes, carrying one basic message: "You must have love in your heart."

Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 19, 1967

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, Sunday, January 22, marks the 49th anniversary of the proclamation of the Ukrainian National Republic and the 48th anniversary of the proclamation of the Act of Union whereby Western Ukraine united with the Ukrainian National Republic into one sovereign and independent Republic of the Ukrainain people.

These dates and events are acknowledged as marking a fulfillment of Ukrainian aspirations that had endured two and a half centuries of oppression. To the Ukrainian people it signified freedom of the individual and independence as a nation.

The independence and sovereignty of the Ukraine were recognized by many states including Soviet Russia; however, as history can readily attest, Communist Russia honors few agreements and for almost 3½ years waged an unprovoked, unwarranted, and ignoble onslaught against the heroic, freedom-loving peoples of the Ukraine. The valor and dedication of the Ukrainian forces in this war have become legend. Deprived of virtually all military, economic, and diplomatic support, they fought on until they finally succumbed to the numerical superiority of the Communist Russian forces.

The Ukraine while under the yoke of Soviet communism was forcibly integrated into the Soviet Union. This act on the part of the Communists was calculated to reduce the Ukrainians to total submission. To this day the Ukrainians have never, and will never submit to Soviet force. The Communist Russians perpetually fear this captive nation for they well know that the spirit of freedom is aflame in every Ukrainian heart, and the desire to regain national independence cannot be extinguished. Moscow recognizes that it has never deprived the Ukrainian people of their basic human dignity nor their spirit to reestablish themselves as a free nation.

During the 4½ decades of forced enslavement under the Communists, the Ukrainians have lead numerous uprisings and coordinated massive resistance movements. In retaliation the Soviets have deported, starved, and executed great numbers of the Ukrainian people, and yet even when confronted with genocide, they do not submit.

Today, we salute the Ukrainian dead and the Ukrainian living who have greatly served the cause of freedom in the vanguard of the fight of freemen everywhere against Communist oppression. May we solemnly acknowledge the enormity of the human sacrifice that has been made by the Ukrainian people for their fellow man. May we reaffirm our convictions and rededicate ourselves in an increased united effort to exhaust all avenues and execute all actions necessary to accomplish the liberation of the Ukraine nation—for we know as surely as the Soviets know it is not a question of "if," but a question of "when" independence will be regained for the Ukrainian peoples.

U.S. Jaycees: Young Men of Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 19, 1967

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, in more than 5,000 communities across the Nation this week salutes are being given to members of local chapters of the U.S. Jaycees. This is national Jaycee Week.

The Jaycees is a movement of young men of action who are developing leadership by community service. They are committed to the vision that young men can change the world. And they give unselfishly of their energies and time in building their local communities through programs covering everything from traffic safety to child development to war relief to national legislation.

Some of this Nation's great leaders have been Jaycees early in their careers. Of particular note are John F. Kennedy, and Richard M. Nixon.

These young men, between the ages of 21 and 36, wield great influence in thousands of communities across the country. Their influence comes because of their concern for public problems. They have significantly contributed to making our Nation the great place that it is.

One of the most outstanding national projects of the U.S. Jaycees is sponsored by the Capitol Hill chapter, right here in Washington. This is the National Governmental Affairs Seminar. In just a few weeks, between January 29 and February 3, the 50 State presidents, the national executive committee, and winners of civic action competition will gather here in the Capital for this annual seminar.

The theme is very timely. It is "The City and Your Future." These Jaycee leaders will be meeting with several leaders of the Congress, with members of the Cabinet, heads of executive agencies, and members of the Supreme Court. They will seek to make themselves aware of the efforts of the Federal Government to solve our major urban problems. They will also be participating in discussions with mayors of several of our largest cities, and with the Governor of a leading State.

By the end of the week these young community leaders will return to their hometowns with a plan of action for tackling the problems of urbanization which face their own cities and towns.

The U.S. Jaycees will be leading the private sector of our country in programs to deal with urban problems. This seminar will produce many imaginative ideas.

I urge my colleagues in this Congress to take heed to the voices of these young men of action. They are the leaders of tomorrow's America.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert at this point the text of the creed of the U.S. Jaycees:

THE JAYCEE CREED

We believe:

That Faith in God gives meaning and purpose to human life;

That the brotherhood of men transcends the sovereignty of nations;

That economic justice can best be won by free men through free enterprise;

That government should be of laws, rather than of men;

That earth's great treasure lies in human personality;

And that service to humanity is the best work of life.

A Logical Way To Help the Small Taxpayer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 19, 1967

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, our citizens, probably more than any other peole, pay their taxes punctually and conscientiously. Individually they also have one of the world's heaviest tax burdens, and many pay more than their share of taxes. The average U.S. citizen may complain about taxes, nevertheless he continues to pay them regularly.

In reward for this dedication to underwriting the Nation's expenses, the Government provides its citizens with a monstrous tax code. This tax compendium is so incomprehensible to the average citizen that even the famed mathematician Albert Einstein was unable to fathom it, and a former Commissioner of Internal Revenue once described it as being "unbelievably complex."

The more affluent of our citizens and those best able to sustain the financial burden of taxation are in a position to hire the necessary legal and accounting talent to deal with the morass of deductions, exemptions, and preferences, and thus wring out every conceivable tax benefit for themselves.

The little fellow with a grievance, however, must face alone the unsmiling tax agent who is armed with the mighty weapon of the tax code. The average person is nervous and often frightened when confronting the vast bureaucracy, while recalling vague tales of criminal prosecution for tax violations. His reaction is to back down, give up, and pay any tax deficiencies, regardless of how inequitable he believes the decision to be. If he does have the fortitude to engage in tax court litigation the citizen knows that, even if successful, the odds are that whatever is awarded in his favor will be consumed by attorneys' and accountants' fees.

The Internal Revenue Service is the only area of our Government where the basic premise of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence—that one is innocent until proven guilty—is apparently not fully applicable. Under the tax code, a deduction is subject to disallowance until it has been proved allowable. Our democracy, in order to retain its vitality and strength, cannot permit its citizens to be bullied by bureaucrats. What this bill aims to achieve, in part, is to reassert the foundations of our democracy, namely, that this is a government of laws and not men, that no citizen is ever at the mercy of an official, and that if an official of the Government exceeds his authority there must be effective remedies available to protect the citizen. This is the manner in which our tax system is supposed to function, but unfortunately few of our taxpayers believe that it does.

In fiscal year 1965, slightly more than 3 million tax returns, or about 5 percent of those filed, were subjected to audit by the Internal Revenue Service. Of these, deficiencies were found in 51 percent of the cases. The average deficiency was just below $700, and the average refund just over $100. Thus, the ordinary taxpayer finds it highly impractical to hire a lawyer or accountant since he would pay more money in fees than he would recover by winning the case.

The bill I am introducing today is a step toward giving the ordinary taxpayer some help. It would create for the first time a Small Tax Division within the Tax Court of the United States and it would authorize the court to appoint two small tax commissioners for each tax circuit. Any taxpayer who has been assessed a deficiency of $2,500 or less may appear before a small tax commissioner, with or without his attorney or accountant, and be assured of a fair and understanding hearing from a commissioner who is independent of the Internal Revenue Service.

Once the decision is made to go before the commissioner, neither the taxpayer nor the Tax Service can appeal. The Government may, however, petition the Tax Court for review of a question of law, but is liable for the taxpayer's court costs and legal fees.

I believe that a just, efficient, and inexpensive procedure for appeal from a tax audit would tend to make the agents of the Internal Revenue Service more conscious of their own responsibilities for the fair treatment of the taxpayer, both small and large. Such an inexpensive appeals system would do much to restore public confidence in our whole tax collecting structure. Those taxpayers who lost such appeal would be more likely to accept the small tax commissioner's judgment gracefully, with less suspicion of injustice. Tax agents under such pressure would be fair as opposed to the present tendency to be tough. If they were proven wrong, the Government would have to pay the costs. Thus the balance of bargaining power between taxpayer and agent during the initial audit would be established.

The intricate tax code and the bureaucracy that administers it will probably remain unchanged, however, it is hoped that passage of this bill will provide the taxpayer with an efficient, sympathetic, and just hearing when he believes the tax laws have treated him unfairly. I believe this to be one of those rare measures that is so eminently fair and logical and fills such an obvious need that it should appeal immediately to all objective men, regardless of party affiliation or political philosophy. I therefore commend its early passage to my colleagues.

Ukrainian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. MESKILL

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 19, 1967

Mr. MESKILL. Mr. Speaker, World War I was a great tragedy for many countries, but it also broke the chains which had held numerous nationality groups in check in Eastern and Central Europe for centuries, where they were suffering under alien regimes in their homelands. As a result of that war, many of these nationality groups regained their freedom and proclaimed their national independence. The Ukrainian independence was one happy consequence of that war.

Since the mid-17th century, the Ukraine had been submerged and almost lost in the czarist Russian empire. During all that time, the Russians did their utmost to blot out and eradicate the Ukrainian national traits, and make them Russians. But their efforts were of no avail, for these indomitable Ukrainians clung tenaciously to their national traditions and ideals. Toward the end of the First World War, when the Russian Czar was overthrown by the Revolution of 1917, the Ukrainians felt free and their leaders proclaimed their independence. This was done on January 22, 1918, and the Ukrainian National Republic came into existence.

Unhappily the newborn state was under severe handicaps at the very beginning of its life. It was weak and in dire need of help. But there was no one to extend it. The war-torn country was in ruins, and the fertile Ukraine was a wasteland. Most of its inhabitants were uprooted from their homes, and the normal course of life sadly disrupted. Thus the Government of the Republic was faced with insuperable difficulties, and even more serious was the threat from the Communist government in the Kremlin. Before the Ukrainian Government had any chance to bring some order out of the existing chaos, the country was attacked by the Red army and overrun in early 1920. The Ukrainian National Republic was brutally extinguished and the country was absorbed into the Soviet Union.

Since then the Ukrainians have suffered much under the Soviet regime, much more than their forebears had suffered under the czars. For decades the country was effectively sealed off from the outside world, and it was almost impossible to know the sad lot of the Ukrainian people. We know that they survived the Soviet Union's iron age somehow, though many millions lost their lives. Today their lot is reported to be somewhat better, but they still fight for their freedom and independence. On the observance of their independence day I wish them fortitude, patience, and ultimate success in their struggle for national freedom and self-government.

Ukrainian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ODIN LANGEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 19, 1967

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, as we hear more and more of a detente with Communist Russia, and a more relaxed atmosphere with that nation, it is good to remember on occasion that millions of people are still being enslaved by that godless government.

This coming Sunday, January 22, is a date that should remind us that Russian sweet talk may be just that, talk. Their actions, however, continue to speak louder than their words.

We have but to look at the history of the Ukrainian people to understand this fact. On January 22, 1918, the Ukrainian Central Rada issued a solemn Act of Restoration of the Ukraine as a sovereign nation, called the Ukrainian National Republic. This act broke a long and oppressive bond between Russia and the Ukraine, thus giving full freedom to the 45 million Ukrainian people.

The newly established Ukrainian state was recognized by a number of governments, including the Russian Federated Soviet Socialist Republic. Despite the fact that the Moscow government recognized and pledged to respect the independence of Ukraine, it soon attacked this young state by military aggression and subversion, a pattern that was to be repeated time and again throughout much of Europe and Asia.

After almost 4 years of bloody war, Ukraine, deprived of all military, economic and diplomatic aid from the outside, fell to the forces of Soviet Russia, losing its western parts to Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania.

Losing their short-lived freedom, the Ukrainian people were subjected to harsh and inhuman treatment and persecution. Millions of them died of starvation as a result of manmade famine because they resisted collectivization of their farms. Ukrainian youth were forced to leave for work in the remote areas of the Soviet Union. The churches were destroyed and their clergymen deported and executed.

For sometime now news has been reaching these shores that a new wave of persecution has hit Ukraine, striking at the heart of the Ukrainian nation, its youth and intellectual leadership.

Being deprived of freedom and suffering great losses, the Ukrainian people never surrendered nor have given up the hope of liberation. Through a series of heroic, and bloody uprisings, and a steady resistance through underground warfare they demonstrated their undying love for freedom.

This Sunday, Ukrainians throughout the world will observe their greatest holiday, the anniversary of that country's independence. Unfortunately, those in the Ukraine, under Soviet control, will only observe it in secrecy.

I am happy to join with Ukrainians living in the free world, on this day, to speak for their kinsmen behind the Iron Curtain. And may we in this Congress remember the Ukrainians, and other oppressed peoples of the world before heralding a new era of Soviet understanding. The bear may be smiling, but his heavy paw still rests firmly on millions of freedom-loving people of the world.

Needed: A Watchdog

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 19, 1967

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the January 9, 1967, issue of Technology Week, discussing administration performance in the area of defense and aerospace affairs includes the statement:

> If there was ever a time in history for a watchdog Congress, it is now. The Administration is embarked on strange courses in some critical areas and no course at all in others.

Although it touches upon only a few of the myriad of items which are an integral part of our defense and space posture, the editorial correctly points out the extraordinary responsibilities of this Congress.

In properly discharging its responsibilities this Congress must take steps to assure itself that the defense policies and projected programs of America adequately take into account the defense needs that the capabilities of our adversaries indicate will be required in the future.

For this reason, I have introduced a resolution in the 90th Congress, House Joint Resolution 2, calling for the establishment of a blue ribbon commission which will conduct an independent and objective evaluation of the projected defense posture of the United States. The blue ribbon commission would greatly assist the Congress to discharge its awesome responsibility in providing for the defense of our Nation. Companion resolutions, House Joint Resolution 3 and House Joint Resolution 4, have been introduced by Mr. LAIRD and Mr. MINSHALL.

I commend to your reading the editorial entitled "Needed: A Watchdog," and respectfully solicit the interest and support of the entire membership of the House for Joint Resolution 2.

"Doublespeak" Among the Giant Redwoods

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 19, 1967

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, some Members who read Paul Friggens' attack on proposals for a Redwood National Park in the December issue of Reader's Digest may have been left with the impression that such a park is not needed.

In reality, nothing could be farther from the truth. Mr. Friggens, unfortunately, has presented only a minority point of view—that of the lumber industry—and Reader's Digest, so far at least, has neglected to present the case that is so strongly felt by conservationists and concerned citizens across our land.

As a matter of setting the record straight, Mr. Speaker, I am calling to our colleagues' attention an excellent article by Mr. Harold Gilliam, which appeared in the San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle on December 11. Mr. Gilliam's thoughtful rebuttal of many "misunderstood" points should be must reading for all who are concerned with giving the redwoods a fair hearing.

The article follows:

"DOUBLESPEAK" AMONG THE GIANT REDWOODS

(By Harold Gilliam)

The December issue of the Reader's Digest contains an attack on California's proposed Redwood National Park written from the point of view of the lumber industry. It is entirely proper, of course, that this opinion be expressed, but it is surprising, in view of the magazine's previous conservation record, that the antipark viewpoint is the only one presented.

Some arguments in favor of the park are given by author Paul Friggens evidently only for the purpose of quoting with approval someone on the other side who says that they are false. In the author's terminology, those who favor the park are "promoters", conjuring visions of fast-talking sharpies in derbies and checkered suits. Those who oppose it are "experts," presumably infallible by definition.

(There are two principal Redwood National Park proposals before Congress; one is the Administration bill sponsored by Senator Thomas Kuchel, for a 45,000-acre park principally in Del Norte County, containing about 8000 acres of virgin redwoods. The other bill, sponsored by East Bay Congressman Jeffrey Cohelan and others, embodies a Sierra Club plan for a 90,000-acre park on Redwood Creek in Humboldt County, with about 30,000 acres of virgin forest.)

SHAKY EVIDENCE

The Reader's Digest article contains very little factual evidence and most of what does appear is extremely shaky. For example:

"... The park would ... lock up thousands of acres of old-growth trees which the timber industry maintains are critical to its operations. . ."

"Lock up" is a lumberman's term. From the standpoint of the park-going public, a more accurate term would be "open up."

Dr. John Zivnuska, Dean of the U.S. School of Forestry, has estimated that the original National Park Service plan (somewhat larger than the present Administration proposal) would reduce North Coast logging operations by 1½ to 2 per cent. It is difficult to understand how curtailments of this magnitude would be a death blow to the industry.

". . . The park would . . . destroy at least 1000 jobs."

A report by the consulting firm of Arthur D. Little indicates that the park will ultimately create many more jobs than would be available without it. Temporary hardship cases can be alleviated by government action. Furthermore, employment in the logging industry is steadily declining, and it would be disastrous for the redwood region to remain on a single-industry economy.

The park "would permanently reduce the tax base . . ."

Under the bills now in Congress, tax losses to the counties would be offset by Federal payments for at least five years, when new tourist-based industries, according to the Arthur D. Little report, will create a much larger tax base, as has occurred around other national parks.

MATTER OF TAXES

The tax base would be permanently reduced not by the creation of a national park but the continued logging of the highly taxed primeval forest.

"By locking up these big trees in parks, and protecting them, we could be sealing the redwood's doom!"

In the support of this peculiar statement, the article quotes Dr. Edward C. Stone of the U.C. forestry department as saying that fire and floods in the past have kept fir and oak from taking over the redwood habitat and that the work of fire and flood must now be done by active forest management, possibly including controlled burns.

The answer to this one is obvious: If such management is necessary, it can be done in a park, whereas the giant trees outside the parks are certainly doomed by the loggers.

I can only regard the author's statement as an example of Orwellean "Doublespeak!" He seems to be saying that to protect a redwood is to doom it, and to log a redwood is to save it.

" 'Redwood is not a vanishing species,' says John Miles, consulting forester. . . . The emotional 'last redwoods' myth should be laid to rest."

If they're talking about the young trees raised by the lumber companies as a crop on tree farms, it may be quite true that redwood as a species is not vanishing. But that's not what all the shouting is about.

FALLEN GIANTS

"The Last Redwoods," is the title of a Sierra Club book deploring the continuing destruction of old-growth redwoods in the virgin forests, trees that were standing long before white men arrived.

It is no myth that these trees are vanishing. Anyone who drives the Redwood Highway can see the fallen giants stacked in the lumber yards or moving down the road, one colossal section of a log to a truck, diameters higher than a man can reach. I would regard any emotion stirred by this sight as quite legitimate.

"Of the real giants . . . an estimated 25 per cent . . . are protected in a string of 28 state redwood parks."

The state redwood parks are not protected from freeways, which now slice through two of the four major parks north of San Francisco and threaten the two others. Nor are the parks protected from the kinds of floods that have swept down Bull Creek from logged-over lands and destroyed hundreds of ancient trees in the Rockefeller Forest at Humboldt Redwoods State Park.

Only a major national park embracing large watershed areas can provide the necessary protection.

"The present parks with appropriate additions are sufficient to preserve adequate samples of the best redwood groves. . . ."

VISITS NUMBER 4.5 MILLION

"Adequate" for what? Adequacy can only be measured by reference to use, present and future. Friggens does not think the parks are used much. He drove along the Redwood Highway and "found traffic amazingly light." One reason, he speculated, is that although the groves are nice in ideal weather, "more often they are dark, gloomy, even menacing."

How many people share Friggens' view that the redwoods are "meancing" may be estimated by looking at the attendance figures.

Last year (not counting "drive throughs") there were 4.5 million visits to the state redwood groves, a number greater than the combined annual attendance at Yellowstone, Yosemite and Sequoia National Parks.

By way of comparison, the total area of all the redwood parks is only about 100,000 acres—one-fourth the size of Sequoia, one-eighth the size of Yosemite, one twenty-second the size of Yellowstone.

If attendance in the state parks continues to increase at the present rate, within two decades there will be 20 million people pouring into the groves, flooding the campgrounds, trampling the ferns and soil, threatening the lives of the trees, destroying totally the serene atmosphere that is as vital a part of the redwood experience as is silence in a cathedral.

WILLING TO PAY

Opportunity for that experience can only be preserved for future generations by the creation of the largest possible national park, saving a major share of the virgin groves now in the hands of the loggers. For the sake of our great-grandchildren, and their descendants, we should be willing to pay whatever price is necessary.

For at least 26 million of the Reader's Digest's 27 million buyers the Frigens article will be the only exposure they have to the Redwood National Park proposal. It seems unfortunate that they will not have the opportunity to learn about the case for the park—unless the magazine's editors somehow become convinced that their readers should also hear the other side.

The Late Honorable John E. Fogarty

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILBUR D. MILLS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply saddened and shocked to receive word of the passing of our beloved and esteemed colleague, the Honorable JOHN E. FOGARTY.

I was privileged to serve with JOHN FOGARTY in the House for 26 years. He was a conscientious Member of this body and will be remembered for his countless contributions to the fields of education, health, and welfare which have been such a help to hundreds of thousands of citizens of this country.

I know of no Member who took a greater interest in medical research, or in developing programs to advance the cause of medical research. I know of no Member who was more interested in aiding our older people, or our disabled. I know of no one who had a larger compassion for the unfortunate or the retarded or disabled. He has helped build a public and private health service in which this Nation can take enormous pride.

He was a man of courage, conviction, and integrity, and he will be sorely missed by his constituency, his State, and the Nation. His devoted service to the people he represented will always be remembered.

I have lost a valued friend and colleague. I extend to his family my sincerest condolences. His monument is already built in the many fields of human endeavor to which he contributed so much of himself and his energy.

John Drake Palmer, North Carolina: Courageous Voice for Flue-Cured Tobacco

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HORACE R. KORNEGAY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 19, 1967

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, the Progressive Farmer, one of this Nation's most outstanding farm publications, recently selected a truly outstanding man as North Carolina's Man of the Year, 1966, in Agriculture.

The Progressive Farmer selected a genuine friend of the farmer for this award and a genuine friend of mine. I would like to have published in the RECORD this tribute to Mr. John D. Palmer.

The article follows:

JOHN DRAKE PALMER, NORTH CAROLINA: COURAGEOUS VOICE FOR FLUE-CURED TOBACCO

Every Tarheel farmer knows what tobacco means to North Carolina. Coming to be almost as well known is what John Drake Palmer means to tobacco.

Soon after accepting the position as president of Tobacco Associates Sept. 1, 1964, succeeding the late J. B. Hutson, Palmer pitched headlong into efforts to get acreage-poundage controls on flue-cured tobacco. He served as chairman of both the legislative committee, which steered thorugh Congress a bill allowing for acreage-poundage controls, and the referendum committee, whose efforts resulted in three-to-one grower approval of the legislation.

Results of acreage-poundage are a matter of record. Less than 71.5 million pounds of the '65 flue-cured crop went to Stabilization Corporation under Government price-support loans, compared to 285 million pounds the year before and 277 million in '63. From the current crop (1966), indications are that less than 70 million pounds will go to Stabilization.

Government-held loan stocks of flue-cured tobacco have been reduced a third, from the alltime high of 958 million pounds in 1964 (nearly 80% of a year's normal usage) to just over 625 million pounds. At the time this was happening, average prices on leaf were increasing from 58.5 cents on the '64 crop to 67 cents in '66.

When asked about the future, Palmer refers to himself as "an eternal optimist." While exports of our tobacco have held their own over the years, we have not enjoyed the proportionate increase that the quality of our leaf deserves, in Palmer's opinion. As head of Tobacco Associates, he is directing efforts in market expansion, primarily in three directions: 1) Brand promotion of cigarettes using high proportions of American flue-cured leaf in foreign countries;

2) favorable trade relations and import duties for American tobacco in European common market countries; and 3) opening up sales outlets in Eastern Communist countries now "off limits" to our leaf.

About business with Communist countries, Palmer says: "Trade is one of the few channels available to us for constructive contacts with nations with whom we find frequent hostility. . . .

"I think there can be no question but that tobacco would top the list of completely nonstrategic goods. It has only one purpose: to provide pleasure, relaxation, and solace; and in the process of doing so, only harmless ashes remain."

Books could be written about John Palmer, his activities, and his philosophies. In a state (North Carolina) where nearly two-thirds of the nation's flue-cured tobacco is grown and where nearly half its billion-dollar-plus annual farm income comes from tobacco, his worth is immeasurable.

Death of Hon. John E. Fogarty

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the untimely death of Representative John E. Fogarty is a deep personal loss to those of us who knew him so well as one of the truly great humanitarians in this House.

As colleagues, we will miss his hard work, his straightforward honesty, and his valued advice and counsel. We quickly learned to depend on John Fogarty for strength and wisdom in turning back the obstinate plagues which have incapacitated and crippled mankind and taken the very life from poor and rich alike.

John Fogarty's dedicated work to end the suffering from illness and disease, to make our world more livable, and to advance the cause of mankind everywhere is an everlasting monument to his greatness.

All the people of this Nation have benefited from his relentless efforts in combating these plagues. The intensity of his work in seeking cures to the basic health problems was no doubt a factor in his untimely passing.

In returning John Fogarty to the Congress every 2 years since 1940, the people of Rhode Island acknowledged the value of his work as their representative. His interest in the greater development of his region was well recognized. His work in behalf of the young, the poor, and the less fortunate is legend.

Lesser men would have been content to rest on their laurels after fewer accomplishments than those achieved for all mankind by John Fogarty. But he was not content as long as any task remained to be completed.

We will miss his powerful voice, his dedicated work, and his warm companionship. Our loss will be shared by all the people of this Nation.

My heartfelt sympathy goes out to his family at this time of their great grief.

The Need for More and Better Safety Equipment on All Vessels

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the sinking of the *Morrell* ore carrier in Lake Michigan last fall, with a loss of 28 lives, was another serious tragedy that should further focus attention on the need for more and better safety equipment on all vessels. I intend to sponsor legislation in the near future which would provide for greatly improved safety standards and more modern equipment on these ships.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following article which appeared in the January 1967 issue of Steel Labor, the monthly publication of the United Steelworkers of America:

"Morrell" Disaster Highlights Need of Safety Probe of Lake Conditions

The sinking of the ore carrier Daniel J. Morrell in Lake Huron on Nov. 29 was "a most unfortunate tragedy and a needless waste of human life," Joseph P. Molony, vice president of the United Steelworkers of America, asserted last month.

Nineteen of the 28 persons carried to their death in the sinking were members of USWA Local 5000, Cleveland. The tragedy occurred near Harbor Beach, Mich.

Vice President Molony extended to the friends and families of the victims the deepest sympathy of the USWA and at the same time pledged an increased union effort to obtain more and better safety equipment on ships that sail the Great Lakes.

Mr. Molony's comments followed a month-long investigation of the disaster by District 4 Director Matthew Armstrong. The USWA statement said that the union would seek the enactment of remedial legislation by the 90th Congress "so that in the future, seamen will have readily available adequate and modern life-saving equipment."

Mr. Armstrong said the union will seek "an immediate public hearing" in the next session of Congress for an upgrading of legal safety requirements.

"The present archaic safety requirements give the seamen of the Great Lakes less than a 50-50 chance of survival in the event of a ship disaster," the statement said.

The union's investigation indicated that the loss of life in the sinking "can be attributed in our opinion directly to the lack of adequate and modern lifesaving equipment." He said the equipment aboard the ship provided only normal protection "whereas maximum protection should have been required."

In seeking immediate remedial federal legislation, the United Steelworkers proposed the following sofety program for consideration and passage by the Congress:

1—Immediate replacement of old and outdated life jackets.

2—That each vessel plying the Great Lakes be equipped immediately with the auxiliary form of power in the forward compartment in the event the ship's primary source is damaged or impaired. (Events indicate that the loss of life in the Morrell disaster could have been reduced if the ship had carried an auxiliary source of power for the ship to shore telephone.)

3—The immediate installation of life rafts which must contain at least the following: (a) Self-inflated covers to protect seamen from the elements; (b) emergency automatic radio equipment; (c) adequate and positive launch equipment for life rafts and (d) necessary supplies for survival.

4—That the U. S. Coast Guard be conferred immediate authority to hold all ships in port pending more favorable weather.

5—The immediate enactment and positive implementation of rigid safety programs and inspections.

6—The immediate formation of a committee composed of labor, management and government to investigate and recommend to the Congress reasonable, necessary amendments, additions or rejections of the present laws.

7—That the present rules and procedures relative to marine investigations conducted by the Coast Guard be reviewed as to their adequacy and purpose.

Wanted: Space Age Government—A Tribute to Bradford Morse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 19, 1967

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, last week with numerous colleagues, I introduced a bill for the establishment of a Commission on Public Management to explore the potential application of systems management techniques to the administration of public policy problems.

I was pleased to note an editorial in the Washington Star explore many of the salient reasons for establishing such a Commission and to praise the constructive work of the able gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Morse], the father of this important and significant proposal.

The potential for this landmark legislation is truly meaningful. The perceptive editorial comment of the Star, to which I have referred, follows:

Wanted: Space-Age Government

Amid the uproar as the 90th Congress opened for business was a little-noticed bill introduced by Representative F. Bradford Morse of Massachusetts. We will hear of this measure again. For it not only has the backing of 40 other Representatives and 10 Senators, but it proposes a remarkable idea: Applying private management techniques of the space age to our creaking government machinery.

The bill would create a National Commission on Public Management. Members, appointed by the President, would study and recommend ways in which sophisticated tools of industry, such as computers and systems analysis, would be used to solve public problems.

There already is precedent for such action at the state level. New York State, for example, is developing a computer-based intelligence system for law enforcement. California, aided by the Ford Foundation, has farmed out contracts to aerospace firms to study how the state can best solve problems in transportation, waste disposal, crime and information control.

The point of all this is that while the problems of urban life have been mounting and increasingly thrust upon the federal government, the techniques of dealing with them have not. Welfare, for example, is a maze of federal, state and local jurisdictions. Flood control is supposedly the domain of the Corps of Engineers, yet what happens 200 miles upstream in forest cutting and planting has a direct effect on floods—and comes under the purview of other government agencies.

Mr. Morse and his colleagues are to be commended for stepping back and viewing the problem in a new perspective. Congress should open hearings soon on this broad-gauge proposal. The richest, most powerful nation in the world should make sure it is availing itself of the best management tools available.

The Late Honorable John E. Fogarty

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, this House and particularly the Appropriations Committee will deeply miss the presence of John Fogarty.

Congressman Fogarty, during his distinguished career, exemplified the best qualities of a public servant. He was dedicated to providing his district and State with representative leadership in the Congress. He was unswervingly loyal to our Nation.

As chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Health, Education, and Welfare, he awoke the Nation to the need for new programs to help ease pain and suffering. I have worked with him many times on legislation to provide more nurses and on other health matters and always found him to be earnest, diligent, and effective in helping to find solutions to our many problems in this field.

The National Institutes of Health will ever be a monument to his love of people, his desire to ease human suffering, and his ability to help create institutions and programs that give rather than take from man.

It has been a privilege to know John Fogarty, to work with him and to have served with him in this House. I know that everyone who has known him feels richer by reason of that experience.

To his wife, daughter, and family I extend my own deep and sincere sympathy in their great loss and would remind them in the words so beautifully translated from the Sanskrit by Sir Edwin Arnold:

BAJGAVADGITA (SONG CELESTIAL)

Never the spirit was born; the spirit shall cease to be never;
Never was time when it was not; End and Beginning are dreams!
Birthless and deathless and changeless remaineth the spirit for ever;
Death hath not touched it at all, dead though the house of it seems.

Nay, but as one who layeth
His worn-out robes away,
And taking new one, sayeth,
"These will I wear today!"
So putteth by the spirit
Lightly its robe of flesh,
And passeth to inherit
A residence afresh.

Introduction of Disaster Relief Act of 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, I am again before the House in an effort to expand the aid presently available to disaster victims. Near the end of the last session, the House passed an amended version of the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 which I had introduced.

It was the Palm Sunday tornado disaster in 1965 which devastated many areas in Indiana and other parts of the Midwest that provided the impetus for this comprehensive disaster legislation. Within my district, the entire town of Russiaville, Ind., was leveled to the ground. The citizens of this town chose not to abandon its barren site, but instead, they decided to begin the painfully, slow process of rebuilding the town. The need for Federal aid was obvious, but approval of the town's first application for a sewage and water facilities construction grant from the Farmer's Home Administration did not come until nearly a year and a half after the disaster had occurred. The Farmer's Home Administration tried its utmost to expedite the application, but even under the emergency situation, the processing of the application had to follow the normal channels.

The Disaster Relief Act passed last session is a beginning toward alleviating such costly delay in the laborious rebuilding process. The Disaster Relief Act of 1967 which I am introducing today and which has already been introduced by Indiana's distinguished Senators Birch Bayh, and Vance Hartke contains some measures not included in the bill passed by the 89th Congress. Due to the lateness of the committee's consideration of this bill, these aspects of the bill were not able to be fully explored. I have every hope that they will be carefully considered early in this session as a necessary addition to the existing relief for disaster victims.

To give the Members an idea of the expanded provisions of this new disaster bill, I would like to call your attention to the section on Federal loan adjustments. The 1966 Disaster Act authorizes readjustment of loans for extended periods at minimum interest rates for owners of property severely damaged, but this new section of the 1967 act would specifically prevent the denial of loans on the grounds that private financing was available even though at higher rates. Other sections of the 1967 act which were deleted from the 1966 Disaster Act and which have been reinstated are grants to States for assistance to homeowners and businesses, shelter for disaster victims, assistance to farmers in major disaster areas, and highway assistance.

I urge the members of the Public Works Committee to give this bill priority consideration in view of the fact that disasters are seasonable tragedies, and we are just now entering into the most severe stages of the winter months. Our job in providing relief to those suffering from the effects of a disaster should not be considered finished with the Disaster Relief Act of 1966. Relief should be immediately available to all those affected by a disaster, and I feel that this 1967 Disaster Relief Act will attempt to comprehensively cover both the public and private sectors.

The Gift of Insight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, the Bristol Virginia-Tennessean last week presented an editorial that I think my colleagues and the readers of the Record will agree is most apropos, and under unanimous consent, I include it at this point in the Record:

GIFT OF INSIGHT IS SORELY NEEDED

"Oh wad some power the giftie gie us
To see oursel's as others see us!
It wad frae monie a blunder free us,
And foolish notion."

So wrote poet Robert Burns. But while he was wishing, he should have wished for a companion gift that would be equally as useful in guiding the behavior of men—the ability to see others as they see themselves.

Such a gift is needed more than ever in this day when misunderstanding and mistrust between nations could lead to the downfall of civilization. It could help save us not only from many a blunder and foolish notion but from the ultimate irrationality of mutual destruction which any one of a number of blunders could result in.

Russia, for reasons not yet clear, has embarked on a new phase of the arms race, which had seemingly reached a stable plateau, by planning to develop and deploy a system of antimissile missiles as well as increasing its armory of offensive missiles.

This has led one editorialist to warn that the present 3-to-1 missile ratio in our favor is in serious jeopardy.

Yet if we try to see the Russians as they see themselves, we can understand that a 3-to-1 missile inferiority must be as unacceptable to them as it would be to us.

We, of course, have good reasons to believe that this ratio is the minimum required for the safeguarding of the non-Communist world. If the Russians in turn had the gift of insight, they would realize this and join us in working toward a lowering, not a new elevation, of the scales on the balance of terror.

The gift could change, the complexion of the Vietnam struggle. If the foe could see us as we see ourselves and begin to believe that we are not dedicated to his destruction but sincerely desire a peace in which the interests of all Vietnamese will be protected, he might accept the fact that the best way to get us to stop our bombing and withdraw our troops is via the conference table, not the jungle ambush.

But the gift, alas, has been denied us and men go on seeing what they want to see. The blunders and foolish notions multiply, making still valid another thought of Burns': "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousand mourn."

Past Commander in Chief House of USWV Is 85

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include an article by Paul Davis, in a recent issue of the St. Petersburg, Fla., Independent, that notes the 85th birthday of the young man with whom I went from Benton Harbor, Mich., to Santiago de Cuba in the war with Spain. My friend and comrade, Archie House, had just turned 16 and I became 16 on April 28, some weeks after my enlistment.

The article by Mr. Davis states that House and I were probably the youngest American soldiers in the Spanish-American War. As I recall there was another member of Company I, 33d Michigan, who was exactly 2 weeks younger, his birthday being in June. After the siege of Santiago he reenlisted and went to the Philippines, where he was killed in action, at 16 a veteran of two overseas campaigns and killed at the threshold of his 17th year.

Mr. Davis' article follows:

Youngest Vet of 1898 Is 85

(By Paul Davis)

The Spanish fleet was bottled up in the harbor of Santiago de Cuba. The time was the summer of 1898. The Spaniards, trapped and frustrated, lobbed five inch shells into the Cuban hills above and around Santiago. One of them fell in the midst of Co. I, 33rd Michigan Volunteer Infantry, decapitating one soldier, piercing the body of another, then exploding and wounding other Americans.

It was the first heavy fire experienced by the company, which had landed June 27 at Siboney, Cuba.

A young American soldier, wearing the campaign uniform of the day, and lugging a heavy Springfield rifle, was among those who came through that action without a scratch.

He was Archie J. House, then 16, who had connived cunningly to get into the war in Cuba though two years under enlistment age.

MARKS BIRTHDAY

House, former national commander-in-chief of the United Spanish War Veterans, will celebrate his 85th birthday Monday. Sunday Mrs. House has arranged open house for her husband at their home, 5236 Queen St. N., for invited guests. Hours will be from 3 to 6 p.m.

The veteran, who appears 20 years younger than his real age, according to friends, was one of the youngest to go to Cuba in the war of '98.

U.S. Rep. Barratt O'Hara, D-Ill., who hails from Chicago, also a member of Co. I was another teen-ager in the ranks. And he was three months younger than House.

So far as known they were the youngest soldiers in the Cuban expedition.

House was 81, when in 1963 he was elected and installed national commander of the USWV at Lansing, Mich.

He traveled 40,000 miles by air that year visiting encampments and camps in all parts of the country. And he has visited many since that year.

People who meet him remark, "how come one of your youthful years is commander of this organization."

The former USWV chieftain told this reporter of the war craze that swept this nation in the days following sinking of the Battleship Maine.

Every young man with the spirit of adventure rushed off and enlisted. House, an orphan, with a guardian, was attending school in Benton Harbor, Mich.

JOINED UP

All his friends were joining up, he knew he must go, too. The recruiting station looked with favor at his request to join, but said he must have his guardian's consent.

He knew he could get it. But there was a problem. The man lived miles away. Telephones were scarce those days. And he had to report next morning to go away to camp.

House said he just signed his guardian's name to the paper, presented it next day, and was on the way.

Later he wrote the man, received his blessings, and that was that.

There was training in this country and finally the Michigan outfit went aboard ship at Newport News, Va.

"There was great secrecy about the operation. Our destination was secret."

Once ashore on the palm studded shores of Cuba, House chuckled, some of the glamor of soldiering rubbed off. Uniforms were for temperate climes. Longjohn underwear was issued. The men sweat under the hot Cuban sun. There were bugs, mosquitoes, heavy rifles, and ammunition belts that bogged you down.

FLEET DESTROYED

July 3 Spanish Admiral Cervera made a dash for it. Admiral William T. Sampson and Commodore Winnfield Schley moved in. The Spanish fleet was destroyed, piling up in the beach.

Co. I men up there in the hills, had a ringside seat to this great spectacle.

"There was excitement that day," said House.

Being national commander of the Spanish War Veterans brought many honors to House.

He was one of 23 special guests at the Veterans' Day services Nov. 11, 1963, when President Kennedy laid a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington Cemetery. These guests occupied a speakers' stand with the President.

Earlier Mr. and Mrs. House visited at the White House and met the President, who showed them the offices, the gardens, and chatted for a half hour. Old friend Congressman O'Hara arranged this meeting, and was there too.

House returned to the White House later, with servicemen and military leaders, after President Johnson became president.

The local man, is a former department commander of Michigan Department, USWV, and an honorary member of Gen. Leonard L. Camp Post, No. 8, this city.

Ranks of the boys of '98 are thinning. There were an estimated 20,000 living when House was top leader. The forces that invaded Cuba numbered 400,000.

House has one regret. President Kennedy invited him to come to Tampa for his appearance there, only a short time ahead of his fateful visit to Dallas, Tex.

"I was unwell that day and gave up the idea of going. When I heard the news of his assassination I deeply wished I had gone. He was a great man."

The Late Honorable John E. Fogarty

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRANK A. STUBBLEFIELD

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. STUBBLEFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the sudden passing of John E. Fogarty, of Rhode Island, has taken one of the stalwarts from the House and we shall all be much poorer for it.

John Fogarty was a dedicated and conscientious legislator whose interest in the health and welfare of people throughout the Nation was translated into action. He will be long remembered for his effective work as chairman of the subcommittee that appropriated funds for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

John Fogarty was a patriotic citizen, a devout Democrat, and a man of reason and integrity. He enjoyed the friendship and respect of his colleagues throughout the Congress and while we shall greatly miss his presence, the results of his work in terms of a richer and better life for countless people will stand as a monument to him in his district, State, and Nation.

To his entire family I extend deep and sincere sympathy.

A Severe Blow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I have repeatedly expressed my serious concern about the unjustifiable decision of the U.S. Supreme Court to kill Florida's legislative apportionment plan. This inexcusable action simply compounds confusion in a great State which has been plagued time after time by such unwarranted actions by the land's Highest Court. The Pensacola Journal of Tuesday, January 10, contains a carefully written and studious analysis of this serious problem. I insert it to be reprinted in the Congressional Record.

A Severe Blow

The decision of the U.S. Supreme Court to kill Florida's present legislative apportionment plan is a severe blow.

Even taking it for granted that the court's somewhat-strained "one-man, one-vote" rule is legally correct, the court really strains at a gnat in striking down the present formula—the fourth brought forth by a harassed legislature since 1962.

It is conceivable that even the present formula does not provide that there are exactly as many persons in one legislative district as in another—in fact, it is certain the apportionment is not so exact—but the plan nevertheless is a commendable effort in this direction.

It is a plan which has so modified the legislature that the long-standing strangle hold of the little counties over the big ones was broken, something of an achievement in itself.

Moreover, it is the plan under which the present legislature, now facing myriad problems within the state, was elected; and the ruling now casts doubt upon the standing of at least some of the members, perhaps upon the legislature as a whole.

The high court, in throwing out this plan, has as well, seriously retarded sincere efforts of the state to apportion itself by proposing in a new constitution a plan for re-apportionment every 10 years, based upon legal requirements which must be interpreted by the Florida Supreme Court. According to the proposed document, if the legislature itself fails to meet the legal requirements—whether the U.S. Supreme Court then is requiring "one-man, one-vote" apportionment or some other standard—then the Florida court will do the reapportioning itself.

And, ironically, the apportionment which provided for the present Florida legislative setup almost certainly would have made it easier for an apportionment which even more closely approached the "one-man, one-vote" principle, simply because it is a more representative legislature than the previous one.

Yet the high court has arbitrarily decided that the formula is not valid, though once again the court has refused to say what is valid.

The principle under which the court acted was expressed when it called more than two years ago for election districts based on "as nearly of equal population as is practicable."

The state thinks that the present formula is as equal as was practicable at the time it was passed.

Justice John M. Harlan, in dissenting from the majority opinion of the court, made this point: "(It) seems to me to stand on its head the usual rule governing this court's approach to the validity of legislative enactments, state as well as federal, which is, of course, that they come to us with a strong presumption of regularity and constitutionality."

Since no definite guidelines, on an exact mathematical basis, were laid down as to what is "practicable" and what is not, it would seem that a state's sincere effort to work out a solution would at least receive an "A" for effort from the court and that the formula should have been allowed to stand for the time being at least.

Particularly is this true when the legislature gives every evidence, as it has, of going forward with plans which would call for periodic reapportionment on as nearly a legal basis as can be determined.

But for this court to continually cast aside efforts to reapportion, without laying down exact guidelines, places an undue burden on the state.

And it is ironic that this is the same court which has refused to hear a petition from several states seeking a change in the presidential electoral system so it, too, will be based upon the "one-man, one-vote" principle, and which so far has done nothing about the fact that the upper house of the U.S. Congress itself is far removed from any such principle, with two Senators being elected from each state regardless of population.

We suppose that the state will survive this latest unwarranted blow from the super Supreme Court, and eventually will get back on the main track.

In the meantime, however, it is just another headache to face in a state which desires to get on with settling of its own internal affairs in the speediest manner possible.

On the Death of a Hero of American Public Health

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM R. ANDERSON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, it is ironic and somehow tragic that we save our finest tributes to men and reserve our praises for their qualities and accomplishments until their death. Mankind has always been at a loss for an adequate response to the passage of men of heroic stature. Thus we find ourselves today for certainly one such man was the late JOHN FOGARTY, so recently and vigorously of this House.

Here was a man vibrantly alive. I first heard of JOHN FOGARTY many years ago; I read of a tough, Irish bricklayer and labor leader who had come to the Congress from Rhode Island, full of youth and fire and a passion for truth. When I came to the 89th Congress, I knew him as a man unrivaled in the history of this Nation as a true champion of public health and medical research. In the interim JOHN FOGARTY had compiled a record of driving excellence and mature vision through 12 Congresses and 24 years. It was my great honor to serve with him in the 89th Congress. He will not be forgotten.

The President's Personal Touch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday President Johnson bestowed a great honor on Mr. and Mrs. John Arata, constituents of mine who live in La Plata, Md. The President invited the Arata family to visit with him in the White House as a result of a letter Mr. Arata wrote the President in support of his state of the Union remarks about Vietnam.

Mr. and Mrs. Arata have a son, Lance Cpl. George J. Arata, who is serving with our troops in Vietnam. He is typical of the hundreds of thousands of Americans serving democracy and their country in strange lands. I believe that President Johnson has done well to honor the Arata family as one which is typical of most American families who feel the same way about our involvement in Vietnam—they may not like the idea of sending their sons to far-away places to fight in a war which is different from any other we have fought in, but they do support their President and his position on our involvement in Vietnam.

These millions of families may not be as vocal as the dissenters we see and hear so much about, but they do take the time to write their views to the President, and to their Congressmen. I am very pleased that President Johnson has selected the John Arata family of La Plata for a personal visit with him in the White House. I request that the article from the Baltimore Sun be printed in the RECORD.

The article follows:

CITIZEN CALLS ON PRESIDENT—MARYLANDER'S NOTE LED TO PERSONAL VISIT

WASHINGTON, January 18.—John Arata, who describes himself as "just an ordinary citizen of these United States and very proud to be one," called on the President at the White House today.

Arata is a motel manager from Waldorf, Md., whose 19-year-old son, George, is a lance corporal with the 3d Battalion, 4th Marines in Vietnam.

Late in the evening nine days ago, he sat down and wrote to President Johnson:

"Through the medium of television I just had the pleasure and honor of listening and viewing your State-of-the-Union address to the members of Congress.

SOMEWHERE IN VIETNAM

"Every President in history has been criticized on one point or another, as you no doubt realize, but may God bless you on your program and recommendations.

"I have a son in the Marine Corps, at present somewhere in Vietnam. I am proud he is there and he is proud to be there to support the American policy.

"Guiding this nation and trying to help other nations must be a thankless task and in my small way I would like to offer one vote of confidence. I am sure there are many millions of Americans who feel the same as I."

He signed it, "most respectfully," and mailed it.

WHITE HOUSE ON THE LINE

Arata had written to another President once—to President Kennedy. That time, he received an answer from a member of the White House staff. He may have expected the same thing, but certainly no more, when he wrote to Mr. Johnson. "I didn't do it for the publicity," he says.

But yesterday afternoon, his telephone rang at the Martha Washington Motel, about 20 miles southeast of the Capital. It was a White House staff member again.

He invited Mr. and Mrs. Arata to come to the White House today.

Mr. Johnson, who daily hears a great deal about Americans who disagree with his program and recommendations and disagree strongly with American policy in Vietnam, obviously was impressed by Arata's letter.

The Marylander arrived at about mid-day, and spent fifteen minutes with the President, Mr. Johnson took the couple into the cabinet room, where the heads of departments were assembling, and introduced them around the table.

SENDING PHOTO TO SON

He told them the letter "gave him a lot of encouragement," Arata related later.

Mr. Johnson escorted his visitors out into the West Lobby, where a flock of photographers recorded their departure. The President shook hands with the Aratas and thanked them for coming.

They seemed dazed by the experience. Arata could not recall all the President had said.

He headed back to Waldorf clutching an envelope of what he called "personal mementos" from Mr. Johnson. The President also had promised him a copy of their photograph together, to be sent to Lance Cpl. George J. Arata, in the communications section of H & S Company, 3d Battalion, 4th Marines, somewhere in Vietnam.

John E. Fogarty

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in the House of Representatives in paying tribute to our late colleague, the Honorable JOHN E. FOGARTY. His death is a great loss not only to his colleagues and to the people in the State of Rhode Island but to our country. He served his constituents and his country so well he earned the respect and admiration of us all.

JOHN FOGARTY worked earnestly in behalf of cancer research and for the mentally retarded and his efforts were well recognized by all who knew him. He deserved the many honors he received. As chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee of the House Committee on Health, Education, and Welfare he helped to initiate legislation which has made the National Institutes of Health one of the most outstanding medical research centers in the world.

JOHN FOGARTY's love for the House of Representatives and his loyalty to his constitutents was so great that when he was given the opportunity to run for the U.S. Senate he decided to continue to represent the Second District in Rhode Island. His leadership, his great integrity and personal courage will surely be missed by those who considered him a valued friend.

I am very proud to have had the honor to have served with JOHN FOGARTY, and to have called him a true friend. At this time, I extend my sympathy to his wife, to his family and to all those who loved him.

Southern Rhodesia: The Time for Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the Smith regime in Rhodesia is "fundamentally immoral" and "based on violence and force, because it does not enjoy the consent of the governed," this is the conclusion of a prominent lay Catholic who is one of the leading experts on Africa, Dr. Thomas Patrick Melady.

Dr. Melady, who has received honorary degrees of doctor of laws from Villanova University, Xavier University of Louisiana, and Manhattan College, and who has written a number of books on Africa, is currently president of the Africa Service Institute, adjunct associate professor of African history at Fordham University and the permanent representative of Pax Romana to the United Nations.

I commend to my colleagues the following article by Dr. Melady which appeared in the "Catholic World" for January 1967:

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: THE TIME FOR ACTION

(By Thomas Patrick Melady)

Moral principle and national interest coincide in dictating a strong stand against the racist government of Ian Smith

November 11, 1966, was the first anniversary of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence of Southern Rhodesia from Great Britain. The initial shock that swept the Western world after the November 11, 1965, action was followed by optimistic predictions, coming mostly from London, that the rebellion would be ended within a few months. There were fiery speeches, threats of sanctions, and talk of internal violence within Rhodesia. All of these have indeed had their effect, but after a year the rebels still rule.

The rebels of Ian Smith have ruthlessly cracked down on all possible sources of internal trouble, including the press and the multi-racial University College in Salisbury. Aided by South Africa and Portugal, they have withstood the British sanctions. Now, they are busy proving themselves stable and firmly entrenched; their hope is that however distasteful they may be to the world, they (like the Soviet Union at a similar stage) will eventually be reluctantly accepted into the world community. In short, they want for now *de facto* recognition, with the belief that *de jure* will be just around the corner.

This possibility should shock the West into action before it is too late. For the Rhodesian issue is not a rebellion against a colonial power, comparable to the American War of Independence. It is, rather, a rebellion against all the moral precepts for which and by which the West purports to stand.

The history of Rhodesia is tarnished with this rebellion against moral precepts. Cecil Rhodes and his company acquired control over the territory through a shabby deal—the Rudd Concession—whereby King Lobengula was swindled of his lands. Since then, the settlers have had to resort to force of arms to crush African opposition, at first tribal but later nationalist, to their rule. Further, successive governments gave the lie to Rhodes' political motto of "equal rights for every civilized man south of the Zambesi." Whereas for Rhodes a civilized man was "a man whether white or black who has sufficient education to write his name, has some property or works—in fact is not a loafer." The settler governments in practice loaded the dice against the African population—the settlers, enjoying more rights and privileges, quite out of proportion to their population figures. This means that man to man (one human being against another), the settler is by far better off than his African compatriot, supposedly because of his higher standard of civilization. A few figures will show the differences. Land ownership, which is a crucial political issue in Rhodesia, stood as follows in 1960: 39 million acres for 2,800,000 Africans and 48 million for 219,000 Europeans. This division has given rise to land hunger and overcrowding in the Reserve areas specially set aside for Africans. Referring to the iniquitous distribution of land, Bishop Lamont of Umtali said in his famous Pastoral Instruction of 1959 to his diocese:

"Can you in conscience blame the African, if eking out a tenuous existence from poor soil in an overcrowded Reserve, he is swayed by subversive propaganda, when close beside him there lie hundreds of thousands of acres of fertile soil which he may not cultivate nor occupy nor graze, because although it lies unused and unattended, it belongs to some individual or a group of individuals who perhaps do not even live in the country, but who hold the land in the hope of profit from speculation?"

The action of Mr. Smith is a bare-faced attempt to establish another racist government in Africa. It is a government resulting from a plot to give indefinite control of the country's political and economic power to less than five percent of the country's population—the whites. It is a strike against Pope Paul VI's Christmas message of December 1964, when he gave a ringing indictment of racism:

". . . which separates and opposes the different branches constituting the great human family, resulting in pride, mistrust, exclusivism, discrimination and sometimes even oppression, thus ruining the mutual respect and due esteem which ought to turn the diverse ethnical groups into a peaceful concert of brotherly peoples."

These moral precepts were drummed into and largely accepted by the Africans educated in Europe, the United States and at home. It is these very precepts that are now on trial in the Rhodesian issue. It is also on them that the people of Africa base their case against Smith—as, indeed, against all the forces of racial repression in southern Africa.

But, the supporters of Smith argue, there is repression in Africa, Asia, the Soviet Union, etc.; and the United States tries to coexist with these regimes; so why, they ask, pick on Rhodesia? These same supporters will normally add that the present Rhodesian government would be a trusted ally against Communism in an otherwise turbulent continent. Does refusing to accept the Rhodesian regime mean that we are engaging in a double standard?

Far from it. First of all from a political point of view, it is in our national interest to win friends in Africa—at any rate not to make unnecessary enemies. All the Western nations' efforts up to now, however well motivated, have not toppled the rebel regime in Salisbury. To the people of Africa, this effort has appeared reluctant, halfhearted and flabby; thus it is not going to win the West friends in Africa.

But through Rhodesia we can win friends, for this case provides the West with an opportunity combining political interest with moral right—a rare opportunity in politics. As stated above, it is in our interest to act. But more important, it is morally right that we do so. The people of Africa and Asia have assumed their place in the councils of nations and, therefore, can no longer be subjected to the norms of an immoral era in which they had no say. This means that in Rhodesia the supremacy of privilege masquerading as merit, of race professing to be partnership or multi-racialism, has to be ended. And the sooner the better.

The act of the Smith regime last November, 1965, was *per se* immoral. But worse yet was the fact that this act was performed by a government based on a fundamentally immoral, unjust premise. The Rhodesian Front Administration is based on violence and force because it does not enjoy the consent of the governed.

Even the so-called indaba of 1964, consisting of chiefs speically picked to support UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence), did not represent African opinion. Government-paid agents can hardly be expected to act contrray to the wishes of their masters—hence the chiefs supported UDI. Moreover, in a society changing to modern life, the traditional elite do not represent the new age. Like their colonial masters, they tend to have a stake in preserving the *status quo*. Nationalist opinion was not heard.

Moreover, the political system has an unjust economic base. The land, the trades and the professions are in the hands of the privileged, white few. The Land Apportionment Act, the Land Husbandry Act, the Industrial Conciliation and Pass Laws—all these prop the rule of the privileged minority. This minority is a racial one; this is the crux of the matter! Whereas in the United States, and indeed in most parts of the world, efforts are being made to uproot the cancer of racial superiority, in Southern Rhodesia it is being entrenched.

White Rhodesians, like South Africans, boast that under their rule, Africans enjoy a higher standard of living, more health services and primary education than in any other part of the continent. This is paternalism—a major source of the African grievance. Furthermore, the so-called higher standard for Africans is negligible when compared with what a white child gets in Rhodesia. This is the crucial point of the comparison: people in the same country.

The trouble with this paternalism is that it talks of doing things *for* the Africans, rather than *with* them. This is the test of any political system: that the rulers and the ruled work together, their wills and interests being identical, and no one group regarding

itself as a guardian divinely appointed to act for another group.

Rhodesia is not a remote issue. It has significant political and moral implications for the West, especially Great Britain, which has always claimed to be the responsible power, and the United States. Strong action now by the West against this grossly indecent conduct is morally the right course of action. Furthermore, if this action does not come soon, the initiative may come from one or several of the Communist states who shrewdly realize that Rhodesia may well be the bridge leading to the control of southern Africa with its strategic and economic importance. They note that liberation of Africa, now almost complete, has stopped in southern Africa where the colonialist and racist regimes of Salazar, Smith and Vorster have teamed up in an alliance for a last-ditch stand for minority, white supremacy against majority rule which now exists in the rest of the continent.

Western values are on trial in southern Africa. The end of time and distance has made all the nations of the world next-door neighbors. While it was always morally wrong, domination by one racial minority of another racial majority is now a clear and present danger to political tranquility. The racist government in Salisbury, in addition to being an affront to Judaic-Christian beliefs, is pregnant with factors that could explode into a racial conflict which would bring bloodshed to Rhodesia and endanger race relations in the rest of Central and East Africa.

The future of race relations in Africa, and indeed in the rest of the world, are related to the Southern Rhodesian situation. For this reason, the illegal seizure of power by the Rhodesian National Front group is a matter of international concern.

It might be difficult for some to distinguish between immediate, short-term gains and long-term interests. An immediate gain for the United Kingdom and the United States could be the avoidance of the responsibilities involved in assuming the duty of assuring that the illegal government does not continue.

But does the West want to assume responsibility for allowing the cancer of apartheid to continue indefinitely in Southern Rhodesia? In the opinion of this observer, such action—clearly wrong from a moral point of view—would in the long run seriously jeopardize the credibility of the West in dealing with the other southern African issues that will soon face the world.

We need, rather, to develop greater confidence between the Black African leaders and the leaders of the West so that together the serious moral problems facing mankind in southern Africa can be faced.

For these reasons immediate action by the West on the side of what is morally right is also in the long-range, best, political interests of the West. What an unusual opportunity—to do what is clearly right morally and what is in our own long-range, best, political interests!

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Appendix

A Sensible Reclamation Approach

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial published in the Canton, Ohio, Repository of January 14, 1967, which comments on S. 217, the Mined Lands Conservation Act of 1967, introduced by the distinguished senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. Lausche] and several other Senators, including myself.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Sensible Reclamation Approach

The bill introduced by Ohio's Sen. Frank J. Lausche is a sensible approach to strip mining reclamation.

The measure before the U.S. Senate proposed broad federal controls and financial assistance.

Sen. Lausche is qualified to sponsor the Mined Lands Conservation Act jointly with Sen. Stephen M. Young of Ohio and Sen. Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania.

Sen. Lausche has been a long-time adversary of irresponsible stirp mining procedures, has studied the problem extensively and submitted previous bills.

A 1965 measure required a report from the Department to the Interior on surface and strip mining. An interim report June 30 indicated the federal government has responsibility to cooperate with states in formulating strip mine laws and to assist in reclaiming pre-state law spoil banks.

It has been argued in the past that mining operators in some states cannot carry through a sound reclamation procedure because the cost would place them at an unfair price advantage with their competitors.

It also has been argued that regulations should be a state matter and federal intervention would be nothing short of meddling.

The proposed Mined Lands Conservation Act shoots holes in these opposition balloons.

First, once federal controls were established, they would apply in all states without state laws or where they are too weak to be effective.

States that have sufficiently strong laws will administer them as they have in the past.

Secondly, with all operators required to meet the same standards, no competitive advantage will be won by any.

The proposal even includes a clause to insure fairness of the eventual federal regulations.

The national advisory committee that would recommend final federal standards is to include coal mine owners and operators to safeguard against standards so stringent as to be unfair.

The Melting Pot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, of the many issues covered by President Johnson in his state of the Union message, one over which there is broad agreement and concern throughout the country is that of the problem of crime. A veteran reporter, of the Ingham County News, recently devoted his column, on January 18, 1967, to this question. His article provides a clear and informed expression of the need for action in this field. I am pleased to make Mr. Palmer's views available to my colleagues:

The Melting Pot

(By Hayden Palmer)

President Johnson in his State of the Union message to the 90th Congress last week touched on many issues.

One of particular note today was that pertaining to the present crime wave that is sweeping America and what steps he hopes to take to combat it.

The President said he will recommend to the Congress the Safe Streets and Crime Control act of 1967.

"It will enable us to assist those states and cities that try to make their streets and homes safer, their police forces better, their corrections systems more effective and their courts more effective," the President said.

"This is not a war that Washington can win alone. Our policemen must be better trained, better paid and better supported by the local citizens they try to serve and protect."

He spoke of the growing public apathy toward crime and of the public's lack of respect for and cooperation with law enforcement officers, who, after all, are about the only protectors the public has in an emergency.

These men, whether they be city policemen, sheriff's officers, state policemen, highway patrol officers or employes of private police organizations are due every cooperation from those they serve—the public.

But the public goes blithely along ignoring crimes that occur within their vision, even, without lifting a finger to aid the officer because, as they say, they "don't want to become involved."

The President, with the help of Congress wants to set up a program which will bring about better training for law enforcement officers, better equipment with which to fight crime and police academies throughout the land to instruct police officers and then graduate them with all the knowledge possible in the matter of fighting crime.

Within the past 2 weeks this area has had a taste of what the most dastardly of crimes—murder—really is.

There is the case of an Eaton county deputy sheriff and a gasoline station attendant being gunned to death by a pair of Negro holdup men just across the Ingham county line in Eaton county.

Only a few days later a druggest and his son in the little community of Hamburg in Livingston county, were visited by 2 holdup men who shot and killed the father and critically wounded the son. Both of these cases represented senseless killing, none offered and resistance to the gun wielders. They merely shot citizens down in cold blood without any reason.

Mass killings, brutal killings all have become a part of American life which the public appears to forget almost as soon as they happen.

Here are some statistics on crime in the United States which may startle you:

During 1965, more than 5,600 murders, 14,700 aggravated assaults, with a gun and 68,400 armed robberies were reported in America. Robberies, burglaries, larcenies and auto thefts accounted for the loss of property valued at more than $1 billion.

According to the Uniform Crime Report issued by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, more than 2,780,000 serious crimes were reported in 1965. The figures represented an increase of 6 percent over 1964.

The national crime rate continued to rise during the first 6 months of 1966 with an 8 percent increase in the number of crimes committed between January and June 1966 over the number of crimes committed in the same period of 1965.

The 1966 figures show the sharpest increase—11 percent—in crimes committed in suburban areas. The incidence of crime in rural areas rose 7 percent, cities with populations of 100,000 or more recorded a 6 percent increase.

Nowhere is the law abiding citizen safe from the criminal element. I hope the Congress will heed President Johnson's appeal for action against the outlaws in America and the public will give their full support to any movement to stop this wanton killing, robbery and other destructive acts of these outlaws.

All you—the public—has to protect you is the man who wears the badge of a law enforcement officer. Respect him and cooperate with him. You may need him badly some day.

Congress "Three R's" Favored by Mundt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, the need for the new, 90th Congress to review, revise, and retrench much of the legislation of the preceding 89th Congress is gaining support from all parts of the Nation and from both sides of the aisle in the Senate. In that connection, I invite the attention of the Senate to an editorial published in a recent issue of the Aberdeen American News of Aberdeen, S. Dak., and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONGRESS "THREE R'S" FAVORED BY MUNDT

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana has the support of an influential, high-ranking Republican senator on his proposal to have committee chairmen concentrate on the review and reexamination of legislative actions taken by recent Congresses.

He is South Dakota's Sen. Karl Mundt, the fifth ranking Republican member of the 90th Congress.

In supporting a statement by the Democratic leader, Mundt said: "Recent Congresses have in some instances substituted speed-of-action for soundness-of-consent and they have made many departures from what normally have been considered the functions of the central government during nearly 200 years of legislative history in this country. Sen. Mansfield does well and advises properly when he urges his Democratic colleagues who hold all of the committee chairmanships to go slow on enacting new spending sprees and to go strong on what on what one might call the "Three R's" challenging the new Congress—the need for review, revision and retrenchment."

Mundt said one quick step which we should take in moving in the direction of demonstrating a sincere attempt to reduce expenditures, slow down inflation and get on with winning the war in Vietnam would be for the leadership to call up for action and press for approval the recommendations made in the closing days of the last Congress by the Joint Senate-House Committee on the Organization of Congress.

"In our recommendations (Mundt is ranking GOP member of that committee) we require and greatly strengthen and expand the responsibilities of all standing committees to follow through on the results of legislation approved by them," Mundt said. "We start by eliminating the term "over-sight" to describe these committee functions since too frequently the word was taken at face value and responsibilities have been largely overlooked."

The Mundt committee recommendations also called for the appointment of a review specialist for each legislative committee whose job it is to follow-through on post-congressional development; check on any waste, corruption, or general inefficiency; make recommendations for revisions or amendments and each committee is mandated to make an annual public report to Congress on the work of its review specialist and the supervisory activities of the committee.

"I sincerely hope this recommendation and other Congress-strengthening recommendations of our Joint Committee will come before both houses of Congress for approval during the opening month of the new session," Mundt said.

It is encouraging that bi-partisan endeavors for more responsible action by Congress are getting attention at the start of this important session.

No Time To Relax Our Vigilance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, this week the other body will complete hearings on a consular convention with the U.S.S.R. and the apostles of coexistence will appear in full force. I feel that a column by Copley International Press Columnist Dumitru Danielopol merits special attention at this time. I ask leave to insert his remarks in the RECORD at this point:

DUMITRU DANIELOPOL COMMENTS: NO TIME TO RELAX OUR VIGILANCE

WASHINGTON.—Have the Russians really changed?

"Hatred for imperialists, the worst enemies of the Soviet state and its fellow socialist countries, must occupy a prominent place in our propaganda."

That's a quote from a recent issue of Voyennie Znaniya (Military Science) devoted to Soviet civilian para-military training.

But Sen. Joseph S. Clark, D-Pa., says "the steam has gone out of the Russian ambitions."

The senator has returned from a trip to Europe and the Middle East. (His stops included Paris, Moscow and Warsaw.)

The Kremlin is having trouble with Red China, he said, and they are ready for a detente with the United States. He called for an "accommodation" with Moscow and said Germany, not Russia, poses the biggest problem in Europe.

The senator urges the disarmament of Western Germany, the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Europe and a halt to the bombings in Vietnam.

What this adds up to is what the Russians have wanted for years. Western Europe would be left completely at their mercy.

Sen. Clark seems to have adopted at least part of the "neo-isolationism" theory that was recently denounced by Sen. Thomas Dodd, D-Conn.

Clark's estimate of the Soviets also is in direct contradiction to the findings of Foy D. Kohler, former ambassador to Moscow who is now deputy undersecretary of state.

The Kremlin is more interested in weakening Western unity than in finding any accommodation with the United States, Kohler says.

That Sen. Clark, who calls himself a "dove," should come back with scuh views is hardly surprising.

". . . there is no legislative body in the world as allergic to working for peace as the Congress of the United States," he told the White House Conference on International Cooperation last year.

". . . we talk a good peace game, but when it comes to legislating or appropriating we still worship the ghost of Sen. Joseph McCarthy and his Holy War against Godless Communism," he said.

How widespread are such views?

It would be highly dangerous if Sen. Clark's estimate about Soviet intentions is shared in other Washington circles, including the White House.

The President's new policy of "peaceful engagement," which he unfolded in his Oct. 7 speech, has at least raised the possibility.

Mr. Johnson talked of "winds of change which are blowing in Eastern Europe." He advocated stepped-up trade with the Communists, guaranteed commercial credits and called for a unification of Europe.

He implied that one no longer has to fear Soviet ambitions in Europe.

Hard facts refute such theories. Sen. Dodd calls them "make-believe" theories.

Every overture made by the United States toward the USSR, Dodd points out, has been answered with "new provocations and stepped-up campaigns of subversion in various parts of the world."

Russia has pledged $800 million worth of war aid to North Vietnam, augmented by another $200 million from its East European bloc.

It has shipped arms to Syria, Egypt and Iraq to inflame the situation in the Middle East and incite terrorism.

It has provided most of the funds and the top leadership for the progaganda and subversion apparatus set up at the Tri-Continental Conference in Havana last January.

It recently supplied Hanoi with 100 new MIG jet fighters, more than doubling the size of North Vietnam's air force.

Is this the time to relax our vigilance and lower our defenses?

Bureaucratic System for So-Called War on Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, since the so-called war on poverty was first declared, fears have been expressed that the bureaucratic system established under the legislation would eventually frustrate the best intentions of many who seek conscientiously at the local level to help the poor.

That such fears were not without foundation is apparent from an account by a community action program director published in the December 1966 issue of the Michigan Economic Opportunity Office Newsletter. I ask unanimous consent that the article, written by Mr. Elrie Chrite, of Washtenaw County, Mich., be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN CAP OFFICES THESE DAYS—OR, PAPER, PAPER, WHO'S GOT THE PAPER?

(By Elrie Chrite)

For some time now, I have been thinking that the Office of Economic Opportunity seems determined to help Congress and its legion of other critics achieve an early "demise" of the lately stricken anti-poverty program. As a CAP director, I've been fascinated, almost hypnotized, by what appears to be suicidal tendencies in the Community Action Program's Federal administration.

When I started in this program over a year ago, it was unbelievably sound in concept and application. Local communities were supposed to identify a need, find their own unique solution to the problem, and then submit a work plan and budget to OEO. If it made sense, you got the money. The organization was free wheeling and swinging. It placed a premium on local responsibility and uniqueness. The major emphasis was on a dialog with the poor. It encouraged creativity and even some radical departures when measured against the old way of doing things.

Now, we receive in amazing quantities "guidelines," CAP memos, publicity campaigns, "packaged" program-year requirements, unwanted sets of recordings by tired academicians discussing Headstart (which must have cost a mint!), certificates signed by Lady Bird, posters, a new computerized reporting system—after you've finally figured out the old one, senseless and expensive conferences, and, finally, the *coup de grace:* an evaluation and monitoring system received (unsolicited) from the Regional Office, entitled, *"Manual of Performance Benchmarks by C.A.P. Component Type, A Guide to the Community Action Agency for Reporting Requirements on Fiscal Year '66 Components,"* containing two hundred eighty-seven pages and weighing in at one pound, thirteen ounces.

I know that mistakes will be made in a program as large and as difficult as this one. I know that the Federal administrators want to help with technical assistance and cut down on criticism by making things more "predictable" out here in the boondocks. But beware, OEO, or, at least, *be* aware that every new policy decision to correct an administrative problem in two, three, or ten communities; every regulation sent out to satisfy Congressman Snort because he doesn't like this or that bureaucratically structures this program.

The Community Action Program must, by definition, be unencumbered if it is expected to be-revitalize and challenge other helping programs already encrusted and atrophied by bureaucratic weight.

The thing is even catching. A few months ago, CAP Directors of Michigan met in Lansing, and you know what we did? We voted to consider forming an organization with bylaws, officers, possibly incorporate—"the whole bit," as they say. If this goes through, it will only be a matter of time before *we* request funds from somebody to pay a director to run the CAP Directors' organization, and the poor would have to watch out for one more group of "professionals."

I am afraid that the more "direction" we get from Washington, the less thinking we will need or be able to do ourselves. For example, take that somewhat obese evaluation and monitoring system devised by someone, somewhere in the mysterious world of OEO. A CAP director will spend a lot of his time gathering and organizing information to fit in the hundreds of little boxes, provided, and few will have the inclination or energy to come up with an idea of his own.

The CAP director is the link with the community. The burden should be upon him to come up with sound programing and evaluation procedures. Such a climate nurtures the spirit and practice of innovation. Really ingenious solutions to help the poor can only be found in this way.

Federal administrators must resist the ever-increasing temptation from within and fight the pressures from without, which call for a more "structured," "unified," or "orderly" program. Flexibility and independence are as vital to the health of this program as money if it is to survive as originally conceived.

Right now, the anti-poverty program is a pretty sick patient. I just hope OEO doesn't smother it to death with paper.

Dana O. McGaugh

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON EDWARDS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, last December 7, I, along with many other residents of the Ninth California District, was shocked and upset to learn of the sudden death of Mr. Dana O. McGaugh.

Dana was one of the most vital forces and intent individuals of the Amador-Livermore Valley. As editor of the Livermore Independent, Dana built this small weekly from its inception to a tri-weekly journal of great influence in the valley.

The son of a minister, Dana McGaugh began his career as a reporter for the Arizona Republic in 1949 and worked for 47 newspapers, from coast to coast, before coming to the Independent in 1963. Wherever he went, he and his papers received distinction. In 1957, while editor of the Santa Clara Journal, Dana was cited for fair and impartial coverage of civic activities by the Santa Clara City Council. He was honored with an award for general excellence from the National Editorial Association when he was editor of the San Jacinto Register. The San Leandro Morning News, under Dana's guidance received four awards for excellence in 1962—more than any other California newspaper that year. Dana's reporting was of the same high quality as his editorials. Evidence of this is his superb on-the-spot coverage of a 1948 train-bus collision in Ontario, Calif.—for which he received an AP award.

Dana's greatness—and his inestimable value to his community—can be traced to hard work and devotion to that which he considered the highest principle: truth and the right of the public to know. He conceived his role as that of a "watchdog"—to oversee the activities of public officials and the spending of public funds and to inform the public when something was amiss. In November 1966, he wrote:

> We believe that the majority of the public joins us in rejecting the Hamiltonian philosophy of a kept press in favor of the Jeffersonian principle that if it were necessary to choose between a government without newspapers or newspapers without government, the latter choice would be in the best interests of the general welfare.

Concurrent with this philosophy, Dana demanded —and personally exhibited— honesty and integrity. He is further believed that "the surest way to obtain poor government is through public apathy" and a constant goal was increased interest and involvement in local politics.

His editorials were sometimes favorable, sometimes critical; but always they were just and well-founded. His cause was a great one and his loss, indeed, is a public loss. At this point I would like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD these words from the Independent which speak so aptly of Dana McGaugh:

A PUBLIC LOSS

> During this age of technology when the human being seems meager beside the magnificance of machines and acquisitions, a true concern for people is a diminishing rarity among men in positions of public responsibility. This rarity was diminished much more Wednesday night when Dana O. McGaugh died. Dana, editor of the Independent, guided his paper and his life with the primary principle that people are more important than things.
>
> Dana regarded the paper itself as a living human organism, shaped not by government nor by any special interest but by the people who read it. It was an ideal he pursued religiously, to the discomfort of many an official, and much to the benefit of the newspaper reader.
>
> Dana believed a newspaper should be honest rather than objective. This means a paper should take sides but it must print every facet of the issue so the reader has a clear complete picture. Editorial praise and criticism should be based not on a man's politics but on what the man has done for the public good. Dana's editorials and his Junius column lauded and roasted people and organizations of every political stripe.
>
> Dana O. McGaugh was a bantam rooster of a man with a fiery temperament and a voice, when raised, that could almost scorch the plaster off the walls. Pity those who excited his wrath. But at the same time, because of his concern for people, he had a heart of compassion and generosity and he was a gathering point for all kinds of people in trouble—fellow newspapermen out of work, people in need of money, persons in need of comfort or counsel during a crisis; they all came to Dana when they felt the need for a human being's helping hand.
>
> The loss of Dana O. McGaugh is a public loss and we know the public will join us, not in mourning him because he wouldn't find that fitting, but in paying him a toast over a spirited glass.

> SIR: I was shocked and saddened to learn of the death of your editor, Dana McGaugh.
>
> Dana had been a friend of the Parks Job Corps Center since Litton Industries people first came to the Valley in January of 1965. He was the first person to come out publicly for Job Corps, and when the Center opened he appointed himself as a "watchdog" over all our activities. If we were doing something wrong, he let us know about it. He also gave us a pat on the back when he thought we deserved it. The result was objective, fair coverage of our operations.
>
> I write this from Washington, where we are negotiating a new contract for the Center. As we do so, we are aware that Dana McGaugh perhaps deserves more credit than anyone else for our being at Parks in the first place.
>
> A surprisingly large number of staff members and corpsmen knew him personally. All of us will miss him.
>
> S. S. USLAN,
> *Director, Parks Job Corps Center.*

> SIR: On behalf of the Laboratory, I wish to express my sincere sympathy to you and the members of your staff over your recent loss.

Dana's contributions to our community were well known to many of us and will long be remembered. He will be greatly missed, both as a concerned citizen and as a dedicated newspaperman.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL M. MAY,
Director, LRL, Livermore.

SIR: When I think of Dana McGaugh, I think of Lincoln Stephens and a congressman named Baker and a newspaperman named Bolton Hall. I think of a list of questions asked of the high and mighty from the floor of Congress January 11, 1905.

1. What legislatures do you own?
2. What is the average of the combined salaries of your president and your office boys?
3. Why did the grand jury fail to indict you?
4. What time is your president allowed for lunch, and has the advance in the price of beef impoverished him?
5. How many persons have you run over, ruined, or otherwise killed during the year? Why?
6. Who is your judge?
7. Do you pay him for the job or by the year? Of what church is he a member?
8. State all sums paid during the last year for false witnesses.
9. Are your contributions to both political parties dictated by love for mankind or by business considerations?
10. What shall it profit a man "if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul"?
11. How much of the total consumption do you control, and why can't you tell?
12. Do you believe in socialism or in anarchy?
13. How were the books lost?
14. Why don't your directors know anything about the business?
15. Where do you expect to go when you die?

TOM LUCE.

LIVERMORE.

SIR: In the passing of Dana McGaugh the people of our valley have lost a great crusader in the field of human dignity—a man dedicated to the principles of democracy, ever present when public servants tended to forget that they were only that and caused them to think again for the benefit of everyone.

As an individual somewhat new to public service I can say that in decisions where one considers what is right or what is possible or even what is convenient, there was also some consideration for the complexion Dana would see it in when he sat down to write his report.

In this sense he was the conscience of the valley leadership, with a powerful message which will remain with us even though Dana McGaugh has completed his stewardship and put down his sword and pen.

JAMES NELSON.

SIR: Dana McGaugh is dead. Fiesty, tiny, unwashed, magnificent Dana O. McGaugh.

He loved people.

He was a furious, shy, beleagured, violent man. He belonged to we the people. If God exists Dana will meet up with Him and if that be the case I hope that Dana is not too hard on Him.

NANCY STRATTON.

SIR: We regret the death of Dana McGaugh.

He defended us when we needed him. He attacked us when we deserved it.

He was a true friend.

BYRON ATHAN.

Advice to a New Member of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES E. WIGGINS

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. WIGGINS. Mr. Speaker, only a few days have passed since my election to the Congress. During this brief period, it has been my lot to have been the beneficiary of advice and counsel from all sides concerning my proper conduct as a Member of this House.

In my opinion, no one has more succinctly voiced the charge and mission of a new Member of Congress than a friend and constituent from my district in California, Mr. Bailey Kerr, in a recent letter addressed to me.

Believing that all new Members, and perhaps my senior colleagues as well, will find Mr. Kerr's comments worthy of thoughtful consideration, I am pleased to insert his message in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

WHITTIER, CALIF.

Hon. CHARLES E. WIGGINS,
1523 Longworth House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CHUCK: Thank you for your letter of appreciation for my efforts in your successful campaign.

You say you want me to call on you when you can be of assistance. My initial reaction was to tell you that I wanted nothing special from you; that I supported you because I honestly believed you were the best candidate for the office; and that your election was, in itself, sufficient recompense for my meager labors in your behalf. I am a citizen—it is the duty and responsibility of a citizen to work for better government by, among other things, supporting good candidates—ergo, I have only done my duty and am entitled to no reward.

But when I thought about it some more, Chuck, I realized that, at heart, I really want a great many things from you. I realize that you are only human and I won't feel upset if you don't completely fulfill my desires. However, I shall be sorely disappointed if you fail the test in many of them.

My overwhelming desire is for your own personal integrity. You will, no doubt, be subjected to countless temptations. There is no apprehension whatever in my mind that you will ever do anything outrightly dishonest—my evaluation of you could not be that far wrong! What I'm concerned about are the insidious temptations you will face, which conquer so many of our elected representatives, to compromise your principles for the sake of political expediency. There will be times, I'm sure, when the hard choice must be made whether to follow the politically attractive course or to stand up and be counted for what you believe to be *right*. You must give some thought to reelection, of course, but I wonder sometimes if a legislator wouldn't fare better with his constituents by saying "Look, I represent all the people in my district. It is not possible to poll them on every legislative problem I am called on to face. Therefore, I study the issues and I vote on them according to the dictates of my conscience and my judgment. Here is how I voted on such-and-such issues, and here are my reasons. I hope you agree with me, but I'm sure some of you don't. Whether you do or you don't, I'd like to hear from you." This approach hasn't been overused, and it might just work to your advantage.

Many legislators seem to think that the more bills they author the more they accomplish. I am inclined to believe that the main fault of most legislatures is passing too many laws rather than too few. I won't be upset with you if you present a bill only when there is an obvious and compelling need for it. You might give some thought to repealing some of the useless laws already on the books.

I'd like an understanding with you as to whose money you will be spending or authorizing to be spent, as a member of the Congress. The idea seems to have become prevalent, among representatives and their constituents, that "government funds" are in some miraculous manner derived from a mysterious and limitless source removed from and unrestricted by the harsh and inflexible rules of economies which govern the financial affairs of individual and corporate taxpayers.

The same vague and irresponsible ideas seem to be in vogue as to the consequences of government indebtedness. Some apologists for this kind of thinking mumble, "No matter, we owe it to ourselves." In any event, the debt, of gigantic dimensions, keeps growing, and I have the terrible feeling that the only way I can escape paying my share of it, plus interest, is by dying and passing the burden on to my children and grandchildren. That is not the sort of legacy which will gladden the hearts of heirs and beneficiaries. In spite of these alarming conditions, there are today voices of "experts" calling for grandiose, long-range projects to cost hundreds of billions of dollars. These self-anointed "experts" justify their profligacy with other people's money by comparing the cost of their schemes with the national income and the gross national product. Until the income of the government exceeds its expenditures and the surplus is used to reduce the national debt, it will be difficult to convince me that further liens on the future are desirable, or that statistics on income and production are germane to the argument. I suggest that you begin your attack on this problem by insisting that deficit spending is not, in the long run, a panacea for all the ills which afflict mankind. Your first step might be to scorn use of the term "government funds" and insist on the phrase "taxpayers' money", which it damn well is, as we both know.

I hope you can avoid involvement in the ideological warfare between the "conservatives" and the "liberals", and the numerous subdivisions therof. My observation of those who indulge in this form of semantical nonsense is that they are more concerned with maintaining an "image" than they are in performing rational acts. To be perfectly frank, I must confess a philosophical list toward what I would term a cautiously progressive stance. To admit this posture invites instant attack by the more extreme members of both factions.

If I were asked to chart a philosophical course for you as a legislator, I would recommend that you adhere to those principles which experience has demonstrated to be sound and workable, and that you avoid like the plague the theory that a new idea is automatically good merely because it is new. The Founding Fathers, in hammering out the basic concepts of our form of government, were acutely aware of the bitter lessons of history. They strove mightily to provide safeguards to prevent the abuses and tyrannies which had characterized most governments down through the ages. They approached their appointed task with humility and with a deep sence of reliance on the Almighty. Sometimes I am inclined to think that humility and faith in God have been forgotten by too many of us or, at the best, only dimly remembered. The great documents of civilization, embodying the "distilled wisdom of the ages", are still valid in spite of the vast expansion of technological discovery and knowledge. Among these I include the Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount, and the Constitution of the United States. I am proud to reaffirm my belief in the continuing cogency of the ideas contained in these great documents. I hope you are of the same mind.

I recognize, Chuck, that I am giving you a large order. You may not agree with many of the ideas I have thrown at you. Even if you agree with all of them, there is a limit to what you can accomplish. No man can achieve perfection, but in striving for it he can improve his performance. I shall be praying for you—I recommend that you do some praying, too. No matter what happens, I hope that you will continue to consider me as,

Your friend,

Bailey Kerr.

Two Columns of Interest by Arthur Hoppe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, our good friend the columnist, Art Hoppe, is at it again with two columns which are quite interesting on the local scene. One column appeared in the San Francisco Chronicle on January 4, and the other on January 15.

The columns follow:

JUD JOAD SEES ACTION

(By Arthur Hoppe)

There appears growing doubt that we'll ever win the war. Not that war. The War on Poverty.

To help clarify the situation, I have another report from the front by that seasoned combat veteran, Mr. Jud Joad of Appalachia Corners. Mr. Joad has been fighting poverty, man and boy, for nigh on 60 years.

"I'm smack in the thick of it now for sure," Mr. Joad begins proudly. "I never did see so much action ever before.

"It all started when I marched down to volunteer. 'Maude,' I says to my wife, 'I got to do my duty. They're going to need us veterans. So keep a stiff upper lip and put a tallow candle in the window.'

"Well, I see the mayor and I tell him I may be getting a mite old but I want to do my bit.

" 'Jud,' says he, 'the one thing I want is maximum feasible participation by you poor folk in running this here war. As long as you run it the way I tell you to.'

" 'Mayor,' says I, 'I just aim to be a private in the ranks and follow orders like a good soldier should.'

" 'Jud,' he says patting me on the back, 'you're precisely the kind of poor folk I'm looking for.

"So he puts me on the local board and this young fellow comes down from Washington to make us a speech. 'Friends,' he says, 'poverty is dreadful. We want you to think about the problem, come up with a solution and we'll give you what you need to lick it.'

"Well, I think about the problem for several seconds. 'In may long experience,' I tells him, 'there's one thing alone, that can lick poverty.'

" 'What's that?' says he.

" 'Money,' says I.

" 'Good thinking,' says he.

" 'I could use about $50,' says I. 'Plus $2.98 for a new dress for my wife, Maude. If you don't think I'm being greedy.'

" 'Well,' says he, 'you folks draw up an appealing pilot project, conduct the proper feasibility surveys, submit the necessary forms and we'll see you get some. If we decide you need it.'

"That's when the action got hot. Since then, we fired our executive director three times, hired him back twice, filed 13 law suits, moved to impeach the mayor and one faction aims to recall the city council. I never knew war could be so exciting.

"To tell the truth, I ain't positive whether we're winning or losing, But we're sure putting up one whale of a battle.

"Course, like most women folk, Maude's none too happy about me being away most of the time, fighting in caucuses, meetings and rallies. She says I ought to be to home, hoeing the yams out back.

" 'Maude,' I keep telling her, 'you got to tighten your belt. After all, there's a war on.'

"But she's coming around. Just the other day, after hearing about one of our foot-stomping, fist-waving, ten-hour meetings, she said I sure was right about that."

ELBIE JAY HEADS 'EM OFF

(By Art Hoppe)

WASHINGTON.—Howdy there, folks. How y'all? Time for another tee-vee visit with the rootin'-tootin' Jay family—starring ol' Elbie Jay, a fellow of unbelievable honesty. Absolutely unbelievable.

As we join up with ol' Elbie today, he's havin' breakfast with his pretty wife, Birdie Bird.

Elbie: Bird, this is just about the most terrible, awful horrible toast I ever did eat.

Birdie Bird (pleased): I'm so glad you like it dear.

Elbie: There's only one thing that'll make it fit for human consumption. Pass the salt.

Birdie Bird: Blueberry or strawberry?

Elbie: Strawberry.

Birdie Bird (handing him the blueberry jam): I'm so glad you like the blueberry. I put it up myself.

Elbie: Thank you, Bird. I don't know why the country don't understand me the way you do.

Birdie Bird: There, there, dear. It hasn't lived with you as long as I have.

Elbie: A shame, isn't it? (frowning) I don't know why folks are in such a stew. I'm not a mite worried about Vee-Yet-Nam.

Birdie Bird (with a gasp): Oh, Elbie is it that bad?

Elbie (shaking his head somberly): Better.

Birdie Bird: But there must be something you could do.

Elbie: Well, I don't know, Bird. As I've said time and again for the past three years, I'm sure not going to escalate this here war.

Birdie Bird (noding thoughtfully): Well, yes, I guess you could do that. But do you think more escalation would do any good?

Elbie: On the other hand I'm going to go right on striving as hard as I can for peace. Because in my heart the hope of peace is burning bright.

Birdie Bird (patting his hand): There now, don't be so pessimistic. Something will turn up.

Elbie: I can't just cut and run.

Birdie Bird (brightening): Yes, that's so. You could withdraw. That would solve it.

Elbie: Not that I care a whit what folks would think of me.

Birdie Bird (sadly): Yes. I guess you're right, dear. You're down so low in the polls already. And the Republicans would really light into you. But what can you do?

Elbie (squaring his shoulders): There's only one thing to do in a spot like this, Bird. I'm going to tell folks the plain, unvarnished truth.

Birdie Bird (sighing): I guess you know best, dear. But I do wish you could think of a new approach.

Well, tune in again, folks. And meantime, as you mosey down the windin' trail of life, remember what Elbie's ol' Grandaddy use to say:

"There ain't nothin' worth more than an honest reputation. It's well worth lyin' and cheatin' for."

Commodity Report: Records Show "Inflation" Last Year Was More Imaginary Than Real

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I include with my remarks an interesting and informative article from the Journal of Commerce Newsletter for January 4, 1967. I am sure this will be of great interest to the Congress and the country. The article follows:

COMMODITY REPORT: RECORDS SHOW "INFLATION" LAST YEAR WAS MORE IMAGINARY THAN REAL

Now that 1966 has passed into history, it is rather interesting to look over the trend of prices.

A year ago, it may be remembered, there was much clamor for a substantial income tax increase to cool down the economy and check inflation.

We didn't get the income tax increase. And, we didn't get much inflation. This latter is contrary to the general impression going the rounds that the inflationary kettle all but boiled over last year.

Actually, the records show, the heat under the general commodity price structure was lowered quite a bit last year.

From December, 1965, to December, 1966, the Bureau of Labor Statistics wholesale commodity price index rose from 104.1 (average 1957–59 equals 100) to 105.7, an increase of 1.5 per cent.

In the previous 12-month period, from December, 1964, to December, 1965, the BLS index rose from 100.7 to 104.1, an increase of 3.4 per cent.

The rise during 1966 was less than one half that during 1965. In August last year, the BLS index worked up to a record high of 106.8 before it leveled off and then began to ease. But, even at the August rate, the rise was less than in 1965:

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL

Most consumers, of course, don't buy much of anything at wholesale.

According to the BLS consumer price index, more generally known as the cost-of-living index, prices of commodities at retail were 2.7 per cent higher in December, 1956, than in December, 1965.

This evaluation involved a little estimating of the probable trend from November to December of last year, but can't be far off.

During the previous 12-month period, from December 1964, to December, 1964, to December, 1965, retail commodity prices rose by 1.6 per cent.

The larger rise hurt, of course. However, judging by the amount of noise created thereby, one might have thought that retail prices rose by leaps and bounds during 1966.

Prices of meats and vegetables did do a little skyrocketing during the first half of the year, but these uptrends were reversed later.

The higher prices for meats and for fruits and vegetables were primarily the result of supply considerations, completely unrelated to the general business picture.

The real villain last year was the sharp rise in the cost of consumer "services," up about 5 per cent from December, 1965, to December, 1966. And, the adoption of Medicare was an important factor in the acceleration of service costs.

During the previous 12-month period, the rise in service costs was 2.7 per cent.

THE TURTLE

The turtle, it often is said, never gets anywhere without sticking his neck out.

The imponderables are so great that venturing an opinion on where prices are likely to be by the end of this year borders closely on the foolhardy.

However, it is assumed that weather conditions for crops this year will be normal or reasonably so, it sort of looks as if the rise in commodity prices—both wholesale and retail—from December, 1966, to December, 1967, will be no larger than that from December, 1965, to December 1966.

And, the rise may be smaller. If Washington should put through an income tax increase, wholesale prices might even be down.

J. R. W.

Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, it is important that we who are fortunately endowed with freedom each year remind ourselves of the great number of fellowmen throughout the world who do not enjoy the fruits of liberty that we have so abundantly been granted.

Yesterday marked the 49th anniversary of the day that the Ukrainian Republic was established as an independent nation. The Ukrainian people's independence did not long endure. In 1920 they became the first to be engulfed in the brutal tide of Communist conquest.

We shall not forget that the citizens of the Ukraine still yearn for freedom and their right of self-determination.

Therefore, it is fitting that we pause to reflect on the heroic struggle that these people are waging in their own manner to resist Communist domination. We again express our hope that at a future day these people will be able to exercise their love for freedom and respect for the inherent dignity of man. In doing so, I am sure that we are in some small measure helping to sustain and encourage the spirit of freedom among the Ukrainian people as well as the people of all other captive nations.

Worthy Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call your attention to a most worthy project which is being undertaken in my district as a public service by a group of friends of the Navy. It is the program to build residences for the widows of officers of the Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard, many of whom have come upon hard times.

I feel that the public spirited work that these trustees and officers of the Navy, Marine, Coast Guard Residence Foundation are doing is so important that I want to read their names into the RECORD. They are:

Mr. William C. Allen, President.

Rear Adm. P. V. Mercer, USN (Ret), Vice-President.

Vice Adm. John Sylvester, USN (Ret), Treasurer.

Captain Will J. Davis, USN (Ret), Secretary.

Maj. Gen. Chester R. Allen, USMC (Ret).

Colonel Barbara Bishop, USMC.

Captain V. M. Bulshefski, NC, USN.

Rear Adm. Frederick Harlfinger II, USN.

Rear Adm. Alexander Husband, CEC, USN.

Mrs. Virginia Weldon Kelly.

Captain James W. Kincaid, USCG.

Mrs. K. S. Masterson.

Rear Adm. H. Lamont Pugh, MC, USN (Ret).

Admiral Arthur W. Radford, USN (Ret).

Mrs. Horacio Rivero.

Brig. Gen. Donn J. Robertson, USMC.

Mrs. R. F. Skylstead.

Rear Adm. Bernard M. Strean, USN.

Mrs. Frank Virden.

Just recently the foundation trustees, realizing the large requirement for domiciliary care for these service widows, passed unanimously a resolution which I will also read into the RECORD as follows:

The following is a transcript of a resolution passed unanimously by the Board of Trustees of the Navy Marine Coast Guard Residence Foundation at the monthly meeting held September 7, 1966:

Whereas, the Foundation, which grew from a project sponsored by the Washington area chapter of the Naval Officers' Wives' Club primarily to provide Residences for next of kin of Retired Officer Personnel according to their needs, and

Whereas, it was determined that the first or pilot project would be located in the Washington, D.C. area and

Whereas, it would appear to be the best interest of all to clarify the intention and goal of all the many people directly and indirectly concerned.

Now therefore, it should be clearly understood by all that it is the goal and plan of the Foundation to build, sponsor, aid or otherwise assist in bringing residences into being wherever needed throughout the country, as provided in the Certificate of Incorporation of the Foundation which authorizes the corporation:

(a) To provide elderly persons according to need on a non-profit and charitable basis with housing facilities and services specialty designed to meet the physical, social and psychological needs of the aged, and contribute to their health, security, happiness and usefulness in longer living. The Corporation shall be operated exclusively for charitable purposes and no part of its net earnings shall inure to the benefit of any officer, member or employee of the Corporation, or to the benefit of any individual; and no officer, member or employee of the Corporation and no individual shall receive or be entitled to receive any pecuniary profit from the operation of the Corporation except reasonable compensation for services.

(b) To construct, operate, maintain and improve, and to buy, own, sell, convey, assign, mortgage or lease any real estate and any personal property necessary or incident to the provision of housing for the elderly.

(c) To enter into a kind of activity, and to perform and carry out contracts of any kind necessary to, or in connection with, or incidental to the accomplishment of any one or more of the nonprofit and charitable purposes of the Corporation.

Safety and the Automobile

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, as a result of the action taken last session the Federal Government, as we all know, has entered yet another field of concern, that of automative safety. Many Members of Congress therefore, I believe, will find of interest the 1967 winter issue of Ward's Quarterly, an authoritative voice of the automotive world, which devoted a special feature to safety and the automobile. Whether the new Federal controls and regulation will produce the desired result depends, of course, on a number of factors as Mr. Robert B. Powers, editor and publisher of Ward's Quarterly points out in making a strong case for the need of a vigorous program for driver education and vehicle inspection. I am pleased to make this editorial available to my colleagues:

[From Ward's Quarterly, vol. 2, No. 4]

SAFETY AND THE AUTOMOBILE

Safety has been a major concern of the automotive industry since July 8, 1892 when Charles E. Duryea successfully road-tested his first automobile.

In this issue you will find step by step, year by year, how the auto makers relentlessly have worked to make their vehicles safer and better.

The federal safety program the industry is obliged to accept is to a large extent an acceleration of what the auto makers already had on the planning boards or were ready to introduce in future models, without the extra burden of millions of dollars in speed-up costs.

In the safety speed-up program the federal government also has a great responsibility. Little reduction in traffic injuries and fatalities will result unless a vigorous program for driver education and vehicle inspection (now in the hands of the states, more than half of which refuse to pass such needed legislation) becomes a state-federal law.

If the federal government can withhold funds for urban renewal, highway construction, farm crop payments unless its rules and regulations are complied with there should be no hesitancy in withholding federal funds from states whose balky legislators refuse to pass needed driver training and vehicle inspection laws.

Unless this is done the new auto safety standards that are certain to increase the price of cars to the public may prove a costly hoax.

Fifty per cent of highway accidents and fatalities are known to be caused by drunk drivers. Will merely producing a "safer" vehicle appreciably reduce these appalling fatalities?

A motor vehicle that can go 10 miles or 100 miles per hour at the choice of the driver behind the wheel will always be dangerous when its designed use is abused.

A carving knife, like the modern motor vehicle, is safe and useful when properly used. But in the hands of a Jack the Ripper, it becomes a killer.

One Year Late

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE SKUBITZ

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, "a time of testing for our Nation" is how President Johnson prefaced his state of the Union address. I assumed that the President threw out the results of the last nationwide test—the one administered on November 8, 1966. The results of this past election surely indicated that President Johnson's teachings over the last 3 years were not effective. The President, however, instead of reexamining his methods or his material, has indicated that he will reteach it all at the expense of each of us who contributes to the Federal moneybag.

I am not alone in my assessment of this recent message. I call the attention of my colleagues to the following Kansas editorials which I believe indicate the reaction which is representative of a great number of citizens in the Fifth District of our State. Mr. Clyde Reed, editor of the Parsons Sun, titled his remarks of January 11, "One Year Late." Emerson Linn, Jr., aptly describes his reaction in the Iola Register under the byline, "Guns, Butter, and Taxes." I commend these editorial comments to the attention of my colleagues:

[From the Parsons (Kans.) Sun, Jan. 11, 1967]

ONE YEAR LATE

The Strange Case of Lyndon B. Johnson came into full focus Tuesday night in his state of the union message.

Strange because here is a man of political talent whose feel and timing continue to elude him, and they are qualities essential to the success of any and all in public life.

The content of Mr. Johnson's message would have better been delivered a year ago. Then the need for a federal tax increase was most apparent; now it's a 50-50 case at best, and possibly not even that in view of the softening economy.

The President spoke, too, as if an election had not been held in the meantime—an election in which his party took a drubbing and the Johnson program emerged as even a bigger loser.

The election was clearly a call for a slowdown in domestic haste, a desire to examine and digest rather than to plunge ahead willy-nilly with enactment of new federal activity.

But one hardly would have guessed that in listening to the President, weighing his words carefully, as he addressed Congress and the nation at the start of a new year and a new session.

Mr. Johnson did admit there had been a few mistakes in administering programs previously enacted, but hastened to assure that these had been corrected or would be corrected.

There is not much for Congress to do about these programs, in other words, except to appropriate more money to keep them going. The administration will take care of the rest.

That isn't the way Congress read the election returns, including the leaders of the President's own party. Sen. MANSFIELD, the majority leader of the Senate, not long ago called for thorough study and re-examination of the great society before new legislation is put on the books. Republicans have even sharper thoughts and they are around in far greater number than a year ago in the House.

Mr. Johnson's message, in short, missed the mood and temper of the country as well as being a year late on most points. The job of a President, to be sure, is to lead. But a leader must gage the sentiment of his followers correctly or he is likely to find himself alone at the head of the parade. Lyndon Johnson is close to finding himself in that lonely position, and isn't an enviable one for him—or, for that matter, for the country.

[From the Iola (Kans.) Register, Jan. 11, 1967]

GUNS, BUTTER, AND TAXES

It was a guns and butter speech. Lots of gun. Lots of butter. To go with it, a small tax increase and a large deficit.

President Johnson is, as he said last night, determined to press forward on all of the battle fronts this nation is engaged in—in the wars against poverty, against pollution of water and air at home and the threats to freedom abroad.

The tax increase he proposed will fall far short of meeting the increased demands for billions which his program will require. Still, it came as a surprise. Signs as the nation backs hesitantly into 1967 point to slow-downs in every industry but government.

Economists all agree that last spring was time for a tax increase—but that any damper on the economy now might trigger a recession. Last night these fears were repeated in post-talk comments by observers.

President Johnson apparently feels that massive (20%) increases for those on Social Security, expanded domestic spending and the money pumped into the economy by the war in Vietnam will more than offset the deflating effect of an income and corporation tax boost which will cost the average Kansas family less than $25 a year.

Congress applauded him politely where the script called for applause, but the President's State of the Union address was not calculated to arouse emotions. It was a sober review of what had been done and the enormous and baffling tasks which still lie ahead of us.

He spoke well. His approach was not boastful but it was determined. If he shares any of the doubts his critics have expressed concerning the wisdom of our course at home or abroad, the fact was kept well hidden.

There was, it is worth mentioning, no sign of fatigue in the man. He looked and acted as though he had completely recovered from his bouts with illness.

There were some disappointments in the President's speech to me. While he quite rightly called for state and local governments to reorganize themselves so they could meet the complex needs of modern society more efficiently, he held no hope out for a return of federal income tax to the states to aid in this reform.

Support for reserving a portion of the federal tax for state use has been growing for several years. Johnson missed an opportunity to make the program his own last night.

Instead he offered more and more grants in aid—a method of local financing with federal funds which keeps control of the purse strings in Washington and discourages the strengthening of local government which he purports to encourage.

An even greater disappointment was the bull-headed determination he showed to expand domestic expenditures even while forecasting that the war in Vietnam will make greater and greater demands on our money, our manpower and our patience for a year, two years or more.

This double demand on the taxpayers and, it might be added, on the leadership of our country, is surely an error.

Perhaps he is depending on a more conservative congress to do his domestic pruning for him.

One of the most interesting suggestions made was the proposal to combine the departments of commerce and labor into a single department of business and labor.

While this may lead to nothing but ending duplication of effort in many statistic gathering enterprises—which is reason enough for a merger—it could also have a beneficial psychological impact.

After all, business and labor are one and the same thing. Separation between the two leads to false conflicts which damage the entire nation—a fact that is likely to provoke new anti-strike legislation this session.

Perhaps if the government recognized the common goals that both management and labor must seek if prosperity is to be maintained and broadened—instead of encouraging the two to oppose each other in all things—we could make real progress in this troubled area.

Looking at the President's talk as a political document, we find it no retreat from the positions which Johnson and his party held last November when they lost 47 house seats and the Republicans made spectacular gains in the state capitals across the land.

If the Great Society in 1966 was beginning to crumble in the eyes of John Q. Public, it became even shakier last night. Planned deficits for the remaining years of Johnson's first elected term are now certain. Big government will deliberately add several more layers between now and 1968. Taxes, if Congress adopts the President's suggestion, are going up. No end is in sight for the war in Vietnam.

These are the factors which gave the GOP new life in November. They will all still be with us in 1968.

Mr. Walt Horan

SPEECH

OF

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in the sentiments they have expressed at the loss of our friend and former colleague Mr. Walt Horan. Those of us who have served with him knew him to be a dedicated public servant, a hard worker, and one motivated with a high sense of responsibility. He was truly a great and dedicated American, and his passing leaves a great void. Mrs. Adair and I join with all the others who have extended sympathy to his wife Sally and their fine family.

Hon. John E. Fogarty

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I want to add my voice to the many who have already paid tribute to a remarkable public servant, our beloved colleague, JOHN E. FOGARTY. I had the opportunity to know JOHN FOGARTY and to work with him in 17 of his 26 years in Congress, as he built a well-earned respect and affection among his colleagues, and an equally well-earned reputation as "Mr. Public Health" within the Nation.

In looking back over that period of time, I can think of no one among us who developed his talents and interests, who matured in his insight into the fields that were his particular responsibility, as he did. Rev. Joseph L. Lennon, O.P., dean of Providence College, put it simply and succinctly in his eulogy of JOHN FOGARTY when he said: "He grew with his job."

And it would be well to add that JOHN FOGARTY was a major factor in the growth of his job and his responsibilities as chairman and member of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare. His efforts in the health and aging fields have earned him a secure place in the ranks of those public servants to whom we in America, and indeed people throughout the world, will be ever grateful and indebted. The striking thing is that so many of the research or other federally assisted programs he originated grew from his own observation and sincere interest in the plight of others. He was able to become concerned about heart disease, mental retardation among children, multiple sclerosis, medical personnel, shortages, cancer research, the aging. And he translated that concern into positive programs that will be a tribute to his work for generations to come.

The final and most rewarding tribute, however, comes from the people he knew and loved best, the people of his district. I had the sad but privileged duty of being a member of the official congressional delegation to his funeral. You needed only to talk with those who knew him, and see the assemblage of persons from all walks of life, of all ages there in Providence to know how sorely he will be missed by the people of Rhode Island. His country and his colleagues will miss him deeply too.

My heartfelt sympathy is extended to his wife and family.

The President and the Arts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, while much has properly been said of the social and economic gains of the last few years, it is also timely—as the Washington Post reminds us—to examine the relationship of the White House to the arts.

Richard L. Coe, the Post's drama critic, declares that the 2 years since President Johnson took the oath of his first full term have witnessed more White House attention and action for the arts than any similar period during any previous administration.

Mr. Coe lists a number of achievements of the past 2 years, ranging from direct assistance to resident professional theaters to the creation of arts councils in the States to dovetail local and Federal activity.

I include Mr. Coe's article at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 15, 1967]

JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION SETTING RECORD FOR CULTURAL ACTIVITY

(By Richard L. Coe)

With January 20 bringing the Johnson Administration to mid-term, it is a time again to look at the White House's relationship to the arts.

Without any question whatever, the two years since President Johnson took the oath on the Capitol steps have brought more White House attention and action for the arts than any period during any Administration since the Presidency began.

Creation of the Arts Council and progress on the Capital's bitterly needed homes for the performing arts, both guided by Roger L. Stevens, the President's consultant on the acts, are unparalleled steps. The Smithsonian's various divisions have never enjoyed such Administration support and other Government departments have been uncommonly lively. Although not encouragingly expanded, the cultural exchange programs have continued at a time when rising costs have lessened the stretch of a dollar.

To anyone who has observed this at close range and looks back on the record, there are some fascinating conclusions.

For instance, ten years ago, even six years ago, these present actions of the Federal Government in the arts would have been considered the wildest daydreaming.

Two men on Capitol Hill who have done the most to pave the way in these fields are still there, Sen. J. William Fulbright and Rep. Frank Thompson Jr. There have been, of course, many others but even these others probably would admit that in the Senate it has been Fulbright and in the House Thompson.

For all of what the art world may have thought about President Eisenhower, it was in his Administrations that the cultural exchange programs and what has become the Kennedy Center had their beginnings. It was also under Eisenhower's "Goals for Americans" that the idea of an American Acts Council had its first White House stamp. The General never has received his due for his actions in these fields.

Ironically, the brief Kennedy years produced the least results. What they did produce was atmosphere and acceptance, matters that cannot be weighed but which have incalculable value.

Commenting on this inaction on the second anniversary of President Kennedy's inaugural, I pointed to the flagging progress on the center, the same cultural exchange budget of the Eisenhower years and the lack of action on the Arts Council plan. President Kennedy dashed off a handwritten note to me, commenting; "Cheer up. It will be done."

President Kennedy's known concern, however, has produced posthumous effects: the preservation of Lafayette Square and the re-naming and financing of the Kennedy Center.

There are a good many misconceptions about the latter, culminating in the nicely egghead crack that America is exhibiting an Edifice Complex.

This may be witty but it's also abysmally ignorant. Drama, music and dance cannot be performed without buildings to hold audiences and performers. It's as simple as that.

This Nation, especially this Capital, has not had enough such buildings. They have been torn down by such private interests as realty firms or parking lot owners. Without these buildings we cannot have these arts, which is why city, county, state and federal forces—and the private foundations created through their tax structures—have been trying to supply them.

Without these buildings we also lose some other matters, a good example of which is the fact that since our Downtown Progress, Inc., was started, it has lost some 10,000 theater seats and soon will lose, at the corner of 13th and F, a couple of thousand more. The people who used to sit in those seats once patronized the nearby restaurants and stores.

Since appointment of the Arts Council members in the spring of 1965, it has taken decisive, considered actions.

Its spending has been limited to only $6.5 million for varied Federal programs and another $2 million to assist duly created state art agencies.

Accenting the Nation as a whole and not the theater capital—as such a program must—the Council assigned:

Nearly $700,000 of direct assistance to resident professional theaters to improve their acting companies;

About $1.3 million to study and put into action the establishment of an American Film Institute under a matching-fund program to be raised this winter;

An emergency grant of $350,000 to save the immediate future of Ballet Theater (which has done much for our cultural exchange program);

$141,000 to finance the first American tour in 15 years for the Martha Graham Company.

Another $103,000 for individual grants to leading choreographers.

An initial grant of $400,000 made possible creation of a Master Chamber Orchestra under the direction of Alexander Schneider.

To establish an American Laboratory Theater to "create new forms and concepts for the American theater," $300,000 was granted to Jerome Robbins, one of our leading stage directors.

With the cooperation of the U.S. Office of Education, two Laboratory Theaters for Education—their budgets over half a million each—have been established in Providence, R.I., and New Orleans, La. These have been set up with the collaboration of the local school systems.

Under conditions laid down by the Arts Council legislation, 49 states (Alaska excepted) have now created their own arts councils to dovetail grass-roots activities with whatever Washington can offer.

These are by no means all the achievements of the two years since President Johnson's Inauguration Day, but the facts do prove that no preceding Administration has come close to this record.

VISTA Serves the Navajos

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my distinguished colleagues to a fine report about antipoverty success on the Navajo Reservation. I refer to a column by Marvin Alisky which appeared on January 7, in the Christian Science Monitor, and which describes the progress being made in helping Navajos to help themselves at the Rough Rock School on their reservation.

This community schoool benefits from a coordinated community action and VISTA effort, and has won the enthusiastic acclaim of the Navajo people. It is another example of local victory in the war on poverty.

The article follows:

VISTA SERVES THE NAVAJOS

(By Marvin Alisky)

ROUGH ROCK, ARIZ.—First full-time school to serve a community on an Indian reservation, the Navajo Rough Rock School in northeastern Arizona recently celebrated its first six months of operation.

Launched with a federal grant and some VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) teachers, the Rough Rock School serves as the prototype of such projects envisioned on the Hopi, Papago, Pima, Apache, and other Indian reservations in the United States.

"This is truly a community school, serving Navajos from kindergarten age to adults," says Thomas R. Reno, deputy director of the school.

For the 90 families living at Rough Rock the school means their one genuine link to the outside world, for the town lies 20 miles from any paved road or modern transportation.

Rough Rock buildings and grounds cost $13 million. The Bureau of Indian affairs of the Department of the Interior helped, but the main efforts came through a private, nonprofit group, DINE, Inc.

DINE in Navajo means "The people," which is what the tribe calls itself. The initials also form an English acronym for "Demonstration in Navajo Education."

The director of the Rough Rock School, Dr. Robert A. Roessel Jr., is a professor of education on leave from Arizona State University, where he directs the Indian Education Bureau at the Tempe campus near Phoenix. His wife, Ruth, is a Navajo.

Dr. Roessel and Mr. Reno, a former community development worker for the Peace Corps in Iran, planned the curriculum with Allen Yazzie, chairman of the Navajo Tribal Education Committee.

The Rough Rock project began with a grant of $214,000 from the Office of Economic Opportunity. Then the private corporation and the tribal council and the Bureau of Indian Affairs jointly worked toward state and federal support for funds and vocational advice.

The major source of income for Rough Rock is cattle and sheep grazing. So adult classes in modern animal husbandry seemed logical as a catalytic agent for upgrading the local economy.

Literacy classes for adults plus regular high school subjects for former dropouts utilize classrooms late afternoons and evenings.

On weekends, the school buildings become a community center, offering movies, dances, athletic events, and conferences.

Weekday mornings, young Navajos are taught English as a second language. The method stresses understanding of word relationships rather than the mere memorization of "foreign" words as found at many other reservation schools.

The enrollment of school-age Navajos now totals 240, giving the Rough Rock School one of the best records among all reservation schools for attracting school-age children into classes and keeping them there.

Remedial reading, speech and hearing therapy, guidance and counseling, and a physical education program help keep dropouts to a handful.

Perhaps the most significant activity of the Rough Rock School consists of "cultural identification" courses, designed to instill in young Navajos a pride in their cultural heritage.

Indians from the reservation who go on to higher education in Anglo-oriented high schools and colleges will do better it is hoped, if during their formative period in their reservation elementary school they appreciate clearly their own cultural past.

A. W. Henry, speech specialist at Rough Rock, explains: "We develop mental concepts in both languages. If a student can't yet express a subtle idea in English, then he or she is free to tell such thoughts in Navajo."

Thus Rough Rock is avoiding a mistake made in public schools in some predominantly Mexican-American communities. In certain south Phoenix schools, for example, young Mexican-Americans used to be forbidden to speak anything but English at school. Instead of hastening intellectual development, the rigid rule sometimes merely created emotional problems and slowed down academic growth in otherwise bright young minds, according to educational psychologists.

At Rough Rock, psychologists strongly recommended that scholarship be encouraged in both English and Navajo. Even durin gits first six months, the new school has shown that this approach yields rapid reading, stimulating classroom talk, sustained interest in mathematics, enthusiasm for scientific demonstrations and social poise.

Medicine men and tribal storytellers are brought into the classrooms to entertain youngsters with Navajo folklore. Such talks are tape recorded, translated into English, then made available in both languages for students to read.

VISTA teachers, such as Logan Sherman of Cold Spring Harbor, N.Y., and Sally Zink of Quincy, Mass., are conversing in Navajo after a few months.

And Mrs. Zink and Mr. Sherman also feel at home in the Navajo culture. In turn, they have taught young Indians, heretofore isolated from mainstream United States, many things about New England and other American regions.

Charles Zink, Sally's husband, signed himself and his wife for duty, hoping the assignment would be good training for his career as a social worker. He says: "This is the most fascinating area in our country. And education here is genuine, thorough, and worthwhile.

VISTA teachers get $200 a month, and only four free days off out of each 30. Many teachers spend their days off in Flagstaff, Ariz., or in Gallup, N.M. But a weekend on duty in Routh Rock can mean folk singing, dancing, and understanding based on person-to-person friendship.

Mr. Saul Rosen's Tribute to Dr. Peter Sammartino

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an address delivered by my distinguished constituent, Saul Rosen, on the occasion of the academic convocation at Fairleigh Dickinson on December 4, 1966. It is a tribute from one splendid and constructive human being to another possessing the same sterling qualities.

The address follows:

Dr. Sammartino, Members of the University Board of Trustees, Members of the Board of Fellows and President's Council of the Univeristy, learned Faculties of the University, Distinguished Guests, ladies and gentlemen, every time I have occasion to walk across the campus of this university, I give thanks that it was established and that 25 years ago a man of foresight helped it to come into being, nurtured it and guided its growth and development.

The reason why I am thankful that Fairleigh Dickinson University exists is apparent every day when I look at my morning paper. With each day that passes, human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe.

Edmund Burke, the great English orator and statesman, once made the comment: "Education is the cheap defense of nations." I should like to add that American universities, among them Fairleigh Dickinson, stand in the same relation to the American educational system than West Point stands in relation to the basic training of the soldier. The elementary and high school systems give basic training and preparation for democratic living. But universities like Fairleigh Dickinson provide advanced training for leadership in a democracy.

Our young people do not receive higher education today because they are to be lawyers, doctors, scientists, teachers, or business and political leaders. They receive a higher education because they are the free young men and young women of a democracy and must know how to live in freedom.

One of the responsibilities of an institution of higher learning in a democracy is to raise the standards of taste of its time in art and in literature. In keeping with this obligation, as chairman of the Fine Arts Committee of the University, I would like to announce the establishment of the Fairleigh Dickinson University Art Museum. By the end of 1967 it will have acquired $1,000,000 worth of art works, truly an auspicious beginning!

And today we are unveiling a work by the Swedish artist, Carl Milles, which was recently presented to the university. The work of Milles is still rare and unique in this country.

The course of the university's 25 years growth and direction has been guided by a great individuual and a great university administrator. Skepticism has never founded empires, established principles, or changed the world's heart. The great doers in history have always been men of faith. Fairleigh Dickinson University has been led by such a man.

He is a scholar, author, and great educator. I have watched his career with deep interest and fascination. To be the president of a fine and growing university takes courage of a rare kind. Physical courage makes for great military captains; moral courage makes for great civilian councillors; but to constitute a great educator, both kinds of courage must be present in the same man. Both kinds of courage are to be found in Dr. Peter Sammartino, in whose honer we have gathered here this afternoon. We pay tribute to his twenty-five years of dedicated service and to his great vision which anticipated at the university's inception, its purpose and direction. And we pay tribute to the fine university that has developed under his leadership.

Louis W. Young: Distinguished New Britain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. MESKILL

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. MESKILL. Mr. Speaker, New Britain, Conn., has lost an outstanding citizen and community leader in the passing of my close personal friend, Louis W. Young.

My distinguished constituent's contributions to his city and State will assure him a position of respect and esteem in the hearts of his neighbors.

In tribute to the memory of an outstanding American, I ask permission to reprint the following editorial from the New Britain Herald honoring Louis Young's lifetime of service to Connecticut:

LOUIS W. YOUNG

An acute businessman, an avid sportsman and a longtime leader in community affairs, Louis W. Young used his extensive abilities and opportunities to the fullest during his long productive life. A graduate of Harvard College, he joined The Stanley Works in 1909, being elected assistant treasurer in 1917, later becoming treasurer and chief financial officer in 1919, posts he held until his retirement in 1952.

Directorships he held in The Stanley Works, Stanley Works, Ltd., of Hamilton, Ontario, New Britain Bank and Trust Co., Allied Thermal Corp., Hart Realty Corp. of Oak Bluffs, Mass., and Manufacturers Mutual Fire Insurance Co. of Providence, R.I., attest to his business and financial acumen. Conscious of his duty to the community, he served as a member of the Board of Education and the Water Commission, as chairman of the distribution committee of the New Britain Foundation for Public Giving, as New Britain area chairman of the American Finnish Relief Fund of 1940 and as a director of the New Britain Fresh Air Camp.

He was an active golfer, fisherman and sailor, racing his boats in several areas on the New England coast. Despite the demands of his many activities, he also found time to cultivate strong interests in ship-model building and amateur photography. Many of these interests he retained after his retirement, when he took the opportunity to travel extensively around the world.

Although his contributions to community life were numerous and his responsibilities legion, Mr. Young remained a modest unassuming man. His record of service will stand as testimony to the role he played in New Britain's industrial and community affairs.

The 90th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, as the 90th Congress is organized and as we begin to study the problems facing our Nation, a great deal of advice is being aimed our way.

I think we should hear it all, for, as representatives of the people, we must heed their urgings. Therefore, I insert in the RECORD two editorials from the Bristol, Tenn.,-Va., Herald Courier, which present its views of the tasks to be done by the first session of the 90th Congress and appraise the President's report to the Congress and the Nation:

CONGRESS MUSTN'T SPIN ITS WHEELS

The 90th Congress which convenes today apparently is going to get itself involved in a variety of issues, most of them controversial but not all of them important. This is nothing new for a Congress, but we submit that this particular group of lawmakers has more to do than waste its time and its energies on relative trifles.

If we read correctly, for instance, the Senate again will be called on to make a change in its rules on filibustering, with an eye toward easier cut-offs. This has been a perennial time consumer for the Senate and we would hope, at least this year, that the antifilibusterers would let the matter rest.

This Congress has two problems which ought to take precedence over all else: The war in Vietnam and domestic spending. Either one is costly enough to place a serious drain on the nation; the two together represent an intolerable burden.

Obviously, war spending cannot be cut. It has to be increased, unless President Johnson can do what he has not yet been able to do—end the fighting in Vietnam. The nation's resources should be keyed to this undertaking.

This means that domestic spending has to be reduced drastically. The "war on poverty," which isn't winning as many battles as are being won in Vietnam, can easily stand some major cost reductions through the elimination of programs which aren't doing whatever it is they're supposed to be doing; other programs can be reduced in scope. Some, such as Head Start, could, conversely, be upgraded and expanded.

If the proper steps are taken to drastically lower domestic spending in many areas, the war in Vietnam can be pressed without the tax increase we hear so much about. We believe this is exactly what the voters wanted when they cast their ballots for so many Republicans last November.

The point is, Congress isn't going to do the job as well as it should if it permits itself to become bogged down in a lot of issues which just as easily can be avoided altogether or, at least, set aside until another session.

This is not a time for Congress to be spinning its wheels. The voters have demanded some changes and they have every right to expect that those changes will be forthcoming.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON WASN'T LISTENING

It is obvious that President Johnson was not listening in November when the American people told him what they think of his policies at home and abroad.

They made it clear they want a retrenchment in the Great Society.

Instead, he offered us in his State of the Union Address:

A $270 million increase in anti-poverty spending.

A $400 million appropriation for the model cities program.

A 20 per cent increase in Social Security benefits (whatever happened to his economic guidelines?), financed by another increase in Social Security taxes.

An extension of Medicare benefits, also financed through Social Security and, still higher taxes.

A "safety in the streets" program which inevitably would put the federal government into police work at the local level, with Washington (that's us, too) paying 90 per cent of the cost.

A 6 per cent tax increase to pay for all these things, plus all those passed in the past 2–4 years, and the war in Vietnam.

The American people also told President Johnson in November that they are not satisfied with his conduct of the war in Vietnam. They want the struggle pursued as vigorously as is necessary to bring it to a speedy, victorious conclusion.

He labels this thought "inviting but dangerous." His promise is that the nation faces "more cost, more loss and more agony" for an indefinite period of time. And he wants us to face this cost, this loss, this agony while he proceeds to further strain the nation's economy with a welfare-state program which eventually could prove more disastrous to the United States than any war in which we might engage.

In his desire to be all things to all men and all nations, Mr. Johnson not only would continue all the questionable programs already instituted by the Great Society but extend them and even add more. It is sheer madness and ought to be treated as such.

Since the President was not listening in November, perhaps Congress was. Certainly the reaction of many members of the House and Senate indicates they did hear and understand.

We believe the war in Vietnam ought to be pressed to whatever limits are required to end it quickly. This is the nation's great task at this moment.

We believe the Great Society's "war on poverty" ought to be abolished, with the possible exception of the Headstart program, which thus far offers the only real hope in the struggle to break the cycle of poverty and ignorance.

We believe Congress ought to reject the President's request for $400 million to finance the model cities program.

We believe Congress ought to reject any extension of Medicare; indeed, the program should be tightened to provide benefits only to those who actually need them.

We believe Congress ought to reject, at this time, a 20 per cent increase in Social Security benefits. If inflation can be reduced by cutting domestic programs, this in itself would ease the strain on those receiving Social Security payments.

We believe Congress ought to reject the President's "safety in the streets" proposal. We have no need for legislation which conceivably could lead to a national police force patrolling our streets and our highways.

Having done all these things, and more, to reduce federal spending at home, Congress will be in a far better position to evaluate the President's request for a 6 per cent tax increase. Possibly some increase is required to prosecute the war, but no increase ought to be considered until Congress first has whittled domestic spending to minimum levels.

It is time the bulk of the American people received some attention from Congress. Obviously, they are not going to receive any from the President, who proved in his State of the Union address Tuesday night that he is not interested in what the people think.

Outstanding First District Teacher

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, in the First District of Iowa we are fortunate to have a group of excellent educators. Not only do we have fine colleges and universities, but we have excellent elementary and secondary school systems. All of them are staffed with dedicated teachers and administrators.

One of our excellent teachers, Donald Young, Mount Pleasant, Iowa, was recently named as one of the outstanding elementary math and science teachers in the United States.

Mr. Young is the curriculum coordinator for the Mount Pleasant community school system. He is an outstanding educator and I congratulate him for receiving this honor.

The following story appeared in the Mount Pleasant News on Saturday, January 14, 1967:

DONALD YOUNG AMONG OUTSTANDING U.S. TEACHERS

Donald Young, curriculum coordinator—Mt. Pleasant community school, has been named one of the outstanding elementary math and science teachers in the United States.

Grade Teacher, the professional magazine read by more than half the nation's elementary school teachers, surveyed school systems throughout the country in order to find exceptional teachers whose unusual efforts and success would inspire other teachers.

A special plaque from Grade Teacher has been presented to Mr. Young in recognition of his achievement. He also is honored in the magazine's January issue which spotlights some of the most interesting personal viewpoints and teaching techniques of the nation's top science and mathematics teachers.

"Mr. Young was selected because his techniques are representative of the best approaches to the teaching of telementary science and mathematics today," said Allen A. Raymond, publisher of Grade Teacher. "Our purpose in presenting these awards," he explained, "is to dramatize the teacher's crucial role in the center of the learning process of our elementary school children and to inspire other teachers to new efforts."

Trendex, Inc., a national research organization, started last September to survey school systems for Grade Teacher and to enlist the aid of administrators in selecting teachers of particular merit. No arbitrary number of "winners" was pre-determined. One hundred thirteen teachers from large and small school systems were eventually chosen.

In nominating Mr. Young for the Grade Teacher honor, Supt. Robert Formanek pointed out, "We are indeed fortunate to have a teacher of high quality serving in the position of Curriculum Coordinator. Mr. Young's highly successful teaching experience not only will lead toward the continued improvement of the curriculum, but will promote the kind of environment that inspires and encourages both teachers and students in classrooms throughout our school system."

As We See It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, on January 16, Mr. Bonner McCollum, the editor and publisher of the Forrest City Times-Herald reprinted an editorial from the Arkansas Gazette of Little Rock with his own comments concerning the late Hubert Christopher and his wife, Mrs. Tommye Christopher, who succeeded her husband as county judge of St. Francis County, Ark.

It is an honor and a privilege to bring this editorial comment to the attention of the Members of the Congress; and it is my ardent hope that when this Congress has completed its work we shall also be worthy of such comment for practicing sensible management and frugality in Government operations.

AS WE SEE IT

(By Bonner McCollum)

We cannot remember during our adult lifetime having noted any favorable statewide publicity concerning the financial operations of St. Francis County government.

That is why we read with a great deal of pride an editorial in today's "Arkansas Gazette" commending Mrs. Tommye Christopher and her late husband, Hubert, for doing such an outstanding job in handling the county's finances during the past two years.

The editorial points out that when Mr. Christopher took office in January, 1965, he inherited a debt in the county treasury, just as all other county judges at Forrest City had found deficits on the books when they had taken office before him. The article goes on to point out that two years ago St. Francis County could not get credit. This shameful fact was a disgrace to our fine county, and those of us who knew it as fact were hopeful that Hubert Christopher would be the man who would restore our county's good name.

Fate, however, stepped in, and Hubert Christopher did not live to complete the job he began with such enthusiasm. Tommye Christopher was appointed to serve out his term. By continuing his policies, she managed to complete the task he set out to accomplish.

For the benefit of those of our readers who did not see the editorial in today's Gazette, we are reproducing it below. However, before doing so we should point out that our good Sheriff, Clarence Montgomery, has also run a "tight ship" in controlling the finances of this important county office during the past two years. His office, too, had a turnback for the county after all operating expenses had been paid.

We are happy to commend Mrs. Christopher and Sheriff Montgomery for their splendid accomplishments. We hope that our new county judge, W. B. "Sonny" Hamilton, will continue to operate the county's financial operation in the same efficient manner during his term in office.

The Gazette editorial captioned "A Judge's Model," appears below:

A JUDGE'S MODEL

In two year's time, Hubert and Tommye Christopher worked such a revolutionary change in the administration and finances of the St. Francis County government that the burden of their record can stand as a model for many other Arkansas county judges.

When Mr. Christopher took office as county judge in January, 1965, he inherited a debt in the county treasury, just as all other county judges at Forrest City had found deficits on the books when they had taken office before him. Two years ago the county could not get credit. Mr. Christopher died in February, 1966, but his wife, Tommye, appointed to complete his term, continued her husband's policies. When she left office this month, the county treasury had a $62,000 surplus. What happened over those two years? "We got to work on time and, there wasn't much playing around," says Mrs. Christopher in oversimplifying an explanation.

What Mr. and Mrs. Christopher did was simply run a common-sense, businesslike administration. They eliminated almost entirely the "favors" system from the county's road program and proved the principle that private use of public funds is not, to say the least, consistent with good government. (Perhaps their advances in this area will encourage their successor to take a final step and eliminate road favors altogether.) They took bids on supplies and did not hesitate to accept low bids from outside the county. They paid the county's bills on time and saw to it that there were no outstanding debts. While the $62,000 surplus was accumulating the Christophers were constructing 172 bridges, repairing 75 bridges, installing 82 culverts and placing 50.958 yards of gravel on county roads, in addition to many other substantial projects.

The principle of sound management proved by the Christophers' administration suggests the sort of platform that many in Pulaski County would like to see outlined by the candidates who will seek the office in the special election Governor Rockefeller has promised to call.

The Late Honorable John E. Fogarty

SPEECH

OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I join with the House and the Nation today to honor a friend and a colleague, the late JOHN E. FOGARTY, of Rhode Island.

JOHN FOGARTY had no enemies. His warmth and his friendship graced these Chambers for over a quarter century.

He brought to this membership a quiet respect and deep dedication to the principles of a free society.

As a ranking member of the Committee on Appropriations, he distinguished himself by his hard work and clear understanding of the needs of a growing nation. His experience, wisdom, and judgment will especially be missed by his colleagues on the Appropriations Committee.

I am grateful for the years of friendship and guidance which JOHN FOGARTY extended to me as a Member of this body.

I extend to the people of his district my sincere regrets on the untimely passing of a trusted public servant. And to his family, I extend my heartfelt condolences.

Some Answers on Rhodesia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, there has been considerable discussion in the press these past several weeks over the extent to which the United States should support U.N. economic sanctions against Rhodesia. But most of the arguments raised in opposition to U.S. involvement have had little bearing on the realities of the situation.

The United States is legally, politically, and morally on the firmest ground in supporting U.N. sanctions against the illegal and rebellious regime of Ian Smith.

On January 19, the New York Times stated in an editorial its support of the administration's position.

I submit it for inclusion in the Record:

SOME ANSWERS ON RHODESIA

Barry Goldwater's successor in the Senate calls President Johnson's order invoking sanctions against Rhodesia "dictatorial, deceitful and dangerous." In the House a California Republican introduces a resolution to end the sanctions.

Such efforts by conservative elements in behalf of the white rebel regime in Salisbury were inevitable in the new Congress. The danger is that moderate forces will be sufficiently persuaded by specious political and legal arguments to join in this attempt to embarrass the Administration in its support of mandatory sanctions voted by the United Nations.

First of all, there can be no doubt that Mr. Johnson acted legally and properly in issuing the executive order barring trade with Rhodesia in the products listed in the United Nations resolution. The United Nations Participation Act of 1945 empowers the President to take action to enforce Security Council decisions made under Article 41 of the Charter, which deals with U.N. measures short of armed force.

But most critics argue that the Council action violates Paragraph 7, Article 2 of the Charter, which bars U.N. intervention "in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. . . ."

The short, pertinent answer is that Rhodesia is not a "state"" and has not been recognized as one by any government. South Africa and Portugal have befriended the white minority regime; neither has accorded it diplomatic recognition nor given legal sanction to its independence."

There is no U.N. "intervention" in the meaning of Paragraph 7 because the Council acted at the request of the legal authority, Britain. Moreover, that paragraph adds that the nonintervention principle "shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII" of the Charter, covering threats to the peace—a proviso the critics usually overlook.

Finally, critics say the white regime has only exercised the right of "self-determination, and in any event is not a "threat to the peace." But it is a bizarre act of self-determination when a regime representing 220,000 whites declares independence for a country of more than four million. And anyone who argues that this illegal act—aimed at perpetuating the rule of the 6 percent white minority over the 94 percent of African majority—is not a long-run threat to peace simply ignores the realities in southeast Africa.

There can be legitimate doubts about the effectiveness of the sanctions, but not reasonable doubt that the United States acted honorably and legally in supporting them at the United Nations. Ambassador Goldberg has answered the critics effectively and it is high time that the Administration and informed members of Congress made use of his arguments on Capitol Hill.

Ukrainian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, 49 years ago, on January 22, 1918, a land became free, and a magnificent people rejoiced that dreams harbored for hundreds of years had been realized. That land was the beautiful Ukraine, beloved homeland of more than 40 million people. Today we observe the anniversary of a glorious day in their history.

The independence celebrated so proudly on that January day proved fleeting, for the Ukraine was soon set upon from all directions by those covetous of her abundant natural resources and strategic geographic location. Germany and Austria-Hungary were among the first to invade, installing a puppet ruler to oversee the land. After defeat in the war, Germany and Austria-Hungary withdrew, leaving a power vacuum at once filled by France. Poland invaded in an attempt to annex Ukrainian land west of the Dneiper River. White Russians and Bolsheviks turned the lovely little land into a bloody battlefield. Finally, in November 1922, the Ukrainians witnessed the sad ending to a chapter in their heroic struggle for national independence. Only a few short years after their magnificent triumph, they were forced to bow to Russian tyranny.

Yet through all the dark years of foreign subjugation the Ukrainian people have carefully preserved their national heritage. They have never forgotten that wonderful yet fleeting moment of independence. They have never ceased to revere the words of the poet laureate of the Ukraine, Taras Shevchenko, who pled for a Ukrainian national leader to arise, who, as the American leader George Washington, would bring his people out of bondage:

> When will we receive our Washington,
> With a new and righteous law? *And receive him we will some day . . !*

We then may all take inspiration from the wonderful example of the Ukrainian people, who never flinch in the face of adversity, who triumph over hardship, and who have never lost their undying will to be free. On this, their independence day, we salute them and join with them in the prayer that they may soon realize their goal of freedom.

Pearl Harbor Commemoration Speech

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, although the 25th anniversary of Pearl Harbor was commemorated last December, I am pleased to include in the Congressional Record a speech given at that time by Mr. Richard Kleindienst of Phoenix, Ariz. Mr. Kleindienst is one of Arizona's leading citizens, and was formerly a candidate for Governor and Arizona Republican State chairman. Because it is an outstanding speech containing the truths upon which our way of life was built and only by which it can be continued, I feel it should be read by all who see the Record.

The speech follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am standing here to discuss a matter about which our newspapers, radios and television stations have been reminding us all day. I am sure that all of us have paused a few moments sometime during this day to reflect upon it.

Twenty-five years ago today, Japan attacked Pearl Harbor. The American Navy was nearly destroyed. Significantly for us, the battleship Arizona was sunk, taking 1,102 officers and men to their graves. Within hours after the attack, the United States was formally at war with Japan, Germany and Italy, and the lives of all of us were changed.

Pearl Harbor has a meaning for us today, and every day, when men aspire to be free. Let us pause for a brief moment to remind ourselves what that meaning might be.

America was settled, colonized, developed and made independent by a particular kind of person. He was the kind of person who had learned by bitter experience that freedom of thought, speech and action was to be cherished even at the risk, if necessary, of losing material security and comfort.

When we as a Nation have been willing to be that kind of a person, we have thrived and prospered; when we have ceased to be that kind of a person, we have floundered and we have had our Pearl Harbors.

Let us look at the record of history:

We listened once to the false hope of Chamberlain at Munich of "Peace In Our Time" and thereby invited the Nazi attack on Poland. We wanted to be isolated from the rest of the world so that we could preserve our material riches and as a result we came perilously close to losing them all in the second great war. Since December 7, 1941, we have witnessed event after event which determined, depending upon what we did, whether we extended our freedom or whether we imperilled our freedom.

At Yalta we compromised with freedom, and Eastern Europe became enslaved by Communist tyranny, but, by the Marshall Plan, France, Italy, Greece and Western Germany were saved. By our declared intent to withdraw, South Korea was invaded, but by our willingness to fight, it was saved. With an air lift, West Berlin continued to live, but by our inaction, the flickering light of freedom in Hungary was snuffed out.

Cubans live in slavery because we dared not offend their Communist masters, but the Dominicans are learning the art of freedom because we did dare to offend. At last, the question concerning South Viet Nam is not whether we can afford to win that war against tyranny, but, rather, can we afford not to?

I would suggest that Pearl Harbor should be a constant reminder of that which our recent history has taught us so well—and that is that the struggle for freedom is a continuing one and that its price is eternal vigilance.

Just as the lives of our fellow citizens were paid at Pearl Harbor, they are likewise being paid tonight in South East Asia. As we celebrate tonight one aspect of our continuing heritage as free men and women, we can do not less than acknowledge our debt to those Americans who have given their lives so that we might be free to meet here tonight. Can we also do any better than to call upon God, the Father of us all, for that courage and vision which we will require all our lives if we are to remain and continue to be a free people.

United States Has Moral Duty To Protect Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I have been deeply concerned over the recent outbreaks of hostilities on the Israeli-Syrian border, and several weeks ago voiced my concern to the Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, expressing my strong belief that it is in the national interest of the United States, as well as our moral duty, to support and protect Israel in the face of the aggression to which she is subjected daily.

The people of Israel wish only to live in peace, but instead they must be constantly alert to almost daily terrorist incursions which imperil their lives and their property. They are menaced by Arab States which incite and support these terrorists, and build arsenals in preparation for the day when they can destroy Israel.

We will never achieve a lasting peace in the Middle East unless we continue to impress the Arabs that their war against Israel is condemned by the international community. The one-sided United Nations resolution censuring Israel's reply to Arab murder and aggression will not bring that peace any nearer. We must continue to recognize and support Israel's existence, and we must also continue to do everything we can to influence the Arabs to negotiate a peace.

Hadassah, the Jewish women's organization, has proposed certain steps, with which I am in complete agreement, to stabilize the situation in the Middle East, and I am taking the liberty of setting forth at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD their statement:

STATEMENT OF POLICY, ADOPTED AT A REGULAR MONTHLY MEETING OF THE PARK-HILLS CHAPTER OF HADASSAH (QUEENS, NEW YORK CITY) ON JANARYY 3, 1967

We welcome the United States Government's commitment to strengthen Israel's defenses, to preserve Israel's sovereignty and to oppose aggression in the Near East.

But we note with deep concern the continuing Arab preparations for war against Israel, the intensification of guerilla terrorism directed against her people and the costly and dangerous escalation of the arms race.

Thus, we deplore the UN resolution of November 25 which censured Israel while ignoring the provocative Arab terrorism against her. We fear that this resolution, which was supported by our Government, has encouraged Arab aggressors to prepare for new, murderous assaults.

To meet the growing danger, we call for a stronger and more dynamic U.S. policy in the Near East in order to reverse the present drift towards war and to achieve an Arab-Israel peace.

1. We recomend that our Government now seek cooperation of the Soviet Union to bring about a relaxation of tensions in the area, specifically by an agreement to reduce the flow of arms and to create a climate which will foster direct negotiations between the Arab states and Israel. Pending such an agreement, we urge our Government to ensure maintenance of the arms balance in the region.

2. We urge a Congressional inquiry to study and recommend legislative and administrative measures to curb the efforts of the Arab states to boycott American business interests.

3. We reaffirm the conviction that the only logical solution of the Arab refugee problem is their resettlement in Arab lands. We submit that the United Nations should censure continuing efforts by Arab leaders to mobilize the refugees into an army to wage war against Israel. It is intolerable that UNRWA funds, contributed for refugee relief and rehabilitation, should be diverted to subsidize the Palestine Liberation Army, which is organized for the destruction of Israel.

4. We support continued economic aid for Israel and the Arab states, stressing assistance which will develop agriculture, water resources and the employment and settlement of refugees.

5. We believe that all outstanding issues between Israel and the Arab states can swiftly be resolved by direct negotiations and we urge our Government, in concert with other great powers, to summon the Arab states to the peace table with Israel. There is no effective alternative.

Hon. Walt Horan

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, it was with sadness that I learned of the passing of Walter Horan, who for many years was the distinguished Representative of the Fifth Congressional District of the State of Washington. As other Members know, he was one of the most thoughtful and friendly people in the House. Not only was he a dedicated public servant, but he was a man of unusual ability and intellect.

There was a community of interest between his congressional district and my own, and Mr. Horan had a fond association with the Seventh Congressional District of Virginia. He was an orchardist, and I recall that one of the first times that I met him was when he attended the annual picnic of the late Senator Harry Byrd, where were invited the friends and associates of the apple industry of the former senior Senator from Virginia. Walt Horan was a regular and welcome guest at that annual occasion. I would like to thank the gentleman from Washington [Mr. PELLY] for this opportunity to pay tribute to this distinguished son of his State.

Across the River, Part I—The Star Documents a Civic Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, the Evening Star deserves our gratitude and respect for its excellent series last week, "Across the River," by Haynes Johnson, a Pulitzer Prize winning newspaperman with rare insight into the problems of human relations and our community. His five-part series documents the tragic breakdown of the social structure of a large section of the District of Columbia located east of the Anacostia River.

What is amazing to me is the spectrum of the breakdown: It spreads from the individual family unity to the breakdown in neighborhood unity. It is senseless that our citizens in this area are terrorized by youngsters; it is senseless that apparently there is no major effort underway now to combat the conditions that exist.

To arrest this breakdown—without even attempting to heal it—will require a monumental effort. But this effort is complicated greatly by the fact that this is the District of Columbia and government here is many times an exercise in futility because there are so many fingers in the governmental pie.

What I believe must be done—and it must have the leadership and the support of the House and Senate District Committees to get off the ground—is the formation of a task force with the power to cut bureaucratic redtape and to step on people's toes, if need be, to go into this area and attempt to restructure the community. This task force could muster many existing private and public resources.

No legislative action can rebuild the family unit, and no task force can bring a family unit into being. But a District task force which combines and coordinates many of the existing programs under a unified and strong leadership should be able to get something done.

Mr. Speaker, this series is must reading for every Member of Congress, not only because this city is our responsibility as much as or more than any city in the Nation, but because this city needs our help and needs it now. I highly recommend the following, the first of the series, which appeared in the Washington Evening Star on January 16, 1967:

Fear Has Found a Home East of the Anacostia

(By Haynes Johnson, Star staff writer)

(Last Dec. 7 a group of businessmen, white and Negro, came to The Star and asked for help. They were all from east of the Anacostia River and they were all, they said, being driven out of business by hoodlums who smashed their stores, intimidated their customers and terrorized their employes. They said they were fearful that law enforcement was breaking down and they saw the President's veto of the District Crime Bill several weeks earlier as the last straw for them. From that meeting developed this 5 part series reporting in depth on what is happening Across the River.)

Until a few months ago the supermarket at the corner of Kenilworth and Eastern Avenues, just inside the District of Columbia line in the Far Northeast, was doing a $5,000-a-week business. Now it is closed. The front windows have been bricked in; the side windows have been covered with plywood. Scrawled on the wood are the words, "And you better believe it because these are our men," and a list of names, each in a different hand—Nut, Hawk, Romie, Walter, Boo Boo, Mooney, Joe, Little Junior, Apple, Gary and Killer.

A few doors away is the area's only drug store. It, too has gone out of business. So have the meat market, the milk store, the delicatessen. Their fronts are plywood masks. Around the corner in front of a small, white-frame church, a misspelled sign declares;

"All that is good is undone by evil thoughts."

There are more than evil thoughts at work in this neighborhood. There is vandalism, lawlessness, anger, alienation, extortion, destruction for its own sake—and a pervasive fear."

A woman in a house near the church put it this way:

"You have a group here that all they're interested in is crime. They laughs at the police and tries to demoralize the community, rather than build it up. They knows when a stranger is in the area. They can detect him. And they even gives certain signals, certain light signals, at night when the police is coming."

Then she said, "If this going to be in the paper I going to be found dead somewhere."

Several miles away, on Wheeler Road, in the Far Southeast, plywood and bricks and wire mesh cover the windows of another group of stores. But these stores are still open; the merchants are simply trying to cut the costs of pilfering and broken glass.

This time a druggist speaks. "I have fears all the time," he says. "I have employes who have left me. I can't blame them." He closes now at 9 p.m. instead of 10, "and we're thinking of closing earlier."

Another merchant on the block was more emotional:

"We are afraid for our lives here. What I am trying to say is very important. There is no law and order in this city. There is a whole bunch of criminals out of hand here try to terrorize this community. It's getting worse and worse and worse."

Like many others interviewed for these articles, he added:

"Look, if my name is in the paper, it would be like committing suicide."

The first row of stores is in Kenilworth, the second is in Congress Heights. Aside from the bricks and boards and fear, these two sections of Washington have something else in common: They are both across the Anacostia River and out of sight. In effect, they are removed from the rest of the city. Their isolation is both psychological; their cumulative problems are probably the most severe in the city.

None of this is immediately apparent. A stranger coming to the area might notice boarded store fronts and broken windows, but he would also see middle class homes and the quiet streets inhabited by law-abiding citizens of both races who constitute by far the largest proportion of the population there.

Neither would a casual observer find the old familiar hallmarks of the American slum—the rat-infested tenements, the decaying buildings, the wide-open night places. Across the River, there is a new type of slum and a new kind of problem.

In other cities, problem areas are easily identifiable—Harlem in New York, Hough in Cleveland, Watts in Los Angeles. But Washington has no such handy labels. The area across the Anacostia covers about 16 square miles. Nobody knows just how many people live there. Estimates are unreliable because the area is growing at a faster rate than any other section of the city. There are at least 200,000 people there; there may be as many as 250,000. In any case, the area contains at least one quarter of Washington's population.

MAIN REASON: CHEAP LAND

The rapid growth is mainly due to cheap land. Cheap land is also responsible for a very fact about these articles: the area has nearly two-thirds of the public housing units in the District, serving perhaps 35,000 people, most of them young children and teenagers, and nearly all of them Negro.

For the same reason—cheap land—the area will continue to get the largest proportion of the new public housing units as well as the new private buildings for low-income tenants. That is the way the system works, and that system is not working well. Indeed, it has virtually broken down.

According to official crime statistics, the area is not the worst in Washington. But the statistics don't tell the full story. The incidence of serious criminal acts is increasing more rapidly than population.

The area is served by two of Washington's 14 police precincts—the 14th, in the Far Northeast, and the 11th in the Southeast. Six years ago, the 14th Precinct ranked 10th in the city in crime. Today, it is eighth. In the same period, the 11th Precinct has climbed from 11th place to nearly a tie for fifth.

More revealing are the percentage increases in serious crimes during the last three years. In the 14th Precinct, adult crime has risen 54 percent. Juvenile arrests for felonies shot up 80 percent in the same period.

In the 11th Precinct, the increases are even more dramatic: Adult crime, up 110 percent; juvenile felonies, up 135 percent; auto thefts, break-ins, lootings, all up, all rising. Another statistic underscores what is taking place: The two precincts rank first and second by an overwhelming margin in the number of false fire alarms.

MORE THAN COLD FIGURES

These are more than cold figures, to be totaled, filed and forgotten. They are proof that ignoring the problems across the river hasn't worked, that they are growing day by day. It is not coincidental that the two places where Washington came closest to race riots last summer were in the center of the areas to be examined in these articles.

Despite all this, the territory across the Anacostia is no huge lawless frontier inhabited only by the troublesome and the troublemaker. Nor is it one gigantic slum. The troublemakers represent a relative few out of the total population. But the problems that do exist are so great, so deeply seated, and so complex that they affect a far wider number and area. Like the smoke that constantly rises from the notorious Kenilworth dump, they cast a wide pall.

These problems are similar to those that may be found in any low-income area of any city. But in a special sense, Washington's failure in alleviating these problems has been particularly striking, for here, in the Nation's Capital, the government itself has contributed to the difficulties. This is especially true in the field of public housing.

For example, while the National Capital Housing Authority continues to talk about the long waiting lists of more than 5,000 families for public housing, in one such housing unit alone Across the River 109 out of 350 apartments are vacant. The windows now are boarded up and the entire development is as much a slum as any group of buildings on the South Side of Chicago or the West Side of New York.

"I'm so tired of complaining and complaining," said a woman who lives in one of those buildings. "What good does it do you? I complained about the broken windows. I do believe it got worse. I tell you, if things don't get better, I'm going to move. I can't stand it."

The fact is, though, she has no place to move. The housing authorities have told her, and others like her, that all transfers are "frozen."

"YOU JUST DON'T KNOW"

Another mother of several children in that same development lives with vacant apartments above and beneath her. "I wish somebody would move in so I wouldn't be so scared," she said. Then she told how her children were afraid to pass by the vacant apartments. "Sometimes the door is open, and then sometimes, you see, it's shut, and you just don't know who's in there."

A National Capital Housing Authority administrative aide, Robert A. Bailey, was talking about some of these problems the other night at a meeting of parents in one of the projects, Kenilworth Courts. Only seven parents out of 422 families in the project attended.

"It's an awful thing," Bailey told his sparse audience. "We cannot do anything in this community if the parents cannot control the children. There's so much damaging and vandalizing that it seems like people who don't care are in the majority, and I know that's not true, but it seems that way, and in the meantime the communitys' going down, down, down."

This is a typical comment in an endless round of accusations. Everyone can point to someone else who is to blame. The merchants blame the city for not providing enough police protection. The police blame the courts and the parents for failing to do their part. The parents blame the housing, the schools, the transportation. And everyone blames youth—who in turn blame society.

On one point, everyone will agree: There is a problem Across the River. A merchant was speaking for a large segment of those involved when he said:

"Can I do anything about it? No. So I shut my mouth. But there comes a time when everyone says you got to stand up. Well who stands up? I'll tell you this. They say this is the Model City and Mrs. Johnson plants those flowers downtown. Well, I'll say this: Let President and Mrs. Johnson come out here any time. Let them come out here without their Secret Service guards. Let them come out and see what Washington's really like.

"I'll tell you, some people may say that it's just our problem because we're way out here, but dont' kid yourself. We are the insurance for the downtown department stores and businesses. If you don't stop what's going on out here it'll spread right to downtown. I'll tell you, they'll take over the city."

PROTECTION

There are 287 Metropolitan policemen assigned to duty in the two Washington precincts located across the Anacostia River. That represents 55 more than in 1960.

Of that number, however, only a relatively small percentage actually do street patrol work.

Six patrol cars—half with two men, the others with one man each—are on the streets at all times in the Far Northeast 14th precinct. In the 11th, in the Far Southeast, four two-man and three one-man cars are on continuous duty.

Normally, the maximum number of foot patrolmen on duty at one time is 11 or 12 for an entire precinct. They walk beats from 4 p.m. to midnight. Another group relieves them from midnight to 8 a.m. Then the regular day-time shift begins.

In the 14th precinct, patrolmen still walk their beats alone. Only one beat in the 11th is patrolled by two men, and that double team operates only from 4 p.m. to midnight.

ABOUT THIS SERIES

The Star team that produced this series of articles was headed by Haynes Johnson. Other reporters were Kenneth Ikenberry, Betty James, Ronald Oberman, Philip Shandler and James Welsh. The photographer was Ken Heinen.

Tomorrow's article will deal with the troubles of merchants, Wednesday's with housing problems, Thursday's with schools and juvenile behaviour and Friday's with what is being done and what lies ahead.

Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM D. FORD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, yesterday marked the 49th anniversary of Ukrainian independence, which was proclaimed in 1918 in the tradition of our own American Revolution.

This precious independence was short lived. By 1920, the new nation had become one of the first victims of Soviet expansion, which had followed the Russian Bolshevik revolution of 1917.

Today, the 45 million Ukrainians constitute the largest minority group in the sprawling Soviet empire. These hardy people have been subjected to Soviet rule for 47 years, but have never lost the Ukrainian spirit of independence.

The Ukraine is the breadbasket of the Soviet Union. The leaders of Russia, czarist as well as Communist have recognized this fact, and this explains why Russia robbed Ukrainia of its national independence only 2 years after earning it.

The Ukraine is called a "republic," but it is a republic in name only. It is really a province of the Soviet Union.

Fortunately, neither the Kremlin tyrants, nor their minions in the Ukraine, have succeeded in extinguishing the spirit of freedom and of independence which all liberty-loving Ukrainians claim as their birthright.

As long as that noble spirit is kept alive; as long as the ideal of national freedom is cherished by the people of the Ukraine, no dictatorship or tyranny can rob the Ukrainians of their real freedom—the independence of their hearts and souls.

So long as they retain that ideal, they will continue their resistance to Soviet domination On the 49th anniversary of their independence day, I wish them patience and fortitude in their fight for freedom.

Labor and Business Merger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD RUMSFELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, the proposed merger of the Departments of Commerce and Labor, recommended by the President, will undoubtedly have its proponents and opponents in the Congress. There are issues involved in this plan which must be thoroughly discussed and evaluated. A Chicago Sun-Times editorial expresses support for the plan and points out the advantages to be gained through the consolidation of these two related Departments.

The editorial follows:

LABOR AND BUSINESS MERGER

President Johnson's proposal, in his State of the Union Message, that a new Cabinet department be created by combining the departments of commerce and labor would, in effect, be a remarriage. The Department of Labor grew out of the Department of Commerce, in 1913, when labor became strong enough politically to demand the status of a Cabinet department.

There are good reasons for this remarriage. Both departments are vitally concerned with the nation's economy and well-being. Both are concerned with a myriad of similar interests, such as the location of industry for good regional development, the training and retraining of workers, increased industrial safety, even the development of a workable foreign trade policy, to name only a few. Both departments are gatherers of a wealth of economic statistics and both have a deep interest in legislation affecting business and labor. Both departments, despite their mutual interests in the well-being of the nation's economy and its labor force, have often fought each other bitterly, with labor usually getting the best of the battle.

For the past 20 years neither department has had much influence in setting the economic policies of the nation. The President's Council of Economic Advisers, the Bureau of the Budget and the Treasury Department have dominated the field. Labor and Commerce should have a voice, and as a single agency there is a better chance they would.

The President's suggestion has been well received in both the departments concerned. The Cabinet officers in charge of each department are enthusiastic and say the merger would contribute not only to increased efficiency, but also would strengthen the free enterprise system and the national economy.

However, the business community, organized labor and Congress have not shown much initial favor for the creation of a new Department of Business and Labor. The concept should be given exhaustive study before it is condemned out of hand. There are advantages to be gained, not only for labor and business, but for the nation as a whole, not the least of which would be that under one department labor and business would likely find more common ground for agreement and be less likely to lobby against one another.

The Speakership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the splendid editorial entitled, "The Speakership" which appeared in Roll Call, the newspaper of Capitol Hill, for January 19, 1967. I feel that the sentiments expressed in this editorial are those held by a great many House members, both Democrats and Republicans.

The editorial follows:

THE SPEAKERSHIP

The Speaker of the House of Representatives wields great power. He derives that power, in the American tradition, by the consent of the governed.

Because of the prestige and power he commands, he is courted by and pressured by segments of the American society, ranging from the Executive Department to newspapers to lobbyists to the man in the street.

The Speaker is subservient to no force other than the people of the United States. As Booth Mooney, a former aide to President Johnson, points out in his book, "Mr. Speaker," the Speaker is the elected representative of the people's representatives. In being named to the speakership, he may be said to have received, indirectly, a majority of the votes of all the people of the United States.

It came as a shock to Congress this Tuesday morning when the Washington Post boldly suggested in its lead editorial, that Speaker John McCormack should resign the post to which his peers had elected him time and again.

Old age, inadequate leadership and the implications of incompetence and disinterest seemed to be the reasons for the rash demand. The Speaker's "weakness in command" is contrasted with former Speakers such as Clay and Cannon.

The role of the Speaker has changed along with the times and the perfection of the democratic process. The House today would not tolerate the partisanship of a Clay nor the despotism of a Cannon.

Another former Speaker cited by the anonymous Post writer is Sam Rayburn, ironically enough, the man who popularized the phrase, "Let the House work its will."

The Post was disturbed because the Speaker allowed a majority of the House to vote away the 21-day rule, discipline Adam Clayton Powell, and did not prohibit conservative Rep. William Colmer's ascendancy to Chairman of the House Rules Committee.

Therefore, if we read the writings correctly, the Speaker should proclaim himself a failure and gracefully retire, turning over the reins to a stronger Speaker—one, who, would be more responsive to the Post's editorial policy.

The Post acknowledges the fact that Speaker McCormack performed well for the Administration while Democratic majorities were large, but adds that he does not seem able to pull victories out of the more closely-aligned membership at present.

It may be pointed out that things have changed in the past few years. The mood of the nation is constantly shifting, even though the Post editorial policy remains intransigient. A slew of rubber-stamp Congressmen were displaced by the electorate to which the Speaker is responsible. Naturally, with a diminishing of party strength, votes will be closer, with Representatives voting the dictates of their constituencies and not those of the District of Columbia's morning newspaper.

At any rate, there was little sympathy with the Post suggestion in the Congress of the United States and a good many members considered the editorial a presumptious affront.

McCormack, a healthy and alert 75 years old, is well liked and well respected. He is neither a weak-kneed Muhlenberg nor a power-mad Cannon. His reign as Speaker has been in the great tradition of his predecessors but marked by the print of a humble and fair-minded man.

To urge McCormack's ouster because he did not come across with votes for "the liberal cause" seems to suggest that somewhere in the Constitution it is deemed that the House must be "liberal."

Otherwise, it appears to be just one newspaper's pique because things didn't go the way they wanted it to.

Which probably points to the fact that some editorials contain more gall than thought.

Fino Renews Fight for Lower Social Security Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I am today reintroducing legislation to provide that full benefits under social security shall be paid to men at age 60 and to women at age 55. I hope the House will favor this important legislation.

I feel strongly that it would be a wise move to make social security benefits available to men at 60 and women at 55. Not only is such a move warranted by considerations of allowing our senior citizens to commence their leisure years at an earlier date, but it is suggested by technological evolution.

If we lower the retirement age, we will create new job opportunities for younger workers, decrease the hardships of unemployment for older workers, and modernize our system and its vital protection in a very important way. It is becoming clear that technological evolution is reducing the number of hours a day that the average worker must work so that the total work force may meet society's needs. Why should not the number of years be decreased as well, so that our workers may retire at an earlier age, to reap the fruits of their past labors? I strongly urge the Congress to make this possible.

Across the River, Part II—The Star Documents a Civic Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, the second article in the excellent series, "Across the River," by Haynes Johnson, published last week in the Washington Evening Star, relates the daily terror and violence and senseless destruction and pilfering that has been causing businessmen in the area of the District east of Anacostia River to close up their shops.

The following article was published in the Star on Tuesday, January 17, 1967:

ACROSS THE RIVER, 2—THE MERCHANTS VERSUS THE YOUNG DESTROYERS

(By Haynes Johnson, Star staff writer)

A 9:15 o'clock on a Saturday night in November, George R. Johnson, an insurance man on his way to his home in Maryland, parked his car in front of a liquor store in the 1600 block of Kenilworth Ave. NE, not far from the Maryland line. He went inside, cashed a check, bought two cartons of cigarettes, and left.

"As I walked out there in front of the store were all kinds of kids," Johnson said later. "They all wanted money, 'Give me a nickel, give me a quarter, give me a dollar.' I said I wished I could give them some, but I couldn't.

"Then they started surrounding me, pulling at my clothes, grabbing for my wallet. They were pulling at my clothes like they were going to tear them off. They were kids from 3 feet to—well, I'm 5 feet 8—to taller than I am. They formed several rings around me, and so those on the outside ring started reaching their hands through the others. Grabbing at you. Pulling at you. But you can't see who's actually doing it, you understand.

"They hit me and beat me and knocked my glasses off. As I broke away and jumped in my car they started throwing stones as I drove off. I'll tell you, I was lucky to get away with my life. You can bet I'll never stop there again."

Johnson's experience, by no means unusual, helps explain why within a four-block area a number of merchants have closed up shop and others are threatening to close. Declining business, losses to thieves and vandals and an ever-present fear of physical harm combine to make conducting a business there less attractive every day.

The impact goes far beyond the merchants themselves. Everyone involved—most of all the people who live in the neighborhood—is paying a high price in the form of a breakdown of community services.

The smashing and pilfering of stores across the Anacostia is not a part of some criminal conspiracy. There are no organized mobs intimidating customers and then guaranteeing store owners protection for a price. Neither are there gangs, or gang leaders.

Instead, there is destruction for the sake of destruction, intimidation for the sake of intimidation, impromptu thefts and shakedowns casually planned, quickly executed.

And in most of the cases the offenders are children—children for whom trouble has become a way of life.

A visit to the Safeway store on Kenilworth Avenue in that section demonstrated one aspect of that problem. It was 2:30 p.m. on a Tuesday, and the assistant manager, Rudolph Daggett, a Negro, was on duty.

"Just wait around for half an hour and you'll see the problem," he said.

Shortly after 3 o'clock groups of children, ranging in ages from 6 to 16, began entering the store. Immediately, the manager started following them closely, telling them to move on if they stayed too long in the back of the store.

"They'll steal right in front of your eyes," Daggett said. "They'll even steal right in front of their mothers, and the mothers won't do a thing. And you know something else: They don't steal major food items; mostly they take cosmetics and candy.

"They want to prove to the other fellows that 'I can steal from Safeway and get away with it.' "

Now the Safeway store itself may go out of business, according to Russell Cool, the manager. "That is being considered at this time," he said.

Another merchant, commenting about the petty thefts, said:

"When they steal these things, it's because they want to sell them. They'll peddle this right up and down the street, everything from toothpaste to topcoats."

That group of stores in the Far Northeast lies in one of the areas studied for this series of articles. The other group of stores is on Wheeler Road in Congres Heights. Both are across the Anacostia River; both experience similar problems.

TWO TYPES OF TROUBLE

The problems of the merchants usually fall into two categories—vandalism, petty thievery and breakage by youngsters under 18, and more daring and potentially dangerous depredations by slightly older groups.

The experiences of a merchant in Congress Heights shows how the older groups work.

"They come in bunches of 10 or 11, like a football team," explained a liquor dealer. "They say, 'Give me a pint of gin.' So you give them a pint of gin. Then they say, 'Put it in a bag.' So you put it in a bag. Then they throw three cents on the counter and walk out.

"I know who they are, but what can you do? Do you call this law and order? Anarchy!"

The man who recounted that incident spoke in a whisper in the back of his store.

"They already know you're here," he said. "They know." Clearly he lives his life in fear.

The police know about such incidents, but can do little about them.

"We had one store owner call us after a bunch of kids walked into his place and starated grabbing merchandise," said Capt. Owen W. Davis, the Negro commander of the 11th Police Precinct. "From what he told us we had a pretty good idea of who the kids were. I told him he should keep an eye out for them and when he saw one of them to call us and we'd have him arrested.

"But this man was terrified. He wouldn't do it. What can we do? We have to rely on the citizens for help."

As the policeman pointed out, fear is a potent weapon across the Anacostia River.

"Suppose a group of kids walks into some store where they know they have a certain merchant scared," Capt. Davis said. "They just go around the place picking up bottles of whiskey. They don't use a gun; they may not even utter a single word that can be construed as a threat."

SENSELESS DESTRUCTION

Such pilfering is a problem, but a worse one is sheer, senseless destruction: Windows, doors, counters, broken time and again at night, sometimes even in broad daylight, by stones, sticks or B-B guns.

Take the experience of James Shortley, the manager of an AAMCO auto repair shop on Kenilworth Avenue.

He opened the shop a year ago in October, he said, after looking for weeks for the right place. He thought he had found it in Kenilworth. The area appeared quiet and, with the Anacostia Freeway nearby, he believed he would have a good business.

His problems began with break-ins during the first two months. Then the windows were broken out. Cars were stolen right from his parking lot. Others were stripped of batteries, tires, even motors, in daylight.

"We've got nothing but trouble here," Shortley said. "I was insured and they canceled everything—the whole shooting match. I had a new policy rewritten, but you can't get glass insurance out here; it isn't available. I've replaced all the windows out front twice. There are seven double windows, and now I've got wood in them, and they won't break that.

"God knows, I never imagined it would be this way when I started out here. And it's hard to live with, I'll tell you. For instance, when I go home for a long weekend I know something's going to happen. I just know it.

"It's been pretty rough these last couple of months, but it can't get any worse as far as I'm concerned."

Now Shortley has a vicious-sounding police dog in the shop all the time. At night, the dog roams the building unleashed. Shortley says the dog has helped to curb break-ins, but not thefts outside or smashed doors and signs.

MUTUAL ILL WILL

The merchants are not only fearful and frustrated; they are angry. It is not uncommon to hear talk of vigilante groups. Some store owners say they have purchased pistols and are prepared to use them.

In some areas the store owners have joined together to hire a private security guard to patrol their properties during the late afternoon and evening. A shopping center on Wheeler Road, in Far Southeast, has such a guard now, and while he appears to have had some success in curbing vandalism, his presence has heightened tensions.

The security guards wear blue uniforms, a badge, and sometimes a D.C. insignia, making it hard to distinguish them from regular police. But the residents know the difference, and they resent the guards even more than they resent metropolitan policemen. The guards reciprocate.

"These people are not human beings. They are animals," said a strapping Negro guard as he walked down the sidewalk on a Saturday night telling people to move on and clear the doorways.

What the people said about him cannot be printed.

The mutual ill will underscores the present state of community relations. In an area of low-income tenants, most of them Negro, tension between the merchants and customers is always a factor. That is especially true across the river.

On the surface, there seems no obvious racial pattern to the merchants' problems. Negro store owners suffer along with whites. Most of the owners, however, are white, and they are disliked the most by the Negroes of the area. It's an old attitude, and an old problem.

"The store owner is the guy who keeps them down," said one resident. "That's where they have to spend their money, and those are the people who have all the money."

MERCHANTS CRITICIZED

Another Negro, a poverty program employe working across the river, was sharply critical of the merchants.

"Maybe if the businessmen, with their knowledge and experience, used their intelligence to get better relations with the kids and the community instead of knocking them, maybe then we could solve these problems. I think the businessmen are too negative. If the businessmen would have a conference on how to improve this community instead of saying they're all no damn good, maybe we could do something.

"Sure, the kids are throwing things. Sure, there are lots with an attitude of, 'Well, I'll either steal something or throw a brick through here.'

"But the businessmen, their answer to all these problems of 'Negro violence' is they're no damn good. You would get the impression that no white kid is bad. There are many bad white kids. But it's easy to hide them behind the black children. This has been going on so long it's useless to talk about it.

"They have white kids that ride the bus to Chevy Chase and raise as much hell as Negroes going to the Far Northeast, but there's the power structure bit, the society bit, again. And so they say, 'They're just being kids and letting off steam where the Negro is being violent.' Many young Negroes are aware that they are blamed for what white kids do.

"If maybe these businesmen would give these kids a job at $1.25 an hour, maybe they wouldn't have this problem. There must be some place where they can find these people a job. I'm sure if they were employing more Negroes in their stores they wouldn't have to worry about stealing or breaking.

"I think the Negro kid of today, I don't care how bad he is, if you can convince him that you are concerned, that you care about him, that he has a chance, he won't let you down. The businessman, in his place in society, has a chance to save some of them. You know, it's not the kids' fault that they're poor any more than it's his fault that he's rich."

RESIDENTS LOSE

The eventual losers are the residents of the troubled areas, those who can least afford it. Merchants close their stores and leave when they can't take any more; the poor remain, living in an area deprived of community services.

That is what has happened on Kenilworth Avenue where the drug store, grocery store, meat market, delicatessen have closed, and the Safeway supermarket, the only remaining large store, closes early at night.

"I've got to wait until 9 the next morning or get on a bus and ride all the way down to H Street for a loaf of bread," said Mrs. Ernestine Watson, a 35-year-old mother of four who lives in the Kenilworth Courts public housing project there. "We need a drugstore and a five and dime store."

Others echo her complaint.

"I think it's really bad here because everyone needs a drugstore in case the kids get sick," said a man. "You got to walk so far to a store and there is bad transportation."

"Why, we can't even get a Bandaid out here," said a mother of five. "My finger hurts and you can't get a Bandaid."

Still another mother said:

"When the kids get sick you can't go running way over to Minnesota Avenue for a little aspirin."

One of the most poignant expressions of what is happening across the river came from Yates B. McCorkle, a former star college football player, later a semipro, and now the man in charge of the D.C. Recreation Department's Youth Center at Kenilworth Courts.

"I was going to the Safeway during the Christmas vacation to ask for a donation to the youth center," McCorkle said, "and as I got down there I saw a workman putting in new window panes. They had been broken out the night before. And I just couldn't go inside and ask that man for a donation. I just kept on walking by."

A MERCHANT TELLS WHAT IT'S LIKE

Raymond W. Branch, 52, opened his carry-out shop, the Bar-20, in the 1500 block of Kenilworth Avenue NE in 1958. For a while, he prospered; then he began to experience trouble. He tells here, in a partial transcript of a tape-recorded interview, what has happened to his business since then:

"I had a lot of adult business, but now mostly I have kids' business. Due to the harassing, I would call it, which people didn't want to be harassed, we just lost that type of business.

"You started with trouble like teenagers hanging around. The next thing was when customers come, and if they left an item, when they got back it's gone. If anybody said anything to the kids it was always; you know, a big confusion. So consequently, the customers just don't come back any more. The teen-agers would threaten them if they didn't like what the customers were saying to them.

"They would say, 'Loan me a quarter.' They never seen the man before. Just walk right up to him and say 'Loan me a quarter.' And if the man acts anyways like he resents it, then there's an argument. Then, when an argument starts with one, well, you know, it's 20 of them.

TRY TO GET THEM OUT

"You always try to get them out of the store. That's number one. You try to protect the customer. You say, 'Come on,' like you were going to walk with him to his car if they don't stop you. But they cause quite a bit of trouble this way. . . .

"Those windows were broken out about five times. And every time they were broke it was $150. So I had them broke down into 12 sections. Smaller windows in small sections. So that if just one of them were broken it would cost in the neighborhood of 18 or 20 dollars. This is providing it ain't on a Saturday or Sunday. If it's $20 on Monday, it's $30 on Sunday. It's always time-and-a-half if they have to put them in at night or Saturday or Sunday.

"It's not so much robbery or snatching here. There's robbery, too, but it's one of those things that's not hitting the people in neighborhood so much. It's the people who are in business—their customers—that's getting hit hardest.

YOU CAN FEEL TROUBLE

"Just like last Saturday night past. A man from Delaware, he stopped in. He said he'd been to Atlanta, Ga., to get some plans to build some trailers and he stopped here to get a cup of coffee at my place. I was here. And these kids was in the store, about six of them. I was in the back of the store.

"I walked to the front of the store. You can always feel when something happens, when something's going on. When I walked in the front of the store, they rushed out front and the man finished his coffee and went out right behind, about 15 or 20 seconds after. And he comes right back and says his three suits, a briefcase, and his suitcase has gone from his car. And he looked down the street and the boys was running with the suits and they drop the suitcase, but not his briefcase where he had his plans in it to build these trucks. Then he left his name and his address and told me if I get his briefcase back to give him a ring collect. He wouldn't worry about his suits, but he was worried more about his plans.

"So, ordinarily, you would lose any customer that this would happen to.

THEY STARTED YOUNG

"My feeling is it's something like they started when they were very, very young, and I felt like they had no means of getting anywhere. And sometimes this is the onliest way they have means of eating. Because sometimes when they can't find anything to take that's with any value to it, they'll come in an' order a sandwich and run out without paying for it.

"In a case like that you try to catch them and talk to them—if he is one of the smaller ones—anywhere from 8 to 14 or 15. But if they are 18, 17 or 16, it's hardly any use of saying anything to 'em.

"I have actually pinpointed some of them to the police. For instance, the police caught one who had broken into the jukebox—my jukebox in my store. And the police catch him and take him to the precinct. Now when his parents come to the precinct, she says that 'The girls (who were in the store) don't know whether it was my boy or not.' So the police says, 'Well, I'm not worried about the girls; I seen him myself.' But this is just about the only thing that happens to the boy. He is released to his parents. And that's all. Over and over.

RESENT COMPLAINTS

"I have never complained to a parent yet who would agree, who didn't show some resentment, when you say it's their child doing something wrong.

"For instance, a kid threw a rock through my car windshield parked on the lot. And the next day I was on my way to the shop to get the windshield put in. On my way, these kids were getting out of school, on the way home to lunch. A little, small fellow, he must have been 8 or 9 years old at most, I'm looking right at him, and he threw a rock through the side window of my car. So I backed up, catched him, put him in the car. Asked him where he lived. He told me. So I took him home to his mother. She says, 'I believe he did it because I'm always after him about throwing rocks.' But when his father came home, she would get her husband to get in touch with me.

"So he called that evening about 5 or 6 o'clock. Told me he was the kid's father, but he didn't like the way I manhandled his son. Said I had no right to put my hands on him. So what do you do about that? Really, it makes you so disgusted, you just don't say nothing. He couldn't have been over 8 or 9.

INSURANCE COST DOUBLES

"You pay so much for vandalism, you pay so much for thefts, you pay so much for robbery, that you get to the point where you can't even pay your bills. This is what it does to you. Sooner or later it'll put you out of business.

"All of my insurance was canceled out and rewrote at a double premium. I don't know why. Too much of a loss, I guess that's why they did it.

"It's very hard to keep help for the simple reason of the way the teen-agers come in, the way they talk to the counter girls and the girls really can't control them. The minute I leave, this is when they start. They will, maybe, wait across the street, but they will watch and the minute I leave if the girls say something to them they will get a good going-over—in language.

"Then you have the problem wherein you can't put anything within reach of a customer. Like, carry-out shops have always been one of those things where you put certain items on the counter. Like a pie or a cake or a soda machine. But there you can put nothing on the counter. And they even get to the point where they come along and ring the cash register.

NOT ENOUGH POLICE

"When the counter girl turns her back, they stands on the footstool up on the counter and they just lean over and hits the key on the register until the drawer flies open. Even like the cigarette machine, it's been broken in several times, but the place ain't closed. They'll break in it right while the girl is looking at them.

"Well, you don't have enough police, and then again sometimes you may call and they say they don't have a foot man for the beat. If you don't have a foot man for the beat, maybe a car stops by once or twice in eight hours.

"The police are doing as good a job as they can possibly do under the circumstances. Meaning, if they are lucky enough to catch one like they caught one in the jukebox, I mean nothing happens.

"The only solution that I think would be helpful is that if one of these kids gets into something, they should be punished . . . All the kids over there is not bad. Some of them is not destructive. But you have such a few that's not destructive and so many of them goes and throws that all of them seems destructive. . . .

"Now, I'm lost when you ask me what it takes to help them. All I can tell you is what's it's like, what has happened to me."

Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 19, 1967

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, our Nation was founded on the principle that all nations have the right to govern themselves and to mold their own destinies, free from outside interference and domination. At this very moment the lives of our young men and our national treasure is committed to upholding this principle in southeast Asia. The right to self-determination is therefore not only the cornerstone upon which our great country was founded, but it is also a basic premise of our foreign policy.

In recognition of our devotion to freedom I believe it all important that we give every possible support to those people for whom self-government is still a dream. January 22 marks the 49th anniversary of Ukrainian independence. This nation of 45 million people represents the largest captive non-Russian group in the Soviet Union. The continued refusal of the Soviet Government to grant these people their independence is unmistakable proof that the Soviet Union is the primary practitioner of the worst form of colonialism existing in the world today.

History has substantially proven that western men will not long tolerate foreign domination and the denial of their freedoms. The monolithic Soviet East European empire has been no exception to this rule, and there are increasing signs that the Soviet Government is at last recognizing that its subject peoples can no longer be kept in bondage. It is therefore hoped and anticipated that the brave spirit of the Ukrainian nation will prevail, and that in the not-to-distant future their Russian masters will accept the inevitable right of this nation to be free and independent.

On this anniversary of their national independence, I am pleased to join with many of my colleagues in the Congress to extend greetings to the people of the Ukraine and to their kinsmen in America. We pray for the early restoration of their liberty from Soviet bondage.

The Defeatist War of Words

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, although there is disagreement and misunderstanding about our policy in Vietnam there is no doubt that a majority of our citizens support the fight for freedom being waged in that country.

William R. Hearst, Jr., in the following column from the January 1, 1967 edition of the New York World Journal Tribune, has drawn some interesting parallels between Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi Minh, and the dictators of the past.

I commend the article to the attention of our colleagues:

THE DEFEATIST WAR OF WORDS

(By W. R. Hearst, Jr.)

SAN SIMEON, CALIF.—When I read and hear some of the defeatist words which have been appearing in some American newspapers and on radio and television, I don't see how Peking or Hanoi could improve on it as propaganda—for their side, that is.

Lord Haw Haw in Europe and Tokyo Rose in the Pacific theater in World War II did not serve the purposes of our enemies one-tenth so well as has some of the material being distributed as news and opinion by war critics on our own home front.

What I am talking about is the deluge of material calculated to give the impression that American bombing raids in North Viet Nam are indiscriminately killing innocent civilians. All of this, deliberately or not, gives tremendous boost to the Communist campaign to have the U.S. cease its bombings.

In the reports, and the complaints and breast-beatings which have followed throughout the world, sight has all but been lost of the fact that such activity is helping an atheistic and cruel tyranny which surpasses Hitler's.

I cannot help but contrast the disservice being done to their country by the perpetrators of enemy-inspired lies with the heroic service being rendered by our fighting men in Viet Nam.

They march vividly before my eyes, these patriots whom I saw just last month returning from a patrol in enemy infested, rugged back country—soaking wet from sweat and rain, with mud-covered faces and clothing and weapons—but proud and determined to help win a just and honorable peace for the people of Viet Nam.

I'm not saying nor even trying to suggest that perfectly decent, loyal Americans who sincerely believe that we have stumbled into the wrong war in the wrong place have no right to their opinions.

Whether or not our country should get into somebody else's war has historically been a matter for debate and divergence of view—before the decision has been arrived at in Washington.

But once our government's course has been agreed on and set by the majority of the people's representatives, then those who wittingly or unwittingly give aid and comfort to our enemies by their words, deeds or actions are treading a dark path indeed.

In Viet Nam we started out, as we did before Pearl Harbor, aiding with men, money and materials the cause we determined was right—the cause of a virtually defenseless people whose freedom was being menaced by the power of a mighty tyranny.

Once again in this just and honorable and humane cause we have become committed militarily and for the same reason—that the fight to preserve freedom shall not be lost by default. Anything which weakens that effort is a service to the enemy.

* * * * *

Consider the parallels: Hitler and Mussolini were racists. Mao and Ho are racists.

Hitler and Mussolini were atheistic and anti all religions. Mao and Ho are atheistic and anti all religions.

All sought or seek to impose tyranny on those unable to resist.

So, and I repeat, it is in reality the same fight as before, but on a larger global area and with even more at stake in the ultimate outcome. It is a struggle we are committed to win and must win. Anything less than victory for our side, as Cardinal Spellman aptly said, "would be inconceivable" since we are engaged in a crusade for the defense of civilization itself.

And yet, sadly, we have people in our midst not only thinking we should cease our efforts but openly advocating it.

Some of these people are shortsighted. Some are deluded. Some are coldly calculating in their efforts to help the Communist cause.

Hitler's fantastic conceit is matched in every way by Mao's titanic arrogance, perhaps even surpassed by it.

Whereas Hitler denied and dared the wrath of Jehovah, Mao denies the very existence of any being—whether human or divine—who could even possibly be greater or more important than himself.

* * * * *

My conviction is that we should never sell the gods—yours and/or mine—short.

It wouldn't surprise me in the slightest if eventually, with a terrible and appropriate justice, they might permit and even encourage the two great atheistic forces of the world to destroy themselves.

Week by week, the tension between these two great atheistic powers grows sharper and sharper. So bitter is the hostility between them that only the slenderest diplomatic threads have survived. It would take only a slight military incident along their vast and disputed border to result in a mighty showdown of force.

This possibility was recognized this past week by Red Star, the official Russian army publication, which declared that Peking's leaders have now ordered an all-out, hate-Russia campaign in the Chinese army.

To quote a very, very old saying:

"Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad."

Hopefully, I say, at each other.

With this pleasant little possibility in mind, I feel cheered enough to say what I should have said in the first place. Here's hoping our new year will be filled with more happiness and patriotism than was the late and unlamented 1966.

Ukrainian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, 49 years ago, on January 22, 1918, patriots of the Ukraine proclaimed their freedom and independence after centuries of subjugation by the Russians. For the Ukrainian people, this is a memorable day—a day on which honor and tribute are paid to the Ukrainian dead and the Ukrainian living, all of whom have served with glory in the forefront of the fight for freedom against Communist oppression.

For 3½ years following the proclamation of the sovereign and independent Republic of the Ukraine, the people of that nation fought valiantly against the overwhelming forces of the Soviet Union. Their determination to retain their freedom and their valor will be long remembered. But the might of the Soviet Union prevailed, and the light of freedom was extinguished in the Ukraine. Since then, the Ukrainians have suffered under Red tyranny, but their dream of liberty remains strong.

In honoring this valiant people on this anniversary of Ukrainian Independence Day, let us reaffirm our hope to see freedom for all oppressed people and the liberation of the Ukrainian Nation from Soviet domination.

Legislative Program of Affiliated Young Democrats, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Congressional Record, I would like to set forth at this point the legislative program for 1967 adopted by the Affiliated Young Democrats, Inc., of New York State at their State meeting which was held at the Hotel Piccadilly in New York City on Thursday, December 22, 1966.

The program follows:

Affiliated Young Democrats, Inc. of New York State Adopt Legislative Program for 1967 at Their State Meeting Held at the Hotel Piccadilly, 227 West 45th Street, New York City on Thursday Evening, December 22, 1966

The Affiliated Young Democrats of New York at their State Legislative Committee meeting held last evening at the Hotel Piccadilly, 227 West 45th Street, New York City, unanimously endorsed their State Legislative Program for 1967, which Program will be introduced and advanced in the State Senate by their 20 members, under the Chairmanship of Samuel L. Greenberg of Kings County; and in the State Assembly, by their Chairman, Dorothy H. Rose of Eric County, with their 45 members in the Assembly.

AFFILIATED YOUNG DEMOCRATS STATE LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR 1967

1. Bill requiring State-Wide Primaries for all State Offices.

2. Raise drinking age to 21 years.

3. Change Condon-Wadlin Law with no strike clause, and to settle all strikes by impartial Arbitrators agreeable to both sides.

4. Lower voting age to 18 years.

5. Stronger Code of Ethics.

6. Bonus for Korean and Vietnam Veterans.

7. Study cost and financing of all Political Offices and a bill for this solution.

8. Tighten Laws to combat air and water Pollution.

9. Strengthen Law to enforce Compulsory Auto Insurance Law.

10. Raise the Juvenile Jurisdiction of the Courts from 16 to 18 years. All youthful offenders should be put in different Institutions than adults.

11. Law to enforce sale or purchase of cigarettes, tobacco, and cigars to anyone under 18 years of age.

12. Raise minimum wage to $1.75 per hour.

13. Outlaw Boxing.

14. Permanent Spring Primary Election day in June.

15. Mandatory free tuition at all State and City Universities and Community Colleges.

16. A printed Record of all proceedings verbatim of each State Legislative Session be made available to the public.

17. Bill to create three day-week-end plan to celebrate all Holidays, except Religious Holidays, on Monday.

18. More incentive Scholarships to assist needy students to go to College.

19. Bill for permanent Personal Registration be made State-wide; and changed to have less congestion in New York City.

A. Do not have to Register if a person moves in same County of New York City, only have to mail notarized change of address to Board of Elections of that County.

20. Bill for State-wide Recreation Department to be created.

Richard H. Weis, Chairman of the State Legislative Committee of the Affiliated Young Democrats of New York presided at this important meeting.

Across the River, Part III—The Star Documents a Civic Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, the third article in the excellent series, "Across the River," by Haynes Johnson, published last week in the Washington Evening Star, draws a disheartening picture of life in public housing in that section of the District of Columbia which is east of the Anacostia River.

The public housing projects in this section have been struck as hard by vandals and reckless destruction as any other part of the area. What happened to the public housing projects can only be described as disgraceful. Like the stores, shops and residents of the area, the public housing projects appear to be sitting ducks for wanton vandalism and terror which is characterizing the area east of the Anacostia River. This third article, published on Wednesday, January 18, 1967, in the Star, follows:

Across the River, 3—The Public Housing Islands of Despair

(By Haynes Johnson, Star staff writer)

The best that can be said about the Valley Green public housing development is that it is still standing. It must also be said that it is a disgrace to Washington.

Valley Green, across the Anacostia in the Far Southeast, is a place of lawlessness and neglect, fear and hatred, destruction and looting. Its problems cannot be overstated.

There, children prey upon children, adults upon adults. For the tenants there is no security, no protection and, one can only feel, no hope.

"Last Friday night there was a party in the apartment next to mine and I was afraid to go to sleep," said a mother of five children. "They started fighting inside, and then they went outside, right outside by window, and they started firing shots. I was afraid to go to the window, even. Two times they did that. They went back inside and started fighting again and then they go outside and start shooting again.

"I was scared to death, of course, and I was afraid for my kids. I'm on the ground floor and they was right outside the window and the violence was outside and it could come right in and get me.

"It's bad when you're afraid to lay down to go to sleep at night. It's like at Highlands (an adjoining public housing project) when all the apartments was catching fire and my friend's girls got burned up. It's bad to have a place you call home and you're afraid to lay down your head."

Valley Green is no special island of despair. Nearby are other housing projects, both public and private, wearing the same look—drab slabs on a drab landscape—and containing the same problems. Broken windows, looted mailboxes, smashed fixtures, terrifying sounds in the night—all these are part of the way of life in the trouble spots Across the River.

Two generalizations can be made about public housing projects studied during the preparation of these articles:

First, the people who live in them hate them—with good reason.

Second, there is something seriously wrong with the planning and administering of the units.

Public housing always has been a vexatious problem in Washington. It throws together large numbers of people, all of them poor, in areas away from the heart of the city. Many of these people reinforce each other's problems and behavioral patterns. As a group, they also form the true dispossessed of Washington.

In the projects, families without fathers are the rule. They are large families, most of them dependent on welfare for a living. Many of them have been uprooted and forced to move from other areas of the city by urban renewal or freeways. At Valley Green, for example, nearly all of the 100 families who moved there when it became public housing had been displaced and were given housing priorities because relocation officials could do nothing for them. In fiscal 1966, of the 196 housing priority families needing four or five bedrooms, nearly half went to Valley Green.

Thus, that project became a focal point for problem families in an area that already had substantial housing problems.

Complicating the picture is another fact. The National Capital Housing Authority (NCHA) always has been—and still is—timid about tackling the social problems of the people it serves.

Housing officials can point to numerous difficulties in their path—lack of funds, the complications of dealing with Congress, the necessity to build a maximum number of units at the lowest price on the cheapest land available, disagreement over which public agency should be responsible for providing community services, employment, health, recreation.

They can point to their awareness of sound planning principles—and also their difficulties in applying these principles.

But what emerges most strongly from talks with these officials, and from a review of the record, is that planning for public housing over the years has been, at best, fitful. More important, there apparently has been no real recognition that the system just doesn't work in its present form.

Consider again Valley Green, a collection of four-story walk-ups stretching back from Wheeler Road SE and facing on numerous small and dreary courts. Until 1964, Valley Green was operated privately; then, over vigorous protests from integrated neighborhood groups, it was converted to 350 public housing units for large families.

The neighborhood, bounded by St. Elizabeths mental hospital, Bolling Air Force Base, the Anacostia River, and the Maryland line, already contained a large number of public and low-income private housing units. Valley Green added more.

A father—a rarity in the project—who works for the Treasury Department at night, described what has happened since then.

"It's getting worse since they made this place public housing," said Vadon McDowell, 28, a Negro. "And I say this destruction of the buildings don't make sense. I'll tell you, I can understand why the government don't have the money to help them because they tear it up. I figure it comes from the parents. If the parents can't stop it nothing can. The mothers is either afraid or don't care. Children roam the streets unsupervised as late as 2 a.m.

TRANSFERS UNAVAILABLE

"Now I went through this Korean conflict. You think I'd be afraid of these people? No sir, I'm not afraid. But it just don't make sense to live in a world like this and that's why I'm getting out."

Others interviewed over a six-week period said essentially the same thing. Many mothers want to leave, but cannot. There are no transfers available, and, because of economics, they have no other place to go.

Residents who lived there in 1964 when it was a private project claim there has been a decline in services since the government took over. Before, they say, the garbage was collected seven days a week. Now, it is only picked up twice a week. Before, there were two security guards on patrol at night, making the area safer and keeping children inside. Now there are no guards. Before, the maintenance work was better. Now it is almost impossible to get repairs.

NCHA gives a variety of answers.

On the question of security, all the housing authority personnel in that section—NCHA's Area 9—work regular daytime hours. There is no resident manager. Maintenance men might work at night on an overtime basis to make specific emergency repairs, but they are not there to serve as police.

Edward Aronov, the acting executive director of NCHA; Harvey Everett, director of management, and other officials say the authority is not budgeted to provide a place like Valley Green with adequate protection. One man estimated Valley Green alone would need at least 10 men on night-time patrols.

Thinking in terms of all the projects, Everett said, "It would probably cost several hundred thousand dollars a year."

On the question of garbage collection, there is an odd regulation that says if a project has individual heating units the city provides pickup. Where there is central heating, NCHA must pay. The procedure then is for NCHA to invite bids by private trash firms. At most projects, two pickups a week are arranged. At Valley Green, the officials maintain, it is picked up six times a week. If that is so, then the residents are wrong.

FEELING OF DESOLATION

After going to the Valley Green area day and night for the six-week period, one comes away with a feeling that no one is supervising the buildings. As only one small example, in front of one of the apartments stands a trailer truck, rusting in the rain. It has been standing there for a year, residents say. No one seems to know why it and other abandoned vehicles have not been removed.

The most vivid impression of Valley Green is its feeling of desolation. There are virtually no doors left on the entrance hallways, and on the upper landings the large glass frames have been completely broken out. At night, there are few hall lights. Then, Valley Green is dark and dangerous. In the daytime, it is merely depressing.

Out of 350 apartments 109 are vacant—the result of vandalism. By last summer, the destruction clearly was getting out of hand.

"There has been a drastic change out here," said James Wentz, the hard-working former investigator for the Department of Licenses and Inspections who took over as Area 9 manager last summer.

"The situation is now far beyond normal management and maintenance problems. This used to be a private development. The construction wasn't the best, but at least it had a good appearance. Now it has every appearance of a slum area. As recently as last summer there was glass in the first-floor front windows and there were doors. Now there is little glass and few doors.

"This problem was what to do about housing for large families. So NCHA experimented at Valley Green. Now, with the number of children in each apartment, the place has become an attraction for other young people. They come from all parts of the city, and they cause a great deal of trouble, especially at nights and on weekends.

"Now, I'm not saying all the trouble comes from outsiders. Many of the people living here have lost sight of the thought, 'This is our home.' There is a strong feeling in the air that you can do anything to hurt government property, and it is all right. And there is also the feeling in the air that the authorities are taking it easy. At night the police come out here, and they are as cautious as possible."

At Valley Green, the damage is so great, so frequent and so extensive that the maintenance men cannot really tell new breakage from old.

"BUT WE ARE TRYING"

"So many things are happenning that we can't get to them fast enough," said Wilber Branch, the maintenance supervisor for that area. "We are trying to keep up. I think we are falling behind, but we're trying."

Wentz said conditions have reached the point where people "don't even report damage to their apartments. They are accepting it. They know what's going on, but they say if they tell us where it's coming from, they'll get their own apartments smashed."

Both men are dismayed by what's happening. Branch, in particular, seems stunned. He and the 30 men under him cannot keep up. "We thought it would get better after the summer," he said. "Instead, it has gotten worse."

It was during the summer that Branch's crews began boarding windows of vacant apartments. They went from the first floor up. By the time they got to the top floors not long ago, the boarding on the first floor had begun to disappear. Then they ran out of plywood. Three hundred sheets had been on hand in July. Now two more shipments of 72 sheets apiece have arrived and the boarding will resume.

At various times, Wentz said, he has had 50 apartments ready for occupancy, but they were damaged before families could be moved in. So the would-be tenants had to go back on the waiting list.

The oldest public housing project in the Valley Green section, Highland, was built during World War II to house naval personnel. Five years ago, the housing authority began replacing and repairing those buildings to correct fire hazards. That work was accelerated after two fires in recent years killed several children.

Today, 109 families live in Highland, while work continues on 26 buildings with nearly 100 more units. With so many vacant buildings, Highland, too, has serious vandalism problems—though not of the magnitude of Valley Green. A possible explanation might be that the families are smaller.

Another public housing project, Highland Addition, lies between Valley Green and Highland. It contains 246 units, nearly all of them occupied. While the maintenance and vandalism problems are troublesome, they are not as bad as at Valley Green.

LEASING MORE APARTMENTS

Across the street, also adjoining Valley Green, is a complex of private apartments, High Point, Barnaby Terrace and Sky Tower.

Now, the housing authority is beginning to lease apartments there for its public housing tenants. Why, when NCHA is fully aware of the over-all problems there, it adds still more tenants to a troubled area has not been satisfactorily answered.

John P. Walsh Jr., the manager of those private apartments, says difficulties are "getting worse." As an example, he said that for the month of November he ordered 500 new window panes for the 579 units in the development.

Thefts and destruction are common, he said.

"They tear up everything. We replace the locks left and right. They swing on the pipes and break them. They tear out the panels. They take the doors off the hinges, and cut holes big enough for you to put your fist through on these hollow steel metal doors. One and a half months ago they totally destroyed 80 percent of the laundry machines. They turned them upside down and took the coin boxes off the washers and dryers."

Now the coin boxes are covered with an eighth of an inch of steel plate attached to concrete posts sunk in the floor.

Valley Green and the other housing developments stand in the midst of one of the two areas already examined in earlier articles in this series. The other section, also across the Anacostia, is in Kenilworth in the Far Northeast. There, the same general problems are evident.

Across the street from a group of boarded-up stores described earlier is Kenilworth Courts, a public housing project. A combination of row houses and four-story walk-up apartments, it contains 423 units, of which only a handful are vacant. In common with the project to the south, the families are large and there are few men.

Unlike Southeast, where the apartment projects are stacked row on row, Kenilworth Courts is a study in isolation. In the front is Kenilworth Avenue; on all the other sides are woodland, the aquatic gardens, and the Anacostia River. Behind the apartments, on the strip of open land between the woods and the river, is the Kenilworth dump.

Still, physically, Kenilworth Court appears in far better condition. The exteriors are neat, there is some grass. But inside the larger apartments the same old problems are evident.

"We have problems of window breakage, fire extinguishers disappearing, and damage to equipment in storage rooms," said Edwin Gardner, NCHA's Area 11 manager.

Damage in the last year has been greater than at any time before, Gardner said. "There seems to be a growing trend among young people to lose respect for authority."

He readily concedes that Kenilworth Court tenants, mostly the young, have been principally responsible for damage and pilferage at business establishments across the street.

As always, the tenants themselves express the most discontent.

"This is the only neighborhood where it appears the police are afraid of the children," said a 35-year-old mother of four interviewed in her sparsely furnished living room. "There's no police protection out here. Right here in my hall the kids beat up a little boy. He was beat up and had his coat taken. He was afraid to say he'd been robbed of a genuine leather coat. It just goes to show that people aren't depending on police to protect them out here."

CITES GAMBLING PROBLEM

She, like others, said that gambling is a major problem.

"Every night men gamble in the halls. The quarters hit the cement so hard that I can hear it in the last bedroom in here. Half the night in the street people are screaming at the top of their voices."

Then she said:

"I've always maintained that this is the worst place on God's earth to live."

Her words help to explain why James Wentz, the housing manager in the Southeast, is talking about "a feeling of rebellion out here."

"There are regulations, and they will have to be enforced," Wentz says. "This soft patting on the shoulder is going to have to be done away with. At the same time we're going to have to build something of a community out here. We need things like adequate recreation, but that might take two years.

"Something has to be done now."

THE COST OF VANDALISM

It is virtually impossible to determine the full cost of vandalism and destruction at Valley Green public housing project. But here some clues:

In July, 30 boxes of large panes of glass, six sheets to a box, at $14 a box were requisitioned, as well as several dozen smaller boxes, 12 sheets to a box, at the same price. Today, only a few boxes are left. On some days, eight to 10 panes of glass are replaced. One hundred new boxes are being ordered.

In July, there were spare 500 mail box locks and 100 mail box doors on hand. They are nearly gone and 200 more locks, at $1 apiece, and 150 doors, at $2 apiece, are being ordered.

On Sept. 13, an order was placed for 200 thermostats at $7.20 apiece. There are not many left.

Last summer, there were 1,200 hall light bulbs in supply. Another 1,200 were purchased then. A new order is being placed for 2,800 more. Maintenance men have been putting in 60 hall light bulbs a day.

About 50 wash basins are needed to replace those broken in vandalized apartments. Orders have been placed for 50 toilet seats, 50 fire alarms, and 150 fire alarm switches.

A Centenarian Leaves a Legacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, when a man lives to be 101 years old, this in itself is a noteworthy accomplishment. But when a man lives to be over a hundred and leaves behind him a legacy of continuing benefits to the people whom he served and to their posterity such a man deserves to be recognized by his fellow men on as wide a scale as possible.

Dr. Ichitaro Katsuki, dean of the medical profession in the State of Hawaii, died peacefully in his sleep on January 18, 1967, leaving behind him a host of patients whose lives he had saved or whose health he had improved. He also leaves surviving him three sons who are medical doctors and a daughter who is a nurse to continue his contribution of mercy and humanitarianism to society. Truly, Hawaii is a better place in which to live because Dr. Ichitaro Katsuki lived there.

In the hope that others may be inspired by the life of one who lived the good life, I offer for the Record an excellent article written by Joe Arakaki in the July 19, 1967, issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin:

Dr. Katsuki, Dean of Medical Profession in Isles, Dies at 101

(By Joe Arakaki)

Dr. Ichitaro Katsuki, first Japanese doctor educated in the United States and dean of Hawaii's medical profession, died peacefully in his sleep yesterday.

He was 101 years of age.

The retired doctor died at 11 a.m. at his grand Victorian style home at 1326 Keeaumoku Street.

He had been in failing health for the past year and had been hospitalized for a while shortly before his 101st birthday.

His three sons are doctors; his only daughter is a nurse-receptionist for one of her doctor brothers.

Mrs. Katsuki, whom the doctor married in 1901 in Tokyo, Japan, died last June 23. She was 86.

Dr. Sanford S. Katsuki, one of the sons, said "My father died very peacefully in his sleep."

He said his father had been very active until quite recenlty and he thought nothing of walking two or three miles to Waikiki.

"But, he had to give up the long walks just before his 100th birthday," he said.

A few years ago, Dr. Katsuki's hearing went bad and his eyes began failing, forcing the avid reader of scientific journals to cut down on his reading.

The son of a well-to-do industrialist in Osaka, Japan, Dr. Katsuki was graduated from San Francisco High School in 1888. He returned to Japan and taught English in Kobe and Osaka.

He decided to take up medicine during his mother's illness. He felt he could help her if he became a doctor.

In 1896, he realized his ambition when he graduated from the University of California School of Medicine.

The bubonic plague brought him to Hawaii.

He was sent here in 1900 by the San Francisco Health Department to investigate the plague outbreak.

Dr. Katsuki immediately fell in love with Hawaii, decided to make his permanent home here, and became a pioneer physician for plantation workers.

In one of his many interviews, he recalled that the 1900 epidemic not only caused horror in Honolulu but alarmed Pacific Coast cities as well.

During the plague, he worked closely with such then well known doctors as R. W. Wood and F. Trotter.

After his study, he was sent to the Orient for spot-study of localities where the plague prevailed.

In his early practice here, most of Dr. Katsuki's patients were Japanese laborers from the sugar plantations.

They all told him the same story: the plantation doctors were always too busy; they did not have the time to give each patient much attention.

His patients came from all over Oahu—Ewa, Waipahu, Aiea, Waialua, Waianae, Waimanalo and even as far as Kahuku.

The Japanese plantation workers also had a common complaint: they didn't like the work and wanted to move out.

According to the doctor, the workers complained about poor pay, poor food and poor medical care.

He also remembered that some of them didn't like their doctor because he sometimes sent them back to work when they were still sick.

RETIRED IN 1932

Dr. Katsuki retired in 1932 after 36 years of practice, but he traveled widely in the Far East after that, pursuing his interests in genectics.

In his later years, he stuck to a quiet but active life.

Almost daily, he took his cane and dressed as if for an important business conference, he walked a half mile to two miles down to Waikiki.

On his 100th birthday, he told a Star Bulletin reporter he attributed his long life to "regular living, not irregular living."

"By regular," he said, "I mean staying away from drinking, smoking, and those wild places."

He used to be a two-pack a day smoker in his younger days.

The grand old man also gave this advice: "Moderation is the answer. Excesses in everything are bad, such as women and love affairs."

He said, "The frame of mind is important. I always say don't count your birthdays. Forget your birthday and you won't grow old as quickly."

He also ate simple foods—nothing rich and slept whenever he felt like it.

An avid gardener, he spent much time caring for his plants and flowers.

A hibiscus is named for him. It's one with a red center, yellow flower, and blood red edges.

Charles M. Dunn, a long time friend of the doctor, said the hibiscus was named for him 10 years ago.

"It's a flower of life," Dunn said, "so it was only proper that we name it Dr. Katsuki."

Dunn said, "When I was a baby 60 years ago, I was very ill. Dr. Katsuki saved my life."

Dunn made it a regular practice of giving the doctor a gift on each birthday (October 22).

The doctor received two plants on his 101st birthday.

Dunn recalled his many long talks with the doctor from 1927 to 1954.

"I will certainly miss him," said Dunn. "He was not only a great doctor, but a true humanitarian.

"I will pray for him every day."

In 1963, the Hawaii Medical Association presented Dr. Katsuki a special award as dean of Hawaii's medical profession.

He became a life member of the American Red Cross in 1919. The membership card was signed by President Wilson.

Memorial services for Dr. Katsuki will be held at 4 p.m. Saturday at Hosoi Garden Mortuary.

The family requests that flowers be omitted, but donations may be made in his memory to the donor's favorite charity.

Survivors are three sons, Drs. Sanford S. and Robert Y., both in private practice, and Dr. David I. Katsuki, former City health administrator and now with the State Social Services Department; daughter, Mrs. Carol Woolard; three grandchildren; and three great grandchildren.

Mrs. Woolard is a nurse-receptionist for Dr. Robert Y. Katsuki.

Air Pollution Is a Menace to All Who Breathe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, one of the most dangerous situations faced by our people, particularly those who live in urban areas, as the majority do, is the increasing pollution of the air we breathe with noxious poisons. In the near future I intend to introduce legislation calling for a concerted attack on this problem.

An excellent treatment of the subject is contained in the following article from the December 23, 1966 edition of the Seafarers Log, a publication of the Seafarers International Union. I commend it to the attention of our colleagues:

POLLUTION MENACE TO ALL

On November 23, 1966, a pall fell over the New York metropolitan area that lasted for 4 days. The air became increasingly unfit to breathe as poisonous gasses pouring from thousands upon thousands of chimneys and and automobile exhausts slowly crowded the life-giving oxygen from people's lungs.

A simple temperature inversion had clapped a lid over the city, making its normal fresh air supply a stagnant sewer of human and industrial waste products. The proportion of harmful waste products in the air rose quickly from its normal 12 percent, past the danger point of 50 percent, and up to 60.6 percent. An Air Pollution Emergency was declared and drastic measures were being considered when Mother Nature fortunately decided to spare the city further grief and the temperature inversion lifted. The poisonous gasses which had gathered over the city quickly dispersed so people could again breathe "clean air"—which was only 12 percent polluted.

New York City has not been so fortunate in the past, nor have other cities both in the United States and elsewhere.

In December 1953, New York City sustained a week-long temperature inversion that killed 200 people. Back in October 1948 the polluted air of Donora, Pennsylvania, killed 20 people and made 4,000 acutely ill in three days. Four thousand Londoners died in a single week in 1952—murdered by air which was not fit to breathe. In December 1962 a mass of stagnant, filthy air settled on the U.S. eastern seaboard from Massachusetts to Virginia. Had it not fortunately dispersed just in time, the United States might have suffered one of the worst domestic disasters in its history.

Although Seafarers, who spend much of their time breathing the clean air available for the most part today only on the high seas may not have the full extent of the problem brought home to them daily as other Americans do, what man has been doing to his atmosphere for many years can only be described as fouling his own nest. The air without which he cannot live for more than a few seconds has been used as a vast open sewer. Into it pour the smoky excrement of man's factories, furnaces, automobiles—dusts and chemicals which can and do kill.

Our atmosphere always has and always will be called upon to dispose of waste products, and can process modest amounts without serious effects on mankind. Trouble has been growing in recent years because the amount of pollutants being released into the atmosphere have risen far above the "modest" level.

Almost 8,000 communites comprising over 60 percent of the total U.S. population are today facing an air pollution problem. The problem manifests itself in deaths and permanent injuries in the form of chronic respiratory diseases, including the common cold, chronic bronchitis, chronic constrictive ventilatory disease, pulmonary emphysema, bronchial asthma and lung cancer. Emphysema, a disease once restricted almost exclusively to miners forced to breathe stale, dust-filled air for long periods, has recently become second only to heart disease as a cause of disability in the U.S.

The costs of air pollution have become staggering. Airplane crashes and delays caused by low visibility at airports "socked-in" by smog take a toll in lives and money. Medical costs brought about by smog-aggravated diseases are immense. The poisonous chemicals pumped into the atmosphere damage crops, destroy timber, injure livestock, cause rapid deterioration of stone, metal and wood buildings, weaken fabrics, cause property values to plummet, destroy game animals and wildlife and corrode precision instruments and control systems. Millions are spent yearly on electricity for increased lighting because of smog induced darkness. Paradoxically, because of our present methods of producing electricity, this often serves to increase the amount of smog in the air.

Airborne pollutants are capable of doing this vast amount of damage because of the highly poisonous and corrosive nature of the chemicals involved. The average smog that descends over a city or larger region contains varying amounts of the following:

Sulfur dioxide (which is slowly converted in the air to sulfuric acid which literally eats away stone and metal); hydrogen fluoride, chlorine, hydrogen chloride, nitrogen oxides, hydrogen sulfide, and others.

Possibly the most vivid picture one can get of the extent of air pollution in our cities is from an airliner. While flying over the countryside the air is relatively clear and vision unobstructed. In the distance, however, the city can be seen wreathed in a blanket of poisonous smog (smoke pollutants and fog) or smaze (smoke pollutants and haze). As the city approaches the pollution increases and visibility drops to zero, which means you're right in the middle of it.

Where do these poisons come from? Who are the culprits? The truth is that each and every one of us does our bit to pollute the air which we must then breathe. From the time we get up in the morning and turn up the furnace to warm the house we are adding to the pollution of our air supply because fire of almost any sort releases pollutants into the air.

Driving to work in our cars we become veritable poison gas machines with a myriad of toxic gases spewing from our exhausts. Getting rid of our garbage means fires which pollute the atmosphere. In agriculture, crop dusts and sprays put poisonous chemicals in our air. Evaporation of volatile petroleum products from open tanks is an offender. There are more ways in which our air is being polluted than we could possibly list here.

Although we must all share some of the guilt for polluting our atmosphere, some are bigger pollutors than others. In the past our huge industrial centers have, along with the automobile, been principal offenders. Anyone who visited Pittsburgh, Pa., not too many years ago could touch, taste and smell the results of air pollution created by the area's many steel plants, where open hearth furnaces spewed dust and gasses into the air day and night. Basic changes in furnace design plus the addition of equipment to remove pollutants before they escape into the atmosphere did much to make Pittsburgh's air more breathable. Still however, there is much to be done, there as elsewhere.

The fact is that although air pollution has become a nationwide problem, with our expanding industrial capacity and ever-increasing automobile ownership making our air more and more unfit to breathe, almost nothing has been done to see to it that we don't simply poison ourselves out of existence. The majority of people in the U.S. are literally living their lives at the bottom of a sewer that is shortening the lives of themselves and their children. Yet they do so without even complaining until what should be a harmless combination of weather conditions makes them gasp for breath and peer with stinging, swollen eyes through an apparent twilight at midday.

Air pollution can and must be controlled. Strong air pollution control measures are sometimes expensive, but the technology is available and must be enforced. Continued research will certainly develop new ways of controlling air pollution, but we cannot afford to wait for the ultimate solution—time is growing short. The public must demand and be willing to share the cost of needed improvements. Air pollution is already costing billions. In the long run the cost of clean air would probably be much less.

Although Congress has passed a federal Clean Air Act, the prime impetus for air pollution control must come on the community level. Large regional plans must be drawn up to direct local action however, if such action is to be effective.

A very few communities are already tackling the problem. Los Angeles, faced with one of the worst air pollution problems in the nation, has possibly taken the most action. Automobiles not equipped with exhaust purification devices have been banned, open fires have been outlawed, factory smokestacks are regulated and equipped with control apparatus. Results of such action are being observed and further action planned. A few other cities have also taken some action.

To clean up the sewer of air under which we all live, every American must demand action. We all have much to lose if we don't demand action now.

Inaugural Address of Gov. Ray Shafer, of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following excellent inaugural address of Gov. Ray Shafer, of Pennsylvania:

TO LEAD THE NATION

(By Gov. Raymond P. Shafer, Harrisburg, Pa., Jan. 17, 1967)

On January 15, 1963, I stood by the side of a young Governor as he took his oath of office.

As he spoke of his hopes and aspirations for Pennsylvania, the vision of William Penn once more became articulate.

For William Warren Scranton saw this Commonwealth in light of its historic promise.

He urged Pennsylvanians to stand tall and walk proudly.

A few moments ago, the parentheses closed on his Administration, fixing permanently his impress on the span of the past four years.

These years were proud years.

They were tall years.

He gave rich measure to the fulfillment of Penn's vision and Pennsylvania's promise.

With confident certainty that all Pennsylvanians share my sense of appreciation for the man and his achievements, I say:

"We wish you, Governor and Mrs. Scranton, Godspeed."

In 1681, on the eve of assuming the leadership of his new province, William Penn uttered this prayer:

". . . I beseech Almighty God to direct us, that his blessing may attend our honest endeavor and . . . the consequence of all undertaking will turn to the glory of His great name and the true happiness of us and our posterity. Amen."

As the first official act of my Administration, I would like to echo the prayer of the first governor.

For the strength of our people over these centuries has been their faith in God and in themselves.

It is in that spirit that I ask you to join me as we set our faces toward the future.

One chosen for high office is often admonished that history will be looking over his shoulder.

Let me say that I am far more interested in the realization that our children, and our children's children, will be looking over our shoulders in these next four years.

If you and I, working together, can accomplish things that will please them, then history's judgment will take care of itself.

Last fall the electorate of Pennsylvania approved the most remarkable program in the annals of modern politics.

It cast aside the fetters which for too long have bound the major political parties to ancient prejudices.

It beckoned enlightened men and women who wanted a credo that caught the pulse of the times in which we live.

It boldly proclaimed its philosophy under the banner:

"To Lead the Nation."

This is no sunburst of bright words, coined to be tossed into a wishing well.

It is a clear statement of objective.

And this objective is within our reach, if our hands will grasp it and our hearts pursue it.

We are a people blessed with a land whose beauty inspired poets and whose mountains stirred pioneers; whose earth yielded oil to light the lamps of the nation and coal to fire the genius of its industrial might.

But even more, we are a people whose fathers dared to shape the thought of young America, whose State House bell in July 1776 proclaimed, not only the independence of the thirteen states, but the truths embodied in the document which declared it.

Today we commemorate the anniversary of Benjamin Franklin's birth. This Pennsylvanian can point the way to the exciting potential of a creative citizenship we seek in our Commonwealth.

For not only did he pluck the lightning from our skies, he generated the power to move men's minds.

Pennsylvania spoke to the nation in Franklin's day.

It is high time we speak again.

It is high time we reassert the concept of the Republic which was fashioned in Philadelphia in 1787—strong states united in strong partnership with a national government.

There is need for a fresh perspective.

Today we are part of a fragile world that both frightens and fascinates.

Tension, revolution, changing mores, the fear of the loss of individualism in a computerized civilization are shaking ancient beliefs and disrupting the comfort and security of old institutions.

Our youth grow restless in search of new directions.

This is nothing new to man.

Only when men have taken hold of the temper of their times and moved to translate the discord of discontent into harmony through constructive thought and planning, has progress followed.

We Pennsylvanians have much to say to our times, for we have a legacy of leadership.

We are citizens of a proud state, but we cannot rest on this pride.

Our voice will have meaning only if each one of us becomes an active part of the times in which we live.

We must add our contribution of time and talent to the civic well-being of our day through the kind of creative citizenship that Franklin gave his day.

The strength of Pennsylvania, and of America, has always rested in the genius of the individual.

We Pennsylvanians are ready to put that genius to work.

Indeed, we can bring to this precious piece of America, where independence was born, a new statehood—a rebirth of state government—to restore balance and meaning to our federal system.

While we seek a more equitable share of federal revenue raised within our borders to help us help ourselves, we will see to it that we do a better job of helping ourselves.

But we need the vibrancy of creative citizenship.

With it, our horizons are boundless.

With it, we will have a modern Constitution designed to meet the constantly accelerating pace of this century, without sacrificing the safeguards which are an inherent part of our freedom.

We will bring new life to our splendid cities and, at the same time, bring them closer to our superb countryside through new highways and swifter transportation.

We will clean our water and air.

We will utilize our magnificant geographic position to become the dynamic hub of the world's most powerful concentration of people and industry.

We will bring the world closer to us through intensive attention to our land, sea and air facilities.

With advice of outstanding business and labor leaders, we will expand our industrial growth, bringing new markets and new enterprises to our State.

We will provide help to those who need it and opportunity to those who want it.

And our children will find our schools and colleges providing educations second to none.

Pennsylvania will speak with a strong voice.

And the voice will be heard throughout the land.

To lead the Nation

I ask you to remember this motto.

Let it serve to remind us that we have the opportunity to write a golden chapter in the history of our Commonwealth and our country.

There is no better way to lead than by example.

There is no better way to judge ourselves than through the eyes of our children.

With imagination, with boldness, and with enthusiasm, we shall make Pennsylvania the most envied state in the Nation.

This will not be an Administration of dreams.

It will be an Administration of vision.

I ask your hands, your hearts and your prayers as we set forth on this quest for excellence.

Indeed, the keynote is excellence.
The criteria: creative citizenship.
The goal: "To Lead the Nation."

Air Rescue and Recovery Service in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, on the evening of January 19, 1967, the distinguished Secretary of the Air Force, Dr. Harold Brown, delivered a most interesting and informative address before the annual chamber of commerce meeting at San Angelo, Tex. The audience, composed of nearly 1,000 heard the Secretary discuss our aerospace rescue and recovery service as it is being performed in southeast Asia. It is believed this is the most complete and authoritative discussion of this topic that has been undertaken. The speech should be read by everyone. The address follows:

I should like to talk to you tonight about one of the lesser known, but I think one of the most inspiring aspects of the war in Viet Nam.

It concerns the activities of our Aerospace Rescue and Recovery Service in Southeast Asia.

When the history of this war is finally written, I feel that the story of Air Rescue may well become one of the most outstanding human dramas in the entire history of the Air Force. Air Rescue did not begin, of course, with the war in Viet Nam. But the extent of the operation, the dangers involved, and the dedication shown on an every day basis—month after month—makes these rescue operations something unique in our military history. I'd like to tell you about them tonight.

It takes almost half a million dollars to train a combat flyer. But how can you put a value on a human life?

When a pilot is downed in the jungles of Viet Nam, he is far more than just a human resource, a statistic, a part of our military strength. He is a fellow American, with a family at home—with hopes and dreams and a potential for the future that cannot be measured. Most immediately, he is a man in trouble, and he needs help fast.

That help is coming from the Aerospace Rescue and Recovery Service.

It comes from the helicopter and fighter pilots, on runway alert at our air bases, who go into action as soon as they get word that a pilot is down.

It comes from the other fighter pilots in the air, who immediately divert from their missions to provide cover for the man who is down.

It comes from the men who fly the A–1E's—pilots who practically dip their wings into the trees to make a visual spot of the downed flyer, and then supply the close covering fire he needs.

And it comes from the men of the Jolly Green Giants—the HH–3 helicopters, who lower their hoist sometimes as much as 200 feet into the jungle—often hover in the face of ground fire—and bring the downed crewman back to safety.

These men are all heroes, but they're also normal Americans from all walks of life. They come from the cities and the farms. They share the same hopes and fears that concern us all. And as Colonel Allison Brooks, Commander of the Aerospace Rescue and Recovery Service said, "I don't believe you can do what a rescue crew does—what men in an unarmed helicopter will do to save another man—unless you're dedicated."

These men are dedicated.

The Aerospace Rescue and Recovery Service is part of the world-wide responsibilities of the Military Airlift Command.

It consists of fourteen squadrons. *Two* of these squadrons are doing the rescue and recovery work for us in Southeast Asia—the 37th at Da Nang, and the 38th at Tan Son Nhut.

In 1964 we had only a very small rescue center at Tan Son Nhut. It consisted of one major and two airmen. The first rescue airplanes were introduced in the late spring of '64—just three aircraft and something like 50 people on temporary duty. In 1965, as our commitment in Southeast Asia increased, we found that we had to match the build-up of our tactical forces with an increase in our air rescue.

Today we have operating in Viet Nam 1100 personnel and 49 aircraft devoted solely to Air Rescue.

They have saved over 500 people since March 1, 1965. And among them are 254 fighter pilots who have been brought back to fly and fight again some other day.

When you consider that the number of people who have been saved far exceeds the number of Air Rescue pilots and crewmen who are doing the actual saving, I think you have a very meaningful statistic.

We can always build another airplane, but it takes some twenty-five years to raise a boy, and then train him, so that he might someday fly one.

To put it briefly, we must look at first things first. And our people come first.

It has always been the way our country has viewed things, and I think it will always continue to be that way.

Air Rescue in Viet Nam involves a great deal more than simply sending out a helicopter to pick up a downed pilot. For reasons that I will explain, it involves the closest sort of teamwork, operating with great precision. It is not a simple matter to save a life, especially in a hostile environment. It engages the concentrated efforts of many people—for a matter of hours or even days—and, constantly, lives are *risked* so that a life may be *saved*.

One of the complicating factors is that the war in Viet Nam is a war without front lines.

Unless a pilot can ditch in the Gulf of Tonkin, where the Navy, with great skill, has effected water rescues and made nearly 50 saves, the downed pilot finds himself alone, in dense jungle, seemingly cut off from all help.

In South Vietnam, he may well have to escape detection by the Viet Cong.

In North Vietnam, he finds himself in a totally hostile environment. If he is to be saved, he is dependent on the Air Rescue Service, or—when requested—the Army which also participates in these rescue activities.

Constantly there is a race between those who might recover him, and those who would capture him. Nor can a downed pilot ever be sure whose footsteps he hears. Conditions are so trying that pilots have been known to hide even from the pararescue man who has been lowered on the helicopter's hoist to assist him in the jungle. There is no easy way to distinguish friend from foe. Life and death, freedom or capture, constantly hang in a balance between judgment and speed.

Locating a flyer in the jungle, therefore, does not mean that a simple recovery operation can take place. To find a downed airman is like trying to find a needle in a haystack, when the haystack is full of thorns. It is difficult to be sure just *where* the pilot is, or what dangers surround him.

While the helicopter has emerged as our primary rescue vehicle, the helicopter, in itself, cannot be the entire solution. It can hover, it can lower a hoist, it can reel a downed pilot in. But there are variables here. A helicopter is extremely vulnerable when it hovers. How much ground fire will it have to contend with? Can it effect the resuce before enemy forces close in on the downed crewman?

Because of these very real dangers, we have—during the past two years—evolved a team concept. The helicopter must have support from the air—enough suppressive fire to hold off the enemy until the rescue can be accomplished. How much supoprt, and how long, is still another variable. There simply must be enough until the job is done.

Thus, the Helicopter—A–1 team has been formed. The A–1's go in—locate the pilot visually—and supply the suppressive fire. When it is fairly safe, the pick-up is attempted.

Yet even now there is another complicating factor. A downed pilot often may not be in a position to assist in his own rescue. In spite of excellent training, the very act of ejecting from a crippled high speed jet is a traumatic experience. He may have been wounded before he ejected. Even if he is not wounded, and has a good chute, he must decend into a canopy of trees, sometimes 200 feet high, branches whipping at his face, and below, a hostile jungle.

To the helicopter and fighter aircraft team we have therefore added a third element. This is the highly trained pararescue man. He is part of the team aboard the Jolly Green Giant helicopter. He is trained to go down the hoist of a hovering helicopter, search for and find the pilot, administer first aid if necessary, and fight off hostile forces which may be closing in. His job is to bring the pilot to the hoist, strap him in, and ride back with him to the hovering helicopter.

The pararescue man is jump qualified, and also scuba qualified. He can operate in almost any environment. And we have found that almost 80% of downed crewmen need his assistance if a successful rescue is to be made.

Finally, there is one more variable. We learned quickly that the longer a pilot is in the jungle, the less chance there is for a recovery. We must get to him before his wounds do, or the enemy. This means starting a recovery operation not in minutes—but actually within *seconds* after word is received that he is downed. Ideally, the rescue operation begins while his parachute is still in the air.

To accomplish this, we need a command and control capability for our rescue missions that is sensitive and fast reacting. The first hour in the life of a downed crewman is the crucial one.

To achieve this speed, all rescue activities are coordinated at one of our two Joint Search and Rescue Centers at Da Nang or Tan Son Nhut. These centers are in constant radio communications with fighter aircraft during a strike, and monitor their radio frequencies.

But even this is not quite enough. We need a more flexible control center which is nearer the actual scene of the emergency. To supply this, we have airborne, during a fighter strike, what we call "Crown" aircraft. These are fixed wing Air Force planes, usually the HC–130 Hercules or the amphibious HU–16 Albatross, which has also made some dramatic water recoveries. In essence, these planes are airborne command posts. They, too, monitor the radio frequencies of the fighters, and can control the Jolly Greens and the A–1's during the actual rescue mission.

Command and control are thus established. Our other vital need is to have the helicopters and their accompanying fighters deployed as far forward as is possible in event they are needed. To achieve this, we have established what we call Forward Operating Bases.

These are small, forward areas—where an actual rescue team is standing by. It consists of two Jolly Greens, and, and four A–1's. They are on alert, and ready to scramble.

I'd like now to explain how this entire Air Rescue team works under actual operating conditions. For only by seeing them in action can you get an idea of the amount of effort that has to be expended in order to save one man.

The first word that a flyer is in trouble usually comes from either the pilot himself, or his wingman. Immediately, everything in the area turns to protecting the downed pilot. The wingman orbits over the spot where the pilot went in, and radios to other fighters in the area to provide a top cover in case of air attack.

In the jungle, if the pilot is conscious, he turns on a small radio which sends out a homing signal and which can also transmit voice.

Our Crown aircraft also responds immediately, and becomes the local rescue commander. Crown has heard the distress call, sends out the coordinates, and orders the two Jolly Greens and the four A–1's at the nearest Forward Operating Location to scramble.

A visual spotting of the downed pilot must now be made.

This is usually accomplished by the A–1's. As soon as the downed pilot sees the friendly aircraft approaching, he shoots off a pen flare which penetrates the jungle. It is the sign everyone is looking for.

While two of the A–1's say with the helicopters, the first pair begins to orbit low over the jungle where the crewman is down. At this point enemy ground fire usually commences. The A–1's respond, and try to suppress it. Meanwhile, the first helicopter is working closer.

A helicopter is extremely vulnerable when it hovers. The enemy has developed the habit of holding fire until the helicopter comes to a hover, and then letting go with everything he has. There is no sure way to know that ground fire has been completely suppressed. Meanwhile, enemy ground forces may be moving in on the downed pilot.

The A–1's make repeated passes, trying to clear the area for the Jolly Green. Sometimes a helicopter makes several approaches and is driven off each time.

The second pair of A–1's back up the first, with fresh ammunition. Often, the first helicopter sustains hits, which means the backup Jolly Green must attempt the rescue. Its pararescue man is ready to go down the hoist as soon as the jungle is cleared.

Finally, sometimes with fuel extremely low, the helicopter is able to effect a hover, and lowers its hoist. The pararescue man goes down with it into the jungle to give what assistance is needed. Finally—and it can seem an age—the hoist is raised with the pararescue man and the rescued flyer. The helicopter beings to pull away once the hoist has clear the trees.

As one pararescue man said, "We've given some people some scrapes and scratches, but we've never had a complaint."

Mission control is now notified that the recovery has been made. If the pilot is injured he is flown to the nearest local base where he can receive medical care. The Jolly Greens and their A–1's then return to their Forward Operating Locations. They will immediately go on alert again. For the mission they have just performed may be repeated another two or three times during that same day.

How successful has all this been?

Imagine, if you will, an airbase with 254 pilots standing at attention in front of their parked planes.

254 men standing before 254 aircraft.

Now—wipe away the aircraft.

These are planes that have been lost.

But now, let the 254 men step forward. These are the airmen that have been rescued. These are the pilots who would almost certainly have perished but did not because of Air Rescue. And I think if you could imagine these 254 now entering this room and taking their seats, you can get a pretty good idea of the tremendous human accomplishment Air Rescue has achieved.

All this has been done with 11 fixed wing aircraft, and 38 helicopters.

Nineteen ARRS personnel have been lost doing the job—6 killed, 11 missing, 2 known captured.

I think it small wonder that the Commander of ARRS, Colonel Brooks, said: "I've been a fighter pilot of sorts, I've been a bomber pilot, but now I'm getting more satisfaction out of saving peoples' lives who have laid it on the line for the United States—and bringing them back—than I've had before in my lifetime."

The rescue operation will go on.

I've tried to describe it in detail for you because it *is* a detailed operation, with the sole objective of saving a single life.

It is not one of the biggest activities of the Vietnamese war, but I think it is one of the most important. For there is nothing quite like a pilot knowing that he has a second chance. And there is nothing quite like knowing that you can *give* him that second change.

I think one lesson of Viet Nam is that Air Rescue is a vital part of any tactical operation. It has now taken its place as an integral part of tactical warfare, and our efforts in the future will be to make recovery even quicker and surer than it is today.

The men of the Jolly Green's and the A–1's deserve their recognition. For the term 'Jolly Green Giant' has stuck. It will go down in history with the 'jeep' and the 'GI'. Certainly, the ARRS people deserve their immortality. For they have lived up to their motto as if it were a solemn pledge: "That others may live."

It is a heartwarming thought to realize that hundreds of airmen and ground personnel, who otherwise might be lost, are living testimony to that pledge tonight.

Inaugural Address of the Honorable Robert E. McNair, Governor of South Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, January 18, 1967, South Carolina inaugurated a man who stands to become one of the greatest Governors our State has ever seen. I am speaking of the Honorable Robert E. McNair.

Governor McNair is a constitutionalist, yet he is also forward looking and progressive. Under his leadership, I am sure South Carolina will soon experience her finest days.

This new spirit is best illustrated by his inaugural address, which I am pleased to insert in the RECORD at this point:

INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY GOV. ROBERT E. MCNAIR, JANUARY 18, 1967

There are many feelings that a man wants to express when given the privilege of serving the people of his state as their Governor. It is a time to express the deep and sincere gratitude that I feel for the confidence placed in me by my fellow South Carolinians.

It is a time to share with you some of my thoughts about South Carolina's past and present—and even more important—about her future. It is a time to talk about positive action and the ability of our people to grasp the new opportunities of this exciting age.

As we meet here today, we have faced up to challenges and changes that have tested our dignity and our character. On this 18th day of January in 1967 the people of South Carolina are respected throughout the nation.

I believe that South Carolina wants to move forward aggresively in the last half of the 20th century. I believe that my fellow South Carolinians are not only prepared, but are eager, to reach out toward greater achievement. And, on the basis of that conviction, I give you my firm commitment to responsible forward movement.

I would like to believe it is the same kind of commitment my parents must have felt some forty years ago in a small farm community in Berkeley County. The efforts by my father and others to put as much quality as their resources would allow in a three-teacher schoolhouse near Jamestown gave me opportunities for which I have had many reasons to be grateful.

Proud as I know my parents were of the benefits they were able to provide, I regret that their life span was not long enough to share with me this greatest honor of my life.

As we look back into the history of our state, we discover convincing evidence that we descend from a proud and diligent people. Time has proved the relevance of the motto inscribed on the Great Seal of South Carolina—"While I breathe, I hope."

Your generations and mine has created a new and diversified economic base. We have ceased to imitate and begun to innovate. We are creating new jobs and new hope for those who show their willingness to help themselves. We are setting the pace for a vibrant, New South.

Although our recent economic gains are most gratifying, the cold facts of reality must be recognized and reckoned with. If we are to maintain our lead, and accelerate our thrust toward new horizons, we must come to grips with a basic fact. Vast numbers of our citizens are either under-prepared or under-employed. We must develop a continuing stream of human resources in order to insure a steady flow of progress. The primary requirement for future economic gains will be a reservoir of skilled manpower.

This can be done, and will be done, through vocational and educational training. This is a basic obligation imposed on the leadership of South Carolina today. We must apply our best efforts to the fulfillment of this obligation.

As we make plans and establish priorities for South Carolina, we must recognize those areas in which decisions cannot be postponed. Some of the principal needs requiring immediate attention are in the field of education and training.

We must achieve effective coordination of education at all levels, with ample opportunities for job-oriented, as well as academic training.

More emphasis must be given to the expansion and orientation of graduate programs in our colleges and universities. We know that grants and other resources are going to those institutions which are capable of generating modern research. We also know that industries looking to the future are gravitating toward those states which recognize this relationship.

We must have new laws and new programs to keep more of our children in school. If we encourage illiteracy by ignoring this need, then we are paving the way for a welfare state.

Other areas in which I believe we cannot afford to procrastinate include:

New concepts in industrial financing to avoid competitive disadvantages.

Additional safety measures and fully-supported law enforcement to reduce the toll of highway accidents and traffic deaths.

Reasonable insurance law revisions that will stabilize rates, prohibit aribtrary cancellations, and avoid penalizing the safe driver.

New emphasis on programs to provide more doctors, and to reduce the critical shortage of nurses, technicians, and other medical professionals.

Reorganization in our mental retardation and rehabilitation programs to render more effective and economical service.

Fuller development and increased promotion of our outdoor recreation facilities. This will require a consolidation of services and effort.

Closer coordination and expansion of agencies involved in agricultural service and research.

Another area of concern involves the impact of a growing and shifting population. The transition from a predominantly rural to an increasingly urban society has created new problems which demand new approaches. Air and water pollution, for example, must be dealt with before we are faced with a critical situation.

We must, at the same time, act on other crucial matters involving the structure and continuity of our government. Well-conceived action must be taken on reapportionment, provisions for county government, constitutional revision and election law improvements.

Those of us who have labored together in the Legislature know that real progress is seldom achieved through the ideals of one man; nor can legislation achieve intended results without effective and responsible administration.

That is why it will be my policy—as it has been during these past 20 months—to counsel with many, to keep lines of communication open, to seek the best thinking available for the solution of problems and the realization of opportunities. Thus, when the time comes for action, we are ready to act.

Through prudent and careful management down through the years, we have achieved an enviable reputation for fiscal responsibility. We should not, and will not depart from this basic and sensible course. However, experience has taught us an equally important lesson—that the needs of tomorrow are, in fact, the problems of today.

Unless we are willing to short-change coming generations, we must be determined to reach out for new goals through responsible growth financing. We live in a dynamic society. We must invest in the future.

We are advocating a program of growth financing that would be planned with the assistance of the best fiscal minds in the state. It should be structured on the basis of sound, business concepts—taking into account our goals for the future and our capacity to achieve them. Either we move forward with this kind of planning, or we will surely move backward.

As we take action to enhance the stature of South Carolina in all of these fields, we will continue to seek out and effectively utilize any and all resources that can be used to our benefit. The resources of the federal treasury have become an increasingly important factor in the extension of services. While these resources have been applied to many needs which the states, themselves, have been unable—or in some cases unwilling to meet—they have often been mis-applied and have impeded effective working relationships between the states and the federal government.

Working with other governors in recent months, I have suggested constructive proposals for improvement of this relationship. The response has been favorable; mainly, I believe, because South Carolina has tried to recognize not only its prerogatives—but its responsibilities, as a state.

We have reached a point where be are being given more responsibility for the conduct of federally-sponsored programs. We have asked for this responsibility. It is now up to us to demonstrate that we are, indeed, willing and able to expand existing programs and initiate new ones to provide for the legitimate needs of our people.

Our determination to move forward has been manifested in many ways in recent years of challenge and decision. But perhaps the greatest tribute to the people of South Carolina is the reputation we have established as a state whose citizens are dignified, fairminded, and respectful of the law.

I firmly believe that we can have no finer purpose than to uphold that reputation. Convinced as I am that this purpose is supported by a large majority of our people in every station of life, I intend to use all of the authority and influence at my command to see that the good name of our state is not tarnished—either by infringement of human rights, or by flagrant disregard for law and order.

I plan to discourage at every opportunity any attitude or suggestion that the law can be treated as a matter of personal convenience. Until laws are changed in our system of representative government, it must be assumed that they represent the will of the majority. We cannot engage in selective enforcement and maintain respect for the law. As law-abiding citizens, we are obligated to give full support to our local and state enforcement officers in their efforts to carry out their duties. To do otherwise will instill doubts in the minds of our children that we truly believe in the legal system and the constitutional form of government to which we pledge our allegiance.

If I could choose one word to use as a guide for the next four years, it would be "responsibility." I hope during the next four years to see many more of our people recognize their responsibility to involve themselves in planning and acting for the future of our state and our communities.

I believe the time was never better for leaders in every field to speak out for the interests of their state. There is no room in South Carolina for those who would subordinate the interests of the whole state to the building of political parties, or the furthering of political ambitions. The worth of an idea can neither be justified nor discredited by the imprint of a party label.

At the same time, government in South Carolina will not be enhanced by the two-party system if it results in promoting purposeless discord and dissension.

Today's South Carolina has no time for obsession with either "black power" or "white backlash." The time was never better to work for an improved climate of understanding—for opinion leaders and editorial writers to encourage action rather than promote reaction.

With the opportunities that are before us, this is not the time—and South Carolina is not the place—for those who are pre-occupied with extremism or petty frustration.

It is a time and a place for resolving problems rather than contributing to divisive frictions—for breaking down artificial barriers to progress—for reaching out to the timeless goal of human betterment through the wider extension of knowledge and the better use of our human and natural resources. This is the time, and South Carolina is the place, for building communities where only the clearly indolent will bear the bitter burdens of poverty and ignorance.

As I look at my state on this January day, I see people looking ahead with new breath and new hope. I see a place where shirt-sleeves are at the elbow and hands are on forward gears—a place where the unskilled become mechanics, and mechanics become technicians—where new opportunities unfold every day for men and women who want better lives for themselves and their children.

South Carolina has the eagerness to move upward—the basis—and the momentum.

When I first took office, 20 months ago, I pledged every fiber of my being and every talent at my command to the end that our progress and the welfare of our citizens would be maintained and improved.

I have attempted to keep that pledge. Today, I renew it.

Thank you.

Republican "State of the Union"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday night, the distinguished minority leader of the House, Congressman FORD, and the distingiushed minority leader of the Senate, Senator DIRKSEN, presented to the American people a constructive alternative program for the future growth of our country.

As indicated by many press reports, their views have received wide attention and quick acceptance. The editorial comments of many of our leading newspapers have supported the Republican view of the state of the Union, and I would like to call attention, particularly, to the following editorial of the Christian Science Monitor:

REPUBLICAN "STATE OF THE UNION"

The Republican Party's own "state of the Union" address has promised to provide leadership for a "dynamic and constructive center." If it does so, the GOP will be carrying out precisely what we believe the American people voted for in the November midterm election.

More specifically, the party's domestic program promised a revamping and redirecting of the poverty program, a postponement of low-priority programs in the interests of economy, steps to handle national emergency strikes, tougher law enforcement, and the encouragement of local school control and initiative.

It is crystal clear that the GOP has zeroed in on issues upon which large numbers of Americans feel very strongly. They are also issues upon which some further federal action is badly needed. By facing up to these problems, and a number of others, in a hard-headed, businesslike, but constructive manner, the Republicans will be in a position to serve the country well and, not unimportantly, to reap substantial political benefits therefrom.

We trust, moreover, that the Republican leadership bears in mind that November's vote was primarily for a move towards the center and not over to the right. The country does not wish to see necessary social and economic programs dismantled, merely made more efficient and more realistic.

It appears likely that the GOP will achieve a fair degree of unity (with some notable holdouts) on its domestic program. It is less likely to do so on the international aspects of its "state of the Union" address. Speaking on this aspect, Sen. Everett Dirksen enunciated an extremely "hard" line. He appeared to call for heavy new military steps to achieve a military victory. He spoke against the administration's plans and efforts to liberalize trade with the Communist world.

Each of these is certain to run counter to the views of susbtantial middle-of-the-road segments in his own party. This newspaper also feels that the Dirksen line is too rigid in its efforts to deal with communism in Vietnam and Eastern Europe. Great flexibility is called for in Vietnam. And in Eastern Europe it would be tragic if Washington were forced to pass up opportunities to use trade concessions as a means of fostering greater economic and political independence in those countries.

Senator Dirksen's suggestion of a common market for the Western Hemisphere is interesting and challenging. But it would seem as if many smaller, preliminary steps were needed before one could think in such broad terms.

What stands out most clearly from Rep. Gerald Ford's domestic program and Senator Dirksen's international program is that the Republican Party in Congress feels mightily rejuvenated. It now finds itself in an immensely strong and strategic position. It intends to use its power to the hilt. This is precisely what the country and a healthy two-party system need and want. Even more important, however, is that both Republicans and Democrats use their power in a way that will ensure progress in meeting the country's stubborn social and economic problems and its equally difficult international challenges.

Marriner S. Eccles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON EDWARDS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, on December 22, 1965, a statement of the U.S. position in Vietnam was issued by Marriner S. Eccles. That statement is as appropriate for review today as it was then. The "P.S." he added on December 15, 1966, only emphasizes the validity of his original statement.

Marriner Eccles has given extraordinary service to his country in previous periods of crisis. During the depression of the thirties his courageous statements on economic policy, considered by his business associates to be heretical, resulted in major changes in government responsibility. His was one of the most seminal minds of the New Deal. Authur Schlesinger in the "Age of Roosevelt" speaks of Eccles' "sharp and probing intelligence."

Marriner Eccles was a banker who was more concerned with protecting the economic stability of his country than preserving the power of the bankers. The historic Banking Act of 1935 was essentially Eccles' basic philosophy of monetary control, and reflected his determination to transfer control of the money market from New York to Washington. We now take for granted the use of fiscal policy as an economic stabilizing instrument, but as Schlesinger points out, "except for Marriner Eccles, no leading person in Roosevelt's first administration had much notion of the purposeful use of fiscal policy to bring about recovery."

I remind my colleagues of the contributions of this great American because I want each of them to read his views on Vietnam with the care that any statement from him deserves. No review of the events leading up to our present despair has delineated our problems so precisely:

Statement of U.S. Position in Vietnam

(By Marriner S. Eccles, Salt Lake City, Utah, December 22, 1965)

Under no circumstances should we escalate the war in Vietnam. Our position there is indefensible. Contrary to government propaganda we were not invited by, and have no commitment to any representative or responsible government of South Vietnam. We are there as an aggressor in violation of our treaty obligation under the United Nations Charter. We have not observed either the letter or the spirit of our obligations with respect to our actions in Vietnam. As a result, we have the opposition of not only the entire Communist World but the rest of the world as well, with few minor exceptions.

The facts are, the Geneva Treaty of 1954, after the defeat of the French, affirmed the independence of the colonial government of Vietnam and called for an end to hostilities. The British and the Russians were Co-Chairmen of that conference. An interim trusteeship was agreed upon whereby the French would preside in the South and the Viet Minh in the North for two years, ending in a national election in 1956 when the Vietnamese people would choose their own government. The U.S.-Vietnam Lobby did not permit that election to be held knowing that Ho Chi Minh, the communist leader of the North, was so popular he would unquestionably win the election. As a matter of fact, John F. Kennedy, then Senator, in a major speech in the Senate in April, 1954, warned against any negotiated solution that would allow participation in the Vietnamese government by Ho Chi Minh. The communists, he said, would eventually take over because they were so popular. In his memoirs Eisenhower stated that had an election been held in Vietnam, as provided in the Geneva accord, an estimated 80% would have voted for Communist Ho Chi Minh as their leader.

Diem was brought to the United States in 1950 from a 17 year self-imposed exile, under the auspices of Michigan State University, and here he found strong support in the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, his brother being a Catholic Bishop. Cardinal Spellman became a strong supporter, also Justice Douglas, Joseph Kennedy and his son, John F. Kennedy, General Lansdale (the C.I.A. man in Saigon), C.I.A. Director Allen Dulles, General Donovan and other strong anti-communists. They were largely responsible for bringing about Diem's ascension to the Premiership of South Vietnam in July, 1954.

From his first day in office he set about crushing opposition and concentrating power in small nepotist groups. Diem's targets included the private armies of the religious sects and the anti-communist Vietnamese leaders, who were also anti-Diem. He wasn't looking for popularity. He know his support was slim—that he would have trouble with the majority of the population who had been supporting the Viet Minh in the long war against the French; therefore, force was the only way he could effectively ready his people for the democratic alternative. Due to the paid propaganda of the U.S.-Vietnam Lobby his dictatorial tactics were not widely reported in the American press until eight years later when he fell from power and he and his brother were assassinated by the military within his own government. Since that time South Vietnam has been unable to develop a stable or responsible government, as evidenced by the many changes in leadership.

The South Vietnamese Communists, with the help of the North Vietnamese, defeated the French. They are now fighting for the independence of their country against the non-communist South Vietnamese. In short, it is a civil war with the Viet Cong supported by North Vietnamese and the South Vietnamese held together and supported by the United States. The South Vietnamese Catholics (about 10% of the population), property owners and business interests in the large cities are the strong anti-communist supporters of South Vietnam.

We have provided large amounts of military and economic aid and supplied them with military advisers, but until the present administration came into office, we did not furnish American troops to help fight their war, until it was apparent they were being defeated. We have gradually taken over the direction of *their* government as well as *their* war until now it is becoming an American war rather than a Vietnamese war. Why go to Vietnam to drive the communists out when we can't get them out of Cuba, 90 miles from our shore.

The North Vietnamese supplied troops to the Viet Cong only after American troops entered the war and we commenced heavy bombing of North Vietnam and the Viet Cong. It was then that China and Russia publicly announced they would give all the military and economic aid necessary to the North Vietnamese in order to defeat the U.S. aggressors. As a result, we now have aligned against us the powerful countries of China and Russia, including all the Communist World, with practically no support from the rest of the world in spite of Rusk's and McNamara's recent appeals to NATO. Under these conditions We Cannot Win. You cannot defeat people in a jungle war where the majority is neutral or against you and it is impossible to tell your friends from your enemies.

We are rapidly destroying the very country we propose to save—South Vietnam—as well as killing thousands of its men, women, and children by our incessant and heavy bombing of the Viet Cong. We are adding to our burdens tens of thousands of refugees that we must feed, clothe and house. What would the situation be if North Vietnam, with the help of China and Russia, should retaliate by bombing Saigon and the other principal cities in South Vietnam? Even if we won freedom for the South Vietnamese and turned the country over to them, they have no capacity for democracy of self rule.

With a bigger war shaping up on the ground and fighting 9,000 miles away logistics are almost an insolvable problem. With troop strength only 158,000 in November our logistic needs shot up from 75,000 tons in February '65 to 700,000 tons in November. The jet aircraft were burning more than a million gallons of fuel a month. Ports were clogged—ships wait 10 days to two months to unload cargoes. What will the situation be if we undertake to double or quadruple our fighting forces, planes, helicopters, etc.?

Our sense of negotiating a peace reveals our total insensibility to the other parties' problem. Two antagonists cannot negotiate their own peace terms. The matter should be turned over to an impartial body, like the United Nations, each party agreeing to a cease fire and to accept any terms decided upon by the impartial body.

If the war is escalated, before many months the United States will probably be required to go on a war footing and our present domestic prosperity will be ended. Inflationary pressures will greatly increase and the position of the dollar in the world market will be further jeopardized unless we bring about a balanced budget through increasing taxes and cutting back domestic programs.

It may be the North Vietnamese do not control the course of the war—it is now in the hands of the Chinese and the Russians. As Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference the Russians have refused to take any part in bringing about a peaceful settlement. They may be glad to have us tied down in a most unpopular war in Asia, which greatly weakens our position in NATO as well as throughout the world. They must avoid giving support to Peking's charges that they are conniving with Mr. Johnson to end the war. To do otherwise would greatly weaken their own leadership in the Communist World. It would seem we have fallen into a trap that neither China nor Russia is willing to let us get out of with either saving face or victory.

We could not have chosen anywhere in the world a more difficult place to challenge the communists and more to the liking of China—on her border. How could we have been so blind and misinformed. The decisions were made by the President and a handful of advisers in the White House, State, and Defense Departments without debate or prior approval of the Congress. This is dictatorship that has no place in our democracy. The public has not been advised as to what was taking place. They have been misinformed and brainwashed to such an extent that opponents are accused of being disloyal and supporting the enemy and patriotism has come to mean unquestioning support of the administration. Blindly accepting the government's position in Vietnam is more senseless than blindly accepting its domestic programs because mistakes in Vietnam can be far more disastrous. The real patriots today are the *members of Congress and other public leaders* who have the courage to oppose the administration and urge it not to escalate the war but to get out of Vietnam at the earliest possible date. This would be the least costly from every standpoint—even our image and world prestige would be enhanced.

If our leaders insist on escalating this war to a finish, it is likely to be the most disastrous war we have fought, measured by financial cost, loss of life and prestige throughout the world, and the most futile. It could lead to World War III—the United States practically alone fighting the Communist World. This could trigger an atomic war which all the world dreads.

The real tragedy is the useless suffering of the millions of our people whose sons, husbands and brothers are drawn into this conflict unwillingly and are killed or maimed for life, not in defense of their country, but because of our incompetent leadership.

Peace in the world will never be brought about by aggression or by rash and inept remarks like McNamara made at the Paris Conference of NATO when he urged our European allies to plan now to meet a Chinese military threat to their own security within five years. We are justly accused of trying to utilize NATO as a tool for our anti-Chinese policy of aggresion in Asia. Such remarks make it impossible for us to negotiate our way out of Vietnam.

The alternative is to recognize China and bring her into the United Nations before she becomes an atomic power in three to five years. Even her avowed enemies, India and Russia, have voted for her inclusion in the U.N.

With all our domestic problems—pollution, mass poverty, city slums, riots in our streets, and the world's highest rate of juvenile delinquency and crime—who are we to be the world's policeman?

The billions being wasted on the war in Vietnam, if used to eliminate mass poverty and illiteracy in the undeveloped countries, would do far more than aggression to prevent the spread of communism.

We must recognize that it is just as important, if not more so, for the communists to save face in Asia as it is for the U.S. We should be less interested in saving face and more interested in saving lives. Great nations over the years have survived saving face and withdrawing from an untenable position. It can be done with dignity. Certainly we are a sufficiently great nation to relieve the world of the fear of war that is so terrifying. Not only would we save face, but we would win approval of the world and gain in stature.

P.S.:

SAN FRANCISCO. CALIF.,
December 15, 1966.

Military personnel now engaged in the Vietnamese War number approximately 400,000. The War is now costing about $2 billion a month. It will require supplemental appropriations—from $12 to $15 billion—for the balance of the fiscal year if there are no increases in taxes or reductions in domestic expenditures.

Defense expenditures for the current fiscal year may go as high as $75 billion, which is only $5 billion less than was spent in the last year of World War II. Time magazine reports that the amount of aerial ordinances unleashed over North Vietnam and South Vietnam is already equal to World War II level and has surpassed that of Korea.

A Forward Look at the Transportation of Goods

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, my attention has been called to an address by Mr. R. R. Smith of Staunton, Va., before the Piedmont Traffic Club at a meeting in Charlottesville, Va.

Mr. Smith is known well to me as an individual who has a broad view of the problems and prospects of the transportation of the goods which are necessary to the maintenance of the standard of living of which we are so proud in the United States.

While "Jake" Smith, as he is known to his friends, is a trucker, and proud of it as one who has personal grounding in the problems of driving a truck, in town and on the road, he is also a qualified airplane pilot, and, while I do not know that he has had any opportunity to operate a freight engine on a railroad, I am sure he has a respect for this mechanism, and would be proud to be at the controls, because it moves goods.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, Mr. Speaker, I should like to include the text of Mr. Smith's address as of possible interest to many Members of this House who have a concern for the trends of transportation in the United States.

Mr. Smith's remarks follow:

THE FUTURE OF THE TRUCKING INDUSTRY

(An address by R. R. Smith, president, Smith's Transfer Corp., of Staunton, Va.)

Thank you for inviting me to dinner. It is a real pleasure to have this opportunity to appear before the Piedmont Traffic Club.

Nothing is *more certain* than the future—and yet nothing is *less certain* that what the future will be. Between these two extremes is the *real* future that we will live and work in.

You have asked me—"What will the trucking industry be doing five years from now, or ten?" In our business, the big day is today. We plan tomorrow's operation—we are thinking about next month and next year. But I do not know a soul in the trucking business who can say with any assurance what our shippers will want from us five years or ten years from now.

Surely the country will be different a decade or two hence, as it is different now from what we knew ten or twenty years back. And a changing America and a changing trucking industry constantly mold each other. That has to be true of a major service industry.

What are the trends in population? In industry? In distribution? In how people earn and spend and how they live? If I tried to detail all those, we'd be here for a long time. But I can hit a few high spots.

Population is up—and because people multiply instead of just adding, we're told we may have 206 million Americans by 1970—instead of about 195 million now—and 233 million by 1980. And more than 70 per cent will live in urban areas under metropolitan circumstances.

The demand for mobility increases with our population. And the urban population is increasing each year by enough people to make another Chicago. In the remainder of this century, the government predicts urban population will double—city land will double—and we will have to build homes, highways and facilities *equal to all those built since this country was first settled.* To do that kind of work in only 34 years will require a great deal of truck mobility.

Let's talk about industry.

The trend is toward more and more shared production, decentralization of plants both of single companies and of entire industries. The old idea was that to make the most money you took in raw materials—owned their source, too, if you could— and turned out finished products. You did the whole job.

World War Two compelled the sharing of production through sub-contracting. Industry learned something. It was more profitable to do only what used your plant, people, and capital for their highest purpose. That might be final assembly and sales.

Let someone else do the rest of the job. Inventories were slenderized. Excessive investments in space and materials were closed out. Industry became faster on its feet, more flexible, more responsive.

This change was made possible by the speed and flexibility of truck service. No other kind of transportation had ever permitted daily shuttles of parts and finished goods to and from the assembly lines.

The same kind of change has run all through marketing and distribution. Retailers display more items. But they have thinner stocks. These nevertheless support tremendous volumes of sales. Truck service makes the trend practical—as well as profitable.

The combined advantage of better roads and motor vehicles has opened up almost all the square miles of the United States for comfortable living—as well as for production sites. This process is most visible nearest the cities, but it has gone much deeper than that—into remote areas.

We see in the press from time to time estimates of how high this country's economy will rise. We see figures and ideas on how the standard of living has risen—and how much farther up it might go.

It is very difficult to comprehend fully how our own wants are going to expand. They will expand. Anyone in this room could make quite a long list right now of the things he'd like to buy, large and small. We all want more.

The only real limits are purchasing power and the utmost in men's ingenuity to devise new products. Both those limits are receding rapidly—year by year because along with more consuming capacity, there is this other great gain—nationally—in ability to produce. And a greater percentage of Americans—thanks to transportation—are in position to participate in production and consumption.

Now when you add these factors—population growth, better distribution serving greater and greater production and consumption levels—the answers come up almost too strong for belief. But this is how we come up with the future figures that I will mention in a few minutes.

Take a look at the real roots of all this. The roots lie in the aspirations and opportunities of people— millions of people.

It isn't a mater merely of somebody wanting to sell more of something. Beneath it all is the dramatic full entry of many millions of people—for the first time—into the economy. I refer to the people on the payrolls of new plants set down in small towns, often by major corporations; to the farmers now thriving in areas once too remote—in terms of transport—to permit them to raise what soil and climate encouraged, because markets were hard to reach. Now markets are easy to reach by roads.

And the new ease of supplying people with frequent small deliveries has widened consumption for almost every product, so as to include the great bulk of the entire population. There is today almost no difference whatever between the array of products offered in the largest city and that displayed in the smallest town.

Now let's look at how these trends intermesh with the various modes of freight transport. All forms contribute to the total result—rail, water, pipeline, air—as well as truck, but not in the same way, or the same degree.

Inland water transport contributes unmatched economy for bulk movements of certain commodities between some points when the time factor is not critical. At the other end of the time situation, air is fast but costly. Both these forms have such limitations on origin and destination that they ordinarily require supplemental transportation.

Pipelines have the peculiar ability to move large volumes of fluids and gases long distances between terminals at modest costs, but of course their range of commodities is very narrow. For their special purposes, they are unbeatable.

Rail freight is—as we all know—now reaching in several directions. There is the unit train and long-train direction—made possible by diesel engine power and trading the flexibility of a shorter train and numerous stops for the economy of highballing right on through with a train-load of coal or some other bulk freight item.

There is the direction of flat-cars and piggyback—still not entirely clear in all its eventual implications. To some extent, piggyback is a borrowing of truck flexibility. It probably takes a lot of freight from boxcars and the more flat-cars, the fewer general purpose cars, which doesn't help the perennial car-shortage problem.

To properly utilize the diesel, piggyback trains have to be long, which again reduces flexibility in making up and breaking up trains and in dropping off cars en route.

It should be obvious that railroads are able to go more than part of the way in accommodating—or benefiting from—the trends I have been discussing. They can go only so far as they can make compromises with their basic nature as relatively inflexible, long-haul bulk carriers. Rail managements are using all ingenuity to overcome rail handicaps.

Some day there may be a new form of transport that doesn't depend even on the prevalence of roadways and which can do part of the job now done best by trucks—I don't claim to know. The most likely thing on the horizon may be probably some combination of the helicopter and the vertical-rising aircraft, if power and cost problems can be overcome.

But as of today—and a good many years ahead—the only complete answer to new demands for freight transportation is the truck. Our economy has the multiple-purpose, multiple-movement nature of a very busy anthill. The obvious ants are motor trucks. Big, busy ants carrying the eggs of prosperity—whether that means Titan rockets, TV sets, or tomatoes.

Business and industry have learned they can order up a truck to move just about anywhere anything almost anything that has any business moving at all.

The latest estimates of regulated for-hire freight revenues for 1965 show Class One, Two, and Three motor carriers receiving just under 48 per cent of the aggregate revenues of all forms of transport. Railroads got 44 per cent; pipelines, 4 per cent; water carriers, under 1½ per cent; and airways, a bit over 2 per cent.

Incidentally, you may recall that the Transportation Association of America computed that, including private carrier costs and all shipper costs, trucks in 1964 got nearly 72 per cent of the total transportation dollar. I don't think we did less in 1965, and we should do at least as well this year.

The ATA projection for the year 1980 are that total outlays for freight will slightly more than double—reach about 98 billion dollars. And of this, 77 billion dollars will go for all types of truck service.

Trucking will rise from 72 per cent to become nearly 79 per cent of all freight service in 1980 as measured in dollar values.

Since about 1952, the growth of truck ton-miles has risen, consistently, much faster than the Gross National Product—although it moves quite parallel. The national figure for all goods and services has been running higher than estimated, year after year, also.

So much for the figures.

Now let me say a few things out of my personal judgments as to how the trucking industry may fare in the years to come, in terms of operating conditions.

The great Federal-State road-building program means a lot—not only in the tremendous improvement in roads, and new roads, but also in what is happening in designing and using roads.

Motor carriers have always been—and they are now—under rather severe limitations in trying to utilize fully the basic idea of hauling freight on rubber tires over pavements. Horse and buggy thinking and unwarranted engineering assumptions greatly limited the efficiency and economy of trucks. Of course, it is also true that trucks have developed much faster than many roads did.

In recent years, there has been a growing realization of the public need for truck services in their most economical terms. We have seen an increased willingness in many places to plan an optimum coordination between truck design and road design and regulations.

This has been encouraged by the fact that better roads reduced the former traffic friction between large and small vehicles mixed on narrow, winding roads—up and down hills.

Differences between the States in their regulations are gradually being ironed out in regard to trucks, as they are in taxation and many other subjects. Ideally, we hope that someday trucks will be able to move more freely than they do now and will be able to reach whatever design optimum proves best for the job they do for the country.

Double bottoms are now legal in 32 states, including our neighbor state of Kentucky—but not in the Commonwealth of Virginia. Most of the Middle Atlantic states do not permit double accommodations. It makes no sense to prohibit their use on the interstate highway system in the East. In the Middle West, where the length laws permit, carriers are operating 27-foot double bottoms, which can be unhooked and used in local service without freight rehandling.

Western truck operators are experimenting in many states with triples and long doubles. Numerous tests are being conducted to determine the power and braking characteristics of these newer and more efficient combinations. The failure of Congress to lift the crippling limits on weights, widths, and heights means that the only direction for the trucking industry is *longer*. Hundreds of these long units are now operating in various areas of the United States. *They are an unqualified success.* Insurance records tend to prove that the safety experience with these units is exactly on par with other types of equipment.

The anticipated public hostility toward these long combinations is no-existent. So far as is known, there has been no valid complaint from any highway user driving on the highways used by the hundred-footers. These high cubic volume combinations cut transport costs drastically for certain traffic, but they will not cause a major impact until higher weights are permitted.

With higher cost factors confronting the industry, every user of highway transportation should do everything possible to convince Federal legislators of the need for increasing permissible weights, widths, and heights without delay, so that highway transportation costs will be reduced to the lowest practical minimum.

I believe there will be extensive *internal* changes in the trucking business. Technology will be vigorously applied to many areas of truck operation in a dual effort to give the shipper more for his dollar—and to make the dollar go farther inside the company.

There will be fewer companies and larger units. But there will still be thousands of truck lines and highly individual service. The number of companies with stock on the market will increase—but most companies will remain small business doing less than $1 million a year. Trucking will not be essentially different from now—but it will be better managed.

I foresee "computerized rates"—that is, determination of rates on a given shipment by push-button control. The industry is at the beginning of its "computer age." Today only the largest companies can afford the luxury of extensive data processing. Computers can and will be shared.

The problem of tracing shipments may eventually be solved by data processing. There will be vast improvements in interline tracing. This is long overdue.

With the use of computers, and with the upgrading of executive and supervisory staffing, I think operating companies in our industry have a new look. Those of us with the wit and will to do so can exercise pretty tight and direct control over our people and equipment. At best, the new techniques of information can bring them somewhat along lines of the small company where the boss knows which trucks are moving and what's in them and where they are scheduled next. That's the way most of us started, and it's great to have technology make that kind of intimate management again possible.

Within a few years, we should have new or much improved power units. The gas turbine engine is in experimental use. We need more efficient and less costly operating power units.

The pick-up and delivery truck is being completely re-evaluated by the common carrier industry. We are now testing a unit that can load front, side, or rear. A way must be found to reduce cost and improve pick-up and delivery operations.

We expect the practice of trailer interchange to be improved to the advantage of shippers.

There will be more batch handling of freight. This is a way of accumulating numerous small shipments into one larger shipment or container. It has reduced loss and damage, as well as cost.

All in all, I would say that the motor carrier industry has the brightest kind of a future. I say that because we are geared to what's been happening in this country and what's surely going to happen next. You who are shippers mold the transportation industry more than anything else does, taking into account that the reason for our very existence is to meet your order to get your business.

The future figures I have recounted may sound big. But the riskiest gamble I know is to sell America short—to discount *what* American industry and consumers will do—the advancement Americans are going to make in living better, year by year. The trucking industry isn't thinking negatively. All our chips are on progress—every time.

I close with a request to every traffic manager in this room. Please keep after us—in a nice, firm way, of course—for the very best service of which we are capable.

In the trucking business, we must always be looking to the future. The present does not satisfy us. Our ideal—whatever it may be—lies further on.

Thank you.

A Soviet Writer Attests to the Marked Effectiveness of the "Architecture-U.S.A." Exhibit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, my attention was recently called to an article written by a Russian, appearing in a Russian magazine intended only for Russian readers, which praises the quality and the effectiveness of an exhibit shown by the U.S. Information Agency in Leningrad.

It is at times very difficult to judge whether the money we spend to acquaint people living behind the Iron Curtain with what is going on in the United States, does any good or not. For this reason I believe that the views of this Russian observer may prove of special interest to the Members of the House, and to thoughtful Americans throughout our land.

Let me, first, say a few words about the background of this matter.

Our 1964–65 agreement on cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union was the fourth of a series of 2-year agreements on exchanges. It included among others an exchange of three circulating exhibits; namely "Communications," "Architecture," and "Handtools" from the American side, and "Conquest of Space," "Children's Creative Activities," and "Public Health" on the part of the Soviet Union.

Because of some delays on the part of the Soviet authorities, this schedule of exhibit exchanges was not fully implemented. The American "Handtools" exhibit had to be postponed and was included in the Fifth United States-U.S.S.R. Exchanges Agreement—1966-67. The "Conquest of Space" exhibit was canceled by the Soviet Union.

"Architecture U.S.A." was shown in Leningrad from May 24 to June 24, in Minsk from July 23 to August 24, and in Moscow from September 17 to October 19, 1965. A total of 714,000 Soviets were counted visiting the American show. Upon entering the exhibit, each visitor was given a lapel button and an attractive brochure which, in addition to information on American architecture, contained several pages of useful economic data. The staff of "Architecture U.S.A." consisted of 22 Russian-speaking American guides and five USIA officers.

It is noteworthy that while the Soviet press was critical of the U.S. exhibit, especially of the content of the brochures and of the information on the United States given out by the young guides, the Russian public's reaction was generally favorable. This is attested to in the article which I mentioned earlier.

The article in question was rather long. It appeared in the September 1966 issue of Molodaya Gvardiya, and was entitled "Letters From the Russian Museum" by Vladimir Soloukhin.

Vladimir Alekseevich Soloukhin is a member of the Union of Writers; he is a prose writer and poet living in Moscow.

I shall quote some pertinent passages from it.

To begin, the writer complained about the manner in which an exhibit of ancient frescoes was displayed in the Russian Museum. He wrote:

> . . . Not only did The Russian Museum possess copies of the rarest frescoes, but now, for the first time in the last 50 years, an exhibit of these copies had been opened . . . I went at once to the halls where the ancient frescoes were displayed. The more so since the exhibit could close from one day to the next and even from one hour to the next. I had to hurry and I did see the exhibit . . .
>
> . . . And now, dear friends, a dash of bitterness. I noted in this letter that the exhibit hangs by a thread and could close from one day to the next and even from one hour to the next. That's the point.
>
> I must, at the outset, make an unforeseen digression here. Perhaps that which I describe now will be of interest to you but from my point of view it is also useful. This will become clear to you later. In Leningrad, these days, whether you ride in a bus, go by taxi or on foot along the long and straight roads, your gaze is everywhere struck by five heavy, bright-red (fireman's color) stripes—sort of horizontal railroad ties, sort of hot steel bars painted one over the other. Four five-pointed stars of a bright blue color even further intensify the impression of garishness and persistence. The red-hot stripes and blue stars shout from the billboard posters all over Leningrad, urging people to stop, read, and put everything else aside to heed the call as soon as possible. The squeaks of other posters are barely audible and do not sound at all alongside this powerful and alarming cry like the siren of a fire engine. For two days, I looked and looked at the red stripes and the blue stars. On the third day, I decided to get off the bus and read. The text on the poster was laconic to a maximum degree. There were only the two words: "Architecture USA". The address of the exhibit was noted in small type as follows: "Universitetskaya naborcshnaya, Museum of the Academy of Art".
>
> Having discussed this exhibit with my friend, a Leningrad artist, I realized that I was completely backward since for more than a week everyone had been talking only about this exhibit. I jumped up to rush off to Universitetskaya naberexhnaya to make up for lost time, but my friend told me that it was very difficult to get into the exhibit. People waited in line for 5–6 hours, the militiamen were all around and you couldn't walk or drive up to the building.
>
> Having thus alarmed me, my friend took pity on me and gave me a pass to the exhibit.
>
> Passing through a double file of militiamen, I entered the vestibule of the building and mounted the stairs. A visitor's route, of necessity, went past a kiosk in which a charming, young American girl sat. Before her lay reams of brochures, all with the same bright red stripes on the cover. Alongside, was a box full of badges, all with the same relentless emblem. The girl handed each visitor a smile, a brochure, and a badge. Not everyone took a badge, but not a single person refused a brochure. This brochure was a distinctive, comprehensive catalogue of the exhibit. All the best and most interesting that was exhibited in the halls was in the catalogue in the form of beautifully-made, and even more beautifully-printed colored photographs. The explanatory captions in the catalogue corresponded exactly to the captions in the exhibit.
>
> Every day, the charming American girl in the kiosk distributes approximately 8,000 brochures. But since the catalogue shows almost the whole exhibit and since each person who has a catalogue shows it to three and even five of his friends, one can say that, daily, 40,000 people visit the exhibit. But just to five friends? The brochure is printed on beautiful paper so that it won't be worn out for a long time. It's impossible to imagine how many people will look at it in a year.
>
> I'm not lamenting at all that very many people will see the brochure. I simply want to say that this is the way to propagandize one's exhibit. This is the way to propagandize one's art. This is the way to propagandize, in general, all that one has.
>
> Here and there in the flowing stream of visitors at the exhibit there was turbulence and whirlpools, as happens in large rivers when the water flows to a barrier. The nice American young men and girls were, here and there, surrounded by a thick crowd of Leningraders. A lively discussion is proceeding—questions, answers; questions, answers. This means that, in addition to the posters and brochures, for eight hours—from 11:00 a.m. to 7:00 p.m.—live agitators and propagandists hotly propagandize the architectural art of the USA, together with the American way of life and the American world outlook.

No, I'm not sounding the alarm. Let them. In spite of all this, the visitors, at least the majority of them, come out shrugging their shoulders in a puzzled way. This shrugging relates to the architecture itself and to the six-hour patience, thanks to which they got into the exhibit. Still, let it be. These charming young men and girls won't propagandize the Leningraders, but how well the thing was set up!

Now, we'll return to the sad history of the exhibit of ancient frescoes. It's embarrassing even to say that they are more interesting than the American color photographs. However, the exhibit opened without a single poster in the city and without even the cheapest one-page brochure. I won't even speak about young people who, here in the halls, could describe the particulars of the exhibit, could answer questions, could engage the viewers in free and easy discussions.

I ask: how can we allow organized and well-thought-out propagandizing of architectural styles foreign to us (and in general to mankind) to be conducted in Leningrad and fear to popularize, even a thousandth as much, our ancient Russian art? The American exhibit came here in the role of a self-satisfied, well-fed, sleek, but on the whole, commonplace daughter while our native art appeared in the role of a shabby, bedraggled stepdaughter. Young people were found, evidently artists, who took pity on the stepdaughter and even were offended for her. They posted hand-made posters around the city, which announced that an exhibit of ancient frescoes had opened in The Russian Museum. The display of the posters was regarded as unlawful propaganda, as leaflets. Yes, this was really propaganda, but for what purpose? In order that Leningraders visit a regular, functioning exhibit. . . .

Senator Nelson Strikes at the Heart of the Water Pollution Menace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, much has been written about the manifold sources of water pollution that are threatening the existence of both our urban and our rural areas. An excellent article published recently on the subject appears in the February issue of the Progressive. Written by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON], this article, "The National Pollution Scandal," not only strikes at the heart of the problem, but offers numerous constructive suggestions on how to attack this growing menace.

The text of the article follows:

THE NATIONAL POLLUTION SCANDAL

(By Senator GAYLORD A. NELSON)

The natural environment of America—the woods and waters and wildlife, the clear air and blue sky, the fertile soil and the scenic landscape—is threatened with destruction. Our growing population and expanding industries, the explosion of scientific knowledge, the vast increase in income levels, leisure time, and mobility—all of these powerful trends are exerting such pressure on our natural resources that many of them could be effectively ruined over the next ten or fifteen years.

Our overcrowded parks are becoming slums. Our birds and wildlife are being driven away or killed outright. Scenic rural areas are blighted by junkyards and billboards, and neon blight soils the outskirts of most cities. In our orgy of expansion, we are bulldozing away the natural landscape and building a cold new world of concrete and aluminum. Strip miners' shovels are tearing away whole mountains and spreading ugly wastes for miles around. America the affluent is well on the way to destroying America the beautiful.

Of all these developments, the most tragic and the most costly is the rapidly mounting pollution of our lakes and streams.

Perhaps the pain is more intense for a Senator from a state like Wisconsin, bordered on three sides by the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, blessed wtih 8,000 inland lakes and hundreds of rivers and trout streams. Actually, our state seems rather fortunate at the moment. A yachtsman on Lake Superior can raise a bucket of water still crystal-clear and cold enough to drink with delight. Canoeists on the St. Croix or Wolf Rivers still shoot through frothing rapids of sparkling water, and catch fish in the deep, swirling pools.

But the bell is tolling for Wisconsin just as for all the nation. A recent survey of twelve major river basins in southeastern Wisconsin found not a single one fit even for the partial body contact involved in fishing or wading. A competent governmental agency concluded that 754 miles of rivers in this region had been turned into open sewers. Beaches along Lake Michigan, a vast blue sea with seemingly limitless quantities of fresh water, are being closed to swimmers. A sordid ocean of pollution is pouring into the Mississippi from the Minneapolis-St. Paul urban complex. The first serious signs of pollution are soiling Lake Superior, and our small inland lakes are, one by one, becoming murky and smelly and choked with algae.

Elsewhere, all across the nation, the same tragedy is being enacted, although in many areas the curtain already has come down. The waters are already ruined.

Every major river system in America is seriously polluted, from the Androscoggin in Maine to the Columbia in the far Northwest. The rivers once celebrated in poetry and song—the Monongahela, the Cumberland, the Ohio, the Hudson, the Delaware, the Rio Grande—have been blackened with sewage, chemicals, oil, and trash. They are sewers of filth and disease.

The Monongahela, which drains the mining and industrial areas of West Virginia and Pennsylvania, empties the equivalent of 200,000 tons of sulfuric acid each year into the Ohio River—which in turn is the water supply for millions of people who use and re-use Ohio River water many times over.

National attention has been centered on once beautiful Lake Erie, the great lake which is the recreational front yard of Buffalo, Cleveland, Toledo and Detroit, and which supplies water for ten million Americans.

A Public Health Service survey of Lake Erie made the shocking discovery that, in the 2,600 square mile heart of the lake, there was no dissolved oxygen at all in the water. The lake in this vast area could support no desirable aquatic life, only lowly creatures such as bloodworms, sludgeworms, sowbugs, and bloodsuckers.

Along with the germs and industrial acids which pour into Lake Erie are millions of pounds of phosphates, a major ingredient in detergents. Each pound of phosphate will propagate 700 pounds of algae. Beneath the waters of this great lake, largely hidden from sight, a hideous, cancer-like growth of algae is forming. As algae blooms and dies, it becomes a pollutant itself. It robs the lake of still more oxygen—and it releases the phosphate to grow another crop of algae.

Lake Erie is a product of its tributaries. A Public Health Service study of these American sewers is horrifying to read.

The Maumee River flows from Fort Wayne, Indiana, through Defiance and Napoleon, Ohio, and on to Toledo, where it joins the lake. Even as far upstream as Fort Wayne, the river has insufficient oxygen to support anything but trash fish and lower organisms, and as it flows toward Lake Erie conditions get steadily worse. The count of coliform bacteria runs as high as 24,000 times the allowable maximum under Federal drinking water standards. The concentration of carbolic acid, a byproduct of steelmaking, runs up to 137 times the allowable maximum. A packing company dumps 136 pounds of oil per day into the Maumee River. A plating company dumps thirty-eight pounds of cyanide per day. Defiance, Ohio, closes its sewage plant entirely for one to two months each year, and all its raw sewage goes directly into the Maumee.

Below Defiance, a foundary dumps cinders and ashes into the river. The Maumee is joined by the Auglaize River, which is even more polluted than the Maumee, and is especially rich in ammonia compounds.

At Napoleon, Ohio, the city draws its drinking water from the sordid Maumee, and a soup company draws off ten million gallons a day for soup processing. (The firm assures me that its modern water treatment plant, complete with carbon filters, can "polish the water to a high quality.")

Below Napoleon, things get really bad. Forty per cent of samples taken by the Public Health Service showed presence of salmonella, an intestinal bacteria that can cause severe illness. As the Maumee flows into Lake Erie at Toledo, it gets its final dose of pollution—the effluent from the Toledo sewage plant and what the Public Health Service describes as "oil, scum, metallic deposits, and toxic materials."

Another Lake Erie tributary—the Cuyahoga—which flows into the lake at Cleveland, is described by the Public Health Service as "debris-filled, oil-slicked, and dirty-looking throughout." It is loaded with coliform bacteria and salmonella. It is so polluted with oil that it frequently catches fire. Structures known as "fire breaks" have been built out into the river to fight these blazes. In the Cleveland harbor, the Public Health Service could find virtually no conventional aquatic life. However, the sludgeworms which thrive on organic matter were well represented—400,000 per square meter on the harbor bottom.

That is the story of Lake Erie, and although it is so shocking and disgusting as to deserve urgent national attention, it is not unique. Southern Lake Michigan, ringed with ol refineries, steel mills, and municipal sewage outfalls, may be even worse. Scientists estimate that it would take 100 years to replace the polluted water of southern Lake Michigan, and some consider the pollution in this area irreversible.

We have our own Wisconsin pollution scandal in Green Bay, a magnificent recreational body of water in northeastern Wisconsin, widely known as a yachtsman's paradise and site of a multimillion dollar resort industry. This "Cape Cod of Wisconsin" is threatened with ruin by a tide of pollution which is moving up the bay at the rate of more than one mile per year. The pollution comes from rivers such as the Fox, the Peshtigo, the Oconto, and the Menominee, which drain large areas of Wisconsin and northern Michigan.

The experience in Lake Erie, Lake Michigan, and Green Bay has convinced many experts of this chilling fact: It is a definite possibility that the Great Lakes—the greatest single source of fresh water in the world—could be effectively destroyed by pollution in the years ahead. If this were to happen, it would be the greatest natural resource disaster in modern history.

That is the outline of this new American tragedy. The obvious question now is, what can be done about it?

First, I think we must learn what a complex and widespread problem we face in water pollution. Like crime, like death on the highway, pollution is a social problem which extends throughout our society. There is no single villain, and there is no simple answer. It must be attacked for what it is—a sinister byproduct of the prosperous, urbanized, industrialized world in which we live.

We must take care not to ride off in pursuit of just one villain—such as city sewage, or industrial waste, or detergents, or toilet wastes from boats; this is a battle which must be fought with skill and courage on many different fronts. Nor should we be fooled by the strategy of many polluters, who argue, in effect: "The pollution which we cause is minor compared to the big, nationwide problem. Why not leave us alone and go after the big offenders?" Even some of the lesser offenders in the pollution crisis could ruin us in time.

The primary sources of pollution are these:

MUNICIPAL SEWAGE—Despite heroic efforts and heavy investments by many cities, our municipal sewage treatment plants are woefully inadequate. Some cities have no treatment at all; others remove only part of the pollutants found in sewage. As a result, the effluent discharged by our cities today (treated and untreated) is equivalent to the *untreated* sewage from a nation of seventy-five million people.

INDUSTRIAL POLLUTION—is roughly twice as big a problem as municipal sewage. Despite tremendous investments in research and treatment plant construction by some industries, the overall record is terrible. Some industries feel they cannot remain competitive if they spend heavily for treatment plants. Communities and States are reluctant to push them too far. As a result, industrial wastes (treated and untreated) now discharged into our waters are presently equal to the *untreated* sewage of a nation of 165 million people.

SEPTIC TANKS—Vast sections of the nation have no sewer collection or treatment system at all. In such areas, underground septic tanks, often poorly made and undersized, are expected to distribute wastes into the soil. They overflow into natural watercourses, they leak bacteria and detergents into underground wells, and they are destroying lakes by filling them with nutrients that foster heavy growths of algae.

SHIPS AND MARINE TERMINALS—In selected areas, the discharge of toilet wastes, oil, garbage, and rubbish from ships and shoreline installations is a major problem. For some reason, this form of pollution is widely tolerated and enforcement of laws forbidding it is virtually nonexistent.

PESTICIDES—The terrifying prospect of spreading poison all over the globe confronts us. We now use more than 700 million pounds a year of synthetic pesticides and agricultural chemicals of 45,000 varieties. This volume is expected to increase tenfold in the next twenty years. Many of these poisons persist forever in the environment, and their concentration builds up geometrically as they progress through the food chain (water, seaweed, fish, birds, mammals). DDT residue has been discovered in penguins in Antarctica, in reindeer in Alaska, in seals, and in fish caught in remote areas of the Pacific Ocean. One part of DDT in one billion parts of water will kill blue crabs in eight days.

SILT—One of the most serious pollutants all over the world is the dirt which washes into our waters from off the land. This somewhat natural problem is disastrously aggravated by contemporary trends—widespread clearing of land for subdivisions and shopping centers; construction of highways and parking lots (which cause rapid runoff) and the intensive development of lakeshores and riverbanks. Controlling surface runoff and the siltation which it causes is complicated by our patchwork of political boundaries and the lack of coordinated government planning.

DETERGENTS, FERTILIZERS, AND OTHER CHEMICALS—Some of these commonly used substances pass through even good waste treatment systems and become persistent pollutants. Such pollution can be eliminated only by changing the composition of such substances, regulating their use, or devising new removal techniques.

Obviously, any nation-wide problem made up of so many elements is extremely difficult to attack. Yet I believe that the rapidly accelerating destruction of our natural resources is our number one domestic problem, and the greatest of all our resource problems is water pollution. If we are to meet this pollution threat, if we are to save the waters of America and preserve this most indispensable part of our natural environment, we must make the war on pollution a high priority matter at every level of government—local, state and Federal—and we must insist that private industry do likewise.

Baffling and complicated as the pollution problem is, it is not insoluble. There is no reason in the world why a great and prosperous nation, with the money and know-how to shoot man to the moon, cannot prevent its lakes and rivers from being destroyed and its life-giving water supplies endangered.

Just as there is no single cause of pollution, so is there no single solution to the problem.

Consider the question of what to do about municipal sewage and industrial wastes. Why do we tolerate a situation where these two sources alone pour into our waters each year the equivalent of the completely untreated sewage of a nation of 240 million persons?

In the case of municipal sewage, it is largely a matter of lack of money, aggravated in some cases by a shocking lack of public concern. There are now more than 1300 communities which have sewer systems but discharge their wastes into the waters without any treatment at all. These communities have a population of more than eleven million people. How such a condition could exist in the year 1966—when it is generally illegal to throw a gum wrapper out of a car window—is inconceivable.

We have another 1300 communities—with almost seventeen million population—which treat their wastes but in a completely inadequate manner. In most cases, these are communities which use what is known as "primary" treatment. They screen their sewage and let the solids settle out, but they do not remove dissolved solids, salts, chemicals, bacteria, and special problems such as detergents. Every community should have what is known as "secondary" treatment, under which sewage—after primary treatment—is held in holding tanks, brought into contact with air and biologically active sludge, so that bacteria have a chance to consume the pollutants.

The Conference of State Sanitary Engineers estimates that it would cost $1.8 billion to provide adequate sewage collection and treatment for these communities which now have no treatment or completely inadequate treatment.

But even this would still leave us with a massive municipal pollution problem. Even good secondary treatment removes only eighty per cent to ninety per cent of the pollutants. Chicago, for instance, with a good secondary treatment plant, discharges treated effluent which is equivalent to the untreated, raw sewage of one million people. It dumps 1,800 tons of solids per day into the Illinois waterway. At the rate the pollution load is increasing it is estimated that even if all communities have secondary treatment plants by 1980, the total amount of pollutants reaching watercourses would still be the same as today. Obviously, we need a massive program to build highly effective city sewage treatment plants.

It is also obvious that local property taxes cannot support such a gigantic investment, and that if we wait for communities to do this on their own, it will never be done. Most state budgets also are severely strained, so much of this burden is going to have to be borne by the Federal government—if we want the job done early enough to be effective.

The Senate Air and Water Pollution subcommittee estimates that it will cost $20 billion to provide secondary treatment in plants serving eighty per cent of the population and more advanced treatment in plants serving the other twenty per cent. We have had a Federal program to assist communities in building such treatment plants for the past ten years, but it has been inadequate. It has recently been greatly improved, but it is still inadequate. In the past it has provided grants of up to thirty per cent within the limits of available funds. The most recent act—the Clean Waters Restoration Act of 1966—authorizes a total of about $3.6 billion over the next five years ($150 million in 1967, $450 million in 1968, $700 million in 1969, $1 billion in 1970, and $1.25 billion in 1971). A community can get a grant for up to fifty percent of the cost of a project, provided the state pays twenty-five per cent and provided water quality standards have been established.

New York needs an estimated $1.7 billion for new sewage plants. The new law would give it a total of only $307 million. Ohio needs $1 billion and would get $180 million. Wisconsin needs $286 million and would get $75 million.

If we are serious about the Federal government paying fifty percent of the cost of eliminating municipal pollution, then Washington must provide $10 billion—not $3.6 billion—and even then we will be expecting our hard pressed states and communities to come up with another $10 billion.

Personally, I think it is unrealistic to expect the states and localities to assume a burden of this size. And I do not think the nation can sit by and wait while its communities struggle to build up the financial resources and the political courage needed to do the job. I think we should get sewage treatment plants built the way we are getting interstate highways built—by offering ninety per cent Federal financing. I have introduced legislation which would establish such a program.

The municipal sewage problem is complicated by another problem—combined storm and sanitary sewers. By combining storm water and human wastes in one sewer system, many cities build up such a tremendous load during rainstorms that their sewage treatment plants cannot handle it. They have had to install automatic devices which divert the combined sewer load directly into lakes or streams whenever it gets above a certain level. In this manner, sixty-five billion gallons of raw, untreated sewage goes into our lakes and rivers each year.

Most cities are separating storm and sanitary sewers in new subdivisions, but the task of separating the sewers in the older areas is a staggering one. Complete separation would cost an estimated $30 billion. It would cost $160 per resident in Washington, D.C., $215 in Milwaukee, $280 in Concord, New Hampshire. It would cost Wisconsin an estimated $186 million, Indiana $496 million, Michigan $970 million, New York and Illinois about $1.12 billion each. These are only general estimates of the direct costs and they do not take into account the disruption of traffic and the local economy caused by ripping up miles of underground sewers.

In the hope af avoiding such costs, the Federal government has underwritten several research projects to see if this problem cannot be met in some other way—through temporary underground storage of sewer overflows, for instance, or by building smaller sanitary sewer pipes inside existing storm sewers.

The staggering problem of *industrial* pollution is virtually untouched today by our Federal anti-pollution programs, even though industry contributes twice as much pollution to our waters as do municipalities. If we do not step up our industrial waste treatment plant construction, the pollution effect of industrial wastes alone by 1970 will be equal to the untreated, raw sewage from our entire population.

Industries are widely criticized for dumping wastes into our waters, and this criticism is often justified. They are pressured by local, state, and Federal officials. But some industries are able to avoid a serious crackdown against them by threatening to move. Most industries argue—sometimes effectively—that they cannot be expected to make massive investments in treatment plants if their competitors—often in different parts of the country—are not forced to do so.

I have come to the conclusion that the threat of enforcement alone is not going to solve our industrial pollution problem. We must provide direct financial assistance to see to it that the plants are built. I have introduced legislation to provide both loans and grants of up to 50 per cent to industries whose size and economic circumstances prevent them from assuming the full burden of providing their own facmilities. I think such assistance should be carefully limited and should be for a short period, but I do not think we can avoid it. We are going to pay the cost of industrial pollution in one way or another—in the cost of the manufactured product, in taxes, or in ruined water resources.

But massive construction programs alone are not going to solve our municipal and industrial pollution problems. We need a tremendous expansion of Federally supported research to find completely new answers. Our whole waste disposal system, from the household toilet to the municipal sewage treatment plant, is a holdover from another era. The system should be studied and redesigned, using the latest scientific techniques, and fitted into a coordinated, nationwide system of waste disposal. Research grants should be made to private industry and universities to develop new methods and devices to refine, use, neutralize, or destroy pollutants. We should compute what our present waste disposal systems are costing us—including the loss in natural resources destroyed—and what alternative systems would cost.

Compared with municipal and industrial pollution, the other pollution problems I have mentioned are statistically small. For that reason, they are often ignored. But we cannot safely do that. Even if we managed to contain the flood of municipal and industrial pollution, the other sources could do fatal damage to our environment.

Septic tanks must be controlled at the state and local level, and in many areas I think we must forbid new installations and work to replace existing ones with sewer systems. For instance, once an inland lake is ringed with cottages with septic tanks, it is doomed. Septic tanks must drain somewhere and in most lakeshore settings the natural drainage flow is into the lake. At the very least, this drainage will fertilize the lake, cause the rapid growth of algae, and turn the lake into a murky, foul smelling mess.

Ship pollution is certainly serious enough to justify Federal action, even though such suggestions cause howls of protest from those who insist it "isn't practical." Why is it practical to install retention facilities on buses, house trailers, and aircraft but not on boats and ships? Obviously, we are willing to allow wastes to be dumped into our water supplies which we would never tolerate being dumped onto the land. We need Federal laws to require suitable facilities on all vessels using our navigable waters, and we need a better enforcement system to crack down on such disgraceful practices as dumping oil and pumping out oily ballast tanks on the Great Lakes and in our rivers.

The siltation problem can be controlled only through strict zoning and land use controls. We have got to prevent intensive development of our shorelines if we are to save our waters. Once a large portion of the natural vegetative cover is destroyed, the water resource is in danger. I believe that the Federal government should provide financial assistance to those willing to carry out soil conservation practices along our lakes and streams on a scale large enough to be meaningful.

Pesticides, detergents, and exotic new chemicals will plague us for years to come. New treatment systems may offer some hope for removing these substances, but I think they must be controlled directly. Those which cannot be removed safely in normal treatment processes, and those which have chemical structures which cause them to persist in our environment and to threaten fish, wildlife, and human health, should be banned or their use strictly regulated.

In speeches in some twenty-three states in the past four years, I have called for an emergency, crash program to fight water pollution. I have offered my estimate of the cost of conquering water pollution as $50 to $100 billion over the next decade. It now appears I may have been conservative. The Public Health Service now estimates that it will cost some $20 billion to clean up the Great Lakes alone, and the total national cost is now estimated at $100 billion.

But everywhere I have gone I have found the public willing to pay this cost to save their waters. In fact, I think the public is far ahead of local, state, and Federal officials in facing up to this crisis. I think that citizens in most communities would support a sharp crackdown on local polluters of every variety. I think they want their states to establish high water quality standards, and then enforce them. I think they can be shown the need for bold regional action to deal with those vast interstate pollution problems (such as on the Mississippi and the Great Lakes) which obviously are too big for any community or any state to handle.

And I think that the citizens of America now recognize that the destruction of the major river networks of the nation, the threatened destruction of the Great Lakes, and the slow ruination of our treasured inland lakes and trout streams is a calamity of such gigantic proportions as to deserve the urgent attention of all citizens and prompt action by the national government.

Colmer's Special Strength Is in Grassroots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Sunday Star, January 22, 1967, carried an article written by Benjamin Forgey entitled: "Colmer's Special Strength Is in Grassroots." Bill Colmer is one of the quieter and most effective legislators in this body. He completely lacks the bombast displayed by some of our profession. Since he was first elected to the U.S. Congress in 1932, Bill Colmer has contributed a great deal to this body and to our country. I am pleased have this article printed in the Record:

COLMER'S SPECIAL STRENGTH IS IN GRASSROOTS

(By Benjamin Forgey, Star staff writer)

William Meyers Colmer likes to remember himself as an ambitious young boy in the Mississippi sawmill town of Moss Point, just four miles up the river from the little Gulf port of Pascagoula.

It was there that he first learned the value of a dollar—an indelible impression that became a credo in his ultra-conservative political faith. As he has said of his fellow congressmen on many occasions, they should appropriate money "as if it were coming out of their own pockets, which some of it is."

In Moss Point, his father was a member of the laboring elite—as a saw filer at the mill, Colmer says, he was "the first or second highest-paid man there—he got up to $5 a day. I don't want to make this sound too log-cabiny," Colmer said while reminiscing with a reporter in his House office the other day, "but I worked 12 hours a day for 50 cents when I was 10 years old."

EARLY AMBITIONS

It was in the early Moss Point days, too, that Colmer first felt the pull of political ambition. "I guess I was ambitious. The presidency wasn't beyond me at that age. Even in grammar school I thought I'd be governor of Mississippi," he said. After a pause he added with a typical touch of good humor, "I'm happy to say I never got that job."

Although the governorship and even a senator's seat—for which he made one try, his only losing electoral effort ever—remained beyond his reach, time has been good to the 76-year-old congressman from Mississippi's Gulf coast. Time, one-party politics in his home state, and the seniority system in the House of Representatives elevated him to the position of second-ranking Democrat on the powerful House Rules Committee.

When Virginia Rep. Howard Judge Smith, chairman of the committee since 1955, lost his 8th district seat in a startling primary upset last summer, Colmer was first in line for the chairmanship. In spite of various efforts by House liberals to prevent it, Colmer's election as chairman is now just a matter of form for the first committee meeting.

Colmer and Smith are not exactly a study in contrasts. The Mississippian's eyebrows are not so dramatically bushy, nor his face as narrow and craggy with age. But in their tall, slightly bent, graciously patriarchal presence, in their mild folksy demeanor, in their laconically sarcastic inquisition of committee witnesses—in all these things they are very much alike.

AGAINST THE TIDE

Both are arch conservatives and arch southerners. Both resent the change that has swept the country and both feel that government—because of "expediency and the current political situation," Colmer said—has dirfted away from the "constitutional" principles on which it was founded.

Where Smith, however, was the conservative Virginia gentleman from the beginning of his long sojourn in Congress, Colmer was a New Dealer when first elected to Congress in the Roosevelt landslide of 1932. "I went along with those things," he said. "We had to do something to get the country out of the economic morass it was in."

COMES THE CHANGE

But when the depression began to disappear in the years before the United States entered World War II, Colmer, along with a goodly number of fellow southerners and fellow Democrats, began to shift to the conservative side of the fence.

Today, Colmer's credentials for all-out conservatism are impeccable. He was one of 13 representatives in the second session of the 89th Congress to get a 100-percent rating on his voting record by the conservative Americans for Constitutional Action. As might be expected, in a comparable rating the liberal Americans for Democratic Action gave Colmer a zero.

Colmer and Smith even have cigars in common. Asked if he employed the same brand of cigar as the former chairman, the new chairman allowed as how he'd "have to say" he did, since he "bummed enough" from Smith. In their 26 years of friendly cooperation in what Smith called a "rear guard action" against the New Deal, the Fair Deal, the New Frontier and the Great Society, that's a lot of cigars and a lot of smoke.

MAJOR DIFFERENCE

If there is a major difference between Colmer and Smith however, it is in the caliber of their legislative leadership. Smith is not an easy man to follow. Rep. Richard Bolling, a liberal Democrat (and Rules Committee member) from Missouri who has been an opponent of Smith and Colmer in many a legislative battle, commented that when Smith left Congress he left as "the ablest legislator in the House—I didn't say ablest conservative, I said ablest legislator."

Though few House members are willing publicly to make the comparison, there is no doubt that Colmer is not in Smith's league as a legislative strategist or tactician. Then, too, things have changed on the Rules Committee since the days when Smith, Colmer and four conservative Republicans could combine to block many liberal domestic bills before they could reach the House floor for a vote.

In 1961, however, things began to change. That was the year the late Speaker Rayburn mustered a five-vote majority to enlarge the committee from 12 to 15 members, and the resulting 8-to-7 liberal majority was much more favorably disposed to liberal bills.

Liberals continued to peck away at Rules with the aim of converting the committee back to its old role as an arm of the House leadership. The 15-member committee was made permanent in 1963, and in 1965 triumphant liberals added another tool to their bag when they adopted the 21-day rule. Under this rule used successfully six times in 1965 and twice in 1966, the Speaker could pry legislation loose from Rules after it had a bill for 21 days or more.

LIGHT OF PUBLICITY

These semi-annual battles served to turn the spotlight of publicity on the Rules Committee. This year was no exception. For the second time (the first was in 1961) liberals attempted to purge Colmer from the committee on the grounds of party irregularity. Colmer emerged safey, if not entirely unscathed, on both occasions. This year, in fact, liberals lost a little ground when a resurgent conservative coalition in the House rescinded the 21-day rule.

Even so, the liberal pressure was not without effect. Smith frequently was quite loose about calling the committee together for a meeting and on at least one occasion he simply left town (for his dairy farm in Warrenton, some said). Congressional facts of life make it very difficult for a committee to meet when the chairman is not around. This year, however, liberals managed to squeeze a pledge from Colmer that he would hold meetings regularly, probably once a week.

And liberals feel last week's appointment of two new Democratic members to the committee (replacing Smith and moderate Rep. James Trimble of Arkansas, who also lost) more than compensates for the loss of the 21-day rule. The new members give administration forces a 9-to-6 committee majority.

So Colmer, as chariman, won't have the horses Smith had in the heyday of the conservative coalition, and he probably won't be as skillful as Smith in bending to his will the arcane procedures of the House. But, he promises, he'll work hard—it was as chairman of the House Postwar Economic Policy Committee (which he regards as his best work in Congress) that Colmer learned "it's one thing to be a member of a committee and another to be chairman."

AFFABILITY ABOUNDS

Expectably, the Mississippi congressman with a penchant for bow ties is in private conversation a very affable man. Perhaps less predictably, as a public campaigner his style can be eloquent but is far from the fire-eating and often race-baiting oratory employed by several of his state's famous politicians through the years.

Though he supports segregation of the races, Colmer says proudly he's "never made an anti-Negro speech." He refers to civil rights bills that pass his way as "those civil wrongs things."

GULF COAST GROWTH

Colmer's special political strength has been the thoroughgoing way in which he reflects—and looks after—the wishes of a majority of his constituents in the 16-county district he represents. The other day in his well-appointed office he cited—though he did not try to take credit for—the changes that have signalled prosperity for Pascagoula since World War II.

The town is now "one of the most industrialized" in Mississippi, he said, counting off the signs of its progress: A giant ship-building corporation which gets a sizeable amount of Navy business; a large grain center which loads the grain onto ships at a rate of about "three to four shiploads a week;" a big oil refinery, a large paper mill and about 40 smaller industries.

Much of this, of course, is due to geography and to natural economic growth. But Colmer is known to get as much as he can—and it's been a lot—in the way of federal money for public works and schools in his district. This fact tends to incite liberals almost to apoplexy as they point to Colmer's doctrinaire opposition to federal spending and increasing federal power.

THE SENATE RACE

In fact, Colmer's ambitions seem rarely to have strayed from the boundaries of the district he's represented for 34 years. On one occasion, in 1947, he made a foray into the factional strife of statewide politics when he reached out for higher office. It was a Senate race in which, as he put it, "the long pole got the persimmon."

In 1947 the state's most powerful political personality, the demagogic Sen. Theodore Bilbo, died and five ambitious Mississippi Democrats jumped into a free wheeling free-for-all for the remainder of his term. Because it was a special election, only a plurality was required to win and the now-Sen. John Stennis won with just over 29 percent of the vote. Colmer was a close second.

Colmer said he lost mainly because the state's present governor, Paul Johnson, also was a resident of Colmer's district. Johnson—"who is my good friend—now," Colmer remarked—joined the race and siphoned off some of Colmer's support on his home grounds.

THE CLOSEST RACE

Within the confines on this district, however, Colmer has been unbeatable. The closest race he ever had was the first, when he came in first in a five-man primary and then bested the incumbent in a runoff by about 1,500 votes.

He's only had Republican opposition twice in 18 House elections. The last time was last November, when he defeated James Maye, an optometrist who tried to convince the voters it was something of a sin even to be in the same party as Lyndon Baines Johnson.

Walter Batson, a lean Mississippian and graduate of George Pierce Baker's famous Yale drama school (Batson: "I didn't have the slightest idea of getting into politics") who has been Colmer's chief congressional aide from 1933 on, commented with obvious justice that an attempt "to hang LBJ around our necks" was "ridiculous on the face of it." Colmer got 70 percent of the vote. And he remarked, last week, "You know, 30 percent's a prety big vote for a Republican in Mississippi."

THAT "SHRIMPY" KID

Besides Batson, Colmer also brought another Mississippian to Washington in 1933. This was an ambitious young boy who used to work as a part time soda jerk across the street from Colmer's law offices in Pascagoula. Colmer liked the boy, and let him drive the candidate's car during that first campaign.

The new congressman got his favorite a patronage job in the House post office. Friends said the boy was a "shrimpy" kid at the time, and since on the Gulf, shrimp is fishbait, in the natural course of events the youth acquired the sobriquet "Fishbait." He prospered in the political atmosphere of the House and rose from post office clerk to become William P. "Fishbait" Miller, now something of a fixture as House doorkeeper, with an annual salary of something like $28,000.

Before he made the plunge to run for national office in that House race 34 years ago, Colmer built up political support in the Fifth district with 10 years of successful campaigning first as Jackson County attorney and then as District Attorney for five Gulf counties.

Before that, he worked as a teacher after he graduated in 1914 from Millsaps College, a small Methodist school in the state capital. "A fine school, with an excellent academic reputation—to which I added nothing," the congressman remarked with good humor. In his hard years as a teacher, Colmer read law on his own and by the early 1920s was ready for private law practice and the long political career.

AND ONE YANKEE

In 1917 the congressman married Ruth Miner, a "small-town girl" who lived in Lumbarton, where he was teaching at the time. They have three sons: Bill, Jr., a gynecologist in Pensacola, Fla.; Jim, a lawyer in Pascagoula, and Tom, the youngest, who attended the Corcoran School of Art here for three years, then went to Duke, and then "went Yankee on us" according to his father. Tom is in advertising, in Chicago.

With Colmer, as one can readily see, almost every facet of his life is tied in some way to the district he's represented all these years. Even his favorite sport—fishing—is a natural for the local boy made good. He is said to have caught the largest tarpon ever snagged along the Gulf coast. In a recent magazine article, Colmer's perennial Rules Committee foe—Bolling of Missouri—quipped that he and Colmer share at least *two* things: They're Democrats and they both love fishing.

In Washington, Colmer and his wife live in a Wisconsin Avenue apartment and in Pascagoula, in a comfortable white frame house overlooking the Gulf. Although he admits to having wanted to "give up this business" almost every other year for the past 20, Colmer looks to be completely set in his prestigious Rayburn Building office with its view of the Capitol.

And soon Colmer will be taking his seat as chairman at the first 1967 meeting of the House Rules Committee in its atypically cozy meeting room.

The ambitious Moss Point boy has attained a position of national power—albeit a somewhat diminished power. All that time and faithful work for his one-party district at last have landed him a really big job.

Patent Infringement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. MORRIS of New Mexico. Mr. Speaker, I have recently introduced H.R. 2898 which provides for according greater recognition to a patent owner in Government procurements. The need for such legislation is great and extends nationwide. Today I wish to present, for your consideration, an excerpt from an article which appeared in the October issue of the Notre Dame Lawyer and which gives an excellent historic insight to the entire problem of patent infringements in Government procurement. I will later present other portions of the same article which provide a critique of our present laws and of the reforms which have been attempted.

The excerpt follows:

PATENT INFRINGEMENT IN GOVERNMENT PROCUREMENT: A REMEDY WITHOUT A RIGHT?

(By Gerald J. Mossinghoff, Member, District of Columbia Bar, Missouri Bar; B.S., St. Louis University, 1957; J.D., George Washington University Law School, 1961; attorney, Office of General Counsel, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and Robert F. Allnutt, Member, District of Columbia Bar, Virginia Bar; B.S., Virginia Polytechnic Institute, 1957; J.D., George Washington University Law School, 1960; LL.M., George Washington University Law School, 1962; Assistant General Counsel, National Aeronautics and Space Administration.)

(NOTE.—The opinions expressed in this article are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.)

INTRODUCTION

Since World War II government contracting has formed a substantial part of the business of most large corporations and all or most of the business of many small concerns. While government purchases include many of the most sophisticated devices known to modern science and technology, they also include thousands of everyday items, running the entire gamut of American manufacture.

In many ways the government supplier or contractor finds that the normal rules of the market do not apply to his government sales. Among the differences between commercial practice and government contracting, few if any are more striking than that arising when a prospective contractor owns, or is licensed under, a patent.

Although in the commercial realm it has been said that "within its domain, the patentee is czar," [1] under present rules a patent owner finds that his patent, even if valid, is irrelevant to his bid to furnish the patented items or services to the Government. And a licensee under a valid patent finds that he is actually at a disadvantage compared to his unlicensed competitor.

Prior to 1910, it could be said that a patent owner whose patent was infringed by the Government had a right without a remedy. The patent owner's "right" to damages for past infringement or an injunction was negated by sovereign immunity—immunity which had not been waived by the United States.[2] After 1910 for direct infringement by the Government, and after 1918 for infringement for the Government by its contractors, a waiver of immunity [3] and an assumption of liability [4] by the Government provided a remedy of reasonable compensation. More important to the typical businessman, who is far more interested in sales than in lawsuits, governmental contracting practices [5] afforded a preferential position to patent holders when the Government purchased their patented supplies or services. However, under a series of Comptroller General decisions beginning in 1958,[6] this right to a business preference had been held to be destroyed by the remedy provided generations before.

How this complete departure from normal commercial experience came to pass is often not fully understood. Dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs is widespread, and a variety of cures, both administrative and legislative have been suggested in recent years. This article reviews the steps leading to the anomaly and analyzes various proposed solutions. The authors conclude that an appropriate change is needed and that the necessary elements of such a change can be determined and defined.

THE EVOLUTION OF 28 U.S.C. § 1498

A valid United States patent grants to the owner "the right to exclude others from making, using, or selling the invention throughout the United States" and its territories.[7] The district courts have jurisdiction both to award damages for past patent infringement and to "grant injunctions in accordance with the principles of equity" to prevent future infringement.[8] The patentee, therefore has virtually absolute control over the patented invention. He may or may not practice the invention himself; he may or may not license others to practice the invention either exclusively or nonexclusively; [9] and within the framework of antitrust principles, if he grants licenses, he may dictate their terms and conditions.[10] These rules apply only to commercial use of a patented invention, and when a patent is practiced by, or on behalf of, the Government, an entirely different set of rules and policies controls.

Prior to 1910, when the Government utilized an invention covered by a privately owned patent, it committed a tortious infringement of the patent. However, no suit could lie for this infringement, not due to any inherent right or license to practice the patented invention, but due to the United States' not having consented to be sued for patent infringement.[11] To alleviate this situation and to afford the patent owner an opportunity to assert his patent against the Government, Congress passed the Act of June 25, 1910, which provided that whenever a patented invention was "used by the United States without license of the owner . . . such owner may recover reasonable compensation for such use by suit in the Court of Claims." [12] The scope of this act was defined by the Supreme Court in *Crozier v. Krupp*,[13] decided in 1912, and in *Cramp & Sons v. International Curtis Marine Turbine Co.*,[14] decided in 1918. *Crozier* held that under the act an officer of the United States, as an individual, could not be enjoined from infringing a privately owned patent while acting in his official capacity. If the patent owner's right had been infringed, his only remedy was an action against the United States in the Court of Claims for reasonable compensaion.[15] On the other hand, in *Cramp* the Court concluded that the *Crozier* interpretation did not extend to work by a government contractor, and that a patentee could enforce his rights, including, presumably, his right to injunctive relief, against the contractor in the district courts.[16] The *Cramp* ruling was based upon the view that a private party "is not vested with the powers to take the property of others upon the assumption that . . . he enjoys the right to exercise public and governmental powers possessed by the United States," [17] merely because he is a contractor of the United States.

Concern that the precedent established in *Cramp* would impair the war effort prompted enactment in 1918 of an amendment extending the act's provisions to the manufacture or use of patented inventions "by *or for* the United States.[18] (Emphasis added.) As explained by the Supreme Court in *Richmond Screw Anchor Co. v. United States:*

"The purpose of the amendment was to relieve the contractor entirely from liability of every kind for the inrfingement of patents in manufacturing anything for the Government and to limit the owner of the patent and his assigns and all claiming through or under him to suit against the United States in the Court of Claims for the recovery of his reasonable and entire compensation for such use and manufacture. The word 'entire' emphasizes the exclusive and comprehensive character of the remedy provided. As the Solicitor General says in his brief with respect to the Act, it is more than a waiver of immunity and effects an assumption of liability by the Government." [19]

The provisions of the Act of 1910, as amended in 1918 have remained substantially unchanged.[20] It was judicially determined at an early date,[21] and it is now specifically set forth in the statute, that the assumption of liability by the Government for infringing acts of its conractors obtains only if these acts were performed "with the authorization or consent of the Government." [22] In view of this requirement, it is standard practice for federal agencies to include "Authorization and Consent" clauses in their contracts to insure that the provisions of 28 U.S.C. § 1498 will apply to the contract work and, at the same time, to specify the limits of the authorization and consent granted.[23] And it has been held that such clauses are effective, even though the contractor may be contractually obligated to indemnify the Government for any patent infringement liability incurred as a result of the contract work.[24]

THE CHANGING IMPACT OF 28 U.S.C. § 1498

State of the law

In practical effect, section 1498 insulates the Government and its contractors against being enjoined from patent infringement. Although the Act of 1910 was essentially a remedial measure enlarging a patentee's rights by permitting infringement suits against the United States, as amended in 1918, the act took on the aspects of an eminent domain statute under which the Government and its contractors could utilize privately owned patented inventions, subject to the payment of reasonable compensation to the patentee.[25] This did not mean, however, under policies prior to 1958, that government agencies were to disregard private patent rights in awarding contracts for patented items. To the contrary, in a 1933 decision, the Comptroller General, after reviewing the history of the governing statutes, concluded that:

"Where it is known with certainty that patents are involved, bidders may properly be required to show legal right to manufacture thereunder, or the United States may directly obtain such right for its own use or use through its contractors . . ." [26]

Footnotes at end of speech.

Similarly, in *Switlik Parachute Co.*,[27] it was held that "sound practice" required an agency to consider the possible infringement liability of the Government in evaluating bids of competing concerns to supply patented items. The Comptroller General stated:

"Obviously, in such circumstances [*i.e.*, when a patent owner submits a bid higher than the low bid] sound practice would require a determination as to the possible liability of the United States for patent infringement. A determination that a bid submitted by the patent owner—under which the total cost to the United States was definitely established—although not the lowest bid as to price, represented the bid most advantageous to the United States, clearly would afford justification for the award of a contract to such patent owner . . ."[28]

Thus, after 1918 not only was a patent owner afforded a remedy where his patent had been infringed by the Government or its contractors, but more importantly, he also enjoyed a preferential position in the award of contracts to supply the patented goods or services to the Government.

In recent decisions of the Comptroller General, however, this earlier interpretation of section 1498 has been rejected in favor of the present policy under which patent infringement liability is not considered in evaluating bids or proposals. This later policy was first formulated in 1958 in *Herbert Cooper*,[29] which held that in a formally advertised procurement where all bidders agreed to indemnify the Government for any patent infringement liability, the contract should be awarded to the low bidder without regard to whether he was a licensee under the patent covering the items to be purchased.[30]

The *Herbert Cooper* case involved the procurement by the Air Force of tube assemblies for oxygen masks. The Herbert Cooper Company submitted the lowest of seven bids but was not licensed under patents determined by the Air Force to cover the manufacturing methods and construction of the assemblies. Since three of the bidders were licensed under these patents, the Secretary of the Air Force requested the Comptroller General's advice on whether it would be proper to reject the Herbert Cooper bid and award the contract instead to a licensed concern. In his decision, the Comptroller General concluded:

"In our opinion, to reject the low bid and make an award to one of the licensees for the purpose of enforcing and protecting the rights of the patent owners and their licensees would constitute an improper restriction of competition under the circumstances, and would not serve the interest of the United States which 28 U.S.C. 1498 was intended to secure, but would limit the application of the provisions of that statute."[31]

Following receipt of this opinion, the Secretary of the Air Force requested clarification of what he felt were the "broader implications" of the opinion on the Government's policy of procuring patented articles. In response to this request, the Comptroller General explained his position at some length, answering the charge that section 1498 was not intended to permit knowing infringement of privately owned patents where a patentee was willing to supply the needed items to the Government at a reasonable price. He stated:

"It is suggested that the indiscriminate use of the right afforded to the Government under 28 U.S.C. 1498 would be inimical to and destructive of the public policy considerations underlying the patent law. It is our view, however, that section 1498 appears clearly to constitute a modification of the patent law by limiting the rights of patentees insofar as procurement of supplies by the Government may be concerned, and by vesting in the Government a right to the use of any patents granted by it upon payment of reasonable compensation for such use. We believe that the statute is not consistent with any duty on the part of a contracing agency of the Government to protect the interests of patentees or licensees with respect to articles, which it proposes to purchase, since the statute itself defines and provides an exclusive remedy for enforcement of the patentee's rights as to the Government. Any other interpretation would appear to us to impose an impossible burden upon Government procurement officials to determine the applicability and validity of any patents affecting any articles desired.

"Where the procurement is to be made by formal advertising, it is our opinion, notwithstanding what was said in 13 Comp. Gen. 173, that there is no alternative to the securing of the maximum amount of competition from firms qualified and willing to undertake the production of the articles, subject, of course, to their willingness and ability to indemnify the Government against claims of patentees."[32]

This latter qualification, requiring an unlicensed supplier to indemnify the Government before the ruling could be applied, was subsequently dropped by the Comptroller General. In effect the *Herbert Cooper* ruling was extended to apply to all procurement situations, including cases in which an unlicensed supplier was not required to indemnify the Government for infringement liability.[33] The rationale underlying this expanded doctrine was summarized by the Comptroller General in *General Dynamics Corp.*:

"Regarding your [General Dynamics'] contention that if patent indemnity is not provided in the invitation possible patent infringement liability must be provided for in the evaluation of bids in accordance with 10 U.S.C. 2305(c) providing for consideration of "price and other factors" in ascertaining the low bid, we concur with the Bureau [of Ships] that patent infringement liability is not for evaluation in the consideration of bids. The matter of infringement and the ultimate fixing of a reasonable compensation therefor is for ultimate resolution by the Court of Claims as provided by 28 U.S.C. 1498, with the possible exception of an administrative settlement under the authority of 10 U.S.C. 2386. Until a settlement is reached the matter is speculative . . . ."[34]

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[1] Victor Talking Mach. Co. v. The Fair, 123 Fed. 424, 426 (7th Cir. 1903). Of course, the "domain" today is not what it was in 1903; see 1955 ATT'Y GEN. NAT'L COMM. ANTITRUST REP. 223–60, NORDHAUS & JUROW, PATENT-ANTITRUST LAW (1961).

[2] Schillinger v. United States, 155 U.S. 163 (1894); Pitcher v. United States, 1 Ct. Cl. 7 (1863).

[3] Act of June 25, 1910, ch. 423, 36 Stat. 851.

[4] Act of July 1, 1918, ch. 114, 40 Stat. 705.

[5] See Switlik Parachute Co., unpublished decision of the Comptroller General, B–77738 (Jan. 10, 1944). [Hereinafter, unpublished Comptroller General decisions are cited by number and date.]

[6] See, *e.g.*, 38 *Decs. Comp. Gen.* 276 (1958); Herbert Cooper Co., B–136916 (Aug. 25, 1958).

[7] 35 U.S.C. § 154 (1964).

[8] 35 U.S.C. § 283 (1964); 28 U.S.C. § 1338(a) (1964).

[9] 35 U.S.C. § 261 (1964).

[10] See note 1 *supra*. For a compilation of cases indicating the impact of antitrust law and the doctrine of misuse of the patentee's rights, see 1965 AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION, SECTION OF PATENT, TRADEMARK AND COPYRIGHT LAW, SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS, App. D, 193–223.

[11] Schillinger v. United States, 155 U.S. 163 (1894); Pitcher v. United States, 1 Ct. Cl. 7 (1863).

[12] 36 Stat. 851 (1910).

[13] 224 U.S. 290 (1912).

[14] 246 U.S. 28 (1918).

[15] Crozier v. Krupp, 224 U.S. 290, 307–08 (1912).

[16] Cramp & Sons v. International Curtis Marine Turbine Co., 246 U.S. 28, 41 (1918).

[17] *Id.* at 43.

[18] 40 Stat. 705 (1918), 14 U.S.C. § 1498(a) (1964). The concern is evident in a letter signed by the Acting Secretary of the Navy, Franklin D. Roosevelt, on April 20, 1918:

"My Dear Senator Tillman: This department is confronted with a difficult situation as the result of a recent decision by the Supreme Court affecting the government's rights as to the manufacture and use of patented inventions, and it seems necessary that amendment be made of the Act of June 25, 1910, entitled 'An act to provide additional protection for the owners of patents of the United States, and for other purposes.' The case in which the court's decision was rendered is that of William Cramp & Son's Ship & Engine Building Co., Petitioner, v. International Curtis Marine Turbine Co. and Curtis Marine Turbine Co. of the United States, and the decision is, in effect, so far as it is of importance here, that a contractor for the manufacture of a patented article for the government is not exempt, unless he is only a contributory infringer, from injunction and other interference through litigation by the patentee.

"A prior decision of the Supreme Court, that in the case of Crozier v. Krupp, had been interpreted as having the opposite meaning, and the department was able up to the time of the later decision, on March 4 last, to proceed satisfactorily with the procuring of such patented articles as it needed, leaving the matter of compensation to patentees for adjustment by direct agreement, or, if necessary, by resort to the Court of Claims under the above-mentioned act of 1910. Now, however, manufacturers are exposed to expensive litigation, involving the possibilities of prohibitive injunction[,] payment of royalties, rendering of accounts, and payment of punitive damages, and they are reluctant to take contracts that may bring such severe consequences. The situation promised serious disadvantages to the public interests, and in order that vital activities of this department may not be restricted unduly at this time, and also with a view of enabling dissatisfied patentees to obtain just and adequate compensation in all cases conformably to the declared purpose of said act, I have the honor to request that the act be amended by the insertion of a proper provision therefor in the pending naval appropriation bill."

Letter from Franklin D. Roosevelt to Senator Benjamin R. Tillman, April 20, 1918, set forth in Wood v. Atlantic Gulf & Pac. Co., 296 Fed. 718, 720 (1924).

Similarly, in a statement to the House of Representatives on the 1918 amendment, Congressman Padgett declared:

"It makes only a slight change in the existing law, but the urgency and necessity of it were such that the Senate deemed it proper to place it on the bill . . . . [I]t would prevent the injunctive process from the courts being used to prevent private manufacturers doing government work. That is the whole change made in the law and the conditions are such as to require that it should be done." 56 CONG. REC. 7960–61 (1918).

[19] 275 U.S. 331, 343–44 (1928).

[20] 28 U.S.C. § 1498(a) (1964).

[21] Wood v. Atlantic Gulf & Pac. Co., 296 Fed. 718, 719 (1924).

[22] 28 U.S.C. § 1498(a) (1964).

[23] For the Department of Defense, the Armed Services Procurement Regulation [hereinafter ASPR], prescribes the use of "Authorization and Consent" clauses of two types, a broad form for research or development contracts, ASPR § 9–102.2, 32 C.F.R. § 9–102.2 (Supp. 1966) and a limited form for supply contracts, ASPR § 9–102.1, 32 C.F.R. § 9–102–1 (Supp. 1966). While the broad

clause authorizes and consents to all infringement in the performance of contract work, the supply contract clause authorizes and consents only to infringement (1) embodied in delivered items that are accepted by the Government, or (2) otherwise necessary to performance of the contract. Of identical effect is the corresponding regulation of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration [hereinafter NASA], at NASA Procurement Regulation 9.102(a) (supply contracts) and 9.103(b) (research, experimental, design, engineering, or developmental contracts). 41 C.F.R. § 18–9.103 (Supp. 1966). Other agencies follow similar, if not identical, procedures.

See generally Dykman; *Authorization and Consent Clause—What Does It Do?,* 45 J. PAT. OFF. SOC'Y 784 (1963); Henderson, *Government Authorization and Consent to Infringe: Problems in Defense Procurement,* 23 FED. B.J. 134 (1963); TeSelle, *Authorization or Consent to Infringe Patents in Production for the Government,* 26 GEO. WASH. L. REV. 583 (1958).

[24] *E.g.,* Dearborn Chem. Co. v. Arvey Corp., 114 F. Supp. 369 (N.D. Ill. 1953).

[25] For a perceptive outline of 28 U.S.C. § 1498 *qua* eminent domain taking, see Denney, *Eminent Domain Aspects of 28 U.S.C. 1498,* 43 J. PAT. OFF. SOC'Y 526 (1961).

[26] 13 DECS. COMP. GEN. 173, 176 (1933).

[27] B–77738 (Jan. 10, 1944).

[28] *Ibid.* Concerning such practice, see the statement by G. C. Bannerman, Director of Procurement Policy, Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Supply and Logistics), which included the following pertinent information:

"It was our practice over quite a few years when faced with the situation where it was necessary for us to buy an item which was patented, and where we had determined, first, that the patent was valid and, second, that our requirements necessitated an infringement . . . to buy either from the patent holder or one of his licensees."

Hearings on Proprietary Rights and Data Before Subcommittee No. 2 of the House Select Committe on Small Business, 86th Cong., 2d Sess. (1960).

[29] B–136916 (Aug. 25, 1958).

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *Ibid.* The patentees in the *Herbert Cooper* case sought to enjoin the Secretary of Defense on the ground that, as long as the Defense Department could procure the patented hose assemblies from qualified licensees at a reasonable price, the provisions of 28 U.S.C. § 1498 could not be invoked. This suit was dismissed. F. T. Roberts v. United States Civil No. 1878–58 (D.D.C. 1958) (unpublished).

[32] 38 DECS. COMP. GEN. 276, 277–78 (1958).

[33] Globe Indus., B–148135, 133 U.S.P.Q. 496 (1962); Pfizer Co., 39 DECS. COMP. GEN. 760, 125 U.S.P.Q. 477 (1960) (*semble*). The *Pfizer* ruling provided more impetus to attempts to overrule the Comptroller General than possibly any other. This case involved a protest by the Charles Pfizer Company of a Defense Department decision to procure tetracycline hydrochloride tablets from an Italian drug company that had submitted the lowest price proposal. The Pfizer Company had patented this drug in the United States, but because Italy does not permit the patenting of drugs, the company could not patent its invention there. The Comptroller ruled—even though the procurement was negotiated rather than formally advertised (see note 91 *infra*) and there were no patent indemnity provisions in the contract (this is not apparent in the *Pfizer* opinion, but is spelled out in the discussion of this opinion in the *Globe* case, 133 U.S.P.Q. at 498)—that it would be improper to consider the Pfizer Company patent in evaluating the competing proposals. As a result of the ruling the Italian concern could manufacture the drug in Italy and although it could not market the drug commercially in the United States, it was free to sell it to the United States Government, the largest single domestic user. *Hearings on S. 1047 Before the Subcommittee on Patents, Trademarks and Copyrights of the Senate Judiciary Committee,* 89th Cong., 1st Sess., 14–24, 37–53, 84 (1965) [hereinafter cited as *Hearings on S. 1047*].

[34] 45 DECS. COMP. GEN. 13, 16 (1945). Other decisions of the Comptroller General following and reinforcing the *Herbert Cooper* ruling include: PRD Electronics, Inc., B–157561 (Feb. 10, 1966); Cyril Bath Co., B–156854 (July 27, 1965); Velocity Steam Prod. Eng'r, Inc., B–156709 (July 6, 1965); J. M. Beach Mfg., Inc., B–154038 (Aug. 4, 1964); Gentex Corp., B–152438 (Sept. 13, 1963); Associated Aircraft Indus., Inc., B–151411 (June 10, 1963); Metalstamp Inc., B–147271 (Jan. 10, 1962); Paltier Corp., B–146339 (Aug. 4, 1961); Jancy Eng'r Co., B–145164 (May 24, 1961); Kemode Mfg. Co., 40 DECS. COMP. GEN. 294 (1960); P. Wall Mfg. Co., 39 DECS. COMP. GEN. 6 (1959).

The Economist of London Surveys Congressional Proposals To Give Unrestricted Federal Aid to States and Localities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the Economist of London, published as the lead article in its "American Survey" section of January 7, 1967, an excellent report on "Statesmanship"—the current concern of scholars, administrators, and Members of Congress about how best to reinvigorate our federal system and to modernize State and local government.

After reviewing the work of economists Walter W. Heller and Joseph A. Pechman in analyzing the mounting financial problem of State and local governments, the Economist cites several solutions proposed by Members, including the draft—which I circulated in November 1966, to 300 Governors, mayors, economists, political scientists, and national organizations, seeking their comments—of the State and Local Government Modernization Act of 1967. I introduced it last week as H.R. 1166.

If H.R. 1166 were enacted, each State would first receive Federal funds—at least $250,000—to prepare within 18 months its own modern governments program, setting forth plans for modernizing both its State and local governments. Such plans would have to include specific proposals for dealing with interstate regional problems, for strengthening State governments, and for strengthening and modernizing local rural, urban, and metropolitan governments—for example, by reducing the number of counties, eliminating inefficient local governments, reforming personnel practices, and strengthening local governments in metropolitan areas.

Each State modern governments program would then be reviewed by one of the four regional coordinating committees—to be set up under H.R. 1166 by the participating Governors in each of four regions: eastern, southern, midwestern, and western—and by the existing Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Those States with plans designated as reflecting sufficient creative State initiative so as to qualify that State for Federal block grants would begin receiving, in 1970 or at the latest by 1971, unrestricted Federal grants.

These grants would come from the 3-year, $5-billion-a-year authorization. Funds would be distributed according to population, with not to exceed 20 percent for supplements to those States having a low per capita income; a high degree of poverty, dependency, or urbanization; and an adequate State tax effort, as indicated by the amount of State and local taxes relative to personal income. At least 50 percent of the money going to a State would be earmarked for its local governments.

The text of the Economist's article follows:

STATESMANSHIP

This week in many states Governors went through the ceremonies inaugurating their new terms, some of them with brave promises of retrenchment, some defending the rights of states to solve their own problems without federal interference, some reproaching Washington with doing so little to help. Almost all face the same problem, that the demands on the state governments rise remorselessly while their revenues, relatively to their needs and to the country's prosperity, are inherently sluggish. This is the common experience of American state and local governments and is the reverse of that of the federal government.

For the past ten years, economists in and out of government have been pondering over the disorder in state and local government financing and over possible remedies for it. Their ideas tend to crystallise around variants of a scheme to distribute a share of the federal tax revenues to the states in the form of block grants with a minimum of strings attached. Although the costly Vietnam war stands immediately in the way of this, as of any other reform involving money, the subject looks like getting more attention in the new Congress than it has had before.

Mr. Walter Heller, the Minneapolis economist who was chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, has done more than anybody to disentangle the subject of fiscal realignment from the arid and often muddled ideological dispute about states' rights. Pressure for unrestricted grants to the states out of federal revenues came in the nineteen-fifties largely from conservative Republicans and a commission appointed by President Eisenhower turned the idea down. But Mr. Heller, a liberal economist and a Democrat, espoused it in a speech in 1960. Not long afterwards he joined the Administration. In the period of fast economic growth and buoyant federal revenue that followed, and not knowing what lay ahead in Vietnam, he and other economists in the Administration began to worry about the drag on the economy if the Treasury found itself persistently taking in more money than it could reasonably spend. One way to avoid deflationary surpluses when they were not wanted was to reduce taxes and this was, indeed, done. Another way was to pass on money to the states, counties and cities where it was needed. Following a recommendation from Mr. Heller, President Johnson appointed one of his policy task-forces in 1964 to study this possibility, under an economist at the Brookings Institution, Mr. Joseph Pechman.

The Pechman report has never been published and on occasion President Johnson has denied its existence. It proposed that a fixed percentage of the receipts from the federal income tax be put into a trust fund and allocated to the states as general aid, largely on a *per caput* basis but with an "equalising" provision to give extra help to the poorer states. After the 1964 election the Administration's economists began to prepare the public for the possible adoption of the scheme as official policy by the normal method of explaining to press correspondents the kind of thing that they had in mind. It was at this point, December, 1964, that President Johnson, who had spoken approvingly of the plan in a statement before the election, decided abruptly to shelve it. Some people got their first insight into the flaws of the Johnson Presidency at that moment. The official explanation was that the premature publicity had mobilised the opposition, but the accepted belief is that Mr. Johnson was angry that the scheme should be talked about before he had given his assent.

On one occasion since then the President has seemed to throw the State Governors a crumb of encouragement that their pleas for the Heller-Pechman plan would get a sympathetic hearing. But, with that one exception, the White House has maintained a heavy silence on the subject. It is true that opposition exists and that Mr. Johnson has to pay some heed to it. After all, a large part of the federal executive machine exists to do things on the assumption that the states cannot be trusted to do them for themselves. Fields in which the states (or rather, some of them) are particularly distrusted are labour standards and civil rights; thus the trade unions and the Negro groups are either suspicious or downright hostile. The big cities, as rivals of the state governments for direct access to federal money, have expressed a guarded hostility which the latest version of the plan, assuring the cities a guaranteed share, may remove. Some Democrats in Congress and elsewhere are more interested in promoting forms of government for metropolitan areas, in disregard of traditional boundaries, than in helping the states to revive.

Mr. Heller, out of office and back in his professor's chair, has not allowed the subject to drop. In a lecture at Harvard University last March, now published as part of a book,* he urges the need for sharing revenues and outlines how this might be done. His argument is that "the federal government simply cannot carry out large segments of its responsibilities at all—or at all efficiently—without strengthening the states and localities." Some three-quarters of all the money that is spent on civil government is spent by them and the kind of services which they provide—education, roads, sanitation, amenities—are in constantly greater demand as the economy grows and society becomes more demanding and more mobile. "The growth that confers such a bountiful harvest of revenues on the federal government leaves the states and their subdivisions a bitter harvest of air and water pollution, disappearing green space and urban rot."

The ten years from 1955 to 1965, which saw a growth of 70 per cent in the gross national product, saw an expansion of federal spending of rather less than that, 65 per cent, but an expansion of 125 per cent in state and local spending. The states are, however, inhibited in their tax policies (as the federal government is not) by their competition to attract industry and wealth and their fear of losing them to other states. The source of revenue on which they mostly rely, sales taxes, is of the kind that responds sluggishly to general economic growth in contrast to the progressive income tax—almost a federal monopoly—the yield of which rises faster, proportionately, than the national income.

Naturally enough the State Governors, of both parties, have had no difficulty in coming out in support of the Heller-Pechman plan. At the Governors' Conference last month they endorsed the principle and instructed a committee to produce a detailed proposal. For the parties in Congress it is more difficult, since such plans run counter to the belief of the average member of Congress that he must be able to control what is done with the money he votes. The Republican Conference of the House of Representatives ordered a study of the subject last summer by another economist now at Brookings, Mr. Richard Nathan, and the Republican leaders are brooding over the policy paper which he produced. On the basis of the same study a New York Republican, Representative GOODELL, has submitted a report of his own proposing an interesting variant.

Mr. GOODELL's General Aid Tax Sharing Fund would start by receiving 3 per cent of the federal revenue from the tax on individual incomes; this would mean $1.8 billion if the scheme were in force in the next fiscal year (which, of course, it will not be). In subsequent years the payment into the fund would rise to 5 per cent. Of this money, one half would be paid to the states for their own purposes; 45 per cent would be paid to them for obligatory redistribution as general aid to the local governments; 5 per cent would be subject to the condition that the states should use it to improve the staffing and management of their own governments. Thus it is hoped to reconcile the cities to the scheme by assuring them of their share and to meet some of the objections of the critics who argue that state governments are too archaic and incompetent to be trusted with good federal money.

One of these critics on the Democratic side, Representative Reuss of Wisconsin, has submitted a Bill of his own to provide $25 billion over five years to states which take steps to modernise their governments. Mr. Reuss observes that Mr. Heller and Mr. Pechman are on the right track, but that to help the states without insisting on their modernisation would be "pouring federal money down a rathole." A Bill already before the Senate, which is sponsored by Mr. Javits of New York, would earmark the money generally for health, education and welfare purposes.

The federal government already helps the states and the local government to the tune of $14.5 billion a year, through grants for specific purposes. One of the most striking pieces of testimony on the defects of this system was given by President Johnson's Director of the Bureau of the Budget, Mr. Charles Schultze, to a Senate subcommittee in November. Mr. Schultze called the existing system "overly complex." He mentioned a figure of 162 major programmes involving grants of federal money to the states, under 399 separate authorisations or subcategories of authorisations. Many of these, he added, overlapped in time, space and function. The "fragmentation" of federal programmes made it difficult, he said in effect, for either the federal or local governments to know what they were up to. It made it hard for Governors and Mayors to control their own budgets; to synchronise their actions or relate one part of a policy to another part; and to make the choices required by their local conditions and problems rather than by the ease or difficulty of getting a proposal approved by Washington. Mr. Schultze was, in short, appallingly frank. He wanted to see the state and local governments reformed so that they could be equal to their tasks, but he did not want them "placed in an organisational strait-jacket" because he did not believe that Washington could do their work for them.

To Mr. Schultze's testimony should be added that of Mr. John Gardner, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, at the same hearings. As the Cabinet member most involved with local government, Mr. Gardner insisted that the federal government should play its part through partnerships rather than through self-aggrandisement and self-sufficient operations. These men are two of the intellectually more eminent members of Mr. Johnson's Administrations; both made evident their sympathy with the general idea of the Heller-Pechman plan.

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* New Dimensions of Political Economy. By Walter W. Heller. *Harvard University Press*, 203 pages. $3.50.

Declaration of Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, 1 year ago today 1,500 patriotic and free Cubans gathered together in Key West, Fla., in the San Carlos Club and proclaimed the "Declaration of Freedom." Their declaration is a reaffirmation of faith in the principles of liberty which once before inspired the people of Cuba to throw off tyranny. In the very same San Carlos Club Jose Marti proclaimed Cuba's independence from Spain in 1893.

The declaration of freedom embodies the great principles which have guided Cubans in their struggles for liberty, first in the fight against European imperialism and today in their fight against communism.

Those who conceived and adopted the declaration of freedom are a group of intelligent, dedicated men who see the declaration of freedom as today's answer to Jose Marti's eloquent statement:

> When a people are called to war, they have to know after what they are going, where they are going and what is going to come afterwards.

The men who met 1 year ago today at Key West are the same kind of men as those who demanded the Magna Carta; the same as those who gathered at Philadelphia to draw up our own Declaration of Independence, and the same as those Cubans who gathered in Key West almost 75 years ago to declare their country's independence. These are men who know the importance and strength of ideas. They are the kind of men whose determination and own strength will one day restore liberty to Cuba.

Mr. Speaker, on this first anniversary, I wish to call the declaration of freedom to the attention of all my collegaues:

DECLARATION OF FREEDOM

In the City of Key West, Monroe County, State of Florida, United States of America, we, the Cuban exiles of the United States, in the name of God Almighty, and speaking both for ourselves and the oppressed people in Cuba, the Martyr Island, do say:

That on January 1st, 1959, the slavery yoke that came from Europe and was extinguished in Cuba at the end of the 19th century, was resumed.

That those responsible for this high treason to our Fatherland and to our People are just a score of traitors who, usurpating the Government of the Country have been acting as mercenary agents for the Sino-Soviet imperialism, and have surrendered to that imperialism our Freedom and our Dignity, also betraying the American Hemisphere.

That as a consequence of this high treason, those who are usurpating the Power in Cuba (as they were never elected by the People), are imposing a regime of bloodshed, terror and hate without any respect or consideration to the dignity of the human being or the most elementary human rights.

That in their hunger for Power, these traitors, following the pattern of totalitarian regimes, are trying, within Cuba, to separate the Family, which is the cornerstone of actual society, and at the same time, are poisoning the minds of the Cuban children and youth, in their hope of extending the length of time for this abominable system.

That the rule of the Law has been wiped out in Cuba, and it has been replaced by the evil will of this score of traitors, who are acting under orders from their masters, the Sino-Soviet imperialists.

In view of the aforegoing,

WE DECLARE

First: That the actual Cuban regime is guilty of high treason to our Fatherland and to the ideals of the Freedom Revolution which was started on October 10th, 1868.

Second: That this score of traitors who have committed treason against our Fatherland, in case they survive the downfall of their regime, will have to respond, even with their lives before the Ordinary Courts of Justice of Cuba.

Third: That as the Noble Cuban People will not ever surrender, because that Nation was not born to be slave, we, the Cuban People, hereby make the present

DECLARATION OF FREEDOM

We hereby swear before God Almighty to fight constantly, until death comes to us, to free Cuba from communism.

The fundamentals of this Revolution for Freedom are:

First: God Almighty, above all things, in Whom we believe as the essence of Life.

Second: The Fatherland, with all of its Laws, traditions, customs and history as a spiritual value, only surpassed by the concept of God.

Third: The Family, as the cornerstone of the Human Society.

Fourth: Human Rights, for each and every citizen, regardless of race or creed.

Fifth: The Law, as the foundation for the proper development of the Human Society.

Sixth: Democratic Government, with its three independent branches: Legislative, Executive and Judicial.

Seventh: Representative Democracy, through the exercise of Universal Suffrage, Periodically, Free and Secretive, as the expression of Popular Sovereignty.

Eighth: Freedom of Worship, Freedom of Teaching, Freedom of the Press and Free Enterprise.

Ninth: Private Property and Ownership, as the basic expression of Liberty.

Tenth: The improvement of living conditions for both rural and city working masses, with the just and necessary measures, keeping in mind the legitimate interests of both Labor and Capital.

Eleventh: The derogation and eradication of anything which is opposed to the political and religious fundamentals. aforementioned, and specifically, the abolition of Communism and any other form of totalitarian manifestation.

Signed and sealed in Key West, Florida, on the 23rd day of January, 1966.

Hon. John E. Fogarty

SPEECH
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to join with my colleagues in expressing the deep sense of loss felt by the people of Rhode Island and by every Member of this body with the death of Representative JOHN E. FOGARTY.

He was a moving force behind legislation for medical research, for hospitals, for institutions to aid the mentally ill and the mentally retarded. No one in the history of this land has done more to promote more and better health services, more and better health facilities than Congressman FOGARTY. His list of accomplishments and awards for services have justly earned him the title "Mr. Public Health."

I had the benefit of his advice, cooperation and valuable assistance when I served as a Member of the Health and Safety Subcommittee. JOHN deserved much credit for favorable action taken by the Congress when it first brought needed assistance to the schools of public health which provide vital help to the Nation and its people.

He ennobled our Nation, the House of Representatives, and the citizens of Rhode Island whom he so faithfully served. Aside from his awards and accomplishments, JOHN FOGARTY will be remembered for the man he was and as his friends knew him—kind, understanding, and completely unassuming. I deem it an honor to have served with him and to have considered him a personal friend.

I am sure every Member of the Congress joins me in extending our deepest sympathy to his wife and family in this time of sorrow.

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An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White. Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Utah, Wyoming.

Appendix

Fiftieth Anniversary of the Signing of the First National Vocational Education Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL D. PERKINS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, on February 23, 1967, vocational educators throughout the United States will commemorate the 50th anniversary of the signing of the first National Vocational Education Act by President Woodrow Wilson. I request unanimous consent that the information supplied me by the American Vocational Association regarding the growth of the vocational education program and regarding the observance of the 50th anniversary of the Smith-Hughes Act be placed in the RECORD at this point:

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING OF THE FIRST NATIONAL VOCATIONAL EDUCATION ACT

February 23, 1967, will be the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the first National Vocational Education Act by President Woodrow Wilson. Its passage brought into being Federally supported programs of vocational education conducted by the States as an integral part of public education.

Public vocational and technical education was created to train young people and adults for the industrial revolution taking place in the United States and to help develop an improved agriculture. Included in its objectives was the improvement of home and family life. A major purpose of the 1917 Act was to prepare youth and adults for employment and to assist employed workers gain advancement. It was recognized that there was a need for the development of the highest degree of efficiency in manufacturing, processing, and marketing so that the nation could compete successfully in the world markets. Provisions were made for the establishment of programs of State supervision and for teacher education.

Since 1917 public vocational education has been a cooperative effort between the Federal government and the States. The Federal government has provided additional funds and helped promote, develop, and improve programs, but operation has remained with the States.

Through a series of enactments begun fifty years ago, Federal aid has made possible the development of vocational education to serve people who seek employment or are already employed in the trades and industries, agriculture, distribution, and marketing, home and office, health and technical occupations. During the two World Wars, vocational provided training programs to help increase production, and afterward aided veterans preparing for employment.

Through public vocational education programs, counseling services have been provided to both youth and adults preparing to enter the work force. Programs have been designed to retrain individuals who are underemployed or unemployed. Youth organizations such as the Future Farmers of America, the Future Homemakers of America, the Distributive Education Clubs of America, the Vocational Industrial Clubs of America, and office occupations clubs have been developed by vocational educators to help motivate students and develop leadership abilities of those enrolled in vocational and technical education.

Since the first National Vocational Education Act was signed in 1917, Congress has passed a number of laws designed to improve existing programs and to develop new ones. Among the more recent are the Manpower Development and Training Act and the Vocational Education Act of 1963. These Acts made possible the extension and expansion of vocational and technical education programs to serve training needs in all occupational fields not classified as professional or requiring a college degree.

A number of thorough evaluations of vocational and technical education have been made at the request of the President or of the Congress. An evaluation was made at the request of the late President John F. Kennedy. A Panel of Consultants made a careful review of vocational and technical education and submitted major recommendations to the Congress which led to the passage of the 1963 Act which was signed by President Lyndon B. Johnson. This Act made possible great expansions in public vocational education programs. It is the intent of the new Act to make vocational education available to every young person and adult who needs to prepare for employment or improve his skills. One of the significant developments helping to make this possible is the construction of additional area vocational schools. In this anniversary year there are about one thousand area schools in operation or under construction. It is expected that within the next ten years an additional one thousand will be provided. This should help to place vocational programs within reasonable reach of every person in the United States who needs and wants such training.

The new Act also provides for the improvement of instruction and the development of adequate research programs which are designed to develop new and better ways of providing vocational education.

During the past fifty years vocational educators in the United States have rendered distinguished service. The firm foundation which was established by the passage of the first National Vocational Education Act and the signing of the Act on February 23, 1917, by Woodrow Wilson made possible the creation of practical vocational education programs which are proving to be of greater and greater service to the people of the Nation.

MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING PROGRAMS

The Manpower Development and Training Act in 1962 authorized State vocational education agencies to provide occupational training under Agreement with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. The Act was designed primarily to help unemployed heads of household to receive training necessary for full time employment. The Division of Manpower Development and Training administers the program for the U.S. Office of Education.

Each Manpower training project is set up at the request of the State employment service. That State vocational education agency is responsible for selecting the public or private educational or training institution and for approving the training plan and budget. Representatives of the DMDT finally approve the projects for funding. During the 1967 fiscal year, the State vocational education and employment service agencies may approve small projects costing up to $50,000 in total.

Major amendments were made to the basic Act in 1963, 1965, and 1966. Basic education, prevocational training, special programs for older workers, correctional institutions programs, and broadened trainee benefits are provided. Special youth programs have been part of the program from its inception. The development of multioccupations projects and skill centers has been a major achievement of the Manpower program. Individual referrals are often made to private schools.

Over a half million out-of-school youth and adults have been approved for Manpower institutional training, with 450,000 enrolled by September 30, 1967. In addition, State vocational education agencies are providing related instruction for many thousands of on-the-job trainees and many others in experimental and demonstration projects. The leading occupational areas have been in office, health, and trade and industrial occupations.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES FOR OBSERVANCE OF 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF SIGNING OF FIRST NATIONAL VOCATIONAL EDUCATION ACT, FEBRUARY 19–25, 1967

Obtain a proclamation by the governor and/or resolution by State Legislature. Such a pronouncement should include important information about the vocational-technical education program of your State. The proclamation should be made available to all the news media.

Plan for school assembly programs to feature vocational education during the anniversary week. This might be planned in cooperation with guidance counselors, and/or other school activities that focus on employment, and planning for future careers.

Encourage Parent-Teacher groups, service clubs, and others to feature vocational education in their February meetings.

Build exhibits featuring vocational-technical education for school bulletin boards, or other exhibit areas. Business groups, and others should be encouraged to have exhibits during this week.

Encourage youth organizations to hold their annual banquets or other meetings to feature the 50th Anniversary.

Sponsor a visitation day for parents, friends, and others who may be interested, to visit vocational education programs.

Plan for and encourage radio, newspaper, and television features which emphasize vocational education. Pictures of students, schools, and teachers should be provided together with information on vocational programs. If you have new facilities for vocational education in your State or community, could you arrange for a dedication ceremony during February 19–25, 1967?

Develop a theme around which publicity might be developed. Suggestions:

"A Look at the Next 50 Years."

"Vocational Education—Looking Toward the Future."

"Vocational-Technical Education—A Program for the Future."

50th anniversary of the signing of the First National Vocational Education Act, 1917–67—Information [1]

	1st year		1965 latest figures available	
	Amount or number	Percent	Amount or number	Percent
1. Money spent for public vocational education:				
(a) Federal	$832,427	27.0	$156,936,015	26.0
(b) State	1,024,930	34.0	186,734,833	31.0
(c) Local	1,181,704	39.0	260,974,879	43.0
Total	3,039,061		604,645,727	
2. Enrollment (in school and adult):				
(a) Agriculture	15,453		887,529	
(b) Distributive occupations			333,342	
(c) Health occupations			66,772	
(d) Home economics	30,799		2,098,520	
(e) Office occupations			730,904	
(f) Technical occupations			225,737	
(g) Trades and industry	117,934		1,087,807	
Total	164,186		5,430,611	
3. Number of schools participating:				
(a) Secondary	1,741		16,332	
(b) Postsecondary	(2)		763	
4. Number of area schools:				
(a) Completed			1,000	
(b) Planned			1,100	
5. Number of youth served by—				
(a) Future Farmers of America [3]			454,516	
(b) Future Homemakers of America [4]			607,175	
(c) Distributive Education Clubs of America [5]			47,359	
(d) Vocational Industrial Clubs of America [6]			29,614	
6. The percent of secondary school students enrolled in vocational and technical education		2.2		24.1
7. Vocational teachers trained	6,579		16,656	
8. Number of vocational teachers	5,257		109,136	
10. Number of persons trained for the war effort:				
(a) 1st World War	61,151			
(b) 2d World War	8,622,492			

[1] Statistics provided by the U.S. Office of Education.
[2] Combined.
[3] Organized in 1928.
[4] Organized in 1945.
[5] Organized in 1947.
[6] Organized in 1965.

Statement by Rabbi Morris Sherer Before the Board of Education of the City of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, this Congress passed legislation during the first session of the 89th Congress to provide assistance to elementary and secondary education for all children whether in public or nonpublic schools.

Some people have disagreed with that policy and on the local level some of the opponents have taken it upon themselves to implement that policy very narrowly.

Rabbi Morris Sherer, executive vice president of Agudath Israel of America, believes that no child should be denied the benefits of this act because he happens to attend a nonpublic school.

I commend to the attention of our colleagues Rabbi Sherer's statement supporting his position before the board of education of the city of New York on November 14, 1966:

STATEMENT BY RABBI MORRIS SHERER, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT OF AGUDATH ISRAEL OF AMERICA, TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 14, 1966

Mr. President and Members of the Board:

My name is Rabbi Morris Sherer. I am the Executive Vice-President of Agudath Israel of America, a national organization that was deeply involved in Washington in the day-to-day developments of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, from the planning board stage to its ultimate passage. I speak to you today for our New York City membership, which includes many thousands of parents of the Jewish faith whose children attend non-public schools.

Frankly, we are deeply distressed over the fact that it has become necessary every few months to mount the barricades against unrelenting attempts to constantly narrow down the benefits that non-public school children in New York City should receive from the federal education programs. Every few months the non-public schools are called upon to retreat to new lines of defense. We had hoped that the August decisions of the Board would be sanforized; instead, the proposals continue to shrink every few months to a point where they now directly contravene the intent of Congress to benefit *all* school children without discrimination.

May I quickly note that there were some aspects of the August decisions of the Board that we felt were unfair and should have been vigorously contested. For example, to service the non-public schools "primarily" with inexperienced teachers singles out the poor children attending a religiously-oriented school for unfair treatment. It is not only discriminatory but educationally unsound to let the non-public school children instinctively feel the humiliation that they alone, among all the city's students, must serve as the training-ground for novice teachers.

However, the non-public schools acted in good faith and adopted a "wait and see" attitude to these August decisions, without raising any meaningful hue nad cry. The "reward" for this "good behavior" are these new proposals: even the benefits conceded in August are to be denied in November.

What is most disturbing is the proposal to reduce the amount of corrective reading teachers in non-public schools, by altering the ratios from one teacher for every 100 students to one teacher for every 230 students. The Board officials themselves had explained in August that it would be unfair to assign corrective reading teachers to non-public schools on the same ratio as public schools, because the public schools have already been meeting their problems over the years through special service schools and parallel classes. What happened from August to November to refute this logical explanation?

When Congress legislated and mandated comparable funds for poor students or non-public schools, they were not concerned with technical ratios. They were concerned with human beings, with the future of all the underprivileged school children all over the nation. What is important is that we should not engage in numbers games, but try to achieve the one and only meaningful goal: a youngster who needs a corrective reading service must be helped, whether or not the technical computations of ratios would harshly deny him a benefit which could change his entire pattern of life.

We urge the Board to consider this proposal and reinstitute the minimum ratio originally decided that every 100 children in a non-public school be provided with a corrective reading teacher.

In the final analysis, this issue of ratios for corrective reading teachers is merely symptomatic of an attitude by the Board which we respectfully urge you to revise. These continuous hearings on the same issues are a harassment of the non-public school officials and a deprivation of the rights of the children attending non-public schools. Unless a halt is put to these ongoing attempts to defy the intent of Congress by restricting within absurdity narrow confines the federal benefits for non-public school children, the only logical next step would be a public Congressional investigation and hearing.

It is our hope that such a step will not be necessary, so that our educators, instead of wasting their energies in endless public debates, will be permitted to concentrate on their calling: the provision of quality education to our city's children.

Washington: Johnson's Administrative Monstrosity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, Mr. James Reston recently described, most aptly, the chaos that exists in the administration of many Federal programs. The Federal-State partnership is still developing, and is in serious need of attention.

Mr. Reston's comments follow:

WASHINGTON: JOHNSON'S ADMINISTRATIVE MONSTROSITY

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, Nov. 22—As President Johnson starts his fourth year in the White House, one fact is not only clear but undisputed: his Administration is poorly organized to administer the domestic programs he has introduced, and the administrative chaos of the state and local governments is even worse.

The reasons for this are fairly clear. The Administration has put through more social and economic programs in the last two years than it can absorb. The 89th Congress alone passed 21 new health programs, seventeen new educational programs, fifteen new economic development programs, twelve new programs for the cities, seventeen new resource development programs, and four new manpower training programs.

HELP! HELP!

These programs are administered by such a variety of different Federal agencies that, as Senator Robert Kennedy of New York remarked here this week, it is almost impossible for small town officials to know what money is available for what purposes or even where to go for information.

Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, who is exploring this thicket, recently observed that Federal aid expenditures to the states and municipalities have risen from $1 billion in 1946 to $15 billion this year and are expected to go up to $60 billion by 1975. There are now, he noted, 170 different Federal aid programs on the books, financed by over 400 separate appropriations, and administered by 21 Federal departments and agencies aided by 150 Washington bureaus and over 400 regional offices empowered to receive applications and pass out money.

This has created something almost unheard of here. Criticism of the system, cries of growing domination by the Federal Government, complaints about administrative confusion and waste are now coming not alone from the Administration's critics or from observers in the state capitals but from leading officials of the Johnson Administration itself.

"In almost every domestic program," Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare John W. Gardner told the Muskie committee, "we are encountering crises of organization. Coordination among Federal agencies leaves much to be desired. Communication between the various levels of Government—Federal, state and local—is casual and ineffective. State and local government is in most areas seriously inadequate."

THE LOCAL MESS

Washington obviously cannot solve this problem by itself. There are now over 80,000 separate local governments in the United States, few of them large enough in population, area, or taxable resources to get adequate personnel or funds to apply modern methods in solving present and future problems.

Overlapping layers of local government, ineffective popular control, weak policy-making mechanisms, antiquated administrative machinery and underpaid and undertrained personnel—all these are keeping the state and local governments from forming an effective partnership with the Federal Government, which now provides 20 per cent of the total annual revenues of the states.

Yet it is probably unrealistic for Secretary Gardner to call on "the American people" to correct these deficiencies. The remedy must begin in Washington. The interdepartmental committee system, designed to coordinate the activities of the various departments and agencies in the poverty program—to take just one example—has not worked.

"We have a President who is keenly interested in the problem," Secretary Gardner told the Muskie committee. But we also have a President who is poorly organized himself, reluctant to delegate power over these home-front activities to the Vice President or anybody else, and suspicious of political institutions of any kind.

THE ONE-MAN BAND

He did not work easily with the Democratic caucus when he was in the Senate. He has not made an effective instrument out of the Cabinet or the National Security Council. He all but wrecked the Democratic National Committee after he got into the White House, and he is still trying to run the Presidency as if it were a Senator's office on Capitol Hill.

The problems, however, are monumental. They are getting bigger and more complicated all the time, and while the President talks about creating a new partnership with the states and municipalities and expounds on what he calls "creative federalism," the fact is that he has not created the machinery to carry this out. He has an administrative monstrosity on his hands, and even his own people are beginning to criticize it in public.

Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday was the 49th anniversary of Ukrainian independence. It was on January 22, 1918, that Ukraine declared its independence from Russia.

Prior to the declaration of independence, the Ukrainians were under the domination of the czars. The Romanoff dynasty was overthrown in 1917; eventually Russia was taken over by the forces of communism.

The freedom of Ukraine was shortlived. Whether the larger country was run by the czars or by the commissars made no difference to the Ukrainian people, who were once more, in 1920, taken over by the Russians.

Since the end of World War II, no less than 61 nations have gained their independence. Forty-three of the 61 are smaller geographically than Ukraine, which is 232,046 square miles in area.

Only 3 of the 61 countries have populations that exceed Ukraine's 45 million. The Maldive Islands, which achieved independence in 1965, have 115 square miles of territory and 97,000 inhabitants.

Certainly, like all lovers of freedom, liberty, and independence, I have rejoiced when the peoples of new nations severed the ties that had previously bound them to colonial empires such as those held by Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, and Portugal. I was pleased when the Philippines were granted their independence by the United States.

We hear a great deal these days about more treaties, increasing trade, cultural exchanges, increased communication and travel, a lessening of tensions, and coexistence with the Soviet Union. If the past has any meaning, most of these supposedly reciprocal agreements will turn out to be one-sided affairs.

The next time the Soviet Union asks us to sign any sort of treaty, convention, or other agreement, let us insist, as part of the bargain, that she demonstrate her good faith by granting independence to Ukraine. As President Lyndon B. Johnson told the Congress in his state of the Union message in 1966:

> The . . . most important principle of our foreign policy is support of national independence—the right of each people to govern themselves and to shape their own institutions . . . We follow this principle by encouraging the end of colonial rule.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a table which lists the countries that have secured their freedom since World War II, together with the dates of independence, areas, and populations:

Nation	Date of independence	Area (square miles)	Population
Algeria	1962	919,591	[1] 12,000,000
Botswana	1966	275,000	559,000
Burma	1948	261,789	24,732,000
Burundi	1962	10,739	[1] 2,780,000
Cambodia	1953	69,898	[1] 6,200,000
Cameroon	1960	183,591	5,150,000
Central African Republic	1960	241,313	1,352,000
Ceylon	1948	25,332	11,600,500
Chad	1960	490,733	4,000,000
Congo (ex-Belgian)	1960	905,562	15,625,000
Congo (ex-French)	1960	134,749	[1] 826,000
Cyprus	1960	3,572	591,000
Dahomey	1960	43,483	2,244,000
East Germany	1949	41,816	17,065,600
Gabon	1960	102,317	465,000
Gambia	1965	4,361	330,000
Ghana	1957	92,100	7,740,000
Guinea	1958	94,925	3,500,000
Guhana	1966	83,000	636,000
Indonesia	1949	735,268	160,000,000
Israel	1948	7,993	2,561,400
Ivory Coast	1960	124,502	[1] 3,750,000
Jamaica	1962	4,232	1,800,000
Jordan	1946	37,737	1,935,440
Kenya	1963	224,960	9,365,000
Kuwait	1961	5,800	567,422
Laos	1949	91,428	3,000,000
Lesotho	1966	11,716	858,000
Libya	1951	679,536	1,617,000
Malagasy Republic	1960	230,035	6,262,000
Malawi	1964	45,747	4,000,000
Malaysia	1963	128,338	[1] 9,245,491
Maldive Islands	1965	115	97,000
Mali	1960	463,947	4,576,000
Malta	1964	122	319,476
Mauritania	1960	397,683	1,000,000
Mongolia	1946	604,247	1,087,200
Morocco	1956	174,471	13,323,000
Niger	1960	459,073	3,328,000
Nigeria	1960	356,669	[1] 56,400,000
North Korea	1948	46,540	[1] 10,900,000
North Vietnam	1949	60,156	17,700,000
Pakistan	1947	365,529	102,876,000
Philippines	1946	115,707	32,345,000
Rhodesia (de facto)	1965	150,333	4,216,000
Rwanda	1962	10,169	2,903,071
Senegal	1960	76,124	3,490,000
Sierra Leone	1961	27,925	[1] 2,200,000
Singapore	1965	225	1,844,000
Somalia	1960	246,155	2,500,000
South Korea	1948	38,004	28,754,000
South Vietnam	1955	66,280	16,124,000
Sudan	1956	967,491	13,540,000
Tanzania	1961	362,844	10,578,100
Togo	1960	21,853	1,642,000
Trinidad and Tobago	1962	1,980	975,000
Tunisia	1956	63,378	4,675,000
Uganda	1962	91,134	7,551,000
Upper Volta	1960	105,869	4,858,000
Western Samoa	1962	1,097	130,000
Zambia	1964	290,587	3,710,000

[1] 1964; all others 1965, except Indonesia, Jamaica, Lesotho, and Mauritania which are 1966.

Dr. Edward G. Locke, Director, Forest Products Laboratory, Madison, Wis.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Edward G. Locke, internationally known research administrator and director of the U.S. Forest Products Laboratory in Madison, Wis., since 1959 passed away last December 19. He had been ill for the past year.

Dr. Locke was a frequent visitor to Washington, a man I knew as a friend and as an eminently qualified director of the outstanding Forest Products Laboratory in Madison. He was the sixth Director in the 56-year history of the Laboratory which is maintained in Madison by the Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, in cooperation with the University of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Locke was a tireless worker and lifetime friend of the wood and paper products industry. Death cut short his career at the time he neared attainment of one of his most cherished goals—a goal that brought him to Washington and to Congress on many frequent occasions—the first major expansion of the world-famed Laboratory's physical plant in 35 years.

Mr. Speaker, to the many friends and relatives whom Dr. Locke has left behind, I extend my deep condolences.

Time for a New Hoover Commisison

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, for nearly 12 full months I have been telling the people of Minnesota's Sixth Congressional District that the Congress must insist upon getting more mileage out of every single tax dollar before we agree to any new tax that might be proposed by the Johnson administration. I promised the people in Minnesota that if I were elected I would take immediate action to tighten up the expenses of running this Nation.

Today I am introducing a bill which I expect to help achieve that important goal.

I have proposed that we establish a commission of the executive branch to make a comprehensive study of all Federal operations. It is clear that the population explosion coupled with the rapid pace of technological change, especially in the fields of transportation, communication, and production, have expanded the duties and functions of government. But it is imperative that a constant and sincere reevaluation of these functions be pursued. This commission, modeled after the two successful Hoover Commissions, would make such an evaluation and propose recommendations for change wherever appropriate.

The commission would be authorized to determine the amount of duplication and inefficiency in any area of government; to study the problem of communication among the various units; to examine jurisdictional conflicts and inconsistencies; and to recommend ways to coordinate programs and policies among units with similar responsibilities, suggesting redefinitions of those duties wherever they are required.

The growth of bureaucracy in the past 25 years has been astounding; today there are over 2½ million employees under civil service. Today there are about 215 grant-in-aid programs administered by more than 20 different Federal departments and agencies. The cost of these programs alone has tripled in one decade.

It is incumbent upon the Congress to demand the highest degree of efficiency possible in the operation of our Government. This commission, composed of 14 members, would gather the Nation's best experts to make recommendations toward that goal. It would include two Congressmen, two Senators, two Governors, two members from the executive branch, and six from outside the Government.

Passage of this bill would prove to the American citizen that we intend to streamline Government organization, and will reduce duplication and inefficiency. It could put our Government once again on a sound businesslike basis.

Tribute to Judge Minard E. Hulse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, this past December, Judge Minard E. Hulse, one of Illinois' great jurists, retired from the Lake County circuit court.

Judge Hulse occupies a high place in the hearts and minds of all of us who have known him. My association with Judge Hulse has been both personal and professional and spans many years. I knew him first as a family friend and fellow member of the bar; then, as a jurist, before whom I frequently appeared as a practicing attorney. And, again, when I was a member of the Illinois State Senate and he came to me with recommendations for changing the laws affecting his court.

Judge Hulse's primary concern is with people, knowing that only by helping the individual is it possible to benefit society itself. He has always recognized the institution of the American family as the basic ingredient to the successful development of the individual and the community, and the need to rehabilitate wherever possible the young people who are the victims of poor judgment or poor environment, or lack of parental supervision and advice. He backed legislation—now law in Illinois and in some other States—permitting husbands and fathers to be released from custody during daytime hours for full-time employment, returning to custody at night to fulfill their sentences, thus contributing not only to their own welfare but to that of their families and society.

A great lawyer and a great judge, yes—but, above all, Judge Hulse is a great humanitarian, a man of the big heart and of the wise decision. He is a man of the firm resolve that the key to improved human behavior lies in human decisions for the right, and that in all things, divine guidance alone can enable man to attain a higher place in the esteem of his fellowman and his Creator.

This is the place Judge Hulse occupies today. In that high estate, I salute him, his faithful and beloved Evelyn, and their wonderful family.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to pay this tribute to Judge Hulse in the House of Representatives, and to call to the attention of my colleagues the high regard in which he is held by the citizens of Lake County and of Illinois.

The 49th Anniversary of Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, today when many speak of building bridges between the East and the West, establishing further contacts with East European nations to induce their further liberalization and their faltering, hesitant expression of limited independence from Soviet control, it is easy to become discouraged by the minimal effectiveness of such a policy. Far more frustrating however, is the realization that some of the Captive Nations are beyond the reach of the engineers of these bridges. I wish to call attention to one of those nations in particular which lay beyond the bridge span possibilities—the Ukraine. For the Ukraine and other nations like it have fallen prey to the direst Soviet colonialization. The Soviet Union has incorporated the Ukraine within the geographical boundaries of the Soviet Union, as though to obliterate from history the previous existence of the Ukraine as a nation. Thus the Soviet Union has eliminated any possible contact, any possible construction of bridges, between the West and the Ukraine as a national entity. The Soviet Union denies national identity to the Ukrainian people, claiming they form an integral part of Russia.

Yet the Soviet Union will never succeed in erasing the memory of national existence from the hearts of the Ukrainian people. Nor will it ever succeed in extinguishing the fervent passion for independence which smolders in Ukrainian souls. Proof of these two statements lies in the previous failure of the Russians' attempt to incorporate the Ukraine. For this is the second Soviet-executed tragedy to befall the Ukraine. The first Russian incorporation attempt with regard to the Ukraine covered a period of nearly 250 years, ending with the Ukrainian declaration of independence on January 22, 1918. On that glorious date in Ukrainian history, the Ukrainian people seized upon the opportunities afforded them by Russian internal strife to achieve the restoration of their own independence.

However the Ukrainian nation was to have only a brief respite from Soviet domination. Within barely 2 years the Soviet Union had reconquered the

Ukraine. Again the Ukrainian people were to be subjected to Russian incorporation efforts.

Today on the anniversary of Ukrainian independence, we as Americans wish to extend moral encouragement to the Ukrainian people in deepest respect for their commitment to the principles of freedom and liberty they have so undeniably demonstrated throughout their history.

The Dedicated Service of Ronald Gall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to learn that the Navy Department has awarded a Certificate of Appreciation to my distinguished constituent, Ronald Gall, for his outstanding service to the U.S. Navy.

Formal presentation of the commendations to Mr. Gall was made on Tuesday, January 10, by Rear Adm. B. M. Strean, Deputy and Assistant Chief of Naval Personnel at the Navy Department in Washington.

The work for which Mr. Gall was cited was his support, as corporate director of public relations of the Curtiss-Wright Corp., of Navy recruiting advertising and publicity programs. It covers the period of the last 5 years.

In an accompanying letter of commendation, Adm. B. J. Semmes, Chief of Naval Personnel, said:

> You have devoted your time, energy, and ability to create and to place a series of Navy recruiting advertisements of sustained excellence. The response to these advertisements has been outstanding. The Recruiting Aids Division has received over 4,000 replies to the advertisement sponsored by Curtiss-Wright in 1965. In response to this year's advertisement, the Recruiting Aids Division has received over one thousand inquiries during the first week of its exposure.
>
> I want to commend you for the warm hospitality and personal attention which you have given to the young naval officers who worked with you during these years. You have acted as their mentor and have given freely of yourself and your vast knowledge of advertising and the media.
>
> Thank you for your devoted public service to the U.S. Navy and I know that you have achieved genuine satisfaction in accomplishing a job well done.

Mr. Gall has been active for years in the Navy support programs. He is a long-time member of the Navy League of the United States and presently is a vice president and director of its Passaic-Bergen Council. Recently, he served on the Advisory Committee of Adm. John Bergen, chairman of the Committee of the New York Navy League Council which commemorated the 50th anniversary of Naval Researve Aviation at a dinner held on October 26 at the Waldorf-Astoria, attended by approximately 1,500 people.

I am proud that he is my constituent and my friend.

Is the United States Too Involved in the Far East?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the question is often raised, Is the United States too involved in the Far East?

The following revealing interview with Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos, which appeared in the January 6, 1967, edition of New York World Journal Tribune, answers that question strongly in the negative.

The article follows:

IS UNITED STATES TOO INVOLVED IN FAR EAST?

(By Carl T. Rowan)

MANILA.—I asked Ferdinand Marcos, the president of the Philippines, the question that bothers many Asians and gnaws at the consciences of millions of Americans:

Is the United States too deeply involved in the Far East today—that is, isn't there a latent resentment of his big Anglo-Saxon country invoking its power to settle the affairs of Asians?

The impressive young leader, who has been struggling to build a reputation as an Asian nationalist who is not a puppet of Uncle Sam, replied:

"We can start with the admitted fact that independent Asian nations must themselves initiate efforts for their economic development and military security. But we must also admit that Asians alone, whether they band together or not, would still be deficient in the resources required for either economic development or military security.

"We Asians admit that the principal source of danger is Red China, because Peking is not committed to any of the accepted principles of international law. It openly espouses war as an instrument of international policy.

"Taking that fact into account, and the fact that no Asian nation today, even joined with others, can balance the military power of China, you will understand why the presence of another strong power in the area is accepted by most countries in Asia, especially those in danger."

Marcos added that the American military presence not only restrains Red China by forcing it to defend its own borders, but it has enabled other Asian countries "to contain the subversive elements within our own jurisdictions."

"But what about the Asians I've heard deploring the fact that a big, rich, white nation is dropping tons of bombs on the colored people of a tiny Asian country?" I asked.

"The men who have expressed moral scruples against bombing North Viet Nam are probably men who don't have to make any decisions, any hard choices," Marcos replied. "The situation in South Viet Nam has opened the eyes of most Asians to the ambitions of Red China."

He said the suspicions and fears of Asians were further confirmed by "China's attempt to take over Indonesia."

"The fact that they failed," he continued, "proves that the Communists are far from infallible, that they can be defeated, broken, even in our own jurisdictions."

In this exclusive interview, Marcos had summed up three of my most conclusive observations on this Asian tour:

1. Talks with the prime ministers of Korea and Malaysia and the foreign minister of Indonesia, as well as the Marcos' interview, showed that the fear of Communist China is far greater in Asia than most Americans realize. It is a fear manifest not only in international actions, but in almost psychotic distrust of, and brutal discriminations against, the Chinese residents of Southeast Asia.

2. These outspoken advocates of a U.S. military presence in Asia are convinced that the Japanese, Indians and even the utterly neutral Burmese share their fears—of China, and of the possibility that the U.S. will give up the fight in Viet Nam and withdraw.

3. The horrors of the Viet Nam war that arouse American and European sentiment or intellectual revulsion mean nothing to these Asian leaders. They figure their countries' independence, and their personal necks, are at stake, and the hard, practical question of how to preserve them is all that matters.

Kiddie Car Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, with the great number of Federal programs to care for our citizens during most of their lives, I knew it was only a matter of time until someone would realize that the stroller and carriage set have been grossly neglected.

I was right, and I want to share with my colleagues the comments of the man who discovered this flaw in the Great Society. Ormund Powers, writing in the Orlando Sentinel on January 15, 1967, has given this matter the attention it deserves. I hope my colleagues will take the time to do likewise.

Mr. Power's column reads as follows:

KIDDIE CAR CORPS?

The President is asking to have the Head Start program expanded so that it will take in all kids from 3 to 5 years of age. When this is done only those from birth to age 3 will be without a federal program providing for them. As a former two-year-old, I resent this.

If we're going to achieve true cradle-to-grave care, something must be done for the wee ones in their formative years or they may grow up to be 3 unprepared to participate in the host of delightful and busy federal programs ahead.

The way it is now, there isn't much for a kid in a bassinet to do but lie flat on his back and look at the ceiling. Parents do their best, but facial grimaces and cries of "Goo, Goo," are not likely to help a youngster face the federal forms he must fill out in future years.

We must have Baby Corps, trained and alert, to visit these infants regularly and teach them how to do more than spit cereal at their fathers. Retraining of a confirmed cereal spitter is not only a tedious task but a messy one. The Baby Corps could head him off at the pass and teach him to swallow the cereal in the first place. A very handy lesson, particularly if he is going to be a heavy cereal eater throughout life.

For the crawling stage we will need a Crawling Corps to teach the kids not to chew on the dog's bones and toys, and not to jerk the ashtrays off coffee tables. A crisis is reached in many homes when the toddler stage arrives and the youngster starts grabbing martini glasses out of papa's hand, deliberately turning on the dishwasher when there's nothing in it, and pulling the cat's tail. We will need a Crisis Corps for the toddler.

I have figured out the cost of these various programs designed to keep babies from acting like babies, and it comes to roughly $3½ billion. Cheap at twice the price, I'd say.

—ORMUND POWERS.

Prof. Stanley Anderson, Reviewing Worldwide Interest in Ombudsman Idea, Predicts Widespread Adoption Soon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the December 1966 issue of Public Affairs Report, the bulletin published six times annually by the Institute of Governmental Studies of the University of California, Berkeley, "to contribute to informed discussion of public affairs based upon recent research or upon a long-term specialization of the author" carries an article by an authority on the ombudsman idea, Stanley V. Anderson, associate professor of political science, University of California, Santa Barbara.

The large number of ombudsman proposals noted by Professor Anderson "indicate that the idea is undergoing a process of legitimization, and one can hazard the prediction that in the institution will soon break through, leading ultimately to widespread adoption." I introduced yesterday H.R. 3388, to provide for a congressional ombudsman.

The text of Professor Anderson's article follows:

OMBUDSMAN PROPOSALS: STIMULUS TO INQUIRY

(By Stanley V. Anderson, associate professor of Political Science, University of California, Santa Barbara)

In the Scandinavian countries and New Zealand, citizens with specific grievances against government may turn to the Ombudsman, an official appointed by parliament to make independent inquiry into allegations of bureaucratic misbehavior.[1] The Ombudsman's investigations have an impact at three different but related levels: on the citizenry, the administration, and the legislature.

GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE

Like ripples spread from pebbles cast in a pond, satisfaction gained from Ombudsmanic inquiry is diffused among the populace. The most immediate gratification is felt by aggrieved citizens who secure redress. Others may appreciate advice as to where else to turn, and still others may be mollified by the Ombudsman's explanation of the basis for agency action. But all are secure in the knowledge that there is a place to which they can turn. In addition, then, to the righting of individual wrongs, there is a general improvement in the atmosphere of government.

In the year ending March 31, 1966, for example, the New Zealand Ombudsman, Sir Guy Powles, found 45 complaints to be justified out of 272 which were investigated. Another 401 complaints were rejected without full investigation, most often because they were beyond the Ombudsman's jurisdiction. Although the Ombudsman cannot compel an agency to accept his views, remedial action was taken in all of the above 45 cases. Indeed, the agencies acted spontaneously in 33 of them, obviating the need for a formal recommendation.

BY THE PEOPLE

As the climate of opinion surrounding government is softened, integrity and efficiency within government are also enhanced. The stultifying traces of unresolved accusations are dispelled by the Ombudsman's reasoned opinions—rendered much more often than not in favor of the challenged civil servant. Even when censured, the offending agencies or officials will have been given an opportunity to present their case. Moreover, government employees themselves are among "the people" who may complain to the Ombudsman.

At the same time, complaints are marshalled for feedback into the system, instead of being discharged ineffectively and acrimoniously. Superiors within a given agency learn what is going on, and each agency learns from the experience of others. Following established due process, an erring official may be reprimanded, discharged, or prosecuted. (In more than three years of operation, the New Zealand Ombudsman has never had to suggest the institution of criminal proceedings.) Of its own volition, an agency may rectify inequitable or cumbersome procedures. As Sir Guy Powles asserts, "it seems clear that the Office has made a significant impact upon public administration."[2]

AND FOR THE PEOPLE

At the third level of impact, the annual reports of the Ombudsman are a tool which the legislature can use in supervising administration, as a searchlight on inadequacies and distortions of legislative policy. In candor, it must be admitted that legislators have seldom made effective use of these reports. They are not a substitute for a well-staffed body of able lawmakers, and the Ombudsman office itself is not a panacea for deficient bureaucracy.

As an alternative receptable for complaints, however, the Ombudsman lessens the load of errands which legislators carry. He thereby frees them for more dignified and appropriate tasks, and spares them the dilemma of partisanship in choosing between implications of favoritism and charges of inaction. Equally important, the Ombudsman serves the complaint-handling function in an even-handed and expert fashion, minimizing the otherwise unavoidable variations caused by differences of interest, ability and influence among elected representatives.

WORLDWIDE INTEREST

Because of its beneficial, albeit moderate, impact on all of these levels, the Ombudsman institution has commended itself to politicians across the democratic spectrum in western industrialized societies. With sponsorship ranging from conservative to liberal and labor, Ombudsman proposals have been put forward in Australia, Canada, Ireland, Holland, Switzerland, and the United States.[3]

The office of Ombudsman was established in New Zealand in 1962 by the National Party Government, with Labor support which has since become more enthusiastic. In August, 1966, the Labor Government in Great Britain announced the forthcoming appointment of a Parliamentary Commissioner, who is to investigate complaints transmitted to him by Members of Parliament.

STATES AND PROVINCES

Eight out of ten provincial legislatures in Canada have considered Ombudsman measures, in addition to proposals at the federal level put forward in Ottawa.[4] During the past two years, Ombudsman bills have been dropped in the hoppers of the legislatures of California (Assembly Bill 2956/1965), Connecticut (House Bill 3194/1965), Illinois (House Bill 1773/1965), New York (Assembly Bill 2105/1965; Senate Bill 2833/1965), Rhode Island (Senate Bill 62/1966), and Utah (Senate Bill 140/1965), and serious interest has been expressed in Colorado, Indiana, Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, and Pennsylvania—a total of fourteen states.

To single out one state for illustration, the California proposal was introduced in the Assembly on April 22, 1965, by Speaker Jesse M. Unruh. It was designated an emergency measure by Governor Edmund G. Brown, and received a bipartisan favorable vote of two-thirds of the Assembly. Emergency status and a two-thirds majority are required of bills containing an appropriation when passed prior to approval of the Governor's budget. The Bill was killed by the Senate Committee on Governmental Efficiency on the ground that the Ombudsman would be an intrusive layer between legislator and constituent. Hearings have since been held in Sacramento and Los Angeles by the Assembly Interim Committee on Government Organization, and the proposal will be reintroduced in the 1967 Session.

COUNTRIES AND CITIES

Proposals for municipal Ombudsmen have been made in Edmonton (Province of Alberta) and Laval (Province of Quebec), Canada, in Rotterdam, Holland, and in Philadelphia, New York City and Washington, D.C. Gotham proposals are gaining broadly based support following the defeat by referendum of the Civilian Police Review Board in the November, 1966 elections. In the United States Senate, S. 3783, "To establish the Office of Ombudsman in the District of Columbia," had sponsorship from both parties when introduced in August, 1966.

By Executive Order in Nassau County, New York, the Commissioner of Accounts was vested with Ombudsman-like functions on May 31, 1966, simultaneously with introduction in the Board of Supervisors of a proposal for the creation of a Public Protector. Even with this tentative status, Judge Samuel Greason, the Commissioner of Accounts, may well claim to be the first official American Ombudsman.

At the national level, proposals for an Administrative Counsel of Congress have been introduced by Congressman Henry S. Reuss of Wisconsin (H.R. 7593/1963; H.R. 4273/1965) and Senator Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island (S. 984/1965). In June, 1965, hearings were held by the Joint Committee on Congressional Organization, which "decided against recommending creation of such an office at this time" on the ground that "casework is a proper function of the individual Member of Congress."[5] Renewed interest in the institution grew out of the March, 1966, testimony of the Swedish Ombudsman, Judge Alfred Bexelius, before the Subcommittee on Administrative Procedure, chaired by Senator Edward V. Long of Missouri.[6]

PROPOSALS STIMULATE INQUIRY

Except for New Zealand and, imminently, the British Isles, no legislative body outside Scandinavia has yet created an Ombudsman. The score or more of proposals which have just been enumerated indicate that the idea is undergoing a process of legitimization, and one can hazard the prediction that the institution will soon break through, leading ultimately to widespread adoption. The Institute of Governmental Studies is making a comprehensive study of American proposals—chronology, analysis, and appraisal—but this investigation can at best be preliminary to the study of Ombudsman offices in operation.

Under the auspices of the Institute's Ombudsman project, Professor Gerald R. McDaniel headed a team in the office of Governor Brown during the summer of 1965, carrying out a time-and-motion study of mail-handling procedures. The report presently under preparation reveals that the

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Footnotes at end of speech.

large volume of mail places an undue burden upon hard-worked executive assistants, and that there is a built-in tendency toward agency self-protection. This leads to the consideration of complaints partly on the basis of their potential political impact, instead of solely on the basis of merit. This is not intended as a criticism, but rather states an unavoidable fact of life. Any agency must look to its own image. The primary responsibility for administrative fairness and efficiency must continue to rest with the executive branch of government. The Governor's office does a good job, and should continue to do so. It is not, however, a substitute for an impartial and expert external arbiter.

Currently, the Institute is investigating the complaint-handling functions of California lawmakers. Supervised by Professor Dean E. Mann of the University of California, Santa Barbara, a half-dozen interns have been placed in the local offices of State Assemblymen and Senators. Assemblyman Winfield A. Shoemaker, co-author of the Unruh proposal, points out that interns placed in his office have permitted him to do a better job of servicing complaints. If legislators are going to intervene on behalf of constituents, they need staff assistance sufficient to that purpose. And the lawmakers should publicize their availability. Shoemaker concludes that "an Ombudsman would make government more responsive to the people and increase the effectiveness of the legislative branch of government."[7] The Ombudsman is not meant to replace the elected representative, but to assist him and to provide an alternative avenue of redress.

Additional inquiry of this sort across the nation would be helpful, both for the insight into existing mechanisms it will afford, and for its implications as to the need for Ombudsmen. In Canada, however, protracted study has been used as much for delay as for enlightenment. Other questions can be answered only with the help of experience. Can a single Ombudsman, with a small staff, handle the workload of California's, New York's, or Canada's respective populations of 18,000,000 inhabitants? Or will these jurisdictions require plural Ombudsmen, whether regional or functional?[8] The best way to find out is to try.

An equally difficult question has already been answered through experience: Ombudsmen can control judicial behavior without sacrificing judicial independence. Through its Commission on Judicial Qualifications, California has demonstrated that rudeness and delay from the bench are discouraged by confidential recommendations flowing from the investigation of complains.[9] Other states are already copying this judicial Ombudsman.

CAMPUS OMBUDSMEN

Academic freedom is to college faculties what judicial independence is to the courts. The Senate of the Associated Students of the University of California, Berkeley, has recently recommended the establishment of an "investigator of student grievances."[10] Stanley Scott, Assistant Director of the Institute of Governmental Studies, suggests that such an Ombudsman might make professors and administrators more responsive to their constituencies without undercutting essential responsibility. In 1965, the students of Simon Fraser University in Vancouver elected one of their number to attempt such a job.

Perhaps a tenured professor, with an established reputation for receptiveness to student complaints, could be most effective. He would appreciate the value of academic freedom, and would be conversant with the labyrinths of administration. If he found an instructor to be remiss in teaching, whether through inadequate ability, or poor preparation or frequent tardiness or absence, or in counselling, whether through indifference or unavailability, he could report that finding to the instructor, and, in his discretion, to department heads and chief administrators. If he found an administrator to be unfair or wrong in a decision affecting a student, he could report that finding to the administrator and his superiors. As against administrative activities, he ought to have the right to compel testimony and the production of files. In carrying out his investigations, the professorial Ombudsman would have to be independent of students, faculty, and administration alike.

CONCLUSION

Problems of communication are inherent in representative government. They grow geometrically with increased size and complexity and the consequent rationalization of procedures. Burgeoning bureaucracy is only a reflection of the depersonalization caused by scale and complexity. And depersonalization, in turn can be considered almost a synonym for the rule of law. If the rule of law is not to be harsh and unfair through remote and automatic application, it must be humanized. One important institution for the humanization of government is the office of Ombudsman.

Footnotes at end of speech.

[1] "See "The Ombudsman: Public Defender Against Maladministration," *Public Affairs Report*, vol. 6, no. 2, April 1965. The best and most recent analysis is by Professor Walter Gellhorn in *Ombudsman and Others* and *When Americans Complain*, Harvard University Press, 1966.

[2] New Zealand House of Representatives Document A/6. *Report of the Ombudsman for the Year Ended 31 March, 1966*, p. 5.

[3] See Donald C. Rowat, ed., *The Ombudsman: Citizen's Defender*, University of Toronto Press, 1965, for a collection of articles on existing and proposed Ombudsman offices. In Scandinavia, the offices were created as follows: Sweden, 1909; Finland, 1919; Denmark, 1953; Norway, 1962. Separate Ombudsmen for Military Affairs exist in Sweden (since 1915), Norway (1952) and West Germany (1956).

[4] See Stanley V. Anderson, *Canadian Ombudsman Proposals* (University of California, Berkeley Institute of Governmental Studies, 1966), for a detailed chronology, comparison and appraisal of Canadian proposals.

[5] United States Senate Report No. 1414, 89th Congress, 2d Session, July 28, 1966. *Final Report of the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress*, p. 36. Cf. the reservation of Congressman Ken Hechler, p. 81.

[6] United States Senate, 89th Congress, 2d Session, March 7, 1966. *Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure of the Committee on the Judiciary*. A bibliography and a number of articles and documents are appended. Earlier, on March 1, 1966, Judge Bexelius gave testimony before the California Legislature's Assembly Interim Committee on Government Organization.

[7] *Santa Barbara News-Press*, September 28, 1966, p. C–10.

[8] See "An Ombudsman for the U.S.?" a discussion at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, in *Center Dairy:* 14, p. 19–25.

[9] See the *1965 Report of the Commission on Judicial Qualifications to the Governor*, and Jack E. Frankel, "Judicial Discipline and Removal," *Texas Law Review*, June 1966, p. 1117–1135. Mr. Frankel is Executive Secretary to the Commission. Judges are within the ambit of the Finnish and Swedish Ombudsmen.

[10] *The Daily Californian*, November 14, 1966, p. 6.

Lois M. Watson Receives South Carolina Chemical Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, I take great pleasure in inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a news items concerning Mrs. Lois McKay Watson, a teacher at Latta High School, South Carolina, which is located in my congressional district.

You will note that Mrs. Watson has been selected to enter competition with eight southern States for an award in chemistry.

Latta High School is considered one of the leading high schools in my State and we are extremely proud of Mrs. Watson's accomplishments and her outstanding work in the field of chemistry.

LOIS M. WATSON RECEIVES SOUTH CAROLINA CHEMICAL AWARD

Mrs. Lois McKay Watson, chemistry teacher at Latta High School, received the "outstanding" awards of the South Carolina Section, American Chemistry Society, Tuesday night.

Mrs. Watson received the "Outstanding High School Chemistry Teacher Award."

Following the presentations, members of the chemistry society heard a lecture on "Solar Energy" by Dr. Clark Bricker of the University of Kansas.

Dr. Davis, now dean of the College of Arts and Science at USC was named outstanding chemist "in recognition of his contributions and influence in the field of chemistry."

The citation noted, among other things, that while he was head of the USC department, it developed from a small department "into one which has received recognition."

He was further cited as "an inspiring teacher," an "organizer and leader" and "successful administrator." Davis is chairman of the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies.

Mrs. Watson, a teacher in Latta for 16 years, was honored for the "effectiveness of her teaching and the encouragement she gives to her students."

She has sponsored the science fairs in her school for seven years during which many of her students have won major awards for their exhibits.

Before she entered the teaching profession, Mrs. Watson was an industrial chemist for four years.

The South Carolina Section of the American Chemical Society is privileged to present its 1966 Outstanding High School Chemistry Teacher Award to Mrs. Lois McKay Watson, Teacher of Chemistry and Other Sciences at the Latta High School, Latta, South Carolina, in recognition of her outstanding work as a teacher in Latta High School for sixteen years.

The effectiveness of her teaching and the encouragement that she gives to her students is demonstrated by the list of those who have excelled in college and in graduate school and are now having successful careers in various fields of science.

She has sponsored the Science Fairs in Latta High School for seven years; and because of her inspiration and interest, her students have won grand prizes, many first places in the junior and senior divisions, and a number of special awards at the Regional Fair.

The South Carolina Section recognizes that by her participating in the National Science Foundation Institutes in recent years at the University of North Carolina and at the College of William and Mary and in the Interamerican Institute for Space Science Education at the University of South Florida, she continues to keep abreast of developments in science and in education.

Her background for teaching has been improved by working as an industrial chemist for four years prior to entering the teaching profession and by extensive travel. She is a member and leader in civic organizations which serve to promote a desirable relationship between the classroom and the homes from which the students come.

J. W. BOUKNIGHT,
Awards Committee.
JOHN C. EDWARDS,
Awards Committee.
CHARLES E. DURKEE,
Chairman, South Carolina Section of the American Chemical Society.

Older Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ALBERT
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the President recommended that we raise social security benefits, that we improve and extend health care available to the elderly, that we attack unjust job discrimination due to age, and that we expand programs designed to bring meaning to those living in retirement. I am confident that most Americans share these goals and this dream.

The Washington Post, in a thoughtful editorial in today's issue, urges quick action on these proposals. I include the Washington Post editorial in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 24, 1967]

OLDER AMERICANS

The President's proposals for legislation to improve the lot of Americans over sixty-five reflect a national concern for the plight of the aged. The poverty of more than five million aging Americans is a reproach to our society that ought to be removed if it is within the capacity of government to remove it.

One may hope that education and training of the young will diminish poverty of the aged in decades hence. But the vast expansion of educational facilities, producing an increasing proportion of literate and trained youths cannot be made retroactive. The opportunity to lead rewarding and useful lives within the framework of our society declines rather than increases for those already in the older age brackets. They cannot be retrained, re-educated and reconditioned for successful competition in a world that so differs from the one for which their training prepared them.

The changes in the security payments recommended by the President are not extravagant or reckless. They will leave millions of aged still in difficulty. But they advance the national policy in the direction it ought to go. Perhaps, in another generation, poverty and aging will not so frequently be found together. But there seems to be no solution now for the problems of the aging poor but the largesse of government or the help of private charity. The President's proposals ought to receive the support of all thoughtful and compassionate people.

Fino Urges Troop Withdrawal From Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I have reintroduced my resolution, last year the first in the House of Representatives, to declare the sense of the House that American military commitments in Europe be revised so as to enable the withdrawal of such American troops as might be withdrawn consonant with national security.

I originally introduced this resolution in February 1966, out of concern with the U.S. war effort and the U.S. balance-of-payments position. It is likely that the Senate will pass some resolution regarding our European troop strength during 1967.

Passage of my resolution would lead to freeing more troops for service on the home front and in southeast Asia. I am not urging escalation or de-escalation. I am proposing measures which show Europe that we mean business. I hope that the House will not default to the Senate in such vigilance.

Our European commitment clearly interferes with our troop rotations in Vietnam. I would also hasten to point out that our European military commitment is very costly. The billions we are spending in Europe could be trimmed to bring our budget closer to balance, and help head off the need for the proposed 6-percent tax increase.

Not only is our commitment costly in budget terms, but it is costly in balance-of-payments terms. In 1965, in the middle of the administration's much heralded war on balance-of-payments difficulties, this country lost $1.6 billion in gold. This was the biggest loss of gold since 1960. France, Germany, and Spain, directly or indirectly, have bilked us of $5 billion worth of gold since 1960. Now France is after gold again. We have almost 300,000 troops stationed in Germany and Spain, and the dollars paid to support these troops, many of which wind up in French hands, constitute a high proportion of the dollars traded in for U.S. gold.

The American military commitment keeps our taxes high and holds out the promise of even higher taxes. But what does it do for Europe? It keeps European taxes low. It eases the strain on European budgets through minimizing defense expenditures. The reduced European taxes subsidize European industry, making European exports more competitive with American exports. This hurts our trade situation.

Another reason to reduce U.S. troop commitment in Europe is the fact that some of our NATO allies are trading with North Vietnam. How can we expect diplomats to take our war effort seriously while we tolerate a heavy strain in keeping up the military protection of those who encourage or trade with our enemies?

If we shift some troops from Europe to Vietnam, we can meet our heavy military needs in Vietnam without resort to the draft of college students and other young Americans in unusual number. As long as we are keeping troops in Europe that could better be used on behalf of American interests in Vietnam, we are making our boys face a military draft so that America can protect Europe, while Europe's youth escape the service Europe might otherwise require of them. I do not want American students in rice paddies while American soldiers keep Europe's young people free for wine, women, and song.

What exactly is wrong with Europe protecting Europe? Our strategies which say otherwise are based on postwar military pschologies which have ceased to be realistic now that the great Communist threat is China—at least for the moment. I do not urge the withdrawal of any troops in Europe who are clearly protecting our interests. Let us withdraw those who are protecting European and not American interests.

The President's Program for Older Americans Deserves Support

SPEECH
OF
HON. JEFFERY COHELAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson is to be highly commended for the constructive, forward-looking message he has sent to the Congress to improve the lot of Americans 65 and over.

The elderly have all too often been a neglected segment of our society. All too many of them live on totally inadequate incomes, some five million below even the poverty level. All too many bear a disproportionately heavy burden of rundown housing, of discrimination in employment and of inferior recreation and rehabilitation services.

Our goal should be nothing less than a life of dignity and self-respect for all of our older Americans. To this end we surely can agree with the President's call to raise social security benefits to a level which will better meet today's needs, to improve and extend the health care available to the elderly, to attack the roots of unjust job discrimination and to renew and expand our programs to help bring fulfillment and meaning to the retirement years.

The President's recommendations are certainly not excessive. Clearly more still could be asked and done for the millions of our older people who live in difficulty and despair. But this is a practical and a timely proposal which the

President has sent to Congress. I hope that it will receive the early consideration and approval which it deserves.

Thompson Pays Tribute to Atlanta Gas Light Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FLETCHER THOMPSON

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I ask for permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks and to include extraneous matter in the RECORD.

Mr. Speaker, one of the oldest, most substantial and largest business firms in the city of Atlanta, which is within my district, is the Atlanta Gas Light Co. Since its founding 110 years ago, the company has developed into a $100 million a year business serving more than a half-million customers. One of the reasons for the company's success has been its enlightened corporate leadership.

Recently, Col. Hubert F. Lee, editor of Dixie Business magazine, published in the winter, 1966, issue an article paying tribute to leadership of this fine company and I ask that the article be printed in the RECORD so that others may have the benefit of knowing about this outstanding corporate leader.

The article referred to follows:

MEN IN THE NEWS

(By Hubert F. Lee, editor)

The year 1966 has been a busy year for Wallace L. Lee, president of the 110-year old Atlanta Light Co.

On January 31, 1966 his firm merged with Savannah Gas Company.

Atlanta Gas in 1966 gained extended service to 21 incorporated communities, bringing to 158 communities served.

On April 20, Mr. Lee was elected president of the Southern Gas Association, the trade association of natural gas distribution, pipe line and production companies in 14 states.

Construction was started on the Gas Tower at 235 Peachtree Street, the first office building in Georgia with natural gas turbines as its exclusive energy source. The 25-story, $10-million office building will be owned by John Portman, Atlanta, and Trammel Crow of Dallas, developers of the Peachtree Center.

Atlanta Gas just missed the mark in total revenues for 1966, the total was $99,092,894. The company passed half million mark in customers.

NINETIETH ANNIVERSARY

This Week, by Hubert F. Lee, a weekly newspaper column, was encored in the Winter 1946 issue Dixie Business, the world's foremost small magazine.

Here are a few paragraphs:

One of the most impressive dinners we have attended in a quarter of a century as a newspaperman and editor was one given last week (Oct. 31) by the Atlanta Historical Society in honor of the 90th birthday of The Atlanta Gas Light Company.

It was a proud moment in the life of Rock G. Tabor, president of the Gas Company, when he heard his firm dubbed "a symbol of what makes America great." Henry A. Alexander, president of the Atlanta Historical Society paid tribute to one of Atlanta's oldest business Corporations when he declared it always has stood for "permanence, enterprise, well-balanced judgment, integrity and success."

Rock Taber told the distinguished gathering, what he had previously told me, that it was the first time in his 40 years in the public utility industry that the people of a community had gathered to pay tribute to one of its utilities. He also told the story of the Gas Company and how it was founded to light Atlanta's streets on Christmas Day, 1855. Said Mr. Taber, "it has progressed with the community, and planned with the community for the growth and expansion that has taken place during the years."

The Gas Co. received its charter in February 1847.

H. Carl Wolf, who left the Gas Company a year ago to become Managing Director of the American Gas Association, sounded a keynote when he said that "only by a balanced combination of the service and profit concepts can we have American industry as we know it today."

Without profit there can be no service, he might have added.

It was fitting and appropriate that Mr. Taber on that historic occasion paid tribute to other public utility officials who have played an important part in Atlanta and Georgia's growth, including Hal Dumas, president of the Southern Bell T & T Company; J. Fred Tuner, vice president of the Telephone Company, Preston S. Arkwright, chairman of the Georgia Power Company and W. E. Mitchell, president of the Georgia Power Company.

Probably no city or state in the nation has so many public utility officials who have served their city or state so well as have the men Mr. Taber mentioned. Particularly Preston S. Arkwright and Hal S. Dumas. I know of things Mr. Arkwright has done for Georgia, had they been done by anyone other than a public utility official, would have caused the people of the state to draft him for Governor or Senator. And had they done so, he would have made a good one.

Jewish National Fund

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE E. SHIPLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. SHIPLEY. Mr. Speaker, on January 31 the Jewish National Fund is honoring Samuel Shapiro with the Keter Shem Tov Award. Mr. Sam of Illinois, as he is popularly known, is most certainly deserving of this honor, which means "Crown of a Good Name."

Samuel Shapiro has made an outstanding record as Lieutenant Governor of the great State of Illinois and has gained great stature as a leader and as a humanitarian. He is truly a special kind of person who spends virtually all of his time in doing things for other people. He has worked unselfishly and untiringly in behalf of others and his contribution to the people of Illinois cannot be measured.

It certainly is most appropriate that Samuel Shapiro be given the Crown of a Good Name.

War Against Graft Needs Escalation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, if there were ever a place where we needed a fully effective showplace foreign aid operation it is South Vietnam. Unfortunately, this has not been the case, as has been recently acknowledged in a report by the Agency for International Development's Saigon director, Donald G. MacDonald. While it may be that graft and corruption are age-old problems and that the Vietnamese program by its very scope and complexity presents special problems, that is no reason, I feel, to justify official tolerance of the diversion of as much as 6 percent of our aid assistance to the Vietcong or for other illicit purposes. Certainly any aid the Vietcong derives from this source can only do damage many times over to the efforts of our fighting men to defeat the enemy and pacify the country. If our Government with all the talent and material it has invested in the Vietnamese undertaking cannot achieve a better record than this, we may well wonder about the efficiency and effectiveness of our other, lower priority, aid programs throughout the world.

A recent editorial in the State Journal of Lansing, Mich., appearing Tuesday, January 17, entitled "War Against Graft Needs Escalation" offers a cogent statement on this question and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

[From the State Journal, Jan. 17, 1967]

WAR AGAINST GRAFT NEEDS ESCALATION

President Johnson's call for a $5.7 billion tax boost partly to help pay the soaring costs of the war in Vietnam imparts a special significance to a shocking new report on graft and corruption in connection with the American economic aid program in the embattled Asian country.

In our opinion the report was highly disturbing because of the amount involved and also because of the seemingly casual attitude of the U.S. officials in charge.

According to a recent dispatch from Saigon, the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) estimates that in the neighborhood of $25 million worth of economic assistance commodities delivered to South Vietnam "was stolen or otherwise diverted" in 1966.

Last November two Associated Press writers reported after a two-month AP survey that profiteering, graft and corruption were costing American taxpayers at least half a million dollars a day in the country the United States is defending against Communist aggression at a steadily rising cost in lives and money. They cited numerous examples of stolen or diverted goods and currency speculation.

After the articles were published officials in Saigon and Washington announced a number of measures designed to reduce or investigate the losses.

Donald G. MacDonald, director of U.S. aid in the South Vietnamese capital, and other AID officials said recently that massive American economic assistance was poured into Vietnam last year to help curb inflation and expand economic development.

The statement on illegal diversion said in part: "There were increased opportunities for pilferage, theft or improper application of AID supplies, especially in the ports and in provincial programs."

"On the basis of recent rates or loss, U.S. AID estimates that no more than 5 to 6 per cent of the U.S. economic assistance commodities delivered to Vietnam was stolen or otherwise diverted in recent months from their intended uses," the statement added.

Although MacDonald denied an intent to minimize such losses he said: "AID believes that the estimated overall loss rate of 5 to 6 per cent of U.S. AID goods cannot be regarded as highly unusual in a wartime situation as complex as that in Vietnam."

Trying to prevent graft and corruption under the conditions prevailing in Vietnam obviously is a difficult task but the importance of the effort increases with the expansion of the economic assistance program.

Perhaps the effort would be more effective and the costs borne by American taxpayers would not be as great if the losses were regarded as highly unusual and if there were greater determination to halt the activities which sap the effectiveness of the aid program that is supposed to be a vital part of U.S. policy in Vietnam.

It is necessary for the United States to engage in two wars in Vietnam—one against Red military aggression and the other against corruption and theft. The American people have every right to expect a maximum effort by the officials in charge of each of them to make them as effective as possible.

Hon. John E. Fogarty

SPEECH

OF

HON. CARL D. PERKINS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, I would certainly like to associate myself with the remarks of our colleagues concerning the Honorable JOHN EDWARD FOGARTY. This truly great Rhode Island legislator has erected a towering monument to his memory through the leadership he has provided in the building of programs and institutes to develop and protect the human resources of this great Nation.

History records he was a bricklayer. The bricks and mortar laid by JOHN FOGARTY can be discerned in the expanding institutions of higher education affording new and improved learning opportunities for our citizens resulting from his guiding hand on appropriation measures to fund meaningful programs. They can be seen in those national institutes which are effectively coping with the disease and infirmity which collects an exorbitant toll from the human resources of our Nation.

His lifelong campaign, directed by his intense compassion, to improve opportunities for people to participate and share in the great affluence of our democracy, was conducted with great modesty and with what will be recorded by history as almost legendary legislative skill. Indicative of his humility is the fact that the current Congressional Directory—of all the great things that may be said about him—carries only this line: "JOHN EDWARD FOGARTY, Democrat, of Harmony, R.I., elected in 1940; reelected to succeeding Congresses."

The Honorable JOHN FOGARTY was, indeed, a representative of his constituents, and the Nation will harvest for a long time to come the seeds sown by his great statesmanship.

Adam Clayton Powell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, in a recent edition of the Pittsburgh Catholic, there appeared an article by Msgr. Charles Owen Rice, commenting on our colleague, the gentleman from New York [Mr. POWELL]. Monsignor Rice's article does not seek to excuse or even to discuss at length the charges that have been leveled at the gentleman from New York. He discusses, instead, the reasons why the House took its action of January 10.

The article speaks for itself, and I can neither improve upon it, nor adequately summarize it. But one point which Monsignor Rice makes is worth singling out.

> It is worth nothing that the man is not accused—

Says Monsignor Rice—

> of selling his influence, of taking pay for pushing or blocking legislation or legal restraint. I happen to think the worst a politician can do is sell himself to the mighty, those unspeakable oil millionaires, for instance. I would prefer even a common thief to such—

Continues the monsignor.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the full text of Monsignor Rice's column following these remarks in the RECORD:

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL

(By Msgr. Charles Owen Rice)

It is most difficult for the white mind to understand Adam Clayton Powell. He seemed deliberately to make it easy for his enemies to get him as he left his flank unprotected. Not only has the white mind difficulty in understanding Powell or finding sympathy for him, it is puzzled that the Negro community has not repudiated the "bounder" and opted for respectability.

There are explanations for the Powell phenomenon but they are not at all simple. Much, much more is involved than delight at a glamorous gadfly. That by itself would not have won the support of nearly all American Negroes. Pro-Powell feelings are deep, and they are broad. I am convinced from personal investigation that even the apathetic Negroes, the ones who pay little attention to civil rights and anti-poverty, these would take to the streets for Adam Clayton Powell. He has got through to them. They understand him and his, "Keep the faith Baby."

To the white mind, a man in Powell's position should have been super cautious and should have protected himself. He should have labored to be above suspicion. Whites also would prefer a man like Powell to demonstrate by a sensitive regard for their opinion the fact that subtly he "knows his place." We would like all Black leaders to adjust to our world and our thought processes.

Powell's strength with Negroes comes precisely from his refusal to be a white man's Negro. He is attractive to Negroes because he will not stay in the place the white man has marked out for him, and he is determined the white man will take or reject him as he is.

Other men might have said to themselves, I am a Negro and I had better play it cagey or I will not last. Other men would have bent over backward and would have covered up. Not Powell. He is what he is, and he makes no defensive moves.

If Powell were a calculating and circumspect political operator, he would still have a certain appeal to his constituents, but cutting, as he does, a flamboyant and masterful figure, he is irresistable and unbeatable.

He makes white men bristle, and Negroes rather like that too.

In that the Powell misunderstanding widens the gap between white and Black, I regret it. But we must realize that the misunderstanding could not have been so monumental in the first place if a tragic gap had not already yawned at our feet. Negroes are almost a separate nation. Each nation has its special heroes. A subjugated nation values rebellion and defiance in its heroes, and it loves panache. Powell fits every requirement.

Powell had natural enemies. Everyone knows that the Southerners are infuriated at his swagger. They dislike uppity Negroes, and to them Adam Clayton is the essence of uppityness.

The rural and respectable Northerners, who are larger in Congressional number than they should be, dislike the openness of the man. Appearance is so important to them. They affect humility and publicly they play it small. Powell plays it big, and would not know how to affect a simpering smallness.

Then there are the hidden rascals. The ones who milk their jobs of every advantage, who hit the expense account hard, and fill the payroll with relatives and other drones. They do not want this sort of behavior flaunted, and they deeply resent the one who blows the whistle, who says I am merely doing in the open what others do covertly.

In addition, the labor establishment has been anti-Powell since he used his position as chairman of the Labor and Education Committee to harass certain labor unions for their de facto discrimination against his Negro people.

It was an ill assorted pack of baying dogs but it had teeth. Noisy dogs of the news media joined the chase and tried Powell in public. They made sure that every charge and innuendo was spread abroad. When they went into full cry it was too late for their quarry to attempt to outbark or to evade them.

The charges are serious, but we have not the background facts to judge the case. We need a complete investigation of Powell's allegation that similar conduct has been condoned in other Congressmen. He is a sufficiently important member of Congress to have his counter charges examined rather than ignored.

Finally, the charges, strong as they are, fall in the lesser category of abuse of privilege. It is worth noting that the man is not accused of selling his influence, of taking pay for pushing or blocking legislation or legal restraint.

I happen to think that the worst a politician can do is sell himself to the mighty, those unspeakable oil millionaires, for instance. I would prefer even a common thief to such.

Adam Powell was no thief, but he was careless in the grand manner. His people want him to keep on being their Congressman, and they will elect him again and again. Congress will be doing wrong, if it dare deny him his seat, because it will be depriving his constituents of their right to be represented by the man of their choice.

"Ready Now Ranger" Victim of Nontruce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE D. LONG
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the tragedy of losing a son in Vietnam was compounded for Mr. and Mrs. Bernard C. Kramer, of 5007 Chalgrove Avenue, Baltimore, by the fact that it occurred during the New Year's truce. Pfc. Howard Morris Kramer was killed just 6 weeks after arriving in Vietnam as a member of the "Ready Now Rangers." The following article from the Baltimore Sun summarizes the abbreviated life of a victim of violated unkept "truce."

Pfc. Howard Kramer Killed During Truce in Vietnam

Pfc. Howard Morris Kramer, a Baltimore serviceman who had been in Vietnam for only six weeks, was killed by hostile fire while he was on security patrol at his base near Saigon. He was 20 years old.

A native of Baltimore and a graduate of Forest Park High School, Private Kramer enlisted in the Army May 26, 1966, and did his basic training at Fort Gordon, Georgia. He arrived in Vietnam November 19 and was stationed at Di An, near Saigon.

The time and exact circumstances of his death were unknown, but Rabbi Harry Mezei, a chaplain at Fort Meade, informed Private Kramer's parents that their son was killed during the New Year's truce.

TRUCE BEGAN SATURDAY

The truce began at 7 A.M. Saturday.

A Defense Department telegram to Mr. and Mrs. Bernard C. Kramer, 5000 block Chalgrove avenue, said their son died from "wounds received while on security patrol when hit by hostile small arms and automatic weapons fire."

Private Kramer was attached to the 16th Infantry, 1st Division, in the province of To Duc. His unit was called the "Ready Now Rangers."

In a letter sent to his parents the day after Christmas, Private Kramer said he enjoyed a "delicious" Christmas dinner; he expressed surprise that such good food could be prepared under wartime conditions.

He described the Vietnamese civilians as "nice" and said they were grateful when American soldiers smiled at them and displayed friendly feelings.

While in high school, Private Kramer was selected for a Junior Achievement, Inc., program—an extra-curricular activity in which students form miniature companies and make products or perform services to learn business techniques.

He was elected president of his company, which made hotplates one year and bulletin boards the next.

INTERESTED IN RARE BOOKS

Private Kramer attended Bailtmore Junior College for a year before enlisting in the Army.

A collector of foreign paper money, he was also interested in rare books and was a member of the National Rifle Association.

Law Enforcement Manpower Needs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM R. ANDERSON
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, on the opening day of the 90th Congress I introduced a bill, H.R. 188, the law enforcement education bill, which would establish broad new avenues of educational opportunity for the law enforcement and corrections professions. It can be demonstrated that we are on the point of requiring the American law enforcement agencies to police a society to which they are educationally inferior. It is my contention that this could only contribute disastrously to the erosion of respect for the law and the men who administer it.

The tremendous need for college level education for law enforcement professionals, and their enthusiasm for such education is forcefully presented in the excellent article, "Are We Aiming Too Low in Recruitment," from The Police Chief magazine, January issue. The author, Mr. George H. Shepard, is qualified both as a police officer and a scholar, having served 23 years on the New York City Police Department, and been associate professor and chairman of a college police science department.

Are We Aiming Too Low in Recruitment?

Across the country, personnel recruiters are facing a scarcity of technicians and professionals to fill their growing labor needs. Increased technology and automation, and the emphasis on planning and research, while parodoxically replacing the unskilled and semi-skilled worker in the factory, have in turn created a demand for highly skilled and educated people, the "brain" workers.

Industry recruitment for these professionals has turned to the colleges and universities. Every graduating class is visited by recruiters who hire the promising students.

Police administrators, faced with growing numbers of vacancies in their forces, are now striving to compete with industry as well as other governmental agencies for these young candidates. Unfortunately, they are becoming increasingly frustrated in their efforts. Familiar questions are: "Why should college men come into our department for a starting salary of less than $6,000 per year, when they can earn more in other jobs, and be lots safer?" "Why should college men come to us as lowly patrolmen, when with their education, they could get jobs as supervisors?"

Where does this leave the college candidate? More importantly, what happens in those departments which make no attempt to recruit college-trained men? Are they successful in attracting high school graduates in sufficient number to satisfy their needs? A canvas of most police agencies would result in a negative reply. This acute shortage of trained, better-educated officers is making itself particularly felt in areas such as juvenile work, technical laboratory assignments, and in planning and research units, not to mention the vital police patrol area itself.

The literature on personnel in juvenile delinquency services is replete with suggestions for curricula, standards, in-service courses, workshops, institutes and seminars. Almost without exception, professionals in probation, detention, institutional treatment and parole emphatically stress the baccalauerate degree as a minimal educational requirement for their staff workers, and they prefer a graduate degree in social work.

Yet, in police work, educational requirements beyond the high school level are conspicuous by their absence. For example, the literature in the field of police work with children has few references to the necessity of college training for police juvenile specialists.

Commenting upon the dynamic changes in police work and the need to professionalize, Frank Day observes:

"Today if a police officer is to carry out his duties efficiently and intelligently, he must be a social scientist. It is necessary to get a complete man who has an understanding of his society and its people—a sense of perspective that can come only from a broad, general education. And the higher he goes in rank, the more he needs to know about people and their institutions."

Why are some police administrators avoiding the basic requirement of education for police officers? Is this happening because they are passive toward the shortage of college-trained eligibles for police work? Are they dropping their sights too low in trying to be practical, or are they apathetic about their responsibilities to the community?

Mirich and Voris think the lack of professional education in law enforcement is partially due to the expectation by the *citizenry* that local law enforcement will always recruit its manpower from the ranks of the unqualified due to apathy, lack of interest, neglect, and a serious lag in communications between law enforcement and the public.

Although I do not attempt to criticize noncollege police officers or the agencies which employ them, and although I am fully aware of the thousands of dedicated, sincere, and capable police officers without college educations, I am allied to the premise that if we cannot obtain the better-educated man, then we must promote higher education within our own circles.

Police officials have often prescribed higher education for their personnel, as the August, 1966 issue of *The Police Chief*, almost entirely devoted to police training and education, shows. But the gap between "wanting" and "doing" is still very wide.

Every police administrator, every bureau, division, and unit within a police agency, wants its share of the "best" available. Police agencies have established standards for police appointment in their jurisdictions which include mental, physical and, in some cases, psychological testing for candidates. These standards and qualifications, however, vary from locale to locale. When the need for recruits arises, and the supply is low, some agencies will temporarily raise their entrance salaries a bit; others will lower their physical requirements, trusting that highly qualified young men, shorter in stature, will apply in large numbers.

Does this mean, then, that we should settle for less and lower our standards, so vital for police practitioners, and open police employment to all? Such policy would be unthinkable.

RAISING OUR SIGHTS

I feel that this shortage of college-educated recruits stems from police recruiters failing to see the problem from a higher perspective. When are they going to realize that we are not now even competing with industry and other public agencies? Of course we must raise police salaries; of course we must offer fringe inducements. But we must also stop our negative thinking and learn to approach the problem positively: *We must offer education as an inducement to employment.*

We must attract the man who has not had the opportunity of securing a college education, and make it possible for him to come to work after training as a police officer and continue his education—basically at community expense.

Recognizing that the lack of inducements is draining potential police manpower, O'Connor and Watson state:

". . . The only solution is better selection procedures with emphasis on upgrading the entire police operation. In fact, ultimate licensing of men for police jobs on the basis of education and other qualifications is a desirable goal for the future. Improvement in beginning salaries and in working conditions are matters which must receive simultaneous attention in order to attract suitable candidates."

And, we should go one step further as Berkeley, California has done. There the non-college police officer is encouraged to acquire college credits while fully employed by giving him financial and promotional inducements.

California began its state-wide system of police training in 1931, and by 1959 with the inception of its Peace Officers Standards and Training Commission (POST), had legal standards for recruitment and training of local police officers. The program allocated funds to those agencies which participated by paying one half of the salaries of trainees.

Farris has shown how the growth of two-year community colleges has helped police education move from the realm of terminal-vocational education into the sphere of true higher education. And California junior colleges contributed largely to the standardization of police education. The two-year colleges are accessible to almost every locale; the facilities, for the most part, are free for residents and include curricula of interest to all members of the community; and the range of subjects offered encompasses almost every known field. It is natural that police education should come into its own in such an atmosphere.

This marriage of higher education and police training in the West has already borne results. O'Connor and Watson learned that in the Pacific Region (California, Washington and Oregon) 55.5 per cent of the police force attend or have completed college courses, with 18.6 per cent having one or more college degrees, while in the Middle Atlantic States (New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey) 17.6 per cent attended or completed courses, with only 4.1 per cent having one or more degrees.

Other states have also enacted legislation, voluntary or mandatory, regulating the minimum hours of recruit training, curricula, and other guides for police recruits which has served to encourage the growth of college programs in police education.

In New York State, police education at the community college level is also making strides. In 1964, the writer helped to inaugurate the first pre-service police science program at the college level. So popular and appealing has it become that, as of June 1966, the school received over 250 applications for the 50 available seats for the fall semester.

This growth has been planned and is not just accidental. The success of a police science college program must be attributed to police *and* community acceptance of the necessity for *financial* support. When a community will pay for at least half, or better still, the *full* cost of tuition and books for police officers at the community college, attendance is stimulated.

Effective in September 1966, the Rochester, New York, Police Bureau, in cooperation with the Monroe Community College, inaugurated a work-study trainee program to span a period of three years. About twenty selected young men, aged 17 to 21 years, physically, educationally, and mentally eligible for police work and college entrance, were appointed after preliminary examination as police cadets. They attend college for twelve credits per semester and work 20–25 hours per week at selected clerical tasks in the Rochester Police Bureau. The trainees are paid for their work, have their tuition expenses and fees paid, and will be required to work in the Bureau full-time during the summer school recess. Upon attaining an Associate of Applied Science Degree in Police Science, the trainee will be required to work for at least three years in the Bureau as a police officer. If a trainee fails to stay with the program, or for any reason fails to complete his contractual obligation, he will be required to return the money spent on his education.

But what about the student who studies at the two-and-four-year colleges in police science at his own expense? Communities may find it less expensive to offer these graduates positions on their police forces at the third, fourth, or even higher steps in the salary schedule than to pay the costs of their pre-schooling. If they are to attain professional status for their police officers, if they truly believe that police work is a skilled occupation and a technical craft—then they must find a way to employ trained educated people.

Lateral entry has been suggested as another means to obtain professional personnel. Although I realize that this idea is repugnant to some police agencies, they and state civil service bodies would do well to consider revising existing regulations to promote "open" entry by qualified applicants. If adopted, such a procedure might well open the way for the hiring of experts and technicians from other agencies. It might also become a stimulus for existing personnel to upgrade and advance themselves in situations where intra-departmental advancement is otherwise blocked.

ACTING TOGETHER

The experience of the Police Science College of the City University of New York, just concluding its first academic year as an independent senior college of a university, is proving that an interplay between the academic and police community can make possible the professional development and testing of educational theory. That police officers of all ranks are going about their daily tasks in the department and continuing their education at the same time is (1) helping to destroy the myth that the college man will not come or stay in police work, and (2) helping to develop more understanding for both participants. Similar goals are, of course, being reached on the West Coast in the program already discussed.

The modern police administrator has the responsibility of "selling" his community on this concept of higher education for police personnel. A. F. Brandstatter states:

"The message is becoming quite clear that traditional practices are considered to be inadequate; the police, the schools, and other agencies must act together in bold imaginative ways, if they are to be successful. The police are in a unique position to provide leadership to develop creative new programs, consistent with police goals. The role of the police in its relationship to the community regarding crime is to give leadership and be the positive force around which the rest of the Community rally."

The need, then, for more education for police work is apparent. Indeed, if professionalization is to be achieved in police work, the higher education of police officers becomes obligatory. And the way is clear to utilize the growing orbit of the two-year community college as the fulcrum of police education. When we raise our sights, we can raise our standards. When we promote police education, we promote community service.

The police administrator must seize the initiative and make education work for and within his department. When a community pays for the education of its police officers, young men and women will readily grasp the opportunity. No longer will police departments have to vie with industry and other public agencies for the college man; no longer will these departments have to resort to hiring "cast-offs;" and no longer will they deplete their patrol forces of the "best" to fill vacancies in their specialist services like youth divisions, research and planning sections, or technical laboratory bureaus.

One Thousand Jobs for Kilmer Corpsmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, a notable and proud milestone was reached a few weeks ago at the Kilmer Job Corps Center in Edison, N. J., when the 1,000th corpsman was placed in employment.

As the following article from the Evening News, of Perth Amboy, N.J., disclosed, Earnest Jackson, a high school dropout and former laborer, joined the Job Corps in June 1966 and graduated from the center's automotive school. He is now employed by the Ford Motor Co.'s Edison assembly plant as a metal finisher and is earning up to $225 a week.

Earnest is only one of the 1,497 young men who graduated from the center since February 1965—proof that if a disadvantaged youth is given a fair and decent chance to learn a trade, he will usually succeed and become a useful citizen.

I think it is very important to recognize the many achievements of the war against poverty, instead of merely singling out the problems and inevitable misfortunes of this vast and challenging battle against deprivation. The war against poverty has not failed; it is succeeding, but is a war that cannot and will not be won overnight. It will take years before total victory is achieved and I have faith in it.

The article follows:

[From the Evening News, Perth Amboy, N.J., Dec. 29, 1966]

ONE THOUSAND JOBS FOR KILMER CORPSMEN

EDISON.—A 22-year-old corpsman from Miami, Fla., is the 1,000 corpsman placed in employment by the Kilmer Job Corps Center, Center Director D. L. Webber announced today.

Earnest Jackson who just graduated after completing a course in the center's automotive school, has been hired by the Ford Motor Co. here and began work immediately.

One of Kilmer's outstanding auto body repair students, Jackson has been hired as a metal finisher in the local plant which assembles 400 Mustangs per day.

His "touch for metal" has enabled him to turn an avocational interest in designing and making rings and jewelry into a lucrative sideline which has earned him extra money at the center and in New York's Greenwich Village during his stay at Kilmer.

Earnest, whose dependability led to his becoming a lead corpsman and assistant instructor, lives up to his name in his daily activities.

Married and the father of two-year-old Earnest Carl, Jackson turned to the Job

Corps to find a trade which would enable him to support his family. His wife, a nurse, remained in Florida to work in a local hospital when Earnest came to Kilmer.

Earnest arrived at Kilmer on June 12 and enrolled in the office machinery operator's course at the center's commercial technology school. He soon switched to auto body repair and learned his new trade under the tutelage of instructor Goodrow Ryans.

He developed an interest in making rings, although he had never worked with metals prior to coming to Kilmer, and soon became a nightly visitor to the arts and crafts shop, working with sterling silver in making custom rings and jewelry.

Robert Rosenstein, supervisor of arts and crafts, noting the deft way in which Jackson worked with silver, interested him in a parttime position in Greenwich Village working in a jewelry shop. The owners were so impressed with him that they offered to send him to school to learn the trade.

Jackson thought it over, but the offer from Ford was too good to pass up, so he accepted his present position, where he works the night shift.

With his overtime and night differential, Earnest is making more than $225 per week.

Robert Wilson, paint department superintendent at Ford, said, "The skills Earnest acquired at Kilmer Job Corps are of great value to us. By joining the Corps, he demonstrated he had a real desire to learn.

"This, plus his newly acquired knowledge, makes it appear that he will be a real asset to Ford."

Jackson dropped out of school in the 11th grade and worked as a laborer for Miami Shores, Fla., before deciding to "step up to Job Corps."

Earnest lived in Goulds, Fla., south of Miami, with his grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Erkelee Mabry, before marriage. He has three brothers and three sisters.

A total of 1,497 Corpsmen have graduated from Kilmer's six schools since the center opened in February 1965.

The six schools are food service, commercial technology, transportation, electrical-electronics, building and metal trades and automotive.

Man of Year Award

SPEECH

OF

HON. KENNETH J. GRAY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, it is a real privilege to join my colleagues from Illinois in congratulating our outstanding Lt. Gov. Sam Shapiro on being selected to receive the Man of the Year Award by the Jewish National Fund. Mr. Sam as we affectionately call Lieutenant Governor Shapiro, is a man of rare talents. He has proven ability to represent Illinois in the finest tradition. Sam has been a great leader in the field of mental health. He has led the fight for many pieces of progressive legislation both as a lawmaker and as presiding officer of the State senate.

Mr. Speaker, as my esteemed colleagues from Illinois have pointed out, Sam Shapiro is highly deserving of this signal honor being bestowed upon him by the Jewish National Fund in Chicago on January 31. I want to add my congratulations to Mr. Sam and wish for him many more healthy, happy years of dedicated service.

American Medical Association Volunteers for Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, a group of dedicated American physicans are applying their professional skills in a unique project designed to ease the acute medical care crisis in Vietnam. In the best tradition of their profession, they are bringing aid, comfort and hope to a beseiged people—the victims of the miseries and horrors of war.

Malcom E. Phelps, M.D., of El Reno, Okla., the distinguished field director of the American Medical Association Volunteers For Vietnam, outlined the accomplishments, challenges and sacrifices of these volunteers in a thought-provoking speech to the House of Delegates at the Clinical Convention of the American Medical Association at Las Vegas, Nev., on November 29, 1966. His highly cogent observations, moreover, contained a warning of the pitfalls which accompany any signs of appeasement by our leaders toward the Communist aggressors. I hope all Members will read the address of Dr. Phelps, which follows:

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, distinguished guests, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen: Since the days of Aesculapius, the practice of the art and science of medicine has been a most rewarding profession.

The relief of suffering . . . the prolonging of life . . . the mending of broken bodies, and spirits as well . . . is a primary concern to all of us—one which regulates our daily lives.

Often in the past, it has been the physician to whom people have turned in their darkest hour. And . . . the true physician has never failed to respond. History records many such occasions where physicians . . . often through much personal sacrifice . . . justified the faith, confidence and trust accorded him by those who looked to him for help.

In the past few years . . . it seems . . . there has been an organized and studied campaign to destroy the image we have inherited and have tried to preserve. I think we will all have to admit this campaign has met with some success . . . at least in certain quarters.

At times . . . some of us have aided and abetted this movement because we were lax in preserving our deals. Some thoughtless or ill-considered action by a single member of our profession often reflects discredit on all of us and destroys the image that has taken years to create.

For the past five months I have had the privilege of serving as your representative . . . co-ordinating the work of more than 80 of our colleagues who are . . . I believe . . . doing more to restore our image than perhaps any other group in existence today. I include . . . also . . . the 120 doctors who participated in the program before the American Medical Association assumed responsibility for administration of the project.

For those who might not be aware of the effort . . . may I explain:

Beginning in September 1965 . . . under the People-to-People Foundation . . . American doctors volunteered two months of their time and skills to help the civilian population in a land that was under Communist attack and infiltration. I refer to the struggling new nation of Vietnam. With the sanction of this House of Delegates . . . at the June 1966 meeting in Chicago . . . the American Medical Association assumed direction of this undertaking as of July of this year under contract with the Agency for International Development of the U.S. State Department.

There are some 16 million persons in Vietnam who . . . until this program started . . . had about 100 doctors available to treat their many ills and injuries.

Public health services . . . preventive medicine . . . and ordinary sanitary measures were largely non-existent.

Add to all this the tremendous number of civilian war casualties and you may get a faint inkling of the great need for modern medical care in this country.

These past few months I have been privileged to visit practically all of the hospitals throughout this colorful country and personally witness conditions as they exist.

For those of you who have not personally seen Vietnam . . . it is almost impossible to imagine conditions as they are today. Most of the hospitals are at least 50 years old and were built by the French during the 86 years in which they dominated this country.

Until recently . . . when the United States became involved . . . most of the hospitals had no electricity . . . no running water . . . and no sanitary facilities.

At least . . . in part . . . some improvement has been made. Now . . at least . . . most of the hospitals have a reasonably modern surgical suite.

But . . . the hospitals still are appallingly overcrowded. For example . . . it is usual and customary for two and at times three patients to occupy a single bed. I visited one 1300-bed hospital which had 1800 patients. And . . . compounding this situation . . . was the fact that the hospital's entire medical staff consisted of two Vietnamese physicians who were doing what they could to render care.

It was to this setting that the American Medical Association Volunteer Physicians for Vietnam brought and is bringing its dedication . . . knowledge and skills to serve humanity . . . with no thought of personal gain or reward. And . . . this service is offered at personal hardship and privation and at times personal danger. Supplies and equipment often are meager or nonexistent. The only things never in short supply are patients in dire need of attention.

Vietnam is a medical museum. Tuberculosis is the biggest problem. Typhoid is rampant. Intestinal parasites are universal. Leprosy . . . plague . . . cholera . . . smallpox . . . tetanus . . . and diptheria . . . are not uncommon.

Add to this the tremendous number of war injuries from which this civilian population is not immune . . . and you may get a faint idea of the demands on the doctor who goes to this area.

War casualty admissions in some of the hospitals run from 75 to 90 per cent. As a case in point—early one morning the day after four of the volunteer physicians arrived . . . 181 casualties were brought into one hospital. These dedicated doctors worked for almost 36 hours . . . without rest . . . and saved many lives and limbs by their efforts.

Upon completion of his assignment . . . the Government of Vietnam present the doctor with a beautiful certificate, acknowledging his contribution to the people and thanking him . . . in behalf of the government . . . for his service.

To show their appreciation . . . many of the communities also present plaques, gifts or other tokens of gratitude to doctors who have done so much in the short two months they have served the villages.

One town . . . for example . . . renamed its hospital for a doctor whose contributions were especially appreciated. The entire community gathered at the airport to see him off and then met every incoming plane for the next several days to welcome his successor.

These American doctors . . . truly . . . have made a tremendous impression on the people of this war-torn nation. So much so . . . that it is not at all uncommon for a member of a family to carry an ill member of the family as much as 50 miles . . . on their backs. . . . in order to be treated by an American doctor.

Yes . . . the American physician has made . . . and is making a tremendous impression on these people and helping them in their fight against their oppressors.

It is a most rewarding sight . . . one that the departing physician will always remember . . . when hundreds of villagers gather to bid him farewell. As he boards the departing plane he can see his many grateful patients . . . and their loved ones . . . who have come to thank him in the only way that they know—by waving their hands and wiping the tears from their eyes as he leaves them behind.

It is not necessary to understand or speak their language. The look on their faces says much more than words ever could. These are faces which tell a story of reverent adoration for a stranger who brought so much to them in the short time in which he lived and was a part of their community.

Before I close . . . I must tell you the war in Vietnam is not a civil war. It is aggression and subversion by the Communist oppressors who desire to control the lives and property and enslave the people of this land.

Unless you could see . . . as I have seen . . . you would not believe that a human being could be capable of committing the acts of savage butchery that the Reds are committing daily in this land.

The acts of torture of innocent women and children they inflict never could have any military significance. They are inhumane acts . . . the sole purpose of which is to create terror in the countryside.

Our gallant troops are doing a marvelous job in assisting the Vietnamese to remain free and the master of their own destinies. Their lot is difficult and dangerous and is made more so by talk of compromise or cessation of bombing of the supplies and lines of communication of the aggressors.

Each demonstration by the bearded beatnik and his stupid followers encourages the enemy and prolongs the conflict and is . . . in a sense . . . responsible for the sacrifice of American lives and the butchery of countless women and children in a land of people whose only desire is to be left alone to live their own lives without being enslaved.

The hope of the Communist is that we will become weary of war and that they can enslave Asia and . . . eventually . . . the world.

Anti-military demonstrations in the United States add to the Communist ardor and encourages them to continue their oppression.

In closing . . . I would again like to doff my hat to the individual American physicians who are living up to the highest ideals of our profession in their service in Vietnam.

And . . . too . . . may I offer my congratulations to this House of Delegates of the American Medical Association for its foresight in instituting a program of such magnitude. Not only is the program providing direct medical aid . . . it also is . . . through the resources of American medical educational institutions . . . providing technical advice and assistance to the medical schools in Vietnam so that they might support and develop their own programs, personnel and facilities toward meeting the accelerated health requirements of the people of Vietnam.

Again . . . you have met the challenge of aiding the cause of humanity.

Because of the actions of the individual doctors who are serving the cause so magnificently in Vietnam . . . because of the actions of men like you in this House of Delegates in providing such a program . . . I am indeed proud to be called a doctor and a colleague of such dedicated men.

Thank you.

New York State Legislative Program, 1967, Affiliated Young Democrats, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to submit the legislative program for 1967 adopted by the New York State Affiliated Young Democrats, adopted December 22, 1966:

AFFILIATED YOUNG DEMOCRATS, INC., OF NEW YORK STATE, ADOPT LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR 1967 AT THEIR STATE MEETING HELD AT THE HOTEL PICCADILLY, NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 22, 1966

The Affiliated Young Democrats of New York at their State Legislative Committee meeting held last evening at the Hotel Piccadilly, 227 West 45th Street, New York City unanimously endorsed their State Legislative Program for 1967, which Program will be introduced and advanced in the State Senate by their 20 members, under the Chairmanship of Samuel L. Greenberg of Kings County; and in the State Assembly, by their Chairman, Dorothy H. Rose of Erie County, with their 45 members in the Assembly.

AFFILIATED YOUNG DEMOCRATS STATE LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR 1967

1. Bill requiring State-Wide Primaries for all State Offices.
2. Raise drinking age to 21 years.
3. Change Condon-Wadlin Law with no strike clause, and to settle all strikes by impartial Arbitrators agreeable to both sides.
4. Lower voting age to 18 years.
5. Stronger Code of Ethics.
6. Bonus for Korean and Vietnam Veterans.
7. Study cost and financing of all Political Offices and a bill for this solution.
8. Tighten Laws to combat air and water Pollution.
9. Strengthen Law to ehforce Compulsory Auto Insurance Law.
10. Raise the Juvenile Jurisdiction of the Courts from 16 to 18 years. All youthful offenders should be put in different Institutions than adults.
11. Law to enforce sale of purchase of cigarettes, tobacco, and cigars to anyone under 18 years of age.
12. Raise minimum wage to $1.75 per hour.
13. Outlaw Boxing.
14. Permanent Spring Primary Election day in June.
15. Mandatory free tuition at all State and City Universities and Community Colleges.
16. A printed Record of all proceedings verbatim of each State Legislative Session be made available to the public.
17. Bill to create three day-week-end plan to celebrate all Holidays, except Religious Holidays, on Monday.
18. More incentive Scholarships to assist needy students to go to College.
19. Bill for permanent Personal Registration be made State-Wide; and changed to have less congestion in New York City.

A. Do not have to Register if a person moves in same County of New York City, only have to mail notarized change of address to Board of Elections of that County.

20. Bill for State-Wide Recreation Department to be created.

Richard H. Wels, Chairman of the State Legislative Committee of the Affiliated Young Democrats of New York presided at this important meeting.

Tourism Rough, One-Way Street in Red Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, with Americans embarking on a naive and dangerous drive for coexistence with Eastern European Communist governments, the following article by Copley Press Columnist Dumitru Danielopol, which appeared in the San Diego Union on January 3, 1967, is especially kindly:

TOURISM ROUGH, ONE-WAY STREET IN RED COUNTRIES

(By Dumitru Danielopol)

This is to be "International Tourist Year."

It was proclaimed by United Nations Secretary General U Thant.

The idea is to encourage travel throughout the world—even in the Iron Curtain countries. Or, perhaps, especially in those countries.

Undersecretary of State Eugene Rostow has asked the 21-nation Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development to explore extended tourism in Communist lands.

President Johnson said in his Oct. 7 speech that "the American government took additional steps to liberalize travel to Communist countries in Europe and Asia. We intend to liberalize these rules further."

The Communists are eager to help. Their governments are hungry for hard currencies that the Western tourist brings with him.

But before everyone rushes off to Minsk or Pinsk or Mamaia or Sophia, they might pause and ponder. Anyone who was once a citizen of an Iron Curtain country should bear in mind the risks involved.

The Communists often do not recognize the new nationality of their former citizens. These people can be arrested on any excuse.

Remember Czech-born American Vladimir Kazan-Komarek, who was arrested at the Prague airport when his Russian airliner made an unscheduled stop on a "nonstop" flight from Moscow to Paris.

The man is a travel agent. He was invited to Moscow for a conference. If anyone was immune, it should have been Kazan-Komarek. But he's sitting in a Prague prison, accused of espionage and anti-government activities.

"Any person who escaped from behind the Iron Curtain must be crazy to go back," remarked Al Mikulik, an Aurora, Ill., businessman who also escaped from Czechoslovakia some years ago.

Other former East Europeans also have found a strange brand of hospitality.

The exile newspaper BIRE of Paris recounts the adventures in Romania of one Mrs. Rothman, nee Neuman, an Austrian, who lives in Vienna.

Lured by the ads of the Romanian tourist office "Carpati" in Vienna, she decided to drive to the Transylvanian town of Orades to visit her brother, Gabor Neuman.

She got her papers, loaded her car with presents for her family and set off for Romania.

As soon as she reached Orades, the exile paper states, she was arrested along with her entire family and taken to the security police building. The whole family was stripped and searched.

Two policemen stayed at her brother's residence and arrested everyone who came to visit.

The family's "interrogation" lasted several days. Finally they were released, minus the presents Mrs. Rothman has brought from Vienna. A police captain called Mocanu, who is chief of the economic department of the security police, got those.

Mrs. Rothman was ordered to leave the country immediately. She was escorted to the frontier. At the border her luggage was taken out of the car. When she protested, her car was taken apart piece by piece.

Mrs. Rothman's case was an extreme example of the "attention" foreign visitors receive from the Romanian ministry of interior affairs. But no one escapes notice.

Tourists and businessmen returning from Bucharest invariably report some form of police surveillance.

The United Nations' tourism promotion is based on the theory that travel increases understanding. This is true when travel is free and reciprocal.

But how many people of the Communist lands are going to get the dollars or pounds or francs necessary to travel in the West? And how many will get passports?

As with everything, the Communist looks on tourism as a one-way street.

The Next Move Is Up to Hanoi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, our Government has done everything possible to open negotiations for a peaceful settlement in Vietnam. We have met with nothing but rebuffs. This is clearly pointed out in the following editorial from the January 5, 1967, edition of the New York World Journal Tribune, the next move is up to Hanoi.

The editorial follows:

THE FOUR SHARP POINTS

Harrison Salisbury's interview with North Viet Nam's Premier Pham Van Dong could be important—more so than the same correspondent's account of the effects of American bombings, which caused such a stir.

That is why it is difficult to understand the New York Times' effort to keep the story for its very own, until it was pried loose, not by American news agencies, but Tass.

The potential significance of the interview lies in Premier Dong's assertion that the "four points," which have been the war aims of North Viet Nam and the Viet Cong, were not pre-conditions for negotiations, but "valid conclusions for discussion."

The four points require American withdrawal and the acceptance of the Viet Cong as the voice of South Viet Nam. The United States naturally cannot accept what is in effect surrender in Viet Nam, but it has expressed its willingness to have the four points laid on the conference table.

Since the four points are thus no obstacle to beginning negotiations, (even though they may well hinder a settlement), why not sit down and talk?

The premier says the "party which has to make first steps is Washington." If he means diplomatic initiatives, Washington has made all of them, through every possible avenue. If he implies an end to the bombing, that is another matter. The United States has opposed it without some balancing action, or promise, or at least direct contacts to discuss the question, by the other side.

But the premier also says there is no hurry about negotiations. "Let the situation ripen," is his conclusion.

Meanwhile, of course, men, women and children are dying in Viet Nam. To what end? The premier, who, with Ho Chi Minh, could stop the fighting and begin the talking, does not say. Possibly he is too busy issuing public rebuffs to those who are trying to bring about negotiations. The next move is obviously still up to Hanoi.

Retirement of Mrs. Dorothy Heller, Director of the Junior Red Cross Program, Cleveland, Ohio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, over 2 million young people in my city of Cleveland, Ohio, and the metropolitan area have directly benefited from the dedicated work of Mrs. Dorothy Heller, director of the Junior Red Cross program in the Cleveland chapter of the Red Cross.

Mrs. Heller's activities are renowned not only in Cleveland, but throughout the country and in many parts of the world. Mrs. Heller has served as adviser and consultant to educational and youth programs not only directly through her own contact but through the hundreds and thousands of young people who have benefited from her guidance. We in Cleveland are indeed grateful for Mrs. Heller's work and wish to her every happiness in her future endeavors.

I wish to introduce at this point in the RECORD an article which appeared in the Cleveland Press by Bob Seltzer entitled "One-Year Job Spreads Into 30."

The article is as follows:

ONE-YEAR JOB SPREADS INTO 30

(By Bob Seltzer)

Mrs. Dorothy Heller was invited to become director of the Junior Red Cross early in 1937. She took the post on Feb. 1 and vowed she would remain only one year.

Thirty years later, with her program grown from 12,779 children in 36 schools in 1937 to 407,700 children in 587 schools in Cuyahoga and Geauga counties today, under the new title of Red Cross Youth, Mrs. Heller will retire Feb. 1.

Her retirement will create a void for about 2,000,000 students in her Red Cross programs since 1937. On a desk in her office and in cabinets are graduation photographs of many boys and girls. They write and visit her. They invite her to their weddings, and later bring in their babies. She was their good friend and counselor.

"The Red Cross asked me to develop a program in 1937," said Mrs. Heller, a jolly woman of 62, with lively blue eyes and gray hair. "I stayed on because I saw many challenging needs.

"Our program saved many from becoming school dropouts. It enable me to help children learn the joy of giving of themselves and helping others. It taught the motivation of learning, and unearthed interests and talent and developed leadership.

"The students developed a respect for personal and community health. They gained a better understanding of international relations. Recently they filled 5000 gift boxes with crayons, paper pads, tooth brushes, soap and toys for children in foreign lands. They sent health and stationery kits and school chests to children of South Vietnam."

Mrs. Heller's program, part of school curricula and guided by educators, teaches first aid, home nursing, art, disaster training, water safety and swimming, recreation, sewing and other subjects.

Junior and senior high school students paint facets of American life for distribution in foreign lands and exchange albums with children of other nations. They bake cookies for patients at veterans hospitals. Last Christmas they decorated a tree, the windows and walls of Wade Park VA Hospital.

Sewing classes make layettes, stoles and adult bibs of terry cloth. Kindergartners now are making valentines. College students sing folk songs, help feed and wheel patients at Wade Park VA Hospital. High School girls volunteer on the Red Cross Blood Mobile, work at the canteen and in the office at Greater Cleveland chapter headquarters at 1227 Prospect Ave. Others assist shut-ins at institutions.

In 1959 Mrs. Heller and another adult leader were chosen to escort 14 American high school students on a six-week international study mission in Europe.

Mrs. Heller graduated from West Tech High School, and earned a bachelor degree in education and a master's in musical education at Western Reserve University School of Education. She is a talented pianist.

She taught two years at Memphis School, then had to resign because she had married. Invited to a summer session at WRU as a music teacher, she accepted a post in teacher training and served six years, until Red Cross lured her away. Her husband, Otto, has been an accountant for the U.S. Steel Corp. for 33 years. They live at 6807 Ackley Rd., Parma.

Lt. Gov. Samuel H. Shapiro

SPEECH

OF

HON. DANIEL J. RONAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. RONAN. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to join with my Illinois colleagues in extending congratulations to our distinguished Lieutenant Governor of the State of Illinois, Samuel H. Shapiro, upon being named as the Man of the Year by the Jewish National Fund. Sam will be the guest of honor at the Jewish national fund testimonial dinner on January 31, at which time he will be awarded the Keter Shem Tov—the Crown of a Good Name.

Having known Sam Shapiro for many years including service together in the Illinois State Legislature, I can easily attest to the fact that there is no one more deserving than he for this high honor. He will wear well this symbolic crown. I am certain that he will continue to epitomize those qualities and characteristics for which he was chosen and for which he has long been recognized, and thereby add new luster to this coveted award.

It is my earnest hope that Sam will enjoy his newest honor in good health and that we may all continue to be beneficiaries of his good work for years to come. I also with to express my best wishes to his family who undoubtedly are rightfully proud of him on this august occasion.

Texas Partners of the Alliance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to the splendid work being accomplished by the Texas Partners of the Alliance, a private program aided by the U.S. Agency for International Development.

The Texas Partners of the Alliance program, which is attempting to foster trade and industry between the United States and Latin America, has met with marked success.

I feel that the program's noteworthy benefits and a glimpse of its great potential received excellent treatment in three recent articles appearing in Texas newspapers.

I commend these articles to the attention of our colleagues.

The articles follow:

[From the Austin American, Nov. 29, 1966]

Ambassador Speaks at Session Here: Peru's Stability, Development Posibilities Cited

(By Kaye Northoott)

The Peruvian ambassador to the United States told Texas and Peruvian businessmen Monday that his country's monetary stability, economic freedom and incentives for new industries insure Peru a "diversified and sound development."

Ambassador Celso Pastor spoke during the morning session of the one-day conference originated by Speaker of the House Ben Barnes and sponsored by the Texas Partners of the Alliance and the Texas Industrial Commission. Six Peruvian businessmen accompanied the amabassador. Approximately 100 men attended the conference.

Pastor emphasized Peru's 6.5 per cent growth rate, its burgeoning industries and "great maturity in development planning."

Peru is rich in minerals, he said. "It will surely become the primary producer of silver in the world and the third or fourth most important supplier of copper."

The country is launching a large irrigation project to convert tropical deserts into productive land, Pastor said. He pointed out that roads are being built to overcome isolation of many communities and that the marginal forest highway being cut through the Andes "will be for Peru what the conquest of the far West was to the United States."

The ambassador also cited growth of Peru's fishing, oil, petro-chemical, and agricultural industries.

"The great projects of irrigation, maritime and river ports, airports, popular housing, roads, waterworks, electrification and schools and education . . . represent an accelerated development process," Pastor said.

Peruvian President Bellaunde Terry, a University of Texas graduate, has "instilled a mystique of development and a profound sense of human solidarity," he said.

"Internaional communism tried to strangle development in Peru," Pastor said. The country "rejected and completely defeated the subversive action of guerrillas in the Andes" and "offered the free world an example of what the faith and hope of a people can do," he said.

Harding L. Lawrence, president of Braniff International, told the group after lunch that north-south trade routes, heretofore overlooked, are opening up.

Within the next few years, "while passenger traffic doubles, we expect the volume of air cargo will far exceed the passenger traffic increase," Lawrence predicted.

He said traffic to and from South America has been limited to passengers because of lack of cargo capacity, but new aircraft, which will carry up to 200,000 pounds of cargo, will change the picture.

"We see Peru as a focal point or hub for economic development in South America both from the standpoint of tourism and of industry," Lawrence said.

He attributed Peru's importance to the following factors:

—An "extremely stable government" and rapidly rising standard of living.

—An aggressive governmental program to develop tourism facilities including skiing, hunting and trout stream fishing and to provide a favorable atmosphere for foreign capital investment and industrial development.

—A friendly and highly cooperative attitude on the part of Peruvian businessmen.

Braniff will participate in the construction of a beach facility, an international market and a restaurant and night club area in Lima, Lawrence said.

During the morning session, Ray Horton, chairman of the Texas Industrial Commission, said Peru and Texas have similar problems. Both are changing from agricultural and mining economies to industrial economies and both have need for more educational and more jobs for young people.

Edward Marcus, executive vice president of Nieman Marcus of Dallas and president of the Texas Partners of the Alliance, explained that the partners program is not a government operation, but a private program aided by the U.S. Agency for International Development, attempting to foster trade and industry between the United States and Latin America.

Thirty-one states have similar affiliations with Latin American countries, Marcus said.

Afternoon sessions were devoted to group discussions in the areas of chemical industry, food processing and agricultural products, banking and finance, hotels and tourism, and seafood and citrus industries.

Gov. John Connally, scheduled to welcome the Peruvians, was not present at the conference. He spent the day in bed, drinking milk every 30 minutes to soothe a stomach ulcer, Speaker Barnes said. Barnes, who recently made a trip to Peru in conjunction with the partners program, presided at the conference.

Another expected dignitary, Sixto Gutierrez, Peruvian minister of development and public works, also missed the meeting. He sent a telegram explaining that government matters detained him in Peru.

[From the San Antonio Express, Nov. 29, 1966]

Air Transport Boom To Hike North-South America Trade

(By Jon Ford)

Austin.—A boom in air transport during the next five years will greatly speed growth of trade between North and South America, a top airline executive predicted at a Texas-Peru trade and investment conference here Monday.

Peruvian Ambassador Celso Pastor assured a group of Texas business and industrial leaders foreign investors in his country enjoy economic and political stability.

"Latin America is entering a new stage in its economic integration," Pastor said. "We need new capital and technical assistance. Nothing would be more beneficial to the U.S. and Canada than to seek hemispheric integration," the ambassador told conferees.

Texas Speaker of the House Ben Barnes called the conference following an extensive tour of Peru last June with a Texas Partners of the Alliance team assessing areas in need of development aid. Texas Partners of the Alliance with Peru and Texas Industrial Commission were co-sponsors of the Monday sessions.

About 100 Texans attended day-long talks here with Pastor, six Peruvian bankers and industrialists, U.S. Agency for International Development and Stanford Research Institute representatives. Barnes presided.

Pastor and Braniff International Airways President Harding L. Lawrence were principal speakers at meetings in the House chamber and a downtown hotel.

Lawrence predicted passenger traffic between North and South America will double within the next few years, and that volume of air cargo will increase even more.

"It is a solid belief on our part that in the next five years air transport will greatly accelerate the growth of trade between North and South America," Lawrence said.

"Confidence in my country is attracting new domestic and foreign investment, both in the private and public sectors," Pastor said.

"Peru maintains one of the highest growth rates in the world, exceeding 6 per cent," the ambassador maintained. "Of all the Latin American countries, Peru shows the highest development rate during the last five years, greater even than those of Mexico and Venezuela. Some see Peru as the showcase of the Alliance for Progress."

Pastor said ultimate development of Peru's marginal forest highway down the eastern slope of the Andes Mountains—one of the most ambitious public works projects in Latin America—"will be for Peru what conquest of the far West was to the U.S." He said the highway would double productive land use by making a wealth of resources accessible and increasing mobility of products to markets.

The ambassador cited such Peruvian natural assets as silver and copper, oil and gas, agriculture products including cotton and sugar, and reported substantial expansion of the petrochemical, fish meal and auto assembly industries.

Other Peruvian leaders reported on investment opportunities in the areas of food processing, hotels and tourism, seafood and citrus industries and land development.

The visitors included Alfonso Montero, chemical industrialist, Lima; Tulio de Andrea and Guillermo Wiese, Lima bankers; Dr. Orlando Olcese, Lima food retailer and educator; Guillermo Ganoza, Trujillo banker and agricultural industrialist, and Juan Bazo, director of Peru's National Industrial Promotion Institute.

"My business investments there (in Peru) have been safe and profitable," said Houston business tycoon John Mecon, "and I can't say that about some in other parts of the world."

George Phillips, AID industrial development adviser in Peru, Robert J. Burnand, Stanford Research Institute Latin American expert, and Dr. Edwards Irons of AID's Washington investment survey division were among program participants.

Barnes reported two Texas concerns—Shamrock Oil and Gas Co. and Harvest Queen Mill and Elevator Co. of Dallas and Plainview—plan chemical and fertilizer plants in Peru partially as a result of discussions leading to the conference.

Lawrence viewed Peru "as a focal point or hub for economic development in South

America both from the standpoint of tourism and of industry."

He said this is due to the country's "stable and highly respected government," steady rise in the standard of living there, aggressive governmental programs to develop tourist facilities, industry and foreign capital investment opportunities and cooperation by Peruvian businessmen with foreign investors.

The airline executive said his company is aiding in developing Peruvian tourist facilities including additional hotels, beaches, and international market, restaurants and night clubs, outdoor recreational facilities, a new advertising concern and research and advisory data for other U.S. investors.

Lawrence said merger between Braniff and Panagra airways will increase the number of airline seats between North and South America to 22,500 a month.

Texas Industrial Commission Chairman Ray Horton of Houston said Texas and Peru are in similar stages of transition from an economic base of agriculture and mining to industry.

Edward Marcus, Texas Partners of the Alliance chairman and executive vice president of Neiman-Marcus, Dallas outlined work of the partners group. U.S. Rep. J. J. Pickle of Austin was one of the speakers at a noon luncheon.

Seminar sessions of chemical, food processing, agriculture, tourist, and seafood and citrus products industries as well as banking and finance were held during the afternoon.

[From the Houston Post, Nov. 29, 1966]

PERUVIANS EYE TEXAS BUSINESS

(By Neil Addington)

AUSTIN—Texans or anyone else desiring to help Peru develop industrially can obtain financing up to 50 per cent of the total amount needed to launch new industries, Peruvian representatives said here Monday.

Tulio deAndrea, speaking to about 100 Texas businessmen attending the Texas-Peru trade and investment conference in the House of Representatives, invited them to invest in his country's industrial development and said, "We are prepared to finance 50 per cent of the total amount needed."

Andrea, president of the Industrial Bank of Peru, was introduced as "a strong representative of the new generation."

He was one of more than half a dozen Peruvian emissaries here for the day-long conference sponsored by the Texas Industrial Commission and the Texas Partners of the Alliance with Peru.

Peruvian Ambassador Celso Pastor led the visiting speakers here for the conference called by Texas House Speaker Ben Barnes to explore the trade and investment opportunities in Peru.

Braniff International President Harding Lawrence, the main speaker at a luncheon for the group, predicted that air transport would accelerate the growth of trade between North and South America within the next five years.

"I believe the north-south trade routes, overlooked up to this point, are opening up," said Lawrence.

"We see Peru as a focal point or hub for economic development of tourism and of industry," he said, because of the stable and respected government of Peru, the rapidly rising standard of living, an aggressive governmental program to provide a favorable atmosphere for foreign capital investment and industrial development and to develop tourism facilities, plus the friendly, co-operative attitude of Peruvian businessmen.

Ambassador Pastor pointed out that Peru maintains one of the highest growth rates in the world, exceeding 6 percent. He said of all the Latin American countries, Peru has shown the highest development rate during the last five years, greater even than those of Mexico and Venezuela.

"Some see Peru as the showcase of the Alliance for Progress," he said.

Pastor said confidence in his country is attracting new domestic and foreign investment, both in the private and public sectors, and predicted that Peru would become the primary producer of silver in the world and the third or fourth most important supplier of copper.

He said natural gas appears extremely promising, with the petrochemical industries expected to thrive.

As an incentive, tax-free programs exist for the establishment or expansion of new industries, the Texas business representatives were told.

Juan Bazo, director of the National Industrial Promotion Institute, told the group there are numerous opportunities open for those interested in producing beef. An estimated 25,000 tons of beef is imported annually, which is about 20 percent of the total consumption in Peru.

"We need someone with know-how," Bazo said. "It could be a very interesting venture . . . and very profitable."

Other Peruvian delegates included Alfonso Montero of Lima, who represented the chemical industries; Guillermo Ganoza of Trujillo, an agriculture industrialist; Giullermo Wiese of Lima, a banker; and Orlando Olcese, also of Lima, a food retailer and educator.

Governor Connally, who was to have delivered the welcoming address, was unable to attend. The governor's recently discovered stomach ulcer forced him to remain at the mansion Monday.

Monday afternoon, the conference broke up into a series of seminars where specific industries and opportunities in those fields were discussed.

Introductory remarks were delivered by Edward Marcus, chairman of the Texas Partners, and Ray Horton, chairman of the Texas Industrial Commission.

Hon. Samuel H. Shapiro, Man of the Year

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues from Illinois in commending the Committee of the Jewish National Fund for designating the Honorable Samuel H. Shapiro, Lieutenant Governor of the State of Illinois, as their Man of the Year.

I can readily understand this designation because of the outstanding work performed by Governor Shapiro in the field of mental health as indicated by a record of his performance in this field such as being cosponsor of the Illinois mental health code, the mental deficiency code, and other progressive mental health legislation, and also because of his chairmanship of the Mental Health Commission established in 1955.

I congratulate Governor Shapiro on being the recipient of this high honor.

I regret my inability to be present in Chicago on Tuesday, January 31, to witness the presentation of the special "Keter Shem Tov Award" to him.

Secrets of the Supersonic Transport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most highly respected commentators in the Nation, Mr. Edward P. Morgan, and one of our leading newspapers, the Washington Evening Star, have directed their thoughts to the question of the supersonic transport and the apparent aura of secrecy that surrounds many aspects of it.

Mr. Morgan stated in a recent broadcast that "some backers of the SST, in and out of Government, appear to be proceeding on the theory that what the public does not know will not hurt it, especially if the damage—from the sonic boom—is soft pedaled until the public gets used to it."

In a recent editorial, the Star mentioned that a series of expensive studies on the SST is under wraps. The reason the studies are under wraps, according to news reports, is their highly unfavorable comments on the plane. If true, this is an information blackout not calculated to win support in Congress for the project.

For the elucidation of my colleagues, Mr. Speaker, I include the following in the RECORD:

[From the Evening Star, Jan. 14, 1967]

PIG IN A POKE

Judging from the noisy defense of the supersonic transport heard in Washington these days, one would think federal agencies were unanimously in favor of this $4.5 billion project to hurry up and get passengers to Europe a few hours faster.

But a report in the Wall Street Journal the other day seems to suggest not all is harmony behind the bureaucratic walls. In fact a number of economists in the Budget Bureau, Defense Department and elsewhere seem disenchanted, if not downright dismayed, by the plane's drawbacks. There's so much criticism that some observers think the President may well pigeonhole the thing or delay it indefinitely.

The Federal Aviation Agency confirms that it has now received four studies made by independent firms on SST development and costs. Although these cost the taxpayer $663,190 the results are being kept secret. Even one United States Senator interested in the program hasn't at this writing been able to get his hands on one of the documents. And there are other studies on sonic booms and comparative air fares also still classified.

The reason the studies are under wraps, according to news reports, is their highly unfavorable comments on the plane. If true, this is an information blackout not calculated to win support in Congress for the project. Lawmakers can hardly vote intelligently on appropriations where so many facts are being withheld.

One report from Interior Secretary Udall, not kept secret, noted the other day that sonic booms, presumably from military planes, already have caused damage to prehistoric cliff dwellings and geological formations in national park areas. Will there be any place to hide from aviation "progress," even in cliff houses, if the SST adds its booms over our heads?

Let's get the studies out in the open where everybody can see them. If the SST is being financed by taxpayers, they have a right to know what kind of pig is inside the poke.

If it isn't one thing, it's another. Here Lyndon Johnson has just done a good deal to fill in the credibility gap by the restraint and candor of his State of the Union Message, and now we find that the sonic boom is creating new gaps in the nation's scenery and threatening to fill in some old ones, like the standard beauty mark of Bryce Canyon.

Sometimes one has to wonder what price progress. And in so wondering the realization strikes that a liberal is not a liberal unless he is willing on occasion to become a conservative, or at least a conservationist.

The sleek, swift devil in this piece is something that does not now exist but is pushing the sinister echo of things to come ahead of it—the SST, which means, of course, the supersonic transport, a trifling piece of potentiality airworthy hardware with, the experts say, a four-and-a-half-billion-dollar price tag on it before it goes into commercial service—if it does. President Johnson has not yet answered the 50-billion-dollar question. The Federal Aviation Agency has approved the Boeing design over Lockheed's for the SST but the President has not yet given Boeing the green light to go ahead and build this 1800-mile-an-hour, 300-passenger aircraft. If and when he does, Boeing is expected to accumulate between 30 and 50 billion from sales of the plane to airlines all over the world by the year 1990. The first American SST would be ready, theoretically, by 1974.

A couple of days ago, the director general of the International Air Transport Association, Khut Hammarskjold, said neither the Boeing model nor its British-French competitor, which is farther along in construction by many months—and may be ready in 1971—met the association's economic criteria. In other words, he said, present designs will have to be further refined before either plane would be considered a profitable thing to fly.

But now the question is raised in rather vivid form of whether *any* SST would meet what might be called the public criteria. The more than ear-splitting issue here is the sonic boom. This, as any aviation buff knows, is the noise an aircraft makes when it pierces the sound barrier, the invisible boundary of the speed of sound at 660 miles an hour. But the explosion of a shock wave of air compressed by such a flight can do light or serious damage on the ground, depending on its strength. It can rattle dishes or break windows and destroy buildings.

On Wednesday the National Park Service added another classification to the inventory of damage: natural beauty. It reported to Secetary of the Interior Stewart Udall that sonic booms made by military aircraft have caused damage to prehistoric cliff dwellings in Canyon de Chelly National Monument in northeastern Arizona and to rare geological formations in Bryce Canyon National Park in Utah. Furthermore, it is possible damage has been done in other national outdoor preserves which has not yet been discovered.

Nobody knows how much damage the sonic boom of an SST would cause because no such giant has ever flown and nobody knows either, obviously, how or whether the boom problem can be solved. The prospects don't look very bright at the moment which, it might be observed, is the time to ponder the problem. Once the government and industry have jointly invested billions in the experiment, it would become more than a little difficult to ground the whole operation to preserve window panes or some historic relic of the nation's scenery.

Indeed some backers of the SST, in and out of government, appear to be proceeding on the theory that what the public doesn't know won't hurt it especially if the damage is soft-pedaled until the public gets used to it. Play that backwards and it comes out this way: if instead of being insidiously conditioned by stages the public had known in advance the dangers and nuisance of, say, pollution, the bedlam of a traffic jam and the flight-path scream of jet planes over cities, it might have demanded some built-in safeguards as the price of "progress".

A leading conservationist himself, Secretary Udall is worried about the apparent cynical approach by some SST enthusiasts to the public welfare. It has already been suggested that because of the sonic boom, the SST may not be fit for transcontinental travel, will be limited to intercontinental routes over water. But there will be great pressure—and not air pressure either—for SST rights-of-way over land too. Udall fears a suggested "solution" may be zigzag routes over open spaces avoiding metropolitan areas and crossing, thereby, most of the American scenery, National Parks and all. The problem may solve itself, however. A two-hour SST flight from New York to Los Angeles would be a little like riding in a pneumatic tube. Most of the 300 passengers would enjoy the advantage of not being able to see out. They could watch an old color movie of the Grand Canyon and be spared the spectacle of the landscape crumbling beneath them.

This is Edward P. Morgan saying good night from Washington.

Shall the Draft Be Abolished?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, with the expiration of the Universal Military Training and Service Act next June 30, the question of how best to provide for our future military manpower needs will be under discussion in the coming months. The Congress has the responsibility of deciding whether to revise and extend the present draft system or to adopt a new method of procuring military manpower.

The December 17, 1966 issue of the New Yorker includes a timely article by Richard H. Rovere on the Universal Military Training and Service Act and alternative plans that are being proposed. I believe this article merits special attention and submit it for inclusion in the RECORD.

The article follows:

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

DECEMBER 8.—Sometime in the next six months, Congress will vote to extend and extensively amend the Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1951, commonly known as the draft. The action will be preceded by a debate, already in progress, that may turn out to be as interesting and important as any other current controversy—partly because most of the other controversies, including those on Vietnam and the state of the economy, are closely connected with it. In the recent past, congressional debate on military conscription has been desultory and largely limited to real and imagined inequities in the operations of the Selective Service System. There has been broad, bipartisan agreement that the draft is necessary, democratic, and, with a few lamentable exceptions, equitable. Fundamental changes have seldom been discussed, or even proposed, and hardly anyone has questioned the institution itself. (In their Presidential campaigns of 1956 and 1964, Adlai Stevenson and Barry Goldwater urged abolition of the draft, but neither kept the issue alive after the elections.) Now, though, there is widespread—indeed, almost universal—dissatisfaction with the way the institution works and fails to work. For the first time in the nearly sixteen years since Congress established the present draft, radical proposals for reform have come from within the government, and some congressmen are raising the question of whether conscription is today an acceptable means of procuring manpower to meet our military needs. Outside the government, there have been several calls for early repeal of the act and a reliance on voluntary enlistments. Last week in Miami Beach, the National Council of Churches passed a resolution calling for abolition of the draft. At a national conference on the draft held this week at the University of Chicago, sixty of the hundred and twenty delegates signed a petition urging repeal; the rest, it is reported, favor retention with drastic reform. Evidently, no one—with the possible exception of the director of the Selective Service System, Lieutenant General Lewis B. Hershey, who took office in 1941—is satisfied with things as they are.

Anticipating dissent and discontent, the President last July appointed a National Advisory Commission on Selective Service, and made Burke Marshall, a highly respected former Assistant Attorney General who is now a corporation executive, its chairman. Catching up rather late in the day, the House Armed Services Committee yesterday announced the formation of its own advisory group, which will be headed by General Mark Clark. The President's commission is to report to him—and, presumably, to the public—by January 1st. So far, nothing is known of its findings; its meetings have been closed, and speculation has been discouraged. "Until you see the final report, all bets are off," a spokesman told the press a few days ago. There is a suspicion here that if its findings displease the White House, copies of the report will be very hard to come by. General Clark's committee is not expected to submit its findings in time to have any bearing on public discussion of the matter. Meanwhile, though, a self-appointed ad-hoc commission has made a study of its own and issued a report that is not only bold, partisan, and specific in its recommendations but at the same time uncommonly lucid and vigorous. The Ripon Society, an organization of Republican intellectuals loosely affiliated with several of the leading universities on both coasts, last week released a study entitled "Politics and Conscription" that urges speedy abolition of the draft and total reliance on a professional military establishment.

It is an uncompromising document, contemptuous not only of the draft in its present form but of the principle of conscription itself, and of such proposals for change as the lottery system, which has been frequently endorsed by Senator Edward Kennedy, and of the "national service" proposal made last May by the Secretary of Defense. Senator Kennedy's scheme, the study says, would be one of "planned capriciousness," leaving all questions of justice and injustice to Lady Luck rather than to the four thousand fallible but indisputably human, and frequently humane, draft boards across the country. As for the McNamara plan, under which every young American, or at least every young American male, would be drafted to serve the republic in one or another of a variety of ways deemed by the government to have some measure of social utility, martial or not, the report says that it would merely "universalize inequity" and create a "gargantuan Brook Farm built on compulsion." It adds, "People in our diverse society would be just as misused by national service as by the draft, and maybe more so." The authors have no doubt about the feasibility, as well as the desirability, of getting rid of the draft and entrusting the national security to a force of professionals drawn to the armed services by attractions of the sort that draw other men to other professions. What is more, they urge their fellow-Republicans to take a straightforward political approach to the matter, making conscription a partisan issue in the next session of Congress and accepting without qualm any political benefits that may accrue from standing in opposition to an unpopular institution. They concede that in ordinary circumstances an issue of this nature should not be handled in a partisan manner or exploited for partisan gains. "But," they write, "despite the essentially libertarian and nonpartisan character of the case for a volunteer military, it unquestionably has been a Democratic Congress that has stymied reform in recent years and a Democratic President who has manipulated the issue in ways apparently calculated to prevent thorough debate." (This charge of Presidential manipulation refers to a Pentagon study of the draft that has never been fully disclosed; it is widely believed here that it leaned to the abolitionist side and was withheld because of fears that it would have an adverse effect on national morale at a time when we were embarking on a large-scale intervention in the ground war in Vietnam.) "The Republican Party," the authors conclude, "has a good foundation for reform; it need only build upon it." Some of the younger Republican congressmen intend to follow the report's advice.

The Ripon Society holds the draft to be morally repugnant and militarily unnecessary. Things being what they are, not much attention is likely to be paid to the moral argument, which, as it happens, is less than persuasive. It rests on the premise that compulsion is inherently wicked and undemocratic. "A draft by definition, is antithetic to a free society," the report asserts. No doubt, but we live with many institutions of which this may be said—the income tax, for instance, makes conscripts of us all—and professional armies, which the authors think well of, have been the undoing of several free societies. The strength of the authors' position lies in their demonstration that there is nothing "universal" in the Universal Military Training and Service Act and in their argument that this country, including its armed services, would be better off in many ways if the draft were abolished and military recruitment placed on a volunteer basis. The draft is universal only in the sense that every young man must contend with the possibility of having to spend two years of his life in uniform. But for roughly two out of three young men the possibility never materializes. The anxieties are shared by all, the sacrifices by relatively few. If all men who are qualified for service even under present physical and mental standards—which the Ripon Society believes are absurdly high—were to serve a two-year hitch, we would have a military establishment several times as large as any military man thinks necessary. Even with the demands of the war in Vietnam, all current and anticipated requirements can be met by using only about a third of the men available. In 1967, somewhat over 1,800,000 males will turn eighteen, and if the present system remains in operation, they will be subject to the draft until 1975. About a third of them will be rejected or exempted. Of the remaining 1,200,000, about half will at some time or other be inducted for a two-year term. The others, equally qualified, will simply never be needed. This makes Universal Military Service a fifty-fifty proposition—"semi-universal" at best, and, if not immoral in principle, grossly and indefensibly inequitable in practice.

Equity and necessity are the only justifications for conscription. No one has maintained that it is a desirable way of organizing a military force. The generals dislike it as much as the conscripts, particularly when the period of service is for anything less than the duration. With a two-year term, about fifty per cent of the Army—the only service that uses draftees in any numbers—has had less than one year's experience. (Even before Vietnam, the figure was forty-three per cent.) The equivalent of ten divisions is always in training. Ten years ago, a commission appointed by President Eisenhower to study the draft and related problems reported, "We must devote twenty-five per cent of our military effort to training men who don't stay. The trainers are discouraged. They resemble the poor teacher, whose every class flunks." Somewhere between ninety and ninety-five per cent of draftees serve their two years and get out. The dropout rate among first-term enlistees is also high—approximately seventy-five per cent. The Pentagon dislikes the draft but, citing figures such as these, insists that necessity demands it. Some people, however, hold Pentagon policy—or policy made for the Pentagon by the President and Congress—responsible for the necessity. In terms of motivation, there is not much difference between draftees and one-term enlistees; the latter enlist because they expect to be caught up in the draft anyway and reason that the greater freedom of choice and opportunity available to those who enlist is worth the extra year or two of service required of them. The Ripon Society report notes that after the first term the dropout rate declines to about fifteen per cent—approximately what is considered normal in such countries as Canada and England, which rely entirely on volunteers.

In recent years, in other words, several million young Americans, free of all compulsion, have found the military life rewarding enough to make a career of it—and this despite the fact that the tangible rewards have been meagre by almost any relevant standard. "Today," the report says, "an entering private in our military makes slightly more than a Rumanian peasant on a collective farm: $90.60 per month." This is well below the pay of his counterparts in Canada, England, and West Germany—and "the difference in pay is magnified in each of these cases by the gap in standards and costs of living between other nations and ours." The authors of the report insist there is plenty of evidence at hand to demonstrate that we can meet what the military planners tell us are our needs without compelling anyone to serve against his will. Even under present conditions, our armed services do about as well in attracting long-term volunteers as those in other countries, many of which do not have "the great productive margin of the United States to support its military financially." An increase in pay that would make the life of an Army mechanic and his family as agreeable as that of a garage or factory mechanic should bring, in men already trained. It would thus enable the Army to cut down on its programs to train men who after two years take the skills they have acquired at the Army's expense back to the factories and garages.

Pay increases are by no means the only reforms urged by proponents of a voluntary system. Present military policies, it seems clear, are designed to discourage men in the lower ranks from marrying and raising families. The Ripon Society proposes the reversal of these policies and of others that have made American military life needlessly drab and boring, even in appearance: "Whether from ignorance of modern planning techniques or from some misguided worship of the Spartan mystique, the military has constructed some of the most sterile and unæsthetic communal agglomerations in the country."

Even before McNamara's day, the military establishment always talked cost factors when it was confronted with criticism of this kind. Obviously, a decently paid and attractively sheltered military would cost more than an ill-paid and drearily housed one; there is no easy way to reckon the differential. Indeed, when the Secretary addressed himself to the problem—as he did on two occasions last year—there was a huge differential in his own differential. Before a congressional hearing in February, he estimated the cost of a voluntary system at four billion dollars a year; ten months later, in a newspaper interview, he put it at twenty billion. Even the lower figure, which is the one that a number of experts in and out of the Defense Department seem to agree on, is bound to make Congress shudder. It is, however, an estimate of costs alone and ignores the savings, which would surely be large. The machinery of conscription is expensive, and the policy is uneconomic. The draft absorbs men with highly developed skills for which the Army has no use. It rejects millions of men who are unproductive in civilian life but might undertake any number of military tasks. The whole economy, civilian and military, might profit greatly by the more reasonable allocations that would be made under a voluntary system. A large part of training costs could be written off over lifetimes rather than over two years. And there might be a large and gratifying saving of a kind not mentioned by the Ripon Society or other recent critics. If a professional military is really more efficient than a conscripted one, and if a major part of our military effort is now devoted to training men who will not put their training to use, then it would seem reasonable to think that we could get along with a smaller military establishment. If this were the case, the saving would be in something more precious than money. It might be seen by the world as a step toward the reduction of tensions. For us to present it in this light would, of course, be dishonest; in actuality we would only be getting, as a former Secretary of Defense used to say, a bigger bang for our buck. However, it would not be fostering an illusion to cite it as evidence that the United States wants no more military power than it needs to defend its present interests. Since many people doubt this, the assurance would be welcome.

In any debate over conscription, both sides are likely to agree that the only legitimate purpose a military establishment can serve is national defense. This is certainly what most people believe they are buying when they foot its enormous bills. In other countries, particularly smaller and less developed ones, armies are used for a variety of different purposes, some of them beneficent. The government of Israel boasts of using its armed forces as an educational institution. Armies have been used to relieve unemployment, to build public works, and to institute various kinds of social change. This government has occasionally used military men and facilities for disaster and salvage missions, and the Army Corps of Engineers has worked at the development of rivers and harbors, but the idea of using our military for any social or political end is one that would scandalize most congressmen and most voters. Nevertheless, our armed forces have served other than military ends, and have occasionally served them quite well. Military funds have been used to subsidize a great deal of scientific and social research, and the United States Army has served as a school for millions of men, especially Negroes, who in civilian life would have gone unschooled. It has never been politic for the Defense Department to say very much about this, but the Secretary of Defense has encouraged the use of the military in this way and has sought to make its educational services efficient instruments in combating poverty and illiteracy. If the draft were abolished and the higher costs of a professional army assumed, this function would in all probability come to an end. The test of military effectiveness would be more rigidly than it is today; military education would surely be curtailed to serve the rather narrow needs of professional soldiers and technicians.

The proponents of a professional army are unlikely to be moved by such considerations, for those of them who acknowledge that there have been some useful by-products of the draft can quite reasonably maintain that furtive use of military agencies for non-military ends is unworthy of a rich and free society. Nor, it seems, are they much impressed by the ancient arguments against professional armies. The Ripon Society points to Canada and England and lets it go at that. It does not weigh the dangers, well known to the French in recent years, of military establishments alienated from the societies and governments that support them. It points to our ready acceptance of professionalism in services like the police without noting the alienation experienced in most large cities between professional policemen and the civilians they serve. It may well be that opponents of the draft would have the better of the argument even if they weighed these factors in. Taken together, the war in Vietnam and the draft have already alienated a considerable part of an entire generation. Assuming it to be impossible to end the war, if its continuation involved only those who wish to be part of it, some of the terrible tensions within our own society might be relieved.

—RICHARD H. ROVERE.

Dr. Herndon's Laurels

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, we in the Cleveland area are proud that our city ranks as one of the foremost centers of medical science.

Another laurel was added recently when our distinguished Dr. Charles H. Herndon was elected the next president of the American Academy of Orthopedic Surgeons.

The Plain Dealer has paid tribute to Dr. Herndon in an editorial which I think will be of interest to the many Members of the Congress who know him and who are familiar with the brilliant work he is doing in the field of orthopedic surgery.

The editorial follows:

DOCTOR'S LAURELS

At its convention in San Francisco the American Academy of Orthopedic Surgeons this week chose a Cleveland physician, Dr. Charles H. Herndon, as its next president.

Dr. Herndon's honor brings honor also to the University Medical Center and to Western Reserve University, where he heads the teaching and practice of orthopedic surgery.

Dr. Herndon and three colleagues of the University Medical Center delivered an impressive research paper on bone grafts at the San Francisco meeting. All of them deserve congratulations. They add luster to Cleveland's fine reputation as one of America's first-rank centers of medical science.

Across the River, Part IV—The Star Documents a Civic Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, the fourth article in the excellent series, "Across the River," by Haynes Johnson, published last week in the Washington Evening Star, examines the schools in the area east of the Anacostia River which have been struck by spreading lawlessness and apathy among the younger generation.

In this situation—

Writes Mr. Johnson—

the schools are expected to assume the responsibilities of the parents, and the community. But obviously, the schools cannot. They are doing everything that can be done, given things as they are today.

This article, published on Thursday, January 19, 1967, in the Star, follows:

ACROSS THE RIVER—4: CROWDED SCHOOLS AND THE LURE OF THE STREETS

(By Haynes Johnson, Star staff writer)

During school hours, when the weather is fair, groups of teen-agers can be seen walking the streets Across the River. They congregate on corners, sit on cars, and move idly through the neighborhoods. If you stop and ask one what school he goes to, often the answer will be:

"I go to the twilight school."

The truth is, their school is the school of the streets. It teaches hard lessons.

Truancy is common Across the River. Take the modernistic Ballou High, in the Congress Heights section of the far Southeast, where juvenile vandalism has been examined in earlier articles. Absenteeism there runs from 15 to 20 percent of enrollment. That means 250–300 teen-agers from that school out on the streets every day.

They are unsupervised—and uneducated. Their futures are bleak. Inevitably, they are the students who finally drop out of school entirely to become the core of tomorrow's adult problems.

Like Washington in general, the schools Across the River are for the most part overcrowded and understaffed. In the far Southeast, in fact, the schools are the most overcrowded in the city. They have been that way for some years. They cannot keep pace with the increasing population.

Figures from the Congress Heights section provide a quick picture of the problem. Hart Junior High School has nearly 2,000 children in classrooms designed for 1,443. Hendley Elementary School has almost 1,500 in space for 1,056 (including four classes in the auditorium). Ballou has 1,430, when it should have no more than 1,187.

In addition, the schools experience a constant turnover of pupils, another reflection of the social turmoil of the area. New families move in, others leave, adding to disruptive influences in the classrooms. In the first eight weeks of this school year, for instance, more than 700 students were affected by moves at the Hendley School alone.

Two hundred fifty students left; some 500 entered.

What these figures only indicate are the problems of discipline and behavior which place tremendous burdens on teachers and pupils. The behavior of the streets carries over to the classrooms and corridors.

An incident this month at Hart Junior High was illustrative.

After class one day, a 14-year-old girl entered the lavatory there. She was accosted by five or six older girls, who took $1 and slashed her arm with a razor blade. Last October, in the same school, a 13-year-old girl was stopped on her way to class by a youth demanding money. He got none, and snapped the girl's arm. Last month, a group of teen-age boys and girls swept down 4th Street SE, knocking down every smaller child they met. One boy tells of being kicked and having his glasses smashed. Others tell of beatings.

And every day at Hart, by the pupils' own accounts, older youths shake down smaller ones for a quarter or a dime, threatening beatings if their demands are not met.

Windows are broken, lockers are looted, walls are decorated with profane "Magic Marker" graffiti.

Like the stores of the troubled neighborhoods, many schools bear the physical evidence of vandalism. Pieces of cardboard replace the broken window panes. In the fall of 1965, 280 broken window panes had to be replaced at Hart before school opened. Last fall, the figure had risen to 350, and vandalism in general is "the worst ever," according to the head custodian.

None of this means that the schools Across the River are part of some vast "Blackboard Jungle." The point must be emphasized that the troublemakers are only a very small percentage; that teachers and students are working together; that hope has not ended for today's youth. Still, the problems exist.

Teachers, understandably, single out control and discipline as key factors.

"I ask a student as nicely as possible to bring up her paper," says one teacher, "and she tells me to go to hell. And the rest of them laugh. What can I do? I can't send 37 kids to the office."

A DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVE

Students, also understandably, see it from a different perspective.

"The teachers pick on students," said a girl who attends the Roper Junior High School in the Far Northeast.

"When they know the student won't say anything, they pick on them. So the child fights the teacher and gets suspended. The principal doesn't pay any attention to the students, just to the teachers."

Such expressions of mistrust barely begin to illuminate the alienation and anger and often overwhelming sense of inadequacy felt by so many children from large, and poor, families. A psychologist may say they have no sense of identity; that, by their actions, they are craving recognition, demanding to be noticed.

In their own words, the children often express the same thought.

"You know," said one youth, when asked why fights occur, "you walking down the street with your girl or some other boys, and one of them say, 'Hey, man, I bet that little kid can beat your ——.' So, maybe you had a little drink and you don't know right then what to say, and your girl's laughing and so you gotta hit this little kid. I mean, how else you gonna show her?"

And, a girl, 13:

"Some girl, she say, 'Ain't you had your baby yet?' And all the other girls, they laugh. So she says it some more times and you gotta show her you a woman."

Students, particularly those from broken homes and low-income housing, often reveal a feeling of inferiority toward their more fortunate classmates. One teacher tells of students coming to her and whispering "I haven't got a father," after she asks the pupils to invite their mothers and fathers to the school. A mother in the Valley Green public housing development, put it another way:

"My girl doesn't even want to go to McCogney (the elementary School) because they tell her, 'Your mother is on the welfare.' They go to school with the middle class and the upper income and they laugh at your coat."

And a poorly-dressed teen-age boy, when asked if he had enough warm clothes for winter, laughed, and said sharply:

"No, I don't need that damn' jacket. I got two others."

Those children are still in school. Then there is someone we shall call Jimmy. That is not his real name, but his experience is all too real.

Jimmy is 18 now, an attractive looking young man. He had attended school in Congress Heights, and dropped out of junior high. When asked why, he said:

"The teacher kept throwing a whole lot of things in my face. They talk a whole lot of trash. They had to keep on talking."

On further questioning he said the teacher had threatened to tell the students "about how I got locked up, how bad I was, how I was locked up for being bad."

"Tell the truth, Jimmy," his mother interrupted, and then explained, "My husband beated me and he (Jimmy) accidentaly killed him."

QUIETLY AND CASUALLY

In fact, Jimmy had stabbed the man to death. Jimmy was 13 at the time. The man was his stepfather; his own father died years ago and he has no memory of him. Now a dropout at age 18, Jimmy lives in a family of eight other children. Two of the older children are in jail—one charged with bank robbery, the other with rape. And Jimmy tells you he doesn't like to go to downtown Washington because, he says, a friend of his was shot and killed by police there. Another friend, aged 16, also was shot and killed by police, Jimmy says, because "they thought he had a gun and it turned out to be a pipe."

Jimmy told his story quietly and casually, as if acts of violence were ordinary events, In his life, they have been. Yet Jimmy also says that he doesn't like hearing that Congress Heights is a bad place to live (he said that before these articles began appearing).

With a sense of pride, Jimmy says:

"Congress Heights is a nice place to live."

The schools did not fail Jimmy, but Jimmy is nevertheless a failure before he is out of his teens.

Another boy, also 18, gave this picture of his life:

"The trouble is, like I'm a young boy. If I had some place to go. Like a pool room, like downtown to play, but what we got to do but drink more and go to D.C. jail. How would you like it if you was stuffed down like a top on a garbage can?

"Like today, I goes downtown to the employment office to see about plumbing work and the woman says I got four (police) records. So I told her, 'no three of the records was beat.' 'They may be beat, but you still got four records,' she says. So everywhere you go you can't get no job."

He returned to his neighborhood Across the River, and spent the afternoon inside a laundromat with other boys and older men, "because," he explained, "it's warm." The rest of the day, he stands on the street corner waiting, he says, to be hired for odd jobs in the neighborhood.

"How you going to get a job if they run you off the corner," he remarked, after police told him and others to move on. "And you got a record. I'd like to go back to school and take up a trade, to tell you the truth."

One of the problems, nearly everyone will agree, is that the Jimmies of Washington, and other cities, have not been successfully reached by anyone—not their teachers, their counselors, and most certainly not their parents. In this situation the schools are expected to assume the responsibilities of the parents, and the community. But obviously, the schools cannot. They are doing everything that can be done given things as they are today.

Last month, for instance, the Congress Heights principals wrote an appeal to D.C. Superintendent of Schools Carl E. Hansen requesting a full-time nurse for each elementary school, a full-time psychologist, and one or more social workers for each school.

Hansen would be only too happy to fill the request, but there one comes back to the old Washington cycle of responsibility: Money wasn't available.

After talking to many children visiting schools Across the River in preparation for these articles, one of The Star's reporters was strongly reminded of a passage in "David Copperfield," where David says, "day after day, week after week, month after month, I was coldly neglected."

TEACHERS, REPORTER MEET

The neglect is present Across the River, and what makes it worse is that it is not intentional. No one is more aware of this than the teachers. An incident yesterday sharply underscored that fact.

A teacher from one of the schools there had called The Star to say that while what was being reported was "sad but true," she would like to arrange a meeting between a reporter and other teachers. The meeting was held yesterday afternoon with eight teachers and the principal present. It was understood neither the school nor the teachers would be identified.

After an hour of discussion, several points of agreement emerged. First, everyone felt that whatever troubles existed stemmed from only a very small percentage of the children, and that these problems could be duplicated in other areas of Washington—and in every other city in the United States. What intensifies the problems, however, in such an area Across the River, is the high concentration of public housing units with so many large families.

"Do you think that a child who has been kept up all night from loud talking or other behavior, will come to us the next morning smiling and happy?" asked one teacher.

The more they talked, the more the conversation turned to the problems lying outside the school—the problems of jobs, housing, poverty, automation, attitudes, prejudices, stereotypes, lack of communications. To illustrate, the principal told of an incident that occurred last year. The school was being painted, he said, and the painters all were white men, all from outside the area. By his account, they did a slap-dash job. While they were painting that school, Negro men were standing idle on the streets outside.

"They would have done a beautiful job," one teacher said, "because they live here, and they do have a sense of pride in their community."

She also said:

"I have taught in schools throughout Washington. I have taught the privileged, as well as the underprivileged, and I can say one thing about them all—at the age of 4 or 5, when they first come to us, they all start out the same way. They are happy and they are full of love. It is society that changes them."

As the conference ended, and the teachers and the reporter left, the sound of lusty young voices rang through the first-floor corridors. Third-grade students, 75 of them, were singing together in their joint classroom in the school auditorium. They were singing "Washington," from the first verse down to through the chorus. They sang it twice, loudly, beginning with:

"Washington, the fairest city in the greatest land of all."

THESE PEOPLE FEEL COMPLETELY TRAPPED BY LIFE

Julia Hill is the principal of the Gladys K. McCogney Elementary School in Washington's Far Southwest. It is a new school, having opened for classes last September. It was built for a capacity enrollment of 1,050 pupils; it already has 1,400. Before coming to McCogney, Mrs. Hill had been principal of the Cleveland Elementary School in the Cardoza area of Northwest Washington. She tells here, in an interview, of her experiences Across the River:

"I thought I had had all the problems, that I knew about all the problems, but I found out when I came here that I didn't know what problems were. It's a little bit like seeing the boat beginning to sink before you can fix it up.

"Here's an example of what I mean. We are now serving from 500 to 700 children lunch every day. In some Northwest schools all children go home for lunch. At least that gives you an hour to breathe, but here from 12 to 1 is the most difficult period of the day.

"You know, it's tremendous what we're trying to do for the children in the schools, but from the standpoint of what we ought to be doing it's still not enough. Every day we have new children moving into the area, and so many of them are moving into public housing.

"These projects are terrible. I look out at those tenements and I have the feeling they are houses in a desert, and school is the oasis. You know, I've often thought that it's easier to get rid of poverty than the culture of poverty—and out there is the culture of poverty.

"Certainly, we've had problems. We have tremendous disciplinary problems and we have problems of overcrowding. Our class average is 40 pupils, and in one class there are 47 students.

"YOU HAVE TO MODULATE"

"You know, it's very important how you talk to children. It doesn't do any good to shout or raise your voice or get angry or emotional. You have to modulate your voice, and speak softer. Softer. That's the only way to speak. It's got to be one to one, just you and the pupil. You've got to get through to them.

"Something else. The community itself baffled me when I first came here. You always start trying to coordinate the positive influences in a community—the PTA, the civic associations, the churches. But out here there's nothing to coordinate. Nothing. You're just out here. It disturbed me when I first came. It really disturbed me.

"What do I do with all these children? Fourteen hundred children and not one extra penny to spend on them. I'm beginning to feel better now. I guess I'm settling down, and I've come to know some wonderful people in the community.

"You will find that the big children have no respect for you at first. Well, what do you do about that? You must be firm, but quiet. I would say to one, 'I don't like that glassy look in your eye.' But if you don't want every window broken out, you've got to be one to one, and you can't be tired, and you can't be frustrated, and you can't be discouraged. You've got to be satisfied with a little bit of progress.

"We could have a thousand people in here doing what's needed. A thousand people. Well, that's an exaggeration. But many, many more."

Mrs. Hill told of an incident in which a bigger boy took a quarter from a smaller one. When she talked to the older student about the incident, he answered:

"Yes, I took that quarter off him. A man stopped me in the alley and took a dollar off me, and it was my mother's, and I'm going to get it back."

PICKING A PRINCESS

Then Mrs. Hill continued:

"We work every day. We do what we can. Some we save, some we don't. Generally speaking, these people feel completely trapped by life and anything they can grab, they grab. And how do you change this?

"I'll tell you something interesting that happened in one of our classes. They were going to pick a princess for a play, and one of the girls who had dark skin and kinky hair said to the teacher, 'Oh, I can't be the princess. She's got to be the princess.' The other child, you see, had light skin and long hair, so naturally, she *had* to be the princess. Here, the teacher intervened and had the children think about the important qualities of being a princess.

"It's really amazing how many of these people feel about their race. So many have no pride in being a Negro. So we have to try to build that pride.

"We can't get to the parents. We've got to get to the children. Our job is to convince them, really to *convince* them, that they can get out of the slums, that it's a new day. And it *is* a new day—if they believe it is."

New Ski Domains in New Hampshire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, New Hampshire is famed as a leader in skiing throughout the Nation and indeed the world. A list of New Hampshire firsts in the field would indeed be impressive. It would include such landmark events as the formation of the Nation's first ski club, the venerable Nansen Ski Club of Berlin, formed in 1872 and still going strong; the first winter carnival in the Nation, held at Dartmouth College in Hanover in 1909 and now world-famous; and America's first aerial lift, which was installed at Cannon Mountain in Franconia in 1938.

Yet New Hampshire skiers and ski operators have not rested on their laurels. Each year brings more innovations in the State, which in turn soon become standard operating procedure for the rest of the Nation.

And even this year many innovations in technique and new ski areas are to be found in the vast, yet easily-accessible ski playground of New Hampshire.

These were clearly and interestingly outlined in a fine article in the New York Times of January 1 by Michael Strauss. The author is noted as a fine sportswriter of long standing and one of the Nation's true authorities on skiing. I commend his excellent article, which follows, to my colleagues:

New Ski Domains in New Hampshire

(By Michael Strauss)

Lincoln, N.H.—A former New Hampshire Governor, an American Olympic skier and an Austrian baron are the leaders in a movement to make the central part of this state a major ski area.

The former Governor is Sherman Adams, who has fostered and directed the construction of the Loon Mountain area here in Lincoln. It made its debut last month.

The Olympian is Tommy Corcoran, who finished fourth in the giant slalom in the 1960 Olympics at Squaw Valley, Calif., and who recently unveiled the re-created Waterville Valley center. And at Franconia, the baron, Hubert Von Pantz, has installed a new chairlift at his castle-like Mittersill resort.

To give impetus to the entire program, the three men have been prime movers in the development of the Ski 93 Association. The 93 in the name represents the number of the Interstate highway which, when completed, will provide an express route between metropolitan Boston, this region and points north. The other ski areas on the association's roster are Tenney Mountain at Plymouth and Cannon Mountain in Bethlehem.

SKIING FIRSTS

New Hampshire boasts more skiing firsts than any state in the nation. The first ski club, the Nansen, was founded in Berlin in 1872; the first winter carnival was held at Dartmouth College in Hanover in 1909; America's first aerial lift was installed on Cannon Mountain in 1938, and the first compulsory lift-inspection program was adopted in Concord just six years ago.

And when not scoring firsts, ski areas here are not loath to pick up a good idea used someplace else. For example, the Ski 93 Association has approved programs that originated in Vermont several years ago, such as a midweek lift ticket good for use at any of five areas, and a central clearing-house for taking reservations.

About 10 miles of new lifts are scheduled to go into operation in the state this winter, and most of this mileage will be accounted for in the Ski 93 region. Mr. Adams, Mr. Corcoran and Baron Von Pantz are responsible for more than $4-million worth of facilities.

LOON MOUNTAIN

Mr. Adams, a woodsman in his youth, helped in developing the state's recreation industry when he was Governor. Now, his interest in Loon Mountain seems certain to make Lincoln, a small, sleepy lumbering town, more involved in tourism. Lincoln lies at the western end of the 35-mile scenic wilderness road known as the Kancamagus Highway, and Loon Mountain is about a mile and one-half from the center of the town.

Nearly two years have been spent by Mr. Adams and his associates in planning and building the Loon area. During its construction, it was not unusual to find the former Governor hiking up the mountain a few times a day to check the progress being made. At one point, Mrs. Adams noted, "I have lost my husband. He's fallen in love with dynamite."

Now, with most of the essential phases of the development completed, Mr. Adams points with pride to a strikingly pretty, octagon-shaped base building, to the two chairlifts and to the bright-orange, four-passenger gondola cars that can whisk tourists and skiers 7,000 feet to the top of the mountain.

EIGHTY-TWO CHALETS

At Mittersill, Baron Von Pantz has developed a huge resort complex that has 82 privately owned chalets clustered on the side of 4,000-foot-high Cannon Mountain and around the luxurious main building, the Mittersill Inn. The innovations there this year includes a 4,000-foot double chairlift, and a large new dining room and bar in the inn.

The new lift opens up entirely new terrain and provides another access to the large number of descents available on that part of the mountain operated by the state-owned Cannon Mountain ski area.

At Waterville Valley, Mr. Corcoran and his personnel have transformed a lovely two-by-six-mile valley surrounded by 4,000-foot-high mountains into one of the largest ski complexes ever built in a single year. Already installed are four chairlifts, a J-bar, snow-making machines, a base building and a summit cafeteria. These supplement facilities existing at the century-old Waterville Inn, across the valley, which already has two T-bar lifts near its main building.

AREAS RIM ROUTE

The Ski 93 Association appears to be a natural marriage of the ski areas that are members. The areas flank a 40-mile stretch of the interstate highway, and with 23 major lifts already set for operation, represent one of the largest concentrations of lift facilities in the United States.

Also important in New Hampshire's ski picture this year is the new Wilderness ski center at Dixville Notch, in the northern part of the state.

To the east of the Ski 93 region, Mount Cranmore at North Conway, Black Mountain at Jackson and Wildcat Mountain at Pinkham Notch are again offering a combined ticket to skiers. In contrast, Mount Attitash at Bartlett is continuing its plan of weekend skiing by "reservation only."

Skiers who have not made reservations are permitted to use the chairlifts on weekends, provided the lifts are not "sold out." However, the ski area's T-bar is available without reservations at all times.

SMALLER RESORTS

Skiers from the Boston, Hartford and New York areas will find that New Hampshire is liberally sprinkled with smaller ski centers along its southern borders, especially in the Monadnock region. The Brookline ski center at Brookline has a T-bar, and a chairlift. Temple Mountain at Peterborough offers a Platterpull and a T-bar, and Pat's Peak at Henniker and Crotched Mountain at Francestown have a double chairlift and two T-bars.

A bit to the north, Mount Sunapee offers a large assortment of lifts, and King Ridge at New London provides two T-bars to serve two slopes and three trails. Close to the east bank of the Connecticut River, which runs through New Hampshire, are the Dartmouth Skiway at Lyme, Oak Hall at Hanover and Snow Crest at Lebanon.

Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, 48 years ago on January 22, a nation was formed by the union of the Ukrainian National Republic and the Western Ukrainian National Republic. The Ukrainian people breathed freedom for barely 2 years before falling to the imperialism and tyranny of Communist Russia.

It is fitting during this Ukrainian independence week that the American people rededicate ourselves toward working for renewed freedom of all captive nations.

With Americans dying in the jungles and on the plains of Vietnam, defending those embattled people against communism's terrors, we should vow to regain freedom for the Ukrainians who have suffered so much for so long.

During our efforts, let us recall the words of a great American spoken about our own fight for freedom, for they apply equally to the people of the captive nations:

> For what avail the plough or sail, or land or life, if freedom fail?

Blatnik Salutes Outgoing Cabinet Member Connor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, I wish to add my voice to the chorus of tributes to John T. Connor, the outgoing Secretary of Commerce, that we have heard in public and private in the past several days.

Secretary Connor's outstanding talents as a creative, inspired leader and administrator have been clearly apparent across the broad range of responsibilities entrusted to the Department of Commerce.

Under him, the Department has been a major force in meeting the urgent and diverse problems of our times at home and abroad.

He has played a primary role in keeping the dollar strong as an architect and major participant in President Johnson's balance-of-payments program, under which our bankers and businessmen have made sizable contributions in the past 2 years to supplement the Government's own significant efforts.

He has headed an export expansion program that has helped bring the Nation's overseas trade to historic record levels, with resultant benefits to working men throughout the Nation no less than to their employers and to the Nation's balance-of-payments goals.

He has made farsighted and farseeing contributions to the economic development of the less-developed sections of our own Nation through distinguished and progressive leadership, and the establishment of regional development commissions, within terms of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965.

The related Appalachia program operating through Secretary Connor has, as you know, been highly successful thus far and holds vast promise for the future both in its own 13-State area and as a pioneer effort in the field of cooperative Federal-State regional development.

Another critical problem area for this Nation is automobile and traffic safety, where accidents take far more lives than are lost in Vietnam. Today the Nation's highways and motor vehicles are becoming safer, and will continue to become safer in the years ahead, because of safety programs initiated and inaugurated and now being pursued under Secretary Connor's leadership.

And if safeguarding the lives of Americans must always be our primary concern, the goal of safeguarding the land itself for this generation and for posterity certainly also holds an extremely high priority. Under Secretary Connor, the Department of Commerce undertook an energetic program of landscaping and scenic enhancement of our roads even before passage of the important Highway Beautification Act of 1965, and is now carrying forward this program with distinction.

I believe these few examples of major programs emphasize Secretary Connor's deep involvement and devoted leadership in meeting the problems of our times, ranging from the domestic economy to international affairs to the safety of our people and the quality of our lives.

But the sum of Secretary Connor's contributions in these years is, of course, far greater than simply the sum of these and all the other programs and policies and actions with which he has been concerned.

It lies, in a larger sense, in the qualities he brought to bear through these 2 years in service in an extremely demanding position of public trust: breadth of vision, balanced perspective, seasoned competence, an informed and cultivated intelligence, and most of all, an absolute determination to serve the public good.

One of the most distinguishing attributes of an outstanding leader, it is often said, is his ability to select and train a worthy successor. Clearly, Secretary Connor has done this. Alexander B. Trowbridge, who has served as Assistant Secretary of Commerce and whom President Johnson has now named Acting Secretary of Commerce, is a fine and competent and able successor who will assure continuity in the forward thrust of this important Department. Secretary Trowbridge's appointment underlines once again the extremely high quality of leadership in the executive department in general, and the Commerce Department in particular, under the administration of President Johnson.

As Secretary Connor prepares to leave Washington, I am certain that all of us—and all of the American people—join in wishing him and his family the continued happiness and success they so richly deserve in the years to come.

Secretary Connor has indeed earned a grateful and sincere "Well done" from us all.

Hon. John E. Fogarty

SPEECH
OF

HON. CARL D. PERKINS

OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, I would certainly like to associate myself with the remarks of our colleagues concerning the Honorable JOHN EDWARD FOGARTY. This truly great Rhode Island legislator has erected a towering monument to his memory through the leadership he has provided in the building of programs and institutes to develop and protect the human resources of this great Nation.

History records he was a bricklayer. The bricks and mortar laid by JOHN FOGARTY can be discerned in the expanding institutions of higher education affording new and improved learning opportunities for our citizens resulting from his guiding hand on appropriation measures to fund meaningful programs. They can be seen in those national institutes which are effectively coping with the disease and infirmity which collects an exorbitant toll from the human resources of our Nation.

His lifelong campaign, directed by his intense compassion, to improve opportunities for people to participate and share in the great affluence of our democracy, was conducted with great modesty and with what will be recorded by history as almost legendary legislative skill. Indicative of his humility is the fact that the current Congressional Directory—of all the great things that may be said about him—carries only this line:

> JOHN EDWARD FOGARTY, Democrat, of Harmony, R.I., elected in 1940; reelected to succeeding Congresses.

The Honorable JOHN FOGARTY was, indeed, a representative of his constituents, and the Nation will harvest for a long time to come the seeds sown by his great statesmanship.

Across the River, Part V—The Star Documents a Civic Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, this is the concluding article in the series, "Across the River," by Haynes Johnson, which the Washington Evening Star published last week. The five-part series concerned the crisis in the section of the District of Columbia which is located east of the Anacostia River.

The last article points out that while there are efforts to meet head-on the serious problems of this area, it is not enough. Perhaps the two most striking statements in Mr. Johnson's last article—and perhaps in the whole series—come the closest to the core of the problem:

> On one point, there can be no question—virtually without exception those interviewed in the projects Across the River express a sense of isolation and alienation. They do not feel a part of Washington . . .
>
> Time and again during research of these articles, mothers have told of being physically afraid of their own children. Out of the whole experience, that one fact remains the most vivid for this reporter.

Mr. Speaker, this Anacostia River which separates this section of the District from the main section is far more symbolic than real. It could be an inch wide or it could be an ocean across. That is irrelevant. Symbolically it is a gulf in the society and social structure of our whole community. Its lesson is the lesson of John Donne's great poem, "No Man Is an Island." Certainly my colleagues can only wonder, after reading this series, how many such "rivers" are there in the Nation's Capital and the Nation:

ACROSS THE RIVER—5 A CHALLENGE FOR BOTH SIDES OF THE RIVER

(By Haynes Johnson, Star staff writer)

Last month posters appeared on bulletin boards in public buildings throughout the far Northeast of Washington. They began dramatically—"Emergency Flash!!! Mass Meeting"—and concluded with a plea: "Let's

Curb Crime—Necessity for Closing Stores, Threat to Cancel, Deny Insurance Protection and Other Causes of Blight and Wrong Image of Area."

The meeting was held the night of Dec. 14 in Kenilworth Courts, a public housing project near the Maryland line. Representatives from a broad crosssection of the community attended—the police, fire, and sanitation departments; the schools, churches, and civic associations; the District government and public housing; private businesses and public transportation. More than 60 residents of the housing project, both parents and children, also attended.

The gathering demonstrated that some of the people of at least one of the trouble spots Across the River are willing to work on the problems that beset them. But the sparse turnout made it clear that they are a long way from the kind of dynamic community action that would make a difference.

In earlier articles, The Star has pinpointed a number of serious problems in the trouble areas—vandalism, intimidation, and shakedowns; depredations by juveniles; declining community services; difficulties in public housing projects and schools. This concluding article focuses on what is being done about those problems, and what lies ahead.

Two points should be made at the outset. The first is that the two trouble spots—centering on Kenilworth in the far Northeast and Congress Heights in the far Southeast—are by no means typical of the whole area across the Anacostia. The vast majority of the citizens Across the River are law-abiding; they live in pleasant homes in quiet neighborhoods. The second point is that there are many residents of the area who are aware of the problems and who are trying to do something about them. The Kenilworth Courts meeting is an example. It is indicative of the magnitude of the job that they have made so little progress.

Mrs. Ruth Bates Harris, executive director of the D.C. Commissioners' Council on Human Relations, was one who attended the Dec. 14 meeting. She came away struck by the "amiable" spirit there.

Also in the Northeast, an active, integrated business group meets regularly to discuss problems of the community. There is an integrated bank, the United Community National Bank headed by Dr. William Collins, meetings are held there. Citizens and civic leaders also gather in schools and churches to explore common problems.

Mrs. Harris and others make the point that such business-community rapport is not as evident in the far Southeast. One man, a Negro merchant, put it bluntly, "There is a lack of community relations among the citizens out here."

Poverty programs are also at work in both troubled sections across the Anacostia, offering a variety of services to the communities. These programs, too, grew out of grass-roots initiative.

Less than two years ago, for example, the far Northeast Council of Civic Associations, representing 13 civic groups east of the Anacostia and north of Pennsylvania Ave. completed a study calling for aggressive community action to combat poverty. The need was urgent, the Council declared, because:

". . . we have a community which, while not totally poverty-stricken, is headed toward blight, despite strenuous and energetic action by many individuals and groups in the community."

The poverty program in the Northeast has the solid support of its community—from the PTA and the Northeast Business and Professional Association down to the 14th Precinct Crime Council. In the far Southeast, where the Southeast Neighborhood House operates the poverty program, a militant approach has produced some friction between the workers and the businessmen.

But whatever the particular community attitude may be, in both areas Across the River poverty workers are attempting to get at the basic causes of unrest and disorders. There simply have not been enough of them—and now no one is sure how much antipoverty money will be available for the programs in the future.

"They wanted us to fight a war with a pea shooter, and now they're trying to take the pea shooter away," says Ralph Fertig, the director of the Southeast Neighborhood House.

MORE POLICE ASKED

Inevitably, any discussion of the problems Across the River bogs down on one question: What can be done to change things? Many persons interviewed urged more police, better protection. Some advocated a return to the old-fashioned neighborhood foot policeman, with men assigned fulltime to beats in the housing project areas.

There were some charges of police brutality, but the police had many defenders. One recreation department worker said that "police brutality isn't the problem; police protection is the problem. Many of these kids humiliate the police." Others told of incidents when teen-agers, who have been arrested and released, come back to taunt the police to their faces.

The police have their views, too.

"The people brought their complaints to us," said Capt. Bernard E. Carroll, the commander of the 14th Precinct, refering to the mass meeting in Kenilworth last month. "But when we questioned them, it turned out that most of the blame should have been put on the courts here. The courts just aren't giving them the protection they should have.

"They call on us for help and we follow through and then nothing is done in court, and these people see the same man who threatened them or pushed them around going free. Maybe the chief judge should come to some of these citizen meetings."

Carroll then drew out a map to illustrate one of his greatest problems—the size of his precinct. His men on foot patrols—never more than 12—have huge beats to cover. They are lucky to get around once during their shift.

The former commander of that Northeast precinct, Vernon H. Culpepper, now the head of the Police Community Relations Division, was asked his opinion on the reasons for juvenile vandalism.

"I can see why a kid might rob a store, or steal a car," he said, in his southwestern Virginia drawl, "but giving false alarms, and breaking school windows—we get that constantly. When somebody does that he's just hurting himself. He might have to sit in a cold schoolroom the next day, or his home might be the one that needs protection by the fire department. I just don't get it."

Culpepper, who is highly regarded by residents of his former precinct, made clear his conviction that problems of criminal behavior will not be solved by more men or stricter enforcement alone.

He particularly emphasized that by no means all the blame should be placed on children in public housing. Some of the best children he has known, he said, have come from the projects.

NO ONE TO LEARN FROM

Capt. Owen W. Davis, the Negro commander of the far Southeast's 11th Precinct, made the same points—but even more strongly.

No matter how many men and cars are put on the street, he said, the social and economic causes of crime will remain. He also said he feels that jamming the poor together in large public housing projects undoubtedly decreases their chances in obtaining an education in urban living.

"They have no one to learn from," he said. "It's like the 'alley-dwelling' that they had here after the Civil War. The freed slaves came to Washington and lived in the alleys. They were out of sight of the white world. They had their own little world."

Housing comes up again and again in discussions.

Most of the problems appear to stem from the large projects—from a very few in those projects. The most notable example is the Valley Green project, on Wheeler Road.

The National Capital Housing Authority executives have been well aware of the troubles there, and have attempted to do something about them. Their largest effort so far has been to move nearly everyone involved in the authority's social service unit to full time duty at Valley Green. Of 12 staff members in the unit, 11 were stationed at Valley Green two months ago.

That unit is headed by John Staggers, former director of Howard University's Community Service Project. Staggers, who came to NCHA last spring, speaks hopefully. "It's impossible to make inroads overnight," he says, "but we're gratified at the progress we're making."

His first order of business was to conduct a "social inventory of the tenants" to determine needs. Now, he says, that data is being tabulated. The next step will be "mobilizing the resources of the community" by organizing tenants and bringing the services of other agencies into the development.

Candor compels one to say there is little evidence that the social service unit is making dramatic progress. Its "social inventory" was taken some weeks ago, and that appears to be the only contact many families have had with Staggers' staff. During six weeks of research for these articles Staggers himself had little direct contact with Valley Green. He has been busy, he said, arranging "a mammoth pageant" that will involve the participation of teen-age girls from all 40 NCHA projects. The pageant is scheduled for Feb. 10.

YOUTH WORK PLAN

Housing officials have several other ideas they want to try. One would be to hire teenagers in the projects for maintenance jobs now done only sporadically. The youngsters would work 16 hours a week, and be paid $1.25 and hour. Three or four project adults would be hired to supervise the youth work.

Such steps may help to instill pride and responsibility and provide needed income. But, as one housing official commented, "That's first aid. What Valley Green needs is surgery."

Looking further into the future, NCHA points toward two relatively new and promising programs. One involves placing tenants in rehabilitated houses in existing neighborhoods. NCHA first buys the houses, and then, on contract, has them renovated for tenants. The agency now has the authority to rehabilitate 240 of these houses. In its second program, it is currently leasing 110 units for tenants and has authority to lease 240 more.

"These units are in all quadrants of the city," said Edward Aronov, NCHA's acting director, "but there are none west of Rock Creek. We can't get any to sell or lease at a price we can afford."

There, the housing agency runs into its old dilemma of finding suitable, reasonably priced sites outside of the present concentrations of housing projects. NCHA has been offered enough land for 1,000 to 2,000 units—but the land is adjacent to existing projects.

SENSE OF ISOLATION

On one point, there can be no question—virtually without exception those interviewed in the projects Across the River express a sense of isolation and alienation. They do not feel a part of Washington. Also there was almost unanimous agreement among both parents and children that they were happier in other sections of the city.

When you ask why, the answer varies. To a boy who had lived previously in Southwest, he had "more fun." To a boy who had lived behind Union Station, he could play the pinball machines in the game rooms there. To still another who had lived on North Capitol Street, there were more lights in this old area.

The suggestion often is made that the projects do not provide enough community services—recreation, shopping, entertainment, even close schools; that future planning would dictate smaller, more homogeneous units. In fact, as a general rule, the behavioral problems increase with the number of people in a single building; the row-type dwellings show far less evidence of vandalism than the four-story walkups.

One way to attack the problems on a massive scale would be to make the two areas part of Federal Demonstration Cities projects, and thus pour substantial Federal resources into the troubled communities. Officials here have indicated such a proposal might be viewed favorably.

But it would be naive to suggest that merely building better units is going to resolve the problems. Behind the mortar and bricks lie the more difficult problems of family structures and attitudes of inferiority and hopelessness which contribute toward acts of vandalism and worse.

FRUSTRATED AMBITION

During the interviewing for these articles, the mother of a 13-year-old boy in Kenilworth spoke of only her son's experience, but his frustration is shared by many more. Her son, she said, is "very ambitious," and he was working hard at delivering papers. Then she said:

"He didn't make a penny. People just wouldn't pay him."

His frustrations, and the frustrations of others like him, signal trouble ahead—more trouble for more youths. For, as has been shown, Across the River today the problems are primarily juvenile problems. Already, a number of youths have police records. Some see arrest as a mark of distinction.

A school crossing guard, who lives with her children in one of the large projects surveyed, spoke angrily about some of the youths. But most of her scorn was directed at the parents.

"If these parents would take the time and be near the kids," she said, "there would not be as much trouble. But a lot of parents are living with stolen goods themselves. You see a boy walking around here with fine clothes, then find out where they came from. The parents know the kids don't work. Yet they walk around with fine $34 shoes. It's not only the kids' fault. The parents are involved, too. How many mothers ask their kids where they got things?"

One explanation for the behavior she described is singularly disturbing. Time and again during research for these articles, mothers have told of being physically afraid of their own children.

Out of the whole experience, that one fact remains the most vivid for this reporter.

One comes away from this study convinced that, in the long run, all other problems are secondary when placed beside the unmet needs of the youths. If real changes are to come soon, they must come through programs designed to reach the young people.

There are youth programs functioning now Across the River. There are dedicated people who devote their time and talents to helping erase the bitterness and the despair felt by the young and draw them back into the community. Many more are needed. Many more facilities were required.

This Across the River study was born last Dec. 7 when a group of businessmen from east of the Anacostia came to The Star and told of vandalism, extortion, fear and destruction.

Their troubles continue. The Kenilworth and Congress Heights areas are still beset by lawlessness, destruction and declining business.

As has been shown, the merchants do not bear these burdens alone. The entire communities involved are paying the price in the breakdown of community services and morale.

Nor is the problem something that rests with those troubled neighborhoods alone. It must be shared by the rest of Washington, which, for the people east of the Anacostia, is also Across the River.

DOES WASHINGTON REALLY KNOW?

Robert and Maxine Boyd, who for years have been deeply involved in efforts to build a better far Northeast, met with Haynes Johnson two nights ago to discuss the past, the present, and the future for their section Across the River. Here, in a partial transcript of a tape-recorded interview, Mr. Boyd comments on The Star's series, and discusses what might be done to correct conditions:

"All of us who live out here at one time or another have admitted the facts which were reported in the articles. We did become very much concerned as to whether or not these facts, couched in the particular light in which they were reported, could possibly set a behavior pattern for the community.

"Sort of a thing that if you tell people they're lousy, they may begin to act lousy. And these youngsters have already been hurt quite a bit. We felt that the community itself had begun to make inroads into the problems of the youngsters, the problems of the poor in general, that we just kicked off, about a year and a half ago, a poverty program for the community which the community itself proposed and had built a corporation to handle, and we had just brought in to that program a neighborhood youth development program designed to reach the very problems which were highlighted in the articles contained in The Star. And here, when we had just gotten started, we got the impression that we really hadn't done a thing.

ARE THEY RECOGNIZED?

"There is no question of the difficulties of the problems faced by the people in the community. There is some question as to the recognition or understanding of the City of Washington, as a whole of the existence of these problems.

"The only time we have really felt that the City of Washington knew that these problems existed was the time of the Benning Road bus boycott, when the maids and the government workers and the other 20-odd thousand that live out here couldn't get to work. And comments appeared in the newspapers about the reaction of mothers who couldn't get their children to school or go to work because their help hadn't arrived.

"It showed up the night of the Kenilworth riot last summer when the 70 thousand-odd cars which normally pass the Kenilworth housing projects daily and never see them, didn't even know this Kenilworth project existed, suddenly found out that it certainly did exist, because the rocks were dropped into their windshields. And all of a sudden, Washington knew about Kenilworth. Maryland did not know about Kenilworth until the cinders from the dump began to drop on Cheverly, Md.

"We who live out here have known for a long time that we had problems. We've been working at them. We've been telling the District of Columbia. We have a number of papers, reports, statements, testimony that's been made at hearings in my own knowledge, since 1951; in the history of the Northeast council, since 1932; in the history of particular civic associations in Northeast boundaries, since about 1905. We have been going down to say, 'Look you've got a community out here. It's growing an average of two to four thousand people a year. You aren't doing anything for it. You are pushing people in, and pushing them in from Southwest, and every place you clean out elsewhere, when you bring them in, you failing to bring the services with them. We have told you repeatedly that trouble is coming.

"I feel that when I talk to people at meetings in the city, and we suggest, 'Let's have the next meeting in the Northeast,' they say that is too far. For approximately 250,000 people in the Northeast-Southeast community, it's just as far for us in town—and we do represent more than one-fourth of the city's population. The first indication from the general citizenry who live in the Northwest section is that this area is too far to travel to.

SOCIOLOGICAL QUESTION

"The Star and the Post, in the summer after the riots, documented very clearly the history of the Anacostia region, how it grew and what has happened to it in terms of community leadership. It's really not fair for me to comment on the Southeast area. In looking at it and preparing our own statistics on, say, the number of public housing, I think that there is perhaps half again as many public housing units in the Southeast as in the Northeast. This raises a very interesting sociological question. How much public housing can any particular community of varied economic background absorb and remain a healthy, viable community? Your article on housing describes how these people are poor, and they only see more poor people. Where are they going? How do they grow?

"I do think the relationship between here and downtown has improved in many areas.

In schools, the problem is that the number of schools unfortunately has not kept pace with the growth of population in the community, and the types and kinds of services which should be in these schools have not kept pact. I don't think that this is a problem of planning on the part of the Board of Education.

The Board of Education has consistently requested additional schools, and these things have been pushed back and pushed back and pushed back.

"We do feel that, had we been able to voice our needs at the polls, we might have gotten quicker redress for our needs. I would like to see a situation in which we could actually control the city leaders, have a voice in the spending of the tax dollar, have a voice in deciding where the city shall go.".

On the question of The Future, he said:

"I've read the proposals of the District public works program; I've read the 1985 report, I've read the 2000 year report, I've read plans A, B, and C of community renewal—and if any of those things are followed, I see a rather bleak future in which these people, more and more, have less and less chance to survive. Because, in none of those programs were there proposals designed to attack directly the needs highlighted in your articles. . . . You don't see social programs designed to help people stand on their own two feet. If that is the path the city fathers of the District of Columbia wish to take, then I see a bleak future.

"But if you take the assumption which we have had for years out here, that you can do something, that the people are not completely helpless, that this area doesn't have to go into blight, then you begin to develop master programs—through the Demonstration Cities projects, through special education proposals . . . and then I think that a tremendous future can develop for these children—in fact for all of us."

EARLY WARNINGS

A community leader. Across the River summed up much of the frustration of civic leaders there when he said "we've told you, and we've told you, and we've told you" of *the problems there. Here, chronologically, are some of the things one civic group, the Far Northeast Council, has been saying to the District government over the years:*

IN 1954

". . . Although the juvenile delinquency problem is not as pronounced in this area as in other areas of the city, a notable increase is reported in offenses and arrests of juveniles in the area. Adequate health facilities, recreation facilities, social service, schools, and police protection can do much to prevent the upsurge of crime in this community."

IN 1957

". . . It is high time that all who are concerned with the welfare of Washington, as a whole, recognize that one section of the city, as large as ours, cannot be neglected without eventually bringing harm to the city as a whole. The Far Northeast's needs are dire and immediate. They must be attended to."

IN 1960

"The recorded history of our request for a public health center begins with the period just prior to 1954 when our minutes show increasing concern over the health problems in this area; the increasing number of public housing projects being built in the area. . . ."

IN 1960

"Despite the excellent efforts of the staff of the 14th Precinct to control crime in this area, it must be pointed out that crime has been on the increase in this community for the last five years.

IN 1965

"We feel, strongly . . . that community needs have become so neglected, and that the civic voice has been so ignored that it is incumbent upon us to bring these matters to the attention of the Board of Recreation. . . ."

The 90th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, today I am inserting for the information of my colleagues and the readers of the RECORD the Knoxville News-Sentinel's editorial on the 90th Congress:

THE 90TH CONGRESS

At its outset, at least, House Republican Leader Gerald Ford's description of the new 90th Congress as a "new direction Congress" seems apt.

For it certainly is a "new direction"—and highly laudable—to have a majority of House Democrats finally use a good-sized shillelagh on Adam Clayton Powell, the man whose blantant use of the public purse to lead the good life was just too, too much.

The new 90th has a long way to go, of course—two years. But developments at the outset are encouraging. The action on Powell seems to indicate the members of the House, at least, are interested in keeping faith with the taxpaying American public. Let's hope they don't get out of this mood and will go on, including the Senate, to so police themselves as to restore the nation's faith in the honor and integrity of the legislative branch of our Government.

The mood of keeping faith with the taxpaying public, if it proves durable, almost certainly means the new Congress will be a thrifty one. It must be if we are not to pay the mounting costs of the Vietnam war with printing press money. And it should be in the mood to raise taxes to pay for the war and to fight inflation.

We hope the new Congress also will be in the mood to continue to support to the fullest the war in Vietnam. We hope it keeps ever before it the understanding of what would happen at home and to free nations everywhere if the Government took the advice of some and tucked tail and ran out of Vietnam.

We also hope members of the new Congress will be in the mood to dampen the ardor of their constituents, their colleagues and the Federal bureaucrats to extend the hegemony of the Federal Government over matters the states and cities should control.

If these hopes are fulfilled, the new Congress will be a good one, possibly a great one.

The nation needs a great Congress at this time.

J. Edgar Hoover: 50 Years of Public Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, stop any man on the sidewalks of America and ask him to name the most dedicated and respected public servant in the United States and the chances are he will reply, "J. Edgar Hoover."

Why is this? Well, for one thing, Mr. Hoover has served his country for almost half a century—he will complete 50 years of service on July 26 of this year. But a person does not gain admiration and respect by long service alone. His actions, his contributions to the betterment of society are more important gauges of his worth.

Mr. Hoover's record of accomplishments and contributions is well known. But one thing stands out above all others—the basic achievement for which this Nation will forever remain in Mr. Hoover's debt. In 1924, Mr. Hoover took command of a small, ineffective, discredited investigative agency in the Department of Justice. Through his dedication, his determination, his unwavering devotion to principles, he moulded this group into the world's greatest, most respected, and, in some quarters, most feared, law enforcement agency—the Federal Bureau of Investigation. And in the process, his influence spread throughout law enforcement, raising and enhancing its status as an honorable profession.

On January 18, 1967, the New York World Journal Tribune published an article by Jim Bishop which is a fitting tribute to Mr. Hoover, I request permission to have this article printed along with my remarks in the RECORD. As my colleagues know, Jim Bishop is a syndicated columnist. I am inserting his column as it appeared in the World Journal Tribune, of New York, on January 18, 1967:

J. EDGAR HOOVER COMPLETING 50 YEARS WITH FBI

(By Jim Bishop)

The granite bulldog, J. Edgar Hoover, completes 50 years of service to his country this July. He was 22, fresh out of George Washington University in 1917, when he got a job clerking in the Department of Justice. In seven years, he was director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Hoover didn't merely work at it. He married it.

No department in the federal government has been as free of scandal and corruption as the FBI. No department has more enemies in high places. No department has compiled a record of quiet efficiency to match Hoover's.

Some Presidents, and quite a few attorneys-general, have plotted ways and means of retiring J. Edgar Hoover. Good writers have taken hard swings at him. Lyndon Johnson saved him from automatic retirement at the age of 70. He will probably do it again.

In age, Hoover has grown to a stature which, like it or not, approaches the reverence accorded the American flag. It seems unpatriotic to fight him on any public issue. Privately, he has lost battles in every Administration—from that of Warren G. Harding through Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy to Lyndon Johnson.

Someday, he will lose the final one. So far as I know, Hoover never lost for lack of courage and intelligence. He continues with his work, which is to fight interstate lawlessness and international communism. This makes him the most feared man in America, a title no man relishes.

Last year, his bureau located 15,000 fugitives, an all-time record, and recovered 22,000 stolen cars. The FBI, where agents are attorneys, racked up 12,000 convictions in federal courts and more than $275,000,000 in fines. The fiines represent $1.50 for every dollar spent on the Bureau.

In the Chicago area alone, local police, acting on tips supplied by the FBI, have conducted over 100 successful gambling raids. Hoover's men covered the Communist party convention in New York, last June. The new swing, he reported, is toward a "People's Party" fighting for civil rights, peace in Viet Nam, and labor unions. The American Reds favor Moscow over Peking.

The Communist party also decided to run members for public office. They do not expect to win anywhere, but, by argumentative campaigning, expect their opponents to be forced to adopt platforms more favorable to the Soviet Union. Dorothy Healey tried it. She ran for Tax Assessor in Los Angeles.

She didn't win. But America didn't either. She polled 86,000 votes, the highest number given a Communist in 16 years. The Reds are now taking dead aim on American youth. They staged a two-week educational forum at Wingdale, New York, and are working hard on student strikes protesting the military draft, and demanding more student freedom.

One of J. Edgar Hoover's greatest services to his country was the establishment of the FBI National Academy. Here, law enforcement officers from Maine to Hawaii, from Florida to Alaska, study modern police procedure. Last year, the 5,000th officer graduated from the academy. More than one-quarter of all policemen who have taken this course of study, and remained in police work, are now executive heads of their own departments.

The fingerprints of 79,000,000 Americans are on file at FBI headquarters in Washington, and 28,000 new sets are processed each day.

The granite bulldog isn't a smiler. He will win no beauty contests. But he is, without challenge, the greatest law enforcement officer in all history. The cop's cop . . .

Time for Space Decisions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the Industrial Research magazine of January 1967 examines the problems of delaying a decision on the future of our national space program. This editorial examines this issue in the context of our national security needs and other public programs. I commend this brief, but informative, editorial to your reading:

TIME FOR SPACE DECISIONS

The monetary needs of the Vietnam War and the various "Great Society" programs are having an adverse effect on the growth of the nation's research and development expenditures. Although R&D spending is likely to climb from $23- to $24-billion in 1967, it appears that many vital scientific and technological programs will not receive the funding they deserve because of the war and other demands on the federal budget.

It is evident—from the public declarations and proposed budget—that the Johnson Administration is delaying action on the post-Apollo space program, the supersonic transport, the Nike-X antimissile system, the 200-bev proton accelerator, and other major R&D programs because of the shortage of funds.

We realize that the nation's war needs should receive first priority and that some steps should be taken to implement civilian needs. However, at the same time, we cannot let important R&D programs—especially on-going ones—languish from the lack of adequate support. Research and development have become the keystone of our national economy and a necessity in our rapidly changing world.

We are particularly concerned about the future of the space program, which has surpassed all expectations in performance and is on the brink of one of the greatest technological achievements in history—manned exploration of other worlds. There are increasing signs that the federal government is preparing to downgrade the space program.

The National Aeronautics & Space Administration budget, which has been around $5-billion, is facing drastic curtailment. Some government officials and space critics are talking about a reduction of $1- to 3-billion upon completion of the Apollo Project.

The failure of the Johnson Administration to adopt post-Apollo goals is another indication of space deceleration. Until new objectives are forthcoming, it is doubtful if Congress will appropriate the level of funding needed to maintain the space program.

We believe it is imperative to retain and to take advantage of the momentum of the space program. It would be ludicrous to forsake further exploration at a time when the secrets of the universe are within grasp, and earlier expenditures are beginning to pay off commercially as well as scientifically.

In a series of articles titled "The Case for Going to the Moon," *Industrial Research* outlined some of the principal reasons for manned lunar exploration. It was pointed out that even more important than the prestige and military advantages were the scientific research, vacuum manufacturing, astronomical observations, lunar mining, economical spaceport facilities, and technology transfer that could result from the program.

Similar arguments could be given for further space exploits, such as orbiting laboratories, deep space probes, and manned exploration of Mars and Venus. The scientific knowledge, the economic benefits, and the excitement of exploring the universe and creating a new world certainly should be worth the investment. Space exploration is a challenge rather than a burden. The costs are well worth the potential returns for mankind.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective departments or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

Appendix

Senator Randolph Focuses Attention on National Crime Wave—Effort To Combat Crime Stressed by President Johnson—Report of the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia Cited

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, much attention has been given to the ever-increasing crime rate in the United States—particularly in large metropolitan areas. The figures show, regardless of the causes, that the national crime wave is nearing alarming proportions. Major crimes are on a continuous increase, and, during the first 9 months of 1966, the Nation's crime index rose 10 percent over the corresponding period in 1965.

Equally disturbing is the fact that law-enforcement officials estimate that a large percentage of the crimes committed in the United States each year go unreported. In the report of the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia, it was stated that the unreported offenses were not trivial; 33 percent were housebreakings and 15 percent were larcenies.

According to the report, certain crimes are more likely to go unreported:

> . . . It is generally believed that many rape victims, because of embarrassment, shame or a fear of publicity, do not report the assault to the police. Many thefts of property of little value, frequently involving housebreakings, go unreported; the victim feels the police will not be able to do anything about the crime. Nevertheless, if people fail to report crimes, no matter how minor, the police can neither apprehend offenders nor effectively mobilize men and equipment to combat future offenses. The public will remain ignorant of the true severity of its crime problem, and will make its own protection more difficult—we are informed.

It was gratifying to hear the President, in his state of the Union address, declare firmly that:

> This Nation must make an all out effort to combat crime.

He said he would recommend to the 90th Congress the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967, which will enable States and cities to utilize more effective means of combating crime.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has continued to express his concern over the convicted criminals who are turned loose and again terrorize society. Mr. Hoover has cited a study showing that 75 percent of the 93,000 criminals arrested in 1963 and 1964 had been arrested previously.

Citing the Commission report again, observations are made about offenders in the District of Columbia:

> The adult offenders are predominantly Negro, male, poorly educated, youthful, products of broken homes and large families, unskilled and erratically employed.
>
> This description of the offender population serves to outline the dimensions of the problems which the community confronts in trying to reduce crime. The criminal, so portrayed, represents a major social and economic failure of the District of Columbia.

Mr. President, I cite two informative and provocative editorials concerning crime problems from the August 27, 1966, issue of the Intelligencer, Wheeling, W. Va., and from the December 30, 1966, issue of the Huntington, W. Va., Advertiser. I ask unanimous consent to have them inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wheeling (W.Va.) Intelligencer, Aug. 27, 1966]

EXAMPLE: WE MIGHT TAKE A LEAF FROM BRITISH BOOK IN MEETING CRIME SURGE

At a time when the United States is preoccupied with the protection of persons accused of crime and in the process making the job of the policeman more difficult, England seems to be moving in the opposite direction.

Jolted by a sharp rise in the crime rate—a trend that has become chronic in our own Country—the British Government has inaugurated or proposed major changes in criminal procedure, including:

Substitution of a 10-to-two finding for a unanimous vote of guilty in jury trials;

A requirement that a defendant planning an alibi defense in a criminal prosecution give advance notice, with appropriate detail, to the prosecution so that the police will have ample opportunity to investigate;

Abolish the requirement that the police caution a suspect before questioning that anything he says may be used as evidence against him;

Stiffer penalties for crimes of violence and a requirement that a defendant take the stand for questioning by the prosecutor.

In defense of these and similar revisions designed to crack down on the law breaker, British Home Secretary Roy Jenkins is quoted by the U.S. News & World Report as saying:

"In all too many cases, particularly those concerning the most vicious forms of organized crimes—the really big criminal conspiracies—the scales of justice are now weighted all too heavily in favor of the accused."

It is laudable, of course, and in accordance with the American tradition and the sentiments of the American people that those accused of crime be accorded every reasonable right of defense, to the end that punishment of the innocent be avoided. But it seems apparent that we already have gone much too far in fashioning these safeguards; that in our zeal to protect the innocent we are helping too many of the guilty escape the consequences of their acts, and encouraging those with a criminal bent to take a chance with the law.

If England, which has a much less serious crime problem than ours, now finds it necessary to stiffen the rules in behalf of society, the least we can do is take some sober second looks at the recent trend of judicial decisions in the area of criminal procedure.

[From the Huntington (W. Va.) Advertiser, Dec. 30, 1966]

SOARING CRIME RATE PUTS RESPONSIBILITY ON CONGRESS FOR PROVIDING STRONG CURBS

A headline over an Associated Press story from Washington, D.C., on Jan. 28, 1962, declared, "U.S. Crime Rate Has Zoomed Since End of Second World War."

The story referred to statements of Robert F. Kennedy, at that time U.S. attorney general, and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover saying that crime ranked high among the nation's major domestic problems.

Since then the rate of offenses has continued to climb. When Nicholas deB. Katzenbach was U.S. attorney general in 1965, he warned:

"Crime is fast becoming one of America's major problems and is costing us tens of billions of dollars annually. It is time that we took practical and positive steps to deal with the situation."

These views have been echoed by police officers, criminal court judges and high federal officials.

They are supported by reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In July of this year statistics from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports disclosed that serious offenses in 1965 increased six per cent over those of 1964.

Proof that the rate is still rising alarmingly was presented by the FBI only a few days ago. This report said the increase during the first nine months of 1966 over the rate for the corresponding period of 1965 amounted to 10 per cent.

No doubt many factors have contributed to the rising wave of violence.

But statistics as well as statements of trial judges, police officers and prosecuting attorneys indicate strongly that one of the major factors in recent years has been a series of decisions by the U.S. Supreme Court.

The first of these decisions was in the case of Andrew Mallory, who had been convicted in the Washington, D.C., District Court of rape in 1956.

The conviction was based on a confession. It was upheld by the District Court of Appeals. But the next year it was annulled by the U.S. Supreme Court because Mallory had been held for seven and a half hours between his arrest and his arraignment, that is, his appearance before a court official to be formally charged and advised of his rights.

There was no argument in the appeal to the Supreme Court that the man was innocent or that the police had used force in obtaining the confession.

The only issue was the length of time he was held before being formally charged and advised of his rights.

Mallory's release made possible his later rape of a Philadelphia woman. For that he was sentenced to a Pennsylvania prison.

One serious effect of the decision releasing him was the confusion it caused among police and trial judges. The Supreme Court did not say how long a suspect could properly be held for questioning before being formally charged, and there is nothing in the U.S. Constitution to provide guidance.

A short time after the decision Robert V. Murray, Washington chief of police, testified before a congressional hearing that, in his opinion, it would greatly hinder law enforcement.

Statistics strongly support his statement. In 1957, the year of the decision, the number of serious crimes such as rape, robbery, criminal homicide and aggravated assault in Washington reached 15,554.

In 1958 the number rose to 17,047. The increase continued each year until in 1961 the total was 21,802. In 1962 an enlarged police force was able to hold the number down to 21,534.

Another possible serious consequence of the Mallory decision is made clear by the length of time Lee Harvey Oswald was held before his arraignment after the assassination of President Kennedy.

The report of the commission headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren said Oswald was brought to the Dallas Police Department Building about 2 p.m.

He was not formally charged with the murder of Policeman J. D. Tippitt until 7:10 p.m. This was five hours and 10 minutes after his arrival at the building.

After much more questioning and even an appearance before newsmen, the prisoner was finally charged with the assassination of President Kennedy at 1:30 a.m.

This was 11 and a half hours after police began questioning him.

The Dallas case differed from Mallory's in that Oswald made no confession. Apparently there was sufficient evidence to convict him without his admission of guilt.

Even so, if Mallory's constitutional rights had been violated by his being held for seven and a half hours before his arraignment, it would seem that Oswald's had been even more seriously breached by his being held four hours longer while evidence was being accumulated against him.

The Mallory decision of 1957 was followed by others in 1961, 1963 and 1964 affecting police in their efforts to combat crime. Then this year a 5–4 decision read by Chief Justice Warren applied even more rigid restrictions on the questioning of suspects in custody.

Over heated protests of minority members the court majority held that the Fifth Amendment's protection against testifying against oneself applies as soon as police arrest a suspect.

Before questioning of a prisoner begins, the court ruled, he must be clearly warned that he need not answer, that anything he says may be used as evidence against him and that he has a right to the presence of a lawyer during the interrogation.

If the prisoner asks for a lawyer but lacks the money to employ one, the questioning must wait until one appointed by a court is present.

If the police obtain a confession without the presence of a lawyer, they must be able to prove at the trial that they met all the court-imposed requirements and that the prisoner was fully aware of the consequences when he waived his rights.

The 1966 decision reversed four convictions. In one of the cases Ernesto A. Miranda had been convicted in Phoenix, Ariz., of rape.

Miranda not only had confessed but had been identified by the victim.

This has raised the serious question of whether justice is done when a conviction is reversed on a newly created technicality even though the evidence strongly indicates guilt.

The constitutional rights granted Miranda in the 5–4 decision had not been recognized by any Supreme Court before, and the police could not have been expected to abide by them.

Although the victim had identified the defendant as her attacker and could have testified against him in a new trial, court officials say that a second conviction is difficult to obtain after the first has been set aside by the Supreme Court.

Even more important than justice in this particular case is the speculation of attorneys that the rigid restrictions on questioning suspects may have opened a new avenue of escape for criminals.

Some attorneys believe that conviction of a guilty man may be prevented by sending him into a police station to blurt out a confession before officers can give him proper warning.

It is even possible that an attorney might build up a strong case of insanity as a defense by taking advantage of the new court-created rights.

He could tell his client in advance that he would advise him during the interrogation not to answer any questions but that in spite of this the prisoner should confess.

Certainly no sane prisoner not tormented by conscience would admit guilt under the conditions laid down by the Supreme Court if his lawyer advised him against it.

The difficulty that the Miranda decision has placed before trial courts has been emphasized by the bitter comments of judges when forced to free obviously guilty defendants because police had questioned them before the ruling and had not advised them of their rights.

A Supreme Court decision limiting the application of a new right to subsequent cases seems also to grant less lenient justice to those tried and convicted before.

This applies specifically to seven confessed murderers who sought release in California.

The controversy over the court's series of decisions and their effect on the rising crime rate revolves around the contention that the poor man has not been properly protected in courts.

Washington statistics show that 80 to 85 per cent of the violent crimes there are committed by residents of the pockets of poverty but that 80 to 85 per cent of the victims are residents of the same areas. The poor who are not criminals need protection too.

A great many critics of the Supreme Court's decisions contend that the first responsibility of government is to protect the public.

This view has been urgently expressed by members of the court who opposed majority opinions.

Unquestionably there is urgent need for solution of the complicated problems through thorough discussion in Congress and in public forums throughout the country.

If the principles of democracy are sound, such debate should bring forth the right answers.

By burying proposed constitutional amendments intended to meet the difficulties congressional committees have discouraged open discussion.

We do not know whether adopting one of the proposed amendments is advisable or not. But we strongly believe that bringing one or more of them to the floor for extended debate would materially help toward the best solution.

The rate of crime in Washington is a national disgrace. The violence in major cities and even in suburbs is a serious threat to law and order.

The entire problem confronts the next session of Congress with a grave responsibility for prompt, thorough and effective action.

Hon. Dean Rusk Addresses International Panel on Science and Technology

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following:

Keynote Address to the International Panel on Science and Technology, House Committee on Science and Astronautics, Tuesday, January 24, 1967, Hon. Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State

Thank you Chairman Miller, Mr. Speaker, members of Congress, distinguished guests of the Committee, and ladies and gentlemen. It is an honor to be here.

The uncharted region where the interests of science and foreign policy meet is of great import in a world increasingly devoted to understanding and control of our total physical environment. The United States is one of several nations trying to chart that region, and until it is mapped we cannot intelligently choose our routes. In foreign affairs we pool our knowledge of history, politics, economics, science and technology to arrive at new syntheses.

Science and technology are, in the United States today, a part of the fabric of life itself. We have, in the past twenty years, entered a new phase of the great American adventure. Throughout the world, technology, and the science which supports it, have provided new means of education, new sources of power, new ways of processing data, and fast, reliable transportation and communications. Man is extending his reach beyond this earth and into the vast reaches of space. The new knowledge and concepts, even the very tools of the new technology, promise ever more intensive investigations in the years ahead. We have learned how to pool our resources in coordinated efforts to develop new devices and to exploit new fields. We are supporting science and technology on a scale undreamed of even two decades ago.

We are all familiar with the so-called culture gap between science and the humanities, and more recently with the "technological gap" between the United States and Europe. Last year, Vice President Humphrey said to this Committee:

"I think there is danger of another gap—a gap between public policy and advancing science and technology. It is in government that we must face the task of closing that gap. . . . It is only in recent years that we have really understood the close relationship between public policy at the governmental level and science and technology."

In the interest of closing that gap, the Department of State began a program at the Foreign Service Institute, in 1965, designed to equip Foreign Service Officers with some competence to handle science as a part of foreign affairs. For the most part, we selected officers who will be assuming the foreign affairs burdens over the next decade. We followed this with a program for the exchange of officers with the scientific agencies to provide direct experience in scientific programs.

We have been holding a series of science briefings and more informal "science luncheons" for high level Department officers. Our last science briefing was on the implications of the world-wide use of nuclear power. The latest science luncheon was held yesterday, and it was my pleasure to host this Committee's distinguished guests from abroad. Dr. Hornig, who will speak to you tomorrow, was also our guest at a recent science luncheon, and our subject was the impact of computers on society. I have found these discussions with eminent men of science to be invaluable.

For any American involved in public affairs today, scientific literacy is a must; and that is particularly so in foreign affairs. We are firmly convinced that the Foreign Service Officer should be familiar with the ways, the concepts and the purposes of science. He should understand the sources of our technological civilization. He should be able to grasp the social and economic implications of current scientific discoveries and engineering accomplishments. I think it is feasible for non-scientists to be, in the phrase of H. G. Wells, "men of science" with real awareness of this aspect of man's advance.

But the burden is not all on one side. Scientists and engineers must, of course, recognize very real progress in many fields outside their own specialties, and they should be conscious of the difference between the values of society and the vertifiable truths of the natural sciences. For such men there is a role in the foreign policy process. I think that perhaps scientists have been a little more willing to wade in the turbulent pond of foreign policy, and that we in foreign affairs must be more willing and better prepared to dip in the waters of science. That science is international in character has come to be regarded as a truism, but it is no more true of science than it is of the humanities or the social sciences. The larger truth is that billions must live together successfully on this planet, and that we are making common cause in vast areas of human competence and search for knowledge.

This Committee has pioneered in equipping men of public affairs to deal intelligently with policies involving science and technology. As a by-product of that goal, scientists and philosophers of science have also had their horizons stretched, not only through presence at these seminars—the Committee's reports are widely read. A valuable new channel has been established between public affairs and the scientific community with this Committee at the crossroads.

We have, in the State Department, a small group of scientists and Foreign Service Officers working with the science agencies and with the scientific community on policies and programs for international scientific and technical cooperation. We do not administer those programs; but we guide them and retain the foreign policy decisions. The Department's International Scientific and Technological Affairs Bureau has the resources of the government at its disposal in the United States, and a network of Scientific Attachés in 17 capitals on the other end. At some major posts, our science agencies support their own representatives to assist in specialized cooperative programs. It is not a question of preparing to move in new dimensions; science and technology are already important elements in our international relations, and indeed, have emerged as instruments of foreign policy.

To some extent, we can extrapolate from politics, economics and science in projecting future policy. In a way, science is the least predictable of these three major fields. There are few "breakthroughs" in politics and economics; these are evolutionary fields. Broad patterns, such as a United Nations Organization, the rise of nationalism in Africa, and the movement of Europe toward economic integration, are discernible far in advance. To a lesser degree this also holds for the products of known technology. We foresee the wide use of nuclear electric power and satellite communications, and we can predict some of the uses to which computer technology will be put, for example.

However, we cannot foresee the breakthroughs in basic understandings to come. Let me illustrate this point. Thirty years ago, President Roosevelt established a blue ribbon Science Committee to look into "technological trends and their social implications." The Committee was accurate in predicting increased development and use of helicopters and conventional aircraft. Autogiros and dirigibles were reported as on the way out. The Committee predicted color television (and commercials), stero FM radio, our modern highspeed highway system and urban traffic congestion. Air conditioning, plastics, frozen foods, infrared and radio air navigation, microfilm and accounting card machines were also predicted. All of these extrapolations were based upon then-known technology. But where were the microcircuit, the computer, radar and sonics, the jet engine and rocketry, radioactivity, and underwater breathing gases? The top three scientific and technical fields of major foreign policy interest today were almost completely ignored by that eminent Committee. Space technology, or even rudimentary investigations of our solar system, were not mentioned. In oceanography mention was made only of the possibility of extracting minerals from seawater. In spite of predicted future needs for oil, none of these experts considered the continental shelves as new sources. Investigation of the sea as a source of fresh water, for fish protein or simply because of man's native curiosity was not considered. The sole reference to the third area, nuclear energy, was by a chemist of some vision in these words:

"Much has been said and written about releasing atomic energy and utilizing the vast forces that it represents. While we see no immediate possibility of doing this economically, who shall say that it will not be achieved, and once achieved, how shall we estimate the social implications resulting from the use of such energy?"

How indeed? This same man of vision advised that:

"It is the unexpected turn, when some little detail has been perfected after long search, that brings such things to pass, just as occasionally a promising development must be dropped when some unexpected defect develops. These are what make prophecy difficult."

And so they do. The year after that report was written nuclear fission was discovered and, in four years more, the world's first nuclear reactor reached criticality in Chicago, opening the nuclear era. In our turn, we cannot now predict if we will harness the thermonuclear reaction nor would we be able to gauge its social and economic implications.

Nevertheless, an occasional look ahead is of great value. Although the President's *ad hoc* Science Committee back in 1937 did not foresee some major innovations soon to come, it was fairly successful in predicting the future uses of technical devices and methods then known or just coming into use. The value of this type of forecasting to policy judgments is obvious. In most cases a true technological innovation does not reach full bloom for some years—the first basic patent on the transistor was, after all, issued in 1930. Sometimes it may be telegraphed in advance, as are the new energy storage devices, but in these cases the specifications for an end product are set forth in the beginning; it is directed research.

Congressman Daddario recently called for consideration of an "early warning system" to apprise us of the potential dangers of certain technologies. If this call is heeded, as I hope it is, we can be better prepared to cope with the problems posed by our advancing technology. The system could perhaps even be extended to provide useful forecasts for the foreseeable future. I would think that a distinguished committee, drawn from the natural sciences, the social sciences, and industry, could be impanelled about every five years to explore our technological future. This could satisfy the need for expert opinion on the directions of science and technology so far as it can be foreseen, within acceptable time limits and without a permanent "watch dog" group. After all, technological forecasting is much more sophisticated than it was in 1937, and we should take advantage of the new techniques.

Although scientific prediction seems to me to remain a chancy business, we can usefully examine some aspects of the changing modern environment which are of direct concern to foreign affairs, many of which can only be dealt with internationally.

The increasing pollution of our atmosphere, particularly in large urban complexes, is of common interest to the advanced nations. The industrialization and urbanization of the developing nations will further contaminate the atmosphere. An international cooperative effort to cure our air, followed by international conventions to keep it clean, would be a long step toward meeting our responsibilities to our own future.

Population pressures can be relieved by means more civilized than war, disease or famine. Recent discoveries make possible effective population control; and information and assistance for family planning are widely available. The barriers are those of conviction and communication. The governments of the world must first be convinced of the necessity for a program of concerted and immediate action. They must act in time to prevent the mass starvation predicted within the next fifteen years. We shall need more food, but more food is not the long-term solution. We must continue development of better instrumentalities for population control; we need better means for reaching billions of people; and we must recognize that a crisis is at hand. Changes in mores are in process in many parts of the world, and the approach is becoming international. In the President's words: "Every member of the world community now bears a direct responsibility to help bring our most basic human account into balance."

The spread of nuclear power reactors requires reliable and credible safeguards over the use of nuclear fuels and equipment, to prevent their diversion to military uses. The further proliferation of nuclear weapons' programs not only increases the hazard to peace, but diverts material and human resources from more constructive goals. We have a good beginning on effective international safeguards, but much remains to be done. Some of the remaining tasks are political and some are technical. We must act in good faith and with resolution to try to assure the world that the doorway to nuclear warfare can be locked. A cooperative assault on the treasure chest of the seas would prevent the waste of talent and money through unnecessary duplication.

The challenges of our space environment require a truly international response. It is already clear that there are benefits to be derived from the use of space which are world-wide in application. The agreement last month on a draft treaty on the peaceful use of outer space makes this a propitious moment to consider again whether we cannot respond even more effectively to this challenge.

All of these possibilities for cooperative programs with other nations call for an advanced technology. But we have not forgotten our own growing pains.

Most of the world's population live in the developing nations, and not all of these are making sufficient material progress. There is an ever-widening gap between the advanced and those struggling to keep their heads above water. The advanced nations must assist the developing countries in building a base for technological competence. We cannot overlay advanced technology on an insufficient base. That base must first be prepared through intelligent planning toward rational goals.

Our world has acquired a new orientation over the past twenty years. Science and technology are advancing the clock of civilization at an ever-increasing rate. Science has become accustomed to its place at the frontiers of man's knowledge. But we do not forget the older frontier where man meets man, and we welcome the alliance of the natural sciences with the social sciences in meeting new facets of old problems in the world laboratory.

The political significance of strong national programs in science and technology expands steadily. Political-scientific areas such as disarmament, nuclear safeguards, ocean exploitation, space technology and communications, and water management are areas in which the natural and the social sciences meet, and they offer major opportunities for international programs. Wider use of forums, such as this today, to bring the international problems of science and technology before learned men from both broad areas can assist in finding the solutions.

As to our approach to this kind of international cooperation, my points were three. We can make better use of new techniques for technological forecasting as an input to foreign policy judgments. New understandings and mutual respect between the physical sciences and the social sciences are prerequisites if the gap between them is to be completely closed. We must have programs of international scientific and technical cooperation on two levels: with the advanced nations in understanding and controlling the total environment; and with those nations in assisting the material progress of the developing nations.

Our future no longer stands in the wings. Man's needs and his competence have both reached dimensions which can no longer be ignored. The scientific revolution has arrived—live, and in color. We cannot clearly foresee the advances, discoveries and innovations which lie ahead, but the uses to which we put the new knowledge and our human relationships may well be critical.

Governor Shafer's State of the Commonwealth Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, Pennsylvania's new Governor, Hon. Raymond P. Shafer, in his first state of the Commonwealth message to the general assembly yesterday, outlined a challenging and forward-looking program to make Pennsylvania the Commonwealth of excellence. I ask unanimous consent that a selected text of Governor Shafer's message be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the address were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOVERNOR'S STATE OF THE COMMONWEALTH ADDRESS TO THE LEGISLATURE

One week ago today, I asked the people of Pennsylvania to begin a quest for excellence that will make our State the leader of the Nation.

Today, I am before you as Governor of the Commonwealth to set some of the priorities I believe are essential to the building of a new statehood.

CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION

First among these is the final achievement of a modern constitution for Pennsylvania.

To do this, I have proposed a limited constitutional convention.

First, it meets the pledges of both political parties to oppose the imposition of a graduated income tax.

Second, the convention will consider the four major subjects remaining to finish the job: the judiciary, local government, reapportionment, taxation and finance.

GOVERNMENT MODERNIZATION

We are operating a billion-and-a-half dollar business each year too often at the green eyeshade level, while business and industry are humming along at a computer-age pace.

This must be changed in the next four years. It is basic if the State wishes to supply those services needed by our people with efficiency and understanding.

To begin this, I will submit two pieces of legislation.

The first bill would deal with conflicts of interests by requiring, among other things, that State employes and legislators disclose financial interests in business that deals with or is regulated by the State.

The second bill would require stricter regulation of lobbyists, including disclosure of financial contributions made to influence the defeat or passage of legislation.

In the executive branch, we will push to accelerate a program to apply modern business techniques through machines and upgrading of State employment.

To continue the improvement of our employment practices, I will submit legislation that will expand civil service coverage to employes to technical positions in the Department of Highways, Revenue, Property and Supplies, and the State Workmen's Insurance Fund.

EDUCATION

Pennsylvania, if she is to lead the Nation, must commit herself now to spending the money required to give all our children a quality education from preschool through post-graduate studies.

Nothing is more critical to securing our future.

That is why I am reserving much of my Administration's education program for a special message that will deal with graduate-level study, public and private colleges, increased aid for the scholarship and loan program, community college expansion, and improvement of basic and secondary education in both rural and urban areas.

But there are some things we can do immediately.

We can begin by strengthening our State colleges—the backbone of our State system.

Two bills are ready for your consideration.

The first would establish a single, Statewide board of trustees for State colleges, replacing the individual boards.

The second would provide the colleges, especially their presidents, with more autonomy in administration, something that has long been needed.

The Administration will submit to you in about three weeks the State Board of Education's plan to establish intermediate public school units to replace the county superintendent system.

This plan will not only improve the efficiency of administration, it will provide many services for our children that poorer districts cannot now afford.

Another improvement I seek is the final enactment of legislation providing for the nonpartisan election of school boards.

This long-sought measure would remove from the political arena those who serve our children's education. School boards should be removed from the pressures of partisan politics.

JOBS, LABOR, INDUSTRY

Our employment picture has so improved in the past four years that it might cause some of us to put less emphasis on our industrial development program. We cannot afford any let-up.

Our thrust will be to attract the industries with a future, such as research and development industries, atomic energy, computer application, new industrial materials, the manufacture of mass and high-speed transportation equipment.

We will improve conditions for our workers who are at the low rung of employment and for those who suffer from the loss of a job through no fault of their own.

The Administration will ask you to:

Increase the maximum weekly benefit from unemployment and workmen's compensation to $60.

Reform the State's minimum wage laws and increase the minimum wage to $1.50 an hour in steps that conform to the Federal minimum wage laws.

These steps to improve the protection of our workers will be accompanied with programs to attract new industry, including:

State matching funds for development of industrial sites specifically for access roads, water and sewer lines.

A municipal industrial authority revenue bond act to permit local government to finance industrial development, if the Johnson Administration does not outlaw such acts throughout the United States, as I have requested.

And continuation of the State's participation in the development of our sea and air ports.

The success of our industrial development program through the Pennsylvania Industrial Development Authority has won the envy of all other States.

So successful has it been during the past year that it has now run out of money to operate for the next six months.

Unfortunately, we do not have any surplus funds available to keep PIDA functioning. So I must ask you to approve an emergency transfer of $15 million from the State employes' retirement fund to keep PIDA going.

Investment in graduate technical programs is especially timely now as the Nation turns in a major way toward creating new technology in mass transit, intercity transportation, air and water pollution control, medical engineering and a whole list of new ideas. We must get in first if we want a modern Pennsylvania in the next decade.

I propose we do this by establishment of a Pennsylvania science foundation which will help us invest properly in graduate education.

This foundation will bring together business, industry and education for producing the brainpower we need.

TRANSPORTATION

Our sights should be set high toward the development of a master plan for transportation.

This is so essential that I will propose establishment of a new Department of Transportation to carry it out.

But the ramifications of such a department are so great that I do not want to propose it to you before getting the best counsel available.

That is why I am now in the process of asking outstanding transportation experts in the State to serve on a Governor's Committee for Transportation. It will be announced soon.

CONSERVATION

As we consider the priorities needed to develop Pennsylvania now and for the future, there is nothing that is more apparent than the need for conserving our great natural resources and beauty—precious assets that are second only to our human resources.

Of paramount importance is the need for passage and voter acceptance of the proposed $500 million constitutional bond issue.

If approved, the Administration will ask for approval of legislation to implement spending to include:

$200 million to develop new recreational lands.

$100 million to provide additional aid to smaller communities for sewage treatment facilities.

$200 million for the restoration of lands and waters ravaged by mining operations that were abandoned.

In addition, the Administration seeks approval of legislation to strengthen Pennsylvania's air pollution control laws to bring them in conformity with Federal laws covering automobile exhaust that chokes our urban citizens; to provide stricter control of billboards and junkyards along our highways; during critical drought times; and to bring a new awareness of preserving our resources to our school children through the mandatory study of conservation in public schools.

WELL-BEING, PROTECTION

Our priority here must be set on the state of each citizen's well-being, not on his state of welfare. It must provide help to those who need it and opportunity to those who want it.

To do this, the administration proposes:

To seek approval of a constitutional amendment that would exempt persons over 65, who earn less than $3500 gross income annually from the payment of certain local real estate and per capita taxes.

To implement the Pennsy-care program of medical assistance for public welfare recipients.

To provide for comprehensive health planning to improve health service at the state and local level.

To seek immediate approval of a codification of the State's scattered welfare laws for more efficient operation of the Welfare Department.

While we act to improve the health and well-being of those who need help, we must also give new meaning to the rights of citizens who suffer the pains of discrimination.

We must provide leadership that takes us down the road between the extremes in the civil rights movement.

It will take much courage, but it is the only right thing a just society can do. I will submit to you a civil rights package that will include legislation to eliminate discrimination in housing and employment.

This package will also include bills to transfer the Human Relations Commission to the Justice Department; better injunctive relief in fair housing cases and relief for those persons who wish to open their businesses on Sunday because their day of worship falls on another day.

Essential to the well-being of all our citizens, regardless of their economic status, is the way we protect them from the modern criminal through law enforcement.

Specifically, the Administration will ask you to approve:

Establishment of a Commonwealth Advisory Commission Against Crime.

Amendment of the State's wiretapping law to make the use of any electronic "eavesdropping" equipment illegal, except by police officers in certain crimes under the strict control and supervision of the courts.

Abolition of the Philadelphia magistrates' system by constitutional amendment.

Abolition of the Philadelphia county courts and the addition of seven new courts of common pleas of three judges each.

A yearly increase in the number of State troopers in the next four years.

This Administration intends to make highway safety a priority that is second to none. I will ask you to consider legislation aimed at eliminating the drunken driver and at improving the driving skills of everyone who wants a Pennsylvania operator's license by making driver training mandatory.

And as we protect the citizen from the criminal and highway accidents we also must give new attention to protection of Pennsylvania consumers from the unscruplous, especially in the field of insurance.

I have ordered a complete review of the operation of our State Insurance Department. Once that review has been completed, there will be specific reforms sought through legislation. These reforms will be the subject of a special message, as will the problem of milk control.

REGIONAL URBAN AFFAIRS

I have saved to last our need to set new priorities for our regional and urban areas.

To solve these problems we need a new partnership between local, State and Federal governments.

That is what this new Administration wants to accomplish through our new Department of Community Affairs.

We will propose:

—A Neighborhood Assistance Act to put all the weapons in the State arsenal to work on the problems of our disadvantaged citizens.

—More assistance for mass transportation facilities and inter-city rapid transportation systems, plus the development of new regional and local mass transit authorities.

—Better coordinaion of all the urban efforts now being made by Government and private organizations and business.

—Adoption of a new Pennsylvania municipalities planning code to help our communities plan better for the growth that is coming.

The time has come to put our commitments on the line for the people of Pennsylvania.

The time has come for an excellence of leadership from all of us in State Government.

HIGHLIGHTS OF GOVERNOR SHAFER'S ADDRESS TO PENNSYLVANIA LEGISLATURE—"WORK TOGETHER"

Leadership—"Let us work together in an atmosphere of rational debate, disdaining acrimony . . . if we are unable to act responsibly and responsively to the needs of our people in the halls of Harrisburg in the next four years, then you and I will be held accountable for the demise of State government."

Constitution—"A limited Constitutional convention makes sense . . . It meets the pledges of both political parties to oppose the imposition of a graduated income tax . . . The convention will consider the four remaining subjects to finish the job: the judiciary, local government, reapportionment, taxation and finance. This is not a partisan proposal."

Ethics—"State employes and legislators to disclose financial interests in business that deals with or is regulated by the State . . . Require stricter regulation by lobbyists, including disclosure of financial contributions made to influence the defeat or passage of legislation."

Education—"Pennsylvania, if she is to lead the Nation, must commit herself now to spending the money required to give all our children a quality education from pre-school through post-graduate studies."

Benefits—"Increase the maximum weekly benefit from unemployment and workmen's compensation to $60."

Transportation—"Our sights should be set high toward the development of a master plan for transportation. This is so essential that I will propose establishment of a new Department of Transportation to carry it out."

Judiciary—"Eliminate the Philadelphia magistrates system by Constitutional amendment . . . consolidate the Philadelphia Common Pleas and County Courts, by abolishing the County Court and creating seven new Common Pleas Courts with three judges each."

Wiretapping—"Make the use of any electronic 'eavesdropping' equipment illegal, except by police officers in certain crimes under the strict control and supervision of the courts."

Insurance—"I have ordered a complete review of our State Insurance Department. Once that review has been completed there will be specific reforms sought through legislation."

Tribute to Clay Cowgill Blair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, the Missouri House of Representatives recently approved a resolution honoring the late Clay Cowgill Blair, Sr., chairman of the board of the Joplin, Mo., Globe Publishing Co.

A nationally known newspaperman, farmer, and banker, "Cog," as he was known, brought great distinction to his beloved city of Joplin, and to the profession of journalism. In spite of the many demands upon his time, and talents, he also gave unsparingly of himself to civic endeavor and to helping build the industrial economy of the region he loved.

Under unanimous consent I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following article and editorial from his paper, the Joplin, Mo., Globe.

MISSOURI HOUSE PAYS TRIBUTE TO MR. BLAIR

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo.—The Missouri House of Representatives Thursday unanimously approved a resolution honoring the late Clay Cowgill Blair, Sr., chairman of the board of The Joplin Globe Publishing Company at the time of his death last Saturday.

The resolution, which extends sympathy to Mr. Blair's family, was introduced by Rep. Raymond J. Birk, Rep. Robert E. Young and Rep. John W. Webb, all of Jasper county.

The resolution follows:

Whereas, the House of Representatives has learned with deep and sincere regret of the sudden death on December 31, 1966, of Clay Cowgill Blair, Sr., age 77, a prominent and nationally known newspaperman, farmer and banker, of Joplin, Missouri; and

Whereas, Mr. Blair was a native and lifelong resident of Jasper County came from a pioneer Missouri family on both the maternal and paternal sides; and

Whereas, from a cub reporter and later having the rare privilege of studying journalism under the later Dean Walter Williams, founder of Missouri University's internationally famous School of Journalism, he experienced a meteoric rise and was at the time of his death chairman of the board of the Joplin Globe Publishing Company and the dean of Missouri daily newspaper publishers in a singularly distinguished newspaper career spanning more than half a century; and

Whereas, Mr. Blair lived a busy, full gratifying and very productive life, achieving many awards, honors and citations in outstanding service in his chosen profession of journalism and in the fields of business, industry, education, agriculture, and in civic progress and political affairs, of his beloved community and the great state of Missouri; and

Whereas, among his many outstanding achievements, Mr. Blair held the distinction of having established in the Joplin Globe the first farm department of a daily newspaper in the United States and as first editor of the department, he laid the foundation which has served as a guide to other newspapers and he thus contributed immeasurably to the growth and progress of agriculture in his area and indirectly throughout the United States; and

Whereas, as perhaps the crowning event of a long and distinguished newspaper career came in 1960, when he was awarded the Honor Medal distinguished service in journalism by the University of Missouri and thereby his picture was placed in the school of journalism "hall of fame," along with some of the greatest and most outstanding newspapermen in the world; and

Whereas, Mr. Blair served on the board of curators of the University of Missouri as a member of its board of visitors, and was a past director of the board of the school's "Missourian"; and

Whereas, his other public services on the state level included past membership on the Governor's Advisory Board for the State Unemployment Commission and publication director of the Missouri Alumni Assocation; and

Whereas, through the Globe, he developed Joplin's first radio station, and in conjunction with others gave the district its first television station, and for years was a senior director of the First National Bank of Joplin; and

Whereas, in his chosen profession he always sponsored those services, principles and programs which promoted all worthwhile civic enterprises, progressive agricultural operations, public improvements and cultural growth; and

Whereas, in the passing of this outstanding and nationally recognized newspaperman, progressive farmer and civic benefactor, one who in contributing so many enduring achievements in a long, illustrious and useful career of exemplary service to his community, state and nation, not only his family but all have suffered a great loss;

Now, Therefore, be it resolved that the members of the House of Representatives of the 74th General Assembly extend to the widow, two sons and one daughter their sincere and heartfelt sympathy; and

Be it further resolved that the Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives be instructed to send suitably inscribed copies of this resolution to: Mrs. Marva Thompson Blair at the home in Joplin, and to Cowgill Blair, Jr., Joplin, Charles David Blair, Joplin, and to Mrs. Fred Hughes, Joplin.

CLAY COWGILL BLAIR

His family, which includes this newspaper and its workers in the region it served under his skilled stewardship for nearly half a century, were the deep and devoted loves of Clay Cowgill Blair. His concept of a daily newspaper was to humanize it in a very real sense, and to dedicate it to a responsible public service and courageous leadership, while performing its basic function of chronicling the news. This is precisely what he did with The Globe and News Herald in keeping with the finest traditions of the American free press.

"Cog" Blair, as he was affectionately known by his close associates, combined exceptional talent with a rare quality of incisive perception to rise from a schoolboy cub reporter in his native Carthage to become a successful newspaper innovator-publisher, and regional builder. He also contributed distinguished service to his beloved state, independent of politics.

Mr. Blair experienced the good fortune in youth to have had his academic, professional training under the master, Dean Walter Williams, world renowned founder of the School of Journalism at the University of Missouri, of which school the student later was to become a Curator.

From this rewarding base grew Mr. Blair's long and beneficent career as the operating head of these newspapers. At one time a farmer-newspaperman by reason of his interest in pure-bred livestock, Mr. Blair founded the farm department of The Globe, the first among daily newspapers in the nation, and through it helped to build the agricultural economy of the region when the mining industry waned. He also gave unsparingly of his time and talents to civic endeavor, and to investment with faith, confidence and vision to help soundly build the industrial economy of this region, including the founding of the Joplin Stockyards.

Believing that a newspaper also should contribute to the moral and spiritual as well as to the material development of community life, another innovation of Mr. Blair was to establish the policy of publishing a religious or moral lead editorial each Sunday morning in The Globe. He dedicated this to his mother, who suggested the idea.

On the sentimental side, too, Mr. Blair was unfailingly a thoughtful, sympathetic and understanding employer, sharing the joys and sorrows of his employes, a quality that won deep respects and intense loyalties.

Mr. Blair generously gave but never sought, in fact shyly evaded, personal accolades. But there came to him late in his career, in 1960, a signal and richly earned recognition when he was awarded the University of Missouri's coveted honor medal for distinguished service in journalism, and his picture was permanently enshrined among those other noted journalists in his Alma Mater's hall of fame.

Mr. Blair's guidelines for excellence in journalism were honesty, integrity, loyalty, accuracy and fairness in unsparing devotion to duty in the profession he honored. By these precepts Clay Cowgill Blair was every inch an exemplary newspaperman and a faithful public servant.

The Garrison Diversion Irrigation Project—Address Delivered by the Honorable Floyd E. Dominy, Commissioner of Reclamation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILTON R. YOUNG

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, on January 16, Mr. Floyd E. Dominy, Commissioner of Reclamation, addressed a joint session of the North Dakota Legislature in Bismarck, N. Dak.

Commissioner Dominy appeared at the invitation of the North Dakota Legislature and spoke on a subject close to the hearts of all North Dakotans—the Garrison diversion irrigation project. This able, dedicated proponent of reclamation deserves great credit for the effective work he has done in making possible the great wealth-producing irrigation projects all over the western part of the United States.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Dominy's speech to the joint session of the North Dakota Legislature be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF FLOYD E. DOMINY, COMMISSIONER OF RECLAMATION, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, BEFORE THE JOINT SESSION OF THE NORTH DAKOTA LEGISLATURE, BISMARCK, N. DAK., JANUARY 16, 1967

The opportunity to speak before a joint session of the legislature of North Dakota is an honor and a real pleasure. In meeting with you today, I would certainly be remiss if, in my opening remarks, I failed to congratulate this legislative body for its many years of intense concern regarding the water problems and needs of this State and Nation. This assembly has done much more than talk emotionally about the growing list of issues associated with water. The actions you have taken not only go hand-in-hand with the progress of our times, but also retain the stability and security found in blue-chip investments.

Your Governor, Bill Guy; Senator Milton Young; Senator Quenton Burdick; and Congressman Mark Andrews are to be congratulated for the wisdom they have displayed and the leadership they have provided in the unified effort that has taken place for conserving and utilizing the State's land and water resources. I am proud to say that I think North Dakota has been a leader—not only in facing up to the issues posed in the proper conservation of their water resources, but in meeting the challenge of the future. The willingness of the people of this State to accept and resolve the problems inherent in water development is an assurance that North Dakota won't be trapped because of shortsightedness or laxity.

North Dakota has always been near the top among the western states in the matter of providing adequate legislation in the field of water resource development. Many actions have established patterns that provide goals for states that have lagged in this critical area of responsibility for State legislators. Past accomplishments are serving to urge states with archaic and ineffective measures on their books to institute corrective statutes in order to adequately meet today's requirements. For example, the design and establishment of the unique and highly effective Garrison Diversion Conservancy District serve as a model for the advancement of water resource development for many of our western areas to follow.

Our work for the authorization and start of construction on the Garrison Diversion Unit is concluded. Just this week I performed one of the most enjoyable jobs of the Commissioner of Reclamation. I have issued orders to move forward with construction, and I am happy to announce that invitations will be issued next month to bid for the manufacture of the pumps and motors that are part of the Snake Creek Pumping Plant. Specifications for the plant itself will be disseminated in May, and it is expected that award of the construction contract will take place in late summer. I have also put the machinery in motion to initiate action for purchasing rights-of-way for parts of the canal sections of the unit. It is my hope that we can conduct a groundbreaking ceremony marking the start of construction during September of this year. The promises held by the Garrison Diversion Unit have begun to materialize, and it appears there are no further hazards blocking the social and economic progress to be garnered through this development—that is, there are no hazards that you, the people of North Dakota, are unable to prepare for.

A strong and close partnership between North Dakota and the Bureau of Reclamation has been developed during the long struggle for the Garrison Diversion Unit. Now that the word is "go" and construction is underway, there can be no letdown in our efforts or breakdown in this cooperative spirit. Our concern and endeavors must not only be directed toward the successful development of the project, but we must heed the continually growing need for water associated with all areas of our country. There can be no slackening of pace allowed to develop if we are going to do our share in creating a bright national water supply and development picture. It is certainly clearcut that all of our water resources must be developed to the fullest extent permitted by good conservation and preservation practices if we are to achieve success. It makes no difference whether we are speaking of water for agricultural, industrial, or municipal purposes—our attack on the problems facing us must take place on a comprehensive and coordinated basis.

There is a water crisis in the world. Water and where it is going to come from is one of the greatest concerns confronting our Nation today. This isn't a revelation—it is a well-known fact. All of the studies concerning water use and development conducted during recent years have resulted in the conclusion that the situation is urgent and critical. The scarcity of water on a national scale makes it imperative that you do all possible to conserve, develop, and utilize your surface and underground water resources. Now, I don't mean to imply that North Dakota itself is undergoing a crisis—much to the contrary, in this State a crucial situation is being avoided because you have been moving in the right direction to withstand and conquer the challenges presented in the national water dilemma we are faced with. The highly commendable action of the North Dakota Water Commission in embarking on an inventory of the State's surface and groundwater supplies is typical of your awareness to the pressing requirements of our society on water.

As demands continue to soar upward, so has the pitch of the battle tempo for a bigger share in the available water supply increased. In relating North Dakota's position to other parts of our western United States, I find that you are in an enviable spot. This is due in part to your ample water resources—but when you look at other areas, even those that are not in short supply, you can see the big dissimilarity lies in the fact that while others bicker, fight, and move in confusion, you people confidently and enthusiastically move forward. You have displayed complete disregard for political differences and conquered selfish interests in the formation of a united front when it comes to making use of your water.

In some areas interbasin diversion, transbasin diversion, and a host of schemes to solve the problem are in various stages of discussion—but again, in North Dakota you are way out in front—you have already experienced success in this area. The Garrison Diversion Unit itself is a transbasin diversion of water—moving a huge supply from the Missouri River through a tremendous canal system and putting it into the basin of the Red River of the North.

Most of you know there are studies being made concerning diversion of water from the Mississippi to the high plains of Texas. You are apprehensive concerning this subject and rightfully so—but let me assure you that, even though national needs have outgrown state and regional boundaries, there will be substantial study and discussion before such diversion takes place. Even then I am certain the Congress of the United States would never allow one drop of water being put to beneficial use in the Missouri Basin to be exported to another major river basin. If diversion did transpire, it would only be that water surplus to the needs of the basin. Furthermore, I have enough faith in mankind to believe that no area—including the water-hungry Southwest—covets water that is necessary to the social and economic progress of the Missouri River Basin. What North Dakota has to do is to continue to strive for wise utilization in order to reap the greatest good for the State and the Nation.

I never cease to be amazed at the unanimity of support concerning water resource development continually demonstrated in North Dakota. During the planning and legislative periods leading up to authorization of the Garrison Diversion Unit, the people of this State established an enviable record of imaginative cooperation and assistance. Your farsightedness and perseverance, which prompted you to pursue and obtain this unit of the Missouri River Basin Project, are constantly being reinacted. Just the other day, State and Federal agencies and private interests met in Carrington, North Dakota, for the purpose of forming an irrigation development council for coordinating the efforts of all entities involved in construction and development of the unit. This type of continued action will bring about an orderly, efficient, and successful transition to irrigated agriculture and will assure the fruits of prosperity for your future and for succeeding generations.

It is going to take a lot of planning and hard work to prepare for the expansion that will accompany the State's progress in irrigated agriculture. In addition to the increase in commercial and industrial processing plants that are going to be needed, you will also require schools, roads, and a host of other public accommodations and services. A measure of the impact of irrigation upon an economy is reflected in a recent study conducted on the Columbia Basin Project in Washington. When an area of 10,000 acres irrigated through the facilities of that project was compared with 10,000 acres of dryland farm operations, a 17 to 1 ratio not only in population density, but in business establishments, postal receipts, retail sales, tax collection, and Federal income tax payments existed.

From the very beginning we must enter into development of the Garrison Diversion Unit in an orderly fashion. Costly duplication and uneconomic operations must be avoided. We must be able to provide the technical assistance the farmers will require, and we must have these answers as the project unfolds. Only then will we fully realize the gains to the State and the Nation—not only from the irrigation that will develop, but from the expanding benefits as our project matures.

The research and preparatory work being done by the Carrington Experiment Station in the field of irrigated agriculture is an example of State action that will lead to a successful project. You have—to a great degree—been pioneers in providing leadership for water resources legislation. If we are to reap the social and economic benefits possible in the years ahead, more trailblazing work will be in order. The people of North Dakota must be provided the technical assistance and the know-how gained through research and an adequate examination of all facets of development. If the transition from dryland farms to a well-settled, abundantly productive region is to be achieved, then the advantage of good leadership in the form of knowledge, planning, and guidance must be established. Effective State agencies financially and competently equipped by their legislators can get the job done. Actions of today will be the basis of success on the Garrison Diversion Unit tomorrow.

At this time I am going to take the liberty of strongly endorsing three items of legislation that are now being urged by water resource agencies. The first of these will permit the Garrison Diversion Conservancy District to administer State lands beneath navigable waters within its boundaries. This will allow the Conservancy District to make the contributions to recreation and fish and wildlife developments which are contemplated by the Federal Water Project Recreation Act of 1965. It will thus assure the optimum development of this potential in North Dakota's portion of the Missouri River Basin Project.

The second item is legislation which will permit counties and townships to exercise State authority in relocation and vacation of their roads. Authorization will assure accommodation of the Garrison Diversion Unit canals and waterways to your fine system of highways. Future problems of conflict between the highway and the waterway rights-of-way will also be prevented. This is of critical importance to resource development in North Dakota.

Perhaps of less immediate urgency is item three—but nevertheless, it is legislation which will soon be required. This proposal will permit irrigation district directors to redivision their areas. A number of North Dakota districts have been organized to include all the lands to be served under the ultimate plan for development of the 1-million-acre Garrison Diversion Unit. However, under the initial 250,000-acre stage of the unit authorization, one or more of the areas will not be served at first. Under existing laws, directors must be elected, notwithstanding the fact that there will be no irrigated or assessable acreage within such divisions in the beginning. This circumstance creates an awkward and unworkable situation. Correction can easily be accomplished by authorizing the irrigation and district directors to reshape the district divisions periodically, so that each one shall cover a certain area of irrigated and assessable land. Such legislation is strongly endorsed.

At the last session of your legislature, a bill was introduced which was intended to limit the time within which claims may be made against irrigation districts. Similar legislation is in effect in other Reclamation states, and it may be that you wish to reconsider this action in North Dakota. Without it, a district may not be apprised of a condition which could deteriorate into liability, until long after such a problem develops. If the claim and notice are not filed until a considerable time following damage, a determination of the cause and the cure becomes extremely difficult. Physical solution may become infeasible, and financing to handle such claims becomes difficult to program. Therefore—in the interest of sound irrigation management—I strongly endorse legislation which would require the prompt filing of claims.

North Dakota has put forth superior efforts in providing adequate legislation and State support in the field of water resources. Even so, there are areas that should be improved. In this case, I refer to the safety of dams.

The State Water Commission does provide printed regulations and requires a license for all dams above 12½ acre-feet. It also requires approval of the plans and specifications for new dams, and inspection and approval of the completed structure before it is put to use. However, the State reports about 2,500 dams under its jurisdiction, and an annual budget of only about $2,000 for supervision—this hardly seems sufficient. Under the present law, design by a registered professional engineer is not necessary, and no onsite inspection by the State is required during construction. Furthermore, there is no provision for routine periodic inspections. Under these conditions it is very possible many of the dams which are old could be unsafe without detection. A rigid campaign to inspect all dams by experts for safety, such as California is undertaking, would be in order. Dams that are old, have inadequate spillways, or show other signs of distress should be reconstructed or removed from service. I think it would be wise to initiate actions to insure safety by providing sufficient financing to carry out proper inspection for determining the adequacy of water storage structures.

Before closing I want to say that the Bureau of Reclamation and the State of North Dakota have had a long and productive relationship. The impact of the Reclamation program upon the State has had far-reaching effect. Developments such as the Lower Yellowstone Project; Dickinson, Heart Butte, and Jamestown Dams; and the substations and more than 2,000 miles of transmission line carrying Missouri River Basin power to the people of North Dakota have all made their mark in lasting benefits. The future also holds promise. In addition to Garrison, we plan to initiate surveys to determine requirements for recreation facilities at various installations in the State. We will also install additional transformers and associated equipment at the Jamestown substation and make additions to the Watford City installation. A contract will be initiated on the 141-mile Jamestown-Forman-Summit 115-kv transmission line.

The Garrison Diversion Unit is a new resource for the entire State, but the future is not limited to this alone. Over in the eastern part of the State the Federal Water Resources Council has recommended establishment of a basin commission. This means a comprehensive study of the Red-Souris-Rainy River Basins should be underway in the near future. Pumping from the Missouri River holds promise for additional irrigation development in western North Dakota. About 50,000 acres in this area lends itself quite favorably to future development. There are other potentials—such as Broncho Dam and Reservoir on the Knife River, and Mott Dam on the Cannonball River—that might someday become feasible as the value of water increases. Great economic assets are locked in the vast coal deposits and the water supply in this western area. The key to opening an industrial future may lie in the proven imaginative talents of North Dakotans. If so, then the costs of developing multipurpose water projects that are now infeasible because of the high costs involved in developing storage for only limited use can be shared and paid in part through the sale of industrial water.

There is a need for everyone—the individual—the State—the Federal Government—working together to obtain maximum accomplishment. I pledge myself and my staff to carry out this objective to the highest degree permissible.

Fino Introduces Bill To Deny Federal Funds to Honor System Local Welfare Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced legislation to establish a new condition of Federal aid to help pay for local welfare programs. Under my bill, localities would not qualify for Federal aid in meeting welfare costs unless they required investigation or some corroboration of applicants. New York City is presently quietly shifting to honor system welfare by which clients are accepted on the basis of affidavits. Under my bill, such a welfare program allowing payments on uncorroborated affidavits would cease to be eligible for Federal aid.

I have read recently that a number of cities think that money will be saved if they forego red tape and put welfare on an honor system, whereby one can get on welfare by making an affidavit. This strikes me as absurd. I am willing to grant that overinvestigation is unnecessary and unjustifiable harassment, but I feel that a certain amount of corroboration of need is much in order to justify the expenditure of public funds, particularly Federal funds.

I believe that the Federal Government ought to make sure that lax Federal statutes do not suffer a pipeline to be thrust into our National Treasury by loosely run local welfare programs. The first place to draw the line is in insisting on some corroboration of welfare eligibility before applicants are allowed to draw money from the local authorities.

To me, such a requirement is simple commonsense, but I am aware that among certain groups, it is considered unkind to require welfare applicants to prove their eligibility. The coddling of spongers, glorified in exotic sociological jargon blaming the middle class for the plight of the deprived, has become high fashion these days. It is a fashion I do not subscribe to. I think the taxpayers are entitled to know that welfare applicants have proven their eligibility for payments made.

I have been disturbed to see the great rise in the New York City budget for welfare programs. Honor system welfare will undoubtedly jack up welfare costs still further. As an interesting sidenote, I might add that the welfare rolls have been increasing in direct proportion to New York City poverty program expenditures. The poverty program does not achieve anything, but it stirs up the spongers.

Frankly, I think it is time to draw the line. I know that most Members of Congress agree with me. Unfortunately, most of them do not realize that the backroom social planners over at HEW's Office of Welfare, have been working with a number of cities to try and get welfare on the honor system so that welfare clients can enjoy their rights without undue questioning. This sort of thing has got to stop.

I am proud to represent a district with many poor people who have worked long and hard, often at pay levels little above welfare, to support themselves and keep from being public charges. This is the spirit that made America great. The spirit that the welfare planners are trying to inculcate in this country is the spirit that has brought an incredible suicide rate to Scandinavia and decline and fall to Great Britain.

Coal Research Finding New Ways To Enhance Coal Markets—West Virginia University Conducts Scientific Investigation on Methods of Converting Coal Wastes Into Useful Products

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the vastly expanding efforts in coal research are producing many notable prospects for coal waste products.

Scientific investigation currently being conducted by West Virginia University's coal research bureau, a division of the school of mines, has recently published a preliminary report on the production of mineral wool from coal ash slag. The school has been working in conjunction with the Department of the Interior's Office of Coal Research, and it is hoped that this new method will provide new markets for West Virginia coal.

The Morgantown, W. Va., Dominion-Post, in the January 8, 1967, issue, carried an article on the research being conducted, and I ask unanimous consent to have it inserted in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

West Virginia University Research Tests Value of Coal Slag

Scientific investigation currently is underway at the University to convert a useless waste product of coal into a valuable and important insulating material.

WVU's Coal Research Bureau, a division of the School of Mines has published results of preliminary work aimed at producing mineral wool from coal ash slag. The research, under Director Joseph W. Leonard, has as its major objective "the development of new markets for West Virginia coal, and to enhance its use in existing markets."

One result has been the successful process of making commercial-grade bricks and other building materials from a flyash-based product. Flyash is one waste by-product of coal burning and the WVU process, developed in conjunction with the government's Office of Coal Research, has partially solved the problems of ash disposal. It is hoped the investigation of turning slag into mineral wool will be just as successful. If so, those industries using coal as a major source of energy will eliminate costly waste disposal and replace it with profitable by-products.

The technical report on the slag research was made by Kenneth K. Humphreys, cost engineer, and William F. Lawrence, research assistant, with the bureau at WVU. In the introduction to their report, the two men explain:

"Large tonnages of coal ash are produced by combustion of coal in electric power generating stations. Part of the ash leaves the boilers through the stacks as flyash while the remainder is tapped as molten slag. The slag is generally water quenched and transported either as a slurry or in granular form to disposal areas at substantial cost. This slag, however, is similar in its molten state to blast-furnace slag, the primary raw material used in mineral wool production. If coal-ash slag could be used by this industry, it would become a credit rather than a liability to the use of coal. To investigate this potential application further, the Coal Research Bureau has conducted a preliminary survey of the possible use of coal-ash slag in mineral wool production."

Humphreys and Lawrence go on to discuss the economic advantages that could result if their research makes the new process feasible:

". . . it would be of value to three major industries, the coal industry itself, the electric power industry, and the mineral wool industry. It would make coal more attractive as a fuel and would aid the mineral wool industry in that plants could be established in areas where others suitable raw materials are not economically available . . .

"Mineral wool, in its many final forms, is claiming a large portion of this (insulation) market. Because of mineral wool's light weight and entrapped air spaces, factors which make a good insulating material, it is expensive to transport any distance. In order to compete economically with other insulating materials, mineral wool must be manufactured in the area where it will be used.

"The power generating companies represent the largest single coal market and consequently produce more coal ash than any other industrial group. Power plants are usually located near the metropolitan areas which they serve. Therefore, if coal-ash slag can be used in mineral wool production, the proximity of the power plants to cities could supply a strong incentive for the establishment of mineral wool manufacturing plants."

Two questions, both requiring "yes" answers, cut through the various and complex technical factors involved in the research. First, assuming we know what makes a suitable raw material for mineral wool, can coal-ash slag be used? Second, assuming the slag can be used, will it be of marketable quality? Affirmative answers in both cases appear possible.

Certain types of slag from blast furnaces are now the primary raw material used in manufacturing the insulating product. But even this kind of slag must be subjected to a few modifying procedures before it can be used. The WVU study shows great promise that coal-ash slag, subjected to the same kind of modifications, would also be a good raw material source. If further research confirms the preliminary findings, the first answer would be a definite "yes."

The WVU research team says actual experimentation is needed to determine the second answer, but earlier studies look good. A report written in 1940 states that "an excellent wool was made from bituminous coal ash, but it had a brown color." Later, a similar investigation proved that anthracite coal ash also produced a good wool source.

As to the objection to brown color, WVU's researchers point that it "would be objectionable only if the mineral wool were to be used in an exposed surface such as an acoustical tile. A large amount of the wool currently being sold is dark in color."

The other common complaint about coal-ash slag as a source material for mineral wool deals with the sulfur content and the effect on steel. Sulfur has been blamed for corroding steel through the formation of sulfuric acid which caused "etching" of any steel surface with which it was in contact. This criticism has been voided by research in Germany. There, it has been shown that the corrosion of steel by mineral wool is probably not promoted by its sulfur content. In fact, the sulfur may even delay corrosion by reducing electro-chemical potentials.

On the question of economics, coal-ash slag may have an advantage over the blast-furnace slag in producing the insulating material.

Humphreys and Lawrence emphasize that both sources must be "adjusted" in order to be used and they add, "It is unlikely that the cost of modifying coal-ash slag composition would exceed the costs entailed in modifying blast-furnace slag as the two materials are similar in their initial compositions."

The advantage for the coal-slag lies in the fact it is available in large quantities in many major metropolitan areas of the country. On the other hand, blast-furnace slag is readily available only at major steel producing centers and must be shipped in other areas, thus increasing its delivered cost.

Additional research at WVU is in the offing, as indicated by the concluding paragraphs of the report by Humphreys and Lawrence:

"From the technical and economic considerations discussed, it appears that a great potential exists for the use of coal-ash. Accordingly, the Coal Research Bureau plans to begin preliminary investigation of the potential. The investigations will consist of bench-scale production of mineral wool from coal ash, along with a detailed economic evaluation of this new use of coal waste materials. Results of these investigations will be presented in forthcoming reports."

Although bench-scale work is a far cry from cry from commercial production, it must be remembered that this is exactly the same procedure followed in the WVU work on fly-ash based structural materials—and actual production of those materials will be a reality by this coming June.

Imagination, research, experimentation, application—these are the ingredients being utilized at WVU to expand and increase the uses of coal, West Virginia's most valuable resource.

The prospects for success are favorable enough to have drawn financial support from the Federal Bureau of Mines. A $45,000 grant, to be used over the next three years, will be available to WVU to implement the research.

A Case in Point

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE SKUBITZ

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, one thing was made very clear November 8, 1966—the people want priority established in Federal spending. Though some would have you believe that our communities would throw up their hands and rebel if Federal grants-in-aid were withdrawn from their economy, this is not true in many cases. I cite "A Case in Point" as told by Emerson Lynn, Jr., editor and publisher of the Iola Register. I commend the attention of my colleagues to Mr. Lynn's remarks:

[From the Iola (Kans.) Register,
Jan. 16, 1967]

A CASE IN POINT

What is a necessary federal expense? With the federal budget shooting straight up out of sight, this question is bound to get a working over by the 90th Congress.

We can ask this question right here at home.

In today's Register is a description of the Work Study Program to be adopted for the 1967–68 school year. It anticipates a federal expenditure of $14,700 to be matched by $3,570 of local funds.

This money will be paid in the form of wages to 20 students who will work in the college, the high school and the city library.

I recognize that at least some of the work these students will do would not have been done if the federal program had not been available. Thus the program helps provide services in the community which could not be provided otherwise.

No doubt the money paid to the students will be welcome to them and let them live a little more comfortably than they otherwise would. Thus the program helps the students.

But . . .

It would be very difficult to convince me that any of the students in the program would quit school if a federally-subsidized job were not available and I am certain that the schools and library could continue to operate without the program.

It is, in other words, a luxury.

It could be justified if these were depression times and pump-priming were needed. It could be justified if our community was so poor that our youngsters couldn't find a job outside the school and had to have state help to continue their educations. It could even be justified if there were no federal deficit, no threat of inflation and the program was needed to siphon off excess wealth and redistribute it to the young.

None of these conditions exist. Our need is to cut federal spending, not increase it. There is a labor shortage, not a surplus. And we have never had a period in our history when the average Iola family was more able to assure an education for their youngsters.

If it is possible that this program is unnecessary and could be put on ice until and unless conditions warrant it, whose responsibility is it to take the action?

The responsibility lies in Washington, not Iola. Washington gives—it should do the taking. If it doesn't, the communities who refuse the program penalize their own taxpayers.

It is all very well to say that all of us must resist federal spending if it is to be brought under control and that unneeded grants should not be sought.

The fact is that no community is so rich that it can't find a good way to spend more money. There will always be applications for every federal grant-in-aid available.

Since all of us must continue to pay the taxes it takes to support existing programs, we should also take advantage of them to insure that at least some of our tax money is returned to us, no matter how diminished it might be after the round trip.

It is not only human nature to act in this fashion—it is also good economics.

Our only effective weapon for protesting excess federal spending is at the ballot box every two years. In between times we can only make certain those we elect are kept informed as to our opinions of their actions.

So The Register isn't suggesting that our schools or the library withdraw from the Work Study Program. We are suggesting that Congress take a long, hard look at it and see if this isn't one of the places where economy is possible so long as we are fighting a war.

Inaugural Address by Gov. Raymond B. Shafer, of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, on January 17, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania inaugurated a new State administration. It was personally very gratifying for me to witness the ceremonies that installed Gov. Raymond P. Shafer, Lt. Gov. Raymond J. Broderick, and Secretary of Internal Affairs John K. Tabor.

Governor Shafer set the tone for the occasion with an inspiring inaugural address which proclaimed the objectives of his new administration: to make Pennsylvania a Commonwealth of excellence and to have Pennsylvania lead the Nation.

I ask unanimous consent that this excellent address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

To Lead the Nation

(By Gov. Raymond P. Shafer, Harrisburg, Pa., Jan. 17, 1967)

On January 15, 1963, I stood by the side of a young Governor as he took his oath of office.

As he spoke of his hopes and aspirations for Pennsylvania, the vision of William Penn once more became articulate.

For William Warren Scranton saw this Commonwealth in light of its historic promise.

He urged Pennsylvanians to stand tall and walk proudly.

A few moments ago, the parentheses closed on his Administration, fixing permanently his impress on the span of the past four years.

These years were proud years.

They were tall years.

He gave rich measure to the fulfillment of Penn's vision and Pennsylvania's promise.

With confident certainty that all Pennsylvanians share my sense of appreciation for the man and his achievements, I say:

"We wish you, Governor and Mrs. Scranton, Godspeed."

In 1681, on the eve of assuming the leadership of his new province, William Penn uttered this prayer:

". . . I beseech Almighty God to direct us, that his blessing may attend our honest endeavor and . . . the consequence of all undertaking will turn to the glory of His great name and the true happiness of us and our posterity. Amen."

As the first official act of my Administration, I would like to echo the prayer of the first governor.

For the strength of our people over these centuries has been their faith in God and in themselves.

It is in that spirit that I ask you to join me as we set our faces toward the future.

One chosen for high office is often admonished that history will be looking over his shoulder.

Let me say that I am far more interested in the realization that our children, and our children's children, will be looking over our shoulders in these next four years.

If you and I, working together, can accomplish things that will please them, then history's judgment will take care of itself.

Last fall the electorate of Pennsylvania approved the most remarkable program in the annals of modern politics.

It cast aside the fetters which for too long have bound the major political parties to ancient prejudices.

It beckoned enlightened men and women who wanted a credo that caught the pulse of the times in which we live.

It boldly proclaimed its philosophy under the banner:

"To Lead the Nation."

This is no sunburst of bright words, coined to be tossed into a wishing well.

It is a clear statement of objective.

And this objective is within our reach, if our hands will grasp it and our hearts pursue it.

We are a people blessed with a land whose beauty inspired poets and whose mountains stirred pioneers; whose earth yielded oil to light the lamps of the nation and coal to fire the genius of its industrial might.

But even more, we are a people whose fathers dared to shape the thought of young America, whose State House bell in July 1776 proclaimed, not only the independence of the thirteen states, but the truths embodied in the document which declared it.

Today we commemorate the anniversary of Benjamin Franklin's birth. This Pennsylvanian can point the way to the exciting potential of a creative citizenship we seek in our Commonwealth.

For not only did he pluck the lightning from our skies, he generated the power to move men's minds.

Pennsylvania spoke to the nation in Franklin's day.

It is high time we speak again.

It is high time we reassert the concept of the Republic which was fashioned in Philadelphia in 1787—strong states united in strong partnership with a national government.

There is need for a fresh perspective.

Today we are part of a fragile world that both frightens and fascinates.

Tension, revolution, changing mores, the fear of the loss of individualism in a computerized civilization are shaking ancient beliefs and disrupting the comfort and security of old institutions.

Our youth grow restless in search of new directions.

This is nothing new to man.

Only when men have taken hold of the temper of their times and moved to translate the discord of discontent into harmony through constructive thought and planning, has progress followed.

We Pennsylvanians have much to say to our times, for we have a legacy of leadership.

We are citizens of a proud state, but we cannot rest on this pride.

Our voice will have meaning only if each one of us becomes an active part of the times in which we live.

We must add our contribution of time and talent to the civic well-being of our day through the kind of creative citizenship that Franklin gave his day.

The strength of Pennsylvania, and of America, has always rested in the genius of the individual.

We Pennsylvanians are ready to put that genius to work.

Indeed, we can bring to this precious piece of America, where independence was born, a new statehood—a rebirth of state government—to restore balance and meaning to our federal system.

While we seek a more equitable share of federal revenue raised within our borders to help us help ourselves, we will see to it that we do a better job of helping ourselves.

But we need the vibrancy of creative citizenship.

With it, our horizons are boundless.

With it, we will have a modern Constitution designed to meet the constantly accelerating pace of this century, without sacrificing the safeguards which are an inherent part of our freedom.

We will bring new life to our splendid cities and, at the same time, bring them closer to our superb countryside through new highways and swifter transportation.

We will clean our water and air.

We will utilize our magnificent geographic position to become the dynamic hub of the world's most powerful concentration of people and industry.

We will bring the world closer to us through intensive attention to our land, sea and air facilities.

With advice of outstanding business and labor leaders, we will expand our industrial growth, bringing new markets and new enterprises to our State.

We will provide help to those who need it and opportunity to those who want it.

And our children will find our schools and colleges providing educations second to none.

Pennsylvania will speak with a strong voice.

And the voice will be heard throughout the land.

TO LEAD THE NATION

I ask you to remember this motto.

Let it serve to remind us that we have the opportunity to write a golden chapter in the history of our Commonwealth and our country.

There is no better way to lead than by example.

There is no better way to judge ourselves than through the eyes of our children.

With imagination, with boldness, and with enthusiasm, we shall make Pennsylvania the most envied state in the Nation.

This will not be an Administration of dreams.

It will be an Administration of vision.

I ask your hands, your hearts and your prayers as we set forth on this quest for excellence.

America Is Victim of Mismanaged War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT W. WATSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, one of the most forthright newspaper articles that I have read concerning the war in Vietnam appeared in the largest newspaper in South Carolina, the State, last December 8. The article, written by a well-known columnist, Henry J. Taylor, points to the most serious shortcoming of this Nation's efforts in Vietnam—mismanagement. I commend this outstanding article to my colleagues and the citizens of this Nation:

America Is Victim of Mismanaged War—Dreamers Direct Mighty Force

(By Henry J. Taylor)

On December 4, 1965, the enemy shelled Saigon's Tansonhut Airport for two hours with short-range artillery from positions first taken on January 13, 1964, and the United States suffered in the air its most disastrous single day of the war.

The morale of our troops remains magnificent. Our field commanders are superb. But mighty America is the victim of a mismanaged war.

How President Johnson can stand for it, and expect the American people to stand for it, is utterly beyond this writer's comprehension.

These are our men who are dying. This is our nation that is made to look ridiculous in the eyes of the military men of the world. This is our substance that is pouring in to a military budget which drains more than half the total budget and taxes of the nation.

South Viet Nam is only a little bigger than the State of Michigan. Yet the Pentagon confirms that the fire power present is greater than at any time or place in World War II.

President Kennedy committed our first combat troops to Viet Nam after his embarrassing Vienna conference with Khrushchev in 1961. Our men sent have grown from 12,000 to 360,000, exclusive of the great 7th Fleet. The absolute cream of the crop of our Army, Marines, Navy and Air Force is there, at the expense of weakening our military posture throughout the rest of the world.

The First Cavalry Division (airmobile) alone is the most powerful (and expensive) force of its size ever assembled. Even our vast Strategic Air Force, based on Guam and not designed for such missions, is employed nearly around the clock It is America's third largest war.

Yet after five years of all this we have still not built an effective front and we are not secure on our flanks or in our rear. Our great forces are moved in a mass from one place to another without destroying the enemy in being.

We have fought successfully many guerrilla wars and some fundamentals remain in wars, including guerrilla wars. But no war of any kind in the history of the world has ever been successfully conducted like this.

Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara, his whiz kids and their computers, who began their careers with the Bay of Pigs, have no known competence in military strategy and should not be dominating the strategy and tactics in this war.

As this column has repeatedly stated, a hospital superintendent must run the hospital (the Secretary must run the Department of Defense), but the superintendent must not tell the surgeons when to turn on the oxygen or whether to take out an appendix.

Why has no supreme commander been appointed in the field? No modern war has been successfully conducted any other way. Yet after five years, and to this day, the Viet Nam command has not been unified. No one man is in command.

Gen. William C. Westmoreland commands the Army there, but not the Marines. The Air Force and Navy each has its own command. Military leaders have urged again and again that this glaring weakness be corrected. They shudder to think what would have happened if we had failed to have a unified command in Europe in World War II.

Equally specific, this writer is now completing an investigation of the all-but-incredible misuse of our air power in Viet Nam.

The London dreamers mismanaged the Boer War, issuing Alice-in-Wonderland press releases about local sector victories, similar to those Washington releases today about local sector victories in Viet Nam. Only Lord Kitchener finally salvaged the debacle.

The British-French dreamers mismanaged the 1914 German war, and did it all over again in 1939.

Paris mismanaged the Algerian war. I was in that action, and it was commonly stated at the front that the Algerian war would be won or lost in Paris, not in Algiers.

The Bay of Pigs, in turn, produced its own final product: "See no Cuba. Hear no Cuba. Speak no Cuba."

It can happen. And, on the record, it is happening in Viet Nam. Only a mighty roar of protest from the public against the mismanagement of this horrible war can save our heroes and our substance in today's debacle.

The Late Honorable Charles A. Buckley

SPEECH

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, soon after my coming to the Congress my acquaintance with the Honorable Charles A. Buckley commenced and it ripened into a close and treasured friendship. I have missed our frequent chats together since his retirement from the House and now that he has gone and those times of warm companionship have passed forever mine is a poignant realization of the void.

Charlie Buckley and the late beloved Tom O'Brien of Chicago were of the same mold. Neither ever broke his word or forgave when another had broken his word to him. Loyalty was the creed of Charlie Buckley as it was the creed of Tom O'Brien as well as of other leaders of a colorful political era, now closing, during which America marched forward. Loyalty to party and loyalty to friend, such as Charlie Buckley and Tom O'Brien and their kind practiced, surely are not the least of the virtues in a democratic society.

To the loved ones of Charlie Buckley go my deep sympathy.

Record Tonnage for Mississippi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the economy in southeast Iowa is growing by leaps and bounds. This is graphically illustrated by the record tonnage which moved on the Mississippi River through the Rock Island district of the Corps of Engineers.

Almost 17 million tons of commodities traveled through the Rock Island district in 1966. This is over 2 million tons over the previous record set in 1964.

The Muscatine Journal has comprehensively recorded the story of freight traffic on the Mississippi in 1966. This story demonstrates why we need a 12-foot channel to increase even more the potential for commerce on the Mississippi and why year-round traffic on the river is becoming more important each year.

[From the Muscatine Journal, Jan. 18, 1967]

Cargo shipments on the Mississippi river on Iowa's eastern border set a tonnage record in 1966, Rock Island district, corps of engineers, reported today.

Commodities amounting to 16,772,138 tons passed through the district in the year. This is over two million tons more than the previous record of 14,412,454 tons set in 1964.

Shipments on the river totaled 14,362,605 tons in 1965, slightly less than the 1964 record, because one month of navigation was lost during the record flood.

At lock 16 near Muscatine, 13,028,501 tons of cargo were recorded as passing through in 1966. Below Muscatine at lock 17 at New Boston, Ill., the tonnage amounted to 13,581,870. At lock 15 at Rock Island the year's cargo total was 12,608,691 tons.

River traffic moving all the way through the Rock Island district during 1966 totaled 10,301,391 tons, an increase of over two million tons more than the 8,248,399 tons of through shipments in 1965. Last year's figure also was well ahead of the 8,988,726 tons on through traffic during 1964.

River traffic originating in the Rock Island district totaled 3,500,928 tons, a slight increase from the 3,437,551 tons originating in the district during 1965. Both of these totals were up from the 3,234,383 tons that originated in the district during 1964.

Cargoes shipped to points in the Rock Island district last year totaled 3,875,132 tons. This was an increase from the 3,568,896 tons shipped to points in the district in 1965 and the 3,113,053 tons shipped during 1964.

Southbound grain shipments totaled 6,029,129 tons in the area during 1966. This was far above the southbound grain of 4,907,250 tons in 1965 and 4,841,130 tons in 1964.

Muscatine is one of the major grain ports on the river.

Northbound coal shipments totaled 5,146,114 tons in 1966, compared to 4,606,210 tons in 1965 and 4,262,288 tons in 1964. Northbound petroleum totaled 3,032,000 tons last year, a slight increase from the 2,720,880 tons of 1965 and down slightly from the 3,151,995 tons tallied in 1964.

Miscellaneous cargoes amounted to 2,564,895 tons in 1966, up from 2,128,265 tons of 1965 and 2,157,041 tons of 1964.

Tonnage figures are highest at the southern end of the Rock Island district as the destinations of many river tows are in the district. Local river traffic also accounts for some variations in the figures for the 12 locks.

In the three months of 1966 the cargo totals in the district amounted to over two million tons. The top months were May, August, and October.

The monthly cargo record in the district was set in August, 1965, when 2,302,280 tons moved on the river in the area. That was the first year that a monthly figure surpassed two million tons.

August was the biggest single month in the district in 1966.

Lock 16 at Muscatine recorded 1,799,653 tons in that period.

What Americanism Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, January 21, 1967, I was privileged to attend the Greater Keansbury Jaycees Americanism Essay Contest in Keansburg, N.J. The chairman for this contest was Mr. John R. Brightman, 289 Main Street, Keyport, N.J., and he is certainly to be commended for his hard work in promoting this extremely worthwhile project among the young people of his community.

I am happy to have copies of the two winning essays for insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and I urge all of my colleagues to read them and learn from them of the splendid patriotism of two young eighth graders. The boys winning the contest are John Baldwin of 14 Marsan Drive, Hazlet, N.J., who attends St. Ann's School, and Thomas Kinneman, 131 Park Avenue, Keansburg, N.J., who attends the Keansburg Public School.

These young Americans are to be congratulated most highly on their achievement and I wish them well when they compete in the State contest for the State winner's trip in April. I am sure that all of us will feel a surge of pride in reading these excellent essays, which follow:

WHAT AMERICANISM MEANS TO ME

(By John Baldwin)

Webster's dictionary describes Americanism as, "Attachment or loyalty to the United States, its traditions, interests or ideals." This is, of course, a general definition. To stretch this out and see how this fits (as I believe it does) into the lives of every worker, every housewife, every child, every farmer, every soldier, and even all elderly people is what I have considered.

To do this I asked myself a series of questions, number one—What is the United States? number two—Why should we be "attached and loyal" to our country? number three—How should we show this? As I see it, the answers to these questions are as below:

Answers one and two—From the beginning of its formation as English colonies our country has experienced freedom and mostly good leadership. When Britain threatened this freedom, our fathers created a government where a person's rights would be automatically recognized, where a government would exert all of its efforts on the citizens of the country, and a government where dictatorship and tyranny would be prevented to the ultimate of its power. This government, our government, is, for the most part; that for which our fathers had hoped. To keep this democracy serving the citizen an interest in our country and its affairs is necessary.

Third, apathy is good government's greatest nemesis. People don't have to start rallies to put their mark on the evils that are ever-present in the United States; just the ordinary actions asked by our country are sufficient.

For example, the businessman loaded down with paperwork and the housewife that still has a "million things to do," who are both rushing to the polls to cast their votes, are doing their share. The eleven-year-old who, stopping on the way to the "funnies," looks at some of the headlines that make the history he'll be telling his children and his children's children. Learning current events helps the citizen to make choices later in life. The teenager who begins to understand what the author of his American political history book was talking about is also laying a foundation for his future. The farmer who works long into the night doing his best to give an honest income tax return and the neighbors who are circulating a petition to make that dangerous curve on Jackson Drive a safer place to drive are assuming their God-given responsibilities. It is the everyday things, common confrontations, and such that show our Americanism.

If I ever write a "———'s Philosophical Dictionary" Americanism will be "that attachment and loyalty that people have when they take the time to be Americans."

WHAT AMERICANISM MEANS TO ME

(By Thomas Kinneman)

Americanism's meaning to me cannot be given in a simple and easy dictionary-type answer. To show what it really means to me, I must give examples of things that have been granted to us and how they are connected with Americanism.

It is my belief that to be permitted to enter this contest and, within it, to approve or to disapprove of America, though one of our basic American rights, is more significant than some people think. It shows that when people govern themselves (as Americans do) they are more ready to take constructive criticism. Since the people are the government, this shows maturity of government.

Our freedom to worship as we please, if we choose to do so at all, demonstrates to me that the American system is tolerant.

The right to assemble shows that the government can trust their controlling force (the people) if the American way reigns.

Our right to form and maintain a Militia for the common safety shows not only trust in the people but also, it shows the sensibility of the government concerning defense.

Our right to maintain *private* homes verifies the respectibility of the American way-of-life.

Our rights in regard to arrest, trial by jury, bail, and punishment of criminals demonstrate the fairness and responsibility of the American governmental system.

Our system of checks and balances among the three branches of government gives evidence to the careful planning to prevent a dictatorship from coming into power and to maintain fair laws.

Foresight is demonstrated by the ability of the government to change itself without revolution.

But Americanism does not always produce good. The freedoms and rights given to us are used and twisted by some people. By abusing their rights, they abuse Americanism. For example: they can turn the freedom of speech and press into mud-slinging. They change the right to assembly into demonstrations and gangs on street corners. Both the good and the bad are products of Americanism, because Americanism is only a product of people, people with failings and weaknesses. If we use Americanism for what it was meant, we can gain a better understanding of it. Then, I believe, we can see Americanism as the best way-of-life that anyone can offer.

Kansas Broadcaster Speaks Out in Support of On-the-Air Editorials

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, broadcasters are alarmed over what they feel will be a move by the 90th Congress to restrict the use of on-the-air editorials. Whether any such movement materializes, an eloquent case has been made for the continuation of the present policy under which broadcasters operate in this respect by Lowell E. Jack, general manager of radio station KMAN, Manhattan, Kans. Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to call attention to a letter on the subject which Mr. Jack sent me recently. His letter follows:

RADIO STATION KMAN,
Manhattan, Kans., January 12, 1967.

Representative CHESTER MIZE,
1109 Longworth House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CHET: Because of the stir in Congress about placing limitations on broadcast editorials I thought you should have my feelings.

Please understand that I am strongly opposed to the imposition of *any* restrictions on broadcast programming. Any laws or regulations which would, in any way, further restrict editorials would be a basic presumption against the freedom of speech.

Far better than laws to control, is the vigorous competition which has been developing over the years in the broadcasting industry, and between broadcasting and other media.

Because of a lethargic newspaper, the *only* voice in many communities is the radio station. Additionally, in many places in the country the only *other* voice in the community is the radio station. To restrict the *only voice* or the *only other voice* would be to seriously impair freedom of speech.

The present "fairness doctrine" is restrictive enough. It guarantees that the other side shall not be silenced. And in the case of a political candidate, it is spelled out even more explicitly, as you know.

On-the-air editorials are serving an extremely valuable public service. Because of the moving, persuasive qualities of the human voice they often are more stimulating than the printed editorial.

The broadcaster's reputation stands behind every editorial he runs and public opinion soon buries the irresponsible voice!

Yes, existing laws and regulations can adequately resolve disputes relating to broadcast editorials. Please don't let Congress hamstring radio and television with an abridgement of free speech.

All best wishes to you and your family. Good Luck!

Sincerely yours,

LOWELL E. JACK,
General Manager.

Price of Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's budget message makes no bones about the towering costs of the struggle for man's freedom in Vietnam.

But it is a cost that we can and will bear.

Even before the President submitted his budget, the Baltimore News American commented on the advance announcement that some $73 billion would be sought for defense, including the conflict in Vietnam.

No other country could afford to spend anything like the amount we will pay in the coming year to defend a way of life, this Hearst newspaper states on its editorial page. Yet we continue to enjoy an unparalleled level of prosperity while paying taxes far less burdensome than those paid by the citizens of many another land.

In short, the newspaper says, the price of our freedom is indeed great—and worth every penny.

To give this suitable emphasis, I propose to insert the News American's commentary in the RECORD:

THE PRICE OF FREEDOM

On next Tuesday, President Johnson will submit to Congress his administrative budget for the fiscal year 1968, which begins July 1. The all-time record budget, the President has said, will total some $135 billion, of which the staggering sum of $73 billion will be for defense and the cost of the Vietnam War.

To most people, the figure of $73 billion is so huge as to be virtually meaningless. Some idea of its size may be grasped, however, by dividing the annual total by time periods. Put this way, the nation's total defense expenditures for fiscal year 1968 will come to $200 million per day, or $8.3 million for each and every hour.

The proposed budget cost of making the U.S. secure from attack while battling to stem Communist aggression in the Far East exceeds by $11 billion the $62 billion seen as needed for all other costs of administering the federal government. And the defense costs are mounting all the time. For fiscal year 1968, they will be up at least $5 billion over the current period.

No other country in the world could afford to spend anything like the amazing sums this nation will pay out in the coming year for the defense of its way of life. Despite this fact, its citizens will continue to enjoy a level of prosperity that is unparalleled while paying taxes far less onerous than those paid by the citizens of many other lands.

In a word, it is precisely because our way of life is so rich, rewarding, and productive that we are able to afford the astronomical sums required to protect it from would-be destroyers. The price of our continuing freedom is, indeed, great—worth every penny.

The New L.B.J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, an unhurried appraisal always throws the clearest light on a man and an event.

A recent column in the Detroit Free Press makes that point as it portrays President Johnson and his state of the Union message.

Judd Arnett, the highly regarded columnist, laments the stress of immediate deadlines which led some to report that this memorable address "contained little that was new." On the contrary, Mr. Arnett suggests that it was, in his words, "as 'new' as this minute, delivered by a 'new' President with a 'new' lease on life."

As for the man himself, Mr. Arnett declares the President exuded vitality.

As for the message, he concludes that the President is not going to turn back the clock on social progress—that this is a time for consolidating gains and rooting out weaknesses. Further, he finds a commendable flexibility in the President's position in world affairs and expresses the feeling that eventual peace is building strong roots.

I ask that this entire column be made a part of the RECORD:

IT WAS THE "NEW" L.B.J.

(By Judd Arnett)

While listening to the President's State of the Union address—a remarkable performance by one of the most complex of all our Chief Executives—a few thoughts occurred which will now, after further reflection, be entrusted to the light of day . . .

First of all, it seems to me that all the instant commentators, both on television and in the newspapers, badly miscalculated the main thrust of Mr. Johnson's remarks and the temper and mood in which they were offered.

Under the stress of immediate deadlines there was the tendency, perhaps the necessity, to hastily scan the text, note the paucity of requests for large appropriations and thus come to the conclusion that "the speech contained little that was new."

OH MY

In many respects it was as "new" as this minute, delivered by a "new" President with a "new" lease on life. What he proposed, and what he only half-offered, will be rattling around the world for a long, long time.

In the first place, there was the matter of the President's health. On our television set, which brings us all the great spectacles in living black and white, he exuded the vitality and the raw energy common only to a man who knows that the doctors have finally taken the clinking and the clanking out of his innards.

He looked better—fresher, stronger, tougher—than at any time I can recall since the Bay of Tonkin, so any one who felt he might withdraw from the fray in 1968 for reasons of health was dispelled of a foolish notion. The Republicans will have to whip Lyndon B. Johnson in the streets, on the beaches and in the fields before gaining the White House, and it won't be easy.

For what we saw and heard Tuesday night was the "new" President, as transformed as though he had just graduated with highest honors from a series of lectures conducted by Prof. Henry Higgins. The face was familiar, true, but the attitude, the approach and the language had been drastically altered.

As a public speaker, Mr. Johnson has gone through several cycles in recent years, the most unnerving of which we shall call "Pedernales Piety." When thus inspired, he was sort of a cross between Lum Edderds and a preacher facing a puny collection. You had the feeling that if you did answer his plea to sit down and reason with him, the conversation might become embarrassing, as when Pop tried to tell you about the birds and the bees.

Well, "Pedernales Piety" was missing from the State of the Union, thank goodness. Mr. Johnson simply talked—and he is an excellent talker. He employed the absolute minimum of histrionics, following the text with flowing ease and unstrained style. The address was long, about an hour and 10 minutes, somebody said, but captivating. Not once did this viewer wish for a station break or a commercial with girls.

In approaching this moment, there was three obvious courses open to the President. In view of the election returns, the fiscal situation and the state of world opinion, a weak man would have called a retreat from domestic and international commitments. This he did not do. A reckless man would have charged ahead, defying his enemies. He resisted most of this possibility.

Instead, he moved somewhere in between the outer extremes, taking up a highly defensible position. He is not going to turn back the clock on social progress, as well he shouldn't, but rather his approach will follow the lines of what the Kennedy people used to call "prudent liberalism."

It shall be a time of consolidating gains and of rooting out weaknesses—exactly what the Republicans have been yelping for. In many ways this was a masterful speech, toiled over by experts in the art of politics and soothsaying.

There was little of solace in his remarks for those who would have us leave Vietnam in the dark of night, but what can you say to people who believe that capitulation constitutes a foreign policy? In truth, Mr. Johnson's position in world affairs is now more flexible than that of any of his predecessors since Herbert Hoover, and the feeling grows, at least here, that eventual peace is building strong roots.

Ukrainian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, this week marks the 49th anniversary of Ukrainian independence and it is important that we take a moment to honor this great anniversary in the annals of freemen.

Independence was declared in the Ukraine on January 22, 1918. Yet barely 3 years were to pass before this newly free land was to be invaded and overrun by the Soviets.

The people of the Ukraine, denied the right of self-determination by their Communist oppressors, were early victims of Soviet colonialism. No one could conquer the Ukrainian free soul, however, and Ukrainians throughout the world continued to commemorate their great anniversary of independence.

Those of us fortunate enough to live in the United States would do well to remember this significant anniversary, and thereby to renew our efforts and our determination to resist further encroachment by the Communists on the territory of freemen.

Our country is fighting today, with the South Vietnamese and representatives of free nations around the world, to secure self-determination for those who would be free to choose their own destiny. It is our hope and fervent prayer that the people of the Ukraine will one day regain their rights. And we take this opportunity today to reassure them that their cause and their struggle will remain ours, as well.

Answering Vietnam Critics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, critics of our Vietnam policy have at times given rather mystifying twists both to history and to our national purpose.

Howard K. Smith comments on several of them in a column which I want to place in the RECORD and to call to the attention of my fellow Members.

Mr. Smith prefers to examine the facts of the situation caused by Communist aggression in southeast Asia.

> We must put a halt to it in Vietnam—

He asserts—

> or run the risk of seeing the world balance go so badly out of kilter as to provoke a large war.

Mr. Smith writes:

> Sometimes a nation must brace itself against outcries of criticism and do what is clearly right.

Certainly there is nothing we want more than peace for Vietnam—peace which will put an end to the terrible tragedy of war and allow the people of Vietnam to work out their destiny without coercion originating in aggression and terrorism. This is our hope and our goal.

The column follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, Jan. 22, 1967]

ANSWERING CRITICS OF OUR VIETNAM POSITION

(By Howard K. Smith)

Critics of the American position in Vietnam manifest elemental virtues. They invent new arguments with fertile ingenuity or they cling to old ones with weed-like persistence. Their single vice is, their arguments both old and new get no closer to being relevant to the facts of life,

A new twist the other day was a columnist's plaint that we are offending the very basics of our own history: By rebuffing foreign dissenters we have discarded Jefferson's first imperative in the first sentence of our first state document—namely that we should show "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind."

The columnist misinterpreted Jefferson. In that famous declaration, he did not offer to change our course of action. He merely offered to explain it to those willing to listen, while we forged ahead regardless of how they reacted, which is what we are doing now.

U Thant the other day revived the old domino theory which, one had hoped, the critics had stopped propping up and knocking down. The Secretary General said the U.S. bases its policy on faith in the domino theory, and that the theory is wrong.

I don't know how much history it will take to make the point that our action is not based on theory but on fact; A year ago the Communists nearly took South Vietnam. They have seized two-thirds of Laos and about a fifth of Cambodia. They have attacked India twice to disable that potential focus of resistance. Little over a year ago they shipped 100,000 weapons to Indonesia to enable that Communist party to try to seize the government; the fact that they failed does not blur the clarity of their intention. They announced by radio, and began to fulfill, a plan to take over Thailand. No week passes without the newspapers of U Thant's own Burma recording Communist attacks in that country.

None of this is theoretical; it is what is happening. We must put a halt to it in Vietnam or see the world balance go so badly out of kilter that a big war will result.

U Thant also argued that U.S. interests are not involved in Vietnam. Secretary of State Rusk in response pointed out that the past four American Presidents disagreed. The Secretary might have added the name of a fifth President—Franklin D. Roosevelt. In 1941, when Japan seized what is today Vietnam, Roosevelt deployed our war fleet, absorbed the Philippine army into the U.S. Army and cut off essential exports to Japan. He made all these warlike preparations—over what is today Vietnam—and according to the Gallup poll of the time 96 percent of the nation supported him. His action led directly to Pearl Harbor. So, Vietnam has been an American interest for quite a long time.

Perhaps the most ingenious recent argument is one invented by the editorialists of the New York Times. They have argued that we should make unilateral concessions (like stopping the bombing without reciprocal concessions from the Communists) because we are a big nation, and they are small.

The principle that effective military action must be related inversely to size is certainly something new under the sun. It would give a blank check to any client state, or client front, of every international aggressor. It would have been our undoing in Greece or Turkey or Korea. The relevant facts are that we escalated in Vietnam because they had escalated enough to take over the country. When we experimented twice in de-escalation, they used the lull to escalate faster. There is no way of measuring how many additional casualties we suffered because of ceasing the bombing twice. In any case, our present offer to stop the bombing if they will use the infinite channels and ways of diplomacy to promise some reciprocal de-escalation is both generous and sensible.

The hoariest of arguments now enjoying a revival in the academic community is that by thus hitting back at a small nation we are making ourselves the world's pariahs; we shall end up with the world refusing to associate with us and we shall hate ourselves.

We have heard that argument a dozen times, most loudly in 1956, when the Russians stifled rebellion in Hungary by brute force. Well, instead of being outcasts, the Russians are being sedulously courted by everybody including us. If the Russians got by with a bad case, we shall do all right with our excellent one.

It is a fact of life that sometimes a nation must brace itself against outcries of criticism and proceed to do what is clearly right. That is what we are doing.

National Wildlife Conservationist of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. HARSHA

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, yesterday a singular honor was bestowed upon a close friend of mine and I would like to offer my sincerest congratulations to him and call to my colleagues' attention the outstanding record of this great American.

John H. Dunlap, Jr., was selected as National Wildlife Conservationist of the Year, in the second annual nationwide conservation achievement program conducted by the National Wildlife Federation in conjunction with the Sears-Roebuck Foundation.

His selection was made by an impartial review board of professional conservationists. The review board made this selection from the most outstanding candidates in the Nation representing each of the States.

John Hyde Dunlap, Jr., of Williamsport, in Pickaway County, Ohio, whose Virginia forebears settled in the Scioto River bottoms north of Chillicothe after the Revolutionary War, is a seventh-generation central Ohio farmer.

A 1928 graduate of Ohio State University, he and his wife Ellen were married when she graduated from OSU in 1929. They have three children, Shirley Anne—Mrs. Clifford Bowser—also an OSU graduate; Gail Ellen Dunlap, a Vassar alumna, and a married son, John H. Dunlap III, who attended OSU. There are three grandchildren, Anne and Lee Bowser and John H. Dunlap IV.

An active farmer, Dunlap, age 61, manages 31 farms encompassing 13,000 acres in Pickaway, Ross, Madison, Franklin, and Clark Counties. He owns outright 11 of these farms, containing over 4,000 acres, an implement business, hardware, and general supply store in Williamsport, and two elevator and feed businesses in Pickaway County. He operates under the name of the Dunlap Co., which also builds levees, ditches, ponds, and the like. He started this type of work on his farms and now does it for others.

He is considered a pioneer in the building of farm ponds and their proper management for conservation purposes. He has constructed hundreds of farm ponds and the 14 ponds he has built on his own land are stocked with game fish and personally regulated by him for production and longevity of the species. Each pond contains duck boxes and aquatic plants for ducks and other wildlife.

A bass fisherman from way back, Dunlap admits that his first loves are fishing and hunting. He was 7 when he did his first hunting for birds. Then it was quail, followed by pheasants, the latter which he prefers now. For several decades he has personally purchased, raised and turned out annually hundreds of pheasants, quail and wild ducks in the county in which he resides. His father early taught him the wise use of natural resources. Probably his first lesson, he thinks, was when his father made piles of brush or cover for rabbits, and the likes. Today he accomplishes this with the planting of miles of multiflora roses and thousands of mountain olive and coniferous trees.

He is the chairman of the recreation and resources commission, a lay advisory group to the Ohio Natural Resources Department. In this capacity he has been instrumental in carrying forward the policies and suggestions of the department of better use and conservation of the State's natural resources and recreational facilities.

It is only fitting that John Dunlap should hold this chairmanship as he was the organizer of the Citizen's Committee for Ohio Parks and Water Development. He subsequently spearheaded the committee's recommendation which urged the Governor and the general assembly to provide a minimum of $50 million "to start and expedite the development of our parks and water resources." The outcome of this untiring work with this committee was State issue No. 1 on the ballot in 1963, which permitted the State to borrow $250 million for capital improvements and issue bonds for same. The portion of this voter-approved bond money allocated to the natural resources department was the start of the department's current $100 million capital improvements plan for outdoor recreational facilities—more money for conserving the State's natural resources than has been cumulatively expended in this field since Ohio became a State, in 1803. The many improvements now completed and underway will be living mementos to this public-spirited conservationist, yet, he neither receives—nor would accept—1 cent for his never-ceasing efforts on behalf of conservation in Ohio.

To point up this man's dedication to conservation and public service, note a partial list of the organizations in which he is presently, or has in the past, actively participated, and the positions he has held in each: He is a director of the Scioto Conservancy District, since 1960, and was also a director of its predecessor, the Scioto-Sandusky Conservancy District—1936–58; is vice president of the Ohio Forestry Association, a member of the Ohio State University Advisory Committee to the College of Agriculture; past president of the Ohio Farm Manager's Association; a member of the Williamsport School Board for 20 years; director, First National Bank of Circleville; director, Columbus Production Credit Association; director, Home State Publications, which publishes five farm papers in the Midwest, emphasizing good conservation practices; a member of the League of the Ohio Sportsmen and a member of the Methodist Church, the Elks, the farm bureau, and Masonic orders.

John Dunlap truly exemplifies the best example of citizen participation and leadership in conservation and public service. His contributions are indeed of national significance to the wise use and management of the Nation's natural resources.

I am proud and privileged to consider him my friend.

Hon. James W. Day To Retire as Mayor of Parma, Ohio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, January 29, 1967, in the Sheraton Hotel in Cleveland, the citizens of Greater Cleveland, and the city of Parma in particular, will pay tribute to the successful leadership of the city of Parma by Mayor James W. Day, who is retiring as mayor on February 15, 1967, to take a position in private business.

It is fitting that at this time when so much of our emphasis and concern is directed toward the city and its problems that we analyze the extraordinary accomplishments of the municipal executive who managed to reduce the bonded indebtedness of his city during his tenure of office from over $16 million to slightly over $4 million, while improving the urban services of the city to levels which place it among the highest in Ohio and in the country.

Before Mayor Day entered the office of mayor, he had extended previous experience as a member of his city's board of zoning appeals of the city council. He served in the office of mayor since the year 1961.

The achievements of Mayor Day as mayor of Parma have brought new dimensions to this important office. It has become, in fact, "model city," making great strides while reducing its obligations—a most extraordinary feat.

While it is unfortunate that public service should lose so capable an administrator—we in public life share pride in this recognition of talent in the public service.

Parma is becoming recognized as a training ground for excellence in public administration. Only last year the city provided Cleveland with a topnotch school administrator in Dr. Paul Briggs.

Parma and the entire northern Ohio community and the Nation are grateful for the contribution which Mayor Day has made as mayor.

On his new assignment with the Higbee Co., we wish him well. If he had to move from public service to private enterprise, he could have made no better change. This extraordinary department store, in my judgment, is one of the finest institutions of its type in America. It is my hope that the Higbee Co., as his new employer, will provide him with released time so that he can be free for occasional community and public responsibilities in which he has provided such capable leadership. We would like to reserve the right to call upon his experience, his time, and his talent.

National Power and Firepower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to bring to the attention of my colleagues in the House a challenging and provocative article entitled "National Power and Firepower," which appears in the January 1967 issue of the Air University Review published by the Aerospace Studies Institute at Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala. The article is written by Mr. Anthony Harrigan, associate editor of the Charleston, S.C., News and Courier, a nationally recognized author on military affairs.

I commend the article to all of those who want a better understanding of the historical background of the world in which they live.

The article follows:

NATIONAL POWER AND FIREPOWER

(By Anthony Harrigan)

In 1913 the maps of the world showed Europe as occupying the central position on the globe. As the earth is a sphere, there is no centrality of position in geographical terms. But in terms of the power realities of the age, it was only logical that maps show the central area of the globe located on the European continent. Europe *was* the center of the world, not only in European eyes but in the eyes of Asians, Africans, and Americans.

In a very real sense, Europe discovered the world without ever having been discovered itself. The Chinese had an opportunity in the voyages of Cheng Ho to sweep around Africa and reach the northern hemisphere, but they muffed their chance. They lacked the world vision of the Europeans at the end of the medieval period. As a French writer said in 1816, "This narrow peninsula, which appears on the globe as a mere appendix of Asia, has become the metropolis of the human species." Europe, in 1913, was at the peak of its power. The states of Europe had divided the entire African continent, with the exception of Ethiopia. The subcontinent of India was the crown jewel in the British Empire. China was subdued and impotent. What Europe did not control outright, or manage by way of military protectorates, it manipulated through a variety of financial and other pressures.

The heart of the European world consisted of the major powers—France, the new German Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Imperial Russia. Italy, while not a first-rank power, had considerable possessions in Africa. Little Belgium commanded the Congo, the heart of Central Africa. The Dutch controlled the rich East Indies. Only Spain and Portugal had regressed, though Portugal still held immense territories beyond the seas. Spain had suffered many misfortunes, the most recent having been the bad luck to tangle with the rising power of the United States of America.

Britain's power still seemed to be in the ascendancy, the British having won a protracted war with the Boers and strengthened their hold over the Cape Town to Cairo route. Throughout the nineteenth century the Russians expanded their empire in Asia by the absorption of Chinese territories. Russia, however, made one critical mistake and suffered one significant setback. The mistake was the decision to sell the vast Alaska territory to the United States. Alaska represented a beachhead in the New World, but the Russian government lacked leadership with an understanding of the potential of Alaska in strategic terms. The setback was defeat at the hands of the Japanese in 1905.

Germany's power was increasing rapidly. She held large and valuable territories in East Africa and South-West Africa, the latter being the world's principal source of diamonds. Germany also maintained a foothold in China on the Shantung Peninsula. Had war not broken out in 1914, Germany might have arrived at an understanding with Britain regarding a division of the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique in Africa.

The United States, while not subordinate to European power, was linked to Europe. Its people were overwhelmingly European in origin. American culture, commerce, and finance were joined in various ways to the nations of Europe. America in 1913 was a complement to European power, not in any sense a threat. The United States had a role to play in shaping the history of the western hemisphere. It was on its way to establishing protectorates over Haiti and Santo Domingo while guiding the new nation of Cuba in a protective relationship.

In 1913 it seemed that the *Pax Europa* would endure for a long time, perhaps as long as the Roman Empire had endured. Westernization of isolated pockets on the globe seemed a certainty. Within 50 years, however, or the life span of many men educated before World War I, the power structure of the world had completely changed. For a time, in the late 1940's, the very survival of the European nations was in question. Indeed much of central and all of eastern Europe had fallen under control of the Soviet Union, which had largely rejected Russia's European past. Germany in 1945 was in ruins, as was Italy. France was a moral wreck, bitter and divided. Britain, having "won" a world war, was exhausted and ruined by a second colossal conflict within a quarter century. Only the power of the United States enabled the European nations to make an economic recovery. American military power had to stand guard from Norway to Greece to protect prostrate Europe. Psychologically, Europe found itself unable to retain its overseas territories or even to remember its civilizing mission. Where there was not outright collapse in Europe, there was a contraction of goals and a loss of faith in the ability to develop and use power. The United States, while protecting western Europe against economic ruin and Soviet military conquest, showed no understanding of Europe's need for power bases elsewhere in the world. American administrations applied pressure to help oust the Dutch from Java and Sumatra, the French from Algeria, the Belgians from the Congo, and the British from many parts of their former empire. Only Portugal, the weakest of the European countries, had the stamina to stand firm against terrible pressure. As Elie Deloches wrote in *Le Charivari*, "Portugal in a pillory, the only one of the older nations of Europe to grace the storm, is like the symbol of the West, which does not want to die."

That Europe could fall to such a humiliating condition in so short a time, after being at a peak in 1913, has sent a shock through the minds of thoughtful Westerners. What happened? Why? Is the process of deterioration inevitable? Such questions confront the West, especially America, which today stands as strong as the European states in 1913. An examination of the metamorphosis of power is essential if we in the West are to be masters of our fate, not victims of new historical tides.

To begin with, the inner structure of Europe did not change as the major European nations developed overseas empires and protectorates. The crowned heads of Europe knew each other, and many were related by blood. But their countries had scant appreciation of the changed relationships in the world—relationships which require a considerable measure of collaboration among the advanced states. Europe had the interests of a single house, but European diplomats did not see this. They could have pondered the Japanese naval victory over Russia at the Battle of Tsushima Strait, but they did not do so; or at least they did not reach the right conclusions. Apparently it never occurred to the masters of European chancelleries that, in Franklin's words, they had to hang together or assuredly they would all hang separately. They did not grasp the fact that European technology was spreading and that new power centers—competitive centers—would emerge as threats to Western nations. Being rooted in the conflicts and enmities of previous centuries, they could not take stock of the new challenges just over the horizon. Indeed history was repeating itself in a sense, for it had proved very difficult in earlier times for the nations of Christendom to see beyond their disputes and deal effectively with the power of Islam. Because they lacked vision, the great nations of Europe turned to civil war, not once but twice in the twentieth century. The two European civil wars—known as World Wars I and II—gutted Europe's power. The millions killed at Verdun, Stalingrad, and scores of other battles took away the edge that the advanced nations of Europe had over the backward lands of this planet. The vast outpouring of blood and treasure, in what amounted to domestic struggles, represented a near-fatal bleeding of a civilization.

What strange and terrible ironies one finds in this period of European madness! For example, after the awful struggles between Frenchmen and Germans, the French Foreign Legion, fighting in Indochina to save an important piece of the French Empire, had its ranks filled with former soldiers of the German *Wehrmacht*. The British Commonwealth, created as a link between English-speaking nations with a shared constitutional heritage, in the 1950's and 1960's became an assembly in which backward and turbulent states had the dominant voice.

These two civil wars of the Western world represent a kind of massive failure of control, a breakdown through irritability. True, the components of Europe in 1913 were often contradictory. Styles of national life were different, as in England and Germany. Nevertheless, there were lessons of history that the wise men of early twentieth century Europe should have been able to read. Through the Dark Ages and the Crusades, in the period of the advance of the Mongol armies of Genghis Khan, in the era when Spain was flattened and France half overrun, Europe had been the underdog and the loser because of a lack of unity—a failure to direct conflict feelings against the external enemy. Then, with the coming of the Renaissance, Europe turned outward toward the new worlds being discovered. The forces set in motion by discovery, in terms of space and ideas, galvanized the Continent. as Denis de Rougemont has said, "Their [the Europeans'] fusion produced energy so great that it had to spread to the entire planet. First, it was a conquering energy, belligerent and business-minded out of necessity, spiritual by vocation and then unifying. Europe did not merely discover the world; it practically made the world."

Europe's lapse in 1913, its plunge into suicidal strife, was the strangest crisis of our civilization. The retreats and nihilism that have followed are the products of that breakdown.

The result, after 50 years, has been a transformation of power in the world. Today, power centers exist in lands that seemed hopelessly backward in 1913. After 500 years of slumber, China is reasserting power as in earlier dynastic period. The Soviet Union, consisting of an Asian as well as a European component, is the second largest power center in the world. The Indian Union, despite its internal problems and stresses, looms large in global politics. Unstable, proletarian states such as Cuba and the United Arab Republic seem capable of far more decisive action than many of the old, stable states of Europe, economically recovered from World War II. Belgium in 1960 cast loose the vast empire of the Congo, under pressure from the United States. Meanwhile Cuba, which the United States seems impotent to handle, works hard to build a Communist political empire in South and Central America. France fought a war to retain Algeria and faced terrible opposition within and without. The United Arab Republic wages war in Yemen and receives massive financial aid for its economy from the United States while the Soviets supply weapons. The situation is such that the West is not only witnessing the establishment and strengthening of power centers that threaten its existence but is actively helping such centers augment their power. For the West, however, this is not just a part of a bad dream; it is a reality. The West on many occasions seems determined to accomplish for itself a final ruin that the two wars of 1914–18 and 1939–45 could not achieve. If there is not positively hurtful action, there is dangerous inaction. Thus the West fails to take preemptive actions against Communist China's increasing nuclear arsenal, even though it now realizes that pre-emptive action against Imperial Japan would have been wise in the 1930's.

In ignoring the power realities in this manner, the West—and this includes the United States—acts as though human nature had been repealed. It acts as though—indeed it openly professes that the good will of masses of people is more important than a solid advantage in terms of power. Thus we have the slogan that we must "win the minds" of the people. But the impossibility of doing this, in a period when nations practice thought control through news media, public education, and other instruments of policy, is ignored. The people who are developing new power centers in Africa, Asia, and Latin America are not answerable to their peoples. The good will of the Russians toward individual Americans, for instance, has no bearing on the policies of the Soviet state. Writing in the Columbia University *Forum*, David Cort has pointed out, though many Westerners refuse to believe it, that "while there may be different kinds of power, power has always been and will probably always be a decisive element in human affairs." Arnold Toynbee touched on this reality in another way: "Self-assertion is of the essence of life. The self-assertion is perpetually being challenged, because there are more self-assertive creatures than one."

This is the real world of self-assertive creature against self-assertive creature; power center against power center. In this age-old struggle for power, the role of firepower has been and is crucial. Europe's decline from the power it held in 1913 involved not only a kind of inner crackup but a loss of firepower, or failure to control the spread of weapons once exclusively in Western hands. The decline is involved also with the failure of the European powers to look ahead and master new forms of command and control in remote regions, to develop a combination of military and political warfare as scientific as the doctrines taught by enemies of the West in the Lenin institutes.

Historically, the evolution of the West has been deeply involved with the evolution of arms and military command systems. Professor Eddy Bauer, a Swiss military historian, has described the intimate relationship of the Roman legion to the overall Roman order:

"Going no further back in history than the start of the Christian era, one finds that the Roman army held sway, guaranteeing order, security and peace throughout the entire Mediterranean world. The highly organized legions which, in the days of Augustus, numbered 30 major units all with interchangeable weapons, maintained the upper hand over such varied adversaries as Hannibal's mercenaries, the Macedonian phalanx inherited from Alexander and the mass rising of Vercingetorix."

When the legions were reduced to half their former strength, and when barbarian contingents filled the ranks, Rome's decline set in. Thus Rome's political crisis was essentialy a military crisis. Oddly, it was not that Rome's military adversaries were so formidable in numbers and equipment. The aggressors against Rome were generally few in number, but the defenders were even fewer. Moreover, the Roman military machine was in disrepair in many ways. Once the barbarians broke through the empire's outer defenses, they found little to impede them in the interior zones. This contains a warning for Westerners who in recent decades have seen the "countryside" of the world conquered by Communist revolutionary forces as they prepare to ring the inner citadels of the West.

The influence of weapons and military formations upon history has been enormous. Hellenism spread over the ancient world because of the phalanx. Military changes have brought about new social systems. Consider the establishment of heavy cavalry units after Charlemagne's time. To ensure the availability of these shock troops, the cavalrymen were granted land which they held on the promise to render service to their lord. It was therefore a military need that laid the foundation of the feudal system and new social relationships. The employment of new weapons also has had the most striking effects on the lives of nations. An example of this was the decision of Edward I to equip his infantry with a longbow capable of rapid fire. This military instrument enabled the English to inflict terrible defeats on the French at Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. The ultimate in history-making through weaponry was the exploding of atomic bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

The great expansion of the West from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries can be attributed in large part to the monopoly that the Western nations had no firepower. They achieved a technological breakthrough on arms that allowed Europeans to penetrate and hold vast areas of the world. But before the nineteenth century came to an end, there were signs that the non-Western world intended to obtain the West's tools of power. Gunrunners found markets from the Western territories of the United States to the grasslands of south-central Africa. Custer's death at the Little Big Horn was symbolic of what would happen when backward peoples obtained modern weapons. In southern Africa, warlike Zulus obtained firearms and wiped out a British force at Isandilwanna. Fanatic Moslems murdered Gordon at Khartoum in 1883. But European nations were strangely complacent about the non-Western world's interest in modern arms. They were almost exclusively concerned with the threat they posed to one another.

The Japanese were the first of the non-Western people to realize that modernization meant the acquisition of contemporary weapon systems of great destructiveness. By acquiring a modern fleet and learning how to handle it expertly, the Japanese were able to virtually destroy Russian seapower in the Pacific at the Battle of Tsushima Strait. The Japanese learned their lesson well. From that time on, they knew that a greater empire could be built on greater firepower. Imperial Russia learned nothing, however. It failed to modernize its armed forces, with disastrous—indeed fatal—results for the Romanoff dynasty in World War I. Had the czars developed a modern military machine, it is questionable whether the Russian Revolution would have taken place or, if it had, whether it would have succeeded. It was the shock of defeat at the hands of the Japanese that did much to undermine the confidence of the Russian people in the imperial government.

The vital role of firepower in shaping history is still not recognized in many quarters. Critics of the American role in the Vietnam war repeatedly have come forward with the argument that you cannot bomb an idea out of existence. They have said that bullets will not stop revolutionary advances. In this connection, it is well to bear in mind the words of Professor Stefan Possony of Stanford University, that the Communist "use of violence must be preceded, accompanied, and followed by techniques aimed at demoralization and at preventing the enemy from using violence." Thus while Communism is an armed doctrine and while Communist use of violence has given it all its victories, the Communists use their political "transmission belts" to convince Westerners that counter-force is futile. Nowhere in history, however, is there any substantiation for the belief that it is futile to try to stop force with force. Indeed it is the organization of violence in military systems that always has been basic in effecting change in the world. Pre-World War II China was under the influence of an idea—the idea of democratic development; but this did not prevent Japan from conquering large parts of China and, in World War II, coming close to ultimate victory. It was only the existence of superior American firepower—from the South Pacific to Hiroshima—that blunted the Japanese drive. And at Hiroshima and Nagasaki the United States unquestionably *was* able to bomb out of existence the Japanese idea of conquest of Asia and the Pacific world.

The underdeveloped revolutionary nations —Communist China is the prime example— profess to believe that firepower has only limited application. Their spokesmen have worked very hard to convince the West that this is true. Indeed China hopes that the war in Vietnam will convince Americans that their vaunted firepower is useless against a revolutionary enemy in the countryside. But the successes that the Communists enjoyed in the Vietnam war were not due to a failure of Western firepower but simply to the long delay on the part of the United States in utilizing its weapons on sufficient scale and against significant targets. It is true that there is a certain equality in warfare between the forces of advanced and underdeveloped nations when warfare is restricted to rifles, machine guns, and mortars. The absurdity of Western nations limiting themselves in this way should be obvious. It is as though Europeans had attempted to conquer Africa in the nineteenth century, using only spears inteady of the repeating rifle and the Maxim gun. The real Western advantage is in area weapons, the delivery of immense firepower over large areas in which guerrillas find concealment. It is these weapons, of course, that are most bitterly campaigned against by the underdeveloped revolutionary states—understandably so as they are not prepared to counter these weapons.

But the Communist nations that are resorting to guerrilla war will have to reckon with the cybernetic revolution, that is, the control of machines by machines. The late Ralph McCabe touched on this in writing of the cybernetic revolution and backward nations:

"Military applications are of critical concern now and will be more important if, as some observers predict, conflict in the world tends to increase with population. This would suggest that the variety of military applications also will increase.

"Casualty-limiting applications are of first importance. In Viet Nam, the cost of locating guerrilla positions is high—in lives and time. A fleet of cybernetic automata, programmed to move out over a defined course and report on the presence of the adversary, would be more efficient than military patrol operations and less costly. Linked to artillery, this kind of cybernetic force would be a new weapons system—and a formidable deterrent."

With the development of electronic, infrared, and other sensors for detecting guerrillas, the underdeveloped revolutionary nations would lose one of their most important military advantages. Western firepower would gain in decisiveness.

What we have seen in recent decades is a narrowing of the military gap between the advanced countries and the underdeveloped revolutionary nations—partly because of the spread of automatic weapons to countries such as North Vietnam, partly because of the West's decision to restrict use of its most powerful weapons, and partly because of the idea that firepower is not a particularly significant factor in history-making. But there is no assurance that the military situation will remain unchanged.

As mentioned earlier, the cybernetic revolution will affect military systems. The West may shed its mistaken sense of guilt over possession of area weapons. Finally, there may be a new appreciation of the role of firepower in affecting political decisions in the world. If we have eyes to see and use them, we will not be misled.

This is not to say that the clock will be turned back. It would be foolish to believe that the conditions of 1913 will be duplicated in 1973, let us say. The power centers that have grown up in Asia and Africa will continue to exist in one fashion or another. China has awakened and is unlikely to return to sleep in the foreseeable future. But the gains that the emerging nations have scored since 1945 may not be matched by further significant power gains. The West may regain much of its supremacy because of the technical revolution and because of the underdeveloped nations' inability to pay for the latest stage of the industrial revolution.

It is clear that the United States, Canada, Australia, Western Europe, Japan, and the Soviet Union will go through an immense amount of cybernetic change in the decades ahead. These countries have the economic resources to apply machines to the learning process and the storage of information, to the control of industrial processes and the management of transportation. They will be able to eliminate costly man-hours, lay aside the slide rule, subject agriculture to a precise new kind of direction, obtain optimum yields from natural resources, and install new controls over machine-tool industries such as shipbuilding. In short, the populations of the advanced countries will have a rapidly rising income and will be free for other tasks.

Countries such as China, Indonesia, India, and the parts of Africa where European leadership is absent, however, are decades behind the advanced countries in overall industrial development. Thus, after several decades, although the military gap between the advanced and preindustrial countries may have narrowed, the technological gap may well be further widened as a result of cybernetic change in the advanced countries.

The *German Tribune* has rightly pointed out that "a world power of today is a country that can muster the tremendous material means needed to make modern missiles and nuclear armament, airforce, navy and army equipment with all basic formations, bases, ground installations, logistics systems; and, what is more, maintain them and modernize them continuously."

The process of continual modernization will put the greatest strain on the revolutionary nations that have become power centers in recent decades. Thus, unless the advanced nations are brainwashed into believing that firepower is not decisive in history, the atlases of the 1970's again may show the advanced states of the northern hemisphere occupying the central position.

Avert a New Arms Race

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's efforts to slow down the arms race, particularly his concern with the Soviet Union's antimissile system, has properly drawn widespread praise.

Favorable comments from two different parts of the country have recently come to my attention, and I request that they be printed in the RECORD.

The Harrisburg, Pa., Patriot wishes Ambassador Thompson well in his efforts to sound out Moscow's attitude.

> Whatever the outcome—

It says—

> the President deserves mankind's gratitude for trying to spare the world a new and more delicate balance between the major nuclear powers.

In Wichita, Kans., the Eagle detects what the diplomats call a "selective thaw" in the United States-Soviet relations. This development, the newspaper speculates, could include agreement not to engage in an antimissile race.

Editorials from both newspapers follow in full:

[From the Harrisburg (Pa.) Patriot, Jan. 14, 1967]

JOHNSON TRIES TO AVERT A RACE

If informed speculation about a message Ambassador Llewellyn E. Thompson carried with him to Moscow is correct, President Johnson is embarked upon one of his most constructive foreign policy efforts.

What he hopes to achieve is an agreement with the Soviet Union that would prevent an additional costly and dangerous elevation in arms competition between the two countries.

The prospect of such a full-scale race was raised by Defense Secretary McNamara's revelation that the Soviets have begun installation of an anti-missile system. If the Russians persists, this nation could be pressured into doing the same. As President Johnson noted in his State of the Union message, one of his basic duties is to make certain no nation would ever feel it had a "rational" basis for a first nuclear strike.

Possession of an anti-missile system might delude a possessor into believing it had such a "rational" basis. An impressive array of experts maintains that unless truly fantastic technological breakthroughs have been made, which seems unlikely, any anti-missile system, however elaborate, would be of only marginal effectiveness. A nationwide deployment in the United States, for example, would still not prevent the death of tens of millions of Americans in an all-out nuclear assault.

The President obviously hopes to avoid the staggering waste of money and manpower and the disruption of national priorities which an anti-missile program would cause. And the Soviet Union should be interested in agreement for the same reasons—its economy would also be strained, its priorities for its people also need attention.

The possibility of agreement is enhanced by widespread recognition of the exercise in futility which matching anti-missile systems would be. Both nations would end up right back where they started—stalemate.

But not quite. There would be new and subtle dangers of which President Johnson and the Soviets have undoubtedly been apprised. The odds for nuclear war might jump if either side believed, falsely, it was "safe" from a counterstrike. Even limited wars and "incidents" could become more numerous and more dangerous if any major power felt a misplaced sense of security against the consequences of provocation. What might have been the outcome of the Cuban missile crisis, if either side had had an anti-missile system?

News of the Soviet activity was surprising at a time when cold war tensions had been lessening. Indeed, the Soviets may try to assure Ambassador Thompson that their program is only a response to developing Red Chinese nuclear and missile capacity rather than a challenge to the United States for a new arms race.

Whatever the outcome of Mr. Thompson's mission, Mr. Johnson deserves the gratitude of mankind for his direct effort to spare the world from a new and more delicate balance between the major nuclear powers.

[From the Wichita (Kans.) Eagle, Jan. 13, 1967]

United States-Soviet "Selective Thaw"

In his State of the Union message, President Johnson touched on the possibility of a renewed arms race with the Soviet Union. He confirmed that the Soviets have begun to deploy an antimissile defense system near Moscow. But rather than responding now with a costly anti-missile system of our own, he indicated, we shall try to negotiate with the Kremlin to halt such a race before it really starts.

Now Llewellyn Thompson, new ambassador to the Soviet Union, is off to Moscow, carrying a personal message from Mr. Johnson to Soviet leaders. It almost certainly has some bearing on the question of anti-missile competition.

A sudden gain by the Soviets in missile defense could upset the balance of power between Moscow and Washington, so Mr. Johnson must have reason to believe the Kremlin is interested in negotiating an arms race stalemate. Else he would hardly risk delaying preparation of a response.

One reason for believing the Soviets may be reasonable on this issue is obvious. An anti-missile race would be painfully expensive, to the Soviet Union as well as to the United States. It is estimated our cost would run as high as $40-billion. With Vietnamese war and domestic demands running as they are, we could ill afford this.

Granted, the Kremlin might like to see us forced to divert some of our resources from Vietnam. But it takes two to make a race. And if the Soviet Union were to proceed with full deployment of an anti-missile defense the impact on its economy would be significant. Resources would have to be diverted from consumer production, and the Kremlin would find itself in a bind.

Another reason for hoping for agreement on the arms race is less obvious and less tangible. But it is there and has to be considered. What diplomats call a "selective thaw" is occurring in Soviet-U.S. relations. On some issues, notably Vietnam, we appear as far apart as ever. But on other questions there is a new warmth. Our ambassador to the United Nations, Arthur Goldberg, and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vasily V. Kuznetsov appear to be developing a positive relationship. Each has a background in his respective country's labor movement, and there mutual respect. Kuznetsov went so far as to send warm holiday greetings to Goldberg and other Americans—an almost unprecedented occurrence.

This is only symbolic, however. More tangible factors in the U.S.-Soviet relationship is the common concern over Red China, and interest in expanding East-West trade. It may well be that the "selective thaw" could include agreement not to engage in an anti-missile race. Certainly the possibility must be pursued before Washington embarks on a costly anti-missile system.

Letters From Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, the war in Vietnam has many faces, two of which are vividly brought home to us in recent articles in the Newark News about servicemen whom I am honored to claim as constituents.

The stark, grim face of battle is portrayed in letters written by brave young L. Cpl. E. D. Bethea whose parents reside in Newark, N.J. Mr. and Mrs. Bethea have reason for pride in rearing a son with Ernest's courage and fortitude as he fights the everyday war in the jungle and rain. The fine article by William Gordon, with Lance Corporal Bethea's letters, appeared in the Newark Sunday News on January 15, 1967. It follows below together with an article in the Newark News of January 18, 1967, concerning the humanitarian activities being carried on by Sgt. Joseph Gernert, a career soldier, who is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Charles J. Gernert, of West Orange. The compassionate and helpful spirit of our fighting men is exemplified by Sergeant Gernert, and the quick action on his plea for diapers for the Vietnamese babies in his hospital by the Sears-Roebuck employees typifies the generous American response to need.

The articles follow:

[From the Newark (N.J.) Sunday News, Jan. 15, 1967]

Viet Cong and Indians—Newarker Writes About War and Fortunes of Weequahic Team

(By William Gordon)

The monsoon and the Viet Cong had hit them and they came back from the patrol, wet to their underwear, tired and very knowledgeable about war and the meaning of it in the letting of blood.

When you come back from such an action in Vietnam there's not much solace. You sit in the mud with the rain falling on you and you suck on a cigarette in celebration of your own safety while the grief is still in you of a buddy who has fallen and died.

You can do this after such an action or you can sit down and think very hard about what you have just gone through and be concerned about what it means to the folks at home and write a letter about it all, writing about it on a tablet pad as the splashing rain makes stains on the paper.

WRITES TO NEWS

This is what Lance Corp. Ernest D. Bethea of 555 S. 17th St., Newark, did after a recent meeting with death in a rain-swollen stream not far from the demilitarized zone in Vietnam.

"To whom it may concern," he wrote, addressing the letter to The Newark News.

"People in the states only know Vietnam by the big operations they read of or of the bombings in the north.

"My company just came back from three days spent in the mountains only miles from the DMZ. We were in search of a VC camp in the middle of the jungle-covered mountains in our area of responsibility.

"One squad went up a stream because the thick bush on either side made it impossible to walk without using machetes to cut a path. A VC waited alone in the stream with a machine gun and the one burst caught three men.

"I watched as they carried Cpl. Moses down that mountain stream, his body wrapped in a single rubber poncho. The six men carrying him had trouble due to the fast current and as they neared me two slipped.

"The water turned red with his blood and as they struggled to replace his body on the poncho I could see the hole in his head.

"Cpl. James Moses died the day after Christmas, never seeing his seven-month-old son. As for the rest of us, the wrinkled sore hands and feet from over-exposure to the three days of rain and the bloodshot eyes from lack of sleep were only a little of what we went through."

Cpl. Bethea said the big operations are part of the war, but the patrol he had just been on was "the real war."

"We will go out again searching for the VC in his jungle home," he said, "and we will take more KIAs (killed in action) but no one home ever hears or knows the real war—only the big operation."

Bethea said he was writing because "I'm from Newark, a graduate of Weequahic High and I wish someone could let my friends and people of Newark know a little about the everyday war we face here."

He ended by apologizing for his handwriting. "I'm still a little messed up from the jungle and rain," he said.

"Thank you for your time and forgive me for wasting any of it but I had to get this off my chest," he said, signing off, "Respectfully, Ernie D. Bethea, Lance Cpl., USMC."

Cpl. Bethea said nothing of himself in his letter. What manner of man is he?

Lance Cpl. Bethea is 21 years old and a Negro. He was graduated from Weequahic High School in 1962. He writes home often to his school and to his parents. His parents live on the top floor of a run-down apartment building.

To his parents he wrote recently: "Well, we just came back from three days on a hill. We started from here, carrying six grenades and all the ammunition we could carry, and walked about six miles to this hill about 300 feet high. We finally got to the top and that 400 rounds of machine gun ammo almost broke my back before we reached the top.

"We got to the top, set our trip flares, mines and my machine gun, and made ourselves at home. Most of the time me and Jones sat around a fire and ate and talked about all our old loves.

"It was cold at night and I wrapped myself in a poncho and laid in the waist high grass for protection from the wind. The monsoon is just about over, but it still gets windy and cold here in these hills."

At Weequahic, Ernie Bethea played football, baseball and basketball. He was good at all of them, but he was best at basketball. His team at Weequahic was the first to win the state championship in the history of the school.

He played ball for three years for basketball coach Les Fein. Today, Fein continues to get letters from Ernie, letters that are anxious for information about what the current team is doing, letters that Fein reads to the players in the lockerroom.

"The first letter I got," said Fein, "indicated that he had remarkably high spirits. He spoke of conditions in Vietnam and how wonderful the United States is, despite all its problems, and it being so much better.

"I wrote back, giving him the general rundown and clippings of the press coverage of our game as defending champs of the Essex County Coach's Association in which we played and won against Boy's High School in New York at Upsala."

A couple of days ago, Ernie wrote back to Fein.

"I don't by any means compare hunting Viet Cong with playing basketball, but both take skill and patience to obtain the desired results. We lose at times as you do in basketball, but it's a high price when we lose."

At Weequahic, they called Ernie "Windy." No one recalls how he got the nickname. In his letters he's talkative, but he was not when he was in school where he was unassuming, and very popular as a student and athlete.

Recently, Ernie got back from patrol. He wrote to Fein: "We were all quite tired back here and sleep and dry clothes were number one on our minds."

Fein's letter told of the Weequahic Indians winning the championship in the tussle with Boy's High of New York.

"Well, I was very tired," Bethea wrote, "but I ran in every tent in our area seeking New York boys to let them know the score of the game. I really let them have it and as far as I'm concerned, Weequahic is not only Jersey champs but New York City champs. I know you never taught us to brag but I couldn't help kidding all the city boys about the game."

"Oh, yes," said Ernie, "tell Moe (Moe Layton, an outstanding player of the current team) he looked like he was fouling in that picture, but I guess you didn't yell at him."

"He never forgets his school," said Hal Ginsburg, baseball coach at Weequahic. He played two years for me and was an all-city performer, and a quarterback in football. He's a wonderful boy and a fine leader."

So Ernie Bethea writes back from Vietnam, a voice seeking to recapture treasures of his old school days, and doing it, succeeding in doing it, while the slashing monsoon rains drip through his poncho 13,000 miles away in a hostile area north of Da Nang.

And occasionally, he is forced to write of a Cpl. Moses, "a friend of mine and a father who was killed two weeks ago, and two others from the platoon wounded. They made the mistake of going up a stream bed instead of sticking to the high ground . . ."

[From the Newark (N.J.) News, Jan. 18, 1967]

VIET BABIES GET DIAPERS—STORE EMPLOYES HEED WEST ORANGE GI'S APPEAL

A West Orange GI is Spearheading a campaign among members of his Army company in Vietnam and several dozen employes at Sears Roebuck and Co to clothe youngsters being cared for at "a small Vietnamese hospital."

Sgt. Joseph Gernert, a career soldier started the whole thing in November when he wrote the Sears firm asking that four dozen diapers be sent "for the small babies here. Could you please help us with this order," Gernert asked, stating "we will be more than glad to pay whatever they cost."

Gernert, son of Mr. and Mrs. Charles J. Gernert of 110 Watchung Ave., West Orange, said in a subsequent letter he decided to write the Sears firm because he formerly lived on Avon Avenue in Newark and was familiar with the store

HARD TO GET

According to Gernert, "My company has a small Vietnamese hospital in 'no man's land' we take care of. It is full of small children ranging in age from two months to 12 years. We have only a small supply depot here and the things we can't get for these small babies are diapers."

The letter arrived at Sears shortly before Christmas and it was turned over to Mrs. Marie Ikas of Hillside, in the catalogue department.

Mrs. Ikas said enough money to purchase nine dozen diapers was contributed by employes in the auditing, cashier and credit departments.

Hon. John Connor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, John Connor has served this Nation well as Secretary of Commerce, and I feel certain that history will rank him among the very best who have filled that office. Moreover, his 2 years in Washington have reminded us all that excellence of person need never be compromised to achieve excellence in office.

I can sum up my estimate of John Connor with a single, unadorned phrase: He is a good man—good to know, good to work with.

I deeply regret his leaving us. The Federal Government will be hard hit by the loss of his service. However, the Secretary has already offered, most generously, to continue to be of further service to the Federal Government. With typical selflessness, he has committed himself as standing ready to respond to the President's call for further duty in an advisory capacity. That that call will come, again and again, I have no doubt.

John Connor's impact on the conduct of our Government and the course of the Nation will be felt for many years to come. He has left his mark, and it is a mark shaped by wisdom and principle.

Mr. Speaker, not the least of Mr. Connor's accomplishments was his elevation of the complex relationship of business and Government to a level of true dialog. With Secretary Connor at the helm in Commerce, we have witnessed an unprecedented broadening and deepening of the channels of understanding between the two, and we have only begun to reap the benefits of this creative partnership.

Some public officials win headlines and acclaim by their handling of crises; Secretary Connor sought to avert crises, and by successfully doing so he won our admiration and respect.

He has worked quietly and effectively to help insure balanced and orderly economic growth at a time of great economic stress. By his astute management of the voluntary balance-of-payments program with the business community, he has kept our deficit down and our dollar strong.

He has expertly helped to promote the modernization of industry to strengthen our competitive position at home and abroad; he has worked hard to reseed the bare spots in the economy through regional planning and economic development; he has increased the flow of tourists to our shores. These, of course, are just a few of his achievements, for the responsibilities of his office have been many, and he has fulfilled them all with uncommon excellence.

He has performed with characteristic ease and effectiveness on all these many fronts, including the reorganization of the Department of Commerce. It is a different and more effective arm of government as the result of his leadership and executive ability.

So, to John Connor I say—and I am sure the other Members concur; "Well done—and best wishes."

White Backlash

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, occasionally a newspaper column will come across my desk which holds special relevance to one of the major issues of our time. Such is the caliber of the column which I wish to insert into the RECORD today.

This article by Eugene Connolly appeared in a recent edition of the West Side News and Morningsider, a leading local publication in the 19th Congressional District of New York.

Mr. Connolly is a well-known and respected resident of the West Side Community in Manhattan. He is a former New York City Councilman, a man who speaks from experience as well as with compassion.

Mr. Connolly's article entitled "White Backlash", reminds us what our unwavering objective in human rights must be if we are to insure adherence to the principle of equality, so basic to our democratic system.

I am sure my colleagues in the House will find this article of timely interest.

The article follows:

WHITE BACKLASH

(By Eugene Connolly)

Peopled by immigrants from virtually all the lands of the world, the United States has witnessed in its time the struggle of each successive group to win the respect of those who came before and escape the discrimination that greeted each. Irish, German, Jew, Italian, Pole, Hungarian, Russian, and the men of other races and creeds had to break down the barriers of intolerance and ignorance. The latest, our Puerto Rican citizens, now slowly struggle to win acceptance among us as equal in our democratic system.

Uniquely, only the Negro people, immigrants through force, brought to this continent before we became an English-speaking nation, have had to suffer over four hundred years of intolerance, abject degradation; three hundred years as chattel slaves and hardly one hundred years as free men, but yet denied the full privileges of a nation that prides itself on being a democracy.

The Emancipation Proclamation, issued over one hundred years ago and noble in intent, brought no real ease or alteration in the circumstances of the Negro people. The masses of Negroes who followed Sherman's armies chanting "Hallelujah" as the last resistance of our Confederacy was crushed, awoke to find that they had lost only part of their chains and that slavery had been exchanged for a servitude hardly distinguish-able from that which had gone before. All the long, weary intervening years brought only pitiful sops to the Negro people and an illusory easing of our national conscience.

Enacting into the law of the land the greatest series of civil rights ever, we have set the stage to insure the Negro people that which is justly theirs—the right to live with honor and simple human dignity. Yet it becomes clear that there is a great and widening gap between the law and its implementation, feeding on the unextinguished fire of prejudice to which so many Americans have been conditioned over the long decades of our history as a people. To succumb to the forces behind these moves will be to jeopardize the unrivaled advances we have now begun to make over the almost unparalleled example of man's inhumanity to man.

No one will condone the cry of "Black Power" but, equally, the thoughtful person will understand the age-old frustration that has brought it temporarily into the national focus. Disturbing as it is to some, let us recognize it for what it is, merely the activity of a very minor group certain to be repudiated by the masses of the Negro people.

Most dangerously, it serves as an implement in the hands of the demagogues, the unscrupulous politicians, and those who, bitterly opposed to the granting of civil rights, were forced into acquiescence only by the aroused conscience of the American people.

Today and now, the greatest menace facing the American people and our democracy is the sordid spectacle of so many decent people unthinkingly falling into the unholy trap of those who openly and covertly promote the so-called white backlash."

If it has engaged our attention even fleetingly, let us reflect for only a few passing moments. Let us recall that we, all of us, have almost certainly faced discrimination if not in our own generation then in those generations just past. Let us try to feel for those few moments what it has meant to be a Negro in these United States, subject to discrimination, intolerance and, yes, degradation not for a generation but for hundreds of years, every day, every hour, and perhaps every minute over the untold lifetime of the Negro people.

When most of us will understand what this has meant to a fellow human being just because of the color of his skin, we will sooner realize that we must each and in our several ways enlist in the cause of exposing the "white backlash" for what it is—an ugly and vicious attempt to stay the progress of decency, humanity and justice in our midst. Let us expose it to our friends, in the places of our employment, in the streets and byways, and wherever we encounter our fellow Americans.

Let us use some of the days of our lives for this.

(Mr. Connolly is active in the Democratic Party of the West Side.)

Another Achievement by the FBI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Chicago Tribune of January 19, "Another Achievement by the FBI."

The editorial gives the details of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's efforts in helping to bring certain terrorists to justice.

ANOTHER ACHIEVEMENT BY THE FBI

Five unionists have been indicted by a federal grand jury for the bombing of a Canadian freighter in Calumet harbor during a 1963 labor dispute. The jury's action was an extraordinary event; prosecutions for bombing attacks and labor union terrorism are almost unheard of in Chicago. Bombers usually vanish, leaving the police wringing their hands.

The police made no arrests after a five-month campaign of violence against the freighter Howard L. Shaw in 1963, altho 100 or more persons were questioned. On the night of May 28 a watchman was attacked and savagely beaten. Several nights later two Shaw crew members were assaulted. On Sept. 6 a dynamite bomb tore a hole in the hull of the ship at the water line.

The terrorism grew out of a jurisdictional dispute between the Seafarers International union and the Canadian Maritime union. The ship owners had hired members of the CMU. In Chicago the members of the Flour and Feed Mill Workers union, an affiliate of the International Longshoremen's association, refused to load the ship and the union was fined for contempt by Federal Judge B. Parsons.

After the bombing the Canadian minister of external affairs protested to Secretary of State Rusk against the "lawless interference with Canadian shipping." The Canadian consul general in Chicago asked city officials to protect the ship and to prosecute the assailants. The violence here and in other lake ports was not ended until the Canadian government seized the SIU.

The grand jury's indictment names two former officials and three members of the SIU. The five also are charged with conspiring to bomb railroad tracks at the Ohio cities of Toledo, Maunee, and Ashtabula. Six other persons are named as co-conspirators but not as defendants.

We regret that the Chicago police department was unable to protect the ship and its crew or to arrest the terrorists. It is a credit to the FBI that it did not give up so readily and that it was able to present evidence which the grand jury believed was sufficient for an indictment.

The FBI has been working on the case for more than three years. The grand jury has been hearing evidence, from time to time, since last April.

The diligence of the FBI in this case may have been spurred by the complaint of a Canadian cabinet officer to our state department. But, whatever the cause, the FBI has demonstrated that it is not necessary for law enforcement officers to fail to find the offenders in every instance of union terrorism.

Inaugural Address of the Honorable Buford Ellington, Governor of Tennessee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, Gov. Buford Ellington, of Tennessee, in his recent inaugural address at the capitol in Nashville challenged the people of Tennessee to face up to their problems and responsibilities and join him in building a better State.

The Governor called for a new and better relationship between people and government and pointed to the great opportunities in the State.

Governor Ellington predicted:

> Tennessee's great hour of forward motion and accomplishment is very close at hand.

The address was most eloquent—most important—most significant.

In view of its interest to my colleagues and its broad general interest, I insert the inaugural address of Gov. Buford Ellington, of Tennessee, in the RECORD.

The speech follows:

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR BUFORD ELLINGTON, JANUARY 16, 1967, NASHVILLE, TENN.

I come before you on this inaugural day of January 16, 1967, strong in the belief that the next four years will bring to Tennessee its greatest era of governmental accomplishments and standings.

The keynote we sound here today is that we understand the extent of our problems and responsibilities, and that we are prepared to meet them.

Just moving ahead slightly is not the answer.

The truth of the matter is that we have a considerable way to go, and our solutions must be in keeping with the bigness of the problems.

We possess the resources to meet our critical needs.

We possess the desire.

We possess the will.

Therefore, let our vision be of the required depth and breadth.

Let this inaugural day also be a day to inaugurate a new and stronger relationship between the people and those in places of government.

I have endeavored to select a cabinet thoroughly competent to handle the affairs of the departments assigned to them.

These commissioners will be available to the people at all times.

See them. Meet them—and meet with them.

That's what they are there for—to serve you.

Let this inaugural day also be a day to inaugurate a new drive in Tennessee for new assets.

Tennessee is sparkling with opportunities for new industry.

The great mine of our natural resources has barely been touched.

Top industry is our goal.

We are seeking the very best.

Let this inaugural day also be a day to mark a re-dedication of our talents, and a re-dedication of our joint best efforts.

In the meeting of our clearly outlined responsibilities, I welcome the privilege of serving with the 85th general assembly.

I am ready to work with you.

I am ready to work for the people of Tennessee.

A mandate for sharp improvement, and high progress of State, has been given to those in public office, and the people are not likely to retreat from that position.

In our minds—in our hearts—I feel that we are prepared for the heavy duties and responsibilities that lie immediately ahead.

Now let our hands get to the task.

Successes will greet us.

The assurance of that lies in the quality of our goals.

There is no other course of action—

No other course of honor—

No other courses of pride—

For us to take except the faith-keeping course of vast improvement in the development of our internal affairs.

Whenever other Americans think of a Tennessee boy or girl, I, like you, want them to think of that boy or girl in bright new terms of education and opportunity.

Our young Tennesseans are thoroughly entitled to that status—and I do not think that we are going to by-pass them.

We are moving into hours of great invitations for improvements.

We see on the near horizon great opportunities to bring these improvements to pass.

We are dealing with a new and better tomorrow.

If we join efforts to build a better Tennessee, our reward will be a new and better tomorrow for all our citizens.

My fellow Tennesseans:

I thank you warmly for your friendship.

I am grateful to all the people of Tennessee for the confidence placed in me to serve a second term as Governor.

Tennessee's great hour of forward motion and accomplishment is very close at hand.

I value greatly the privilege of having a part in it.

Mr. Chief Justice, I am now ready to take the oath of office.

Realism on Resources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 19, 1967

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, an excellent article on the subject of conservation and the need for realism in our policies affecting conservation recently appeared in the Wall Street Journal for December 27, 1966.

It is not surprising to see that the views of a distinguished former colleague from Mississippi, the Honorable Frank E. Smith, inspired this well-balanced article.

As a Member of Congress, Frank Smith was one of the most effective champions in this body of effective conservation of resources. His interest in this subject has continued in his present post as Director of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and he continues to speak out forcefully for good conservation policy.

The article in the Wall Street Journal follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Dec. 27, 1966]

TOWARD REALISM ON RESOURCES

Until fairly recently many Americans seemed to regard conservation as an exceptionally dull conversation piece. But no longer.

Anyone who has experienced a water shortage or driven through ruthlessly cutover timberland or visited a polluted lake is bound to realize that the nation's resources, though vast, are neither limitless nor particularly well handled.

As Frank E. Smith says in a new book, "The Politics of Conservation," the U.S. so far has been mostly content to muddle through, and that just isn't going to be good enough for the future.

Since Mr. Smith is a director of the Tennessee Valley Authority, it's scarcely surprising that he calls for a huge expansion of Government efforts to prevent future waste and destruction of vital resources. Still, he is sufficiently realistic to see that Washington neither can nor should try to solve every problem single-handed.

The TVA official also argues for better coordination and planning of Federal resource programs. Matters directly touching on conservation and development now are scattered among dozens of agencies around Washington. While bureaucratic dukedoms don't topple easily, some of the ridiculous overlapping certainly could be eliminated. The nation can ill afford to further entrench the pork-barrel politicking of the past and present.

Equally important, an intelligent middle course must be found between two bitterly opposed groups that never did find conservation a bore: Those who want to preserve most of the remaining untouched land largely in its natural state and those who want to develop most of it.

The preservationists often imply that the wilderness must be kept "for only that small fragment of the population considered capable of proper appreciation," Mr. Smith remarks. On the other hand, the all-out developers are prone to labeling their foes as anti-free enterprise, almost un-American.

Sooner or later each side will have to give. Obviously the nation will need to use more of its resources in the future if its expanding population is to be fed, clothed and housed. Just as surely it will be the loser if it unthinkingly despoils its heritage of clear lakes, green forests and towering mountains.

Reasonable compromises will vary widely for various areas, which is one reason Mr. Smith is correct when he discerns an important role for states and local governments in future resource management. For another, governments on the scene usually can move more quickly and efficiently than the distant Federal Government. The TVA official notes with approval that Kentucky started to curb abuses of strip mining before Congress was able so much as to agree to make a general study of the subject.

Even where resource questions cross state lines, as they frequently do, Federal control isn't necessarily the best answer; in some cases interstate cooperation may operate more effectively. Though such proposals don't always work, Mr. Smith mentions the Delaware River Basin Compact, involving New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York and Delaware, which "has proven an instrument for action and progress."

What the TVA director does not stress is that private industry increasingly is realizing that it has a role not only in developing resources but in conserving them. Aside from public relations benefits, the efforts can achieve real economic gains. Tree farming, for example, may not satisfy the rabid preservationists but it is a far cry from the reckless forest destruction of the past. And it helps to assure a continuing supply of lumber and other wood products.

Nearly every segment of the population, in fact, can contribute to conservation and development of the country's resources. In each case the right question is who can handle the task most efficiently for the public good, not solely whether the job should be public or private.

Though progress has been made, no one is so optimistic as to think that the wasteful strife will be ended easily. If the nation is not realistic about its resources, however, the future reality could be not only wearisome but downright grim.

Carnegie Institute President Emeritus To Be Recognized for Contributions to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, Dr. John Christian Warner, the distinguished president emeritus of the Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pittsburgh, has been named to receive an award for his outstanding contributions to education during 39 years of service to the institute.

The citation, honoring Dr. Warner for "preserving and extending the ideals of education and constitutional government," will be presented at the 19th annual citation luncheon of the All-Pennsylvania College Alumni Association of Washington, D.C., to be held here February 4 at the Shoreham Hotel.

In previous years, the association, made up of graduates of Pennsylvania's fine institutions of higher learning, has conferred similar citations on other distinguished persons associated with education in the Keystone State, but no one deserves the citation more than Dr. Warner.

In view of the honor soon to be bestowed on Dr. Warner, I would like to include at this point in the RECORD a summary of this scholar's remarkable career:

Dr. Warner, born in Goshen, Indiana (May 28, 1897), began his career at Carnegie Institute of Technology as an instructor in chemistry, in 1926. Subsequently, he rose through various teaching positions to become dean of graduate studies at the Institute, in 1945. In 1949, he was appointed vice president; and in the following year he became the school's president, a capacity in which he served until 1965, when he was named president emeritus.

In addition to his distinguished career as an educator, Dr. Warner has been active in civic and business affairs. He has been a director of such notable enterprises as Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation, Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company, and others. In 1954–55, he was president of the Pennsylvania Association of Colleges and Universities.

During World War II, Dr. Warner was on leave from Carnegie Tech to the Manhattan Project, where he supervised research on the chemistry and metallurgy of plutonium. He served as a member of the General Advisory Committee to the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission from 1952 until 1964. He has served as a professional consultant in various undertakings for the United States Government and for private organizations in this country and abroad.

Dr. Warner is author, co-author, or editor of numerous books and articles in the field of physical chemistry and electrochemistry. He received his A.B., M.A., and Ph. D. degrees from Indiana University. He attended the University of Michigan for post-doctorate study in theoretical physics. He holds honorary degrees from several outstanding colleges and universities, including an Honorary Doctor of Science from Carnegie Institute.

He is a member of the National Academy of Sciences, the American Chemical Society, the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, and numerous other professional organizations. In 1953, he was awarded the American Institute of Chemists' Gold Medal.

Modernize Customs Procedures

SPEECH

OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 19, 1967

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I introduced legislation yesterday which would correct some longstanding abuses of our customs regulations and procedures.

The general purpose of my bill is to eliminate the requirement for reimbursement by the traveler for all overtime inspection and quarantine services performed at designated ports of entry on Sundays and holidays.

This bill will require the Government to provide, without reimbursement by the private parties involved, the necessary Federal inspection agency services—such as customs, immigration, and agriculture foreign quarantine—during regular hours of duty on Sundays and the eight national holidays.

Under present law and regulation, the traveler by boat and airplane, or commercial carrier, arriving during Sunday or holiday hours, must pay up to $60 to clear customs at many ports of entry. The fee is intended to compensate the customs collector for his overtime duties and inconvenience. If the same entry takes place during ordinary business hours, the Government provides these services free of charge.

Mr. Speaker, all administrative means of correcting this situation have been explored, and in the judgment of all concerned a legislative remedy is the most appropriate solution.

This system, while it may have been justified years ago, works a considerable hardship in this age of pleasure travel by boat and plane. In many cases the use of these facilities by vacationers is limited almost exclusively to off-hours entry.

In addition, our Nation's commitment to expanded commercial interchange with our neighbors is burdened by these restrictions. These services are performed in the interest of the public and the Nation's welfare, and not in the interest of any individual citizen or private group. U.S. citizens and private groups should not be required to pay these expenses which result from the conduct of the Government's business, particularly in enforcement agencies whose activities are similar to other police functions required to protect the Nation.

The bill I introduce today has the support of private aircraft and vessel operators, as well as all segments of our transportation industry. The proposed legislation is the same bill approved by the Senate in the 89th Congress. I was privileged to introduce it in the House on August 16, 1966, but time did not permit its consideration before adjournment.

One practice, which is patently unfair, is the sliding fee system now employed at small ports of entry. The first traveler arriving at a port of entry—say at 10 a.m. Sunday morning—may be charged $60 for his overtime customs inspection. Another traveler who by chance arrives at 10:15—while the inspector is still on the premises—will be charged perhaps $20 for his inspection.

The public has the right to know in advance the cost of clearing customs. Therefore the bill provides for the collection of a flat fee for inspection services, and specifies how this fee will be computed, in circumstances when other sections of the legislation do not apply. This feature of the bill was proposed by the Treasury Department and enjoys its support.

I consider these antiquated practices, which date back 50 or more years, completely inequitable today. Transportation into our country is no longer limited to the weekday operations which prevailed when the laws were enacted establishing these practices.

In promulgating the present requirements, I am sure that the Treasury Department did not intend to hinder international travel for business or pleasure, or to provide a lucrative reward for some of their employees.

I believe it is time for the U.S. Government to move into the 20th century by providing, without reimbursement, Government services needed to handle the international commerce of the United States on all Sundays and holidays of the year.

Critique of Laws Covering Present Patent Procurement Process

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. MORRIS of New Mexico. Mr. Speaker, in conjunction with my bill on patent infringement in Govenrment procurement, H.R. 2898, and my remarks which appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 23, I am submitting the following critique of our present laws which cover the procurement process. This critique is an excerpt from an article which appeared in the October issue of the Notre Dame Lawyer, as follows:

A CRITIQUE

Governed by the present position of the Comptroller General,[1] every federal department and agency refuses to consider the possible infringement liability of the Government in evaluating bids or proposals in the procurement of patented items. Thus, government contracts are currently awarded without regard to private patent rights, and if a patent owner concludes that his patent has been infringed, he may file an administrative claim for patent infringement, provided the agency involved has authority to settle such claims,[2] or he may sue the Government for patent infringement in the Court of Claims under section 1498. Under the Comptroller General's decisions, therefore, the existence of a judicial remedy in section 1498 for patent infringement has destroyed any right the patent owner may have had to a preference in the award of government contracts.

However, while section 1498 has as its underlying purpose to provide a remedy for a patent owner whose patent has been infringed by the Government, from the viewpoint of the patent owner this remedy may be less than adequate. A patent owner, for example, may be unable to afford the expense of a Court of Claims suit, or he may feel that his "reasonable compensation" may not be of an amount sufficient to warrant risking the expense of such an action.[3] This inadequacy would be particularly evident where the patent was owned by a small business concern having limited resources to devote to litigation[4] or where infringement had taken place on only a small scale. Also, there is an understandable reluctance on the part of the patent owner to confront the vast resources of the Government in a test of his patent. Moreover, he may fear that such a suit would prejudice his chances for future business with the agency involved.[5] Finally, a patent owner may be unwilling to commit the valuable time of his scientists and engineers to prepare for litigation and to remain available for depostions and testimony.[6] For all of these reasons, section 1498 often falls short of its intended objective of providing reasonable compensation for patent infringement by the Government.

There is no question that the current practice simplifies the procurement process by removing the rather complex variable of a bidder's patent and its relevance to the procurement. On the other hand, awarding a contract to the "low bidder" and later compensating the patent owner could ultimately cost the Government more than awarding the contract to the patent owner or one of his licensees. The administrative costs of investigating an infringement claim or the costs of defending a Court of Claims action increase this likelihood. More important, however, present practice creates a double bias: first, against the patent owner, who presumably must attempt to recoup the research and development expense that led to the patented invention; second, against his licensees, who have obligated themselves to pay a royalty to the patent owner if they are awarded a contract. This practice, in turn, could be expected to have the anomalous effect of removing the incentives of the patent system from privately financed research and development programs in areas of government interest, and of discouraging prospective licensees from taking out licenses under privately owned patents where the patented invention would be useful in government programs. In this respect, current practice is not in harmony with the Government's policy of encouraging private research efforts in fields important to the Government. For example, in establishing the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), in 1958, Congress gave the agency the mission of maintaining this nation's leadership in aeronautical and space science and technology and of achieving "the most effective utilization of the scientific and engineering resources of the United States."[7] In view of this mandate, NASA has expressed concern that its present procurement procedures for purchasing patented items do not contribute to these objectives.[8]

The widespread dissatisfaction with the present situation is best documented in hearings held last year by Senator McClellan's Subcommittee on Patents, Trademarks and Copyrights.[9] While virtually all segments of industry were represented, spokesmen for the drug industry and related labor unions were particularly incensed by the present policies. Dr. Austin Smith, President of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, summarized the feelings of the drug industry in these words:

"This then is the plight of the American patentholder: The U.S. Government issues a patent and says to him by so doing "This is the guarantee of the U.S. Government that (at least in this country) your invention is protected from pirating—protected, that is, from pirating by anybody except the U.S. Government." A foreign manufacturer, in a land which will give no protection to the U.S. patentholder, pirates the protected invention. The foreign manufacturer was put to no expense to develop the invention. He did not have to invest in the complicated apparatus of modern research; he did not

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Footnotes at end of speech.

have to think any original thoughts; he did not have to sweat over the invention, or test it, or develop it, or market it. He did not have to nurse it to commercial maturity. In most instances, he need not pay American social security or State and Federal income taxes. He is free from the burden of various laws enacted to protect American labor. His costs are low, his investment small. Yet, under the policies which are being pursued, the biggest single customer in the United States, namely, the U.S. Government, is his.

"Meanwhile, the American patentholder is told that all he can do is sue the United States for a limited amount of damages. Whether even limited damages will be paid depends altogether upon whether the patentholder can afford to bring an action in the Court of Claims and wait through the 2 to 4 years an adjudication of his rights is likely to require in that court, and wait through a possible appeal as well. Meanwhile, the Government and its infringing supplier are free to invade the patentholder's rights again and again because the patentholder cannot get an injunction against the Government to stop the infringement, as he could were a private party guilty of similar tortuous [sic] conduct." [10]

Representative Roudebush of Indiana pointed out that present government practices had cost the drug industry alone an estimated ten million dollars during the preceding five years and that over 500 jobs had been lost in the industry as a direct result of this policy.[11]

Senator McClellan was more impressed with the basic principles underlying the problem. He stated:

"We grant these patents and the same Government undertakes by the patent system to provide a protection to those who receive the patents. . . . [I]f the Federal Government itself engages in a practice calculated to impair that system and impair that protection, I just wonder about the consistency of it. . . . The principle involved here is bigger to me, much bigger, than the loss of maybe $10 million every 5 years in wages that would be paid." [12]

A number of measures are being considered to reverse the *Herbert Cooper* rationale—or at least to soften its impact. They include suggested administrative proposals that could be adopted within the framework of existing statutory authority and are, presumably, consistent with the viewpoint of the Comptroller General. More significantly, the reforms include legislative proposals to limit the scope of section 1498, expand the settlement authority of federal agencies or amend the procurement statutes to authorize agencies to negotiate with the patent owner or his licensees for the procurement of patented items.

PATENT INDEMNITY

Before detailing these proposals, patent indemnity should be considered, since it is sympotomatic of the problem and is seen by some as a partial solution to the problem.[13] On the question of whether to include patent indemnity provisions in government contracts, essentially two approaches have been followed: one has been adopted by the Armed Services Procurement Regulations (ASPR) and the other is typified by NASA's policy. In general, ASPR requires patent indemnity across the board in formally advertised procurements and permits indemnity in negotiated supply contracts (1) where the supplies normally are sold or have been sold or offered for sale to the public, or (2) where the patent owner contends that the prospective procurement would infringe his patent and the low bidder or offeror is willing to indemnify the Government without an increase in price.[14] The NASA practice has been to use patent indemnity only in rare instances in supply contracts, and then only with respect to an identified patent or group of patents.[15] Both ASPR and NASA proscribe patent indemnity clauses in research and development contracts; however, ASPR permits indemnity for supplies when such purchases are contemplated under research and development contracts.[16]

Footnotes at end of speech.

Proponents of patent indemnity argue that it properly gives a patent owner a competitive advantage in obtaining government contracts, since he does not have to include in his bid a "cushion" against contingent liability which presumably his unlicensed competitors must include. Moreover, it is argued, if such clauses were generally enforced, they would free the Government of liability for the infringing acts of its contractors, thereby lessening the Government's ultimate procurement costs. Patent indemnity clauses are not generally enforced by the Government, however, and thus, they do not achieve this result.[17]

A principal objection to the use of patent indemnity clauses is that they make it difficult, and in many cases impossible, for an agency to settle a patent owner's administrative claim for infringement. To be obligated to reimburse the Government for any administrative settlement, the indemnitor must first agree to the settlement,[18] and it is usually to his advantage not to agree, thus forcing the patent owner into a suit against the Government in the Court of Claims. In this way the indemnitor can have his competitor's patent litigated at no cost to him. Patent indemnity clauses may also have the effect of unnecessarily increasing contract costs because of the inclusion by bidders of a contingency fund; [19] they may discourage prospective bidders from taking part in procurements because of the uncertainties of infringement liability; finally, they may encourage contractors to use second-best materials to avoid possible infringement liability.

In view of these factors, the present NASA policy is based on a conclusion that, on balance, across-the-board use of patent indemnity clauses creates more problems than it solves for both the patent owner and the Government. Regardless of whether this conclusion is valid and whether indemnity is used, there is no question that there is legitimate concern over the present government procedures for the procurement of patented items. As noted above, this concern has prompted a number of proposals designed to change present policies.

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[1] For an interesting case on the authority of the Comptroller General as head of the General Accounting Office to control government procurements see United States *ex rel.* Brookfield Constr. Co. v. Stewart, 339 F.2d 753 (D.C. Cir. 1964). See also, House Comm. on Expenditures in the Executive Dep'ts, *The General Accounting Office, A Study of Its Functions and Operations,* H.R. REP. No. 1441, 81st Cong., 1st Sess. (1949); MACHINERY & ALLIED PRODUCTS INSTITUTE, THE GOVERNMENT CONTRACTOR AND THE GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE (1966).

[2] See text accompanying notes 72–74 *infra.*

[3] Estimates of "out-of-pocket" costs of a patent suit in the Court of Claims run as high as $250,000. Yeaton, *The Administrative Claim Procedure,* 25 FED. B.J. 106, 108 (1965). Coupling this with the fact that of 143 patent cases closed in the Court of Claims from 1952 to 1964, the patentee prevailed in only forty-seven, or less than one out of three, Dreyfus, *Government Counterclaim for Patent Infringement,* 9 PTC J. RES. & ED. 459, 463 (1965), the deterrent to such suits is clear.

[4] "We have pointed out and have numerous examples showing that for small business (the primary sufferer) a suit in the Court of Claims is no remedy at all because of its cost and the delay involved." Letter from Henry J. Cappello, National Small Business Association, to Hon. John J. McClellan, July 20, 1965, set forth in *Hearings on S. 1047,* at 88, 91:

"We believe that the present state of affairs completely overlooks the fact that more often than not the inventor seeks a patent on his discovery not so much in the hope of royalties but rather in the hope of enjoying some small preferential position in the manufacture of his brainchild." Statement of J. P. Perry, National Small Business Association, *Hearings on S. 1047,* at 58, 60.

[5] Obviously, attorneys representing the Government in either an administrative claim for patent infringement or a court action must consult in considerable detail with government scientific and technical experts on the merits of the claim. These same experts are usually potential "customers" for equipment or services in the area involved. An understandable reaction often encountered is a feeling of antagonism toward the party claiming compensation from the Government. For this reason, most government attorneys make a practice, usually successful, of explaining to potential witnesses that by bringing a claim the patentee is merely exercising his legal rights in a wholly appropriate manner.

[6] See Yeaton, *supra* note 37, at 108. Under its recently amended rules, the Court of Claims discovery, in many respects, is virtually coextensive with that under the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure. Lane, *Certain Rules of the United States Court of Claims in Patent Suits,* 25 FED. B.J. 119 (1965).

[7] 72 Stat. 426 (1958), 42 U.S.C. §§ 2451-(c) (5), (8) (1964).

[8] Address by Robert F. Allnutt, Monthly Meeting of the Los Angeles Council, Western Electronic Manufacturers Association, February 22, 1966.

[9] *Hearings on S. 1047.*

[10] *Id.* at 16.

[11] *Id.* at 29.

[12] *Id.* at 29, 30.

[13] *Id.* at 67.

[14] ASPR § 9–103, 32 C.F.R. § 9–103 (Supp. 1966).

[15] NASA Procurement Regulation § 9.104, 41 C.F.R. § 18–9.104 (1966).

[16] ASPR § 9–103(1), 32 C.F.R. § 9–103 (Supp. 1966). In Van Valkenburgh, Nooger & Neville, Inc., B–139585 (July 2, 1959), the Comptroller General stated that "there is no mandatory requirement that a patent indemnity clause be included in a Government contract . . . . The advisability of using the indemnity clause is the primary responsibility of the procuring agency . . . ." *But see* Electro-Neutronics, Inc., B–154001 (June 22, 1964), where the Comptroller General stated that the matter is "subject to review by our Office on the basis of the facts and circumstances of each case presented." Where an indemnity clause is included in an invitation for bids, a bidder who takes exception to the clause is nonresponsive. ACF Industries, B–155640 (Feb. 5, 1965).

[17] As concluded by Lawrence Glassman, Chief, Patents Procurement Branch, Office of the Chief Signal Officer, U.S. Army: "There is an extreme lack of information as to the monetary benefits which the Government has derived from the clause. The best available estimate which is admittedly based on very incomplete studies is that the saving has been about $40,000. The *Lane Lifeboat* case [United States v. C. M. Lane Lifeboat Co., 118 F. 2d 793 (2d Cir. 1941), *cert. dismissed,* 314 U.S. 579 (1941)] is the only published decision which refers to a recovery by the Government based on an indemnity clause. However, there have undoubtedly been cases in which indemnifying contractors have voluntarily contributed to the settlement of infringement claims or of suits in the Court of Claims without any cumulative record having been kept from which the overall benefits to the Government could be calculated. It is unlikely that any of these settlements were very large or they would have been better known among gov-

ernment officials concerned with this subject." Glassman, *The Patent Indemnity Clause in Government Contracts,* 25 Geo. Wash. L. Rev. 256, 277–78 (1957). See also Dreyfus, *supra,* note 37, at 465.

[18] See Martin Co. v. United States, 163 F. Supp. 376 (Ct. Cl. 1958).

[19] In Glassman, *supra* note 51, at 280, the author noted:

"At least eight contractors, including several of the largest in the electronic field, have indicated that at least on occasion they include such contingency reserves in the contract price and that these reserves vary from 1 percent to 5 percent of the price. During World War II, one company refunded approximately $410,000 representing a contingency reserve accumulated under a number of contracts in return for the Government's agreemen to cancel the indemnity provisions of the contracts. The [Report on the Under Secretary of War Patent Conference held at Aberdeen Proving Ground, Maryland, December 15 and 16, 1944] describes on pages 87 and 88, a similar situation involving $8,100,000, although at the time the discussion reported on took place, the matter had not yet been finally concluded."

In view of this he concluded: "According to the best available evidence, [use of patent indemnity clauses] substantially increases the cost of government procurement, yet produces only a very minor benefit in indemnification with respect to administrative infringement claims and suits in the Court of Claims. It complicates the Government's placing of contracts, settlement of infringement claims and purchase of licenses." *Id.* at 287.

Inaugural Address of the Honorable Warren P. Knowles, Governor of the State of Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, my good friend and the very good and outstanding Governor of the State of Wisconsin these past 2 years delivered his second inaugural address on the second day of January in our State capitol of Madison, Wis.

The remarks of Governor Knowles on this occasion were brief but to the point, short but full of meaning not only for Wisconsin but for the times in which we live.

So that my colleagues may have the benefit of reading the full text of Governor Knowles' inaugural address, under unanimous consent, I include the text of his outstanding address in the Record at this point.

The address referred to follows:

Inaugural Address of Governor Warren P. Knowles, Madison, Wis., January 2, 1967

My Fellow Wisconsin Citizens: Two years ago—here in the Rotunda of our State Capitol—I took the oath of office as Governor of Wisconsin for the first time. Today, as then, I offer you my assurance that I shall continue to do the very best I can, every day, to carry out my commitment to the citizens of Wisconsin.

The past two years have been years of firm progress for our State. By almost every measure, Wisconsin has set new records for growth and prosperity; the highest number ever employed, the greatest sustained period of low unemployment since World War II, and record earnings in most areas of employment.

Equally significant, Wisconsin has advanced through the enactment of important legislative programs.

We have broadened and expanded the opportunity of our youthful citizens to receive education beyond high school.

We have increased the care and assistance available to the blind, handicapped, needy and aged.

We have provided for an accelerated highway construction program and stepped-up safety program.

We have unleashed a powerful legislative weapon for use in the battle against water pollution.

Yet there is more to be done—much more. This era of advancing technology, economic growth and social progress generates new needs and problems: it demands new ideas, new answers.

The true challenge before us is to stimulate the creative power of free men to direct their own destiny amid the turmoil of growth and change. It requires that your public officials prove themselves *servants* of the people and *masters* of the forces testing us.

These forces—these problems—beset us from every side. They touch the lives of our citizens deeply and constantly—whether they concern the training of our youth or the health of our aged, consumer protection or law enforcement, agriculture or automation.

The challenge is the same today as that described by Abraham Lincoln when he said:

"The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate for the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion.

"We must think *anew,* we must act *anew.*"

We in Wisconsin must look ahead to the preservation and enhancement of our human and natural resources.

We must continue to develop our economy so that Wisconsin citizens can use the full measure of their talents and skills.

We must take massive steps to preserve the gifts of nature, the cleanliness of our water and the purity of our air.

We must focus our attention on the relationship of the state government to local units of government; and direct the State's efforts toward easing the growing pains of urbanization and toward resolving the problems produced by geographical shifts in our population.

And, we must continue to provide the training grounds for the gifts of intellect and skill enjoyed by our citizens.

We are challenged, too, on a higher and less practical plane. For, as we grow, *we must grow in quality and in spirit.* As we excel, we must excel in truth as well as technology. As we expand, we must expand the heart and the mind—the compassion and concern, as well as commerce and productivity.

General of the Armies Omar Bradley once gave voice to the challenge in terms designed to startle his listeners. He said:

"We have mastered the theory of the atom, but we have rejected the Sermon on the Mount.

"We have achieved brilliance without wisdom, and power without conscience. Ours is an age of nuclear giants and ethical infants.

"We know more about war than we know about peace . . . and, we know more about killing than we know about life."

That's a harsh indictment; one the people of Wisconsin must strive never to deserve. Yet it holds the challenge for the future. We are challenged—*to achieve wisdom* as well as brilliance, *to acquire conscience* as well as power, *to comprehend the meaning of life,* and *to create a total environment* in which our citizens can discover, practice and exercise those pursuits in which they find meaning, purpose and satisfaction.

My administration during the coming years is pledged to encourage the fulfillment of those ideals among our citizens. Working together—the people, their legislative representatives and the Executive Office—can pledge *to pursue excellence,* knowing it will not always be reached, but knowing that it should always be our goal.

That spirit—a spirit of dedication to the continual advancement of our great State and to the growing security, prosperity and opportunity for our citizens—will, I trust, be the hallmark of my administration during the coming years.

The very roots of my being are deep in the soil of Wisconsin. As a boy growing up in the northwestern part of our State, I grew to know and love its rolling hills, its rich forests and farmlands. I grew up with a sincere appreciation of the fish, fowl, and deer that delight children and challenge sportsmen.

In my maturity, I developed an admiration for the men and women of earlier generations who had carved a vibrant commonwealth out of the wilderness; pioneering people who set in motion the varied enterprises which have produced this great and growing State.

And now, through many years of public life, I have had the opportunity to observe, at first hand, those forces which give shape and direction to our State and our society.

I have been blessed with a unique opportunity to visit almost every community in our State; to visit with and come to know the people and their problems; their needs and aspirations.

From boyhood to adulthood—through grade school, law school and the "hard knocks" school of political life—my affection and dedication to Wisconsin has deepened.

It is my one ambition to serve my State and its citizens, to nurture its growth, and to preserve for those who follow us its tradition of sound government.

I extend my earnest thanks to all those who expressed their confidence in me through the elective process.

I pledge to all that this Administration will set new goals; that we will *build* on the proud achievements of the past and *plan anew* for the future. And, I will work in every possible way and to the limit of my ability, to build a better Wisconsin for the citizens of today and the generations to come.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the Record.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

Appendix

The Address of Congressman A. Sydney Herlong, Jr., Before the American University Conference on Federal Tax Aspects of Nonprofit Organizations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, last week, our distinguished colleague, A. SYDNEY HERLONG, JR., made a significant address before the American University Conference on Federal Tax Aspects of Nonprofit Organizations. Speaking from his vast experience on the Ways and Means Committee, he called for tightening up tax loopholes, particularly in the foundation and tax-exempt advertising fields.

I have previously called the attention of this House to the absurd situation existing in the publishing business where tax-exempt organizations are running increasing amounts of advertising and paying no income tax on their profits. The Treasury Department has had a regulation on this subject before it for a long time. In my opinion, no further time should elapse and that regulation should be issued without further delay.

If there is one thing that my constituents said to me during the last campaign it was that they were prepared to pay their fare share of taxes, but they wanted the loopholes closed up first. I note that the very able gentleman from Florida has had the same experience, and I commend him for the courageous and forthright position he has taken. SYD HERLONG is eminently right, and let us hope that his courage is a forerunner of immediate action by Treasury on the advertising situation.

I appreciate this opportunity to call the attention of the House to the full text of the speech of our very able colleague from Florida:

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN A. SYDNEY HERLONG, JR., FOURTH DISTRICT OF FLORIDA, BEFORE THE THIRD ANNUAL AMERICAN UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE ON FEDERAL TAX ASPECTS OF NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS, JANUARY 16, 1967

I appreciate the privilege of appearing before this Third Annual Conference on the Federal tax aspects of non-profit organizations. In the American University's pamphlet which announces this conference, it is stated quite clearly that, "rarely has a single subject attracted such broad and concentrated attention from all types of tax-exempt organizations as their current confused tax status."

The invitation for me to appear here was received and accepted some months ago. At the time no one asked me my views on this subject and I can assure you that no one has attempted to influence them in any way since I accepted the invitation. What I have to say may not please all of you, but from the very nature of the invitation I received, I concluded that I was not invited to this American University sponsored forum for the purpose of parroting statements that my audience might wish to hear.

My remarks, therefore, will be in the spirit of academic inquiry and it is in that spirit that I should like to explore for a few moments two phases of tax exemption which I am sure are in the forefront of your minds—one, of course, involves the field of private foundations, the other, so-called tax-exempt advertising. As in most discussions such as this, it is not the use of the tax-exempt feature of our law that creates difficulty, it is the abuses; and as frequently happens, the abuse in this field is the reason for so much confusion.

The 90th Congress will have the opportunity to consider the subject of private foundations. Foundations have received a good deal of attention in the press recently because of the publication, in December, of the Fourth Report of Congressman Wright Patman's foundation investigations. They have also been the subject of continuing interest and comment in a number of different quarters for at least the past several years.

The Ways and Means Committee has pending before it a Report on private foundations prepared by the Treasury Department and submitted to Congress in 1965. The Report is, I understand, based upon a rather extensive Treasury investigation of what private foundations are doing and how the laws which govern them are operating. According to the Report, the Treasury investigations disclosed that serious abuses exist among a substantial minority of private foundations. To cope with those abuses, the Treasury Department recommended six major legislative changes. In general, the recommendations were:

First, that self-dealing practices—that is to say, dealings between foundations, their donors, and related parties—be prohibited.

Second, that rules be adopted to insure prompt flow of foundation income or its equivalent to the support of active charitable enterprises.

Third, that foundations be prevented from owning 20 percent or more of any single business.

Fourth, that charitable deductions be postponed for gifts to foundations of property over which the donors continue to maintain real and effective control.

Fifth, that restrictions be placed upon foundation borrowing for investment purposes, lending, and trading and speculation.

Sixth, that donor control over a foundation be limited to the first 25 years of the foundation's existence.

The Treasury Report illustrates its charges of foundation abuses with a number of specific examples. Without attempting to prejudge any of the issues which the Treasury Department raises, I think that some of those examples are rather striking. Discussing the extent to which some foundations have become involved in competitive business enterprises, the Report mentions one foundation which holds controlling interests in 26 separate corporations, including a large metropolitan newspaper, the largest radio broadcasting station in the state, a life insurance company, a lumber company, several banks, three large hotels, a garage, and a variety of office buildings. According to the Report, another foundation controls 45 separate business enterprises. Included are clothing manufacturing establishments, real estate businesses, retail stores, a hotel, and printing, hardware and jewelry businesses.

Again, illustrating its statement that some foundations have been able to develop very considerable wealth entirely through the manipulation of borrowed funds—without ever securing substantial contributions from the public and without, therefore, ever having to rely upon the community's evaluation of their charitable activities—the Report draws attention to one foundation which began with a capitalization of $1,000 and, entirely through the mechanism of investment borrowing, was able to multiply its net worth within five years to include a 34-acre tract of industrial real estate valued at $1,150,000. Another foundation was organized in 1954 with no funds of its own at all. By 1961 it had incurred indebtedness of more than $14 million in oil and gas dealings, and had annual income of over $68,000.

To facilitate our consideration of the Treasury's recommendations, in the fall of 1965 the Ways and Means Committee requested comments on the Treasury Report from all interested parties. A large volume of comments were received. More than 70 foundations, attorneys and others submitted material to the Committee, and we have published their comments in two volumes.

I have not yet had an opportunity to examine the Treasury recommendations in detail. I note, though, that a number of the country's well-known foundations—including the Ford Foundation, the Danforth Foundation, and the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation—commented favorably. In any event, it seems to me clear that the area is an important one; and I hope very much that the Ways and Means Committee and the Congress will be able to devote full attention to it this year.

In June of last year, Chairman Mills and Representative Byrnes of the House Ways and Means Committee introduced identical bills dealing with the group of problems highlighted and intensified in 1965 by the Supreme Court decision in *Commissioner* v. *Clay Brown, et al.*, which stemmed from investment borrowing by exempt organizations. This legislation was prepared by the staffs of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation and the Treasury Department.

In the *Brown* case an organization claiming tax exemption acquired a business by agreeing to pay the former owners a percentage of the future profits of the business until a specified sum had been reached. The exempt organization, making no commitment for payment other than from the assets of the transferred business itself and the income produced by those assets, obtained a business—valued at $1,300,000—entirely without investment of its own funds. Careful and elaborate steps were taken to immunize the business earnings from the present tax on unrelated business income. With three Justices dissenting, the Supreme Court held that the former owners were entitled to report their profits on the transaction as capital gains.

The availability of the tax exemption for use in transactions following the *Brown* pattern, and in other arrangements involving borrowing for investment purposes, has a variety of undesirable conseqeunces, the most important of which is to establish a powerful incentive for the transfer of businesses and other productive property to tax-exempt organizations. In an arrangement under which the entire price is to be financed from the future earnings of the transferred property, exempt organizations are peculiarly suited to pay a substantially higher price than a taxable entity could afford. They can, in effect, make available to the seller the additional business earnings which would have been paid to the government had the purchaser been taxable. The particular favorability of the exempt organization as a purchaser in transactions of this sort has for some time been widely advertised in the tax and business press, and since the announcement of the *Brown* decision such advertising has intensified. It seems quite likely, therefore, that unless something is done, a substantial unplanned shift of productive property to exempt organizations will occur. One consequence of such a shift would, of course, be considerable erosion of the tax base. Another, quite possibly, would be broad economic and social changes stemming from the ownership of a large number of the country's businesses by organizations with different motives and different objectives than the entrepreneurs who have thus far constituted our business community.

To deal with the problems of exempt organization investment borrowing, the Mills-Byrnes bills impose tax upon the "unrelated debt-financed income" of all classes of exempt organizations. The bills continue the fundamental policy of a statute adopted by Congress in 1950 to deal with one facet of this area—the sale of real property to an exempt organization and immediate leaseback to the original owner—but eliminate the defects which experience has demonstrated that statute to possess. Under the proposals, income would be subject to tax only if it meets two requirements: it would have to be derived from property acquired or improved with borrowed funds, and it would have to be produced by activities unrelated to the educational, charitable, religious, or other operations constituting the basis of the organization's tax exemption. The taxable portion of the unrelated income from any particular property would, in general, be the amount bearing the same ratio to the total income from the property as outstanding indebtedness bears to the basis of the property.

The Ways and Means Committee held a hearing upon the Mills-Byrnes bills in late 1966. Appearing on behalf of the Treasury Department, Mr. Surrey strongly supported the bills. Comments both for and against the bills were also received from several interested organizations and private attorneys. Because of the proposal of the investment credit suspension legislation almost immediately after this hearing, the Ways and Means Committee did not have an opportunity to consider the bills further last year. However, we anticipate that a substantially similar legislative proposal will be introduced early this session, and of course, we hope the Committee will have an opportunity to act on it.

Now, with reference to the subject of tax exempt advertising, I must say that more and more voices are being raised on the general subject of tightening up tax loopholes or escape hatches. No doubt, these same voices will be raised in the Ways and Means Committee when it considers the tax increase proposed by the President last Tuesday night. Granted that the amount to be recovered from plugging tax loopholes will not make up multi-billion dollar deficits, there is equity in the argument that those presently paying taxes should not be asked to pay more until those escaping taxes are also paying their fair share.

When Congress passed the unrelated business tax in 1950 as a result of the New York University-Mueller Macaroni situation, I note that both the Ways and Means Committee and the Finance Committee Reports state:

"The problem to which the tax on unrelated business income is directed is primarily that of unfair competition."

In passing the unrelated business tax, Congress was accepting the recommendations of organizations like the United States Chamber of Commerce. Appearing before the Finance Committee in 1950, Mr. John Dane of Boston, representing the Chamber, testified:

". . . It is our policy that we are opposed to government favoritism in any form, and we urge that no enterprise be favored over any other form, and that each enterprise, whether it is cooperative, individual, or corporation, should stand on its own feet, with protection from unfair competition, and free from either tax exemption or other public subsidy."

I know of no organization which was exempted from the income tax so that it could sell advertising. Indeed, I see no relationship between advertising and any tax-exempt purpose.

I understand there are some 700 tax exempt publications grossing over $110 million in advertising revenue today. I know also that they are fine publications and that some of them could not be published except for the advertising, much of which is of a complimentary nature and of doubtful advertising value. However, it is not this use of this type of tax exemption that I protest, it is the abuse, such as advertisements which appear in these publications in an attempt to convince a prospective advertiser that he will get more for his advertising dollar by advertising in the tax exempt publication than he would in publications which pay taxes on their profits. This certainly is unfair competition.

Having fought as hard as I have for free enterprise and against this government encroachment in my 18 years in the House, I cannot reconcile the acceptance of a handout from the government in the form of tax subsidy on profits resulting from advertising, with simultaneous expressions of faith in the free enterprise system. It is the great trade associations and professional societies which have been the leaders in this fight. We cannot by word support free enterprise, and by action accept government support, which tax exemption on advertising profits really is. It seems to me that someone's slip is showing and it ought to be corrected.

As you know, the Treasury Department is considering a regulation at this time because there seems to be a great deal of doubt as to just what the law means. In the last Congress, bills were introduced which would, if enacted, declare that such advertising is a "related activity" and therefore clarifying any confusion that now exists as to the meaning and intent of existing law. The Committee took no action on these proposals. I think this was proper and I further think that it is not necessary for the Committee to do anything in this field until Treasury does come up with some sort of regulation. I feel sure that before any such regulation is issued, there will be a public hearing before the Internal Revenue Service. It is at that time and in that forum that anyone who feels aggrieved should state his case.

Frankly speaking, how could the Ways and Means Committee act at this time without being premature? We are in the position of having passed the unrelated business tax. When we passed this unrelated business tax, Congress delegated to the Internal Revenue Service discretion as to where the tax should be applied. It is, therefore, up to the Internal Revenue Service to apply that tax. If after experience, the tax is found to be inequitable, then and only then should there be recourse to Congress.

I hope that some regulation in this field will be forthcoming before too long, and in this connection, my personal views are those expressed by the Court of Claims in the *Indiana Retail Hardware Association v. the U.S.*

"We are of the opinion that Congress did not mean to grant exemption from the payment of taxes to an association engaged to such a large extent in activities ordinarily carried on for profit by persons liable for the payment of taxes on the income derived from such activities."

Drugs for Rhodesia Banned by United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "U.N. Bans Drugs for Rhodesia," written by Ralph de Toledano, and published in the Lynchburg, Va., News, of January 25, 1967.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, s follows:

U.N. BANS DRUGS FOR RHODESIA

(By Ralph de Toledano)

UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK.—There exists perhaps no more pious a group of men than the delegates to the United Nations. Almost at any time of day or night, the observer can hear representatives of the Communist-bloc nations talking about justice, democracy and human rights with the same fervor that they showed when Joseph Stalin was purging Jews by the thousands and throwing people into murderous slave labor camps by the millions.

The United States is not entirely out of the running in the hypocrisy stakes, however. For while Ambassador Arthur Goldberg is talking about crimes against "humanity" and trying to interfere in the internal affairs of those nations whose domestic policies Washington does not like, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration and a related agency of the U.N., the World Health Organization, have been declaring their own little war against pregnant women in independent Rhodesia.

The United Nations is hoping to topple the present Rhodesian government by imposing sanctions. The USFDA and WHO therefore withheld from Rhodesian health authorities vital information about certain anti-histamine drugs that are injurious to pregnant women and that Rhodesian doctors had been prescribing. Bulletins prepared by USFDA and circulated by WHO ceased to arrive in Rhodesia nine months ago.

In another example of the U.N.'s concern for people, the World Health Organization boycotted Rhodesia though the country had entered into an agreement with other Central African nations to embark on a concerted malaria eradication program. Doctors from WHO presumably believe that malaria-carrying mosquitoes from Rhodesia, stung by the U.N. boycott, would stay on their own side of the border and not infect the Africans of Malawi, Zambia, and other neighboring states. As cruel but more logical was WHO's refusal to honor an agreement with Rhodesia to join in a multi-nation effort to combat the malnutrition among Africans that results from unsound dietary practices.

But with inhumanity, a United Nations dominated by the delegates of the new Afro-Asian dictators and the Communist-bloc nations has combined illegality and malicious propaganda. For the U.N.'s basic law flatly states, in Article 2, Clause 7, that "nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter."

Yet Rhodesia and South Africa today—and perhaps the United States tomorrow—are confronted by actions of the U.N. that violate the Charter provision quoted above by attempting to intervene directly in internal affairs that are no business of the world body. Should the United States ever become the target of similar action against it, the U.N. could quote the speeches of Ambassador Goldberg in which he argued that a general (and vague) concern for "humanity" is sufficient to negate international law and the Charter. Intervention, let us say, on the ground that the people of Harlem were deprived of their rights when Representative Adam Clayton Powell was refused his seat in Congress would then be sanctioned under such logic.

Inaugural Address of Gov. Walter J. Hickel, of Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD W. POLLOCK

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the following remarks made by the Honorable Walter J. Hickel, Governor of the State of Alaska, as his inaugural address:

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF GOV. WALTER J. HICKEL, OF ALASKA, JANUARY 14, 1967

You have made me Governor of the State of Alaska. I am grateful for the opportunity, challenged by the responsibility, and humbled by the confidence you have shown.

This is a time when Alaska's flag is high up the mast, the wind bellies out the sails, and the tide is with us. We sit at the top of a continent—at the headwaters of the pacific—and our mooring lines are strained with the urge to break loose and sail into the future on another voyage of discovery.

Can you sense it? I can. And I know you can. We must take stock of what we are today, our resources, our strengths, our weaknesses. We must have a vision of tomorrow, for all things of reality must first be an idea, a vision, a dream. We will build a strong course of economic development and progress for all Alaskans, and in the pursuit of that vision, many of the good things of life will come to us.

I will present some of my specific plans and recommendations to the people of Alaska later, in the "State of the State" message to our Legislature. But now let us examine our potential.

We can be proud of our giant fishing operations, our pulp and timber mills, and our young, but rapidly growing oil business. What we need is more economic development. We need basic economic development, to tap Alaska's great wealth.

Now, the kind of economic development I seek is not the kind that the rich will get richer while the poor stay poor. It does not mean that big business will come up from the outside to take our great natural wealth and then abandon us. Far from it. They will become Alaskans, and *all* will be partners in progress in our State.

Alaska is a unique land in many ways. We like to call Alaska "The Last Frontier." We are not like New York state: heavy with industry, cris-crossed with highways, a-buzz with the manufacture, transportation and consumption of goods. We are not even like California—3,000 miles away from New York, and developed at the end of the tremendous Westward expansion across the United States.

Is there any reason for expansion to stop at California? Let us turn our heads North, to the future. We are the last frontier.

We are the last frontier, which gives us an opportunity to do many things right that other states have done wrong. Our Borough Act has already started to guard against sloppy urban sprawl as we develop. We will keep our air clean and our water pure. We will see to it, with a planned park system, that Alaskans will always have the pleasures of the untouched out-of-doors.

But our frontier status has another implication: economically, what happened earlier in other states must now happen in Alaska.

When a railroad was built across the continental United States to tie the East and West together, every other section along the entire route was given to the railroaders by the Federal government. Along with that went an outright grant of one million dollars in order to make it profitable to span the country with steel rails.

Why should it be any different today, in America's last frontier?

Let us build a railroad—the Alaska Railroad—through the high country in the North, stretching from Fairbanks to Nome. That railroad will open up this highly mineralized area, and within but a few years huge ore-carrying trains, 100 cars long and more, will carry our minerals out of the ground and to the marketplace.

Then, wherever vast mineral deposits are uncovered, let us build new cities. We can not develop our Arctic lands by compulsion as the Russians did. We will develop them by attraction. Jobs created in these new cities will attract people from the river country. And while we have been unable to solve individual village problems of sanitation, electrification, and so on, we will have them already solved in these cities.

Meanwhile, we will develop hydro-electric and gas generating plants. Over 200 sites throughout our State have been identified as being potential producers of low-cost hydro-power—power estimated to be in excess of nineteen million kilowatts. The possibilities of gas generation of electricity are barely beginning to present themselves.

Working together, we will use low-cost electrical power in that area where our greatest potential lies: the refinement of our resources.

Alaska is of great importance to the rest of the United States. Our huge supply of natural resources makes us so. Already the major oil companies have realized this. They are exploring the State, discovering and tapping our reserves of oil and gas. The oil stores in Cook Inlet and on the Kenai Peninsula may be as large as those in Venezuela, or larger yet. And searching goes on in the Arctic Slope, Bristol Bay and the Gulf of Alaska for yet other deposits of that black gold.

I am sure that many companies, in a variety of fields, intend to follow the lead of the oil industry. Indeed, some were already here, exploring and working for the development of our natural resources before oil was discovered.

We are aware of the diminishing supply of various metals in the lower 48. We are aware that revolution or less violent political changes could drastically change the availability of things that we as a nation import. We are aware of an impending crisis in the world's food supply, brought on by a rising population.

We also know that when there is a need, Alaska must be able to call upon its vast land for minerals. Alaska must be able to harvest food from the two mighty oceans and the three great seas that touch our coastline. No other nation, and certainly no other state, is so blessed with the riches that the sea offers Alaska.

We need the Federal government as a partner in progress, to pave the way for private enterprise, for if private enterprise by itself had to start to develop the continental United States today, with today's tax structure (and without Alaska's unique climate and geography) I seriously doubt that the development attempt would get off the ground.

But as allies—private enterprise, the State, and the Federal government—we will succeed in extending Alaska's economic development.

Private enterprise must supply the long-term risk capital. It must supply the specific talents and know-how that are its strength. It must do the job of development wherever it can, and with its productive capacity it must supply those things that make us a free nation.

Government can help, and must help, in areas where the individual or private enterprise cannot possibly start us on the road to greater economic development. Such fields as transportation and communications must be pioneered in that way in order to open up the land and give us as free people the opportunity to develop it.

Now, other states have a well-developed road network. Alaska does not, and the lack causes us many problems in transportation. Because we are the last frontier, 50 years behind the other states, and because Alaska is so important to the entire nation, we must have help to catch up.

The cutting out of some thirteen million dollars from our Federal highway funds for this year will slow down work on the Anchorage-Fairbanks Highway, and eliminate work on other projects. This is not the way to help.

Highways and transportation are but two of the areas in which Alaska will grow. Our salmon pack for last year—some three million, nine hundred and thirty-five thousand cases—was the largest in the past seventeen years. Our king crab fishery is growing by leaps and bounds, with some 150 million pounds of king crab taken in 1966—an increase of eighteen million pounds over last year.

To develop our fisheries further, Alaska needs a Fisheries Research Center, so that we will know the kind and extent of all of our fishing resources.

When I was visiting Savoonga, on the Bering Sea, Siberia was very close; and on this exceptionally clear, beautiful day, although the Russian boats were working, we were doing nothing. A native mentioned to me that "they are fishing all the time, and we don't even know what's there." We need to know what's there, and everywhere along our 34,000 miles of coast line. We need to know so that we can satisfy a hungry world's need for protein, so that we might better harvest the seas.

We will also develop a better reindeer industry, from herding to meatpacking, on the Seward Peninsula. We will work for further development of our mining industry, which will be bolstered when we open up the Arctic to transportation.

The list goes on. It is a long, visionary list, and in order to make those visions a reality the State must work with the Federal government and provide an encouraging climate for private industry

The picture is one of greater economic development for Alaska. That development will be good for all Alaskans, providing many with opportunities for better jobs, and some with the opportunity for regular, year-round work instead of the seasonal jobs they have now.

As Alaska develops, more and more of our seasonal workers will be able to receive an income on which they can count, on which they can plan and build for their own future.

Economic development will allow all Alaskans—already an independent bunch—to become economically independent. And with this economic independence many of our social and welfare problems will disappear, for men will have the dignity and self-satisfaction of self-help.

In addition, we will fully use all of the existing ways we have within the State government to solve our social problems, many of which are unique, such as the shocks that come to a person used to the way of life in a native village when he comes to live in one of our cities. This, we will do.

We sit at the headwaters of the Pacific, a vast natural treasure house at the top of a continent. Our natural market extends to the South along the Pacific Coast of four continents: North and South America, Asia and Australia.

Already, oil from Cook Inlet is competitively priced because of the economy of water transportation. The products from our pulp mills in Southeastern are going to Japan and as far away as Australia. In the near future, giant tankers will take liquified methane gas from the Kenai Peninsula to Japan.

Along the entire length of the Pacific rim are vast areas of primary need, markets for our natural resources.

In my lifetime, I see a million people in Alaska, with primary manufacturing, supplying resources to meet the needs of the whole Pacific Basin.

Our country is unique geographically and climatically. To many, Alaska seems to be a strange land, a far away land. Modern transportation is bringing it closer than ever before to the rest of the world.

This year's Alaska Purchase Centennial will bring many visitors to our State. I have said we need salesmen for Alaska. We do. We need everyone to tell the people that visit us of the wonders and opportunities that are here. We must go farther than that and reach out to tell people all over the world about Alaska, this year and forever in the future.

By doing that, we will not only have a Centennial Celebration which glories in the richness of our past, but we will also help to guarantee that our future, in the next 100 years and beyond, will be a bright one.

Our country is unique, our people are unique in the ruggedness and determination of their pioneer spirit, a spirit which the land helps mold. Our location and our natural wealth, combined with imagination and a determined effort to make our dreams a reality, are the only things we need to achieve our vision of the future.

I pledge my cooperation and strongest efforts to overcome whatever problems we encounter as we go forward.

It is your government. I am but here to serve, and serve I will with all the vitality, imagination and drive I can muster—and I'll enjoy it.

Federal Control of Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. NORRIS COTTON

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, Mr. Meldrim Thomson, Jr., of Orford, N.H., recently wrote a thought-provoking article for the Manchester Union Leader on the growing role of the Federal Government in our public schools. He points to the enormous sums of money now being dispensed by the U.S. Office of Education to school systems throughout the country, and the growing degree of thinly disguised Federal control which inevitably accompanies those funds.

To counter this trend toward Federal control of America's public schools, Mr. Thomson advocates apportioning all Federal aid-to-education money directly to the States through Federal tax remissions. This proposal is similar to legislation which I have introduced in the past two Congresses to provide for financial assistance to the States for educational purposes through annual appropriations to each State equal to 1 percent of the Federal income taxes collected in that State.

I believe that all Senators will find Mr. Thomson's article of value, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESHAPING AMERICA WITH FEDERAL SCHOOL AID

(By Meldrim Thomson, Jr.)

The shape of American civilization is changing rapidly under the pressures of federal aid to education. Many of the programs are excellent; the erosion to many of our most sacred political institutions and personal liberties is evil. This rising tide of federal aid is carrying us swiftly to the socialistic shores of the welfare state.

Last year the U.S. Office of Education had 10 billion dollars to spend for federal aid; this year it has 14 and a half billion; and if the proposed 1967 Equal Opportunities Act is passed next year the figure might well rise to 20 billion.

We can have all of this money, plus the middleman's charge for handling that now goes to the federal bureaucrats, if Congress would pass a federal tax remission program. Under any one of the several proposals now before Congress, a given per cent of the total federal income tax would be returned directly to each state for distribution to public schools. The money would never reach the U.S. Office of Education.

A federal tax remission program would banish federal control of our schools, save billions, now headed for socio-economic projects, and insure the control of public schools where Thomas Jefferson insisted it should be—at the local level.

When Harold Howe II, Commissioner of the United States Office of Education issued his guidelines under P.L. 89–10 last February, our own courageous senior Senator, Norris Cotton, promptly said: "The print on the act was hardly dry when the United States Office of Education began to show its teeth. School districts better follow the 'guidelines' or else." Cotton promised to fight "to hold to a minimum this new and phony aid."

On Sept. 20 Congressman Robertson of Virginia said on the floor of the House of Representatives: "I have served in the Congress long enough to know that Federal control inevitably accompanies Federal funds. Anyone who says he favors Federal funds without federal control is either ignorant of how the federal government operates in these matters or else is not intellectually honest about what is involved."

In New Hampshire we have seen the sad results of schools leaping for the million-dollar boondoggle bait with mouths wide and gills aflutter. Our deputy commissioner of education was reported in a UPI news release the 10th of last month, as blaming our critical teacher shortage this fall in part on new programs stimulated by Federal funds.

This has resulted in a temporary lowering of teacher qualifications. How much better it would have been for our school programs and district taxpayers if we could have had that million dollars with no strings attached to make up for the foundation and building aid shortages now confronting many of our school districts.

Here in the Granite State we hold to the faith of our Founding Fathers when we oppose federal dominance over our schools.

INSISTED EDUCATION WAS LOCAL CONCERN

By New Hampshire's vote in 1788 the Federal Constitution was launched upon the sea of history—a ship made great and strong by the masts and spars of sovereignty granted to her, and made trim and true—a thing of beauty racing down the winds of destiny—by the reservation to the states of all those powers not expressly granted by them to the Federal Government.

In the Constitutional Convention of 1787, New Hampshire was one of six states to oppose successfully the creation of a national university on the ground that education was a local concern.

Franklin Pierce, the only New Hampshireite to occupy the White House, writing in 1854 of the defeat of the motion in the Constitutional Convention to create a federal university said: "It proves that such objects were considered by the convention as appertaining to local legislation only; they were not comprehended, either expressly or by implication, in the grant of 'general power to Congress'."

A few years later, in 1867, Congress established a Department of Education, later to become the U.S. Office of Education, with a $13,000 appropriation, and with power only to gather statistical data.

Behold this might fig vine, a towering and voracious parasite, that will be a hundred years old next March! The U.S. Office of Education today administers 14.5 billion dollars in federal grants!

How big is the federal commitment in education today? More than 10 per cent of our total national budget; more than the entire federal budget the year before Pearl Harbor!

On what is this vast and growing sum of our federal tax dollars to be spent?

Let Commissioner Howe answer. Cong. Paul Fino of New York quotes Howe as saying recently: "If I have my way schools will be built for the primary purpose of economic and social integration."

HOWE DID NOT WAIT UPON THE YEARS

Speaking last May, Howe said, in discussing programs under Title I of ESEA: "I would hope that my office could bring forward even more adventurous enterprises in the years ahead."

Howe did not wait upon the years. He is a restless innovator who in a speech on last June 18 recognized the revolution brewing under our feet. "Feeding that revolution is a major shift in American folkways," said he.

The shape and course of this revolution was revealed by Congressman Fino last month when he forced out of secrecy the outline for the proposed 1967 Equal Opportunities Act. It was drawn at a June White House Conference and numbered among its authors, Floyd McKissack, head of CORE and a vigorous proponent of "Black Power."

Briefly, this bill, scheduled for introduction in Congress next January, and carrying a 6 billion dollar appropriation, would among many things provide for:

1. Metropolitan area-wide rezoning of school attendance areas, without regard to existing state or county lines;
2. Bussing of suburban school children into city schools and bussing of city pupils to suburban schools at federal insistence and expense;
3. Complete obliteration of present school district boundary lines, with free transfers between school districts; and
4. Federal subsidies to underwrite the cost of rewriting history books so as to recast the history of racial and religious minorities.

In past months, we were told numerous times that the federal government would not touch our textbooks; in fact, it is generally thought that this is prohibited under present law.

Can we believe in these assurances when:

1. Howe said in a speech last May 3: "It is about time we stopped offering an antiseptic history of our country cleaned up to please the local power structure."

2. At the House Education and Labor Committee hearings held the end of August, two California Congressmen told Howe to get on with the job of getting federally approved textbooks in the schools; and

3. Howe in his testimony before that committee described grants his office had made to approved authors and researchers who will produce books expounding the approved line.

If we allow this fig vine to continue its run-away growth, it will shortly strangle our dual federal-state system of government. There is one simple, sure way to eradicate it. Cut aff the federal funds on which it thrives. Let all federal aid money be apportioned directly to the states through federal tax remissions.

Ukrainian National Republic

SPEECH

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, January 22, 1967, marked the 49th anniversary of the official declaration of independence of the Ukrainian National Republic. It is appropriate that we pause again to remember the fate which has befallen that proud people and to reflect upon the significance of their continued subjugation.

Today there are nearly 40 million Ukrainians descendent from cossack communities which established themselves as self-governing, independent communities in the 17th century. From earliest times their rich lands were subject to the greedy incursions of their more powerful neighbors, Moscow, Poland, and Turkey. At length, Czar Peter I, of Imperial Russia, was successful in bringing the Ukraine and its peoples under Russian domination in 1709, and the struggle of Ukrainians to be free had begun.

Perhaps it might have ended there. Perhaps the independence-loving farmers and cultivators of the Ukraine might have lost their sense of national identity in the decades under Russian domination. If that had been the case we would not today be concerned with their fate. The fact is, of course, that Ukrainian nationalism did not wither under foreign domination, it grew. Ukrainian culture, different in so many ways from that of the Russian rulers, flowered.

The immortal Ukrainian Poet Taras Shevchenko—1814–61—inspired the Ukrainians of his day never to give up in their fight to win their homeland back from Russian domination, and others such as Ivan Franko—1856–1916—and Lesya Ukrainka—1872–1913—gave renewed voice to the yearning to be free.

It was a long wait for the millions of Ukrainians dreaming of an end to Russian rule, but, finally, in the turmoil that was the Russian Revolution they had their chance and they took it. After more than 200 years of Russian domination they threw off the foreign yoke and on that January day nearly a half century ago proclaimed themselves to be a free and independent nation. But, as we all know, that freedom was not to last. Russia, now a Communist state, attacked the young nation, and after a bitter 3-year struggle again forced her to yield to the domination of Moscow.

Again, as in the two centuries after Peter I, Ukrainian nationalism did not die. An underground insurgent force fought both the Nazis and the Communists in World War II and on June 30, 1941, Ukrainians again proclaimed themselves to be free and the struggle was reborn, a struggle which continues to this day.

Ukrainians throughout the world still feel the surge of spirit which was motivated them from their earliest days. Whether it be the 1,600,000 who have found their home in the United States or the 40 million who still remain in Communist-controlled Ukrainia they seek, and shall continue to seek that freedom which it is the inherent right of all men to share. All Americans, everywhere, share with these brave people that determination. And as it has not died in the centuries of subjugation to the present time, so it shall not die in the future.

Senator Byrd of Virginia Asks Questions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Senator BYRD Asks Questions," published in the Northern Virginia Daily of January 25, 1967.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR BYRD ASKS QUESTIONS

Senator Harry F. Byrd Jr. has raised questions which have been on the minds of millions of Americans. Speaking on the floor of the Senate Monday, he demanded a clarification from United Nations Ambassador Arthur Goldberg on the quid pro quo legality of sanctions as applied according to inequitable U.N. formulas. The Virginia senator also raised some pointed questions regarding U.S. hesitancy to request U.N. help in Vietnam.

Alluding to the fact that Ambassador Goldberg, who represents the thinking of the Johnson Administration, had cast logic to the winds in supporting the British demand for U.N. sanctions against peaceful Rhodesia, Sen. Byrd reminds us that the Administration has made no parallel effort to enforce U.N. sanctions against North Vietnam.

According to the Virginia senator, Mr. Goldberg expressed the conviction that U.N. sanctions against North Vietnam are not now in the realm of possibility because ". . . as a practical matter we know this cannot be done." Sen. Byrd's reply is both direct and caustic:

"I say that whether or not this objective can be accomplished, Mr. Goldberg has an obligation to strive constantly for it.

"But why does not he stand up in (Security) council and demand a rollcall vote? Let us see where Great Britain stands. Let us see if Great Britain is willing to vote sanctions against North Vietnam after demanding that we vote sanctions against Rhodesia.

". . . Too long has the United States submitted to pressure from other nations for help from us, but never do we seem willing to apply pressure on our behalf."

Again, when asked by the senator whether the United States has officially requested U.N. military assistance in Vietnam, the Ambassador's answer was paradoxical if not reassuring:

"Because of the sharply divided opinions of United Nations members, it is not realistic to seek a United Nations military role."

This brings us to the inevitable question, which we have posed many times. Sen. Byrd did not raise the question, but we do. What can the U.S. really expect from the United Nations? What lasting contributions toward keeping world peace can we expect from an organization of diverse cultures, political and religious views, who manage to see a brush fire behind every native hut in Rhodesia but closes its eyes to the "realities" in North and South Vietnam?

Very little, we're afraid.

Foster Grandparents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the war on poverty has many facets, some of which do not come to our attention very often. One of these programs is designed for the benefit of senior citizens and little children—the foster grandparents program which was described in Newsday of September 26, 1966. In an article entitled "A Government Program That Fosters Love," Audrey Clinton described the progress achieved under this program in the New York Foundling Hospital, the McMahon Shelter, the Cardinal McCloskey Home, and St. Agnes Hospital orthopedic ward in White Plains.

I believe that Audrey Clinton's observations concerning this highly successful antipoverty program should be of substantial interest to my colleagues.

The article follows:

[From Newsday, September 26, 1967]

A GOVERNMENT PROGRAM THAT FOSTERS LOVE

(By Audrey Clinton)

NEW YORK.—Taking care of children just comes naturally to Mrs. Rosemary Bailey, a warmhearted widow who has raised two of her own and has boarded others in her home.

Her grandchildren are in St. Louis, Mo., but the Foster Grandparent Project of the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity is helping to provide what is made to order for Mrs. Bailey. And Mrs. Bailey seems made to order for Angelo, a hard-to-handle 2-year-old now living in the McMahon Memorial Shelter in Manhattan.

"I guess Angelo has adopted me," said Mrs. Bailey recently, discussing her success in reaching a little boy "nobody could do anything with," she comments: "He's fine with me."

Mrs. Bailey is one of 100 foster grandparents in the New York City area who work four hours a day, five days a week giving children in four institutions the loving care, companionship and attention they would otherwise have no hope of getting. They work on a one-to-one basis in the New York Foundling Hospital, the McMahon Shelter in Manhattan and the Cardinal McCloskey Home and St. Agnes Hospital Orthopedic Ward in White Plains. The demonstration project is being administered in New York by Catholic Charities and by other agencies in 34 other locations in the U.S. under federal grants. It's scheduled to last three years.

"We've begun to hope it might become a permanent project," said Edward Dohrenwend, New York project director. "We have no reservations about the program whatsoever."

The project serves several needs, besides those of the children. It gives those over 60 a chance to supplement their pensions. (They're paid $1.25 an hour and carfare). It gives them a new role that enables them to feel needed and productive. Dohrenwend said that since the program went into operation last March, only two foster grandparents have dropped out. In New York City, there is a waiting list of 122 persons who want to join the program. In White Plains, there are openings for 14, he said.

Mrs. Bailey was one of the first foster grandparents in the program. Like the others, she was trained in the New York Foundling Hospital before being assigned to the McMahon Shelter. "I fell in love with the children there. It's four enjoyable hours a day," she said.

She has been a grandparent to four children since the program began, all 3 or under and just learning to talk. One was a Chinese boy and another spoke only Spanish. But Mrs. Bailey finds a way of communicating. "Children always make up to me right away. I've always had them around me," she said.

She takes them on trips to the zoo, brings them presents, reads and sings to them, tucks them in for afternoon naps and, in general, treats them as she would her own grandchildren, who are aged 4 and 7, now living in Missouri. "They're darling children," she said of her two current foster grandchildren, Angelo and Mildred.

In Westchester, easy-going 69-year-old Raymond Bartlett and his wife, with eight grandchildren of their own, find time to shower personal attention on children in the Cardinal McCloskey Home. They play games with them, take them on walks—even see to it that they drink their proper quota of milk.

It's a labor of love for the Bartletts and Mrs. Bailey. As for the children, they just reach out to her and say "Mommy."

Young Appalachia Drifter Finds Job Corps Anchor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL D. PERKINS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my distinguished colleagues to yet another Job Corps success story, entitled "Young Appalachia Drifter Finds Job Corps Anchor," which appeared in the Louisville Courier-Journal on January 13. The story is about Ezra O. Chandler, a 16-year-old lad from Cumberland, Ky., who a short while ago was a high school dropout and an unemployable drifter, but who now is working toward a retail sales career at the Breckinridge Job Corps Center in Morganfield.

Mr. Speaker, the story of Ezra Chandler demonstrates once again that the Job Corps is really working, and is helping our neediest youth to win their own wars on poverty. I include this story, as it appeared in the Courier-Journal, at this point in the RECORD:

YOUNG APPALACHIA DRIFTER FINDS JOB CORPS ANCHOR

MORGANFIELD, KY.—Once a youthful drifter and a victim of economically depressed Appalachia, Ezra O. Chandler, Jr., 16, is working toward a retail sales career at the nearby Breckinridge Job Corps Center.

Chandler, son of Mr. and Mrs. Ezra O. Chandler who live in the Harlan County coal mining town of Cumberland, became the first corpsman recruited and accepted by the Breckinridge Center.

Chandler came to the center December 29, under its own new recruiting program for Kentucky, Southern Indiana and Southern Illinois. Center Director James Fornear says the new program is already showing good results.

The Eastern Kentucky youth said he quit school in the 10th grade and had trouble even landing a part time job. He said he started drifting about the country, joined a carnival for a time, but soon decided that without an education or a skill there was little hope in life.

Chandler's period of study at the center may extend a year.

Mr. Speaker, while a vast amount remains to be done—and must be done—there is no question but that the war on poverty is making progress in Kentucky. As an example of the fine work that is being done under the poverty program, I call the attention of my distinguished colleagues to a report by Mr. Al Whitehouse, director of Kentucky's Office of Economic Opportunity, on Leslie County's successful war on poverty. This extremely encouraging report appeared in the Louisville Courier-Journal on January 14.

For the State as a whole, Mr. Whitehouse said:

> The poverty program has reached at least 500,000 persons and has provided a chance for a better education, job opportunity, and an important element known as hope.

I completely subscribe to Mr. Whitehouse's assessment that "the war on poverty is being won," although "not as fast as we would like it."

Mr. Speaker, I include the Courier-Journal story of Mr. Whitehouse's report at this point in the RECORD:

SPONSOR TOLD LESLIE WINNING POVERTY WAR

FLEMINGSBURG, KY.—Al Whitehouse, director of Kentucky's office of Economic Opportunity, said here last night the war on poverty is being won in Leslie County.

Speaking to the 38-member board of the Licking Valley Community Action program at the courthouse here, Whitehouse said 1,286 children and adults in Leslie County have had eyeglasses prescribed and fitted as a direct result of a comprehensive health program now under way there.

"Also in this county," Whitehouse said, "6,000 people have had medical screening and treatment where necessary. They found 104 diabetics, 7 cases of cancer from 952 pap smear tests, and 125 mentally retarded."

Whitehouse said 8,469 dental corrections were made, including fillings, extractions and topical fluorides on 1,984 patients, and 504 medically indigent patients not otherwise qualified for medical care were treated at an average cost of $95.34 per patient.

"There are other significant numbers directly helped in this Leslie County Community Action agency effort under a contract awarded the Kentucky Department of Health," Whitehouse said.

"Need I explain to some 16,000 persons gaining further education under adult basic education programs througout Kentucky that they are helped in the war on poverty? Surprisingly, about 74 enrollees in these courses are now attending college at their own expense.

"In fact, the war on poverty in Kentucky has reached at least 500,000 persons and has provided a chance for a better education, job opportunity, and an important element known as hope."

Whitehouse said he knows "the war on poverty is being won," although "not as fast as we would like it."

East-West Push

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE L. HAYS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post regards the President's state of the Union comments on East-West relations as statesmanlike.

For one thing, the Post tells us editorially that the President displayed not only strategic sense but political courage in seeking an antimissile moratorium.

The newspaper also endorses the President's position on increasing East-West trade and approving a consular convention with the Soviet Union. Both measures will require hard pushing, the Post observes, but they deserve to be pushed.

I include the newspaper's discussion of East-West relations as a part of the RECORD:

EAST-WEST PUSH

The President's remarks on East-West relations were brief but statesmanlike. "Our objective is not to continue the cold war, but to end it," he declared, reviewing the limited steps his Administration has taken toward that goal and committing himself to several more.

One is of the greatest urgency and import: to head off the "additional waste of resources with no gain in security to either side" that would ensue from deployment of antimissile systems by the United States and the Soviet Union. In seeking an antimissile moratorium, the President displays not only strategic sense and an earnest devotion to international stability but political courage as well. There are all too many signs that an issue of an antimissile "gap" will be raised against him in the new Congress.

Since there are strong signs that the Soviet Union shares many of the American government's doubts about the wisdom and need of an antimissile system, nothing could be more prejudicial than premature congressional or executive action on it. The quest for a moratorium is Ambassador Thompson's first assignment in Moscow. He must have the time and political elbow room to pursue it.

The President "asked and urged" the Congress to pass an East-West trade bill and approve the long-pending consular convention with the Soviet Union. These measures would make real the American desire to turn backwaters of distrust into currents of mutual benefits. Nonstrategic trade is good practice in the ways of peace and normalcy. The consular convention would add elements of convenience and safety to private travel. The President will have to push both these measures hard and often to get them through a Congress still jittery about detente. They deserve to be pushed.

Copper County

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, Middlesex County, N.J., is prominent in several fields—education, industry, agriculture, and others—and I am proud of all the attributes of this growing and dynamic area.

But I am particularly proud of the fact that 28 percent of the copper in the United States is refined in Perth Amboy and Carteret, in Middlesex County.

Recently, a group of copper union leaders visited my office and urged that Middlesex County be designated, "The Copper County."

I think there is great merit to this suggestion. As the union leaders pointed out:

> The metals we produce are used in the most advanced industries, from space exploration to national defense.

And that—

> Without copper, our Nation would not be a first-class power.

Additional details are cited that would, it seems to me, justify the designation, "Copper County," in an article written by Donald Rosselet of, the Evening News, of Perth Amboy, N.J.

The article follows:

COPPER COUNTY, NEW JERSEY?

(By Donald Rosselet)

More than one quarter of the refined copper used in the nation today is produced within the confines of Middlesex County.

Thus, the copper workers unions concluded Middlesex ought to be formally known as the Copper County.

To implement the idea, representatives of the copper workers called on Rep. Edward J. Patten, D-15th, to joint their campaign for the official designation.

"No area in the country is more vital to our economy than the County of Middlesex. Without copper, our nation would not be a first class power," a statement from the copper workers unions reads.

"The metals we produce are used in the most advanced industries from space exploration to national defense. We think it only proper that Middlesex County should receive the recognition that it deserves," the statement continues.

Heading the effort for the designation of Copper County are Alfred Petit-Clair, board member of District 5, International Union of Mine-Mill and Smelter Workers; John Infusino, president of Local 365, Perth Amboy Smelting and Refinery Workers Union; and Thomas De Federico, president of the Cateret Smelting and Refinery Workers Union.

Infusino and De Frederico head unions representing workers at American Smelting and Refining Co. of Perth Amboy and U.S. Metals and Refining Co. of Carteret respectively.

The Perth Amboy and Carteret plants are the sole copper refining firms in the county. Middlesex County's copper boom dates from about 1895. By World War I, there were four refining establishments in the county producing more than one half of the nation's copper.

The three union leaders presented Patten a plaque in appreciation of the congressman's previous help and to symbolize the role of copper in Middlesex's economy.

The plaque, made of copper, is in the shape of the county, with Perth Amboy and Carteret marked out. It reads: "Presented to the Honorable Edward J. Patten in appreciation of his efforts on behalf of the Copper Workers of Middlesex County."

The union leaders said, "We are proud that 28 per cent of America's copper is refined in our county."

But they noted other important metals are also produced in Middlesex's 312 square miles. In addition to gold, lead, zinc and titanium, the county produces 40 per cent of the nation's refined silver.

Petit-Clair indicated the appeal to Patten was the initial step in an effort to enlist leading Middlesex County residents in helping to popularize the copper indutry's role in the area.

Dairy Production Continues To Decline

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, as 1966 ended and statistics for the year become available it is apparent that effective steps still have not been taken to reverse the downward trend in milk production. Total milk production for 1966 was estimated at 3 percent less than 1965 and 3 percent less when compared with the 1960–64 average. Production in every month in 1966 was down when compared to 1965 with the exception of November. It is now apparent that the small price increases approved by the Department of Agriculture earlier in the year were insufficient to reverse the downward trend of milk production. The price increases approved by the Department of Agriculture of about 1 cent per quart were immediately doubled by the processors to about 2 or 3 cents per quart and passed on to the consumer. The additional return to dairymen from these small increases has not been sufficient to halt the exodus of dairymen going out of business.

Reports from the Economic Research Services of the U.S. Department of Agriculture on farm costs and returns tell the story. Dairy farmers in the Central Northeast realized a return per hour for the operators and family labor of 60 cents an hour, about half the amount legislated by Congress last year as the minimum legal wage for agricultural employees. Grade A dairy farmers in Wisconsin realized 75 cents an hour return on their own and their family's labor. Grade B dairies in Wisconsin realized only half of this amount—30 cents for the operators and their family labor. The total invested capital in these dairies was from $50,000 to $75,000 and no profit was realized and there was no additional return for management. Obviously we cannot expect, during a period of high employment, the dairyman to work 7 days a week, risk invested capital and apply management skills for returns less than the typical 15-year-old babysitter receives for watching children for a few hours. In fact, a good many mothers would be quick to tell you that reliable babysitters cannot be found for 50 or 60 cents an hour.

During the year there was sharp reaction to increased food prices and the prices of bread, meat and milk were usually mentioned when the consumer complained. In 1940 a man worked 15 minutes for a quart of milk, but now 8 minutes work will bring in enough money to buy a quart of milk. Consumers pay about 45 cents a quart for soft drinks and 55 cents a quart for beer, but complain about paying 25 cents a quart for milk.

The only decline in the last 3 months in the major elements making up the cost of living index has been for food. Economists are predicting a drop in net farm income in 1967 as compared with 1966. In the face of the depressed condition in the American dairy industry, the country is being flooded with imported butterfat—sugar products. This type of product is designed to evade restrictions against butterfat imports. An effort will be made during this session of Congress to limit these imports. Such action certainly will be in the best interest of the dairy farmer, the consumer and the rural economy. The dairy farmer is subsidizing the American housewife with cheap milk produced at a loss. He cannot be expected to continue this indefinitely. If the American consumer expects to continue to enjoy a dependable supply of wholesome dairy products it is inevitable that a more healthy economic climate for the dairy industry must be created.

To the Point

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, recently one of Iowa's best known radio stations has editorialized about two important issues before the Congress.

WHO radio in Des Moines, Iowa, is to be commended for taking forthright positions on issues of national importance.

The two editorials below indicate, I believe, the sentiment of the people in Iowa on the President's proposed tax increase and the administration of the medicare program.

The editorials follow:

NO APPLAUSE

There were no outburst of applause from Senators and Congressmen when the President announced his proposal for tax increase and it will get no applause from us. The proposal to boost taxes, while at the same

> time increasing spending in certain domestic programs, should be blocked by Congress. The pressures of inflation and the cost of Viet Nam war might eventually force a tax increase. But this should not be done until domestic programs have been trimmed to the fullest possible extent. The war in Viet Nam is too immense and too costly to have business-as-usual at home. The Congress should cut the President's domestic spending proposals. Until this is done there should be no talk of a tax increase.
>
> ### DELAYS IN MEDICARE
>
> If you've applied for payments under the Medicare program but haven't received them, rest assured you're not alone. Officials frankly admit they are behind in payments under part B of Medicare . . . the part helps pay physicians fees. Part of the problem, of course, is just the newness of Medicare. It's new not only to those calculating the payments, but also to patients and others who fill out the applications. Each mistake takes time to correct and slows down the process. This will tend to correct itself with time. But, unfortunately, another cause of the slowdown won't take care of itself. Some of the formulas used to calculate the payments are quite complex and time consuming. It's possible that the advantages of these formulas are worth the trouble they cause, but that's at least open to question. Congress should make an attempt to simplify where possible. It could result in lower administrative costs and faster payments.

Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS S. KLEPPE

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, countless Americans across the country joined with their fellow citizens of Ukrainian descent on January 22, 1967, to mark the 49th anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the Ukrainian National Republic and the 48th anniversary of the act of union under which all Ukrainian ethnic lands were united into one independent and sovereign state. For 3½ years, the gallant people of Ukraine defended their independence against Communist Russia's onslaught, finally succumbing to superior military force. The spirit of these brave people has never been crushed, however.

Dr. Anthony Zukowsky, of Steele, N. Dak., president of the State branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., speaks for the cause of these people in these words:

> The freedom-loving people of Ukraine have not accepted Soviet Russian domination and have been fighting for the reestablishment of their independence by all means accessible to them for the 46 years.
>
> During World War II the Ukrainian people organized a powerful underground resistance movement, known as the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which fought not only against the Nazi regime, but against the Soviet security troops as well. Stalin and Khrushchev unleashed bloody persecution and reprisals against the Ukrainian people in the late 1940's, and it was Khrushchev himself who stated at the Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February, 1956, that "Stalin had wanted to deport all Ukrainians, but there were too many of them and there was no place to which they could be deported."
>
> Relentless and harsh persecution of Ukrainians continued after the death of Stalin, and it continues now after the ouster of Khrushchev from the top leadership in the Kremlin, inasmuch as the Brezhnev-Kosygin duumvirate is bent on keeping the Soviet Russian empire intact and unified.

Vietnam Hero—Competent Employee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, the following account proves very graphically what desire, ability, and opportunity, when properly combined, can do for the individual.

The American Machine & Foundry Co. is an integral part of industrial York. It furnished the opportunity, the hero of the drama had the desire and because of it acquired the ability.

It again proves a helping hand is far more desirable than a handout.

Read the story as it appeared in Tri-Lites, a publication of AMF:

> ### VIET HERO ON AMF TEAM
>
> (By Sheila Myers)
>
> James Dodson, at 24 is a quiet, hard working unassuming type of guy. He's the kind of guy who reads the paper, pays his taxes and has a normal supply of interests and hobbies. To see James Dodson coming through Gate No. 2 every afternoon one would not figure him to be the central figure of a hair raising drama played out against an alien backdrop of jungle and mountain where the final curtain is sudden and violent death by any one of a thousand means. One, however, would be wrong, because James Dodson is all of this and more.
>
> In May of 1966 he was Sergeant Dodson, USMC deep in the wilds of Viet Nam, fighting an unseen and vicious enemy. It was in May of last year that Sergeant Dodson, for six years a Leatherneck, suddenly and without warning became a captive of the Viet Cong. The following month was one of forced marches, little rest, poor food and worse treatment until Dodson, Marine Corps trained to make every effort to escape and fight again, made his move. Lunging for a carelessly placed rifle, Dodson got the drop on his jailers, and along with another American made his successful break for freedom, one of the very few POW's ever to make a successful escape attempt in Viet Nam.
>
> Dodson came back to his native York a hero, the guest of honor in a downtown parade and reception, his story told in the national press, radio and TV.
>
> All this attention however, didn't put much food on the table for his young wife, Wilhemenia, and small son Alonzo, and despite an avalanche of job offers, James wanted to learn a valuable trade and thus secure his future as just plain Mr. Dodson, since he knew his adventures as Sergeant Dodson were enough for only fleeting fame at best. It was with this in mind that James applied for and was accepted into AMF/York's training program.
>
> In August of '66 James started undergoing on-the-job training as a machine operator in the continuing training program of AMF which is a part of the training provided for in the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.
>
> James Dodson, who attended York Catholic High School, now moves with the ease and assurance around his turret lathe he once employed in the job of figthing a war in Viet Nam.
>
> He says he's very happy now, and looks forward to a long association with AMF, and points out that working to fill government contracts is just another way of helping his country, a job James Dodson can do uniquely well no matter where he is.

Fino Introduces Bill To Set Up Secondary Mortgage Market Facilities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation to authorize the Federal chartering and supervision of private corporations to create a private secondary mortgage market. One type of corporation would insure conventional residential mortgage loans and the other type of corporation would buy and sell the insured loans. To supervise the corporations, the bill establishes a Federal Joint Supervisory Board of mortgage insurance and marketing corporations.

I think the tight mortgage money market of 1966 has taught us the need for secondary mortgage market facilities to facilitate and when necessary, expand, conventional residential mortgage lending.

The question is "What kind of facility should we set up?" And the question lurking behind all this is "What kind of facility can everybody affected agree on?" For my part, I believe the answer to both questions is the same—two types of Government-chartered corporations, one insuring and one buying and selling conventional mortgage loans. I do not believe we should set the facility up within the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, because such a proposal would alienate some who might see potential favoritism to the thrift institutions. Nor do I think that such an institution ought to be set up in FNMA, because FNMA's new "hock shop," that is, participation sales function is utterly contrary to any secondary mortgage market function, inasmuch as participations soak up mortgage market money. FNMA should never have been made a "hock shop," but since it has been, it is not the place for the proposed secondary market facility.

I have therefore chosen to introduce the proposal which would set up a Federal Supervisory Board to charter new, independent private corporations to handle the two phases of the secondary mortgage market operation for conventional mortgages. I think that everybody ought to be able to agree on this proposal.

I was glad to note recently that the homebuilders agree with the several banking and thrift institution groups that secondary mortgage market facilities are needed.

The bill I am sponsoring was introduced last year by Senator JOHN SPARKMAN, new chairman of the Senate Banking Committee. I expect that he will hold hearings in the Senate on the secondary market proposals, and I hope that Chairman PATMAN will do the same in the House Banking Committee.

Johnson Is Caught Gapping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I insert as a portion of my remarks the following editorial from the San Diego Union dated January 16, 1967:

NOW THERE'S GREAT FLAPPING—JOHNSON IS CAUGHT GAPPING

When future historians assess the stewardship of Lyndon Baines Johnson they might well add one word to his own favorite description of his goals.

They may call his administration the "Great GAP Society."

It may be hard to pinpoint the exact moment the Gap was born, but it was not too long after that tragic day in 1963 when President Johnson took office.

At first it was known to newsmen as the Credibility Gap, an annoyance at contradictions between promise and act of the Administration. Like all other Gaps in the Administration it has grown to include outright prevarications, an insistence that the government has a right to lie, half truths, concealments and misleading denials.

Now a certain city in south central Texas is being called Credibilty Gap.

Then there is the Economic Gap, which includes many things. It includes inflation and a receding economy at the same time, taxes when none were promised in the early honeymoon days, budget gaps that will total nearly $20 billion this year and next, a debt gap approaching $14 billion. It also includes a theory gap on when to tax and when not to tax to stimulate the economy, and the uneasiness gap between business and the government.

In toto, all gaps are too numerous to mention. They include, however, the Postal Gap of weak service and deficits of $1 billion annually; the Underestimation Gap on how much money is needed for funds to supply the military in Vietnam.

There is the Agriculture Gap, as any farmer can attest; the F-111 Gap, the Nike-X Gap, the Manned Bomber Gap, the Maritime Gap, the Nuclear Navy Gap, the Balance of Payments Gap, the Foreign Policy Gap (plural); the Poverty Gaps, the Medicaid Gap, the Inter-Government Relations Gap, the Guns and Butter Gap, Trading With the Enemy Gap, the Cost of Living Gap, the Crime Gap and many others.

Is there any wonder that any one of these or perhaps the combination of many of these has resulted in the Popularity Gap documented by poll takers?

As a result Asian historians will probably calle 1967 the Year of the Ram. To American historians the "year of the ram" was in 1965 when runaway legislation was rammed through Congress, in part leading to the Great Gap Society.

To them 1967 has to be a year of the Gap Flap.

Judge Pine Dissents Once More

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, a number of public opinion polls have indicated recently that Americans rank crime one of the major ills of our society today.

Every American agrees that our Nation's leaders must move to stop the shocking increases in crime on our Nation's streets. However, as in most public policy issues, disagreement exists on the best course of action to reduce crime.

I know many of my colleagues are intimately familiar with a report filed a few days ago by the President's Commission To Study Crime in the District of Columbia. The Commission's report received a great deal of public attention and it has been widely discussed in the District of Columbia and throughout the United States.

To my way of thinking it is unfortunate that the minority report to the Crime Commission's recommendations has received relatively little public notice. I am pleased, therefore, to be able to call my colleagues' attention to an article by James J. Kilpatrick in a recent edition of the Washington Star on the dissenting statement prepared by Judge David A. Pine. My colleagues will remember Judge Pine as the U.S. district judge who read President Truman a lecture on the powers of Government in the steel seizure case. Judge Pine's statements on matters of public policy are always important, and I would appreciate an opportunity to include Mr. Kilpatrick's article on Judge Pine's dissenting crime report in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The article follows:

JUDGE PINE DISSENTS ONCE MORE

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

David A. Pine probably is best remembered, abroad in the land, as the U.S. District judge who rebuked Harry Truman in the steel seizure case. His opinion of April 29, 1952, remains to this day a shining moment in the recent history of constitutional law. Now Pine has made another significant contribution to public understanding of the role of law. It too should be remembered.

Unhappily, the circumstances are quite different. Fifteen years ago, Pine spoke from a national spotlight. Truman had relied upon his "inherent" powers as President to justify seizure of the mills. Coldly and dispassionately, Pine read him a lecture in fundamental principles:

> The government of the United States has no inherent powers; its limited and enumerated powers are delegated solely by the Constitution; not even a President may exceed them.

To the delight of constitutional conservatives, Pine found the seizure order "illegal and without authority of law." For a few days the jurist was a national figure.

Thirteen years elapsed. In the summer of 1965 President Johnson created a special commission to study crime in the District of Columbia. The President stacked this body with liberals and moderates, either 5-4 or 7-2 depending upon how one reads the litmus indications, but to lend some semblance of balance Johnson also named to the commission Judge David A. Pine. Ten days ago, the commission filed its ponderous two-volume report. Pine dissented.

In the nature of such things, the majority's findings and recommendations properly commanded the greatest attention. Crime in Washington, to put the matter bluntly, is appalling. A great many of the majority proposals, with which Pine concurred, were assuredly sound. Yet the tone of the majority report, taken as a whole, suffered from the tremolo so familiar to the liberal chorus. In this dewy-eyed view, crime is a social sickness and criminals are merely ill. Punishment is a dirty word, and brutality is something the police must guard against. An answer to crime must be found in treatment of the root causes—poverty, discrimination, ill housing. And so on.

Pine turned upon his majority colleagues the same cool gaze that 15 years ago he turned on Truman.

"Throughout its deliberations," he wrote, "it seemed to me the commission was concentrating on minutiae, statistics, and social and economic studies. This is reflected in its report and in the voluminous reports submitted by the commission's staff. I do not disparage their relevancy or importance. Neither do I dispute that socio-economic ills are a vital causative factor in the commission of crime, and that steps should be taken to alleviate them, but there are other causes to which I think the commission might have given greater attention than it did."

Pine took a backward look. During the dark days of the depression, the country also was afflicted by abject poverty, distress and misery, "but I do not recall at that time that there was a vast upsurge in crime." Indeed, between 1931 and 1935, while the nation was gaining a million in population, most major criminal offenses actually declined.

What has produced the frightening picture that obtains today? In Pine's view, it has resulted in part from abandonment of the old proposition that crime is crime, and must be punished. In his own mind, "I have felt that one of the immediate, urgent ways to repress crime was swift, certain and impartial justice."

"My experience has caused me to believe," he added, "that once wrongdoers are convinced that the law is not to be trifled with and that they will be called to account for their misdeeds, crime will decrease."

His colleagues did not share that old-fashioned view. Pine was perplexed to find "that some members of the commission and its staff seemed to believe it to be our responsibility to suggest means for making the lot of the wrongdoer a little easier, rather than to find ways for reducing crime."

The 75-year-old jurist devoted a large part of his dissenting statement to a clinical dissection of certain judgments of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. In the last six years, this court has reversed criminal convictions in 161 cases, and many of these have been flagrant cases of wide public concern. Petty legalisms, trivial technicalities, and an excessive solicitude for the defendant's rights have figured in these reversals; and time after time the released defendants have promptly returned to the streets to commit new crime. The District's rate of recidivism is shockingly high.

Pine's comments doubtless will be interred in the obscurity that awaits a minority voice in an 1,800-page report. Yet history suggests that dissenters are not necessarily wrong; they may be merely outvoted at the moment. Here the judge's views did not prevail, but he was as sound in this statement as he was sound in the broadside he threw at Truman 15 years ago. What a pity it is that he never made it to the highest tribunal of them all!

Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD a timely editorial which appeared in the January 25, 1967, issue of the Los Angeles Times questioning the administration's social security proposal.

The Los Angeles Times, in asking the question "Hasn't the time come to take that program out of politics?" recommends the enactment of legislation to provide for an 8-percent social security increase at this time coupled with an automatic cost-of-living increase.

The editorial follows:

POLITICS IN SOCIAL SECURITY

President Johnson's sweeping proposal on Social Security raises an immediate question:

Hasn't the time come to take that program out of politics?

When conceived in the mid-thirties, it was believed that huge reserves would be built up so that the program would be fully funded. That did not occur, because politicos could not resist the temptation to augment the program in one way or another in biennial election years.

As a result present available reserves are insufficient to cover one year's benefits. Instead of the original estimate of a $54 billion reserve in 1967, the amount is now only $20 billion, while the outgo for the year is estimated well in excess of $25 billion.

The "unfunded liability"—obligation to pay benefits for which reserves are not now in hand—amounts to $400 billion. Mr. Johnson's new proposals would add another $100 billion of unfunded liability. That $500 billion total, incidentally, is half the financial worth of all individuals in the United States.

The whopping payroll tax increase the President proposes would, according to fiscal experts, virtually exhaust the potential of that levy as a revenue-raiser. Congress, therefore, may be forced to dip into the general treasury in the future to meet the costs.

An extra $2 billion would be paid beneficiaries during the final six months of 1967, and an additional $4.5 billion would be handed out in 1968. Of that amount only about $1 billion would be offset by initial Social Security taxes.

Obviously President Johnson is simply doing what politicos before him have done—but on a far vaster scale than ever before proposed.

Indicative of the political motivation is the fact that the bulk of the increased taxation would be deferred until after the 1968 election. The administration plainly is aware that those voters whose payroll taxes would ultimately be doubled wouldn't be too happy if reminded of that fact just before they went to the polls. Nor would employers who are required to match the amounts paid by their workers.

Congress is bound to modify the Presidential request, which would result in an average 20% increase in benefits. Republicans are insisting that the increase be held to 8%, an amount they contend can be financed from cash surpluses without increased taxes.

Whatever benefit increase is finally decided upon, The Times urges one further step.

The Congress should enact the GOP proposal for automatic cost-of-living increases. If the cost of living in one quarter increased at an annual rate of 3% or more, benefit checks would be increased by a similar amount in the following quarter.

We are persuaded that is the only way by which Social Security can be removed from election-year politics.

Beneficiaries whose fixed and meager income is eroded by inflation assuredly are entitled to increases. But those increases should not, and must not, come solely at the whim of vote-hungry politicians.

Farewell Day in Cleveland, Ohio, for Jim Brown, January 29, 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I wish to pay tribute at this time to a great athlete, Jim Brown of the Cleveland Browns—one of the greatest football players of all time—who retired at the end of the 1965 season.

The city of Cleveland will pay tribute to Jim Brown this Sunday, January 29, 1967, at the Cleveland Arena. This day has taken on special meaning for Jim and for the city because the day's events are sponsored by and will be for the benefit of the Negro Industrial and Economic Union, of which Jim Brown is one of the founders.

This endeavor was developed by prominent athletes to assist the American Negro to attain a meaningful and respectable position within the framework of the American economy. This group plans to promote business and industry opportunities on a competitive basis by providing capital and other specialized assistance to qualify members of the union who wish to start or improve business, to expand, relocate, or consolidate existing business ventures. It has been the intention of this group to make financing of such endeavors less restrictive because of collateral requirements or high interest rates. This is a nonprofit organization.

The Negro Industrial and Economic Union has been designated to benefit from Jim Brown Day because of his dedication to its high purpose of opportunity development for others. This nonprofit organization maintains its national office at 10515 Euclid Avenue, in Cleveland.

Jim Brown is the president, Arnold Pinkney is the secretary-treasurer, Dola Miller is the management director, John Wooten the executive director, Booker Griffin the executive secretary, Carl B. Stokes the legal adviser, and William Stennis the director of finance. The group expects to become a national organization with offices in all cities. Their national goal anticipates a total capitalization of $10 million within 5 years.

I wish to include a fine article which appeared in the Plain Dealer, by Mr. Hal Lebovitz, Plain Dealer sports editor, entitled "What's Jim Brown Organizing?"

I wish to commend Jim Brown on his fine athletic career and upon this important national endeavor upon which he has entered and wish to extend my congratulations to all of the participants of this vital program. The article by Mr. Lebovitz follows:

WHAT'S JIM BROWN ORGANIZING?

(By Hal Lebovitz)

The other day we rapped our civic leaders for failing to get off dead center. This has become a "talk" town, with little action. Our leaders appear afraid to take chances, to gamble. They actually seem fearful of progress. They're running scared.

Therefore today it's a pleasure to write about somebody who is trying to do something constructive—at his own expense and time. Not talking, doing.

Jim Brown is going around today with an attache case. Except for those unusual shoulders and slim hips you'd never know he was an athlete.

He and several other Negroes have combined to form what could be called "Operation Bootstrap." The purpose is to invite Negroes to pull themselves out of their economic doldrums—not to wait around for handouts.

The Brown's fullback has coralled other professional athletes throughout the United States to go along with him in this goal. The Negro athlete who, through his own physical and mental ability has risen to a better life, is seeking to help his fellow Negro, achieve economic security. The athlete is the cornerstone of Jim Brown's program.

We never have seen Brown more excited, or more thrilled over a project. A record number of touchdowns, or a championship couldn't enthuse him more.

Brown is getting all the Negro athletes to put up $100 each. This fund is the starter. Offices are now being set up in major cities for door-to-door fund-raising campaigns in Negro neighborhoods. A regular membership is $2.00. Lifetime membership is $5.00 The money will be used to help Negroes help themselves. An office is being established at E. 105th and Euclid, with Jim Shorter of the Washington Redskins, and John Wooten of the Browns, in charge.

"Of course we athletes are interested in Civil Rights," says Jim. "But we're not interested in participating in the picketing, the sit-ins, the singing, the marching and the kneeling. We're not interested in being Nationalists. We don't want to go around shooting.

"What is the real basis for the Negro's problem? It's economics. As athletes we feel this is the area we can help in. We can do this, we think, by getting the Negroes to help themselves."

The idea began to develop about two years ago. Brown was in Los Angeles for an All-Star Game. Some talented young Negroes interested him in a new fashion magazine, to be called "Elegant." It folded after ten issues because the group lacked money.

It had nowhere to turn for financial help after the original money was used up. There were no Negro lending institutions to tap and the white bankers weren't interested.

"That's it, you see," says Brown. "We have been consumers. Not producers. If we could provide dollars to allow Negroes to become producers—to publish magazines, to run factories—there wouldn't be a need now for a poverty program, where people wait around for handouts.

"Instead of a Negro owning one little old grocery store or some tiny record shop, maybe he could own a big one. Or several. What he would need is the financial backing."

He gave an example of a grocer in Harlem who got a $200,000 loan from Jackie Robinson's Freedom National Bank. The grocer now has a chain and is doing an exceptional business.

"That's what we want to do," says Brown, "on a national scale. You'd be surprised how many people come to me with good business ideas. All they need is the money. They simply don't know where to get it."

Here Carl Stokes, who recently lost in the mayoral race by a fraction, is the legal advisor of the organization, known officially as the "Negro Industrial and Economic Union." Arnold Pinckney, a highly successful insurance man, is also active with the Cleveland athletes.

"One good thing about our organization," says Jim, "is we're not moving anybody in or out. We're definitely not trying to build a separate economy. There's no interest in trying to divide the community. We simply want to try to get the Negro to have full participation in the economy. And that must be done by turning the Negro into a producer, something he hasn't been."

For two years, since the Los Angeles episode, Jim has had the intense desire to do something constructive. "But we didn't want to jump into anything cold," he explains.

"We wanted to be sure of our foundation. We wanted good, solid people from which to grow. Most of us in it, will be giving—not talking. We'll be giving time and money. I know every one of the top echelon personally.

"What we present now is a new image: A young group, no agitators, no power-hungry people. We'll be able to do more in Watts in Los Angeles than any other organization. In fact our Los Angeles chapter has started there already."

Jim reveals that night after night he, other members of the Browns, and players from various pro teams, sat around talking about the problem. A survey in New York revealed the lack of unskilled Negro workers and the dearth of Negro businesses there.

"That was the whole story—right there," he says. "We wanted to do something right away, a positive contribution. Our contribution could be two-fold, we decided. We could contribute educationally and financially.

"We must get people in a frame of mind to try to do something for themselves; to overcome despondency; to make them realize there's hope. This must be done by education.

"As ball-players we have a built-in attraction. We're prepared to go to schools, colleges, anywhere we're asked, to give the message of how the Negro can help himself. This won't cost money—just time. And when you're enthused you're glad to spend the time."

Financially, each player also put up cash.

Brown sums it up: "In this world everybody seems to be asking for somebody else to do something. We want the Negro to help himself. We're going right to the grass roots. It would be done in the framework of the existing economy. And if we're successful it'll help the entire economy, period."

Word already has reached Washington about the group Jim is spearheading. He was called there to a meeting of the Small Business Association. He came back with his attache case filled with interesting literature.

"Now," he said, pointing to his case, "we have a greater knowledge of lending institutions. So right from the beginning we can render a service.

"And if the whole thing fails, at least we can say we tried."

Jim Brown doesn't have to put his time and money into "Operation Bootstrap." He's financially set. He can stay with the Browns as long as he desires. Even after he retires next year, the pay checks will continue, for his football salary has been spread over a period of years. He has an excellent job with Pepsi-Cola. He is about to make a movie and has a contract for three more. He is a ten percent owner of "Mainbout," which will handle the pay TV for the next heavyweight title bout. Columbia Broadcasting System has talked with him about a radio future.

Jim Brown could sit back and comment on the passing parade. He could ignore the problem he sees. Instead he wants to help solve it. Only through effort can goals be achieved.

Ukrainian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. WILLIAM STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, nearly half a century has passed since the world witnessed the brief glory of Ukrainian independence. On January 22, 1918, the Ukrainians finally realized the culmination of their aspirations for liberty and dreams for national independence, which several centuries of Russian domination had prevented. Even though Ukrainian independence was officially recognized by the Bolsheviks, within 2 years the Russians had reconquered the Ukraine.

Despite the brevity of their liberty, despite long centuries of foreign domination, despite the anguish and despair of the Ukrainian people, their commitment to Ukrainian independence has never been destroyed.

During both periods of Russian domination the Russians have tried to incorporate the Ukraine, denying its people self-government and those basic rights considered inalienable in Western philosophy. At one point in Ukrainian history—in 1863—their Russian tasklords even denied the Ukrainian people their own language. During both periods of Russian domination, the Ukrainians have been subjected to many atrocities, including mass executions and deportations.

The Soviet Union may through coercion continue to maintain the Ukraine in captivity for the present, but they will never succeed in controlling the Ukrainians' passions for freedom, liberty, independence, and national identity. The Ukrainians are not a submissive people; the history of their long struggle for independence is a testament to their unyielding, indomitable spirit. The Ukrainian poet laureate described that spirit as follows:

THE CAUCASUS

So likewise shall our spirit never die
Nor our dear freedom wholly vanquished lie.
Sooner may foemen hope to plough with glee
A meadow at the bottom of the sea
As chain the living soul with force uncouth
Or choke to death the vital word of Truth.
The glory of our God may not be rent,
The glory of the Lord Omnipotent.

Today we wish to express our deep respect for the Ukrainian people and add our fervent hope to theirs for their restoration of independence.

Action on Trading Stamps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, in their typical fashion of distorting the purposes of my legislation, the truth-in-trading-stamps bill, the Sperry & Hutchinson Co., which issues S. & H. stamps has charged that it is my desire to outlaw trading stamps.

We would be taking the exorbitant profit out of the trading stamps that are adding to food costs, but it is absolutely false to say that my legislation calls for the abolition of stamps. It is typical of the deceptive tactics of these companies to falsely represent my bill and then ask 500 housewives in my district:

> Do you think that people should have the right to save trading stamps if they so choose, or should stamps be banned by law?

There is nothing whatsoever in the legislation that calls for the abolition of stamps but it does call for the right, in the free American tradition, of providing the American people with the freedom of choice to determine if they want their premiums or their cash returned. Stamps are not free or a gift—as advertised—and my legislation simply recognizes this and also the fact that a housewife could receive a whole week's supply of groceries per year without additional cost if she were allowed to turn in these stamps for cash.

After misrepresenting my legislation, the Sperry & Hutchinson Co. announced gleefully that 72 percent of the housewives had said that people should have the right to save trading stamps and therefore 72 percent were against my legislation. This is a deceptive practice and it is high time these myths that surround the "something-for-nothing" game are exposed. It is because the American people believe in freedom of choice that I introduced my legislation in the first place—to give them the choice they are now denied. Under my legislation they would finally be able to save trading stamps if they so choose and not to save them if they would prefer to have the cash. The housewife would no longer be forced to purchase something she elected not to in a "tie in" sale if the "truth-in-trading stamp" legislation is passed by this Congress.

After this new display of deception and trickery I am more determined than ever to bring truth into the trading stamp game.

The housewives of America are fed up with the unnecessarily high cost of food and have been insisting that somebody do something about this situation which affects every budget in America.

Farsighted States are doing just that and under leave to extend my remarks I include in the RECORD an article from the Drug News Weekly, January 23, 1967, which describes the attempt of the California Legislature to come to grips with this problem. I respectfully commend this action to the attention of the Congress because State action along with the Federal controls I propose in my Truth-in-Trading Stamps Act will respond to consumer demands and bring this situation under control.

The article referred to follows:

CALIFORNIA BILL TO SEEK TIGHTER STAMP CONTROL

SACRAMENTO, CALIF.—A bill aimed at strengthening California's control and regulation of the 25 medium-size trading stamp companies within the State is being readied for introduction in the State Assembly.

Members of the staff of Assemblyman Bob Moretti, Hollywood Democrat, who is chairman of the Interim Committee on Finance and Insurance, say prospects are bright for passage of an omnibus stamp control bill.

The legislation probably will try to wrap up in one law the four major recommendations Mr. Moretti's committee made after a study of the insolvent demise of Thrifty Green Stamps, Inc., and the relative ineffectiveness of the Trading Stamp Act of 1960.

Mr. Moretti's bill is a recognition that, as he puts it: "The Trading Stamp Act as it is now constituted is an ineffective regulatory tool. The act does not provide an effective statutory mechanism for the public protection of stamp holders."

As evidence to bolster this claim, Mr. Moretti's committee report notes that since the act took effect three companies licensed under that law have not been able to meet their obligations. They have wound up coming before the State Corporation Commissioner in liquidation proceedings.

In two such cases, Mr. Moretti reported, persons holding the stamps found they had a redemptive value of less than 35 cents on the dollar. "Not all stamps were tendered, however," he said. "So in both instances, the actual redemptive value on those that did turn up was well below 50 cents on the dollar."

On a liquidation proceeding now coming up, that of Thrifty Green Stamps, the payout to stamp retainers is estimated at about 35 cents on the dollar.

The committee contends that Thrifty's insolvency is a prime example of the dangers of under-regulation of the many regional and local stamp firms in California.

Mr. Moretti's committee consultant Edward Levy pointed out that the super firms of the trading stamp industry, like Blue Chip in California or S&H nationwide, pose no problem from the regulatory standpoint because they are solid and solvent. It is the smaller, local stamp outfits which need a firm regulatory hand, the committee said.

"Thrifty Green was licensed and issuing stamps in April 1966 at the very time when its financial statement indicated it had a sizable deficit capital position," reported Mr. Moretti's committee.

Colgate University Meets Challenge of Ford Foundation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER PIRNIE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to report that Colgate University in Hamilton, N.Y., has just taken a giant step forward in guaranteeing its future as a leading, independent college of the liberal arts—one of the finest in the Nation.

Three years ago, Colgate President Vincent M. Barnett, Jr., was invited to accept the greatest challenge ever presented to the university in its 150-year history. The Ford Foundation offered Colgate a $2.2 million grant on the condition that the university raise $6.6 million in eligible matching funds before June 30, 1967. That challenge not only was accepted and met, but was exceeded by more than $200,000, 6 months before the deadline. That is a significant and impressive accomplishment of which everyone associated with the endeavor should be justifiably proud.

This is but a portion of an overall success story at Colgate. With support coming from many and varied sources, including several Federal grants, the university to date has raised $16 million toward a $23 million 5-year goal which is expected to be reached by 1969, Colgate's sesquicentennial anniversary.

The future of higher education in America depends, in large measure, upon the continued success and growth of the independent colleges. It is with this thought in mind, coupled with my particular interest in this fine university that lies within the district I am privileged to represent in the Congress, that I commend Colgate and give well-deserved praise to its family of supporters.

ABC-ITT Merger: The Justice Delay Is Justice Denied

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to comment today on the recent action taken by the Justice Department and in particular the Antitrust Division in opposition to the Federal Communications Commission's approval of the merger between American Broadcasting Co. and International Telephone & Telephone Co.

At the outset let me make it absolutely clear that I believe that the Justice Department should actively and most vigorously police the antitrust laws of this Nation.

On the other hand, I am sure that many Members of Congress are familiar with the background of this merger. The FCC has spent almost 1 year studying the proposal while the Justice Department has spent over a year investigating the ramifications and effects of the merger.

In this connection the FCC considered all the facts of this case, and operating under the rules and regulations set forth by the Congress, carried out its obligations in a proper manner. Public hearings were duly held before the entire Commission, during the course of which hearings, the Justice Department elected to remain aloof. It did not participate. It was given every opportunity to voice its opinion, and it elected not to do so.

However, it is also a fact that no other interested parties voiced any objections to this merger. Now, in an 11th-hour move, the Justice Department has suddenly intervened, completely ignoring what seemed to be the evidence. The question in my mind is why and under what prompting did the Justice Department suddenly decide on a change of course. Why did the Department wait until the FCC had rendered its decision before it attempted to block this merger?

It has long been my feeling that the purpose of the antitrust laws was to assure competition rather than to stifle it in any respect.

It seems to me that the action of the FCC in approving the merger was to make it possible for a third network, ABC, which until now has had difficulting in competing with the giants, National Broadcasting Co. and Columbia Broadcasting System, to merge with a large company, acquiring able management, a better corporate structure, and putting the corporation in a position where it could more effectively compete. It is generally believed that at this time ABC is not in any position to give effective competition to CBS, much less NBC.

To me, the action of the Justice Department is ill advised and contrary to public interest. I would suggest, Mr. Speaker, that if the Justice Department has any new and pertinent information concerning this merger, it make its information available at once. But to try and stifle the principles of free enterprise is subject to the strongest criticism.

Latin America's Population Dilemma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, for many years the Keene Evening Sentinel, published daily in the Second Congressional District, of New Hampshire, has been an outstanding example of a small newspaper doing a big job.

Although its circulation is centered in a rural area far from the world's population centers, it has consistently promoted the interests of international harmony and understanding through thoughtful articles and editorials.

Recently, in an attempt to increase its already ample coverage of world affairs, the Sentinel inaugurated as a regular Saturday feature, "World Focus," a page devoted entirely to international news and issues. This section is a shining example of what can be done by a capable and interested publiction, despite limitations of staff size and space.

Much of this scope and direction is due to the efforts of its publisher, Mr. James D. Ewing, who has traveled extensively throughout the world gathering information for many of these articles.

A recent series by Mr. Ewing discussed most thoughtfully and comprehensively the problem of Latin America's population explosion and dilemma. I commend the series, which follows, to my colleagues for its treatment of a most serious and yet rarely publicized or understood problem:

POPULATION DILEMMA—LATIN AMERICA'S REAL THREAT

(By James D. Ewing)

The most serious threat to Latin America is rarely discussed in public: the region's population is increasing too rapidly.

There is a possibility—indeed a probability—that millions of people will be relatively worse off in the years ahead unless high birth rates can be curbed and economic development greatly accelerated. Both actions are necessary to prevent the fantastic rate of population increase from wiping out all the economic and social gains being made under the Alliance for Progress.

As matters now stand, with the exception of a handful of individual nations, population is rising faster than food production, faster than industrial development, faster than school, hospital and housing construction.

It all adds up to less food, less employment, less education and fewer medical and social services, per capita, than in the past. It's a prospect which contains a built-in invitation to Communist agitation.

Latin America's rate of population growth is the highest in the world—significantly higher than Asia's or Africa's, according to the best available figures. At the present rate, the population would double every 23 years.

There isn't a country on earth, including the United States, which could cope with that kind of growth without a drastic lowering of living standards. It is political dynamite.

Thanks to greater self-help, coupled with massive aid from the Alliance for Progress, many Latin American countries are showing (by normal standards) very encouraging economic growth rates. But the situation isn't normal. Too often the population growth is even greater, which means that, per capita, they are going backward, not forward.

There does not appear to be any one way to check this slide toward disaster. Advocates of expanded birth control programs talk as though they had the whole answer. So do those who argue that it's just a matter of stepping up economic progress and developing the interiors of most countries.

But practically speaking, reasonable hope for a solution lies only in doing all these things simultaneously and on a scale never before attempted.

The obvious need for much more extensive and effective birth control programs—for those who want to use them—is still obscured behind a veil of semi-secrecy in many countries, and even the most advanced programs are relatively limited.

Advocates of voluntary family planning are inclined to place most of the blame on the opposition of the Catholic Church. But this is not entirely accurate or fair, because the church in a number of countries is looking the other way.

There are other important obstacles. One is the traditional concept of the supremacy of the male, which includes the principle that he alone has the right to determine whether the act of creation shall take place.

Beyond this, there is the belief that a man's virility is measured by the number of children he sires, especially males, and that the more children there are, the greater the parents' chances for a secure old age.

For these reasons, even in countries where the Catholic Church pretends not to notice birth control programs, there is political timidity and a positive aversion to public discussion.

But behind the veil, some progress is taking place, though it's only a beginning.

POPULATION DILEMMA—FOOD PRODUCTION A CRUSHING NEED

(By James D. Ewing)

In all but two or three South American countries, voluntary family planning and birth control programs have been started. In several, they are getting important governmental support.

Usually this has been a case of making the right move for what some would consider the wrong reason.

In Chile, for example, it was publication of shocking statistics on abortions which prompted the government to start a birth control program, largely educational. Despite the fact that voluntary abortion is illegal, the director of the Chilean National Health Service said in 1965 that for the 260,000 children born there annually, there were 150,000 abortions.

ABORTION RATE

In Brazil publication of equally startling figures has helped a rudimentary birth control program get started. A medical statistical study indicated that 60 per cent of the budgets of maternity hospital services were devoted to treating abortion patients.

In Colombia, where the population has doubled in just 10 years, the government has also begun a birth-control information program, and some private clinics have gotten under way.

In Peru, very little progress has been made. In Argentina and Uruguay the rate of population increase is low enough to pose no serious threat. These two countries are exceptions to the almost universal pattern.

Elsewhere even if the cultural and religious objections to birth control were overcome, it's almost inconceivable that the necessary educational and clinical birth control programs could be instituted on a scale adequate to cope with the population problem by that method alone. It would take too much money and too much trained medical and para-medical personnel.

At best, therefore, family planning and birth control efforts are but one avenue of attack on the overall population problem.

FOOD PRODUCTION

Of equal or even greater importance is the need to step up food production and industrial development. The first is required simply to feed burgeoning populations without the necessity of costly import programs which increase prices to the consumer and drain off reserves of foreign currencies.

The second is essential not only to provide more jobs but also to generate the tax revenues needed to modernize agriculture and to educate millions of young people in the skills which modern technology demands on the farm and in the factory.

As has been true in other parts of the world, many Latin American countries have pushed industrialization and neglected agriculture. And even the industries have, in some instances, been developed more for reasons of national prestige than economic good sense.

FURTHER COMPLICATIONS

In either case, the hope of industrial employment has lured millions of peasants to the industrial centers, where they live in expanding slums and add to urban problems which are already frightening.

Thus agriculture must not only be made more efficient; it must be made more attractive and profitable to millions of people who now dream only of leaving it. Among other things, this will require a vast array of weapons ranging from land redistribution to improved credit facilities; from expanded technical assistance programs to modernized marketing and processing procedures.

Underlying the agricultural and industrial challenges, and essential to meeting both, is the need for drastic reform and tremendous expansion of educational systems which in most countries are woefully inadequate.

Unless education is improved and extended to millions who are now effectively denied it, neither agriculture or industry can be developed fast enough to cope with the population explosion.

POPULATION DILEMMA—EDUCATION IS KEY TO PROGRESS

(By James D. Ewing)

If Latin America is to develop to its full potential, and especially if it is to deal with the consequences of its rising population, educational systems must be overhauled and expanded enormously.

Most modern industries require an increasingly high proportion of skilled workers and technicians. Modern farming also demands a high level of technical know-how. In a world in which technology is more and more essential to the creation of wealth, education is thus the key to progress.

ANCIENT SYSTEM

The largest nation in South America—far bigger than the 48 continental United States—is Brazil. But its educational system is almost archaic.

Elementary education is free, but is not available to many, and to still others only on a limited basis. The student who makes it through the elementary grades probably has to pay for his secondary schooling.

There are some state-supported secondary schools, but the majority are privately operated and charge tuition. This automatically eliminates a high proportion of potential students.

At the university level, free education is again readily available for those who get that far. But the curriculum for generations has been heavily weighted toward the humanities. Thus, in addition to a built-in limitation on the numbers who can obtain a university education, the system turns out too many lawyers and too few engineers, agronomists, and other technicians. There are very few vocational schools at any level.

GRIM FIGURES

The statistics are startling. Of every 1,000 youngsters who enter elementary school in Brazil, only 180 finish the full course. Of that number, 98 go on to a secondary school, but only 52 graduate. Fifty go on to a university preparatory school, but only 34 graduate.

Of that number, 17 go on to higher education of some sort and 13 graduate—which means that only 1.3 per cent of all students who begin formal education ever obtain a college degree.

In other countries, the situation is better, and in some cases worse. Almost everywhere an effort is being made to improve things, but there is evidence that in most cases it's too little and too late.

The result is that in most of Latin America the skilled workers, the managers and the technicians so urgently needed for rapid development simply don't exist in sufficient numbers. This is the major reason, for example, why the newspapers in Lima, Peru, publish a number of help-wanted ads, even though 50 per cent of the people are so poor they are effectively outside the money economy and would obviously leap at the chance for an industrial job. The shortage is not of people, but of trained, educated people.

It is also the reason why almost limitless amounts of capital and, where they exist, vast, undeveloped land areas won't be enough to provide sufficient food and jobs to feed, clothe and house the expanding population better than in the past.

LIFE EXPECTANCY

Better medicine and modern drugs are increasing life expectancy and decreasing infant mortality. Simultaneously, high birth rates continue. They all add up to populations which in many cases are doubling in 25 years or less.

Economic development, frequently impressive in statistical terms, is silently being cancelled out by the population explosion.

There is no one answer. At the least, a solution requires, first, sweeping improvements and expansion in education, which, second, would supply the trained manpower to permit more rapid agricultural and industrial development. Third, voluntary birth control programs for those who want and need them should be available.

Even the most sympathetic observer is forced to wonder whether the full implications of the problem are understood except by a relative handful of Latin Americans.

It is a challenge which demands imaginative and courageous leadership, and a sense of urgency which is notably lacking in many influential quarters of many countries.

The Moral Sense of the Scientists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, an editorial appeared in the January 20, 1967 edition of Science magazine. It is a pertinent appraisal of the moral responsibility of the scientist in light of his expanding role in today's world. I therefore draw it to the attention of the Members and offer it for insertion in the RECORD.

THE MORAL SENSE OF THE SCIENTISTS

(By J. V. Reistrup)

(NOTE.—This editorial is condensed from a column in the 5 January issue of *The Washington Post* and is used here by permission of the publisher.)

The recent meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science provided an impressive body of evidence that many scientists now are indeed worried about their social responsibility. The announced theme of the week's sessions was "How Man Has Changed His Planet," and the phrase provided far more than a take-off point for bragging. It was a symptom of the unease that permeated the meeting.

Thus Thomas F. Malone warned one session that the possible consequences of weather modification must be weighed "before we are called upon to deal with them." Malone, vice president of the Travelers Insurance Company, told his audience: "The point is that there is still time for reflective thought, for setting objectives, for weighing alternative courses of action—in short, to act responsibly."

In the kind of exhortation that had telling effect on its audience but could earn little space in newspapers, Malone went on: "If the exploration of weather modification adds one more small brick to the edifice that contains world conflict and supports world order, science will have served a noble purpose by enriching human life. The burden of responsibility for seeing that this happens is, I believe, on scientists."

It was not only the prospects of man's modifying weather, however, that aroused concern. Other aspects of man's effects on his environment—notably air and water pollution—also stirred it up.

Questions from the audience at a session on pest control, for instance, indicated widespread worry about the use of chemical pesticides whose residues last a long time, such as DDT. The questioners were looking for the kind of assurance they got from George L. Mehren, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, that most Government research money in pesticides—the 1966 figure was 79 percent—is now going into nonchemical means.

The impact of science on man's social environment drew concern, too, as the sessions on the races of humankind showed. The most heated area of dispute was on the question of how scientific inquiry would do least to feed the fires of racial animosity. One school held that the best thing to do was stay away entirely from investigations of the differences between the races, which one scholar labeled "pseudoscientific"; the other held that inquiry should go forward but that researchers have the obligation to denounce erroneous interpretations drawn from it. Geneticist Theodosius Dobzhansky, an exponent of the latter argument, added: "And in our world a scientist has no right to be irresponsible." The audience applauded his sentiment.

But exactly what is the scientists' responsibility in the matter of racial differences? The day of arguments produced no consensus.

Nor were those attending the meeting allowed to forget the historical examples of how science had hurt, rather than helped, mankind. Loren C. Eiseley, a historian of science, taxed the 19th century's evolutionists with characterizing races other than those of Western Europe as inferior, rather than simply different. The tags have persisted, he noted.

And Lynn T. White, Jr., another historian, argued that "both our present science and our present technology are so tinctured with Christian arrogance toward nature"—the attitude that it exists for the service of man—that "the remedy must also be essentially religious." Science and technology, he said, cannot answer all the questions they raise.

Mission in Moscow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, I should like to commend to our colleagues' attention an editorial "Mission in Moscow" that appeared in the Newark Evening News on Monday, January 16, 1967.

As the newspaper declares, the realization that what cannot be stopped today cannot be rolled back tomorrow should inject reason into the effort to come to terms on means of checking the nuclear arms race.

The editorial in full follows:

MISSION IN MOSCOW

First order of business for Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson on his new assignment to Moscow will be to present a message from President Johnson urging the Soviet Union to desist from extending its antiballistic missile system both in quantity and capability.

In terms understandable to the ordinary mind, this would seem an odd, even totally unrealistic request. Who beside the country itself should decide the nature of its defenses? Least of all, an ideological opponent and potential military enemy?

But these are no ordinary times, and they get steadily more extraordinary. The President's request makes sense only because the Soviet Union can be sure that if it extends its antimissiles, this country will, too. More, the offensive weapons needed to overcome better defense weapons will be developed. Under present knowledge, this will require nuclear explosions in the atmosphere and a wholesale system of defense shelters.

As cycle builds on cycle, the cost will become exorbitant. What's more, Russians and Americans alike could look forward to a life tuned to the sound of a missile warning and a dive into a shelter. Pretty grim, and certainly to be avoided in any way possible.

The disarmament business hasn't progressed very far. But enough is known to bring realization that what cannot be stopped today cannot be rolled back tomorrow. That in itself ought to inject some reason in the present effort to come to terms on means of checking the nuclear arms race.

The University of California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend our colleague, the gentleman from California [Mr. TUNNEY], for his remarks to the House yesterday concerning recent developments at the University of California. I would certainly agree completely that the heavy hand of politics, as it apparently has been practiced recently, can only damage the stature and confuse the purpose of a great institution of higher education.

I would like to say once again that I deplore the firing of one of this country's finest educators, Dr. Clark Kerr, from his post as president of the University of California. His shoes would be difficult to fill under the most agreeable of circumstances. But the fact that Dr. Kerr was fired only 3 weeks after the inauguration of a Governor who had repeatedly attacked him during his campaign for office will, I expect, make this task far more difficult.

There is also room for concern that this action may have complicated the university's task of attracting and keeping the topflight faculty which has made it one of the greatest centers of higher education in the world. I deeply hope this will not be the case, but here again I think that Governor Reagan may have made the university's job still more difficult.

Mr. Speaker, we cannot undo the lamentable action of firing Dr. Kerr, but we can hope that at least one of the apparently precipitating causes for it will be removed. I speak of the Governor's proposal to end the 98-year-old tradition of tuition-free education at the university. I speak also of his plan to cut the budget which the university felt was necessary for this next year by 30, not 10 as he has stated, but by 30 percent.

Let us remember that it takes generations to build a university and a State college system as fine as California's. It takes very little time at all, however, to dilute or even to destroy it.

I sincerely and earnestly hope this will not happen. I hope that the Governor will realize that we can not economize at the expense of education and the future of the young people of our State.

The Governor and his aids talk about returning from "never, never land" to the "world of reality." Well, let me suggest that the fastest way to do this is to provide education with the funds that it needs and to see that we do not erect barriers, such as tuition, at a great publicly supported institution of higher education, in the path of the many that need it most but can afford it least.

Mr. Speaker, the contribution of good wit and humor to a situation such as this is too often overlooked. Fortunately, it has not been in this case.

I include Mr. Art Buchwald's column from this morning's Washington Post which speaks with devastating effectiveness to the problem created by a new and obviously inexperienced State administration.

The column follows:

Capitol Punishment: California, Here I Come

(By Art Buchwald)

When President Clark Kerr was fired by California's Board of Regents last week, I immediately got a call from my Uncle Oscar.

"I hear they're looking for a new president for the University of California. You know anybody out there I can speak to?"

"Gee, Uncle Oscar, what credentials do you have to become the president of the largest university in the country?"

What credentials did Ronald Reagan have to become Governor of the State?" he said hopefully.

"That's different, Uncle Oscar, and let's keep politics out of this. The beautiful thing about the university system in California is that it remains above politics. Now what are your qualifications for the job?"

"I saw 'King's Row,' 'Brother Rat,' and 'Knute Rockne' three times. I'm one of Reagan's biggest fans. I still choke up everytime I see a re-run of 'Death Valley Days.'"

"I'm sure the Governor will be very pleased to hear it, Uncle Oscar, but he has a great deal of respect for education and he wouldn't hire someone to run his school system just because the person was a movie fan."

"I should hope not," Uncle Oscar said. "A state university system is a very serious thing and they should get someone who knows how to handle kids."

"Now you're talking, Uncle Oscar. What is your feeling about California students paying tuition to go to school?"

"I not only think the kids should pay tuition, but the teachers should too. You're not going to have a balanced budget in California unless the professors pay their own way."

"That's pretty radical, Uncle Oscar. There are very few schools in the country that require professors to pay tuition in order to teach."

"Well, just because they've been doing it one way for so long is no reason why they can't change. You have to get the money for the schools somewhere."

"There has been a lot of unrest on California campuses in the past few years. Do you have any idea how you can do away with it?"

"I'd build up a strong university police force. Instead of putting all that money into new buildings and research, I'd put it into police equipment—you know armored cars, riot helmets, tear gas masks and things like that. You get enough cops on campus and the students will run for the hills."

"That's pretty strong medicine."

"Well, they did it at the universities in Argentina and you don't have any student unrest down there."

"That's a point," I said. "What would you do to encourage a strong, independent faculty?"

"What's that?"

"Well, in order to have a good university system you've got to attract brilliant men who believe in what they're doing."

"I'd get control of the library. If you have the key to the library, nobody's going to mess with you."

"You make sense, Uncle Oscar. Now there is one more thing that everyone's going to insist on, and that is that the University of California must be kept out of the political arena. How do you plan to do this?"

"I'll do away with the Student Government for a start."

"Okay, Uncle Oscar, I'll pass on your application to the Board of Regents, but I wouldn't count on your getting the job."

"Why not? Who else are they going to get?"

"Buddy" Lewis: A Fitting Choice for Hall of Fame

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, John Kelly "Buddy" Lewis is one of the outstanding citizens of my home city of Gastonia, N.C. He is also a well-known former resident of our Nation's Capital. From 1935 through 1949, his name was a household word in the Washington area because of his outstanding performance on the baseball field with the Washington Senators.

Buddy Lewis is a man of outstanding attainment in athletics, citizenship, and community service. This was again recognized on Monday, January 23, 1967, when he was awarded the Gastonia Hall of Fame Sports Award at the annual sports banquet sponsored by the Gastonia Chamber of Commerce.

I know that many of Buddy's friends in the Congress, the Washington area, and throughout the Nation will be interested in reading an editorial which appeared in the Gastonia Gazette on Tuesday, January 24, 1967, as well as a column entitled "Pat's Peckings," by Neale Patrick which appeared in the same issue of the Gazette.

In saluting my close personal friend, Buddy Lewis, I join his many North Carolina friends in recognizing this new achievement.

Under unanimous consent I include the above-referred-to newspaper items as a part of the appendix of today's RECORD:

Banquet and Lewis Arrive at Same Time

It was an impressive affair, that sports banquet last night.

Some of the top names in the world of sports were there, and the local supporters came out by the hundreds to see and hear.

You don't let people like Bobby Richardson and Steve Spurrier come and go, if you love their sport, without making an effort to see them up close.

These guys are the greatest. And there were many more. Celebrities were on hand by the dozens. That's why the "Y" basketball court was filled to capacity. Around 900 people were fed. It was the largest banquet, probably, ever held in Gastonia.

There were many highlights. But one of the greatest moments came when J. K. (Buddy) Lewis assumed an easy stride down the right side of the gym, mounted the speaker's platform, and, blushing with modesty, accepted this year's Hall of Fame Award.

Few people in Gaston County have done more for the world of sports than has Buddy Lewis. Indeed, few people have done more for their community than has the former Washington Senator outfielder.

Lewis is one of those middle-aged Lions that a couple of AP reporters wrote about some few weeks back. He returned home from World War II, donned again his baseball uniform in Washington, and slugged the ball the way his fans knew he could.

Then, he returned to his home in Gastonia, established himself in the Ford business, and has had an excellent batting average in the world of business.

The name of Buddy Lewis, when added to any endeavor, carries with it a measure of excitement, an almost built-in guarantee of success.

The sports banquet, itself, was the beneficiary of the Lewis effort and has received much of his attention during its seven years of existence. Therefore, it is doubly satisfying that such an honor should come to such a man.

Gastonia is justifiably proud of its sports banquet.

But it is equally proud of Buddy Lewis, a gentleman, a competitor, a hard-working, community-minded individual who has heard the call of responsibility and has responded.

Our congratulations to those who helped make the sports event such an overwhelming success.

Our compliments and best wishes to Mr. Lewis who swings hard and hits 'em long.

Pat's Peckings—Buddy Lewis: A Fitting Choice for Hall of Fame

(By Neale Patrick)

It has been written that a prophet is not without honor, save in his own land.

In truth, many great athletes achieve fame and recognition afar, instead of in the land of their heritage.

Let it be added, however, that others in the field of athletics are with honor and are duly recognized at home. Such is the case of J. K. (Buddy) Lewis, third recipient of the Gastonia Hall of Fame Sports Award.

Buddy Lewis certainly has been one of Gastonia's finest and most outstanding contributions to sports. His ability and his leadership have long been recognized, here and nationwide.

Last night, his homefolks justly iced the cake of sports greatness that Buddy has molded in three and a half decades of service and achievement in athletics. The Sports Hall of Fame award is the most cherished recognition that Gastonia can give to those who have walked and led in that way of life.

Buddy Lewis has been a vital cog in baseball here since his teen age days as one of the legends of local Legion junior baseball. He played three years on the Post 23 All-Stars, his final season of 1933 leading to a regional championship.

That was the first step forward for Buddy to 11 years of stardom (.297 lifetime batting average) with the Washington Senators of the American League. He was our city's first major league product of the junior program.

It was a big league career, interrupted by three and a half years of Air Force duty during World War II, a service hitch which found Buddy "Flying the Hump" in the Burma-India theater.

JUNIOR BASEBALL DEVOTEE

That is only a skeleton outline of the career of service in sports and athletics that

Buddy has given to Gastonia, the state and his country.

Buddy, for instance, is the only person ever to play for, coach and supervise the Gaston Post 23 American Legion junior baseball program.

Twice, he has coached the local juniors. Several times he has headed the Post 23 Legion baseball committee. He also has served as Area Four junior diamond commissioner, directing the program for western North Carolina.

Buddy admits that, next to his family, junior baseball is the closest thing to his heart. He says that without the Legion program he would not have been given the opportunity to begin his major league career three years later. It was his stepping stone to baseball fame, his career in business here . . . and the Hall of Fame selection last night.

The National American Legion has recognized Buddy for long service to the junior baseball program, presenting him with an Award of Appreciation a few years ago. It is an award which is given in most exceptional cases to Legion diamond leaders across the land.

It is indeed fitting that Lewis has been honored, at home and afar, in the field that is so close to his heart.

In Buddy's playing days in the American League, he helped to spread abroad Gastonia's claim as a baseball community, an incubator of major and minor league diamonds stars.

Since retiring following the 1949 season, he has been a guiding force in bringing professional baseball to his home community.

He was the ram-rod in obtaining the Tri-State League franchise for the Rockets in the early fifties. He was instrumental in swinging the switch of the Columbus club of the Sally League to Gastonia in mid-season 1959.

Buddy, however, has not confined his athletic and leadership abilities to baseball. For instance, he is a member of the Wake Forest College committee raising funds for a new football stadium, a post which drew from him the quip: "I'm a baseball man. I don't know what I'm doing on a football stadium committee."

He also is a member of the committee which has been seeking a site for a new municipal stadium for Gastonia, and is a long-term member of the Sims Park Board. He, too, has been a moving force behind the Chamber of Commerce sports banquets over the years, little realizing that he would be singled out for his award last night.

Buddy's love for youth baseball and work with young boys carries over, too, to the fact that he was a major fund raiser for the building fund of the new Red Shield Boys Club.

He was a baseball hero to all Gastonia in his big league days. Buddy has returned to serve with honor at home, an inspiration to the youth of the community.

PLAYED WITH HALL OF FAMERS

A few years after Buddy retired from active baseball, he looked back at his 11 years with the Senators and picked his all-star American League team of that era. It read like this:

Bill Dickey of the Yankees, catcher; Lou Gehrig of the Yanks, Charlie Gehringer of the Tigers, Cecil Travis of the Senators and Phil Rizzuto of the Yankees, around the infield; Ted Williams of the Red Sox, Joe DiMaggio and Tommy Henrich of the Yankees in the outfield; and Bob Feller of the Indians and Hal Newhouser of the Tigers, pitchers.

The quality of the American League at the time Buddy was one of its stars is best shown by the fact that six of those 10 players against whom he played are now members of Baseball's Hall of Fame . . . Dickey, Gehrig, Gehringer, Williams, DiMaggio and Feller.

Buddy also was an all-star, twice in his career being named to the American League All-Star Game roster. He had the unusual distinction of being one of the few players in the history of the mid-summer classic to be selected at two different positions, at third base in 1938 and in the outfield in '47, after he had returned from the service.

He started both games for the AL, and recalls that a "pretty good hitter" pinch-hit for him in the 1938 game . . . a fellow by the name of Lou Gehrig.

Yes, Buddy Lewis' athletic qualifications are known afar . . . and at home. The secret committee which selected him for his award last night have let out a fact which really isn't a secret, after all.

Outstanding performances—Tied American League record for most games played in season by third baseman—156 (1937). Equaled American League record for most errors in game—4 (first game, August 19, 1937). Made 15 hits in four consecutive games; July 25, 26, 27, and 28, 1937. Led American League with most triples, 16 (1939). Led American League third basemen in assists, 359 (1938). Led American League third basemen in errors for three consecutive years, 1936–38, with 32–29–47 errors in successive years. Led American League third basemen in double plays, 1938. Led outfielders in assists, 16, (1946). Played in two all-star games, playing third base for American League team in 1938. He failed to hit in one trip to plate, had one assist afield; played outfield in '47 failing to hit in two plate trips.

Entered U.S. Army Air Force November 18, 1941, discharged July 23, 1945, and returned to Washington lineup, July 27, 1945.

Buddy Lewis' pro record

Year and club	League	Position	Games	At bat	Runs	Hits	2-base hits	3-base hits	Home runs	Runs batted in	Batting average
1934 Chattanooga	Southern League	3d base	10	21	4	7	2	0	0	1	.333
1935 Chattanooga	do	do	154	590	91	179	40	11	9	85	.303
1935 Washington	American League	do	8	28	0	3	0	0	0	2	.107
1936 Washington	do	do	143	601	100	175	21	13	6	67	.291
1937 Washington	do	do	156	668	107	210	32	6	10	79	.314
1938 Washington	do	do	151	656	122	194	35	9	12	91	.296
1939 Washington	do	do	140	536	87	171	23.	16	10	75	.319
1940 Washington	do	Outfield	148	600	101	190	38	10	6	63	.317
1941 Washington	do	do	149	569	97	169	29	11	9	72	.297
1942, 1943, 1944, 1945 (in U.S. Army Air Force).											
1945 Washington	do	do	69	258	42	86	14	7	2	37	.333
1946 Washington	do	do	150	582	82	170	28	13	7	45	.292
1947 Washington	do	do	140	506	67	132	15	4	6	48	.261
1948 (did not play)											
1949 Washington	American League	Outfield	95	257	25	63	14	4	3	28	.245
Major league total			1,349	5,261	830	1,563	249	93	71	607	.297

AID and California Colleges Join in Scholarship Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, on January 20, 1967, I was pleased to be present in the office of AID Administrator, William Gaud, with colleagues in the U.S. House of Representatives from California to witness the signing of a contract between AID and the California State colleges.

This contract is highly significant because it marks a major milestone in Vietnamese official programs in higher educational pursuits. It gives advanced Vietnamese students an opportunity to receive formal educational skills in the United States. This program will also provide an excellent opportunity for an exchange of ideas between our respective cultures. It will truly mean a new dimension in our efforts to provide the strength and will for these brave people to build their nation.

As I observed the signing ceremony between Dr. Glenn Dumke representing the California State colleges and Administrator William S. Gaud signing for AID with Ambassador Bui Diem of Vietnam looking on, I could not help but be proud of these great institutions of higher education of my native State. The 18 individual colleges of the system offer a unique opportunity for bringing academic richness and intellectual stimulation to the great population centers of our State. Under the very able leadership of Dr. Glenn S. Dumke, the chancellor and chief administrative officer, these colleges have grown to meet the dynamic challenge of a rapidly developing state. The contract is a true recognition of the spirit and resources provided by these schools and their respective center of excellence.

Additionally, I might point out that the management of this program will be realized without any use of California State tax revenues. Each college has a foundation which is self-supporting and which seeks to foster research on the various campuses. The funds for these foundations come from Federal, State, and local research grant money, as well as from public and private endowments. Each of the foundations is a nonprofit, self-financed corporation, which receives no State-appropriated funds for its operation. In the instance of the Vietnam student contract, the sponsor is the San Diego State College Foundation.

In conclusion of these remarks, I am pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a copy of the AID press release on the signing ceremony which succinctly presents the highlights and objectives of the program.

The press release follows:

AID AND CALIFORNIA COLLEGES JOIN IN SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

An Agency for International Development contract was signed today with a group of California State Colleges to provide up to four years of education for 100 students from Vietnam. Expected to arrive the end of February, the pilot group will give AID its first concentrated experience in the training of scholarship students from Southeast Asia.

The students will be divided into groups no larger than 15 and split up among seven of the 18 California State Colleges. Each successful candidate, selected from among 3,000 applicants, will therefore be a member of a particular small student group at a college campus with unique environmental and resource characteristics.

In signing the contract on behalf of the Agency, Administrator William S. Gaud noted that AID had selected the California complex in order to train students in small groups, while at the same time keeping them still close enough for useful coordination.

Signing for the colleges was Dr. Glenn S. Dumke, Chancellor of the 18-college system. Congressmen from California representing the districts in which the seven college campuses are located also took part in the ceremony held in the AID Administrator's office.

"Special effort will be made to involve the students in community as well as college affairs," Administrator Gaud said. "The California colleges intend to provide enrichment through special activities focusing on the problems of Southeast Asia. The purpose is to stimulate study of the student's own country relative to the rest of the world and to the student's future leadership role within it."

The Scholarship Leadership Program under which the 100 students are coming to the United States was developed last fall to give preference to candidates who planned to study in fields especially wanting in Vietnam, such as education, agriculture, and medicine.

Knowledge of English was not a requirement. Part of the AID contract with the California State Colleges calls for intensive English-language training and familiarization courses on American culture, as well as emphasis on Southeast Asia. The value of the contract with the colleges is $425,000, which will cover full costs incurred by the California State Colleges.

AID and the colleges will engage in research projects regarding the relationships between the students and their environments both on and off the campus. Results are expected to facilitate improvements in AID's over-all training program.

The seven institutions involved are the California Polytechnic College at San Luis Obispo and the California State Colleges at Fullerton, Fresno, Long Beach, Sacramento, San Diego, and San Jose.

Hon. Charles A. Buckley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues from New York and I mourn the loss of the late and beloved Charles A. Buckley, who for 30 years served in this House as a Representative from New York's 23d District. He served with distinction representing not only his constituents most ably but guided the Public Works Committee as its chairman.

One of his longtime friends and associates, Mr. John Hagan, has written a very fine letter about the Honorable Charles Buckley, and I wish to call it to the attention of my distinguished colleagues by having it inserted in the RECORD.

HAGAN PAYS TRIBUTE TO CHARLES BUCKLEY

Hon. LESTER L. WOLFF,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WOLFF: I know that you, just as I, received the sad news of the death of a longtime friend and associate, the Honroable Charles Buckley, who for 30 years represented the good people of New York's 23d District.

Through his efforts our harbors, our waterways, parks and beaches, have been improved; we have the St. Lawrence Seaway, the Niagara power project, and Hudson River improvements, the Major Deegan Expressway and New England Thruway. He worked hard for these and many, many more projects which benefited not only the citizens of New York but all Americans.

Charley was a truly loyal and dedicated American. His loss is mourned, and his family has my deepest sympathy.

Sincerely,

JOHN G. HAGAN.

Report on Thurston County, Wash., Neighborhood Youth Corps.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, there has been a great deal of discussion recently about the usefulness of community action programs. When I was in the West this winter, I had the opportunity to visit the Olympia, Wash., Neighborhood Youth Corps project. I saw there some of the most valuable work I have been privileged to see.

Young people were being given their first opportunity for job training and employment. I met these youngsters and I talked with them on subjects from grooming to technical aspects of their jobs. The work of this program is tremendous. It is so good that I asked Mr. Elmer Keiski, director of the Thurston County Neighborhood Youth Corps, to give me the following report:

REPORT TO THURSTON COUNTY COMMISSIONERS—ACTIVITY REPORT: FIRST YEAR—THURSTON COUNTY NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS, NOVEMBER 8, 1965 TO NOVEMBER 8, 1966, FROM ELMER KEISKI, DIRECTOR

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

The Thurston County Neighborhood Youth Corps has done a valuable and successful job in filling the employment gap for high school dropouts in Thurston County. The Youth Corps has provided work experience and training to a significant number of 16–22 year old youth who might otherwise have had no opportunity to enter the labor market because of their general unemployability. The Youth Corps has provided a "stabilizing work situation" for a number of troubled and uncertain youngsters. The Youth Corps has been a new local agency solely concerned with low income, unskilled drop-outs trying to meet a need that received minimum attention or services from other educational and social agencies in Thurston County. The Youth Corps has markedly improved the opportunity of those low income and unskilled youngsters who take advantage of the program to eventually become part of our affluent society.

The Thurston County Neighborhood Youth Corps atempted to recruit and provide work training experiences for out of school youth with the following characteristics: Insufficient education to obtain suitable employment; unskilled or underemployed; selective service rejectees, rejectees from other training programs; erratic work histories; improper attitude to work in general; social adjustment problems interfering with employment; and emotional or attitudinal problems requiring personal adjustment assistance.

All enrollees were from families whose incomes were insufficient to provide it with basic needs. The following standard as established by the U.S. Department of Labor was used in determining ecomonic eligibility for the Youth Corps:

Family size	Income (nonfarm)[1]	Income (farm)[2]
Unrelated individual	$1,450	$1,080
2	1,990	1,400
3	2,440	1,710
4	3,130	2,200
5	3,685	2,580
6	4,135	2,900

[1] Add $550 for each nonfarm family member in excess of 6.

[2] The poverty income levels of farm families are based on 70 percent of the income of nonfarm families.

By counseling and observing the youngsters enrolled in the TCNYC over a year the staff discovered many interesting and often disturbing characteristics. The most general characteristic of the average enrollee was the lack of basic educational skills. Nearly all the enrollees failed to complete basic secondary educational levels. A great number were deficient in basic elementary educational skills. The average enrollee had completed 9.97 years of schooling and was 18.2 years old.

Most of the enrollees indicated below level achievement early and consistently throughout their schooling. Many enrollees would not return to the regular daily school program or even consider it. Once having dropped out, the youngsters seemed to develop a "closed door" attitude to the regular school program. Counseling these youth back into remedial classes or other basic skills class was difficult and often unsuccessful.

Often enrollees could be counseled into night school classes of basic education or secretarial skills. Those youngsters who expressed interest in additional education often looked at the GEDT equivalency as a more practical goal than the regular high school diploma. Enrollees were introduced and encouraged to study under the excellent opportunities of the Olympia Adult Evening School.

A general characteristic of enrollees was an unstable or nonexistent family unit. Many enrollees "drifted" from residence to residence and frequently throughout the state. The project staff became surprised at the number of youngsters often only 18 or even less who had been "independent" of responsible adult supervision for some time. Several youths working in the TCNYC had served time in State Institutions.

Applicants were often wary of officials and forms. Many youngsters had extensive counseling and case records with other agencies including schools, juvenile authorities, parole officers, welfare case workers, and employment counselors. Therefore, the Youth Corps office was conducted as informally as possible and a friendly, easy-going attitude encouraged during personal counseling. The Youth Corps staff counseled all applicants on their employment goals and educational needs. The Project Director tried to assess the applicants work attitudes and potential. Enrollees were placed on work stations that best matched their potential. Daily work supervisors counseled the NYC Aides as well. The Project Staff provided additional guidance on work adjustment and attempted to resolve individual problems as they arose. The NYC Aides received their best guidance, direction, and training from those regular employees they worked with daily.

Other characteristics of those working in the TCNYC were: early marriage, early divorce, low mental ability, poor appearance, poor communication skills, no work experience, repeated failures in school and society, mental retardation, emotional instability, laziness, fear of rules and regulations, unkempt appearance, crime experiences, cultural deprivation, poor health and poor eating habits, inept money management, and general insecurity about the world of work.

It must be remembered that the Youth Corps was established to provide work experiences for youngsters with those very problems mentioned above. Often those negative traits were not severe. Not all enrollees exhibited serious negative characteristics. However, reviewing the total numbers involved, the staff noted an awesome variety of problems troubling the enrollees. These multiple problems frequently interfered with the enrollees functional working ability.

SPECIFICS

During the first year of the TCNYC some 280 youngsters applied for work by coming into the office personally. This figure does not include those youths who initially contacted the local office of Employment Security. Not all these youth qualified for the Youth Corps. Many were referred for the local employment office or given other job tips. A number of high school and college students requested employment during June and July and they received encouragement and direction on part-time work opportunities.

A total of 126 youths were hired and involved in the project during the first year. Of this number 59 were girls and 67 were boys. Some 97 youth were terminated from the Youth Corps—43 girls and 54 boys. The average enrollment each month was 33 youngsters. The average length of employment was 8 weeks. Not one enrollee was "fired". Those youngsters working as NYC Aides earned a total salary of $56,633.00 for the first year. An additional $3,379.00 was paid them in fringe benefits. The average enrollee earns $476.00. By the U.S. Department of Labor standards NYC Aides worked a 32 hour week earning $1.25 per hour.

Of the total enrollee termination of 97 in the first year some 37 youths went to work full-time. A follow-up survey indicated that at least half were still working after the first month. Some moved on to other jobs, or left town or quit for various reasons. The length of the jobs changed as well.

Besides the objective of placing youth in full-time work, the TCNYC provided those youth enrolled with a period of employment stability, work experience, and time to adjust and evaluate personal goals. Actually other NYC objectives were to return youngsters to school, provide their very first job, and counsel individuals on educational needs.

The following table indicates the reasons for enrollees leaving the NYC project from November 8, 1965 to November 8, 1966:

	Number of youth
1. Full-time employment	37
2. Moved from county	16
3. Quit voluntarily	7
4. Returned to school full time	6
5. Marriage	5
6. Nonattendance	5
7. Jailed	4
8. Transferred to other training programs	3
9. Care of children and home	3
10. Pregnancy	3
11. No longer qualified	3
12. Drafted	2
13. Illness	2
14. Unknown	1

The Federal government supplied 90 per cent of the project costs $103,770.00. The remaining 10 per cent was provided by local sponsors as an "in-kind" rather than cash contribution. The value of the local sponsors' "share" was $16,710.00. The original agreement between the Thurston County Commissioners and the United States Department of Labor called for a $103,770.00 expenditure for six months. However, the contract underwent several extensions and was stretched out to 16 months without additional new County or Federal funds. A lower monthly enrollment than originally anticipated made it possible to extend the project.

Total administrative costs came to $17,297.14. This figure includes $15,598.00 for staff salaries and fringe benefits. Also the figure $1,107.01 for office expenditures and $592.13 for staff travel expenses for NYC activities.

All NYC expenditures had to have prior approval by the United States Department of Labor and then listed in the official contract budget between the Thurston County Commissioners and the Labor Department. No deviation or expenditures were allowed beyond stated contract figures unless approved by a Labor Department representative.

NYC funds were deposited in the County Treasurers office. Vouchers for payroll and other expenses were drawn up by the NYC staff, submitted to the County Commissioners for approval, and paid by warrant by the County Auditor's office. All funds and expenditures must be Commissioner approved, audited by the County Auditor and subject to audit later by the State Auditor. The U.S. Department of Labor also subjects NYC budgets to inspection anytime by roving Federal auditors. All expenditures were also reported monthly to the Labor Department representative in Seattle and Washington, D.C., where they were reviewed and compared to contracted budget figures.

In evaluating the success of the TCNYC one must understand that the program operated to assist disadvantaged youngsters gain work experience. Those youngsters working in the TCNYC had a multiplicity of problems making them generally unemployable. The NYC objectives were to provide that first all-important job, show these youngsters how to work, introduce them to the demands of the work-a-day world emphasizing such rudimentary work skills as appearance and punctuality. Thus in measuring the degree of successfulness of the first year's operation of the TCNYC, an economic yardstick may not be appropriate or practical. However, this new program brought a total new purchasing power to the community of $72,290.59.

Excellent cooperation from all participating agencies existed. Those City and County offices and their personnel that provide work stations and supervision made the project a success because of their patience and understanding with these youth. Other cooperating agencies that provided unlimited assistance were the local office of Employment Security, Thurston County Welfare Office, Thurston County Juvenile Office, and Thurston County Community Action Council. Project Headstart, Morningside School, the local Social Security Office, Lacey Fire Department and others also provided work stations for NYC Aides and assisted significantly in acquainting the youngsters with meaningful work experiences. Those individual supervisors who worked daily with NYC Aides carried the brunt of job training and work counseling. Without the positive attitudes of all those assisting in the Youth Corps project—the TCNYC would have been far less successful.

The project had a 47 per cent success rate the first year. This figure includes the total enrollees who went to work full-time, who returned to school full-time, and who transferred to another work training program. Originally it was hoped that if 10 per cent of the youngsters were helped the program would be worthwhile. Those youth who terminated without going to work full-time profited by having their first introduction to the responsibilities of the world of work.

We Had To Earn Our Way Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, in the story of one family one can often read the temper and measure the strength of a nation. The story of how Vincent Gudobba and his family have weathered the years and improved their economic lot has this quality.

The Gudobba story appeared in the Christian Science Monitor on January 5, 1957. It was the first in a series of articles entitled "15 Families in a Changing World." This sensitively written portrait by Charlotte Saikowski is absorbing and instructive, and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

Vincent Gudobba, it happens, is a good friend of mine. He is a resident of Clinton Township in my district and is employed at the Chrysler Outer Drive Stamping Plant in Detroit. He is first vice president of the Macomb County AFL–CIO Council and a member of its executive board.

The economic position of the Gudobbas today is an eloquent testimonial to the wisdom with which this family has carried the burdens of everyday life. It is a testimonial, too, to the sinew and fiber of millions of American workingmen like the Gudobbas, as well as to the effectiveness of the Nation's labor and economic policies since the New Deal. It is no less a monument to the accomplishments of the American labor movement.

The article follows:

WE HAD TO EARN OUR WAY UP

(By Charlotte Saikowski)

(NOTE.—Detroit auto worker Vincent Gudobba credits his union for the economic benefits that paid for the small but expanding home in which he and Mrs. Gudobba brought up their three children. With family responsibilities subsiding, the Gudobbas look forward serenely from a comfortable present to a well-secured retirement.)

MOUNT CLEMENS, MICH.—For Vincent and Hazel Gudobba, life is as comfortable and secure today as it has even been. Two of their children are married, and with only 17-year-old Vincent still living at home they no longer need to scrimp and save quite as much to make ends meet.

"Whenever I get discouraged," says Mr. Gudobba, "I think about the old times back in the '30's when I used to be a door-fitter on the assembly line. You had to stand there hour after hour while those cars shuffled by and you couldn't stop for a minute until your relief came. And all for a buck and eight cents an hour! It was rough."

Today—30 years later—Vincent Gudobba, is a well-built, round-faced man of 55, still works at the Chrysler Outer Drive Stamping Plant in Detroit. But his working conditions have vastly improved. No longer an assembly-line worker, he has moved into a job in the factory tool crib where he distributes tools, safety equipment, and parts to the production workers.

"I guess you'd call it a semiskilled job," he told me. "I just see to it that the guys have enough stock. Anyway it's much cleaner work. I can wear ordinary clothes. The hours are good, too. It's the first shift—from 6 in the morning to 2 o'clock. The pay of course is much better now. With the raise I just got I make $3.24 an hour for a 40-hour week.

" 'Course it's the unions that done it. We fought for it and, we got it. Better pay. A shorter week. Safety devices. Ventilation and light. Pensions. And now there's workmen's compensation and unemployment insurance—all that makes it easier so you don't worry so much."

At $3.24 an hour Mr. Gudobba now brings home three times the wage he did in 1937. With occassional overtime work he can earn between $7,000 and $7,500 a year — not enough, as he says, to buy a lot on Lake Huron or a boat but "enough to eat well."

Like thousands of other factory workers who have fled the congestion, high rents, rising cost of living and other pressures of the city, the Gudobbas early moved into the outskirts of Detroit — Clinton Township, to be exact. This was back in 1947 when just a few scattered houses dotted the flat, weed-strewn fields and when a community well was the only water supply.

"We used to live on the east side of Detroit in a four-family flat, paying only $27.50 a month rent," Mr. Gudobba recalled. "Then the colored people started moving in. I didn't really mind that too much until one day I found out my Negro neighbor was paying $67.50 a month rent. I knew if I stayed around my rent would go up. So one day — it was dreary and drizzling — we drove out to have a look at a house near where my father lived.

"Well, it was small — only four tiny rooms on a lot 50 by 120 feet. It didn't have a basement or attic like my wife wanted but it was only $3,400 and we figured we could swing the $30 monthly payments. So we moved in with the two kids. Judy was three and Roger nine."

Since then the Gudobba home, which still has its original mottled-gray synthetic brick siding, has been expanded by a utility room, a bedroom, and a frame two-car garage, all of which Mr. Gudobba built himself. The house now has its own well and the township recently installed a sewer.

The inside, too, has seen changes.

"We tried to do a little bit every year," said Mr. Gudobba. "This year I knocked out a closet and made this L-shaped living room. I dropped all the ceilings so it'd be easier to heat and me and my brother-in-law paneled all the rooms. You know there's only one original window left? Now I have only a few jobs left. I want to put aluminum siding on the house — wish I could've done that before you came."

"We live like millionaires," chimed in Mrs. Gudobba as she showed me through her house. "You know I've had that Bendix washer for 17 years? And now we have a drier— 'course I can't dry my silks in it; I still have to hang those up. But you know, it's a funny thing. Look at that big sink. When we were raising our kids and needed it we had just a little sink. Now the kids are gone and we have a bigger sink than we know what to do with. That's life for you!"

Mrs. Gudobba, a hazel-eyed woman with dyed black hair, opened her home to me warmly and unselfconsciously. She smiled a little shyly on my first visit because I had caught her unaware in Bermuda shorts and uncombed hair. But she soon forgot about herself as we sat chatting on the foam-rubber couch near the picture window.

In one corner stood a 21-inch walnut color television set from Sears, with three glass swans resting on top. A few plastic roses sprouted from a slender gold wall vase. On a nearby table were perhaps a dozen framed photographs of the Gudobba children and grandchildren, as well as two chrome trophies which Mr. Gudobba had won in bowling competitions. A basketful of unironed laundry lay on the sofa at the other end of the room.

"I'm sorry all that laundry is around," apologized Mrs. Gudobba. "But it's not easy to keep up with the house when you work. I started working again part-time about six years ago and now I go full time—at the secretary of state's fee office on Van Dyke where you get boat and car licenses. I got tired staying at home taking care of the grandchildren. I don't want to babysit all the time.

"The kids don't like me to work but you get used to that $70 a week coming in—$53 after deductions. There's a lot of stuff we wouldn't be able to buy otherwise. Now we're saving for a new car. I still got that 1964 Dart outside and Vince uses the 1965 Dodge sports wagon. Just think—two cars and all paid for!"

Now that their children are grown and the cares of looking after a family are subsiding, the Gudobbas are thinking about the future and what they might do in the years ahead. With social security and Mr. Gudobba's pension they anticipate no financial worry and already have a few long-range plans.

"First I want to get the house finished and get far enough ahead so I can retire in five or six years," said Mr. Gudobba. "Then we're going to get us a camper and go traveling when we're young enough to enjoy it."

The married Gudobba children, like their parents, have primarily the concerns of paying for a home and raising a family. But they are a few steps farther ahead than were Mr. and Mrs. Gudobba at their age, and their goals and aspirations reach higher.

The oldest son, Roger, 27, has three children and is making mortgage payments on his house; he earns close to $9,000 operating a computer at Lafayette Clinic at Wayne University. A tall, swarthy youth, Roger wants to better himself and is working for a bachelor of science degree at Macomb County Community College. Four times a week he goes to night school—and the fifth he usually bowls.

"It's kinda hard not seeing him too often," laments his attractive blond wife, who stays home to look after the children, "but I'd rather have him happy."

Judy, the second of the Gudobba children, quit school in the 12th grade, married, and now lives with her husband George and two children in a clapboard house across the street from her parents. Today she regrets not having finished her education and is attending night school as well as taking a beautician's course.

Even as Mrs. Gudobba was telling me about her children, her young son, Joe, walked through the front door. ("We call him 'Joe' because of the wartime song, 'Don't Cry Joe'—he used to cry a lot and we'd sing that song.") A gangling teen-ager, with dark locks falling over his forehead, Joe was spattered liberally with dirt and grease. His sweatshirt sleeves were rolled up to his shoulders and his hands looked as if they had just emerged from under the hood of his 1959 Chevy.

"That boy's not happy unless he's full of grease," Mrs. Gudobba said with feigned irritation. "Cars, cars, cars. That's all he thinks about."

Joe, in actual fact, had just come from a car-wash establishment where he works weekends, earning as much as $16. His parents used to give him $2 a week allowance but he now has started making his own money, which he spends on jalopies and his girl friend Debbie.

"I don't know what I'll do eventually," said Joe, plopping himself down horizontally on a stuffed rocker. "I'm doing okay in school and I'll graduate in June. But I'm no brain. I'll go to community college and maybe take up tinsmithing or mechanics or somethin'. Gee, if I can make it a year I'll be happy and if I can go it two years that'll be somethin'. At least I hope I don't get drafted."

"Maybe before that you'll wash my car?" his mother put in half teasingly.

"Gee, you shoulda told me. I coulda taken it to the garage and washed it for a buck."

"Okay, so *I'll* give you a buck."

If the Gudobbas had any teen-age problems, they didn't show. Joe's relations with his mother and father seemed comfortably relaxed and easy-going. Mrs. Gudobba had her own explanation for the woes of young people.

"When the kids've got something to do and somewhere to go they're all right," she said. "Macomb County ought to have more activities so the kids aren't out on the streets. Joe here is always bringing his pals home and we've never had any trouble. I remember how mad I used to get when he stayed outside batting a basketball against the garage door till all hours of the night. But Vince always used to say, 'Listen, you at least know where he is and what he's doing.' "

"We've been real lucky with our kids," commented Mr. Gudobba as he took me out to the back yard to show me his tomato patch. "The main thing I've drummed into the kids is to get an education. That's the most important thing. You'll never know how I regret quitting in the 8th grade. But I'm tickled for the kids.

"You know what I tell 'em? 'You see that old car? That's what you'll drive if you dont' get an education. You see that big house? You can have it if you get an education.' Joe complains when I ask him to do a little digging for me. 'How would you like that eight hours a day?' I ask him."

Then he added philosophically: "You don't always convince them. But you get 'em thinking anyway.

"It's like with the unions. The young people today don't realize what they have. They think all these benefits always existed; they don't know how we had to fight and struggle for them. Management never gave us anything—we had to earn our way up."

For Vincent Gudobba unionism has been perhaps the most influential factor in his life. He joined the United Auto Workers in 1936, did shop committee work for 20 years, and at one point was chief shop steward. Today he is letting the "younger ones" take over. But he still belongs to Local 212 and is first vice president of Macomb County AFL–CIO Council and a member of its executive board.

"Today of course Chrysler lives with the union and we get along all right," he said.

"Everybody squawks about unions getting too big. But what about the manufacturers who are making bigger profits? Why shouldn't they have to limit their profits so us working people can have boats, too? Why does a millionaire need more than one boat?"

This Mr. Gudobba said in a calm, matter-of-fact tone, without any trace of resentment or rancor. Mr. Gudobba feels equally strongly about the Democratic Party. Both he and his wife have been precinct delegates to the Macomb County Democratic Committee and always plunge vigorously into election campaigns, canvassing votes and registering voters.

"I feel only the Democratic Party has helped the workingman," declared Mr. Gudobba. "Maybe there are some liberal Republicans, but I'm a laboring man. If the Republican Party did something for the working people, we'd vote for it."

"What's Romney done for us?" he asked rhetorically. "He dropped the wage law and voted against pensions for the elderly. You take Johnson, he's done quite a bit. But I really liked Kennedy—we got spoiled with him. He was for the young people and the younger generation."

But it's not only politics and unions that take up the Gudobbas' time. They have a fund of other interests—the social Silver Dollar Club, the Ladies' Aid at St. John's Lutheran Church, an evening of Crazy 8 at the neighbors, an occasional game of shuffleboard, and sometimes a night in town and a "good show."

"Mostly we stay home and watch TV," said Mrs. Gudobba. "I hate the commercials, especially when you're waiting for the end of a picture. But I like the Bob Hope Hour. And Perry Mason. He's my favorite. Then, you know, the kids are always running over here and there's always something going on.

I saw this for myself when the Gudobbas invited me over one Sunday morning for pancakes and sausages. I arrived just as Mrs. Gudobba, her daughter-in-law Lois, and Lois' three children were returning from St. John's. Six-year-old Eddie immediately plunked himself down in front of the TV and sat transfixed at the goings-on of "Beany and Cecil." Little Timothy, aged two, sporting a shirt with "Batman" emblazoned across the front, hovered around his grandmother's legs and consumed everything and anything he could lay his pudgy hands on.

Outdoors Mary Anne, aged four, having dutifully sat through a church service, started chasing her cousin Denise; it wasn't long before a pitiful little cry echoed through the house. Mother Lois, clearly experienced in the politics of children, took everything in stride.

"Mary Anne, come here. Why did you push Denise?"

"I didn't push Denise. She pushed me first."

"Well, go over and sit on the couch. And stop crying or I'll put you to bed." Penitent and sniveling, her pride wounded, Mary Anne obediently went to the couch. Five minutes later all was forgiven and she buried her head in her mother's skirts.

Through it all—the quick-tempered but short-lived squabbles, the infectious bursts of laughter, the uninhibited screams of excitement—Mrs. Gudobba placidly went on making pancakes. And they disappeared, every one.

Why We Should Back Our Boys in Vietnam

SPEECH
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the Young Men's Business Club of Jefferson Parish, which I have the honor to represent, has recently completed an essay contest in which students of the parish were invited to submit essays on the topic, "Why We Should Back Our Boys in Vietnam."

The thoughts that the winner, and two runners-up, have offered in their essays contrast sharply with the small but vocal minority of students who protest our role in Vietnam.

Through the minds of the winners of this contest, we can see that the U.S. position in Vietnam is understood by thinking students. I believe it is good for all of us to read these essays.

The essays follow:

WHY SHOULD WE BACK OUR BOYS IN VIETNAM

(By Vickie Gros, Immaculate Conception School, grade 8, Marrerro, La.)

Our boys in Viet Nam should be supported because they are fighting for a cause greater than any other in the world today. They are fighting so that a small country can maintain independence, the power to rule itself. This, many people in our country take for granted, because they have never been without it. But to the people in countries like Viet Nam it's one of the greatest gifts on this earth. With it you can be a free person, without it not much more than a slave and in some places even lower. Life is meaningless.

The troops in Viet Nam serve as living symbols of democracy to all nations of the free world. They also reassure all democratic allied nations that the United States will always be willing to render whatever assistance necessary to combat aggression. In addition to serving as symbols to free nations, they also serve as a reminder to communist countries that the United States will not tolerate any aggression on their part towards any of our allies.

Our Boys leave their homes, families, and friends to defend a small nation fighting to protect its freedom in the midst of the many communist powers of Asia. They go to remote areas where they can't tell friends from enemies, fight hard for the sake of liberty and justice, and many even die aiding a country that cannot help itself.

Not supporting our boys in Viet Nam would be equivalent to not believing in what democracy stands for. The mere fact that a nonsupporter is able to express himself in our society should be reason enough for him to realize why our boys in Viet Nam must be supported. For what goals are greater than life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?

WHY WE SHOULD BACK OUR BOYS IN VIETNAM

(By Richie Tankersley)

War is a terrible thing. It takes with it not only ruin and distress, but lives and suffering as well. While we cannot explain why war must exist, we know that it will always be, and, even though we cannot stop it, we can and must do several things to make it easier to bear.

Our American boys in Viet Nam represent freedom and a peaceful nation. In America, we are proud of our independence, and we are not afraid to let others know about it. Our boys, in turn, are showing their loyalty to their free homeland. With weapons and determination, they have kissed loved ones goodby and have set off to win a war for freedom. Some are fighting hard and shall continue to do so. Some are lying in crowded hospitals, anxiously awaiting the time when their wounds will be healed, and they can continue the long battle. Others lie on blood-stained battlefields, never to return home or find out if their efforts were rewarded.

The least we can do is to give our boys the confidence they need. Just a short letter, a card, a thoughtful gift—anything for our soldiers renews their spirits. If we lose faith in our nation or its power, what kind of feelings do you suppose our boys will have? Why should they try when their own country does not have faith enough to care? We must not let our boys down. They represent us, the people of the United States of America. And we are proud of our country—and our boys!

WHY WE SHOULD BACK OUR BOYS IN VIETNAM

(By Michael Nee)

Wars are unpopular—any war. But, this is especially true of the war in Viet Nam.

The people of America have become so involved in their own lives—pleasure and making money—that there is little time for anything else. Because of the sacrifices that Viet Nam demands this war is very unpopular.

We must realize that the spread of communism has to be ended. The government of South Viet Nam has asked the United States for help to end this threat. If we don't end it in Viet Nam, it will be somewhere else. Maybe when we do decide to stop it, the problem will be much greater and it will require many more lives to solve it.

Any man in Viet Nam should have all the backing our country can give him. He is fighting to preserve our way of life. The fact that we don't agree is no reason to be a slacker. In past wars there were always those who didn't agree—but they fought anyway. The fact that we are allowed to disagree should make us realize how fortunate we are.

It should be an honor for every American to fight for his country. President Kennedy said "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country."

Shorter Presidential Election Campaigns

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the 1968 presidential elections are rapidly approaching and I shudder to think that we will expose the public once again to that summer and fall extravaganza which we call a presidential election campaign. Since 1960 I have endeavored by reducing the time of campaigns to introduce an element of sanity in our presidential electioneering not only to save money, but also to conserve the energies and health of candidates and to prevent a provoking imposition on the public. This session I have introduced an amendment to the Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act of 1966 which, I believe, will accomplish the objective of reducing the length of presidential campaigns.

I hope Congress will give prompt and favorable consideration to my amendment. It is with this in mind that I ask unanimous consent that an editorial from the Hartford Times of January 7, 1967, which succinctly states the case for action be reprinted as follows:

HOT AIR REDUCTION

Protracted presidential campaigns have become so irritating and tedious to the people that they would welcome some abridgment.

Congressman John S. Monagan of Waterbury, representing our Fifth District, has been a persistent pleader for shorter campaigns. He began seven years ago and hasn't given up the fight. He is again introducing a bill incorporating proposals for shorter campaigns.

In 1960 the five-year congressman thought 60 days sufficient for candidates to expound their views. He hasn't changed his mind.

The congressman thinks present practices are objectionable for a variety of reasons.

They are, for example, "over-elaborate and generate more heat than light." They also are "unduly expensive" while at the same time they "emphasize the unimportant" and their most regrettable aspect is "their physical effect upon the candidates themselves."

Before the advent of radio, television and swift air transport there was more reason for long campaigns. This is a big country; it took time for candidates to cover even a relatively small part of it. But no longer.

Now candidates can bring their messages into millions of homes and, in a single day, touch half a dozen states to speak directly to the people.

Furthermore, after the first few weeks the candidates are repeating themselves with such regularity that the people get fed up, lose interest, and turn to other things.

Congressman Monagan rightly labels present campaigns as "vaudeville-circus type" which he insists should have "passed into oblivion with the departure of the stagecoach."

He is right. It is absurd to continue a practice increasingly repugnant to the people.

The Late Charles Anthony Buckley

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I read with great sadness of the passing of our distinguished former colleague, the Honorable Charles A. Buckley.

It was my distinct personal privilege to be able to serve with Congressman Buckley on the House Committee on Public Works for several years.

As chairman of the Committee on Public Works for 12 years, Charles A. Buckley earned the gratitude and respect of all the people of this Nation by his sincere and devoted interest in the building and development of all sections of the country.

He very ably represented a district from New York City, but his outlook and his energies were directed toward a better and stronger United States.

Through his chairmanship of the Committee on Public Works, he was responsible for an impressive array of vital Government activities.

He was sincerely interested in and worked to promote improvement of the Nation's rivers and harbors for the benefit of all the people.

He took a special interest in flood control projects which protect the life and property of people in our vast river basins. These projects also provided hydroelectric power and recreation benefits throughout the land.

Mr. Buckley showed great concern for the multibillion-dollar Federal highway program and through his leadership the Committee on Public Works authorized the 41,000-mile Interstate System—the greatest single public works program in the history of the world—which will link all our major cities when completed. This program provided billions of dollars into our economy at a time of need and has provided jobs for untold numbers of men in all sections of the country. It has also revitalized the vast automobile industry and its companion industries such as steel, concrete, asphalt, and rubber.

Charles Buckley showed a special interest in my section of the country—a thousand miles from his home in New York. He was forceful in his leadership for the development of the Tennessee Valley Authority which has continued to bring prosperity to the Tennessee Valley and has been essential in providing electric power for our great space center at Redstone Arsenal in Huntsville, Ala., as well as for new and developing industries from one end of the valley to the other.

His concern and leadership was also responsible for developing a program to prevent beach erosion and create thousands of new beaches along our Nation's coastline.

A detailed account of the vital work of Charles A. Buckley for the development of his country would require pages. He exhibited foresight and determination in presenting innumerable worthwhile improvements throughout the country.

For this, Americans in all States owe Mr. Buckley a large debt of gratitude.

We will continue to benefit from his leadership and direction for years to come.

It was a great personal privilege for me to be able to know Charles A. Buckley and to serve with him on the Committee on Public Works.

My deepest sympathies go out to his family in this time of their great loss.

Those Elusive Gallactic X-Rays

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, Dr. C. Stuart Bowyer has been searching for some time now for those elusive X-ray sources in outer space. With the aid of a $180,000 grant from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Dr. Bowyer, who resides with his wife and family at 3300 Gumwood Drive, West Hyattsville, Md., recently was able to fire an Aerobee rocket into space to further his scientific inquiry.

The following article from the Washington Post of January 7, 1967, aptly describes the recent efforts of just one of thousands of space scientists in our country who are performing valuable research tasks in their long standing determination to find the answers:

SCIENTIST HUNTS SPACE X-RAY ORIGIN

(By Don Robinson)

C. Stuart (Stu) Bowyer is back at his desk after a December expedition in Brazil where he encountered a scorpion, a coral snake, a tarantula and—possibly—several extra-gallactic X-ray sources.

The bugs and snakes were gratuitious, furnished by the equatorial landscape around Natal on the northeast coast of Brazil.

The X-ray sources were what Bowyer was really after. He and a team of scientists went after them by launching a detector rocket. Data telemetered to earth during the rocket's four minutes in space is being analyzed now to determine what was found.

Bowyer is a gangly, six-foot-plus, 32-year-old research assistant professor in the Catholic University department of space science and applied physics.

He is an exuberant member of a small band of astrophysicists engaged for the past couple of years in one of the newest fields of astronomy—the search for, and analysis of, sources in space that emit X-rays.

Some 10 to 20 such sources have been identified thus far. No one knows exactly what they are; the first task is to determine how many there are. It was only a few years ago that a group from Massachusetts Institute of Technology detected the first X-rays in the sky.

This was quickly followed by additional discoveries by scientists of the Naval Research Laboratory in Washington including Bowyer, then a doctoral candidate. The leader of this effort, now the world's prime authority on X-rays in space, was Herbert J. Friedman, superintendent of the Atmosphere and Astrophysics Section of the lab.

Eventually, Bowyer decided to send up a rocket to look for X-rays in the skies above the Southern Hemisphere.

After joining the Catholic University faculty, he obtained a $180,000 grant from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. He and a team of faculty members, graduate students and undergraduates spent from March to November last year constructing an instrument package to detect X-rays.

That six-foot instrumentation section was fitted onto a 22-foot Aerobee rocket, capped by a 3-foot nose cone containing radio transmission equipment, and shot from the Brazilian range facility at Natal on Dec. 13.

Upon his return to Washington, Bowyer learned from a West Coast astronomer that his rocket may have been up during the occurrence of a nova—a super-explosion of a star.

"If we can tell where we were looking, and if we were looking where we were supposed to be," Bowyer enthusiastically told a coworker on the phone, "we may have what they (novas) look like in X-rays." At present, the world's only records of novas are optical.

Analysis of the data will take several months. Until then, Bowyer is cautious about saying what his probe did or did not discover, although there are strong indications that several X-ray sources were detected.

H.R. 3803 Seeks To Reduce the Oil Depletion Allowance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, on January 25, 1967, I introduced H.R. 3803, a bill to reduce the oil depletion allowance from 27½ percent to 20 percent at the rate of 2½ percent annually over a 3-year period.

The bill also requires the Secretary of the Treasury to reduce the tax allowance by an additional 50 percent whenever he finds that a substantial part of the tax savings has been used to finance mergers with or to purchase companies in unrelated fields.

During the 89th Congress, I introduced an identical bill and I urge my colleagues in the House to call for congressional hearings on this special tax privilege which results in an annual loss of revenue to the U.S. Treasury of nearly $2 billion.

Now in 1967, with the President proposing a 6-percent surtax for individuals and corporations, it is all the more important—I should say urgent—that we do something about the oil depletion allowance in particular and also something about other tax loopholes in general.

Our Federal budget is increasing and our local village, town, city, county, and State budgets are likewise increasing—often to an even greater degree. Plugging the tax loopholes is our way to equalize the tax burdens among the Nation's taxpayers, corporate as well as individuals.

The special privileges under our present tax laws to the oil companies are inequitable and require all other corporations and individuals to carry a greater share of the tax burden than they should be carrying.

It is shocking that the largest oil companies pay a smaller percentage of their net incomes in taxes than small businessmen, workers, and farmers. The man in the lowest tax bracket pays 14 percent of his net income in taxes while in 1965 the 20 largest oil companies paid an average of 6.3 percent of their net incomes in Federal taxes. These companies had a combined net income of more than $5.7 billion, yet paid only $360 million in taxes.

The depletion allowance was originally enacted as an incentive for further exploration in a field with a large risk factor; but as President Kennedy stated in his 1963 tax message to Congress:

> Unintended defects have arisen in the application of the special tax privileges that the Congress has granted to mineral industries, and correction of these defects is required if the existing tax provisions are to operate in a consistent and equitable fashion.

In the 89th Congress we passed a bill to defer the 7-percent investment credit and to postpone the fast writeoff and depreciation of real estate and construction. These incentives were needed when originally enacted to help create jobs, reduce unemployment, encourage construction and provide housing, respectively. I respectfully contend that the incentive to encourage further exploration of oil is not as urgent as the requirement to fill some of our basic human needs and to help reduce the tax burdens upon our citizens.

The following editorial, in which a reference is made to the depletion allowances, appeared in the January 25, 1967, edition of the Long Island Press. I call it to the attention of my colleagues for their consideration:

THE FEDERAL BUDGET

President Johnson's $135 billion budget for fiscal 1968 is our largest in history, the result of his commitment for both guns and butter—to wage limited war and limited peace at the same time.

A little more than half ($72.3 billion) will go for the guns, $21.9 billion of it for Vietnam. The remainder represents the butter.

As incomprehensible as these huge figures are to ordinary mortals, none of this comes as a surprise—except for little things like a call for an unmanned landing on Mars in 1973 and construction of a third nuclear aircraft carrier.

The remarkable thing is not that the budget is so high, but that it appears quite manageable, considering we are trying to fight a limited, but major war overseas, reach the moon, touch Mars, improve the nation's education, health and welfare and just keep the myriad of governmental wheels turning. In line with the national impatience over the rising federal commitment to non-war spending, the President has not significantly expanded the Great Society programs. Whatever increases he has called for are relatively modest, far below the national need.

What makes this huge adventure in spending possible, of course, is something the viewers-with-alarm fail to consider—that a high rate of prosperity, represented by a $787 billion national output for 1967, means a higher rate of tax collection. And that $787 billion national product represents a $47.5 billion increase over 1966.

Whether this will be enough to avoid those "measures of sacrifice" the President spoke of—notably the 6 percent surcharge on corporation and most personal income taxes—will depend on the course of the war and the state of the economy later this spring.

None of this will stop the outcries for cuts in "non-essential" spending and the usual fears of doom in the deficit. Congress, motivated more by politics than good economics, will energetically go over all this with a fine-tooth comb. We wish them well in their economy hunt. There is always fat to be trimmed.

But while the Congressmen are prowling through the space and anti-poverty budgets with their pruning shears, it would be refreshing to see them devote energy to plugging some tax loopholes as well. Thanks to depletion allowances and the like, for instance, there are a lot of rich people in the oil and cattle business, who chuckle all the way to the bank over the higher taxes that do not touch them. Philip M. Stern, in "The Great Treasury Raid," estimates these loopholes cost the Treasury $40 billion a year, nearly four times what the President's tax increase would bring in over two years.

I believe the House Ways and Means Committee should hold a public hearing on revisions of our tax laws to eliminate inequities such as the oil depletion allowance. This is a year in which Members of Congress will be talking about cutting nonessential spending as a result of the President's request for a 6-percent tax surcharge. I suggest that we also look at loopholes in the tax laws which cost the Treasury billions of dollars. That is why I have reintroduced my bill which would lower the oil depletion allowance by 7½ percent, bringing to the Treasury approximately $500 million per year in additional revenue.

Mr. Speaker, with a greater understanding of the inequity of the oil depletion allowance loopholes there would be greater support for the passage of H.R. 3803. I plan to make available to my colleagues and to my constituents vital statistics and material on the subject to help bring about a better understanding.

Where Are We Headed?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, occasionally, editorials are helpful in achieving understanding and perspective. Such an editorial, in my opinion, is that appearing in Foster's Daily Democrat, an outstanding newspaper in my district, on January 10, 1967, entitled "Where Are We Headed?"

The editorial follows:

WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

As the last sheet is torn from the calendar the pundits, commentators, financial and editorial writers pause with pen in hand to make a retrospective look at the year 1966. They will find that it was a good year in many respects. The economic indices continued to reflect a general state of affluence that the nation has enjoyed for 20 years. The blatant evidence of this affluence has bothered those who find it difficult to reconcile the tragedy that men are facing in Viet Nam with a persistent demand at home for a life of greater ease and comfort. The truth is that while the output of United States industry poured a flood of material well-being across the land, there was no stinting on military requirements.

The productive capacity of this country has become so great that it can sustain a major war effort without interrupting our peacetime lives, and judging by reports at the end of the year, there is growing evidence that the communist world is not a monolithic force after all. Serious as it is, the war in Viet Nam and the threat of worldwide communism may have less of a bearing on the shaping of the American future than events that have been taking place right here at home.

In the midst of prosperity, there has been a rising discontent that is difficult to explain. At a time when major industries and business leaders are devoting a large part of their energies to helping solve broad social and economic problems, a deep-rooted movement is sweeping across the country that could well undermine the private enterprise, free market economic system.

During 1966, extensive investigations into the motives and the performances of many basic industries reached a new high. The maladjustments of inflation have been blamed on industry. Toward the end of this past summer, consumers turned their wrath on retail distribution. Housewives picketed stores and demanded price reductions. Simultaneously, striking unions made a shambles of the government's wage guidelines. Wage increases threatened to outstrip productivity increases. All of these things promise to raise a fundamental issue to which most citizens have given no thought.

The issue that is being raised by the striking housewives, striking workers and investigative government bodies, involves the question of whether or not our private enterprise, capitalistic system, which functions on the profit motive, is to be retained? The growing discontent, if it runs deep enough, will result in legislative action that will alter irrevocably the system under which we have lived since the founding of the nation.

Since any fair examination of the record will reveal the great benefits that have been derived from competitive capitalism, we must assume that the present discontent is based on misunderstanding—a misunderstanding that has been encouraged by irresponsible political actions that have led to the depreciation of the dollar. The rise of discontent among U.S. citizens, if not resolved, may well lead to the crippling of productivity and the erosion of liberty, as controls are substituted for the laws of supply and demand in a free market—a market that is incomparably the best in the world. Life magazine describes its accomplishments in a few sentences: "American housewives, many of whom are engaged in supermarket boycotts to protest the high cost of food, spend an average 18.2 per cent of their families's take-home pay to buy that food. In 1960 they were spending 20 per cent and in 1947, 24.6 per cent. In France, housewives dedicate 30 per cent of their family budget to food. In Japan the rate is 43 per cent, and in the Soviet Union—something between 50 per cent and 60 per cent."

As the new year opens, we should all vow to try a little harder to understand what makes the wheels go around in the United States. That is the biggest task we face in 1967. Only through understanding can we erase excessive discontent and mistrust. Only through understanding of bread and butter facts of our economic system can we hope to retain the good and abundant life that we have enjoyed in the past—to say nothing of freedom and our stature as a world power.

The Late John E. Fogarty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to join my colleagues in the House of Representatives in paying tribute to the dedicated service and tremendous contributions in the national interest of the late John E. Fogarty, of Rhode Island.

During the entirety of my tenure in Congress, I have been fortunate to receive counsel continually from John Fogarty during the course of legislative activities over the past 14 years. His friendship has been of great importance to me personally. He was a wise and judicious man who never failed to place the interest of this country above all considerations. The legislative accomplishments attributed to him are but a fraction of the total contributions he actually made to the health and welfare of the people of our country.

While it is difficult to contemplate how history might have differed were it not for one man, it is possible to know the long list of significant contributions John Fogarty made. His record in the field of health and welfare was so comprehensive, his name and work dominate the field throughout the country. It was a fitting tribute that flags flew at half staff on the buildings of health institutions, public and private, throughout the country as a voluntary act of homage to a great leader.

We will miss him in the House of Representatives and in the country.

I wish to include in my remarks a copy of an article written for the Cleveland Press by Marie Daerr, reporting Mr. Fogarty's visit to Cleveland on January 4, 1967. As well, I wish to include a fine tribute written by Howard A. Rusk, M.D., in the New York Times January 15, 1967, called "Mr. Public Health."

I wish to convey my condolences to Mrs. Fogarty and to his children who can be proud of the exemplary record of this fine gentleman.

The articles follow:

[From the Cleveland Press, Jan. 5, 1967]

Elderly Urged To Watch Congress

(By Marie Daerr)

It is essential that older people be kept up to date on legislation—and that, as responsible citizens, they let their representatives in Congress know their reactions.

Cong. John E. Fogarty (D-R.I.) had this message today for 400 older adults attending the Live Long and Like It Library Club's annual institute at Higbee's. The all-day event marked the Cleveland Public Library group's 20th birthday.

On the program were Fogarty, Louis B. Seltzer, former editor of The Press; Mrs. Lucia Bing, retired coordinator of volunteers for the Golden Age Center, and Miss Fern Long, Live Long and Like It adviser and head of the library's adult education department.

Fogarty praised Miss Long for the imagination and leadership she has shown in guiding the club since 1946 and said its program, which "has been widely imitated but never duplicated."

Fogarty said that, in spite of much publicity given Medicare before its enactment, there still is much misunderstanding about the program. He made a plea for a public information program to relate the legislation he introduced last year, known as Livingcare or the Health Education Act of 1966, and the Social Security Amendments of 1966, which he said he planned to introduce again.

Seltzer said that, while American society has done much to secure people against the hazards of old age, through such programs as retirement benefits and Medicare, it must redirect its efforts to help them to "a maximum and most meaningful use of their time." This would come through such aids as job opportunities and crafts and hobby classes.

"It is a monumental tragedy that we have lengthened people's lives, then farmed them out, left to their own devices," Seltzer said. "They get their pension checks, their Social Security, then what?"

[From the New York Times, Jan. 15, 1967]

Mr. Public Health—Death Ends Long Fight by Representative Fogarty To Give America Freedom From Disease

(By Howard A. Rusk, M.D.)

If hospitals, research laboratories and institutes for the aged, infirm and retarded had flagpoles, every flag would have flown at half-staff this past week to mourn the loss of John E. Fogarty.

Representative Fogarty of Rhode Island died of a heart attack last Tuesday at the age of 53.

Flags at half-staff would not, however, have been limited to institutions. They would also have been in evidence in thousands of homes throughout Rhode Island and the nation.

Mr. Fogarty was not just interested in institutions and dollars. He was interested in people, and no appeal for help that went to his office was ever left unanswered. He would go to inordinate ends to try to find the solution to problems that were all too often insoluble.

No one in the history of this country has done more to promote more and better health services, more and better health facilities and more and better health research than Representative Fogarty.

PLANNED NEW CRUSADE

Ironically, his death came just before he was to be sworn in for his 14th term—a time when he was mobilizing his forces for another all-out crusade against disease, disability and death.

Also ironically, his death was caused by a heart attack, his own personal public enemy number one as the primary killer of others.

The contribution of John Fogarty to improving health and rehabilitation services for the American people are legend.

When he entered Congress our Federal investment in medical research was but $3-million. It is now well over $1-billion.

During his freshman year in the House of Representatives, the number of disabled persons rehabilitated into employment under the public program was but 12,000. Last year it was more than 154,000.

Medicare, Medicaid, more nursing home beds, Federal aid for the training of physicians and other health workers, the clinical center of the National Institutes of Health, workshops and classrooms for the mentally retarded and all of the other tremendous advances in health and rehabilitation in the last quarter century stand as monuments to this late "Mr. Public Health."

He and his co-worker in the Senate, Senator Lister Hill from Alabama, were recognized as the great health leaders of all time. They complemented and supplemented each other in their continuing fight for the fifth freedom—freedom from disease.

STARTED AS BRICKLAYER

Mr. Fogarty's formal education ended when he received his high school diploma. He immediately followed in the footsteps of his father and older brother and became an apprentice bricklayer.

He was only 27 when he was first elected to Congress from Rhode Island. During World War II he served as an enlisted man in the Navy construction corps. After the war he returned to Congress to carry the torch for the enlisted men in the armed forces.

Having been denied a formal education and a college degree, he made possible through his untiring efforts the education of literally thousands of others as physicians, scientists and technicians because he cared.

Some years ago Mr. Fogarty was challenged with the opportunity to run for the Senate from Rhode Island. After a great deal of discussion with his friends and colleagues he decided his destiny was in the House of Representatives where he could continue his fight for health as chairman of the Subcommittee on Appropriations for Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare.

This was a decision that for suffering humanity was a blessed one.

John Fogarty, who started as a bricklayer, ended his career by placing countless bricks in a solid foundation of modern laboratories, medical schools, hospitals, institutions for the mentally ill and the retarded, and research laboratories that extend from the halls of science to the community itself.

With his bright green tie and his Irish accent, he was a circuit rider for health, a teacher, a preacher, a fearless foe to any challenger who stood in the way of his crusade.

He died on the field of battle. His friends from the scientist to the sick mourn his loss and call him blessed.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

Appendix

Europe's Advice to United States on Medical Care

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Europe's Advice to United States on Medical Care," published in the U.S. News & World Report of January 23, 1967.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EUROPE'S ADVICE TO UNITED STATES ON MEDICAL CARE

(NOTE.—Medicare in America, European experience indicates, is not likely to stop with aid for the aged. Countries which have had forms of socialized medicine since as long ago as 1883 believe that the U.S. program inevitably will be expanded. Their authorities have some friendly words of advice on what to do and what not to do.)

REPORTED FROM EUROPEAN CAPITALS

From Europeans with years of experience in socialized medicine come words of caution to the U.S., six months into its first venture in this field.

Medicare care for the aged started in the United States last July. Nursing-home care was added on January 1. European experts, convinced that these first steps will lead to others, give this advice:

Medical services should not be absolutely free. Patients, except the indigent, should be charged a reasonable part of the costs—up to 30 per cent.

Don't move too fast in expanding coverage, lest demands for medicare exceed the capacity of doctors, hospitals and nursing homes.

Continue to provide private medical care for those who can afford it and desire it. Freedom to choose doctors should be zealously preserved.

Government resources should be concentrated on maximum medical care for the aged and other groups with the greatest need, rather than spread thin trying to provide everything for everyone.

Nationalization of hospitals and medical services should be avoided.

Group practice by physicians in well-equipped medical centers should be given maximum encouragement and financial assistance.

In country-by-country reports, here are experiences that Europeans have had with socialized medicine, and some pitfalls that the U.S. is urged to avoid.

Stockholm

Sweden's experience with a system of compulsory health insurance and free hospitalization for all shows that heavily subsidized medicare is bound to be a severe strain on the health services of a country.

Sweden has been running into unforeseen difficulties ever since its system went into effect in 1955. From a social point of view, the Swedish plan has its advantages. Financial obstacles to adequate medicare have ceased to exist. Everyone can afford to have his health examined and to seek medical and hospital treatment.

At the same time, however, demand for medical services and hospitalization has kept soaring beyond expectations. Waiting periods for admission to overcrowded hospitals and nursing homes for the chronically sick and old persons have been getting longer, partly because of personnel shortages.

Overburdened doctors have been forced to turn away many patients, including older people. Experts predict that most of these shortcomings will persist well into the '70s, despite great efforts to expand the medical and hospital staffs in this country.

The same is true for Norway, which has a system similar to Sweden's, and Denmark, which has a far more complicated medicare plan.

"Social necessity." Swedish medical leaders and health insurance officials who know America take the view that medicare for the aged in the U.S. is a "social necessity." The wealthiest nation in the world, they say, should be in a position to do more for its older citizens than it has in the past.

Yet these officials admit that the U.S. experiment in medicare for the aged could easily lead to troubles similar to those that exist here today, and they mention some risks.

A sharp rise in the number of people seeking medical examinations and hospitalization is to be expected as the program advances. Doctors will be inclined to send more patients to hospitals for care. The U.S. will therefore be facing a mounting shortage of doctors and hospital personnel, already a serious problem.

A dramatic increase in the cost of medicare seems inevitable, especially if the U.S. now should enter a period of inflationary price and wage increases. Hospitals would have to offer higher pay and better fringe benefits to attract more people into the medical services.

In Sweden, the total cost of health services has been multiplied by four in the past 12 years. It is expected to climb by at least 10 per cent annually from now on.

The Swedish system provides free hospitalization for all. This includes food, treatment, nursing, medicines, and transportation to the hospital. No limit is placed on the length of stay. Patients who wish a private room must pay the difference between that room and the cost of a bed in a ward—now established at $31 a day.

The plan covers up to three fourths of the bills from doctors in the public-health service, based on a standard fee schedule. Choice of a doctor is unlimited. Private practitioners and specialists are free to charge higher fees than the standard rates. Patients who prefer private doctors usually get refunds of only about 30 to 50 per cent. Drugs prescribed by a doctor are available at discounts of up to 50 per cent. Some drugs, such as insulin, are free.

"Psychological imperative." Says a prominent Stockholm physician: "It's imperative, for psychological reasons, that the patient pay some part of the cost. People would be tempted to abuse our health plan and see doctors more often than necessary if medicare were completely free of charge. Things would get out of hand."

A prominent Stockholm doctor who has had experience in the U.S. believes that the American system of medicare will continue to expand in the years ahead to include more and more people until it resembles the Swedish plan.

Therefore, he advises Americans to take a good look at the Swedish plan and study its advantages and shortcoming in preparation for what lies ahead.

London

Medical experts here, on the basis of 18 years' experience in operating a comprehensive system of socialized medicine, warn that the British National Health Service is the worst possible model for the U.S. to copy.

The British plan, these medical men say, has tended to aggravate the difficulties now bedeviling the medical profession in every advanced country: a shortage of doctors, high cost of building and operating hospitals, enormous stress on specialization, loss of professional incentive for general practitioners, and a breakdown of the traditional doctor-patient relationship.

Chronic shortages. By offering comprehensive, "free" medical care for everyone and by depending mainly on tax revenue for its financing, the British system is chronically starved for capital and operating funds. Pay of doctors and financing of hospitals depends on the state of the National Government's budget each year, and not on the ability of patients generally to pay at least part of the cost of medical attention.

General practitioners, in particular, complain that under this system they must look after too many people to permit them to practice good medicine, and that any "interesting" cases almost automatically must be sent to hospitals. That's one reason why so many doctors—between 300 and 400 annually—are emigrating from Britain to Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the U.S.

The number of general practitioners working under the National Health Service actually is declining, while the population is increasing steadily. That means fewer doctors to care for more people under a system that already is overloaded.

Two tiers of medicine? Some medical experts here are predicting that a two-tier medical system will develop in Britain in place of the present setup. More and more people with middle-class incomes and standards are expected to buy health insurance to bypass the queues in their family doctors' offices and in hospitals. "Free" care still will be available for all under the National Health Service, but will be used mainly by the aged, the indigent and the lower-income groups.

By starting with a system of state-sponsored and subsidized medicare for the aged only, British medical men say, the U.S. is moving in the right direction. Under this plan, they contend a nominal contribution is made by patients, hospitals remain locally controlled and the service is limited to the group in greatest need.

But, these authorities warn, the real problems will begin to show up as pressures inevitably grow to extend medicare to other groups in the population—first the children, then to those suffering from diseases that are economically disastrous, and, finally, to all below a certain income level.

Paris

A French system of national health insurance has been in effect since before World War II. A highly complex system based on payroll deductions and employer contributions, it permits most Frenchmen to get an

80 per cent refund on doctors' bills, hospital costs and purchases of medicines.

As medical men watch the U.S. move into the same fields, they offer some advice in the interest of "good medicine." Here are typical comments:

"It is important that people pay at least something. If medical care is absolutely free, people take advantage. They think that you owe them the service, and they act as though they really don't think the service is good, anyway. They drop in without appointments, for even the most trifling causes.

"Once the Government starts dishing out money, it inevitably has to exert some controls. Watch out for excessive Government regulation."

Another doctor says: "By actually having to pay out funds, even though he gets most of it back, the patient remains aware that the doctor is a real person—not a faceless civil servant.

"State medicine will always be 'quick medicine.' Medicare fees will have to be low. No government in the world, including the U.S. Government, can afford to pay doctors what is required for them to provide slow, studied care. Quick medicine can be adequate. You can give diagnoses and make treatment, but you can also make mistakes.

"The slow way is safer and more efficient. There will always be need for private doctors who can practice in this way. Even the Soviet Union has them."

Rome

The Italian health service is in the middle of a crisis which doctors here say should provide a lesson for Americans on the pitfalls to avoid.

Every Italian is entitled to doctors' care, hospitalization and medicines—all without charge. This costs nearly 194 million dollars a year and is paid for by contributions from employers—an amount equal to 10 per cent of their payrolls—and workers, plus Government subsidies. The results are far from satisfactory. Patients complain of the hastiness of treatment, the limited list of free medicines and the incomplete or delayed reimbursement when treatment is paid for in advance.

Doctors are calling for higher pay rates and are protesting against the growing bureaucratization of their profession and the frequency with which they are consulted for the slightest ailments, such as common headaches. On all sides, there are complaints over time wasted on red tape and over the great shortage of hospital beds which at times is responsible for dangerous or even fatal delays in treatment.

Much of the dissatisfaction and confusion is caused by the fact that there are more than 200 state health-insurance agencies, all of which have their own administrative staffs and budgets. The type of care varies widely. Only six of the insurance agencies cover more than 1 million people each, but one is responsible for 28.5 million.

This big agency, known as INAM, had a deficit in 1965 of nearly 105 million dollars. Its payments for medical care have more than doubled since 1962.

About half of Italy's 85,000 doctors are registered with the state-operated medicare system. Some are paid for each consultation, some according to fixed quotas of patients. Few are satisfied.

A leading Rome physician says: "A doctor in state medicine loses all incentive to pursue professional perfection and scientific improvement. He becomes a white-collar worker whose work is conditioned by the fact that free service attracts the public for the slighest ailment. This can cause symptomatic and superficial treatment."

Bonn

In West Germany, which has had a medicare system since 1883, about 48 million people—87 per cent of the population—are covered by compulsory health insurance. It is financed by contributions from workers and employers.

Individuals with incomes above $220 a month can join the plan on a voluntary basis or subscribe to private insurance programs.

German medical authorities recommend that any medicare plan be limited to low-income groups, and that in any event those covered should pay part of the cost of treatment and medicines.

Most German doctors combine treatment of medicare patients with private practice. Their average income from the medicare program is $20,000 a year, to which they can add fees from treating private patients.

Geneva

Medical care in Switzerland still is based primarily on voluntary insurance through private "sick funds," supported by moderate Government subsidies. Most of the funds operate as nonprofit mutual companies. However, private, nonsubsidized health insurance is growing fast.

Only a few cantons (States) and communities have introduced compulsory plans for people of moderate means or children. The Swiss, therefore, have had little experience with state medicine.

Medical leaders and health officials here who follow developments in the U.S. believe that state-financed medicare for the aged sooner or later will develop into a broader and costly system of state medicine for most Americans.

Politicians, they contend, will find it difficult to resist pressures from other groups which want to share the benefits of medicare. They see the program being extended to cover a wider range of medical expenses, such as drugs, dental care and special services.

The U.S., these observers say, seems likely to move toward a more and more comprehensive health scheme.

A "means test"? Many Swiss doctors hold the view that medicare without a "means test" is bound to lead to a rush on hospitals and excessive demands for medical services in general.

Completely free medicare, the Swiss believe, encourages patients to wander from one doctor to another, seeking advice and treatment for the same ailment. Doctors soon find themselves overburdened with minor cases and have too little time for patients suffering from serious ailments.

Experience here also shows that medicine available free of charge or at very low, subsidized prices often leads to overconsumption of drugs.

Vienna

Austria has a compulsory plan of medicare that embraces about 90 per cent of the population. It is paid for by taxes on workers and their employers and covers hospitalization, treatment by doctors in and out of their offices, medicines dispensed by hospitals, dental care and prosthetics.

On the basis of experience, Austrian medical authorities say the system creates these problems:

Free, or virtually free, medical care encourages patients to take a wasteful attitude toward medical care. The patient tends to run to a doctor, or to a hospital, at the slightest symptom—real or imaginary—of ill health. He welcomes an opportunity to get a "sick slip"—in effect, a paid vacation from work. His will to get well quickly is blunted—a mental attitude which, in turn, has an adverse effect on his physical health.

Moreover, these experts add, the relationship between doctor and patient is adversely affected. The patient tends to view the doctor with suspicion; he forever suspects that the doctor, being paid by someone else, is not putting forth his best efforts in the patient's interest. The patient tries to squeeze as much as he can out of the doctor—in the way of treatment and prescriptions.

The doctor, on the other hand, is burdened with an excessive number of patients, including those with minor or imaginary illnesses, with an excessive number of prescriptions to write, and with an excessive number of forms to fill out. Hence, the quality of medical care tends to deteriorate.

The basic remedy which Austrian doctors suggest for these difficulties is that those insured who can afford it should be required to pay part of the cost of all medicare they receive. They suggest that cost participation by the insured by fixed at a maximum of 30 per cent.

What Europeans warn Americans on the subject of medicare sums up to this:

As you embark on the road to socialized medicine, do not travel too fast or too far. Otherwise, the time will come when you will find it advisable—as many countries in Europe now are discovering—to retract some of your steps, in the interest of doctors, patients and the whole community.

Memorial Resolution in Memory of Congressman John E. Fogarty, Board of Directors, American Heart Association, January 14, 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a memorial resolution adopted by the board of directors of the American Heart Association at its recent meeting in Los Angeles, expressing its sorrow on the death of our late beloved colleague and valued friend, Hon. John E. Fogarty, of Rhode Island.

In the letter I received from Philip P. Ardery, chairman of the board, of the American Heart Association, Inc., Mr. Ardery said:

> The American Heart Association is proud of its long and friendly relationship with John Fogarty, who last year received our "Heart-of-the-Year Award" in recognition of the encouragement his service as a recovered cardiac gave to all other victims of the heart and blood vessel diseases.
>
> MEMORIAL RESOLUTION IN MEMORY OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN E. FOGARTY, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, AMERICAN HEART ASSOCIATION, JANUARY 14, 1967
>
> The Board of Directors of the American Heart Association expresses deep sorrow at the untimely death of a most valued friend, Representative John E. Fogarty of Rhode Island.
>
> Congressman Fogarty was unsparing in his efforts to further the programs and objectives of the American Heart Association in reducing death and disability from cardiovascular diseases. The magnificent courage he displayed in surviving a severe heart attack in 1953 to resume his duties as the nation's leading protagonist of health legislation was a persuasive and encouraging example to heart patients throughout America and the world.
>
> Over a period of many years, John Fogarty graciously fulfilled speaking assignments and contributed many other services to the Heart Association and its nationwide affiliates. In his home state especially, he worked prodigiously in helping to found the Rhode Island Heart Association in 1941 and launch its out-

standing rheumatic fever prevention program.

In the ensuing 25 years, he regularly attended key meetings of the Rhode Island Heart Association giving generously of his wise counsel. No request from the Association for his personal services to aid rheumatic fever patients ever went unanswered. John Fogarty served on the Board of the Rhode Island Heart Association from 1953 to 1964, when he was voted the Board's first Honorary Member.

In addition, John Fogarty sponsored one of the first measures signed by Lyndon B. Johnson when he became president—a resolution establishing February as "American Heart Month" to coincide with the national Heart Fund campaign. In February, 1966, he received from President Johnson's hands the American Heart Association's "Heart-of-the-Year" Award for his "faith, courage and achievement in meeting the personal challenge of heart disease and inspiring people everywhere with new hope and determination to conquer heart disease."

This Board is indeed honored to pay tribute to the memory of Congressman Fogarty, a man who devoted his life to bettering the health and welfare of all men.

To Another Frontier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
OF ALASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, Leonhard Seppala died in Seattle January 28. He was 89 years old. During a long residence in Alaska, Leonhard Seppala built one of the great sagas of that northern frontier. A man of adventurous spirit, of iron will, Leonhard Seppala will go down in history as one of the great dog mushers and dog racers of all times. Indeed, many believe that he had no equal.

"Sep," as he was called by his Alaska friends, broke many a trail in many a far-off place and now this master of the trails has set out on another and the greatest of them all. Diminutive in physical size, "Sep" was small in no other way. In addition to everything else and more important than anything else, he was a fine human being, gentle, kind, and loved by thousands who knew him in the land where he spent his active years. Of Viking stock, Leonhard Seppala came to Alaska from his native Norway. I do not know if he introduced the Siberian husky to Alaska. Probably not. What I do know is that he most likely was the first to use this breed of dog exclusively and all his great races were won with teams of Siberian huskies.

In those days, of course, the sled dog in Alaska was used only incidentally for racing. Primarily he was a work animal, as he still is in some parts of the 49th State.

But it was in racing that Leonhard Seppala gained his great reputation. It is true that he and others performed an heroic humanitarian task in delivering diphtheria serum to Nome during the 1925 epidemic. But "Sep" was inclined to scoff at this as being an easy job and one which he did not count as being among his top dog-mushing experiences. Leonhard Sappala won most of the great races of his time, races which in the early days were long and hard endurance contests which tried man and animal.

Upon retirement Leonhard Seppala and his wife moved to Seattle and they had been living there for several years.

As one who knew him for 40 years or more, I mourn his passing. He was a great man, a great Alaskan.

The Wrong Road for Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, in the January 21 issue of Business Week, appeared an editorial entitled "The Wrong Road for Social Security," which I commend to all Members of Congress. This editorial is deserving of our close attention before taking legislative action this year in the social security field. The editorial follows:

THE WRONG ROAD FOR SOCIAL SECURITY

In his State of the Union message, President Johnson said that he is asking Congress to liberalize Social Security benefits. But on close analysis, it appears that what he is really asking is a series of radical changes in the very nature of a system that has served the broad middle of U.S. society well for over 30 years.

Social Security has merited—and received—wide public support up to now, because its operations have been guided by a series of principles that experience has shown to be necessary to an effective system of social insurance. Instead of strengthening these principles, President Johnson's proposals are likely to undermine them.

In any insurance pool, a degree of graduation of benefits must be maintained so that there is a reasonable relation beteween what people put in and what they expect to get out. Yet the thrust of the President's proposals is to turn what has been primarily a system of public insurance into a system of public relief.

The Social Security benefit scale already is loaded in favor of those with low incomes or a short period of covered employment during their working lives. At present, 80% to 85% of the tax on employers goes to finance aspects of the program other than the actuarial cost of benefits to their own employees.

Experts on Social Security expected this welfare component to drop as the system matured. But President Johnson's proposal to increase the minimum benefit by 59% and to guarantee everyone who had been in the system over 25 years at least $100 a month will make the welfare element higher.

The aged poor have a claim on the resources of a rich society. But to meet this claim out of Social Security funds invites a cruel paradox: The greater the welfare payments that must be met out of the system, the less the money that is available to finance earned pensions. Relief by any other name is still relief; and the new proposals promise long-run expansion, rather than shrinkage, in the relief rolls.

PROBLEMS OF FINANCING

Social insurance ought to be self-financing. And except for part of the costs of medicare, Social Security always has been just that. If the President's proposals are enacted, however, they are almost certain to increase the welfare component in Social Security to a point where there will be no alternative to tapping general revenues.

The combined employer-employee payroll tax already is running at a stiff 8.8% and is scheduled to go up to 11.3% by 1987. These presently scheduled taxes cannot support a 20% increase in benefits over the long run. Consequently, new revenue eventually would have to be found.

It is obvious to most serious students of taxation that the already oppressive payroll tax, which hits hardest at small business and low-income individuals, can't bear this extra burden. The President's proposals, therefore, are an open invitation to general revenue financing—and this invitation has been taken up quickly by Senators Robert F. Kennedy and Jacob K. Javits.

The trouble with general revenue financing is simply that it would make the future of Social Security a creature of day-to-day politics. And this is exactly the kind of thing that an insurance system must avoid.

THE DANGERS OF EXPEDIENCY

As a long-run insurance program, Social Security should not be affected by what the government sees as its short-term fiscal needs. It is common knowledge among economists that the mid-1965 increase in benefits was made retroactive because the Administration's fiscal planners—incorrectly as it turned out—thought that the economy would require stimulus in the second half of the year. It now is a common suspicion among economists that this year's proposal for a massive $4.1-billion boost in benefits was framed to provide a fiscal offset to the $4.5-billion increase requested for corporate and individual taxes. If both proposals pass, President Johnson will be able to reduce the deficit in his administrative budget without causing much of a reduction in aggregate purchasing power.

All this is much too clever. The state of the Social Security trust fund should, of course, weigh heavily in the Administration's fiscal planning. But the system serves long-run ends. Planners, therefore, should adjust their other programs in the light of what is happening to Social Security rather than the other way round.

It is evident that President Johnson's proposals would take the Social Security system down the wrong road. Congress is committed—wisely or unwisely—to increasing benefits this year, but it certainly is not committed to changing the basic philosophy of the system and embarking on a dubious adventure in a new approach to financing. When it takes up the subject, Congress should keep clearly in mind the distinction between welfare and insurance and the vital importance of maintaining the integrity of the financing system on which the whole structure of Social Security rests.

ASIA: The Turning Point Has Come

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial entitled "Asia: The Turning Point Has Come," written by William Randolph Hearst, Jr., and published in the Hearst newspapers on January 15, 1967.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Asia: The Turning Point Has Come

(By William Randolph Hearst Jr., editor in chief, the Hearst Newspapers)

Bringing the war in Vietnam to an acceptable conclusion is going to require iron determination and nerves of steel not only from the fighting men in the field, but from Americans at home. And that task is going to be a whole lot more difficult, if not impossible, unless we can clear away some of the myths and misunderstandings that are plaguing our efforts to play a constructive role in Asia.

Some of the myths and misunderstandings grow out of the very complexity and remoteness of Asia. Others are peddled deliberately by merchants of doubt.

I'd like to explode some of those myths today, basing my observations on The Hearst Task Force trip recently concluded by Bob Considine, Milt Kaplan and myself—to Japan, South Korea, Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore, Hong Kong, South Vietnam, and Thailand. In articles that will follow this one, The Task Force will take a long look at how the U.S. stands at the moment in Asia, and what's ahead.

The most outrageous myth is that we have forced our way into Asia uninvited and that all the nations of Asia just can't wait until we leave.

During the course of our trip The Task Force talked to the prime ministers or presidents or foreign ministers of seven countries. Some of them are allies of ours; some are neutrals. But to a man—including the neutrals—they understood why we are in Vietnam. And not one of them wants to see us out of there before we complete the job we came to do.

Let's look at Indonesia. Although they have every reason to be anti-Communist—considering that the Commies tried to take over the government by force—the leaders of that unhappy land are still steering an independent course in world affairs.

But Adam Malik, the brilliant and witty little foreign minister—a one-time Marxist, who may still harbor some Marxist ideas—doesn't sound at all like the antis in this country. He says, sure, you've got to get out of Vietnam, but he adds a big condition—that we must get out only after we have established a strong government in South Vietnam, one able to cope with guerrillas and other problems. I told him there were very few Americans who wouldn't agree with that.

Another myth concerns the leadership in South Vietnam. Premier Ky has been pictured as a one-man show, a dictator. The fact of the matter is that when he speaks he does so as the voice of the government directorate. He may very well not be the strongest single man in that group. Well informed people in Saigon with no particular ax to hone will tell you that Nguyen Van Thieu, the head of the directorate but of a more retiring nature, is the more influential figure. And there are others in the directorate whose counsel Ky must take.

The important thing here is that South Vietnam is not just moving from one dictator to another—as appeared to be the case after Diem was assassinated—but is acquiring some institutionalized leadership so that continuity can better be assured.

Still another myth is that the American soldier could not survive in the jungles and mountains of Vietnam. A number of highly respected U.S. military men subscribed to this particular bit of dogma just two or three years ago.

But the fact of the matter is that the U.S. serviceman fights and gets along very well in the jungles of Vietnam. And, even though this will not be any consolation to those who have lost loved ones there, the casualty rate has been only a fraction of the secret estimates made for the U.S. Chiefs of Staff when commitment of U.S. troops to combat was under consideration.

The sort of myth I mentioned contributes to the distortion of America's role in Vietnam. But the greatest sin may be one of omission. I'm talking about the failure to see what the U.S. is doing out there in the context of East Asia. Vietnam is not an isolated outpost.

One of the most impressive of our ambassadors in Asia took the larger view. What we have done in Vietnam, he said, is to deny control of the Asian mainland to Red China.

There is absolutely no doubt in the mind of any knowledgeable observer of that area that had we not gone into Vietnam, that country and most or all of its neighbors would now be under the domination of Red China—that means Laos, Cambodia, Burma, Thailand, Malaysia, among others.

Instead, here, briefly, is what we find today.

Thailand is a stable, strongly anti-Communist land. It has to cope with Communist-supported guerrilla bands in the northeastern part of the country, but there is little evidence to support the charge now being heard that Thailand is another Vietnam in the making. There is really no comparison. Thailand is not a divided country; it is a united one with a long tradition of nationhood. It has a strong government; it has a viable, healthy economy.

Burma is still neutralist. But her leaders don't all sound like U Thant. The premier, Ne Win, recently visited the U.S. The Burmese also recently went out of their way to say that they wouldn't allow their territory to be used by aggressors seeking to attack Thailand—meaning Red China. That might be an idle promise, but it doesn't sound like a country that expects Red China to take over the continent.

Cambodia, under Prince Sihanouk—unaffectionately known to our people as Snooky—moved a long way into the Red China orbit the past few years. Apparently Snooky felt Peking Communism was the wave of the future. Now he appears to be trying to row back a bit towards our shores. He recently indicated to Pan American Airways that he'd like to see Pan Am landing and taking off at the Pnom Penh Airport.

Indonesia, which might have provided stepping stones for the Chinese Reds from the Asian mainland down to Australia, represents the biggest defeat the Red Chinese have suffered since they started their mad moves towards Asian domination. The Communists had control of that nation of 107 million people within their grasp at the time of the bloody, abortive coup of Sept. 30, 1965. There is no question in the minds of senior American officials in East Asia that the U.S. presence in Vietnam helped stiffen the anti-Communist resistance in Indonesia.

South Korea, with U.S. help—military and economic—has become the new success story of Asia. This was a devastated land a dozen years ago. But the Koreans are tough, they are hard-working, they are proud. They are building, building, building—schools, houses, factories, roads.

The South Koreans and the Thais also hope they are laying the foundation for a different kind of structure—a regional security organization that will in time be able to keep the peace in Asia with a minimum of U.S. aid. This is a distant goal. But it is one that we must encourage and nurture.

There are other very bright spots, particularly on the economic side. Japan had a slight recession last year but its growth rate is running at eight and perhaps as high as ten percent annually—an astounding figure. Formosa gets a little less American attention these days only because things are going so well there. Hong Kong and Singapore and Malaysia are all booming.

And none of these developments would have taken place—not a one of them—if the U.S. had not provided a cornerstone of Asian security in Vietnam.

So one of the things that we have been doing in Vietnam is buying time, time for the non-Communist or anti-Communist nations of Asia to put themselves on a stronger economic and political base. The Asians understand this.

This is the message we bring home from our tour of Asia and it is so important that I intend to proclaim it at every publishing oportunity and from every available podium.

Sandy Hook National Seashore

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to speak in behalf of a bill I have just introduced which would create the Sandy Hook National Seashore in the great State of New Jersey.

This historic site must be preserved as a park, recreational and natural wildlife area. To use it for anything else would be unthinkable.

New Jersey presently leases a 754-acre tract from the Federal Government. That tract is used as the Sandy Hook State Park and is one of the most beautiful as well as the most overcrowded resorts in the State of New Jersey.

Mr. Speaker, earlier this month Secretary of Defense McNamara announced that some 400-odd acres of land which is now being used by Fort Hancock, is being declared surplus. The people of New Jersey would benefit if that additional acreage would be added to the present State park acreage. We would then have a 1,200-acre site for park and recreational purposes with the possibility of eventually expanding that by 400 more acres when Fort Hancock is eventually phased out.

The bill which I have drawn up also is to be introduced in the other body today by New Jersey's two U.S. Senators, Harrison A. Williams, Jr., and Clifford P. Case.

On a local level, elected officials from both the Democratic and Republican parties have joined together in a bipartisan effort to make sure this area is kept as a park and recreational area.

The importance of Sandy Hook is well outlined in a letter the late President John F. Kennedy wrote to Secretary of Defense McNamara on September 1, 1961. At this point in the Record, Mr. Speaker, I include a copy of that letter.

Last week, I had the opportunity and privilege of discussing the possibility of creating a Sandy Hook National Seashore with Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall. All of us in the House, on both sides of the aisle, are well aware of the outstanding contribution Secretary Udall has made to this country and in particular to the people who love our beautiful outdoors. Secretary Udall expressed an interest in the proposal and agreed that this area must be preserved as a park, recreational, and wildlife area for the people of New Jersey, regardless of how it is done or by whom.

I urge all of my colleagues in the House to look over this bill with the thought in mind that New Jersey is one of the few States in the Nation that does not now have a national seashore or a national park. I also urge that hearings be scheduled on this bill as soon as possible.

Mr. Speaker, in closing, I place a copy of my bill in the RECORD:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
WASHINGTON, D.C.,
September 1, 1961.

Hon. ROBERT S. MCNAMARA,
Secretary of Defense,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SECRETARY MCNAMARA: In the program that you have undertaken to strengthen vital defense bases and inactivate establishments no longer justified as a result of changes in weapons systems and defense requirements, I am most anxious that real property not required for security purposes be made available on appropriate terms for urban and rural communities whose economies and other development can thereby be significantly encouraged.

Secretary Udall, under my direction, is already engagd in a determined search for land resources suitable for public recreational needs. This is especially important near congested urban centers where the need is urgent and little undeveloped acreage remains.

A prime example of land for which there is urgent nonmilitary need is Sandy Hook, New Jersey, on which Fort Hancock is located. This has one of the few undeveloped long shore lines in the New York metropolitan area.

Generations of Americans have accepted the importance of using this area as a military reservation in the interest of national security. Defense considerations must, of course, continue to take precedence over other potential utilization. But every effort should be made by the Department of Defense to provide long range plans for suitable public use of Sandy Hook or other parts of the peninsula if your present survey indicates that is possible as a result of changes in weapons and security requirements.

I will appreciate your keeping New Jersey state officials as well as the Department of the Interior advised on the opportunity for long-term use of this priceless natural resource.

Sincerely,

H.R. —

A bill to establish the Sandy Hook National Seashore in the State of New Jersey, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for the purpose of preserving for the use and inspiration of present and future generations certain relatively unspoiled beaches and waters on the Atlantic coastline of New Jersey which possess great scenic, scientific, and recreational value, there is hereby established the Sandy Hook National Seashore. The seashore shall consist of the lands, waters, and interests therein and improvements thereon comprising the former Fort Hancock Military Reservation, together with the submerged land area adjacent to the reservation lying within a distance of one-quarter mile from the shoreline.

SEC. 2. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, Federal property located within the seashore is hereby transferred without consideration to the administrative jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior for use by him in carrying out the provisions of this Act. Within the seashore, the Secretary may acquire lands, submerged lands, and interests therein owned by the State of New Jersey or a political subdivision thereof only by donation.

SEC. 3. The Secretary of the Interior shall permit hunting and fishing on lands and waters under his administrative jurisdiction within the Sandy Hook National Seashore in accordance with the laws of New Jersey and of the United States, to the extent applicable, except that the Secretary may designate zones where, and establish periods when, no hunting or fishing shall be permitted for reasons of public safety, administration, fish or wildlife management, or public use and enjoyment. Except in emergencies, any regulations of the Secretary pursuant to this section shall be put into effect only after consultation with the Department of Conservation and Economic Development of the State of New Jersey.

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall administer the Sandy Hook National Seashore for the general purposes of public outdoor recreation, including conservation of natural features contributing to public enjoyment. In the administration of the seashore, the Secretary may utilize such statutory authorities relating to areas administered and supervised by the Secretary through the National Park Service and such statutory authorities otherwise available to him for the conservation and management of natural resources as he deems appropriate to carry out the purposes of this Act.

SEC. 5. The authority of the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, to undertake or contribute to shore erosion control or beach protection measures within the Sandy Hook National Seashore shall be exercised in accordance with a plan that is mutually acceptable to the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of the Army, and that is consistent with the purposes of this Act.

SEC. 6. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

Polish Commerce Between United States and North Vietnamese Ports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Polish Freighters Continue To Feed North Vietnamese Ports," written by Victor Riesel, and published in the Nashville Banner of January 25, 1967. The article deals with the attitude of American longshoremen toward shipping between United States and North Vietnamese ports.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLISH FREIGHTERS CONTINUE TO FEED NORTH VIETNAMESE PORTS

(By Victor Riesel)

NEW YORK.—Some of the Eastern European people's republics literally may need a physical bridge to the U.S. if irate American longshoremen transform their anger into a boycott of Communist freighters now heaving regularly into this and other harbors along the Atlantic coast.

Traditionally, U.S. dockwallopers have a low boiling point and the heat's up now and they've learned from their union chiefs that European Communist labor organizations have been urging such unions as the International Longshoremen's Assn. (ILA, AFL-CIO) to cripple shipments of war material and food to South Vietnam.

This waterfront still is tough territory. If there are to be any strikes and boycotts these will hit Communist lines which put in here regularly, are serviced, unloaded, loaded and turned around although their owners also feed the North Vietnamese forces through the port of Haiphong.

One such two-front operator is the Polish government. It operates here through the state-owned, Polish Ocean Lines on Battery Place from which, on any clear day, can be seen the Statue of Liberty. It's a fine money raiser, what with regular calls here with heavy cargoes—especially the famed Polish hams.

Polish Ocean Lines also put in at other Atlantic Coast ports. Thus far the longshoremen have handled the ships, though their leaders, through association with the anti-Communist International Transport Federation, Workers' have learned that Poland has dispatched at least 15 freighters to Haiphong in recent months.

Except for the Soviet Union and mainland China, the Polish shipments to North Vietnam are the heaviest of any maritime nation. The tonnage of these Polish freighters, and their names have been learned. A check now is being made by Brooklyn longshoremen to learn whether any of these 15 vessels have put into New York.

The Brooklyn locals are involved because the Polish line uses Pier eight there.

Furthermore, the expert Polish shipbuilding yards at Gdansk and Gdynia are building a huge cargo fleet for the Soviets—Ho Chi Minh's main supplier of military equipment and fuel. Obviously the Soviets are highly satisfied with the work being turned out since Poland now has a Soviet order for delivery between 1966 and 1970 of 175 ships totaling 1.5 million tons" says a Congressional report by eyewitnesses. In this order are 20,000 tankers as well as fast 12,000 ton freighters.

In addition to the Poles, described to me by an American ambassador in Europe as the most bitterly anti-U.S. of all Communist bloc nations, the other Eastern Communist lands also send craft into American harbors.

This commerce is a source of considerable U.S. hard currency now so badly needed in "the bloc." Typical is the arrival here in mid-January of a huge shipment of Russian vodka. There also are furs to which, incidentally, the fur workers' union objects

Virtually all of the time the cargoes are unloaded. But the pressure on American longshoremen, especially from French labor as well as from others affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions (headquartered in Prague) may boomerang and slash East-West trade.

Typical of the letters flowing into the offices of American unions is one received by the ILA leaders recently. It was from "Federation National Des Ports et Docks" of 213 Rue Lafayette, Paris.

Written by one of its leaders, D. Brest, it said in effect, that during the "war between the French and Vietnam, the French dockers intensified strike action against every shipment, especially military ones going to Vietnam."

The ILA reply was polite but tough and blunt. The longshoremen made it clear that they backed American policy. There would be no boycott of American shipping in American ports.

But Polish and other Communist craft docking in these waters might make another kind of game.

Martha Raye: Star Performer in Emergency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, last week the 15th Annual Women's Forum on National Security was held here in Washington. In its closing session, the forum honored Miss Martha Raye with its distinguished service award for outstanding service in the cause of national security 1967.

A great trouper and a great entertainer, Miss Raye has brought cheer and laughter to thousands of service men and women overseas, and, more recently, proved that she can be a good nurse, too.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include below an article which appeared in the January 1967 issue of Army Digest:

Martha Raye: Star Performer in Emergency Emergency

There was that one night in Vietnam when, despite all the traditions and the examples, the show didn't go on.

It was the night that veteran trouper Martha Raye turned nurse at a hospital in Soc Trang in the Mekong Delta. The brunette comedienne had been making a tour of the area and was scheduled to entertain two aviation helicopter companies. But the units ran into a heavy fight that day as they attempted landings in the midst of a Viet Cong battalion.

Four helicopters were shot down, another score damaged, and wounded began pouring into the little dispensary at Soc Trang just about the same time Miss Raye arrived.

A former nurse, she sized up the situation, put on Army fatigues, gave a pint of blood to a wounded sergeant, then scrubbed and prepared the wounded for surgery, and generally assisted at whatever else needed to be done.

That was the night the show didn't go on. Next morning Martha was back helping the one doctor and eight corpsmen. Most of the wounded were surprised, somewhat naturally, to find themselves under the care of the famed actress. Typical of the stories told by the men was that of a gunship pilot and his crew chief and doorgunner. Shot down, with the copilot of their aircraft killed, they made their way through swamp, canal, rice paddies for 20 hours, killing and capturing several Viet Cong on the way. Unable to bring the captured men along they had tied them up and left them on a canal bank—and finally stumbled on a unit of the Army of the Republic of Viet Nam.

The trio—all members of the 121st Airmobile Company known as the Soc Trang Tigers—were Major Raymond T. Nutter of Bowling Green, Kentucky, SP5 David Olson of Jackson, Minnesota, the crew chief, and doorgunner SGT Rodger Swindler of Lakeland, Florida. All three were presented with the Bronze Star and "V" for Valor by BG George P. Seneff, Jr., commanding general of the 1st Aviation Brigade.

About noon on the second day Miss Raye was flown to Vinh Long, 80 miles away, and that night her show went on for another unit. But those who benefited from her nursing care remember a Martha Raye performance that no stage show could ever duplicate.

A Challenge to the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of pride that I want to point out a very fine example of responsibility and patriotism on the part of the younger generation.

I refer to the students of the Athens, Ala., High School who last week became the first high school in the Nation to sponsor a Red Cross blood bank campaign. In a city of about 10,000, these students secured actual donations of blood from 557 people. Additional pledges were secured but some potential donors were ineligible. The total is more impressive when you consider that donors must be at least 18 years old which eliminated most of the students as actual participants, no matter how eager.

These spirited students at Athens High School have now challenged other high schools throughout the Nation to top this successful record. It is a challenge worthy of consideration because I see only winners in this sort of competition.

I want to personally commend this distinguished effort on the part of all the students and their leaders. An editorial in the Alabama Courier gives details of the students' activity. I include it at this point in my remarks:

A Display of Responsibility, Patriotism

Perhaps the older generation could well learn a lesson from the demonstration of community awareness and patriotism that was displayed earlier this week at Athens High School.

Both junior and senior high school students became the first in the nation ever to sponsor a blood bank campaign. And a record 80 percent turn out was witnessed from those who signed pledge cards and actually gave blood.

This figure is startling; it has never been equalled in the history of the Limestone County American Red Cross Bloodmobile. The spirited students were responsible for 557 pints of blood, another new record.

It appears that the students have the secret to resolving complacency among citizens. Tuesday 192 new blood donors contributed, a painless operation.

These newspapers along with those who give four to five pints of blood a year offer heartiest congratulations.

Somewhere these students, the cornerstone of the younger generation, aroused the public to stage the most successful Bloodmobile visit in its 11 year history here.

Tradition has it that the new generation should listen to criticisms and free advice gained by the experience of their elders. Athens Junior and Senior High School apparently turned the tables Tuesday.

Their sense of community responsibility and service to their nation and fellow man deserves the highest praise that can be offered. It is by such accomplishments that tomorrow's youth may be capable of grasping more responsibilities at an earlier age.

Athens students of 1966–67 have paved the way. These newspapers have noticed an increased activity of various student projects that lead toward the betterment of the area during recent years.

It is also worthy of mention the excellent supervisor and coordination of efforts on the part of the school's faculty and administration. What happened here this week leads us to believe that our school system is producing a higher caliber graduate than ever before.

Years ago the Student Council was known as the lower level judicial arm of the schools, more commonly referred to as an escape from the paddle. It pleases us to know that the council is acting as an agency among the students for community betterment.

Learning the values of community is, indeed, a step in the right direction. We commend the parents, faculty and the students themselves.

The 1966–67 Bloodmobile quota is virtually assured. Last year was the first time for the goal ever to be attained. With the type of cooperation and acceptance displayed by both the donors who supported the campaign and the earnest efforts of the students the Athens High School Bloodmobile should become a semi-annual affair.

Donors must contribute at least twice a year to keep the benefits of free blood in effect.

Need for blood and its uses in South Viet Nam can not be over emphasized. Many American soldiers, who are wounded in battle, will return home as a result of the efforts of people like those who contributed so generously here Tuesday.

Athens High School, the credit is due your efforts; your display of community support will long be remembered. You have set an outstanding example for both the new and old generations.

Two Articles of Interest by Arthur Hoppe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, the satirist, Arthur Hoppe, has placed two articles in the San Francisco Chronicle recently which will be of interest to our readers, one under the date of January 16 and the other, January 18. His articles follow:

Gay Times in Washington

(By Arthur Hoppe)

Washington.—The most monumental task we ace newsmen face as Congress gets underway each January is to assess the mood of Washington and report it to a waiting world.

I have now assessed it and am glad to report that the mood of Washington this year is gay and joyous. That's an exclusive report.

I obtained this assessment by attending a typical gay and joyous Washington cocktail party.

"That large group by the window is pro-Bobby," said the hostess, taking my coat, "while the little band with their backs to the corner are those grimly sticking to Johnson.

"The doves are in the kitchen looking noble. We have two Negroes by the fireplace looking bitter. And most of the rest are the usual cynical observers looking cynical. Would you care for a hemlock over ice?"

I took up a post slightly to one side of two gentlemen who were arguing whether the Manchester book had done the most harm to President Johnson, Senator Bobby Kennedy or Mr. Manchester himself. I took care not get between them.

Behind me a cynical observer was expounding the new widely held theory that Mr. Johnson would not run for a second term in 1968 "because he is too proud to be another Hoover."

"Yes," agreed another, rubbing his hands. "They all know he's a lame duck and they'll carve him up good. It certainly creates an interesting power vacuum. The long knives will be out for the next two years."

Wandering off, I came on a circle of ladies and gentlemen playing the fascinating new Washington game of naming Congressmen who are "far more corrupt" than Mr. ADAM CLAYTON POWELL. The rules require not naming the Congressman but citing his corrupt activities—with extra points if it's a corrupt activity no one else in the group has pinned on him before.

After listening in for a few dozen I turned to a stimulating battle between two gentlemen—one arguing that Mr. Bobby Baker would make lots of money by writing his much-anticipated book about his experiences in the U.S. Senate. The other was arguing he would make lots more if he didn't.

Over by the fireplace, the Negro gentlemen were certainly enjoying the fire. "Burn, baby, burn," said one.

Taking my leave of the hostess, I thanked her for a most interesting time.

"Yes," she said, "wasn't it delightful to see everyone in such a gay and joyous mood?"

Gay and joyous? But everyone had spent all evening glaring, snarling, back-biting and carving each other up. Frankly, I said, I had never observed the Washington scene in such a poisonous state as now.

"Quite so," she said, nodding. "But if you think such activities don't make Washingtonians gay and joyous, then you don't understand Washington."

A Ticklish Peace Feeler

(By Arthur Hoppe)

WASHINGTON.—President Johnson, as you know, keeps magnanimously offering to stop bombing North Vietnam. If Mr. Ho Chi Minh will just promise to do something nice for us in return.

To check on the progress of this latest bold stroke in American diplomacy, I dropped over to the State Department for a chat with Mr. Homer T. Pettibone, Deputy Assistant Curator of Peace Feelers.

I found him opening a long, narrow package labeled, "Peace Feeler—Do Not Crush." He examined its contents with a frown. Was it a response to the President's offer?

"It appears so," said Mr. Pettibone. "They say here that if we will stop bombing them, they will unconditionally promise to stop shooting down our aircraft with Russian-built SAM missiles."

Marvelous, I said. Nothing's angered us more than their unfair use of SAM missiles against our planes. But what of conventional anti-aircraft guns?

"Oh, they've already agreed to stop firing those if we'll halt the bombing. Nor will they challenge us with MIGs. Say, this is new. If we stop bombing them, they pledge to stop accusing us of causing widespread civilian casualties."

That sounds important, I said. Nothing's given us a worse black eye in the world press than these accusations they keep making.

"It could be the breakthrough we've been looking for," agreed Mr. Pettibone thoughtfully. "And then again it couldn't. Let's see what else is in their package."

He shook the cardboard container over his desk and sorted through the pieces that fell out. "Ah," he said, "They'll now agree to stop installing so much sewer pipe."

Sewer pipe?

"It looks like sewer pipe, but we happen to know they're using it for air raid shelters. I see they've also tossed in some specifics. If we'll stop bombing their oil storage depots, they'll stop sending clouds of black smoke up to 20,000 feet."

A help in smog control, I said.

"And if we'll stop bombing their bridges, they'll stop rebuilding them in four hours."

A constant frustration to our military, I said. These sounded like major concessions.

"Yes, we knew our policy of force would bear fruit," said Mr. Pettibone proudly. "And now if we'll stop bombing them, they're willing to promise to stop being bombed."

What more could we ask, I said jubilantly. Peace was just around the corner. As soon as he delivered the news to the White House. . .

"I'm afraid there's no point in that," said Mr. Pettibone, stamping the package "File for Reference" and tossing it in a broom closet.

"Oh, I realize their concessions look good on the surface," he explained. "But how do we know they're sincere?"

A Federal Budget Too Huge To Comprehend

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, the President's budget appears to be growing so confusing that even the astute newspaper columnists who daily deal with the astronomical figures of Government operations cannot comprehend it. James J. Kilpatrick, for instance, says that about the only way the President's budget can be seen is through a mist. Describing the Johnson budget as "formless and immeasurable," Mr. Kilpatrick wrote the following about the document:

A Federal Budget Too Huge To Comprehend

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

The smog in Washington, which has been getting worse this winter, was unusually bad at noon on Tuesday. Through the grimy haze of Capitol Hill, a sooty deficit came swimming past. One could barely make out the billions. Was the deflect two-point-one? Or eight-point-one? Certificates of participation moved darkly to and fro. Nothing seemed quite real.

And the truth is that this is about the only way the President's budget can be seen —through a mist, dimly. Mr. Johnson's revenue figures will stand up if he gets his surtax, if he gets his postal increase, if the Congress goes along on Social Security hikes. His expenditure figures depend upon Vietnam, on anti-missile missiles, on some bookkeeping sleight-of-hand. One figure rises above the fog: In fiscal '68, the Federal government proposes to collect $168 billion in cash receipts from the public. The sum is almost $34 billion above the level of fiscal '66.

If any such tax program, relatively speaking, were to be proposed by a local governing body, the voters would descend on City Hall with whips and hunting hounds. Over most of the country, an increase of a few cents in the rate on real estate is guaranteed to set off a rebellion. The local politician trembles at the dreadful thought.

Yet the President's several recommendations, concealed in the Washington smog, arouse no visible passions. Perhaps the voter cannot see what Mr. Johnson has in mind.

In fiscal '66, collections of individual individual income tax amounted to $55.4 billion. Mr. Johnson would increase the take in fiscal '68 to $73.2 billion.

As recently as 1959, a worker paid a maximum Social Security tax of 2.5 percent on the first $4,800 of his earnings. For 1969, Mr. Johnson recommends a tax of 4.5 percent on the first $7,800 of earnings. By 1974, the tax rate—Mr. Johnson calls it a "contribution"—would go to 5 percent on $10,800. And the employer would be compelled to match these payments dollar for dollar.

The increases in individual income taxes and Social Security taxes are only a part of the Johnson program. The President also recommends an increase in corporation income taxes, an acceleration in corporation tax payments, a $700 million boost in postal rates, and an increase in the tax on diesel fuel. He proposes a 2-percent charge on air freight bills, a 4-cent per gallon tax on jet fuel, and a doubling of the present tax on general aviation gasoline. He proposes new taxes on large trucks and new taxes on fuels consumed on inland waterways. He would impose new fees for commodity inspection and warehouse licensing. He would boost the rate of taxes paid into the Railway Retirement Fund. All told, the President asks for nearly $5.8 billion in new revenues.

For millions of American families whose earnings come to $150 or $200 a week, the Johnson package will mean a heavy burden. Employers will feel the impact too. The Social Security increases alone will result in heavy pressure upon management for wage increases sufficient to restore the take-home pay. The pressure upon small manufacturers and shippers will be especially severe, and can only result in another round of higher prices.

All this looms dimly in the outlines of the Johnson budget. If the higher revenues were demanded solely in the name of national defense, few persons would object. This is not the case at all. The vast bulk of the administration's proposed spending program falls on the non-defense side.

In his message, the President went to some pains to justify his domestic outlays. He had given all requests a "rigorous review" and a "sharp paring." He had cut out "waste and non-essentials." He had approved increases "only where vitally necessary." He was proposing merely "to press ahead at a controlled and reasoned pace."

Yet his budget proposes a 20 percent increase in public assistance grants over a span of only two years. He would disburse $25.6 billion thruogh 10 agencies to help the poor. He recommends rent supplements, dental care for children, the rebuilding of model cities, a $622 million increase in aid to education. For the discredited Office of Economic Opportunity alone, the President asks $2.1 billion, an increase of $448 million over the present fiscal year.

The figures are too huge to register clearly on the mind. The zeroes merge into meaningless symbols, so that the thousands, millions, billions all seem alike. One gropes aimlessly through the 1,300-page budget searching for some flash of insight in a haze of orderly charts and tables. Nothing comes. This is the biggest budget—by far the biggest budget—ever sent to Capitol Hill. It reduces the individual, and the taxes he pays, to insignificance. Like the smog itself, the budget is formless, immeasurable, essentially unassailable; but increasingly, it affects every breath an American draws.

Ukrainian Independence Day in Boston

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a declaration issued by the Honorable John F. Collins, mayor of Boston, proclaiming Sunday, January 22, 1967, as "Ukrainian Independence Day" in Boston:

Declaration

Whereas, the 49th anniversary of the declaration of Independence of Ukraine will be observed on January 22, 1967; and

Whereas, for 49 years, the Ukrainian people have resisted Russian Communist oppression and have amply demonstrated their desire for freedom and national independence; and

Whereas, Americans of Ukrainian descent desire to direct the free world's attention to Ukrainian's struggle for freedom and independence; and

Whereas, American Ukrainians in Boston, under the auspices of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, desire to protest the latest wave of Communist terror and oppression against Ukrainian writers and intellectuals because of their demands for freedom of expression, as well as against the continuous Communist destruction of Ukrainian national cultural heritage;

Now, therefore, I, John F. Collins, Mayor of the City of Boston, desiring to provide the opportunity for Americans of Ukrainian descent to adequately commemorate the significance of the memorable day, do hereby declare Sunday, January 22, 1967, as Ukrainian Independence Day in the City of Boston, and direct that the Ukrainian National Flag be raised at the City Hall on Monday, January 23, 1967, as a symbol of Ukrainian freedom and independence.

John F. Collins,
Mayor, City of Boston.

Future Use of Sandy Hook

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES J. HOWARD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, today, both here in the House and in the other body, legislation is being introduced which would create a Sandy Hook, N.J., National Seashore. Minutes ago I outlined in some detail why I have drawn this bill up and what it means not only to the people of my district, but to all of the people of New Jersey.

Editorial comment on this proposal has been swift. Both the Daily Register of Red Bank and the Daily Record of Long Branch have come out in support of this proposal.

Mr. Speaker, at this point in the Record, I enclose a copy of each editorial:

[From the Red Bank Daily Register, Jan. 26, 1967]

Future Use of Sandy Hook

It has been gratifying to observe the show of strength mustered at keeping for the state some 1,200 acres of land at Sandy Hook for public use.

The Defense Department has announced that Fort Hancock will vacate much of its land at Sandy Hook and it will be declared surplus. This immediately raised questions as to what would happen to the acreage.

The hope always has been to increase the size of the present Sandy Hook State Park and to make certain that private interests do not acquire it.

Rep. James J. Howard and Sen. Clifford P. Case immediately went into action to explore various alternatives for preservation of Fort Hancock as a natural wildlife, recreation and marine research area and for expansion of the state park. State Conservation Commissioner Robert A. Roe said the state will move to acquire the land.

And a resolution declaring that Sandy Hook should be preserved for public use has been introduced by Monmouth Assemblyman Alfred N. Beadleston, Joseph Azzolina, and James M. Coleman. The resolution says the section of Fort Hancock to be abandoned by the federal government should be added to Sandy Hook State Park or to the national seashore project of the Department of the Interior.

Significant is the fact that the resolution calls upon the federal government to hold the property pending the development of a plan for public use of the area. The measure has bi-partisan support.

We cannot help but think of the importance attached to Sandy Hook by the late President Kennedy.

In 1961, he said:

"A prime example of land for which there is an urgent non-military use is Sandy Hook. . . . This has one of the few undeveloped long shorelines in the New York metropolitan area. . . .

"Generations of Americans have accepted the importance of using this land as a military reserve in the interests of national security. Defense considerations must, of course, take precedence over every other potential utilization, but every effort should be made by the Defense Department to provide long-range plans for suitable public use of Sandy Hook, if present surveys indicate it is possible as a result of changes in weapons and security requirements . . ."

The priceless natural resource that Sandy Hook is must be kept for public use—and the government should not even think of selling the land to private interests.

New Jersey's congressional delegation and an aide to Gov. Richard J. Hughes will meet today in Washington with Secretary of the Interior Stuart L. Udall in an effort to save the land for the public. To be explored chiefly are ways to turn over the acreage to the state through legislation or through direct negotiations with the General Services Administration, which will handle the sale of the property.

The success and the popularity of Sandy Hook State Park are solid examples of how the public has accepted this location. And the way in which conservation is stressed there has made the park a wonderful asset to the state and its residents.

It would be unthinkable to have the surplus land become anything but a state park or a national park, similar perhaps to the land acquired at Cape Cod as a national seashore. We hope the day will come when all of Sandy Hook will be set aside for that purpose. Sandy Hook State Park was the first step in that direction—and now it is imperative that the new land be made available for recreational use.

Conservation, of course, should be a paramount consideration here—and so should the desire to keep this land in the public's possession for the public's enjoyment.

[From the Long Branch (N.J.) Daily Record, Jan. 28, 1967]

A National Park for Us

We commend Rep. James J. Howard (D-3rd Dist.) Democratic U.S. Senator Harrison A. Williams and Republican U.S. Senator Clifford P. Case for the speed with which they are acting to preserve Sandy Hook for parks and recreational purposes.

Ever since the announcement earlier this month that Ft. Hancock would be deactived by December of 1968, except for 434 acres which will be maintained as a Nike installation, New Jersey's national representatives have been meeting and working in concert to preserve the 1,200 acres remaining for parks and recreational purposes and to prevent it from being sold, hodgepodge, by the General Services Administration, for half of its fair market value.

On Monday, a bill will be introduced in the House by Rep. Howard, and in the Senate by Sens. Case and Williams, to establish the Sandy Hook National Seashore in the State of New Jersey, and for other purposes.

We urge Congress to pass this important piece of legislation.

Howard's bill urges its establishment for the purpose of preserving for the "use and inspiration of present and future generations certain unspoiled beaches and waters on the Atlantic coastline of New Jersey which possess great scenic, scientific, and recreational value." It goes on to say, "The seashore shall consist of the lands, waters, and interests therein and improvements thereon, comprising the former Fort Hancock Military Reservation, together with the submerged land area adjacent to the Reservation lying within a distance of one-quarter mile from the shoreline."

The bill asks that federal property located within the seashore be transferred, without consideration, to the administrative jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior, for use by him in carrying out the provisions of the act, and that the Secretary may acquire lands, submerged lands, and interests therein owned by the State of New Jersey, or a political subdivision thereof only by donation. There are 750 acres on Sandy Hook presently delegated as the State Park.

It calls for hunting and fishing to be permitted in accordance with the laws of New Jersey and of the United tSates; for its administration by the Secretary of the Interior for the general purposes of public outdoor recreation, including conservation of natural features contributing to public enjoyment, and that the authority of the Chief of Engineers, Dept. of the Army, to undertake or contribute to shore erosion control or beach protection measures within the Sandy Hook National Seashore, shall be exercised in accordance with a plan that is mutually acceptable to the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of the Army.

It asks for authorization of funds necessary to carry out the purposes of the act.

There is no National Park in the State of New Jersey at the present time.

We believe that this solution is an ideal one for the choice acreage which will be abandoned by Ft. Hancock and urge passage of the enabling bill.

Mr. Speaker, I respectfully urge each of my colleagues to take a few minutes out of his busy day to read these editorials. They point up the importance of favorable action in the House and Senate on this bill.

Remarks of John E. Davis, National Commander, the American Legion, Before Women's Forum on National Security, January 24, 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS S. KLEPPE
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, my friend, John E. Davis, Bismarck, N. Dak., national commander of the American Le-

gion and former two-term Governor of the State, addressed the Women's Forum on National Security in Washington, D.C., on January 24, 1967, on the subject "Vietnam Today." Because his remarks and observations are so timely on a subject that is on the minds and lips of all Americans, I want my colleagues to have the benefit of reading his entire speech. By virtue of unanimous consent, I include the text of his "Vietnam Today," and insert it in the RECORD at this point:

REMARKS OF JOHN E. DAVIS, NATIONAL COMMANDER, THE AMERICAN LEGION, BEFORE WOMEN'S FORUM ON NATIONAL SECURITY, JANUARY 24, 1967

Mrs. Ryan, distinguished leaders and ladies of the Women's Forum of National Security, Members of the United States Congress and other honored guests:

I was especially pleased by your invitation for me to attend and address this annual gathering of organizations whose concern for national security coincides with that of the American Legion. I think it is a most appropriate occasion to discuss with you my views on Vietnam Today.

As many of you are aware, I recently toured the Far East and spent eight days in South Vietnam. In that short a time, of course, one does not become an expert on so involved and complex a matter as the Vietnamese situation.

Yet, it was time enough in which to gain some valuable insights into what is going on there, and to form some valid conclusions regarding what must continue to go on there—of our commitment and our sacrifices are to have any meaning in the long run.

The first and most important of these is: There is no alternative to victory. The United States has no course open except to see this conflict through to a successful conclusion.

By "victory," however, I do not necessarily mean a military triumph in the historical manner, for the Vietnamese struggle is not like any other war in which the United States has been engaged. In Vietnam, there will not take place an interrelated series of battlefield successes, culminating in one dramatic final assault on the enemy's last stronghold; we cannot anticipate an ultimate confrontation of opposing forces followed by the total collapse of the enemy's army on the field of battle. Also, I think it unlikely that this war will be followed by formal peace negotiations of the classical type.

On the other hand, there will not be a Dien Bien Phu for us as there was for the French in 1954. Ho Chi Minh already knows that he cannot throw us out and, therefore, that—as long as the United States honors its commitment to South Vietnam—he cannot take that country over by force.

What, then, do we mean by "victory" in the context of Vietnam? In answering this question, we must keep in mind that our military and political objective at present is not to crush North Vietnam as a people or as a government, though it may become necessary to do both, if Hanoi—aided and abetted by Peking and Moscow—continues its agression indefinitely.

Thus, victory for our side will come when the communist side either is convinced that further military efforts would be fruitless, or it is hurt so badly that it cannot carry on. As to the first eventuality, I doubt if there would be any clear-cut signal from Hanoi that it has decided to quit. After all, North Vietnam officially refuses to admit that it is involved, and it certainly has nothing to gain by coming to the negotiating table, except an unnecessary confirmation of what was granted to it by the 1954 Geneva agreement.

As to the second eventuality, I regret to say that all I heard and observed while in Vietnam causes me to feel that we will have to step up the level and the nature of our punishment of North Vietnam and its forces before we will achieve even the limited victory which we must attain. In either case, our victory will be marked by a sharp but welcome reduction in casualties, by a gradual finding that infiltration appears to have ceased, and that North Vietnamese regulars have disappeared from the ranks of the Viet Cong. There still will remain, of course, the gigantic task of pacification and the rooting out of diehard guerrillas.

I will not take your time to describe the details of my itinerary while in South Vietnam. I was privileged, however, to visit many of our Army, Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard installations throughout that country. And, I did have the opportunity of talking with our military and civilian leaders there, of meeting with national and local Vietnamese officials, and of visiting with our troops in the field—the officers and men who bear the burden of day-to-day combat in Vietnam. Also, I spoke with wounded men in several of our hospitals. (And here I would digress to mention the sad fact that to the soldier who stops a bullet, be it a fatal injury or not, it makes no difference that this war is unlike any other which we have fought. To those serving there under combat conditions, this war is very real and very personal. It is being fought under the grimmest of circumstances, in harsh climate and hazardous terrain, and against a fierce, cunning, dedicated and desperate foe.)

I asked many questions wherever I visited. Constantly I asked, "Why does the Viet Cong fight? Why is he so motivated?" I found that there are many answers to this puzzle. For some, guerrilla warfare has simply become a way of life—to the second and third generation; for others, it is only because there is a gun at their backs or their loved ones are under threat of death.

I asked, too, that if Hanoi knows it can no longer hope for a military victory, why does it continue to support the aggression? The answers here were not so varied. It is to the communist world's advantage to continue to cause the United States to commit a substantial proportion of its conventional fighting force to what is essentially a limited war. Ho Chi Minh knows the cost to us is very high, and relatively much greater than it is for his government and its backers elsewhere. Meanwhile, he—and communists everywhere—can continue to hope for an ultimate collapse of the American will in the face of increasing U.S. casualties, rising costs, continued dissension and demonstrations at home, and constant diplomatic pressures from abroad. The Reds know that the collapse of our national resolve to see this commitment through would ultimately yield far more significant gains for them than, the mere takeover of South Vietnam.

That is why I say there is no alternative to victory for us.

It is also why I say we must put increased pressure on Hanoi. We must destroy that government's ability to carry on its aggression in the South, and thereby force the victory we seek, regardless of whether or not the communists ever come to the peace table.

And, we must do this soon.

This leads to another important question I asked repeatedly: "How best can we win this war? What should we be doing that we aren't doing now?" This question, no matter how it is put, immediately brings one face to face with some of the limitations under which this war—our side of it at least—is being fought.

I do not mean to suggest that I found unanimity of opinion on this issue. But two points were raised over and over again by those who feel that military, rather than purely political, considerations should apply to a greater degree than is now the case.

These two points, and not necessarily in the order of their importance, are the facts: (1) the enemy makes massive use of Cambodian territory as sanctuary, and (2) our fliers are too severely restricted as to the targets they might strike in North Vietnam.

A substantial number of those who spoke on either of these two points did so with conviction and from a base of extensive military knowledge and experience. Some, unfortunately, did so with no small sense of frustration.

How, they ask, can we defeat an enemy who—when badly hurt—is free to take refuge in so-called "neutral" territory; that is, in neighboring Cambodia, or for that matter back across the "demilitarized zone" into home base. And from those safe havens, these same units—regrouped, resupplied, and restored to strength with fresh troops—return to South Vietnamese territory in efforts to overrun our smaller outposts or to ambush our patrols. Following this pattern, such enemy units inflict far more American and allied casualties than would otherwise be the case. At a minimum, especially in the Central Highlands border area, they tie down far greater numbers of our troops than their size and potential would otherwise justify.

Even the layman must ask, how can we defeat an enemy who has ready access to privileged sanctuary? Are we facing an unending stalemate—another Korea" The answer has got to be—no!

As to the bombing in the North, I am not going to pretend that I know exactly what targets we should be hitting that are now "off limits." I could make some guesses, and so could most of you. (I suspect the enemy's airfields would be high on both our lists.) Neither am I going to attempt to suggest how best the port of Haiphong might be rendered useless to the enemy as far as war materials are concerned.

I am going to state, however, on the basis of my discussions in South Vietnam, as well as with knowledgeable individuals here at home, that if the military feels that its pilots need greater options—both to hurt the enemy more and to offset the tremendous risks they are taking every day—then it is time to reconsider the existing restrictions. And, if our best military minds agree that the continued traffic of strategic goods into Haiphong is costing us increased casualties and indefinitely prolonging the war, then I believe the military should be permitted to cut off that traffic by whatever method is deemed most practical and feasible.

Setting these problems aside for the moment, I am happy to be able to report that my findings with regard to the morale of the American fighting man in Vietnam coincide with what you have heard and read elsewhere. Despite great hazards and great handicaps, the morale of our troops there could not be better. All America can be tremendously proud of them, as individuals and as fighting units.

Our military leaders there—especially those who saw combat duty in World War II and Korea—volunteered time and again that this is the finest fighting force America has ever sent into battle, that these men are better trained, better equipped, better motivated, and that they have all the spirit necessary to see a tough job through. I would add that our military leadership there is truly superb, from General Westmoreland on down, in all commands and in all services that I observed. In addition, the cooperation between services is excellent and perhaps unparalleled in our previous wartime experience.

If my visit to Vietnam caused me to have reservations of any kind, it was in regard to the seeming lack of spirit and motivation on the part of the Vietnamese people themselves. As you walk about the streets of Saigon and other population centers, you cannot help but notice that the natives appear indifferent, sullen, and sometimes almost hostile. This appearance is not so pronounced in rural areas, and it was not true of the groups of children we saw at several schools both in and near Saigon.

But, if the smile has gone out of that land, one does not have to reflect too deeply to understand why. Our officials, who have worked with and even lived with the people there for any length of time, are quick to defend them and to point to the fact that most of them have known nothing but war their entire lives. Also, while many Vietnamese are tired of death and destruction to the point of discouragement and disinterest, the majority are not willing to give up to the Communists and its so-called National Liberation Front. This they proved last year, when despite Viet Cong threats, eighty percent of the electorate exercised their privilege of voting for representatives to the National Constituent Assembly—a clear rejection of the Front and what it stands for.

On the military side, I was assured that given good leadership the Vietnamese soldier is courageous and highly effective. While this leadership is not more than "average" in many units, there is continued improvement. It must be remembered, of course, that the Vietnamese Army has taken tremendous punishment for its relative size. It has suffered over 46,000 combat deaths in the past six years! Also, as one three-year veteran pointed out to me, the Vietnamese Army today compares very favorably with that of South Korea during the conflict there. Now, in Vietnam, the ROK troops are the object of high praise among all the allies, and the object of much fear among the Viet Cong.

Proper training and the development of leadership in depth cannot come overnight. It takes skill, time, and patience on the part of our advisers. I saw young Vietnamese recruits in their training camps. The material is there, they seemed eager to learn and to learn right. After all, at stake are their individual lives, as well as the future of their country.

The number one question asked in Vietnam—just as here at home—is how long will the job take. To this question, I must admit that I received only opinions for answers. Nevertheless, many are willing to venture that the large scale military war—that is clashes of major units—may already be nearing an end, that 1967 may see the last of it.

I hope so, for clearly this would mean many less American casualties. But that still leaves three other "wars," the guerrilla war, the political war, and the economic war.

The first of these may well take the ten years that many have projected. It was about that long in the Philippines, and longer in Malaysia. And pockets of resistance still remain in both of these countries. But victory in Vietnam's guerrilla war is intimately related to progress in the other two. It depends in large part on the whole slow process of nation-building, restoring a ragged economy and developing a much larger corps of able civilian leaders down to the last hamlet.

Even without continuing conflict, assassinations of village chiefs, teachers and all representatives of law and order, the odds against quick success are great. Regional, ethical, religious and other cultural differences are tremendous practical barriers to political unity in Vietnam.

Given all these problems—most of which have been aired repeatedly in the press here—and considering our more than 6,000 combat deaths, it is no wonder that I am frequently asked, "Is it worth the sacrifices we are making?" Does the freedom of those faraway people really mean that much to us?"

My answer is "Yes," but not because I think that our national interest is intimately bound up with the collective welfare of the Vietnamese. My answer is based on the conviction that our involvement is essential in order to establish—even at great cost in lives and money—that armed aggression by the forces of communism cannot succeed. If this be the test case, and I'm certain that it is, we must convince the communist world that its stratagem of so-called "wars of national liberation" will not work. Herein, I think, lies our true national interest. If, while succeeding in this effort we help maintain the freedom and independence of another country, well and good. But that goal alone is not enough. It is our own long-range freedom and independence that we seek to maintain.

Meanwhile, let us bring about our victory in the least possible time, with the least possible casualties. Let us reexamine all of the limitations now placed on our military to make sure these do not stand in the way of our vital objectives.

Let us say to Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia—and to the world generally—we will no longer tolerate the use of his land by the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese regulars. Let us follow that warning, after reasonable notice, with positive action. And let us accept military judgment as to the need to lift the restrictions on bombing in the North, and with respect to closing the port of Haiphong.

But, regardless of targets or tactics, I say let us pile on the pressure until we have broken either the enemy's will or his ability to carry on the fight. When we hurt him hard enough long enough, we will have our victory. There is no other way.

Wisconsin Proclaims Unemployment Compensation Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, on January 28, 1932, 35 years ago, the State of Wisconsin pioneered with the enactment of this country's first State unemployment compensation law.

This landmark legislation has been recognized by Gov. Warren P. Knowles in his proclamation of Unemployment Compensation Day in Wisconsin.

The designation of this day reflects on the progress we have made since 1932 in helping to provide opportunities for our citizens and I am proud of the role the State of Wisconsin has played in these efforts.

As part of my remarks it is my pleasure to, at this time, include a proclamation by Wisconsin's Gov. Warren Knowles proclaiming January 28 "Unemployment Compensation Day":

A PROCLAMATION

Whereas, 35 years ago, on January 28, 1932, America's first state unemployment compensation measure was signed into law by Wisconsin's Governor, Philip F. La Follette; and

Whereas, Wisconsin's pioneering action and leadership in this field helped to influence the development of unemployment compensation principles and programs in this country, and paved the way for enactment of state laws throughout the nation in connection with the Social Security Act of 1935; and

Whereas, Wisconsin's jobless benefit program has helped hundreds of thousands of workers since it was launched on January 28, 1932; has sustained their buying power during layoffs; and has thereby strengthened the whole economy of this State; and

Whereas, Wisconsin's program has, from the start, sought to finance its benefits fairly, and to encourage all employers to provide steadier jobs insofar as practicable; and

Whereas, Wisconsin, with the full cooperation of labor and management, has continued to strengthen its jobless benefit system and to encourage responsible action by every state to improve its unemployment compensation law;

Now, therefore, I, Warren P. Knowles, Governor of the State of Wisconsin, do hereby proclaim the 35th anniversity date of America's first jobless benefit law, namely January 28, 1967, as Unemployment Compensation Day, to be observed by such ceremonies as may further public understanding of this program, recognize the part played by various individuals and organizations in its development, and encourage further improvements in the general public interest.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of the State of Wisconsin to be affixed. Done at the Capitol in the City of Madison this eleventh day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-seven.

WARREN P. KNOWLES,
Governor.

Extending the Vote to 18-Year-Olds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, we are entering a great period of a youthful America, one in which over half of our citizens are under 25 years of age. This young generation is well educated, and deeply concerned with national and international events. The vital issues facing our Nation today have a profound influence upon their future, perhaps even more than those which any other generation has had to face. These problems are frustratingly complex, and yet cry out for some form of action.

I believe a symptom of this is seen in the widespread campus demonstrations, sit-ins, picketing, speechmaking, and all the other activities in which our young people are engaging. To their parents and the older generations such behavior is often looked upon with something akin to horror, or as proof that today's youth has gone wild. Rather, it seems to me a manifestation of the very real and perhaps justified frustration which an informed youth population feels when confronted with today's problems without any real means of effectively expressing themselves.

One excellent way to give young people a means of participating in the great issues of our times is to extend to our 18-, 19-, and 20-year-old citizens the right to vote in Federal elections. While this would allow practically all of our college age youths to exercise their right to vote, it would not automatically mean the end of student demonstrations. It will enable, however, this alert and informed segment of our population to become better infused into the body of our democracy. Instead of having to stand by the sidelines and vent their frustrations by carrying picket signs, they will have the opportunity to participate directly in the orderly processes of democratic government.

I believe that extending the vote to our youth will also have a very salutory effect upon our legislative and executive bodies. It will become necessary for them to be much more aware of, and responsive to, a new group of voters with fresh ideas and new approaches to our problems. In like manner, this vast reservoir of young people who are currently studying and discussing the great national and international issues would be more inclined to offer the fruits of their intellectual labors once given the opportunity to participate directly in national elections. As Adlai Stevenson remarked some years ago:

> The 18 year old of today is more aware of national and world events than ever before.

I believe that this is an increasing trend, and that our youths of 18, 19, and 20 are no less informed on the average than those between 21 and 25 years of age.

Carl E. Sanders, former Governor of Georgia, where 18-year-olds have been allowed to vote since 1943 has stated:

> During more than 20 years, these younger voters have repeatedly shown mature responsibility.

The Governor further remarked:

> I think that now, perhaps more than ever before, political life needs an infusion of idealism, and the largest single source of that idealism is our young people. It has often been said that our nation's youth are our greatest asset; if this is true, as I believe, then extending the franchise to them insures the maximum utilization of that asset. Besides, courts cease to recognize men as juveniles after their 18th birthday; federal relief for dependent children is suspended upon reaching the age of 18, and, of course, the minimum draft age is 18.

The chairman of the Democratic National Committee, the Honorable John M. Bailey, has said:

> Many of our young people have become involved in politics and are happy to perform any task from ringing doorbells to running campaigns. They are knowledgeable on issues, articulate in debate, and committed to our way of life. We should do everything we can to promote ratification of the Constitutional amendment that would grant all people over the age of 18 the right to vote.

It seems obvious to me that if we are willing to ask our young men to give up their lives on a foreign battlefield, the very least we can offer them in return is the opportunity to participate through enfranchisement in the selection of those who will make the crucial decisions for the nation. This is not to imply that the right to vote is to be considered a reward for military service. Rather, it should be recognized that in a democracy such as ours, where we consider that a citizen is mature enough to be given the responsibility to operate sophisticated modern weapons and he is called upon to risk his very life, then he should also be considered mature enough to participate directly in the processes of representative government. Modern communications are so rapid that even the serviceman far from home is kept well-informed and abreast of the criteria necessary for intelligent and responsible decisions as a voter. Indeed, because of his personal stake in the quality of his representatives in the Federal Government, the military man is probably able to make a more dispassionate decision than many citizens at home.

To tax our 18-, 19-, and 20-year-old citizens without giving them the right to vote ignores the great rallying cry of our War of Independence that there be "no taxation without representation." At the very least we should allow these young people a role in selecting those who will have the responsibility of determining how their tax dollars are to be spent.

Unfortunately, too large a portion of our young people still leave school at about the age of 18, just when their knowledge and interest in national affairs is at its highest. By the time they reach 21, most of them are preoccupied with family and work, their enthusiasm for public affairs has greatly diminished, and thereafter they usually follow a course of indifference toward their voting rights. Allowing this group to participate in national elections at the point when their political knowledge and enthusiasm is highest, would offer the best possible training in citizenship and would develop the habits necessary for a lifetime of civic responsibility.

Prior Congresses have seen the introduction of legislation to lower the voting age to 18, and yet no final action was ever taken. I believe this to be an issue of major importance, an idea that has ripened in our day, and one behind which both political parties can unite. Its adoption would add very real distinction to the achievements of the 90th Congress.

Hypocritical, but Profitable

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, there is an increasing public interest in the subject of our trade relations with other nations. This is evident in the more frequent appearance of news columns, editorials, and cartoons which deal with the subject. A recent example is the column by James J. Kilpatrick which appeared in the Washington Star of January 24, 1967, which I commend to the attention of the Congress.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the article for inclusion in the RECORD:

HYPOCRITICAL, BUT PROFITABLE

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

If politics is the art of the possible, how is one to define diplomacy? As the art of the hypocritical? As the art of the inconsistent?

One searches in vain for some rational explanation for policies of world trade and mutual alliance that often appear to be working at cross purposes. Britian's guarantee of the sale of a $28 million fertilizer plant to Communist Cuba is merely the most recent in a series of events that suggest that in international affairs, the almighty dollar becomes the dominant factor.

By general agreement among Latin American observers, Castro's Cuba is broke. Her credit with non-Communist countries is worthless. Her exports to the non-Communist world have dropped from $250 million in 1964 to $100 million last year. If an undesirable regime may be toppled by an economic squeeze (and this is precisely the argument used to support sanctions against the Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia), Cuba's troubles would appear to offer an excellent opportunity to apply new pressures. But the government of Britain sees nothing wrong in guaranteeing a five-year credit on the fertilizer plant. The deal will make Cuba stronger, not weaker; and it will represent a nice profit to the British firm of Simon-Carves. What price mutual friendship?

The same question has been raised in recent months in reference to West Germany's financial support of a steel mill in North Vietnam. Last fall the Senate adopted a resolution censuring West Germany for the deal, but the deal goes through. Only last month, arrangements were made final by which our good friends in Europe will finance a mammoth Fiat factory in the Soviet Union. There is some disagreement among the experts on whether the factory could be converted to tank production; but there is no disagreement that the plant will strengthen the Soviet domestic economy and make the Russian worker's life better under Communist rule.

Yet our own government is just as deeply involved as our European allies in giving aid and comfort to the enemy. Surely it is not questioned that the real enemy in Vietnam is the Soviet Union. The aircraft, the missiles, the rifles, the trucks, the grenades, the bullets—the whole array of weapons used to kill American troops—may be traced to Soviet sources. Russian ships continue to supply vital petroleum through the port of Haiphong. Without Soviet support, the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese could not maintain their war.

So how does the President of the United States react?

"We are shaping a new future of enlarged partnership in nuclear affairs, in economic and technical cooperation, in trade negotiations, in political consultation, and in working together with the governments and peoples of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. . . . When we have differed with the Soviet Union, I have tried to differ quietly, and with courtesy, and without venom."

The President ticked off specific achievements—a treaty on the peaceful uses of outer space, an agreement on direct air flights between New York and Moscow, the removal of trade restrictions on more than 400 items, the granting of credits by the U.S. Export-Import Bank to Communist satellite nations, a renewal of the cultural agreement with the Soviet Union. He urged the Congress "to help our foreign and commercial trade policies by passing an East-West trade bill and by approving our consular convention with the Soviet Union."

And in the next breath, Johnson turned to the war in Vietnam. Our purpose in Vietnam, he said, is to prevent the Communist from taking over Southeast Asia. He described the enemy as a "stubborn adversary who is committed to the use of force and terror to settle political questions." If the Communists are not checked in Vietnam, now, "the world can expect to pay a greater price to check them later."

It is reported in Washington that the State Department is making the strongest possible representations and protests to Britain against England's financing of the deal with Communist Cuba. The British are not impressed by these remonstrances, and with good reason. If the United States itself persists in simultaneously treating the Soviet Union both as friend and enemy, why should Britain do otherwise? The policy may be illogical, inconsistent, hypocritical, and indefensible. But it's profitable, too.

Averting an Arms Race

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Daily News, among a host of others, welcomes the bipartisan support that has emerged for President Johnson's effort to avoid a new arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Such competition—with regard to antimissle systems, for example—could be potentially disastrous.

Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson has carried with him to Moscow a message from the President. Its contents have not been disclosed, of course, but the President made clear his earnest desire to slow down the arms race in his state of the Union address.

Now, as the Chicago newspaper says, the country and the world hope Moscow responds in the spirit of reason that motivated the President.

Under unanimous consent I include the News editorial in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Chicago Daily News, Jan. 17, 1967]

AVERTING A NEW ARMS RACE

Bipartisan support has emerged for President Johnson's effort to avoid a new and potentially disastrous arms race with the Soviet Union. Both Mike Mansfield, Senate majority leader, and Everett Dirksen, minority leader, have endorsed the attempt to reach an agreement against deploying antimissile systems.

Such a proposal is assumed to be the principal item in the message to Moscow carried by the reappointed U.S. ambassador, Llewellyn Thompson. A great deal hangs on the Russian reply, for if the Soviets turns thumbs down, the pressure to build an antimissile system in this country will become irresistible.

A sizable bloc in Congress favors going ahead with the Nike-X system anyway. And the revelation last November that the Russians have already installed some antimissile defenses adds to the pressure on Defense Sec. McNamara, who has thus far resisted doing more than experimental work on the system.

It is still unexplained why the Russians made the first move toward setting up a missile defense. In these days of satellite cameras—the "spies in the sky"—there was little hope that such preparations would go unnoticed. But the discovery forced some sort of response.

A few years ago, the response would have been nearly automatic. Regardless of cost—and the estimates run to $30 billion or more—the United States would have set to work to beat the Russians at their own game.

That President Johnson has chosen instead to seek an arms-limitation agreement speaks volumes for the change in the Cold War climate. The choice is left to Russia: If it's another spiral in the arms race they want, the United States will have to match the pace; if they are willing to halt work on their antimissile system, both nations can be spared enormous expense while maintaining the nuclear stalemate.

There are many imponderables in the situation, the principal ones being Red China's growing nuclear strength and the state of Sino-Soviet relations. But this country, and the world, must hope that Mr. Johnson's message to Moscow is received in the spirit of reason that prompted its sending.

Painful Percentages

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, in the January 26 issue of the Wall Street Journal, Mr. Vermont Royster had an excellent column on what he labeled "Painful Percentages." It is an excellent discourse on the high cost of living and its effect on the take-home pay. His column follows:

PAINFUL PERCENTAGES

(By Vermont Royster)

This is the season of chills and fever, especially for those of us who enjoy the rarefied air of New York City. And it's astonishing how little it takes to give you big miseries.

With the mouth thermometer registering no more than 100 degrees, your nose runs, your eyes water, your bones ache and every muscle feels like you just finished the Super Bowl game.

What makes the reaction seem incommensurate with the provocation is that the normal body temperature is 98.6 degrees. Thus 100 degrees on the Fahrenheit scale is barely a 1% increase. Let the rise top 2% and you're apt to face not only miseries but a big doctor's bill.

In such a state it's hard enough anyway to read the morning headlines, and you're certainly not in the best mood to react with proper gratefulness to the latest word from the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Right there on page one it says that food prices this year should go up by "only" about 2%, and even this would be due mainly to price increases on beef and dairy products. Forgo the milk and shift to pork chops, and you might even shave off a percentage point.

Moreover, according to the Commissioner of Labor Statistics, the whole Consumer Price Index (which includes the price of clothes and such as well as food) may not rise any more than a mere 2.5%.

The especial cheer in this good news stems from the fact that in 1966, a lamentable year on several counts, the same Consumer Price Index shot up 3.3%, for the largest single year's rise since 1957. This chunk out of the household budget, so it says here, was offset somewhat by wage increases. But they in turn were offset by increased Social Security payments. On a net balance the drop in real purchasing power amounted to $1.35 a week for the average worker, or a decline of "only" 1.6%.

The difficulty with trying to keep all this straight in your mind is the aspirin. It makes your head ring. The lady of the house can tell you that the cost of living has been going up every year, almost since the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, but it's a struggle to explain to her that each year, most years, the rise was "only" a percentage point or so.

She gets out the World Almanac, which you can hardly read through puffy eyes, and points out that since 1959 the cost of living has gone up 15% everywhere, almost 18% in Mayor Lindsay's Fun City. It mounts up, she says.

That, of course, is one trouble with percentages. Just the other evening, for example, the man in Washington explained that he was going to have to raise our taxes, what with the war on and everything, but that it would be "only" 6%.

Take a married man with about $6,000 of taxable income. He'd only pay about $5 a month more, or $60 a year, the man said. It didn't sound like much; what can you buy these days with $60 anyway? But that doesn't count the $1,000 he is already paying, which is something else and no small percentage.

Then if he's lucky enough to get a raise this year, he'll pay 19% of the extra money to Uncle Sam right off, plus an extra 6% of that if the little old tax bill goes through.

Nor is that all. This week the man suggested raising Social Security taxes by a small amount; that is, "only" about 1% more than they would rise anyway. By 1969 that means a total Social Security and Medicare tax of 5% on the employe's wages covered plus an equal amount to be paid by the employer, or a total rate of 10% on a dollar's worth of wages.

And in case you've lost count, that 10% is in addition to the hereinbefore mentioned 19% and 6% of that. At which point, if you've got a headache, your arithmetic breaks down.

All you can remember is that somehow you've forgotten the Governor and the Mayor. The Governor in this case likes to remind everybody that he takes "only" 10% of their earnings at the most, and for most people it's hardly more than 6%, which by this time seems like a pittance indeed. Something, we suppose, must be left for the Mayor of Fun City, who takes away no more than 2% of net taxable income and only 5% of what you spend of what you have left.

Somehow you do have something left, and in the process you've taught the lady of the house a valuable lesson in the difference between gross and net. So perhaps there is some comfort in being told that this year what you have left will be worth only 2.5% less in the market place than what it would have been worth last year.

In any event, it's plain enough that the rise in the cost of shoes and groceries, even if it amounts to 3% all over again, still won't boost your cost of living as much as the cost of government. The BLS, incidentally and quite shrewdly, doesn't count the cost of government as part of the cost of living. You can always escape the cost of government by not earning anything, going on relief and living off the government. Which is something you can't do with the butcher.

To be sure it can get confusing again when you're lying there in the half-dark listening to the telly explain about the Government's new budget. On an administrative budget of $135 billion for fiscal 1968 the deficit is "only" 6% (that is, if you count in the 6% tax increase the President asked for), which doesn't seem so terribly much when you figure the lady of the house ran a bigger percentage deficit than that just last month.

But then the smiling TV reporter says that in this case 6% amounts to $8.1 billion and that between now and the end of 1968 the accumulated deficit will add up to nearly $20 billion. Like the lady says, percentages do mount up.

Or down. For if the cost of living rises 2.5% each year, that is just another way of saying that the dollar each year is depreciated by that amount in purchasing power. Now if each year the dollar shrinks by only 2.5%, and if you can work the calculus out in your head, how many years will it be before you can use dollar bills like Kleenex to blow your nose?

But the mental effort is exhausting, and besides, why bother if each year the government is going to let you keep fewer and fewer dollars anyway?

So you just stick the thermometer in your mouth and wonder why the devil you feel so lousy with only a 1% fever. Hardly seems reasonable.

TVA Director Frank Smith's "Politics of Conservation" Generates Discussion of Preserving and Promoting Nation's Resources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, one of our former colleagues, Frank E. Smith, now a Director of the Tennessee Valley Authority, has written a provocative and challenging book, "Politics of Conservation" which comments upon the programs and operations of the Tennessee Valley Authority, the U.S. Corps of Engineers, the U.S. Soil Conservation Service and traces the conservation movement in the United States.

This is a timely discussion of the development of conservation and the conclusions reached are most interesting. The reviews emphasize Director Smith's own experiences as a former southern legislator in the House of Representatives, and his long experience in the American conservation movement.

These reviews are reported in the Nashville Tennessean. They included reviews by Col. Jesse L. Fishback, district engineer, U.S. Corps of Engineers, Nashville. The Wall Street Journal commented favorably in an editorial. The book has stimulated much healthy discussion.

Reviewer Sasser says Mr. Smith has written a fine book but failed to give a needed, precise definition of conservation. He sees the need for a "jet-age, direct dialing" definition and refers somewhat obliquely to the "almost divine origin" of TVA according to Director Smith in his conservation gospel.

Colonel Fishback in his review feels there is insufficient emphasis on the work of the Corps of Engineers. He defends the flood control role of the Engineers and points out that this program inaugurated 30 years ago has returned a dividend of some $3.40 in flood damages prevented for every dollar invested.

Without becoming involved in this learned discussion, it seems to me that conservation can be defined as the preservation of our natural resources and the careful, considered use and management of these resources to build a better life for all Americans. There must, of course, be a balance between preserving natural resources and the development of these resources by the Government in the construction of dams, reservoirs, waterways, and other facilities; and by private enterprise in mining, lumbering, homebuilding, and other activities. We must retain the heart of our natural heritage—but, at the same time, we must do what is necessary to provide flood control, transportation, power—as well as jobs and opportunities—for our exploding population.

We must preserve—but we must progress. I feel sure that Director Smith, Conservationist Sasser, and Engineer Fishback would accept this general, broad definition. The difficulties, of course, arrive when decisions are made as to what natural resources should be developed and which should be preserved—and how this should be done.

It is my feeling that the TVA, the U.S. Corps of Engineers, and the U.S. Soil Conservation Service all have shown excellent judgment in these matters in our own Tennessee Valley area.

TVA has built large dams on the primary river—the Tennessee—and is now moving ahead with tributary development which is necessary and essential. Its programs are well planned and well executed.

The U.S. Corps of Engineers plans in the development of the Cumberland River are similarly well prepared; its construction well executed and its projects efficiently maintained and operated.

There are those that agree with the Corps of Engineers that work on the Devils Jump Dam with high-peaking power production in northeast Tennessee and Kentucky should be initiated as a part of this program. This is one of the few remaining sites in the TVA service area where such a dam can be built. It is difficult for some to understand TVA's reluctance to recommend this project. Growth and progress should certainly not be deterred by the opposition of the private power interests.

Friends of TVA also feel that TVA should proceed expeditiously with its tributary development—on the Obed and Emory Rivers, the Elk River, the Duck River, and others.

The Wall Street Journal in its laudatory review praises Author Smith's recommendations for closer coordination on resource development between all governments and between the components of government. This is certainly a goal worthy of fulfillment.

Director Smith's book has generated much helpful discussion on the general subject of conservation, discussion which is bringing to the attention of millions of Americans the importance and significance of our conservation effort.

Because of the great interest of my colleagues and the Nation in this important field of conservation, I ask unanimous consent that the reviews by Mr. Sasser and Colonel Fishback appearing in the Nashville Tennessean, and the editorial in the Wall Street Journal with reference to "Politics of Conservation" be reprinted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

These comments follow:

[From the Nashville Tennessean, Jan. 22, 1967]

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON BOOK, "THE POLITICS OF CONSERVATION"

(By Col. Jesse Fishback, District Engineer, Corps of Engineers)

Being aware of the Nashville Tennessean's continuing interest in the development of natural resources in this area, I considered it appropriate to present some observations on Mr. Frank E. Smith's book, "The Politics of Conservation," which recently received attention in the paper.

Mr. Smith is particularly well qualified to discuss the subject of conservation with a great degree of authority, for his background provides a broad base of experience seldom equaled. In addition to serving in the congress of the United States for 12 years, and as a director of the Tennessee Valley Authority, a nationally-recognized agency in the conservation field, he has, undoubtedly, made the subject of "conservation" one of extensive study. His experience as a journalist and a newspaper editor also contributed not only to his wealth of experience, but to the readability of his book as well.

I am particularly impressed with the broad coverage of the history of conservation which Mr. Smith was able to accomplish in a relatively short book. Of particular interest was his insight into the contribution of individuals and groups which were most influential in shaping our national conservation policies and programs.

I am perhaps sensitive to omissions of significance to the Army Corps of Engineers, but I do believe the interrelationship of military and civil functions has been of immense significance not only in furthering success in wars but also of fostering vitality, integrity and high morale on the civil side. Mr. Smith alludes but briefly to this interrelationship in connection with the Civil War.

A second omission of significance in the history is the part played by the land grant colleges of the nation. I am uncertain as to the date of legislation authorizing their establishment, but shortly after the end of the Civil War these institutions were beginning to turn out the trained personnel needed in large numbers in the rapidly-expanding nation.

Until that time the Military Academy of West Point, under the Corps of Engineers, as Mr. Smith indicates, had supplied a large share of the talent required to manage conservation projects. After the land grant colleges got going, West Point was separated from the Corps of Engineers, although its top graduates continued, as a general rule, to choose to enter the officer corps as engineers.

Deserving particular attention was his analysis of the proper concept of "wilderness preservation." As Mr. Smith states, "the ansfers to the kind of unreasoning opposition to any change from the original as espoused in too much of the preservationist-conservationist doctrine is, of course, that, the growth of civilization being what it is, man must utilize his environment to sustain and improve his life. In the process of growth, the evolution of values refines the the standards that are the means by which we accept change, but the inevitability of change itself remains elemental." His observation that "some rivers can be too wild" is most appropriate.

Mr. Smith also presents a sound observation on the "single agency concept of resources development" when he comments that it is obvious that improvements will have to be made from time to time as their need is recognized to eliminate duplicating functions, but major one-sweep reorganization would be a vast waste of energy and effort and would leave scars in our conservation programs that would be long in healing.

Mr. Smith makes repeated references to so-called "pork barrel" legislation, a term especially applied to the civil works program of the Corps, and which is used quite freely across the nation. Having served in the Congress and being knowledgeable of this program, I thought it would have been fair to point out that all projects which receive a recommendation for construction by the Corps of Engineers, after extensive studies and economic analyses, must conform to the basic criteria of having projected benefits well in excess of cost.

As an example, the facilities which have come into service nationwide since the general flood control program of the Corps of Engineers was inaugurated 30 years ago have already returned a dividend of some $3.40 in flood damages prevented for every dollar invested in protection. Comparable benefits are also realized from the hydropower, navigation, recreation, low flow augmentation, water supply and related features of the projects. Apparently the term "pork barrel," as used nationally means that the representative of each Congressional District is attempting to have the water resources of his area developed by the construction of economically feasible projects. Under our government system, can you find a more equitable means of spreading the program of sound water resources development projects to the benefit of all regions?

The author states in a discussion of hydropower that "under the power amendments, the costs attributable to power will be repayable to the Government, but under no specific time." Mr. Smith failed to state that each project of the Corps of Engineers is projected on an economic life span, during which the project costs must be amortized. In the case of power, the value of the power is determined by the Federal Power Commission and all repayments for power go directly into the Treasury of the United States, and must recover the costs within the economic life span of the project. Monetary returns to the Treasury will not cease at that time, however, but will continue throughout the actual life of the project.

I believe that Mr. Smith's statement that "the Authority (Tennessee Valley Authority) built demonstrative parks, donated shorelines to State and local government units for parks, and quickly put the Tennessee Valley states ahead of most of the rest of the Country in providing public recreation" may have been true for the 1930's, for there was very little comparable reservoir development in other areas adaptable for widespread recreational improvement.

Today the situation is quite different, and although we, in the Corps of Engineers, have not reached the desired degree of development of public use facilities, we do not hesitate to offer the recreation projects in the Cumberland River Basin for comparison with any other areas. Corps of Engineers projects in other areas of the Southeast and Southwest can claim equal attention in the field.

Apparently Mr. Smith does not reflect the thinking of the entire TVA Board of Directors in his statement, "in today's operation, the fullest employment of hydro is primarily a means of cutting generating cost averages," for while TVA continues to recommend construction of marginal hydro plants such as Melton Hill and Tims Ford in the Tennessee Valley, the Board is on record as seeing no need for power from the Devils Jumps Project in the Cumberland River Basin, but in TVA's power service area. Devils Jumps is one of the few undeveloped reservoir sites in the eastern United States which have large power potential.

Mr. Smith makes reference to the Corps of Engineers use of construction contractors in its major development program, and infers that TVA's use of agency-owned equipment and hired labor provides a more efficient method of construction. I feel that the record will not support such a conclusion. While the availability of a large work force and equipment will permit rapid construction operations, the incentive of cost consciousness is never as keen as that between contractors under competitive bidding. In addition, when the construction program diminished, as it frequently has over the past decade, the plant rental of equipment continues and the unproductive work force is invariably held over for the next job.

I consider "The Politics of Conservation" recommended reading for all persons having an interest in the conservation and development of our natural resources, and commend Mr. Smith for his fine work.

[From the Nashville Tennessean, Jan. 22, 1967]

Politics of Conservation: Author Notes Past, Future

(By Joseph R. Sasser)

"He is not a true man of the world who knows only the present fashion of it," Woodrow Wilson wrote in his early papers, Frank E. Smith, a director of the Tennessee Valley Authority, sets out to mend mankind's cultural slippage by writing a book on "The Politics of Conservation." Smith's historical journey into politics and conservation takes him from the 1789 lighthouse . . . near the entrance to Chesapeake Bay" to "most of the days of the future . . ."

Smith is neither a political, delinquent nor a conservation dropout. He served in Congress from Mississippi for 12 unbossed years. Much of this time he wielded sledge hammer seniority on the House Public Works Committee.

President Kennedy appointed him to the board of directors of TVA in 1962. It would be difficult to find one qualified to reflect more preceptively or to proclaim more knowledgeably on the common law marriage of conservation and politics than author Smith.

"The Politics of Conservation" is a solid book with a practical ring to it. It will engage the concern of those whose interests lie in the art of politics and political history. It will frighten and perhaps depress the emotional purist of the conservation movement who seem to acquire a bad case of heebie jeebies when conservation and politics start billing and cooing together.

The book will add distinction to personal libraries. It will be of special interest and profoundly useful as a cornerstone reference to students of American history, politics, as well as to professional conservationists.

But, let it be noted that The Politics of Conservation has imperfections. The author has failed, after 310 pages of rhetoric; to adequately define conservation. Is it beast, fish, or fowl? Smith, rowing in the shallows, seems to define it as economic justice an equal share for all.

"The Politics of Conservation" thunders the ecclesiastical judgment, "The profit of the earth is for all. The King himself is served by the field." Smith is watchful that the king does not overindulge at the expense of his subject.

Meanwhile professional conservationists cry out for a non-ecclesiastical, non-skid, down-to-earth, workable definition of conservation. They want and need to be released from the Maginot mentality that forms a halo of ionized smog around the term conservation. A jet age-direct dialing definition for conservation joins the five-cent cigar as a paramount national need.

Given our "free and open society" one doubts that Smith's dream of a strong conservation president, omnisciently riding tall in the saddle, will likely emerge again soon. The presidency, during these stirring times, somehow gets waterlogged in such ranking matters as Vietnam, aid to education, foreign exchange, civil rights, Medicare, inflation, urban development, and the like.

Even Theodore Roosevelt, the first presidential patron saint of conservation, in his maiden message to Congress, synthesized conservation with other noble tasks, ". . . the ending (of) maltreatment of labor, (of) the exploitation of women and children, (of) the overcrowding of cities, (of) the waste and depletion of natural resources." This was his elixir for the good life.

Effective strong national conservation leadership means concentration of political power. Author Smith is fully aware that Congress, dedicated as it is to individual liberty, generally is not equally dedicated to forking over its powers to the presidency.

So ignobly as the pork barrel process performs it will undoubtedly be with us a long long time. While we proclaim a spirit of political self-righteousness, the log-rolling process, like old man river, rolls on.

Caught in our comic plight, we can take some comfort from St. Augustine's dilemma, who when he was a very young man, was said to have addressed a prayer to heaven. "Oh, Lord," he prayed "make me chaste, but not now."

The Politics of Conservation has its fair share of esoteric bookishness and prudent ommissions. There is the nerve-pinching claim of the publisher to having "the first political history of the conservation and development of America's natural resources;" the imposing bibliography yet a complete absence of footnote documentation; the familiar, almost divine, origin of TVA dutifully recorded followed by the missionary marches to new programs and processes and its self-acclaimed unbounding feats; the utterances of various conservation saints, who, like dead lovers, can be molded into lovers, can be molded into the desired images; the sly winks at bureaucratic naughtiness; the historical struggle of TVA with the New Deal resource conservation agencies, especially the Soil Conservation Service; the continuing competition among engineering bureaucracies to outbid and outbuild one another, and to equate their rock and cement slabs with regional economic growth; the complex political-fiscal-nostrum of water project analysis that brings on economic juggling and political struggling. * * *

As if to prove his nimble perceptiveness and the elasticity of the term conservation author Smith, as a final thrust, sees environmental planning as a certainty during the final third of the 20th century. "New Concepts," "Joint Planning," "Urban Growth," "Massive Transportation Techniques," etc., are some of the new watchwords of Smith's conservation for the seventies.

Perhaps he will find Pro. Kenneth Boulding's newly coined word "Eiconics" more to his liking for this massive process. Boulding's new science of planning purports to apply celestial mechanics to earthly things.

Who shall do this envioronmental planning of the future? Smith sees most of the response coming from the federal level. Sober-minded students of government are apt to agree.

Will TVA have a significant role? Sadly, author Smith observes, "Political reality . . . makes and new TVA unlikely and virtually impossible. Perhaps so, but America will be the lesser if the experiences and talents of TVA are lost in this new process; especially the talents of author Frank E. Smith.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Dec. 27, 1966]

Toward Realism on Resources

Until fairly recently many Americans seemed to regard conservation as an exceptionally dull conversation piece. But no longer.

Anyone who has experienced a water shortage or driven through ruthlessly cut-over timberland or visited a poluted lake is bound to realize that the nation's resources, though vast, are neither limitless nor particularly well handled.

As Frank E. Smith says in a new book, "The Politics of Conservation," the U.S. so far has been mostly content to muddle through, and that just isn't going to be good enough for the future.

Since Mr. Smith is a director of the Tennessee Valley Authority, it's scarcely surprising that he calls for a huge expansion of Government efforts to prevent future waste and destruction of vital resources. Still, he is sufficiently realisitc to see that Washington neither can nor should try to solve every problem single-handed.

The TVA official also argues for better coordination and planning of Federal resource programs. Matter directly touching on conservation and development now are scattered among dozens of agencies around Washington. While bureaucratic dukedoms don't topple easily, some of the ridiculous overlapping certainly could be eliminated. The nation can ill afford to further entrench the pork-barrel politicking of the past and present.

Equally important, an intelligent middle course must be found between two bitterly opposed groups that never did find conservation a bore: Those who want to preserve most of the remaining untouched land largely in its natural state and those who want to develop most of it.

The preservationists often imply that the wilderness must be kept "for only that small fragment of the population considered capable of proper appreciation," Mr. Smith remarks. On the other hand, the all-out developers are prone to labeling their foes as anti-free enterprise, almost un-American.

Sooner or later each side will have to give. Obviously the nation will need to use more of its resources in the future if its expanding population is to be fed, clothed and housed. Just as surely it will be the loser if it unthinkingly despoils its heritage of clear lakes, green forests and towering mountains.

Reasonable compromises will vary widely for various areas, which is one reason Mr. Smith is correct when he discerns an important role for states and local governments in future resource management. For another, governments on the scene usually can move more quickly and efficiently than the distant Federal Government. The TVA official notes with approval that Kentucky started to curb abuses of strip mining before Congress was able so much as to agree to make a general study of the subject.

Even where resource questions cross state lines, as they frequently do, Federal control isn't necessarily the best answer; in some cases interstate cooperation may operate more effectively. Though such proposals don't always work, Mr. Smith mentions the Delaware River Basin Compact, involving New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York and Delaware, which "has proven an instrument for action and progress."

What the TVA director does not stress is that private industry increasingly is realizing that it has a role not only in developing resources but in conserving them. Aside from public relations benefits, the efforts can achieve real economic gains. Tree farming, for example, may not satisfy the rabid preservationists but it is a far cry from the reckless forest destruction of the past. And it helps to assure a continuing supply of lumber and other wood products.

Nearly every segment of the population, in fact, can contribute to conservation and development of the country's resources. In each case the right question is who can handle the task most efficiently for the public good, not solely whether the job should be public or private.

Though progress has been made, no one is so optimistic as to think that the wasteful strife will be ended easily. If the nation is not realistic about its resources, however, the future reality could be not only wearisome but downright grim.

Grissom, White, and Chaffee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, rarely has the news of any tragedy stunned so many Americans as did the announcement from the Kennedy Space Center Friday evening. To most, it was as if the three men had been personal friends, so great was the admiration and esteem in which these men were held.

Virgil I. Grissom, Jr., Edward H. White II, and Roger B. Chaffee were not strangers to risk or danger. They had constantly faced the unknown; they and their families lived with the knowledge that unexpected tragedy could happen at any time.

But perhaps even more than their bravery and heroism, it was their dedication that is the greatest legacy to us. They knew and understood what it means to be an American and to be willing to make any sacrifice for their Nation. These three men knew, and the others who work with them in our space program understand, what real patriotism means.

They all understand the reasons for their work and they know its dangers. The heroism lies in their decision to go on and to do their work despite its risks because they care deeply enough about the mission.

Nothing any of us can say can lighten the loss to the families and friends of these three men. But they can be certain that they are not alone in that grief, that to all Americans, these men were not just means in the news. They were and are our heroes. We followed their work and we looked to them as an example of what we all wish we could be in our own lives.

Their names are already deeply imprinted in the history of this Nation, and indeed in the history of the world. Nothing we can do could be a more significant memorial than the place they themselves have carved in the story of mankind's quest to conquer and understand the unknown. It is for those of us who stay here behind them to rededicate ourselves to carrying on their work.

Waite Hoyt Honored by Big Brothers Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD D. CLANCY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. CLANCY. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to bring to the attention of my colleagues the selection of Waite Hoyt to receive Cincinnati's Big Brother of the Year Award. Mr. Hoyt, who was one of the country's best baseball announcers and whose name is a household word in Cincinnati, was honored last Thursday for his enormous contributions to the big brother movement.

I have known Waite for many years and am pleased to see him receive this well-deserved recognition.

Also, we are very proud that the big brother movement, which has accomplished so much good, originated in Cincinnati.

I join the Cincinnati Enquirer in paying tribute to the Big Brothers Association for its singular achievements and to Waite Hoyt for his contributions. The following editorial tells of their work:

[From the Enquirer, Jan. 25, 1967]

BIG BROTHER OF THE YEAR

The selection of Waite Hoyt to receive Cincinnati's Big Brother of the Year award at Thursday night's second annual meeting of the Big Brothers Association serves a twofold purpose. For one thing, it recognizes the enormous contribution Mr. Hoyt has made over the years to the ambitious principles on which the Big Brother movement rests. For another, it reminds the community of the unique niche the Big Brothers Association occupies in the life of the Queen City.

This latter purpose is a singularly appropriate one. For it was from Cincinnati that the Big Brother idea began to grow. Early in this century, Irvin F. Westheimer, a director in the brokerage firm of Hayden, Stone, Inc., found a youngster trying to eke out a bite to eat from a garbage heap. Mr. Westheimer concluded upon inquiry that the boy needed, even more than a square meal, an adult male friend and confidant. That is what today's Big Brothers Association seeks to provide.

The boys who are beneficiaries of the movement do not necessarily come from impoverished homes. But they are likely to be youngsters of impoverished spirit—boys who have no male adult to whom they can turn for counsel, for guidance, for companionship and for challenge.

The volunteers who fill that need for thousands of American boys across the country are living demonstrations of the old axiom, "No man ever stands so straight as when he stoops to help a boy."

We salute the Big Brothers Association for its splendid achievements and Waite Hoyt for embodying the ideals to which the association is committed.

Rep. Claude Pepper's "Interama" and Its Economic Impact on Florida

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of an inspiring and thought-provoking address—by our most distinguished and esteemed colleague from the State of Florida, the Honorable CLAUDE PEPPER—entitled "Interama and Its Economic Impact On Florida."

"Interama," the Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center to be opened in Miami on July 4, 1968, is the culmination and fulfillment of a unique 30-year-old dream of outstanding Florida leaders with the kind of imagination and vision and faith so well exemplified by CLAUDE PEPPER.

The dream was first turned into an idea with legislative form in 1941 when Mr. PEPPER was representing the Sunshine State in the U.S. Senate—and he has been working on it ever since.

The Interama Center that will open next year will be just what its sponsors intended that it would be: an international meeting place for the business, industrial, cultural, and governmental leaders of the Americas, and a great and unique institution playing a growing and ever more important role in the development of closer Western Hemispheric relations.

As a member of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Organizations which considered and approved the necessary congressional legislation to authorize essential Federal participation in this project, I am proud to have had a part in the realization of the Interama dream.

So; it is with a deep personal interest that I take pleasure in placing in the Congressional Record the following address by Representative Claude Pepper, of Florida:

INTERAMA AND ITS ECONOMIC IMPACT ON FLORIDA

(Address by the Honorable Claude Pepper, Member of Congress, at the 50th Anniversary Convention of the Florida State Chamber of Commerce, Tuesday, November 22, 1966, Jack Tar Hotel, Clearwater, Fla.)

It is indeed a great pleasure for me to accept your gracious invitation to address you at this luncheon on the occasion of your 50th anniversary.

It is particularly gratifying to me to be here among so many friends who have been connected for so many, many years with the Florida State Chamber of Commerce. My memory of your State Chamber, you know, runs back to 1929–30, when I was in the Florida House of Representatives—a mere 28 years old during the 1929 session—and your present Executive Vice-President, my able and good friend Harold Colee, was President of this State Chamber.

And during my later years as a United States Senator and Representative, I have always been very pleased to have the most cordial cooperation of your Chamber and its members in projects affecting our state. We have always been in the forefront together in the fight to develop the great potential of this state. And I wish today—for both of us—another half-century of constructive work for the betterment of Florida and of our nation.

Your distinguished President and your Executive Vice-President extended to me the courtesy of selecting my own topic for these luncheon remarks. But they knew well that I would choose a subject close to your hearts and to mine. They knew I could not resist—especially now that we are on the threshhold of success—talking to you about Interma and about the great impact this great project will have on the economic life of Florida, on the United States and our Latin American neighbors, an on the development of a fuller and more meaningful cooperation among the nations of the Western Hemisphere.

When I speak of Interama, of course, I am reminded of a famous proverb: "Failure is an orphan; success has many fathers."

Well, Interama is indeed on the verge of a fabulous success, and it indeed has many fathers.

This is partly in the nature of a project of vast scope and conception. Its concept has matured over many years, and has become one of striking originality and practicality. It is unlike anything we have known in the way of world's fairs and trade fairs, and the best economic experts tell us that—where most of these fairs have run large deficits—Interama will be assured of ample revenue to meet its initial obligations and to continue to grow into a greater and ever more exciting exposition.

This development of the Interama concept has been the function of the thinking of many men over the many years. The concept and the effort to realize it have depended upon the initiatives, the dreams, and the hard work and dedicated support of many persons, in private life as well as in positions of public responsibility.

My own interest in Interama goes back to the early 1930's when, at the height of the Great Depression, the City of Miami spent $10,000 to make a study—and to publicize the results of that study—showing that it was feasible to create a great international trade mart for the Western Hemisphere here in Florida. The concept of Interama has grown far beyond a mere trade mart today. But that was a beginning, and an ambitious beginning for those difficult times.

And then in 1939, right across the bay from here at Tampa, your delegates to the 23rd annual meeting of the Florida State Chamber of Commerce passed a resolution that a Pan-American trade mart should be established in Miami. You pointed out that Miami was the geographical and population center of the Western Hemisphere—and despite the population explosion, Miami is still the geographical center. It is still conventionally located for visitors from throughout the United States and the hemisphere. Its climate, as your Chamber noted then, is still attractive, and its hotels and its reputation for hospitality are still famous throughout the world.

Yours was the first state organization to envisage Miami as the center, the international meeting place, for the business, industrial, cultural and governmental leaders of the Americas.

Today, 27 years later, your vision—and mine—is close to being translated into a great cultural, economic and diplomatic institution of our hemisphere.

My faith in what Interama could become was expressed in legislative form as early as March 20, 1941, when as your Senator, I introduced S. 1150, a bill to provide for the establishment of a "Pan-American Center at Miami, Florida, for the coordination of commercial and cultural relations between the American Republics."

My bill would have directed the Secretary of State to establish such a center for Pan-American, or as we now style it Inter-American, cooperation in Miami. It would have authorized the appropriation of $10 million to make the creation of this center possible.

By this time, I was a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and a member of its Subcommittee on Latin America. I felt then, as now, that we had not done enough to strengthen our relationships with our closest neighbors in the family of nations. I thought we were neglecting the opportunity to bring representatives of Latin American culture and trade to the United States to strengthen the understanding of the American people of the oneness of our hemispheric community—of the rich variety of western man's search for the good society, but of the essential oneness of the human impulse for well-being, for meaningful existence, for beauty and culture, and, most of all, for the dignity and freedom of the individual.

Unfortunately, soon after the introduction of my Pan-American Center bill, we became involved in World War II's great struggle between the forces of freedom and free men and the barbaric totalitarianism that exalted the "superman" and aimed at giving him a reign of 1,000 years in Europe and domination in the world.

This legislative forerunner of Interama had to be put aside. But it was not forgotten. At the end of the war, when we began to rebuild a devastated Western Europe, I felt again even more strongly the need to direct a greater part of our attention toward the strengthening of our relationships with our Latin neighbors. The Inter-American Center, quite apart from my special interest in it, offered a unique vehicle for focusing greater attention on our hemispheric relations, and Miami's claim for the center was strengthened in the post war era by Florida's rapid population growth and by the increasing popularity of the state as a vacation site for the American family.

We re-introduced the Inter-American Center idea and The Congress by a joint resolution approved on September 27, 1950, "expressed its endorsement of the establishment of the Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center in Miami as a permanent year-round nonprofit self-sustaining enterprise for the development of improved relations and increased trade with the republics of Latin-America."

The President was authorized by this resolution to invite the Latin American countries to participate and on January 30, 1952—after the 1951 Florida Legislature had created the Inter-American Center Authority to develop Interama—President Harry S. Truman issued a formal proclamation in which he did "hereby call upon officials and agencies of the Government to assist and cooperate with the Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center in Miami" and "invite the participation of all the nations of the Western Hemisphere."

This was to have launched an almost wholly, privately-built Interama, although under the auspices of a state agency. All of the funds for this development were to come from a large private bond issue and, we now know, it could not have given us the Interama of our dreams—an Interama in which the United States and the countries of Latin America meet officially on a common ground, with official government exhibitions of the respective countries' cultures and products, with official government representatives as well as private visitors from all over the hemisphere meeting on a permanent site of Inter-American cultural and commercial interchange.

But again a war intervened. This time it was the effort to resist a different totalitarianism on the opposite side of the world. Korea and its impact on the bond market destroyed this second of our efforts to bring Interama into being.

I have found in my public service that a truly new idea, an original concept or project, often takes a generation to mature and obtain the final approval of the Congress and the nation.

And Interama is such a unique project.

The unique character of the Interama concept has been both our glory and our greatest source of frustration in dealing with some of our Federal Government officials. We were constantly compared to the World's Fairs at Seattle and New York, and we, as constantly, had to fight against the widespread feeling that these large fairs that operate for six months or a year were going out of style—were being considered by industry and governments as a burdensome investment with too little return for their money.

We had to explain over and over again that Interama would be a permanent institution, that its pavillions would continue to attract large numbers of visitors year after year and would continue to benefit the exhibitors, including the Federal Government. This strangely enough impaled us upon another bureaucratic horn. The Federal departments and particularly the Bureau of the Budget kept reminding us that there would really be no trouble about an appropriation for Interama if it were only another of those one-shot deals, but that frankly they had just never had any experience with a permanent exposition.

I am sure may of your have encountered in other fields the same tendency to deplore the lack of new ideas, only to run from the first new ideas that come along.

You may wonder why, in the face of this resistance and lack of understanding, we continued to press so hard for Federal participation in Interama. Why did we not simply concentrate on getting a wholly-government institution built or moved to Miami? For example, the headquarters of the O.A.S.—the Organization of American States—which should be nad we hope eventually will be located in Miami.

Or why not forget about the Federal Government altogether and aim for a privately financed Interama? After all, most of the more than $350 million wihch will be invested on the Interama site when the project is completed will come from private sources. All we are getting from the Federal Government is a $22 million loan from the Community Facilities Administration, which must be repaid with interest in Interama's first years, and up to $9.5 million initially for the construction and operation of the Federal exhibit.

But this question of Federal participation goes to the core of the Interama concept, and I think it is only faintly understood—even among many of our people in Miami—why Federal participation with an official United States Exhibit is so important that the Inter-American Center Authority felt it would have to abandon Interama if we could not get it this year.

The Federal appropriation of $5.87 million for the construction work on the United States Exhibit during this fiscal year—and the $22 million loan which it releases—constitute together the guarantee to U.S. industry, to the Latin American governments, to the Florida Road Board which must build the interior and access road, to the power company and telephone company which must put in the utilities at their own capital expense, to the City of North Miami which must put in the water and sewer lines—to all of these the Federal commitment serves as a guarantee that Interama will move ahead to completion with the support of the Government of the United States. This guarantee is especially important for industry because we are asking the major companies and industries of our country to build permanent pavillions, not temporary structures, built cheaply to be abandoned at the end of six months or a year.

We now have this Federal "reinsurance" of all the other investments to be made in Interama.

But we have something even more important: Official United States Participation has given us the means of assuring official participation by the governments of the Latin American countries. This is something that has never happened before in the history of U.S. international exhibitions.

Those of us who have seen Latin American pavillions at other world's fairs have seldom been aware that these pavillions were built and furnished by private interests—in many cases by American business interests which operated an exhibit and sales concession under some country's name.

In past U.S. exhibitions, I understand, no more than three Latin American governments have installed official exhibitions of their countries' culture and trade. Interama already has the written agreement of 17 Latin governments to put in official exhibitions and two more countries are currently studying the question of participation.

How did this happen?

On the one hand, Interama decided not to try to get the Latin American governments—which are hard pressed for foreign exchange—to build expensive pavilions in the United States. The $22 million Community Facilities loan will make it possible for Interama to build the pavilions for the Latin governments and make the space available to them without charge. Interama will also build the United States pavilion—another first in exhibitions history.

Instead of the Federal Government building a pavilion and then giving it to the local community when the exhibition ends, Interama will pay back the money used to build the U.S. pavilion, with interest, and give the Federal Government permanent, free use of a $4.5 million building.

How will Interama be able to do it?

It will be able to repay $22 million to the Federal Government in 10 years or less, $21 million to private lenders for development of other Interama facilities, $10 million for a spectacular Tower of Freedom, and other indebtedness, from the receipts of 12 to 15 million visitors a year.

The leading exhibitions research firm in the nation, Economic Research Associates, Inc., of Los Angeles, has found that Interama can expect more than 12 million visitors a year. This, the firm estimates, will produce revenues five times what Interama will need to repay its first $43 million in indebtedness. Indeed, the firm's experts found that Interama will be able to cover its operating expenses and handle the repayment of these two loans—$21 million from private sources and $22 million from C.F.A.—from the gate receipts of only six million visitors a year. The Tower of Freedom, which will offer a sweeping view of Biscayne Bay and Florida's Gold Coast, will be financed separately from the revenues of the Tower and the revolving restaurant at its top.

Thus we will have in Interama a great public attraction which will harness the revenues of the nation's greatest flow of family tourists to the creation of a unique meeting place of the Americas—where the governments of the hemisphere will have official and permanent presences, continuing national displays of their cultures and economics, and a meeting of these governments and their citizens with the showcases of American industry and American culture.

I have no doubt in my mind that tourists from all over the United States and all over the hemisphere will stream into Interama by the millions year after year.

Interama will have something for everyone—but quality has been the key to its planning, and its variety of attractions will not have the cheapness of the bazaar.

There will be a recreation area—emphasizing the sports and leisure and amusement aspects of the American way of life. There will be a cultural.area, where Interama and private investors will provide facilities for live theater, ballet, opera, and the other arts on a scale not before available in Florida.

In the industrial area, 25 to 30 major U.S. industries will have an opportunity to tell the story of their industries' role in making Progress with Freedom the American way of life. That is the theme of Interama: The American Way of Life—Progress with Freedom. And it is the way of life of all the free countries of the Americas, not only North America, which is meant in this context.

The U.S. Department of Commerce, which somewhat skeptically surveyed U.S. industry's attitude toward Interama, found to its surprise that more than 40 major U.S. companies were actively interested in putting permanent exhibitions in Interama. They recognize the unique opportunity it offers to present their story to receptive audiences of millions of visitors and to the business and government leaders of the Americas who will be drawn to Interama by its location in Miami and its multitude of attractions in the cultural, industrial and international areas.

The international area will be the soul of Interama. This will not be a dead collection of musty exhibits in warehouse exhibition halls that close tight at 10 o'clock each night. Six of the nation's leading architects have already designed six strikingly beautiful groups of buildings to house the U.S. and Latin exhibits. Edward Durell Stone, the brilliant architect of the U.S. Pavillion at the Brussels World Fair and the U.S. Embassy in India, has designed the U.S. Pavillion for Interama. Joining him in making the International Area an outstanding architectural achievement have been Dr. Luis Sert, dean of the Harvard University School of Architecture; Paul Rudolph, former dean of the School of Architecture at Yale; Marcel Breuer, Louis I. Kahn, and Harry M. Weese.

What these men have designed are not a row of pavillions, but groups of exhibition facilities around common area features such as an auditorium for international meetings with multilingual translation facilities, a ceremonial parade ground, and a theater for projecting motion pictures on a 360-degree screen.

In these buildings in the International Area are apartments for the Resident Commissioners of each nation, restaurants for the presentation of their native foods, and dormitory facilities for students from each country who will work with the exhibits and study in the United States. These will be national homes for these countries in Miami, and they will be occupied 24 hours a day—in the manner of a university campus rather than a world's fair.

It is one of my great dreams that Interama will become the focal point of a great University of the Americas. Only 680 acres of the 1700-acre Interama tract on upper Biscayne Bay will be used initially. This much has been drained and filled, the roadbeds and waterways have been prepared for the construction which is about to begin. There will be abundant room for the expansion of Interama (which will include in its United States pavillion a working Library of the Future with 40,000 to 50,000 volumes, films and tapes of Pan-Americana), for the development of a great university, for the construction of facilities for O.A.S. meetings in Miami, and for related purposes we have not yet conceived.

This is, to me, the key to the economic impact of Interama on Miami and Florida.

Interama will be a unique focal point for the development of Florida's potential as a great center of hemispheric trade and culture. It is the magnet which will attract, as well as create, facilities and enterprises of all types.

As the junctures of two rivers or two railroads formed the basis for the economic greatness of other cities, as the joining of Flagler's railroad with the unrivaled climate of South Florida gave us today's Miami and Miami Beach, as Tampa Bay and Cape Kennedy have served as magnets to attract economic activity, so Interama will be a great economic resource for Florida and for the nation.

This is why we set our sights increasingly higher as Interama's potential became clearer. This is why we were not willing to settle for another trade fair, another amusement park, another tourist attraction. This is why we were determined to enlist the interest of President Kennedy and then President Johnson in getting the kind of Federal commitment which would make Interama a great Florida institution, a great national institution, a great hemispheric institution.

We have been exceedingly fortunate in this most recent effort to realize this dream in having the right men in the right places at the right time. We have been very fortunate in having in Dr. Irving Muskat, the operating chairman of the Inter-American Center Authority, a man of great integrity, great determination, and unwaivering belief in the importance of making Interama a quality project.

I will not try to recount for you the many times in which, I believe, we were saved from defeat in getting this essential Federal participation only by our ability to demonstrate that Interama was free from corruption, honest in its intentions, and capable of producing the kind of great institution which would warrant full support of our national government.

We were fortunate to have in President Kennedy both a man who valued excellence and a man whose imagination could be fired by a new concept in hemispheric relations. Through his encouragement we were able to find in the Community Facilities Administration a program which would enable us to build the pavilions for the Latin American countries. But this was a program which had been used previously for more prosaic construction of sewer and water lines, city halls, and other similar community facilities. And then the brilliant light of John F. Kennedy was so tragically snuffed out.

But we pressed ahead. I was then on the House Banking and Currency Committee, which handles housing loan programs, including community facilities. I undertook to demonstrate that congressional intent would support the Community Facilities Administration in a loan of $22 million to Interama. I initiated a petition urging C.F.A. to make the loan and we obtained 228 signatures in the House and 51 in the Senate—a majority of both Houses. We followed this up in the debate on the housing bill—Senator Holland brought out in the Senate and I in the House that the language of the community facilities section would permit a loan of this kind. We also obtained the public support of President Johnson and Vice President Humphrey.

President Johnson has stood with us—even when he was urged from within the Administration to veto my bill, H.R. 30, which authorized Federal participation with an appropriate exhibit, and when he was urged to withhold his recommenadtion of the appropriation required to implement that bill in the current fiscal year. I believe history will properly record Interama as one of the great achievements of his Administration.

In the passage of the exhibit bill, we had the full support of the Repulican members of our Florida congressional delegation as well as the Democratic members. Interama has always been and I am confident it will remain a Florida project, rather than a partisan project.

It was our good fortune to have in our congressional delegation my distinguished colleague from Dade County, Dante Fascell, as chairman of the Subcommittee on International Organizations of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, which considered the Interama exhibition bill; our distinguished Senior Senator, Spessard Holland, in a key position on the Senate Appropriations Committee, and the distinguished dean of our Florida delegation in the House, Bob Sikes, on the House Appropriations Committee. And I was fortunate enough in the last Congress to now be on the House Rules Committee where my cooperation in that closely divided committee could be valuable to the House leadership and to the White House.

Together we have made is possible for Interama to go to the Latin American governments with an invitation to join the Government of the United States in building a real meeting place of the governments and peoples of the Americas in Miami.

For the Miami economy and the economy of our state this has immediate consequences in terms of jobs, building materials, transportation, services of all kinds, and all the rest of the economic activity generated by a large building program.

The construction which must begin early next year in order to open Interama on July 4, 1968, will total $350 million on the actual site and an estimated $135 million additional in related investment in the Miami area.

It is estimated that nearly $300 million of this nearly $500 million total investment will be in labor costs for approximately 54,000 man-years of employment.

After Interama is open it will provide more than 5,000 permanent on-site jobs and generate approximately $27 million in additional annual income. This will almost be matched by the spending of the additional tourists Interama will draw to Florida.

The economic studies indicate that Interama will bring at least 600,000 additional visitors to Florida each year, generating an additional income of $21 million for our people.

The State of Florida and our local governments will benefit from additional tax revenue, and I believe the Federal Government will soon find that it is receiving more additional revenue each year from Interama's investment than the government's initial investment in its official exhibit.

This will be wonderful, but as I have indicated I think the real economic benefits of Interama will come from the power of Interama as a unique institution to give to all Florida business and industry, to our universities and our schools, the special quality of involvement with Latin America and a special understanding of its problems and the economic opportunities that exist in helping with the development of this vital area of the world.

I think our banks will be more knowledgeable in helping their business clients because Interama and the vibrant culture and commerce of the hemisphere will penetrate the atmosphere in which the officers and employees of the banks work and live. The same thing will be true of our law firms, of our builders, our technical laboratories, our advertising and public relations firms, our management, new product development and marketing survey concerns, our airlines and railways and port authorities, our manufacturers—large and small, our state government agencies and the field offices of our Federal agencies—all of these will be touched by the hemispheric spirit of Interama and will be better equipped than their counterparts in other areas to assist in the development of the economic, cultural and political life of the hemisphere.

I am leaving this weekend with your Chamber President and his lovely wife and a group of other Florida businessmen and women for a 13-day visit to four of our South American countries. I will try to convey to the friends we meet there in those governments and in their business communities something of the great hopes we have here in Florida for the development of Interama.

I am sure that, as Interama moves toward its formal opening, it will generate increasing excitement throughout the Americas and especially here in Florida.

I look forward to seeing all of you at the opening of this great Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center on the Fourth of July, 1968. Dr. Muskat has assured me that the opening ceremony will begin promptly at 10 A.M.

If you will put it on your calendar, I think you can count on both Interama and Claude Pepper being there on time.

I thank you for this wonderful opportunity to be with you.

Streambank Erosion Control Action Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a bill with important provisions for putting a stop to soil erosion along the banks of our rivers and streams.

Our current efforts to halt this costly damage are not getting the needed job done. This is so for several reasons.

One reason is that there is not sufficient financial support. Another is lack of concerted action along the streambanks needing treatment.

Streambank erosion usually covers a large area and affects many landowners and communities. Yet the most damaging results of bank erosion may be felt downstream from the points where the erosion occurs. The eroded soil settles down in the stream channel and fills it up so that there is not enough channel left to carry the water. That is how a lot of floods happen. And this silt pollutes the water of the stream so that it has to be filtered and treated at great expense before it can be used.

In Texas, we have an estimated 31,200 miles of eroding stream channels. That is over a third of the 80,000 miles of stream channels in the State. Nationwide, streambank erosion along 300,000 miles of waterway each year destroys land along the channels valued at approximately $11 million.

But a much bigger cost is that of dredging streams and harbors so they can be used for navigation; and removing soil from reservoirs needed for water storage for cities and industry. The cost of doing this is estimated at $250 million a year.

Another price we pay for allowing streambanks to wash away is the damage done to the natural beauty of the landscape. It is a loss that cannot be measured only in dollars.

It will take more financial investment to restore our river and stream banks. And it will take group action, along the courses of the waterways.

State and local, public and private agencies must become more actively involved, and the Federal Government must be prepared to provide more help.

The individual landowner cannot do the job acting independently, even with such assistance as he and his neighbors may receive under the agricultural conservation program. Nor does the small watershed program, which provides for assistance to local units of government for community streambank erosion control projects, permit that broad attack on the problem, extending beyond the watershed project area, that often is required.

The River and Stream Erosion Control Act, which I propose here, aims to give the Secretary of Agriculture authority to:

Assist State and local governments and other local nonprofit public and private agencies in the preparation of plans for controlling bank erosion; and

Provide through cooperative agreements Federal technical assistance and financial aid up to 75 percent of the total cost for carrying out the bank erosion control plan.

Under this proposed legislation, a streambank protection plan would apply only to those areas that require protective measures. Moreover, all plans carried out under the act would be in keeping with the objectives of other resource conservation programs receiving Federal support.

The required attack on streambank erosion is possible only if we bring the organized group with taxing authority under the Federal assistance umbrella. It is possible only if the Federal contribution under cost-sharing arrangements is increased.

The general public interest is deeply involved. Consider that an estimated 500 million tons of soil are washed into our waterways every year from unprotected streambanks and fields. In Texas, an estimated 31 million tons of soil enter our waterways every year from streambank erosion. That is a fourth of the total annual silt load carried by Texas streams.

Control of streambank erosion is an essential part of the total effort to keep our waterways clean. I believe we can be successful in this total effort only if our approach is total.

Streambank erosion, as a major cause of stream pollution, must be controlled. I believe it can be controlled with present programs made more effective by the proposed River and Stream Erosion Control Act.

I ask my colleagues to consider this proposed legislation in light of the present urgent need for it. And I invite the support of those who wish to join with me in sponsoring this bill.

"Wasted Years" in the New Left

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 19, 1967

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, fortunately, most of our young people of college age are discerning enough to see through the guises of misdirected political or social front organizations and directly into their tactics and final purposes. A few are not. While we must not make the mistake of wholesale condemnation of American youth, neither should we lessen our concern for the possibility of their being covertly corrupted and misguided when in fact they are sincerely concerned about contemporary problems.

Phillip A. Luce, in an article found in the February 1967 edition of Reader's Digest, traces his history as a concerned, or, to use the coined phrase, "angry" young man of the "new left," and shows how easily these tendencies can be manipulated by Communist front groups to disrupt American life.

His case is not average, but his remarks show how the small cadre of infiltrators—direct agents of Communist countries, some of whom are trained outside the United States—can prey upon frustration and sympathy, merely for their own ends.

As Mr. Luce states:

> Many find it virtually impossible to believe that a tiny handful of communist professionals, using glittering slogans like "peace," "freedom now," "equal rights," or "academic freedom," can manipulate thousands of innocent young rebels into violent street demonstrations and explosive confrontations with police. On the surface, it is incredible. But having studied the arts of mass manipulation and hate propaganda, and having practiced them myself, I know the power of a few expert hidden persuaders.

The personal account of Mr. Luce follows closely the predictions of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover who recently stated that the Communists are expected to increase their activities this year in areas such as civil rights and anti-Vietnam war demonstrations.

For those who may still need be convinced that internal subversion exists on a scale large enough to pose a threat, this article will help. It will also serve as a warning that many of the "new left" groups have been seriously infiltrated by the Communist underground.

The entire Reader's Digest article follows:

WHAT THE "NEW LEFT" DID TO ME

(By Phillip Abbott Luce, author of "The New Left")

(Note.—An angry young man discloses the full cycle of his thinking—from rebellion against all authority, to communist "activism," to disillusionment with communist demands, to defection. And he sees a way to avoid such "wasted years").

A communist must be prepared to act upon command. Once he begins to develop scruples, he's on his way out. How and when the break comes depends on the man and the circumstances.

I began dabbling in "revolution" in 1958, when I was 20. I became a free-wheeling "activist" of the New Left in 1960 and a secret member of the Chinese-oriented Progressive Labor Party in 1963. By the winter of 1964 I was trusted enough to be selected to join a special group to go underground.

The plan was discussed for weeks in quiet restaurants and coffeehouses in New York City. We would be trained in the techniques of disguise, forgery, wiretapping, karate, evasion of surveillance. Later, this education would be rounded out abroad, in Cuba or China. Then we would change our names and trades, drop all open contacts with communists and blend into the submerged world of secret operatives.

As a start, I was instructed to give up my friends, my relatives, my girl, my job, my apartment. Since I was at the time awaiting trial under federal indictments for my connection with trips to Cuba, I would become a fugitive from justice. There would be no turning back.

I chose *not* to go underground. A few months later, I decided to break away. It was not a sudden thing. The underground project was only the climax. For months I had been worried by scruples, but I was kept too busy with meetings, picketings, sit-ins and editorial writing to think things through. Now I was forced to reappraise communism and my own relationhip to it—not the abstract ideas, but the grim facts.

I defected because, when the chips were down, I couldn't accept total obedience. Sucked into the movement by hunger for absolute freedom and rebellion against all authority, I finally recognized that there were no margins for personal freedom among hard-core communist revolutionary organizations.

I defected because I saw young people being deceived and possibly destroyed by lies which we, as leaders, were telling them; by actions in which they were just expendable pawns. Some were my friends, drawn into the movement in part by my example.

I defected not because I was reconciled to the injustices of American society as I saw them, but because I realized that communism would bring more and infinitely worse injustice.

The Inner Frustrations. My story is not unique. Thousands of young people through nearly half a century have believed that revolutionary radicalism held the answers to their own grievances and the world's problems. Few joined the movement for bad reasons. Mostly we were naive, romantic, mis-informed—above all, angry and impatient.

I was born in Ohio of middle-class, Republican parents. I graduated from Mississippi State University in 1958, then earned a master's degree in political science from Ohio State University in 1960. By the time I got to Ohio State, I had begun to flirt with communism. My inner frustrations led me to the illogical conclusion that only the overthrow of the whole political and economic structure of the country could cure its ills.

These inner frustrations are difficult to explain, being more emotional than reasoned. I was in rebellion against parents, school, society—any authority. I wanted things changed and changed *now*. The normal democratic tempos seemed to me too slow, the "establishment" too entrenched to yield to anything but violent pressures.

My rebellion was fed by the reading of communist hate propaganda and sustained by the itch to "do something." The civil-rights struggle seemed made-to-order for my mood—not only a thrilling cause in itself, but an outlet for protest generally. I was expelled from the staff of the Mississippi State newspaper for my attacks on the state legislature and the White Citizens Councils. I found the experience of "struggle" with "reaction" intensely intoxicating. As a graduate student, I joined picket groups, sit-ins, boycotts. I was becoming an "activist," quite sure what I was *against*, but pretty hazy about what I was *for*.

Upon finishing at Ohio State, I went to New York. I wrote for the communist *Worker* under several pseudonyms, and I fellow-traveled with a variety of communist organizations, coming to know the whole spectrum of ultra-left groupings, some of them communist creations, some infiltrated, some independently radical. I was searching for a "home" in the frezied world of revolution. It was not until the summer of 1963, however, that I became fully involved.

Action, Color, Power. By then the so-called New Left was in loud and violent eruption, an outgrowth of the stage of romantic anarchy called the Beat Generation. The movement was "new"—or so we told ourselves—because it rejected the conventional Marxist jargon and working-class mystique. We had only contempt for the Old Left, with its patience and restraints. We relished stirring up trouble for trouble's sake. We were for police baiting, riots, undergrounds. *Ours was an attitude rather than an ideology.*

Ironically, today only a few New Left groups remain financially and ideologically out of communist clutches. Some of these, such as the Students for a Democratic Society and Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), are being rapidly penetrated.

Considering the noise it makes, the New Left is surprisingly small—perhaps 5000, with another 5000 at the fringes. Most are social anarchists, with no more than 2000 communists of all stripe in their midst. These self-willed utopians and most other Americans find it virtually impossible to believe that a tiny handful of communist professionals, using glittering slogans like "peace," "freedom now," "equal rights," or "academic freedom," can manipulate thousands of innocent young rebels into violent street demonstrations and explosive confrontations with police. On the surface, it *is* incredible. But having studied the arts of mass manipulation and hate propaganda, and having practiced them myself, I know the power of a few expert hidden persuaders.

In the late spring of 1963, I was approached by a leader of the Maoist Progressive Labor Party to join an expedition to Cuba. No one can overstate the influence of Red Cuba upon immature, alienated minds.

Fidel Castro and Che Guevara were to us what Lenin and Trotsky had been to others in their time. Here was action, color, our own kind in power—and all of it only 90 miles from the mighty Yankees. Here was David defying Goliath. I jumped at the chance to go. The fact that it might be in violation of federal law added spice to the adventure.

When I returned, I plunged into Progressive Labor activities. I helped organize, in 1964, a second trip to Cuba. I was arrested while trying to kindle a riot in Times Square—forcing a "confrontation with the cops," we called it grandly. I helped secrete guns in New York City for future "self-defense." I drafted the original declaration calling on young men to refuse to fight in Vietnam, took part in a violent fracas before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, marched and sat and shouted slogans as directed.

"True Truth." It was a frenetic life I led, as thoroughly "involved" as any of the communist string-pullers could wish. The change in me was evidenced in a new willingness to lie and deceive others in pursuit of our goals. Looking back, I recognize how utterly self-righteous and intolerant we were, not only of the "enemy"—meaning everyone from conservatives to "bourgeois radicals"—but of all other elements in the New Left. *It was the totalitarian mentality in action.* We were toddling totalitarians, and uncarded communists demanding instant idealism and "Millennium Now!" We alone had the "true truth" from which dissent was heresy.

By August 1964 I had begun editing the magazine *Progressive Labor,* but without being "identified." This deception was based on the hope that a secret party member would be more successful in recruiting. Not until December, only three months before I defected, was my name listed as editor.

Meanwhile, the riots broke out in New York's Harlem. We were not the immediate spark, but we did everything possible to provoke them and to harvest the credit. For weeks we had been preparing the requisite explosive climate, calling for a "long, hot summer" in Harlem.

One hour before the rioting actualy began, Bill Epton, a vice-chairman of Progressive Labor, told a street rally: "In the process of smashing this state, we're going to have to kill a lot of cops, a lot of these judges, and we'll have to go up against their army. We'll organize our own militia and our own army." (Epton was in due time arrested and convicted of criminal anarchy.)

The 25-year-old editor of our party's newspaper, *Challenge,* proclaimed: "I advocate precisely that the people disturb the peace. There is no lawful government in this country today. Only a revolution will establish one." We prepared the infamous posters, "Wanted for Murder—Gilligan the Cop," which helped to spark the mobs.

By dint of sheer activity I was becoming more and more entrapped within the narrow communist world. If you are a good communist, your time—including evenings and weekends—is not your own. You sell party literature, do volunteer mailings and office work, paint signs, picket, demonstrate, attend endless meetings.

Yet some part of my mind was uneasy, questioning. The caches of arms left a bitter taste. It bothered me to see our individual members time and again become patsies in plans and plots outside their knowledge or consent, so that they often were jailed or injured for reasons beyond their control.

The Break. Finally, all my doubts and grievances seemed to crystallize when the scheme for going underground was sprung on us. Making the conscious decision to join the communists had taken a certain kind of guts. Now, defection proved even more difficult. The temptation is to slink away in silence; if you decide to break away publicly and try to save others from the morass, you have to be prepared for slander, harassment, even physical attack.

I chose the latter alternative. Then I walked into the FBI office in New York to clinch it. At this, the wrath of my former "comrades" knew no bounds. They accused me of every crime in the book, contended that I was always a "police agent." I was in the outside world but not yet part of it. It took some time before I discovered not only that I was indeed free but that others had gone through the same ordeal of disenchantment and that, like them, I could ultimately readjust myself to a rational society.

The Wasted Years. I've thought a lot about by involvement, and its meaning. It is not enough to condemn impatient, rebellious youth as communists or dupes. The public must distinguish between young communists and young rebels. Youth has always been rebellious. The problem is to understand and channel their zeal for a more just world, and to keep them out of the clutches of communists and other messianic extremists.

I think often that I might have been spared the wasted years if my schooling had included the study of communism—not as a beguiling doctrine through its sacred texts, but as living history on view in Soviet Russia and Red China and in the story of its many mass deceptions and manipulations in the Free World. It seems incredible that I could have acquired a graduate degree in political science without having been encouraged to read *Witness* by Whittaker Chambers, *The God That Failed* by Arthur Koestler and others, *Child of the Revolution* by Wolfgang Leonhard, *The Red Decade* by Eugene Lyons. There is a rich literature on communism. Surely our colleges have an obligation to use it effectively.

Most of the young rebels in and around the New Left are not, in their hearts, communists. In most cases, their actions are more dangerous to themselves than to the country. But we must win them over to the side of democracy before they get themselves and others into serious trouble.

Hon. Walt Horan

SPEECH

OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in eulogizing the late Walt Horan who ably represented the Fifth Congressional District of the State of Washington for some 20 years. His untimely death came as a shock to many of us who knew him well and admired him greatly. He was a man of dedication, wisdom, and devotion to the loftiest of principles.

Walt Horan was elected to the 78th and succeeding Congresses. He came to the House of Representatives at the same time I did, in 1943. Affable and articulate, Walt went his way, always well informed and convincing. He was a knowledgeable man, and had a way of impressing his views on others in a most agreeable and acceptable manner. Universally respected and admired, Walt seemed to number his friends in the Congress by the number who knew him. He was my friend, and I shall always feel that I was enriched by that acquaintance.

Mr. Speaker, this country needs more Walt Horans. This Congress needs more men of his caliber.

Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc.—Ukrainian Independence Day Resolutions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the Appendix of the Congressional Record a resolution adopted by the Detroit-East and Hamtramck Branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., on Ukrainian Independence Day, calling to mind the 49th anniversary of the proclamation of the free and independent Ukrainian National Republic.

Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., Detroit, Michigan

UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY RESOLUTIONS

We, Americans of Ukrainian descent, assembled to-day on the 22nd of January, 1967 at the Ukrainian National Temple, to commemorate the 49th Anniversary of Ukrainian Independence and 48th Anniversary of the Act of Union, declare as follows:

Whereas, January 22, 1967 marks the 49th Anniversary of the Proclamation of the free and independent Ukrainian National Republic and the 48th Anniversary of the Act of Union, by which Western Ukraine was united with the Ukrainian National Republic in Kiev, capital of Ukraine, and

Whereas, Ukrainian people by the act of restoration of freedom and independence to Ukraine demonstrated their quest and desire for self-determination and political liberty, supported by the heroic struggle with the invading forces of all intruders, particularly those from the Communist Russia, and

Whereas, Ukrainian people are still continuing their valiant struggle for freedom and independence, paying high prizes with blood and lives, and

Whereas, Communist Moscow is striving to completely annihilate Ukrainian national culture applying the policy of terror and Russification, and

Whereas, Moscow is presently destroying all traces of Ukrainian culture by the way of liquidating Ukrainian State Archives, burning libraries and destroying monuments of architectural esteem and at the same time is arresting, secretly convicting to long terms of imprisonment, or concentration camps and even executing all those Ukrainian writers, artists and scientists who are raising their voices in defense of Ukrainian language and culture, and

Whereas, Moscow occupational government in Ukraine is separating the Ukrainian nation from the rest of the free world, barring all writers, literary workers and artists from voluntary visits to the West and at the same time is striving to show Ukraine to the free world as a province of Russia without any political and independent cultural aspirations, and

Whereas, Reliable information from the Ukraine reveals that many literary workers and critics were taken into custody and convicted in such cities of Ukraine as Kiev, Odessa, Lviv, Lutsk, Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivsk; furthermore this was acknowledged by the USSR delegation to the United

Nations during their tour of this country, and

Whereas, Ukrainian people are deprived of any rights to demonstrate freely their own protest,

Now, therefore, we are protesting to our Government of USA, to the Members of the congresional bodies and to all countries of the free world against Communist Russian terror in Ukraine. Since arrests and convictions of the literary workers of Ukrainian culture constitute an integral part of the Moscow Communist colonialism in Ukraine, we, as free citizens of the United States of America, urge our Government in Washington to place this case on agenda for investigation by the United Nations and to lodge a complaint about the governments of the USSR for violation of the UN charter and declaration of human rights adopted by the general assembly of the UN on December 10, 1948 and for the violation of the convention against genocide, requesting at the same time that the Ukrainian people without any intervention and control of Moscow government would be able to choose their own government in compliance with the democratic principles.

Detroit, January 22nd, 1967.

Financial Costs of the War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, the most compelling reason for seeking a peaceful solution to the Vietnamese conflict is, of course, the humanitarian one. A day does not go by without some report relating to the human tragedies that are occurring there.

There is also the need to end the war because of the financial burden that has been imposed upon the American economy. It is in this respect that I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial which appeared in the January 22, 1967 Milwaukee Journal:

BILLIONS DOWN THE DRAIN

There are many reasons for wanting an end to the war in Vietnam, the most important being the humanitarian one. But consider it for a moment just in terms of money.

From 1961 through the end of 1966 the war cost the United States $20 billion. But costs are escalating faster than the bombing and are now running $2 billion a month. At that rate it would cost $24 billion in 1967—but the actual cost will be still greater because the rate is still skyrocketing.

That $24 billion alone is more than the federal government spent in its entire budget, military and nonmilitary, in any year before the World War II year of 1942.

Our total defense budget for the coming year will be almost $75 billion, not far from the high yearly expenditure in World War II of $81 billion. Except for three years during World War II, next year's defense expenditures will be more than the federal government spent for all purposes in any year prior to 1959.

At current costs of conducting the war we could, if we used cash instead of bombs and war materiel, give every Vietnamese, young and old, North and South, $700 a year—which is seven times the present per capita income.

Job Corps Adding to America's Wealth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished columnist, Carl T. Rowan, writing in the Washington Evening Star on January 20, paid eloquent tribute to the Job Corps, which is increasingly being regarded as a real triumph in the war on poverty. As Mr. Rowan puts it:

> Still, the Job Corps has become one of the most inspiring things in America today. In a nation whose spirits are sagging because of a grim, frustrating war and a host of lesser irritations, the Job Corps is the kind of thing that ought to keep Americans believing in themselves and in their country.

Mr. Speaker, as Mr. Rowan points out, the first 10,000 Job Corps graduates are expected to produce $5 million a year in tax revenues, whereas without their Job Corps experience they would be costing the public more than $15 million a year in welfare, prison, and other expenses. That is a difference of $20 million—including a tremendous multiplier effect—to American taxpayers for these first 10,000 Job Corps graduates alone. Mr. Speaker, that is what I call winning the war on poverty.

Mr. Rowan concludes by saying that he thinks—

> The Job Corps is one of America's best defenses against a foreboding future. And it is just one of the several domestic programs Congressmen ought to know more about before they put the cleaver to the Federal budget.

Mr. Speaker, I congratulate Mr. Rowan for his excellent statement on the Job Corps, and include it at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Washington (D.C.), Star, Jan. 20, 1967]

JOB CORPS ADDING TO AMERICA'S WEALTH

(By Carl T. Rowan)

Few things seem as unworthy of sympathy as an 18-year-old boy who is out of school, out of work and out of step with the world.

And that is why the Job Corps will probably never be as popular as Head Start, a program to give innocent, underprivileged little kids something close to an even chance in the race we Americans call "the pursuit of happiness."

The Job Corps is a program of rehabilitation for school dropouts aged 16 to 21—youngsters many Americans have assumed to be ruffians and nogoodniks by choice.

This part of the antipoverty program has been lambasted as "the great boondoggle," and the 112 Job Corps training centers around the country have been assailed as "reform schools," which were rarely welcomed into the communities where they were located.

Still, the Job Corps has become one of the most inspiring things in America today. In a nation whose spirits are sagging because of a grim, frustrating war and a host of lesser irritations, the Job Corps is the kind of thing that ought to keep Americans believing in themselves and their country.

And if the 90th Congress is really determined to cut domestic spending so as to finance the Vietnam war more easily, it had better shy away from the facts of the Job Corps. For this program has free enterprise, Horatio Alger, the rags-to-riches concept written all over it. It is positive, adding immensely to America's wealth, while the war is negative, consuming America's abundance with an ever-growing appetite.

And I can't believe even the most economy-minded congressman is so blind that he thinks the priorities for a negative war are so great that we must kill what is positive, human, decent.

The boys and girls admitted to the Job Corps were nobody's candidates for Mr. or Miss Teen-age America. In fact, most were heading for the human slag heap where many of their parents and grandparents had wound up.

The average Job Corpsman had spent seven years in school but could read only at just above a fourth-grade level. Almost one out of every two of these youngsters had been declared ineligible for military service, some because of physical defects, most because of educational deficiencies.

Nine out of every 10 of these youngsters were unemployed; 65 percent came from families where the head of the household was jobless; one kid out of every two came from a family that was on relief. About 10 percent had been in serious trouble with the law and another 27 percent had records of "anti-social bahavior."

They constituted a real challenge to the great industries that teamed up with government in a program to see if America could salvage some of her greatest resource, her young people.

The results have been remarkable. The average Job Corpsman, after nine months of training, achieves a reading level just above the seventh grade. He has gained 10 pounds, had some teeth pulled and others filled. A third of the corpsmen have been fitted with eyeglasses.

Most important, most of these youngsters have been imbued with the notion that American society, American business and their government do care about them.

As of Dec. 26, the Job Corps had placed 9,766 youngsters—7,341 in jobs paying an average of $1.71 an hour, 1,491 in the armed forces and 934 back to school (75 in college).

Someone did a study of the first 10,000 Job Corpsmen and their police, welfare and other records. Without the Job Corps, according to this study, these youngsters would be costing the public more than $15 million a year in welfare, prison and other expenses. Instead, they are expected to produce about $5 million a year in tax revenues.

I think the Job Corps is one of America's best defenses against a foreboding future. And it is just one of the several domestic programs congressmen ought to know more about before they put the cleaver to the federal budget.

Lester R. Brown: One of America's 10 Outstanding Young Men

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues who have had an opportunity to receive the Department of Agriculture volumes entitled "Man, Land, and Food" and "Increasing the World's Food Output" will be interested in Lester R. Brown, who at the age of 32 was chosen as "One of the 10 Outstanding Young Men of 1966" by the junior chamber of commerce.

Mr. Brown is special assistant to Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman and has an article in the January–February 1967 issue of the Columbia University Journal of World Business, entitled "The Stork Outruns the Plow" which deserves further consideration:

THE STORK OUTRUNS THE PLOW

(By Lester R. Brown) *

One of the most disturbing problems facing man today is his apparent inability to balance his numbers and his food supply. Populations growing by 3% a year double within a generation and multiply eighteenfold in a century. To an agriculturist the demographic arithmetic is frightening. Man-land ratios are rising sharply throughout the less-developed world as the stork outruns the plow.

Thirty years ago the less-developed regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America were all grain exporters. Collectively, they sent some 11 million tons of grain yearly to the developed regions, principally Western Europe. During the war decade of the 1940's, this flow was reversed and the less-developed world became a net importer of grain, losing a valuable source of foreign exchange earnings. Net imports of grain reached four million tons in 1950 and 13 million tons in 1959. As population growth rates in the less-developed countries accelerated further during the 1960's, the net in flow increased sharply, reaching an estimated 31 million tons in 1966. This rapidly growing food deficit is causing a sharp diminution in the world's food reserves.

Five years ago the Untied States had the world's two major reserves in the race between food and people. It had in its grain elevators 50 million tons of *excess* grain; i.e., above and beyond normal reserve requirements. In addition, a sizable fraction of its cropland was idled under farm programs. As of 1966 the surpluses of grain are gone. There are no excess stocks of wheat, rice or feedgrains. As recently as 1965 we had 56 million acres of idled cropland. Actions taken during 1966 to expand acreage of wheat and feedgrains will bring back into production at least half of this one remaining reserve. With the U.S. reserves fast disappearing, the less-developed countries must now provide for increased food needs from their own resources.

FRONTIERS FADE

Why is the less-developed world losing the capacity to feed itself? Throughout most of recorded history man was able to increase his food supply by expanding the area of land under cultivation. He matched his increase in numbers with increases in the area under the plow. This was a moving force in the colonization of new lands. As long as he had this option, maintaining an adequate food supply was relatively simple. But on a finite earth this period of land expansion had to come to an end.

The area of land under cultivation in North America and Western Europe, ceasing to expand several decades ago, has actually declined over the past 30 years. This has not caused serious problems. Both of these regions developed an impressive production capability on the existing land area, doubling production within the past generation. The large-scale investment of capital and widespread application of technology enabled these regions to compensate for the lack of new land.

Until quite recently, most of the less-developed world was still expanding the area under cultivation to feed its rapidly growing population. In recent years, however, country after country has furrowed the last of the "new" land readily cultivatable.

During the Fourth Plan Period ending in 1971, India plans to expand the net area sown by less than 1%, though the nation's population is expected to increase by 14%. Clearly, most of its additional food needs must be met by raising productivity per acre.

Nearly all of Asia, the Middle East and North Africa share this land hunger. Only Subsaharan Africa and parts of Latin America [Editor's Note: See the article by Felipe Herrera on page 33.] can expect to significantly expand the area under cultivation. Most of the increases in world food needs over the remaining one-third of this century must be met by increasing the productivity of land already cultivated.

But many of the less-developed countries are faced with a dilemma. Although they have run out of new land to bring under cultivation, they have not yet achieved a takeoff in food output per acre. The result is growing food deficits. In order to keep food production increasing in line with demand, these countries must now begin using massive capital inputs and advanced technology.

As long as there is an abundance of new land to cultivate, continuing population growth does not pose any serious problems for traditional agriculture. The frontier is simply pushed back a bit further. Land and labor, the key inputs, are readily available. Seed and draft animals, the principal capital inputs, are self-generated on the farm. Next year's seed is saved from this year's crop. Technology does not change. Inputs are not needed from the rest of the economy.

THAT SECOND BLADE OF GRASS

An economy running out of new land to plow, however, must begin using large amounts of purchased inputs to raise the productivity of land. Under these circumstances; agricultural growth is entirely dependent on the rest of the economy for the goods and services needed to generate and sustain a takeoff in yield per acre. Fertilizer, pesticides, implements, improved plant varieties and a wide array of other inputs are needed. All must come from the nonfarm sector. Required services are as essential as the physical inputs themselves. These include research, credit, transportation and marketing facilities. Gains in food production in a "fixed-land" economy depend directly on the ability of the nonfarm sector to supply the necessary goods and services.

The extent of capital investment and technological change required to "make two blades of grass grow where one once grew" is not generally appreciated. Consider the variety and scale of purchased inputs in the United States. The farm inputs purchased by U.S. farmers totaled $21.5 billion in 1965. Approximately $9 billion of this represented feed and livestock purchases, many of them from other farmers. The remaining $12.5 billion of purchased inputs came from outside the farm sector. The wide variety of inputs used included such things as fertilizer and lime ($1.7 billion), petroleum products ($1.5 billion) and equipment parts and repairs ($525 million).[1] A sampling of other items includes electricity, containers of all kinds, binding twine for hay bales, veterinary services and animal antibiotics. The complete list of purchased inputs is pages long. For each of the 300 million acres they cultivate, American farmers spend $42 annually on production requisites supplied by the nonfarm sector.

JAPAN: "HORTICULTURE NOT AGRICULTURE"

The average size of the U.S. farm is quite large, but it must not be thought that a system of small holdings is a deterrent to either the sharply expended use of inputs or to greater agricultural output. Japan and Taiwan, with farms averaging only 2.5 and 3.1 acres respectively, have two of the world's most technologically advanced farm sectors. Consider Japan. [Editor's Note: For a brief analysis of Taiwan's success story, see the article on page 23.] Her farmers, with a high-rainfall rice culture and a more intensive mode of cultivation, spend even more per acre than do their American counterparts. Their per-acre expenditures for agricultural chemicals alone—fertilizer, insecticides, fungicides and herbicides—now exceed per-acre expenditures for all production requisites in the United States. In addition, though Japanese farmers typically operate on a small scale, they spend each year more than five dollars an acre for farm implements and power equipment. This is almost exactly the same expenditure per acre as in the United States. Whereas U.S. farmers buy one large tractor for, say, 150 acres, Japanese farmers buy a number of small garden-type tillers for the same area.[2]

U.S. farmers last year spent $599 million for improved seed. India, with a slightly larger area under crops, represents a potential market of comparable size. The entire less-developed world, with a cultivated area roughtly five times that of the United States, represents a fantastically large market for seed alone. By 1980 most of this vast area of cropland must be planted to improved varieties if the projected population is to be adequately fed. Few traditional varieties of foodgrains are genetically capable of the rise in yields required over the next 15 years. [Editor's Note: The possibility of genetic improvement of varieties is discussed by Wm. B. Murphy on page 94.]

NEEDED: 900 MILLION TONS OF FOOD

The demand for food in the LDC's, reflecting both population growth and modestly growing incomes, is rising 4% a year. Compounded over the next 15 years, this rate of growth will increase the demand for food by 80% between now and 1980. Grain consumption, now totaling just over 500 million tons, must climb to 900 million tons. Assuming this target, and using the rule of thumb of one pound of plant nutrients for each 10 pounds of grain, the current yearly fertilizer consumption of 7 million tons in the less-developed world must climb to 47 million tons in 1980. At $150 per ton of fertilizer, this prospective market could well expand from the present one billion dollars a year to at least $7 billion 15 years hence. This volume of fertilizer, averaging about one-fourth the Japanese rate of usage, would still be far from optimal.

The ability to support this and other essential inputs rests in large part on two developments: the adoption by the developing nations of (1) enlightened price policies and (2) measures to encourage private foreign investment. In an area-expanding agriculture, food prices received by farmers have relatively little bearing on production levels. Once a country turns to raising output per acre, however, its farmers must be assured of a price for their products which makes the use of modern technology profitable. A farmer cannot be expected to use fertilizer if its cost exceeds the value of the additional grain it helps produce. Yet, governments in most LDC's, with political bases in the urban areas, traditionally have a consumer-oriented food price policy. Their aim is to hold retail prices down. This generally involves keeping farm prices down, aggravating food supply problems. [Editor's Note: For an emphatic amen, see page 27.]

SUPPORTS AND SUBSIDIES

The rash of takeoffs in yield per acre occurring in the late Thirties and early Forties in the advanced industrial countries was closely associated with the adoption of farm price support policies during the de-

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Footnotes at end of speech.

pression years. Some countries have chosen to achieve the same end by subsidizing farm inputs. The Government of Pakistan, for example, has been making fertilizer available at half the cost, stimulating demand to the point where it now exceeds the available supply. Farm price supports or input subsidies, or some combination of the two, can be effectively used to speed the adoption of modern technology, telescoping into years developments normally taking decades.

Once it becomes profitable to use modern technology, farmers catch on quickly, even though they may be largely illiterate. The problem then becomes supplying the inputs rather than overcoming the farmer's reluctance to use them. In India, where a price support system is now operating, the effective demand for nitrogenous fertilizer is estimated at 1.5 million tons this year. Since India produces only 400,000 tons, some $120 million of scarce foreign exchange is being used to import 600,000 tons from abroad. Even so, a serious shortage, reportedly resulting in fertilizer riots in some localities, remains. * * * Fertilizer riots are admittedly preferable to food riots, but nonetheless it is unfortunate that farmers are deprived of the inputs they want and the country deprived of the food it so desperately needs.

The clamor for inputs is not limited to India or to fertilizer. It exists in nearly all those developing countries where the use of modern agricultural technology is now profitable. Unfortunately, the industrial sectors of these countries lack the resources and technology to provide the necessary yield-raising inputs on the scale needed. Nor can the gap be filled with government-to-government assistance.

We have heard many times from many sources that the world now has the know-how to banish hunger. Unfortunately, however, the know-how is concentrated in one part of the world and the hunger in another. The resources—capital and managerial, technological and distributive—to meet this need are largely not in the hands of government. These resources have been developed by those large industrial firms producing and distributing agricultural inputs in North America, Western Europe and Japan. The problem is how to transfer these existing resources across national boundaries to the areas where they are needed. If the developing countries had unlimited time, they could eventually develop with their own resources an industrial sector capable of supporting a modern agriculture. But populations that double within a generation leave little time. Feeding populations that are 3% larger each year, on a fixed cropland base, requires a lot of progress in a short period of time. The transition from expanding area to raising yields must be quick. The progress of centuries must be compressed into decades; that of decades into years. Time is the new and single most critical dimension of the food-population problem. This is why the developing countries must seek a massive injection of private resources from abroad.

FLAG WAVING'S ON THE WANE

In the past, internal policies affecting foreign private investment in the land-scarce, food-hungry countries have been heavily weighted with ideological considerations. Fortunately, this is on the wane. People in the developing countries seem less and less willing to accept slogans and flag waving as a substitute for progress and better living conditions. An enlightened political leadership is beginning to heed the words of Berthold Brecht in his celebrated *Three Penny Opera*:

> *"Now all you gentlemen who wish to lead us,*
> *To teach us to resist from mortal sin,*
> *Your prior obligation is to feed us:*
> *When we've had our lunch, your preaching*
> *can begin."*

The technology, capital and management and marketing know-how to overcome the energy-sapping food shortages in the developing countries exist. The problem these countries face is how to obtain them. Some countries, particularly Mexico, Taiwan and Israel—all three of them agricultural success stories—have successfully tapped this international resource. [Editor's Note: Further material on the Mexican experience appears on page 59.]

GET GOV'T. OUT OF DISTRIBUTION!

Production of the needed farm inputs solves only part of the problem. They must also be distributed in an efficient, timely manner.

Too many leaders in the developing countries feel that government agencies can distribute farm inputs more efficiently than can private industry. Although governmental bureaucracies are not very adept at producing farm inputs, the record indicates they are even less adept at distributing them. Horror stories about seed arriving months after planting time and fertilizer not arriving at all are commonplace throughout the less-developed world. Private distribution systems reward the distributor for a successful distribution and sales effort and penalize him for failing to deliver the product in time for use. Government distribution agencies seem not to notice.

The distribution of agricultural inputs is incredibly complex compared with that of most industrial raw materials. The small-scale distribution systems with high mark-ups characterizing most developing countries will not serve the needs of a modern agriculture. Modern mass-distribution methods of the kind used in the advanced countries must be introduced.

The concept of servicing customers seems not yet to have caught on in most developing countries. Firms distributing inputs in the more advanced countries use customer servicing as a competitive tool. In the fertilizer business, for example, the quality of soil-testing services and advice on fertilizer usage provided to farmers is often a more important competitive tool than pricing. Advice meted out must be reliable. Next year's sales depend on it.

The lack of customer servicing in the LDC's is perhaps most obvious in the case of farm equipment. Governments in many developing countries import farm tractors and equipment directly, but fail to assume the responsibility for providing the spare parts and skilled maintenance men needed to keep equipment operational. The weaknesses of such an approach are evident in the abandoned farm equipment, particularly tractors, dotting the countryside.

The extraordinarily farsighted research and extension concept developed in U.S. agriculture during the latter part of the last centruy is the counterpart, and perhaps forerunner, of modern industry's research and development effort. During the earlier part of this century nearly all of the agricutural research in the United States was government research, conducted by the Department of Agriculture and the State Experiment Stations. The Federal-State Cooperative Service was the institution responsible for getting the results of this research to farmers.

This picture has altered dramatically since World War II. As of 1966 private industry is doing the major share of the agricultural research. Industry, through its highly trained sales and service force, is also now doing much of the extension of technology from the research plot to the farm, a job once belonging almost exclusively to the Extension Service. The innovative character of U.S. agriculture in the postwar period is due in good measure to the large-scale entry of industry into agricultural research and extension. At no time has the U.S. Government burdened itself with the production and distribution of inputs.

Today government and industry are effectively teamed, producing one of the most progressive and efficient farm sectors in the world. Government contributes importantly with its price support programs where they are needed, ensuring a minimum price to the farmer for his product. On the basis of this, the farmer and the lending institutions are willing to invest in both short-term production capital and long-term improvements. Government supports basic research and industry translates this into a bewildering array of new and advanced inputs, many of which did not exist 10 years ago.

To the extent that developing countries can tap this research and extension capability through investment from abroad in their farm supply industries, they can move much faster.

In recent years, at a time when the need for additional resources in the have-not countries is growing, the actual flow of government-sponsored assistance from the advanced industrial countries has leveled off. Government aid as a share of gross national product of the donor countries has, in several important instances, declined sharply. Legislators, reflecting the mood of taxpayers, are reluctant to approve the expansion of funds for aid. These taxpayers, most of whom are stockholders either directly in the market or indirectly in the form of insurance or pension funds, seem not at all hesitant about having the firms in which they share ownership to some degree invest in the LDC's. Stockholders apparently feel that their capital will be used more effectively if subjected to the discipline of a profit-and-loss statement. The transfer of resources through private investment may over the longer run result in a much healthier relationship between the haves and have-nots. It is no longer a donor-receiver relationship. Investment agreements are entered into by both parties with the expectation of eventual benefit.

NO STRAIN ON EXTERNAL PAYMENTS

Given the present tenor of things, this may be the only way to get the much-needed expansion in the flow of resources from the haves to the have-nots. This expanded flow need not aggravate balance-of-payments problems in the advanced countries. Large industrial firms in all of the more advanced countries are currently investing heavily abroad, but largely in other industrialized countries that are supplying most of the payments pressure. The times call for the redirection of at least a small share of this capital to the developing countries, particularly in the industries supporting agriculture.[3] Such a redirection could effectively supplement the meager and decidedly inadequate resources of the developing countries.

The world must prepare to feed, by 1980, an additional one billion people. Fully four-fifths of this one billion will be added in the food-short developing countries. Expanding the food supply sufficiently may seem an awesome, almost impossible task, considering that the current 3 billion are so poorly fed. It is. But we have no alternative but to seek a solution. If the developing countries fail to generate an agricultural yield takeoff, the future will not be worth contemplating.

The know-how and the wherewithal to make the takeoff in land productivity possible resides within the advanced economies of Western Europe, Japan and North America—most of it in those firms which today provide the billions of dollars in purchased inputs used each year by the farmers in these regions.

A new approach to the problem of hunger is clearly required. This is reflected in the food aid legislation just signed by the President. The key word in this legislation, designed to replace the Food for Peace Program, is "self-help." On July 21, Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman enunciated one aspect of the new U.S. world food policy before

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Footnotes at end of speech.

a meeting of the 20-nation Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development:[4]

"In response to the growing need for agricultural inputs, we are making available sharply increased quantities of these items under our aid program. . . . Over the longer term the aid-recipient countries must develop their own agricultural supplier industries. To fail to do so will simply result in a shifting of dependence on aid in the form of food to aid in the form of agricultural inputs, creating an impossible burden for the advanced countries. We must assist the developing countries in creating the investment climate needed to attract capital and the accompanying managerial, technical and marketing know-how."

The Secretary's comments reflect a growing consensus among those working closely with development problems in general and agriculture in particular. As a nation we must now exercise the same imagination and resourcefulness which brought us to our current position of world economic and technological leadership. We must devise more effective ways of linking food producing know-how and resources at home with the needs of the less-fortunate multitudes abroad. The challenge has never been greater. Or the stakes higher.

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[*] *Recently appointed acting administrator of the International Agricultural Development Service,* Lester Brown *has had a career that included several high government posts before he was 30. He has authored "Man, Land and Food," and "Increasing World Food Output."*

[1] *Farm Income Situation,* Economic Research Service, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, July 1966.

[2] Lester R. Brown, *The Japanese Agricultural Economy,* U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, June 1961.

[3] *Foreign Aid Through Private Initiative,* report of the Advisory Committee on Private Enterprise in Foreign Aid, Arthur K. Watson, Chairman, Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C., July 30, 1965.

[4] Orville L. Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture, "The Unfolding World Food Crisis," statement at the Fifth Annual High-Level Meeting of the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) Development Assistant Committee, Washington, D.C., July 21, 1966.

Destruction Among the Redwoods

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the crucial importance of early action on legislation to establish a Redwood National Park is clearly set forth in an article, by Mr. Harold Gilliam, in the San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle of January 22.

Mr. Gilliam is one of the Nation's foremost conservation journalists and a former special assistant to Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall. He speaks with knowledge and understanding on this subject.

In commenting on Governor Reagan's request for a 3-month delay on any congressional action on the redwoods, Mr. Gilliam quite correctly points out that the public is entitled to know what this delay will mean.

It will cost—

He points out—

the destruction of thousands of additional virgin redwoods within the proposed park areas.

It will mean the further chewing up of the forest in park localities already seriously damaged by logging that has taken place since the park was proposed.

It will constitute a serious setback to hopes that a sizeable block of primeval redwoods now in the hands of the loggers can be preserved intact as an ecological unit.

Mr. Gilliam is quite correct in suggesting that "the matter of deciding which redwoods should be preserved is too important to be left to the loggers."

I hope, Mr. Speaker, that we will take note of the urgency of this warning and that action will be taken in this session of the Congress to make good on our last real opportunity to establish a great Redwood National Park.

I include Harold Gilliam's timely article for our colleagues' information and attention:

DESTRUCTION GOES ON AMONG THE REDWOODS

(By Harold Gilliam)

In view of the inevitable pressure of business at the beginning of a new administration in Sacramento, it is perhaps understandable that Governor Ronald Reagan has asked Congress to suspend action on a Redwood National Park for three months.

The public is entitled to a clear understanding, however, of what this delay will cost.

It will mean the destruction of thousands of additional virgin redwoods within the proposed park areas.

It will mean the further chewing up of the forest in park localities already seriously damaged by logging that has taken place since the park was proposed.

It will constitute a serious setback to hopes that a sizable block of primeval redwoods now in the hands of the loggers can be preserved intact as an ecological unit.

NO MORATORIUM

Unfortunately the concerned public and many officials are under the impression that there is now a moratorium on the logging of redwoods within the proposed park boundaries. There is no such moratorium.

Logging continues within the boundaries proposed in both major park bills introduced in the last session of Congress: The administration bill for a 45,000-acre park principally in the Mill Creek area of Del Norte county, sponsored by Senator Thomas Kuchel, and the Sierra Club bill for a 90,000-acre park on Redwood Creek in Humboldt county, sponsored by East Bay Congressman Jeffrey Cohelan and others.

Last summer there was pressure from Washington to suspend logging while Congress was considering the park bills. As a result the redwood lumber companies in September made some qualified statements that were overoptimistically hailed as an agreement on a logging moratorium—although the industry itself never used the term.

MOVE TO THE RIDGE

At Mill Creek the Miller Redwood Company was cutting magnificent groves on the flats adjacent to Jedediah Smith Redwoods State Park, scheduled for inclusion in the national park under the administration bill.

Normally at the beginning of the rainy season Miller suspends logging on the flats and moves to the ridge and slope areas where there is better drainage. In September Miller agreed to move to the ridges at that time rather than wait until the rainy season some weeks later.

"This timber," Miller maintained, "can in no way be construed as park-type caliber."

It is possible to be grateful to Miller for temporarily sparing the remaining trees on the flats and still to question the company's statement that it is logging only "non park-like trees."

LOST MAN CREEK

When National Park Service officials included these trees in the proposed park, they obviously regarded them as park-quality trees.

The matter of deciding which redwoods should be preserved is too important to be left to the loggers, who too often seem to define "non park-like trees" as any trees that are not in a park. In at least one area Miller is currently logging all the way down the slopes to Mill Creek itself.

In the Redwood Creek region the Arcata Redwood Company promised in September to refrain from logging "in the Redwood Creek main watershed." However, the company is cutting redwoods on an important tributary, Lost Man Creek, within proposed park boundaries. It is using the clear-cut method, which levels everything in sight.

RESIDUAL CUTTING

The Simpson Lumber Company is doing "residual" cutting on upper slopes in the same watershed and in the Redwood Creek mainstem area as well.

Georgia-Pacific Corporation in September agreed only to "minimize cutting in proposed redwood park areas." Since then the company has logged slope stands in the Redwood Creek main watershed, within proposed park boundaries.

It is clear that there is no real moratorium and that giant trees in the proposed Redwood National Park areas are falling day by day.

It is scarcely realistic to expect the companies to shut down their mills while waiting for Congress to act.

THE BIG DELAY

The best hope for creation of a national park before it is too late has been to get early action from Congress. This was the plan of Senator Henry M. Jackson, chairmen of the Interior Committee, who had scheduled hearings for January in the hope that a bill could be passed in February. However, at the request of Governor Reagan he agreed last week to postpone hearings until the latter part of April, which probably means no action on the bills until at least May or June.

There doubtless will be further delays of many months before the money is available for the National Park Service to begin the long hard job of acquiring the land. Meantime the chain saws continue their destruction.

Surely America can well afford to preserve a major forest of the trees that stand at the summit of all plant life on earth. It is difficult to conceive of anything now taking place in Sacramento that will be as important to our great-grandchildren and their great-grandchildren. What else will be remembered 500 years from now?

We may hope that the Governor takes the long view and uses his vast prestige to speed action.

Happy 90th Birthday to Dr. Rudolph Ganz

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, one of the leading citizens of Chicago is Dr. Rudolph Ganz who will shortly celebrate his 90th birthday on February 24. Beloved by all who know him, he has been in the forefront of the musical world, both as a pianist himself and as a teacher.

In introducing works of new composers such as Ravel, Debussy, Webern, he consistently brought the best of Europe to U.S. audiences. When he appeared on the concert stage, whether with the New York Philharmonic, the Chicago Symphony or in the Hollywood Bowl, the music critics hailed him as a music great.

He always returned to his main love, the teaching of promising students. The result is that Ganz-trained men and women are now making their contributions as faculty members of university music schools across the Nation, as orchestra members and soloists, as conductors, as directors of civic music programs in cities and towns.

From his early days in this country, Dr. Ganz championed the right of Americans to hear good music. His innovation of children's concerts indicate his concern for the cultural development of young people. Many times he wrote compositions just for children, such as his famous "Animal Pictures" collections. For the past 10 years he has financed, organized and developed the Rudolph Ganz Biennial Midwest Piano Competition for young students who either live or have studied in the Midwest.

He feels strongly that there is more musical talent being developed in the United States than in any other country, and that we are leaders in all phases of music creation and performance.

On the evening of February 24, this man with the magic in his fingers and the twinkle in his eye will don his broad cravat, place his rosette identifying him as an officier in the French Legion of Honor in his lapel, and go forth to his birthday party, given for him by Roosevelt University where he is president emeritus of Chicago Musical College.

Guests at the party will toast the 90 year young gentleman and establish the Rudolph Ganz Scholarship fund in his name.

With a little encouragement, Dr. Ganz will regale those sitting near him with tales of Hofmann—Josef that is—Brahms, Paderewski, Rachmaninoff, Rubinstein and other legendary greats of music who were his friends and associates over the years.

I am sure my colleagues in the Congress in both Houses will join me in saying "happy birthday" to Dr. Ganz—and may you have many more.

Mrs. Ellen Proxmire Analyzes "The High Cost of Public Office"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the February 1967 issue of the Progressive includes an excellent article by Mrs. Ellen Proxmire, "The High Cost of Public Office." She speaks from experience in six statewide campaigns in Wisconsin, in two of which she served successfully for her husband, Senator WILLIAM PROXMIRE, as fund raiser and campaign manager. After analyzing the problem crisply, Mrs. Proxmire suggests five ways in which the 90th Congress can act to bring a solution to the scandal of political fundraising. Since the high cost of public office is of practical and moral concern for all Members, Mrs. Proxmire's useful proposals merit their attention.

The text of her article follows:

THE HIGH COST OF PUBLIC OFFICE

(By Ellen Proxmire)

The old saw that "politics makes strange bedfellows" was affirmed in the national legislature in the haste to adjourn the 1966 session of Congress. A significant amendment concerning funds for financing Presidential campaign expenses, introduced by Senator Russell Long, Louisiana Democrat and Majority whip, was tacked on to the so-called "Christmas Tree" bill (which provides for a change in rules for taxing foreign investors). The bill and the amendment were passed and signed by the President. Long's rider is designed to provide Federal funds from personal income tax payments to the major political parties for the conduct of their Presidential campaigns, yet its passage has implications far beyond the races for the Presidency. Political campaigns in general will probably never be the same. But unless further measures are enacted, the financial problems of campaigning for political office may be infinitely worsened.

Election campaign costs climbed to new peaks in 1966, and though everyone seems to agree it cost too much either to win or to lose, no one really knows how much was spent. However, published figures (only a fraction of what was actually spent) stun the senses with their scandalous size.

Early in 1966 headlines inside and outside of Pennsylvania shouted the story of a "bought" election. Milton Shapp, an amateur and virtually unknown politician, defeated the Democratic organization candidate for the Pennsylvania gubernatorial nomination by spending about $2 million, $1 million of which was his own money. According to *Newsweek*, "he drummed home his anti-boss theme in some 7,000 spot radio announcements, thirty-four half-hour prime-time television shows and heavy newspaper advertising. One Shapp pamphlet went directly to 1.6 million voters at a cost of some $80,000. Shapp himself admitted that he had been accused of buying the election, but countered with the statement, 'I'm not buying, I'm selling myself. It does cost money.'" In the general election it was estimated by some sources that he spent $4 million trying to win a job which pays $45,000 a year. (He lost.)

New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller reportedly spent $5 million in his successful bid for re-election, with the Democrats mounting a campaign costing $1 million. In the Reagan-Brown contest in California the two candidates spent at least $2 million each. And it has been estimated that in Illinois, Republican Senator Charles Percy spent $2.5 million to unseat incumbent Democrat Paul Douglas.

Elections have long been "bought," in the sense that it takes big money to run campaigns. Until recent years, however, rarely has such a large proportion of campaign funds tended to come from so few sources. And not until recent years, the years of television campaigning, have the costs of running for office been so staggering. There is urgent need to deal seriously with the important problem of financing political campaigns.

A common belief in the 1960's about politicians is that the requirements for success are hard work, a handsome face, a good television image, and a likable personality. This is true, at least to some extent, but more essential than any of these, in my experience, is the ability to raise money. A good candidate might possess all the traditional political assets, but without the necessary money he will most certainly remain unknown, unwanted, and politically unemployed.

The subject of campaign money, how it is raised, and what is done with it has become a national scandal. It is my conviction that the politicians from Capitol Hill to the White House are to blame. Too often their statements are all too bland, and too often those who are primarily responsible for shaping legislation in this sphere merely sweep it into the dust bin.

To illustrate how the problem has grown, Abraham Lincoln was elected President in 1860 without making a single speech, or leaving his home town of Springfield, Illinois. The two major parties spent a total of $160,000 in the campaign. A century later, John F. Kennedy traveled 40,000 miles to deliver 360 speeches. The two national parties together spent $20 million in an effort to get their respective Presidential candidates elected.

Recent disclosures of advertising in political fund-raising dinner program books as a gimmick to acquire large sums of money from corporations, and the furor over Senator Thomas J. Dodd's testimonial dinners serve to emphasize the need for concrete action. Political program books with the inevitable advertising have been a mainstay of local, state, and national party financing for years. Corporations buying an "ad" were allowed to deduct the cost as a business expense, and were thus able to make a substantial contribution (as high as $15,000 a page) to a candidate or a party and write it off at income tax time. Congress finally disallowed this deduction during the 1966 session. A freshly-aroused public interest in response to revelations of recent election costs, the program book device, and the accusations that Senator Dodd used campaign cash for personal expenditures, might conceivably force politicians to be more severe about policing themselves.

Sound, enforceable laws would make it easier, rather than more difficult, for each candidate to run his campaign. Limits on allowable spending would then be specific; members and numbers of committees would be clearly defined; and all contributions would be honestly reported. This would put each campaign on a fairer basis and would relieve the inevitable sense of worry that hovers over every politician as he faces the chore of raising money for his campaign.

Evidence can be found in my own personal experience. I have worked in six statewide campaigns in Wisconsin, and have lived through the agony of raising money for my candidate husband, William Proxmire, Senator from Wisconsin since 1957. Each time the cost of running has mushroomed, and I see no end in sight unless something is done. We felt that our 1964 campaign for his re-election would require a minimum of $200,000—a huge sum of money, but still modest in comparison with the amounts needed in some of the more populous states. So in the summer of 1962 we began the long road toward achieving this goal. There was a Wisconsin-style buffet in Washington—scheduled for outdoors—at $25 a person. The rain poured down that night. Everything imaginable went wrong. But we picked up the pieces, someone counted the money, and our campaign chest held $18,000. It was a great start, but a long way from $200,000. Barely were the deposits made before we set to work on the next project, a dinner in Milwaukee. That September almost 1,000 Democrats and a few independents paid $50 a plate for a $3.75 turkey dinner. Thus with the election fourteen months away we had a campaign kitty of about $55,000—one quarter of the way home.

Then there was a New York reception that raised about $5,000; a Chicago party with about 100 people present at $50 a person; and other dinners in Milwaukee that raised about $60,000. As the campaign began in earnest, there came individual contributions, help from the Wisconsin Democratic Party and the National Senatorial Campaign Committee. We finished the campaign with a victory, but, even after all the careful planning, a big debt. It was not until July, 1965, that our political fund-raising was over—for a brief time. That was three years of seeking money—a long time, a lot of money, and a terrible burden for a family not only involved in political life, but in all the problems that every family has.

I feel strongly the need for greater understanding by each citizen of this problem, the need for concrete action stimulated by Presidential leadership, and the need for a tougher Federal corrupt practices law—the law that governs campaign spending.

Because the laws are not explicit, because the area of campaign spending is muddied by confusion, pressure, and shadowy suspicion, the problems concerning the sources of money a politician receives occur frequently. What does a politician do when someone offers him cash (to avoid reporting the contribution)? How does a campaign committee chairman handle a generous contribution from one who insists on giving his check directly to the Senator (illegal under most circumstances in Wisconsin, but often done so the giver can know that the candidate is aware of the gift)? How does one handle promises of money, and what does a candidate do with corporation checks? In the midst of the enormous effort to plan fund-raising functions, there is the constant worry about compromising the candidate, often unknowingly, or offending a contributor. I worry, too, about operating within an unenforceable law.

The Federal Corrupt Practices Act defines a political contribution as an individual gift, subscription, loan, or "anything of value." In addition, the law forbids contributions by any corporation or labor organization (union treasury money). State laws are similarly worded, but they are frequently, or even consistently, violated, ignored, or not enforced. Wisconsin newspapers have often commented that the laws governing reporting of political contributions are not worth the paper on which they are printed.

In a post-1966 election comment, columnist Clayton Fritchey wrote: "As usual the official reporting of campaign contributions and expenditures will disclose only a fraction of the total involved. A fairly reliable rule of thumb is to multiply the admitted sum by four or five." For example, the present Corrupt Practices Act limits total annual contributions to national political committees to $3 million, yet some estimates of the Johnson and Goldwater campaigns run as high as $55 million.

This is the time for citizens to demand genuine reform. For something of substance to ask for from the Ninetieth Congress, here are some suggestions which could bring a solution to the scandal of political fund-raising:

One—A Registry of Election Finance could be established. Each candidate or committee spending $1,000 a year or more in a Federal election would be required to file a detailed report with the Registry four times a year, revealing the full identification and address of each contributor. In addition, a listing of the total amount of money received would be required, along with an itemized statement showing how it was spent and a record of unpaid bills. There would be a limitation on the allowable number of committees. Since seventy-five per cent of the total spent in elections comes from contributors of large amounts ($500 or more), there might well be a tax incentive to stimulate small contributions.

Two—A proposal made by President Theodore Roosevelt more than fifty years ago could be enacted into law. He felt then that the best method of financing campaigns was for the Federal treasury to pay to the major candidates for Federal office a specific amount—such as ten cents for each prospective voter. Campaign expenditures would be limited to these amounts. Illinois' former Senator Paul Douglas has said that in this way, "Campaigns would be adequately financed, candidates freed of any obligation, and the public protected."

Three—Television stations could give candidates more free time and limit the number of paid political broadcasts a candidate could buy. This would prevent well-financed candidates and political organizations of any party from monopolizing the airwaves. As Jack Gould commented recently in *The New York Times*, "Much of the whopping costs of politics on television is by design and lies in the weakness of the [Federal] Communications Act that exempts paid political broadcasts from the criterion of equal time. Upon selling hours of time to one candidate all a broadcaster must do is agree to make similar time available to other contenders. But if the other contenders cannot come up with the money they are for all practical purposes kept off the air."

Four—Full public disclosure of their financial interests and income by all members of Congress and by top Congressional employees would be the best possible assurance to the people that their representatives are not engaging in affairs which pose a conflict of interest and are not receiving income from questionable sources. So far only a handful of elected officials or their employes have done so voluntarily.

Five—Starting with the hastily-conceived Long amendment, Congress can perfect the machinery it sets up for public involvement in campaign financing. Basically, the Long amendment provides that in 1967 on the 1040 income tax form there will be an opportunity for each taxpayer to earmark $1 of his tax ($2 on joint returns) to finance the Presidential contest in 1968. If all taxpayers followed this procedure, as much as $100 million could be made available to the major national parties.

It is clear that this new law is only a beginning, however. Criticism revolves around the following: First, reforms in the soliciting and reporting of contributions were not touched. Second, the effect on "third," or all minor parties could well be devastating under the provisions of the law. Third, no reference is made in the amendment to the election of members of Congress. Fourth, Constitutional questions have been raised which require further study—for example, Congress alone is empowered by the Constitution to determine how Federal tax money is spent; if a taxpayer may now earmark part of his tax payment for Presidential campaign costs, why not for something else? Fifth, and perhaps most important, the amendment does not state that no other contribution would be accepted. This Federal money could therefore become a huge slush fund with individuals of wealth still allowed to influence government by giving substantial amounts to a Presidential candidate.

Despite these grave flaws, this hastily passed legislation does insure a broader base of political giving, in itself a healthy development. It is now up to Congress to refine it if true election campaign reform is to be achieved.

If it requires great fortunes to run for office, the vast majority of Americans are automatically excluded from serving their country, unless they mortgage their future performance in office by soliciting funds from big vested financial interests. The way things stand now, the dollar sign looms as the most important qualification a man can have to run for office—not whether he is dedicated, has great ability, or high character. And often that dollar sign is tainted. Financial pressures are frequently so acute that even the most ethical public officials are exposed to the temptation of accepting questionable money to meet the crushing costs of winning elections.

The principal obstacle to reform in this area of campaign spending is the fact that most people just do not realize the vital need for regulation, for general participation, and for broader understanding when it comes time to raise money in a campaign year. Since not more than ten per cent of the American people ever contribute to the campaign costs of a political candidate, the reform of laws within the existing framework of giving is an immediate necessity.

Responsibility for failure to enact such laws falls squarely on the shoulders of the elected men in Washington. Congress in the past two decades has shamefully neglected to act on a single one of seventeen proposals designed to destroy the legal sham that governs campaign expenditures today.

I deeply believe that the will of the people cannot be translated into action until we have conscientious candidates who do *not* have to mortgage their homes and their political souls to get elected. The seeds of reform have been sown. It is up to the politicians to act to dispel the clouds of corruption that hang over so many elections.

Ukrainian Independence Day

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES J. DELANEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join my colleagues in honoring the courageous freedom-loving Ukrainian people as they commemorate the 49th anniversary of Ukrainian Independence Day.

As Americans, proud of our own successful fight for independence, we share a common bond with all those who seek to determine their own destiny. Therefore, it is appropriate that we pause to remember the brave Ukrainian people who keep the light of liberty glowing in the bleak world of captive nations.

Except for a brief period of freedom during 1918–20, the valiant Ukrainian people have been dominated by foreign powers since the 17th century. But that brief period, when the long frustrated hope of liberty became joyous reality, has served as an inspiration to Ukrainian peoples everywhere for the last half century. It was on January 22, 1918, in the aftermath of the Russian revolution, that the Ukrainian Parliament proclaimed the Ukrainian National Republic as completely independent. The Ukrainian people tried hard to fashion their destiny; but, unfortunately, their gallant efforts were smashed within 2 years by the brutal Red army. All opponents of Soviet Russia were ruthlessly eliminated, and the independent Ukrainian Republic ceased to exist.

Since that time the hearts of the brave Ukrainian people burn brightly with the hope, once realized, that they will live again in freedom. We salute their courage and steadfastness of purpose, and sincerely hope their aspirations soon will be fulfilled.

How Business Employs the "Unemployable"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, the basic flaw in the Job Corps, and a number of other ill-conceived Federal training programs, is that it has failed to make optimum use of the most powerful institution in the American economy—private business. If job training programs are to be successful they must be related to meaningful employment and monetary reward.

There is a great responsibility which must likewise be undertaken by business in providing job training. This responsibility is not unrelated to profit, however. It is heartening to see the increasing number of businesses which are becoming aware that training programs for the unskilled are a sound investment.

An article in the January 1967 edition of Nation's Business—"How Business Employs the Unemployable" describes some outstanding examples of the success of private job training programs run by individual employers and private business associations. I commend this article to my colleagues to be compared with reports of the Job Corps. The article follows:

[From Nation's Business, January 1967]

How Business Employs the "Unemployable"—Companies—Large and Small—Are Bringing New Worth to the Lives of "Disadvantaged"

There's something new and important in the life of Jim Gonzales, a heavy-set, soft-spoken young man with a Spanish accent.

He notices this special feeling when he arrives at work, opens his kit and gazes upon his own set of tools. It comes when his hands command a drill that shapes metal into a product he knows people are going to pay for.

It's there also when he chats with journeymen mechanics from whom he expects to learn so much in the months ahead.

It is a feeling that more and more persons with Jim's so-called "disadvantaged" background are getting to know for the first time. It's called pride in work.

Jim never had that feeling during his two yearlong stints in the federal government's Job Corps—once in New York and once in Michigan. In both places he was paid for supposedly learning about auto mechanics. "It was like some charity," Jim recalls.

After giving up on the Job Corps, Jim wandered across the country searching for . . . well, he wasn't quite sure.

In Los Angeles he heard about Monogram Industries, Inc., an organization someone said would "hire anybody."

Jim was surprised to learn that Monogram was not a government project. It was instead, a money-making manufacturing firm that wanted Jim for solid business reasons.

Monogram, which hired Jim for its on-the-job training program, is no different from hundreds of firms all over the country that have taken it upon themselves to do something about the high unemployment among the unskilled persons in the midst of a tight labor market.

These private firms are quietly, but successfully, opening job opportunities to tens of thousands of "unemployables." Meanwhile, expensive federal manpower programs, promoted with thunderous bureaucratic ballyhoo, have produced a mere trickle in results.

Why are private companies spending so much time and money on these projects? Martin Stone, Monogram's bustling 38-year-old president, explains that it is partly due to the same motivation businessmen have when they contribute to community chests. Such programs reduce welfare rolls and provide a source of labor.

Mr. Stone says his training program has given Monogram a stable and continuing force of sheet metalworkers while other plants in the area are desperately seeking them.

Mr. Stone started his 10-month training cycles in the summer of 1965.

The program was specifically designed for men who had no previous job skills.

Trainees start at $1.75 an hour. After 90 days of training, their wage jumps to $2.15. This continues until they make the regular rates of the trained sheet metalworker. The once unemployables are thus built right into Monogram's regular work force.

Mr. Stone purposely sought out men with limited education from many racial and ethnic backgrounds to fill his trainee lists. The first group consisted of two Samoans who spoke no English, one Japanese, 10 Mexican-Americans, six Negroes and two white Anglo-Saxons.

IMMIGRANT TO METALWORKER

One trainee is Florentze Veron, 48, who showed up at Monogram's personnel office one day accompanied by his son, Hector, who was on crutches. Hector, an A student in junior high, interpreted for his father.

The boy explained that he had been stricken with polio when he was two and his father had taken him to the United States from Argentina two years ago to seek better treatment for him.

Hector said his father did odd jobs in New Jersey and New York. They moved to Los Angeles after learning that a hospital there offered hope for treating Hector. Hector told the personnel man at Monogram that his father spoke no English but was willing to sweep floors, wash dishes, anything.

Within an hour Mr. Veron was in Monogram's training program. He quickly caught on to metalworking and advanced through the trainee ranks. The pay and the firm's hospitalization plan have enabled Hector to get the treatment sought. Doctors say the boy may be able to walk without crutches one day.

Mr. Veron's only complaint is that he has not picked up English as quickly as he had hoped, so he cannot yet attend a blueprint reading school.

"Very hard, my head," Mr. Veron says, pounding his forehead with his palm.

Another trainee in the Monogram program was William T. Rose, a 24-year-old Negro who had a rough time finding a job before trying Monogram. He swiftly advanced through the program, making enough money—through three raises and Monogram's employee profit-sharing plan—to rent a handsome apartment, buy a car and get married.

Mr. Stone keeps from 15 to 20 trainees on his payroll at all times and plans to increase the number when possible.

WHY FEDERAL PROGRAMS FLOUNDER

He believes a basic flaw in the federal government's poverty program is its failure to use powerful institutions already present in the American economy.

"The government tried to set up huge administrative federal organizations to carry out the job creation phase of the poverty program when industry could have comfortably and effectively handled the problem," Mr. Stone maintains.

He says that the business community would have been even more enthusiastic about fighting the problem if any effort had been made to enlist its support in solving it.

The Monogram program had been underway only about a month when, in August, 1965, six days of bloody riot rocked the nearby Watts section of Los Angeles.

To loosen tensions, many other businessmen suddenly sought to set up programs similar to that at Monogram, exclusively for the Watts unemployed.

At the center of the effort was the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce and energetic H. C. McClellan, who is board Chairman of the Old Colony Paint & Chemical Co. in Los Angeles and Under Secretary of Commerce during the Eisenhower Administration.

"It's a sin against common sense to deny a man a job because of his race," Mr. McClellan said often as he mustered support for the Chamber's program.

He got seven leading Los Angeles businessmen together and helped form a 50-member committee of Negro businessmen from the Watts area.

Working together—without funding or staff—the groups eventually formed a nonprofit public service corporation called the Management Council for Merit Employment, Training and Research.

The council is a cooperative effort by industry to:

Create enthusiasm among employers for hiring the unskilled in the Watts area.

Drum up a desire among the people in Watts for going after the new jobs being made available.

The group agreed that adequate staff and facilities would be needed, but that no government funds would be requested or used. Six aerospace firms contributed $23,000 and the Haynes Foundation of Los Angeles and the Ford Foundation of New York City gave $50,000.

"We have been seeking out the heads of families," Mr. McClellan told a Nation's Business editor at the council's office in the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce Building.

"We don't offer them jobs as janitors, fieldworkers or car washers—even though there's nothing inherently wrong with such jobs. It's just that most Negroes resent them."

The council has been working, too, with privately financed projects to train some persons who need training—in such matters as how to change a dollar bill—before they can attempt to enter on-the-job training.

The council set up an Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) similar to those already running in Philadelphia and Boston. Based on a self-help philosophy, the OIC's are run by the Negroes themselves. They provide remedial training in fundamentals, some skilled training and counseling to build the right attitudes toward work.

The council administers the funds and equipment for another project in which professionals from the American Society for Training and Development train OIC officials.

The council coordinates and counsels still other skill centers and holds meetings individually and in groups with leaders of Negro and Mexican-American communities.

DROPOUTS AND DELINQUENTS

The results have been impressive. The council, which now has 2,600 companies in its program, has placed more than 5,500 persons from the Watts curfew area in steady jobs. The numbers include some of the hardest of the so-called hard-core unemployables.

Mr. McClellan says members firms have requested: "Send us the worst person you can. Give us the dropout with a long police record—and we'll give him on-the-job training at $3 an hour to start."

Mr. McClellan, who has donated hundreds of hours to the council, says he never presents the programs to firms as social or moral obligations. Rather he refers to them in terms of simple economics and common sense.

He points out the shortage of semiskilled and skilled workers in the Los Angeles area and the fact that Los Angeles County welfare costs exceeded $400 million last year, about a quarter of which went to the Watts area.

Mr. McClellan sees the whole problem as being really nationwide, however, and believes other business communities can set up similar programs to hasten the hiring, training and promotion of their "unemployables."

BUSINESS PITCHES IN

An example of what private firms are doing on there own to relieve tensions in the Watts area was the opening there, last November, of a new subsidiary of the Aerojet-General Corp. Known as the Watts Manufacturing Co., the new firm makes large tents for the Defense Department for a variety of uses, including field hospitals.

When in full production, the new firm will provide jobs for more than 200 low-skill Watts area persons in two shifts. Training is being given to those persons who have the manual dexterity to use the tent-making machines but have never worked on this type of equipment.

"This is no philanthropic undertaking," says R. I. McKenzie, Aerojet president, "but a sound business venture designed to get a return on our investment."

Twelve electronic firms in the San Francisco area helped finance, equip and provide instructors for another self-help training program, called Opportunities Industrial Center West in East Palo Alto. Classes started last October in a donated industrial park building.

Already the program has trained and placed 154 "disadvantaged" persons in good jobs as secretaries, mechanics, sheet metalworkers, welders, draftsmen, key-punch operators and electronic technicians and assemblymen.

The advantage of having firms supply teachers and equipment for such a program is that the trainees get the most current training on the latest equipment, not on obsolete machinery, as in many vocational schools.

IN THE EAST, TOO

The efforts of businessmen to fight the "unemployables" problem is hardly confined to the West Coast. For instance, across the continent is the work being done by the Buffalo (N.Y.) Area Chamber of Commerce.

Buffalo area businesses last spring gave $40,000 to set up and staff the nonprofit Opportunity Development Corporation (ODC). The organization's chief undertaking is called Project JET, because its aim is to give the unskilled a combination of jobs, education and training.

The program is run for 1000 "economically and educationally indigent" from the Buffalo area welfare and unemployment rolls. They are mostly male heads of households.

The ODC's aim is to hire these men, mostly Negroes and Puerto Ricans, put them to work and at the same time raise their educational level to at least the eighth grade. This is done through daily two-hour tutoring in classrooms, supplemented by intensive home counseling if needed. This is in addition to their regular on-the-job training.

Every employer in the program gets up to $30 a week for each trainee on his payroll through the 44 weeks of the trainee program.

By providing jobs and training to individuals once on welfare, Project JET will save the Erie County welfare authorities an estimated $1,542,000 which would otherwise have been handed out to the trainees. This savings represents more than 51 per cent of the operating cost of JET for the first year.

The projected average annual income of the trainees is $3,637.60, which is $421 higher than the nationwide median annual income for nonwhites.

"In addition to savings to welfare agencies and increased contributions of taxes, the program has had some important, but less measurable returns," says Dr. Allan H. Bush, executive director of ODC.

"These include a restoration of a sense of human dignity for the chronically unemployed, increased family stability as a result of employment and a greater sense of social stability as a result of being able to conform to the socially dictated responsibility of providing for oneself and family."

The Buffalo Chamber attacks the unemployables problem in other ways. It publishes a brochure designed to persuade potential school dropouts to stay in school. It has a speakers bureau program so that representatives of minority groups can take their messages to white residents in outer areas.

The Chamber engages, too, in programs to solve problems of transporting members of minority groups between the inner city and outlying plants.

"We told ourselves that either we join in a strong, realistic community effort to turn despair into new hope, or Buffalo risks involvement in the surging national pattern of turmoil and voilence," explains Charles F. Light, executive vice president of the Buffalo Chamber.

TURNING JOBLESS INTO ASSETS

"Either we turn unemployables into assets or we slowly crush the vitality of our community under the increasing weight of relief rolls and welfare taxes."

Intensive campaigns promoting job education—spearheaded by local businessmen—are underway in many other cities, including Philadelphia, Charlotte, Indianapolis, Chicago, Dallas and Seattle.

The Seattle Chamber of Commerce last fall held a series of Merit Employment Workshops designed to acquaint Negro unemployables with the job world and to thrash out problems encountered by labor-short employers in hiring and retaining the unskilled. The general idea was to assist both Negroes and whites in working together.

The Greater Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce last September held an all-day seminar on the same topic. The night before, the Chamber, along with the Cincinnati Business League, an organization of Negro small businessmen, gave out 60 plaques. Half went to Negro workers who had improved themselves through on-the-job training. The other plaques went to firms with outstanding hiring and training policies.

The Cincinnati Chamber last June established a new department dealing with human relations. It is launching an Opportunities Industrialization Center in Cincinnati.

RCA recently assigned 15 of its top engineers and scientists to deliver weekly classroom lectures at four Brooklyn, N.Y., high schools. They described opportunities opening up for young people in the fields of jet propulsion, nuclear physics and space technology.

It worked so well that eight other industrial firms have joined with RCA in the project and more schools have been added to the list.

Petroleum companies are using teaching machines in stepped-up programs to train low-skilled persons to be gas station attendants. The firms pay all expenses for the trainees at centers scattered across the country.

PLANS FOR PROGRESS

Some 350 large firms, employing more than 8.6 million persons, participate in the national voluntary Plans for Progress (PFP) program. In this, firms pledge to take affirmative action in recruiting Negroes for all levels of jobs. In addition, member companies carry out a wide variety of in-plant, community and multifirm programs.

PFP firms are increasing their Negro work forces at a rate of more than 19 per cent a year, including many break-throughs in white-collar employment.

It was a group of PFP companies that helped launch the first Opportunities Industrialization Center, Inc. in an abandoned Philadelphia jail. More than 1600 persons have been trained and placed in jobs through the Philadelphia OIC, which carries the slogan, "We Help Ourselves."

PFP has an administrative staff in Washington run by full-time executives on loan for a year from their firms, which continue to pay the executives' salaries.

The staff oversees national projects. One such project is the communications campaign, coordinated by the Advertising Council. Its goal is to encourage more employment of persons from minority groups and to encourage Negroes, especially young ones, to get a good education and take advantage of the increasing career opportunities in business.

The campaign involves millions of dollars worth of donated advertising space and radio and television time.

PFP also conducts speeches, conferences and recruitment programs at schools having high Negro enrollments.

A group of some 200 young executives from minority backgrounds—all employees of PFP firms—has been visiting colleges and high schools in large cities as living witnesses that opportunity exits for those who prepare for it.

PFP is setting up local merit employment councils. There are now some 40 of them extending equal opportunity principles and practices to companies of all sizes.

PFP conducts seminars on man-power development and training, too. After one such seminar in Milwaukee, companies quickly committed 200 openings for on-the-job training of so-called unemployable young people.

PFP firms contributed more than $150,000 to Vocational Guidance Institutes which bring together local businessmen, guidance counsellors and administrators of inner city high schools having large numbers of minority students.

Plant tours, lectures and discussions with personnel experts provide school officials with a better insight into how to prepare their students for the changing job market.

SOLVING THE WELFARE PROBLEM

R. H. Mulford, president of Owens-Illinois, Inc., a PFP firm, says: "For every young Negro man or woman whom we employ in a professional or managerial capacity, 20 young Negroes will remain in school who would otherwise become dropouts. If we can get this mathematical formula moving, we will be well on the way to eventual resolution of this great problem.

"It is in our obvious self-interest to help bring these people into the mainstream of our economic life, so they can be contributors and participants, rather than recipients of welfare programs and the cause of higher taxes.

"We have a rare opportunity to demonstrate how our great publicly owned industrial enterprises can be a constructive power in solving the social, as well as the economic, problems of our nation."

Noting the present tight labor market, PFP participants point out how much better off firms are that instituted training programs long ago in the nonshortage years.

To solve part of this labor shortage, Robert O. Snelling, Sr., president of the nationwide employment agency of Snelling and Snelling, Inc., has been campaigning to encourage male high school graduates who don't plan to go to college to take business school courses and become secretaries.

HANDICAPPED HELPED, TOO

Another group of so-called unemployables that private firms have been providing with jobs are the handicapped.

A good example is the policy of Alvey-Ferguson Co., Cincinnati conveyor equipment manufacturer. About 10 per cent of the firm's 450 employees are handicapped.

Jane Baker Spain, the firm's president and owner, claims the handicapped are the most reliable workers, can outproduce nonhandicapped, have a lower accident rate and never present problems in absenteeism or alcoholism.

"They don't stay off work for a headache," she told Nation's Business. "They're so delighted to have a job, they come regularly and enjoy it. It's good for the other workers, too. They think: 'If he comes in, handicapped liked that, I should come in, too.'

"This is in no way to be considered charity, as the handicapped do not want charity, and a corporation is not in business to give charity of this kind.

"It is up to us to see that man is measured by his ability, not his disability. If we don't do this both as individuals and as corporations, we cannot hope to preserve the free enterprise system."

The philosophy of many businessmen who have joined in the battle to wipe out unemployment is summed up by George Champion, chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank:

"This is no mere exercise in altruism, but just good business sense. Improving the quality of our society is simply another step in the process of taking a broader gauged view of return on investment.

"The times in which we live have made this as necessary as investment in plant and equipment, in research and development, or in enlightened industrial relations. The distinction between capital investment and social investment is much more a difference of degree than of kind."

The Late Honorable Christian Herter

SPEECH

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I join with my distinguished colleague from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON] in the tribute of an admiring heart to the memory of the late Honorable Christian Herter. I was enriched by his personal friendship and our association in the Congress. No Secretary of State was ever closer to the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. A former member of our committee we felt, when he was Secretary of State and came before us, that he was still one of us. When he came to the high office of Secretary of State he was not in the best of health, and in the later months of his administration he was painfully crippled up, but he performed his duties with the same high order of ability, mental grasp and dedication that had marked his long and brilliant public career. Christian Herter followed Secretary of State Dulles, whose influence in foreign policy was all powerful, and his tenure of the office was relatively brief and his health was not good; toward the end the pain must have been unbearable. Under other circumstances Christian Herter well may have gone down in history as one of our greatest Secretaries of State.

No Politics at Berkeley?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, a column by James Reston and an editorial from the New York Times of January 27, both speak pointedly to the recent firing of Dr. Clark Kerr as president of the University of California.

I include them for our colleagues' consideration:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 27, 1967]

NO POLITICS AT BERKELEY?

With straight face, Ronald Reagan says no "politics or partisanship" entered into the dismissal of Dr. Clark Kerr as president of the University of California. Indeed, he says, the university "is not in the political ring at all" and "won't be sullied by partisan politics" while he is governor.

Possibly, as has been reported, Governor Reagan had not intended to force the dismissal of Dr. Kerr at last week's meeting of the Regents, but it is indisputable that he had helped generate the political climate in which the dismissal took place.

Governor Reagan is the man who deliberately made the university a key issue in his campaign as long ago as last May, and exploited events on the Berkeley campus as recklessly and relentlessly as he exploited the "white backlash" in race relations.

It was at a rally in San Francisco's Cow Palace on May 13, 1966, that Mr. Reagan called on the California legislature "to hold public hearings into the charges of Communism and blatant sexual misbehavior" at Berkeley. This is the man who now says he has "no intention of ever trying to overrule" the Board of Regents on university matters.

The Cow Palace speech provides insights on Governor Reagan's tactics and vision. He based his charges of Communism and immorality at Berkeley and his demand for a public investigation on a report by California's notorious State Senate Committee on Un-American Activities—which he admitted he had not read.

He also promised in the speech that he would not cut spending for education or state salaries. But almost of his first act as Governor was to propose the drastic slash in appropriations for higher education, and the introduction of tuition charges, that precipitated the crisis with Dr. Kerr.

By September, Mr. Reagan was projecting yet another investigation of problems at the university, including that of "unconstitutional political interference." This probe would be headed by John A. McCone, former director of the Central Intelligence Agency, he said. Mr. Reagan on that occasion charged "that there has been political interference, which has resulted in the appeasement of campus malcontents and filthy-speech advocates under the pretense of preserving academic freedom."

This is the man who now faces fourteen television cameras and asserts that the great University of California "is not in the political ring at all." It is not low comedy on the late show that all of the United States is witnessing here; *it is high tragedy whose impact will be felt far beyond the borders of California.*

BERKELEY: THE DISMISSAL OF CLARK KERR

(By James Reston)

BERKELEY, CALIF., Jan. 26.—It is a maxim of Democratic politics that strong men eventually and almost inevitably inspire the opposition forces that bring them down.

This is happening now in Washington, where every victory by the strong-willed Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara, assures him another few enemies, and brings him closer to retirement. And this rule of politics and physics—that force creates an equal counterforce—is apparently what ended the remarkable career of President Clark Kerr at the University of California.

He was the commanding figure of this great institution. At one time or another he fought the politicians, the Regents, the faculty, the Birchers, the far right, the far left, the students and the nonstudents, and in the end this episodic struggle created an atmosphere of contention and a coalition of forces that led to his dismissal.

KERR'S PHILOSOPHY

"A great university," he wrote in his university plan for the next decade, "has a duty to the future as great as its duty to the present. . . . Intellectually, it must be both more conservative of established values and more bold in trying innovations than may be fashionable at any given moment. It must maintain scholars in studies which a layman might consider archaic. It must support novel exploration which most people consider speculative. . . . It must take the long view and may often have to defend the unpopular. . . .

"Neither immediate benefits, nor the desire to allay criticism, nor honest exasperation with troublemakers must tempt the University of California to impair the right of scholars to search and discuss what they find."

These are not the words of a man who believes in "consensus leadership," if there is any such thing. He was not really the victim of a partisan conspiracy or even of an ideological conflict. He was merely the strong man in the middle, tilting one day against those who wanted to go slower and the next against those who wanted to go faster, or take a different route.

THE CROSSFIRE

In the process, he got caught in the crossfire of a great many contending forces. In building the largest institution of higher education in the nation, he was blamed by the students who felt overwhelmed by its bigness. In temporizing with the so-called "free speech" movement, he not only aroused all the anti-intellectual forces in the state but troubled the moralists and split the faculty.

In threatening publicly to resign in 1965, he irritated the Regents, already embarrassed by what they regarded as the moral indifference on the campus at Berkeley. In standing out against tuition for university students, he lost the support of those in the Legislature who felt that middle-class parents in California could pay more than they were, and he envenomed his relations with the Regents and the Legislature by seeming to react too sharply to the tuition issue with a sudden freeze on all university admissions.

Besides all this there are natural conflicts in the state educational system here which hurt him. The fast-growing and conservative south of the state has always resented the intellectual superiority, the liberalism and the larger endowments of the Berkeley campus. The chancellors of the nine state university campuses are under, but not always with, the president on critical questions of planning and finance. And the State College system has its own aspirations and resentments against the more prestigious State University leaders.

THE TARDY SUPPORT

The feeling against Governor Reagan and the Regents for their clumsiness, insensitivity, and even brutality in dismissing Kerr like an incompentent janitor is very strong here. Faculty and students, who were remarkedly silent when he really needed them, are now all rallying to his support, but it is too late. As usual, the articulate and activist extremes have prevailed over the moderate and indifferent middle.

Nevertheless, Clark Kerr did not lose his struggle at California; he only lost his job. This university could easily lose its freedom under a weak "consensus" president who didn't fight and merely stayed on. Kerr was neither. Like Frank Graham at the University of North Carolina, and many other university presidents, he may very well have dramatized and perpetuated the idea of a free university by fighting and losing.

No doubt California is going to have a faculty recruiting problem for a while, but even this will pass—for Clark Kerr helped build an institution and a tradition that will survive even his departure and Governor Reagan's bad manners.

Culver Cites Outstanding Educator and Leader: Dr. Arland Christ-Janer of Cornell College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, the State of Iowa has established a reputation over the years for excellence in education, both at the elementary and secondary level and in its colleges. It is a source of pride that none of the 66,000 college students need travel more than 50 miles to find one of the State's institutions of higher learning.

The Second District of Iowa has assumed a significant role in the development of higher education in the State, and one of its most progressive and dynamic schools is Cornell College in Mount Vernon.

The growth of Cornell has resulted from a combination of factors including a dedicated faculty, a vigorous and aggressive administrative organization, and interest and involved members of the community and the alumni body. It would be difficult to set aside any single individual as the primary force in this effort, but certainly the president of Cornell, Dr. Arland Christ-Janer, has had a very major role to play.

Dr. Christ-Janer has just recently been appointed to the presidency of Boston University, and will be leaving Cornell in the very near future. The Cedar Rapids Gazette recently printed an article about Dr. Christ-Janer and Cornell during his tenure, and I insert it at this point in the RECORD as an appropriate recognition of this outstanding educator, administrator, and community leader:

[From the Cedar Rapids (Iowa) Gazette, Jan. 15, 1967]

CHRIST-JANER REFLECTS ON EXCITING YEARS AT CORNELL

(By Phyllis Fleming)

Mr. VERNON.—The last six years have been exciting ones of growth for Cornell college.

Enrollment has risen from 792 to 996; five new buildings have been erected; older buildings have been renovated; 250 acres has been acquired for campus expansion; grants have totaled close to $2 million.

There has been academic excitment, too, in the form of curriculum revisions designed to place much of the burden of learning on the student and designed to show him how the liberal arts are interrelated.

Recounting the accomplishments, Dr. Arland F. Christ-Janer, president since 1961, said, "When you say it, it seems very simple, but we worked very hard."

Christ-Janer, who will be leaving Cornell in March to become president of Boston university (enrollment 23,000), was asked to reflect on the gains made by Cornell during his tenure.

MANY SHARE

Dr. Christ-Janer, 44, credits the forward movement to the fact that "a lot of people have wanted to share in Cornell's growth." He said, "An institution can't move forward unless all are responsive to the needs of the college."

He cited seven responsive "constituencies" that played a part in the growth—Cornell alumni, trustees, the local community, the church, the campus community, the students, and the administration.

From the alumni came financial and moral support. Dr. Christ-Janer, who spent a great deal of time meeting and talking with alumni in various parts of the country and seeing what they are doing, found that from Cornell they "had gotten a sense of mission."

He praised the active support Cornell gets from the trustees, the Cedar Rapids-Mt. Vernon community and the North Iowa conference of the Methodist church.

He said, "The conference has responded magnificently in helping Cornell to achieve what it wanted to become." That goal was to enhance Cornell's physical environment and to secure additional money for scholarships and faculty salaries. Statistics seem to show that Cornell is reaching this double goal.

He said the conference provided not only financial help but individual ministers often guided promising students to Cornell.

VITAL ENVIRONMENT

Dr. Christ-Janer said the Cornell faculty is "characterized by a commitment to the finest kind of educational experience. Nothing is perfect, but we've been working toward establishing a creative and vital academic environment."

He believes that the student body is characterized by "acceptance of responsibility for upholding their end of the educational mission of the college. There is all sorts of evidence of purposefulness of the student body.

"Under the curriculum revision an increasing burden of learning is placed on the student. There is little spoon feeding. It takes a student body that is committed."

In the last three years Cornell students have won two Rhodes awards, two Danforth awards and nine Woodrow Wilson fellowships.

The faculty had also begun work on the curriculum revision before Christ-Janer's arrival on campus and the program has been successfully carried out under him.

The program involves much independent study, seminars and student participation. Ideas from many fields are brought together to show their interrelation.

JUNIOR EXAM

An important part of the program is the junior examination. For this year's juniors, the examinations begin later this month. One student meets with three professors for an hour. They talk about why the student is here; about what has been going on in his intellectual life; about whether the curriculum is having the desired effect; about the student's sense of responsibility as a citizen. This is not an examination a student can "cram" for.

Successful money-raising has been a part of the growth at Cornell, too. The capital assets total has risen from $11,000,000 in 1960 to $20,000,000. A decade growth program, launched in 1963, with a $12,000,000 goal has already acquired some $6,000,000 in cash and pledges.

The college received a $1.4 million matching Ford Foundation grant in 1963, a $61,000 Carnegie grant in 1964 and a $375,000 Sloan grant in 1966 as well as many smaller grants during the last few years.

Asked to detail some high points from his tenure at Cornell, Christ-Janer smiled and said, "It's just been one long romance, it's hard to isolate instances."

He mentioned the "thrill of sitting in a chair at an oratorio performance or at a play." He said, "You can't pass out diplomas to kids without being excited about what they intend to do." He also mentioned the excitement of "gathering a creative and productive faculty".

CAMPUS PLANNING

Since he has had a great deal to do with campus planning even to the point of helping decide where bushes went or deciding that there should be no right angles in roads, he has gotten pleasure from walking across the campus. There is not "the rigidity of order as on a city campus."

He was happy to see the inclusion of the small pond behind the new student union, "It's a decoration," he said, designed "to provide a moment of experience as you go through the campus." In the winter students ice skate on the pond.

He acknowledges that his recollections are "pretty personal things".

Asked if his moves from Maryland's St. John's college (220 students) where he was an instructor and assistant to the president, to Cornell as president and now to much larger Boston university, were part of a personal plan, he said, no.

A Nebraska native, he said, "I know I wanted to be in higher education." Counseling was his first interest. This was later replaced by teaching and administration. Referring to Cornell, he said, "We'd unpacked," but "you have a job and you do the very best in it. Another opportunity comes along and you accept it."

He was quite firm in saying that he doesn't consider his move to Boston university as a promotion.

NEW EXPERIENCES

Referring to liberal arts college, he said, "In that class of college I've been in one of the best." Boston university will provide new experiences and new opportunities "you just can't gain in a small liberal arts college."

Christ-Janer believes that Boston university has many of the characteristics of a smaller institution because of the ways it is divided into 16 divisions.

"Institutions I have known and admired have maintained a sense of humanness," Dr. Christ-Janer said. He expects to find this at Boston. He acknowledges that "it is a very hard job to provide an individual student with a sense of identity" and expects this to be a special challenge in his new job.

He is expecting the job to provide "innumerable opportunities for educational adventures." Problems are expected but solving them will be part of the adventure. He said, "Life is problem solving, (it is) just the nature of what puts excitement into life. Problems are what makes the world advance."

Despite the difference in size of the two institutions, he feels that the fundamental mission of the two are similar—learning, discovery, education. Both seek to provide conditions that are the most conducive to educational experiences that will enable students and faculty to fulfill that mission. Admittedly the larger institution is able to provide more of the conditions.

At institutions of both sizes the president works through other people and provides an articulation of the sense of direction.

LIVING IN FUTURE

Dr. Christ-Janer believes that every institution, large or small, "needs someone who is living in the future and that is the president. If everyone is thinking of today, the institution can't have much vitality or sense of direction. Someone has to think of the goals of the institution."

The Christ-Janers will leave Cornell about March 1 for a vacation. Dr. Christ-Janer sees the upcoming vacation as a "kind of a beach-combing deal where we can read and loaf." He also wants to do some painting (in a modernistic style) and do some general reading about Boston university.

They will arrive at the university in early May where for several weeks he plans to "become acquainted with the environment in which the university exists." He plans to visit buildings, walk across the campus, look over alumni lists, meet people, drop into campus places for coffee. "Until you get the feeling of the tone and style and heritage of an institution it is difficult to make decisions."

He looks forward to getting acquainted "as a wonderful time. I'll never have the opportunity again." Dr. Christ-Janer followed the same practice when he arrived at Cornell six years ago.

Dr. Christ-Janer, who has just completed a year as president of the Iowa College Presidents' Assn., had a word of warning for Iowans.

He said, "Iowa is extremely fortunate in the number of excellent educational institutions in the state at the public and private level. Sometimes these are so easily taken for granted." He believes that it is going to be necessary increasingly for the citizens of Iowa to support these institutions "more generously" if they want them to continue as excellent institutions.

"The state has been living on the assumption that the private schools will always be available," he said, citing the large number of students being educated in the private schools. He noted competition from other states and said, "If the state starts to slide behind, other states are waiting to gobble up students and faculty."

Dr. Christ-Janer's appointment to his new job is effective July 1. Reflecting on leaving Cornell, he said, "If you've ever been at Cornell you leave a part of your heart here."

Connecticut Plans for Future Environmental Needs and Resource Use

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, the January issue of Soil Conservation, an attractive and informative publication of the Soil Conservation Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, has a very thought-provoking article on the programs being undertaken in my State of Connecticut in anticipation of greatly expanded conservation and recreation needs.

The authors, Richard B. Erickson, executive director of the Southeastern Connecticut Regional Planning Agency, and Robert E. Laramy, Jr., assistant State conservationist, point out that Connecticut is the fourth most densely populated State with an average of 500 persons per square mile, and that this figure is expected to double by the turn of the century. To deal with expanding land use problems, Connecticut has evolved a unique planning structure that permits conservation districts and the Soil Conservation Service to participate at regional, as well as local, levels.

Soil information, including the potential of various soils for different uses, is supplied by the Soil Conservation Service. Soil maps and interpretations provided by the SCS are used to determine the location and extent of the most favorable agricultural land, potential open space and recreational sites, future residential and industrial areas, and for identifying areas that would present problems of onsite sewerage disposal, flooding, hillside slippage, and in general to insure that this vital natural resource is properly protected and developed in the best interests of the community.

This approach seeks an intelligent and planned land use program that minimizes conflicts within communities or between different activities, and provides adequate facilities, such as highways, parks, water supply, and sewerage disposal systems. It also allows a community to prepare its own plans with an understanding of how it fits into the larger region.

The Connecticut program is reassuring in these times when there is evidence everywhere about us of scandalously poor land use practices, and of the irrevocable despoilation of what was beautiful countryside just a few years ago. Now is the time to plan and build for our present and future environmental needs while there is yet land to be saved from the scourge of misdirected developers, and while prices are still within the reach of local governments.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert this excellent article in the RECORD:

PLANS FOR MORE PEOPLE—TOWNS IN CONNECTICUT MAP FUTURE RESOURCE USE WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF REGIONAL GOALS

(By Richard B. Erickson and Robert E. Laramy, Jr., *Executive Director, Southeastern Connecticut Regional Planning Agency, Norwich, Conn., and Assistant State Conservationist, SCS, Storrs, Conn.*)

Can a State expecting a population of more than 1,000 persons for every square mile provide a high-quality living environment for its people?

Resource planners throughout Connecticut are facing this question today and devising new approaches to meet the problems it will pose.

Connecticut is the fourth most densely populated State in the Nation, with an average population density of more than 500 persons per square mile. By the end of the century, the population is expected to double.

To prepare for the problems ahead, Connecticut has evolved a unique planning structure that provides conservation districts and the Soil Conservation Service opportunity to participate at regional as well as local levels.

Statewide planning is coordinated through the Connecticut Interregional Planning Program—a joint effort of the Connecticut Development Commission and the Departments of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Highways, and Finance.

Regional planning is not imposed by the State Government but is initiated by the communities in 15 planning regions defined by the Connecticut Development Commission after careful study of physical, social, and economic factors. There is no county government in Connecticut.

Since 1958, when the first regional planning agency was created, the citizens in 10 regions have voted to form agencies. These now serve 90 percent of the State's population. Each agency is managed by representatives appointed or elected by its member municipalities. Being midway between the local and State levels, the regional agencies are well placed to serve as coordinators of the overall program.

At the local level, municipal and town planning and conservation commissions define local needs and plan natural resource development. The SCS works through soil and water conservation districts to help integrate soil and water conservation into the planning process.

Information provided by SCS on resources helps to answer the question: "How can our limited amounts of land and water best be used to serve the needs of an expanding population?"

Information about the soils and their potentials for different uses was supplied by the SCS through soil conservation districts. Soil maps and interpretations were used to determine the location and extent of prime agricultural land, potential open space and recreation sites, future residential and industrial areas, and for identifying areas that would present problems in onsite sewage disposal, flooding, hillside slippage, and the like. These data are used in analyzing present land use problems and projecting potential land use to meet future population needs.

Through text and maps, the regional plan indicates the type of environment the people are striving for and points to ways of achieving the desired objectives. Basically, the plan seeks a sound pattern of land use that minimizes conflicts within communities or between different activities and that provides adequate facilities, such as highways, parks, water supply, and sewage disposal systems.

Within this broad framework, a community can prepare its own plan with understanding of how it fits into the larger region.

Specific projects, whether concerned with urban development or natural resources, can be more closely focused on the area's needs.

For instance, current planning for a watershed-protection project on the flood-prone Yantic River is being closely related to land use and resource proposals of the southeastern regional plan.

On a broader scale, regional planning has led to an application for a Resource Conservation and Development Project for the State's three eastern planning regions, about 900,000 acres.

Activities in North Stonington, 1 of the 17 communities in the Southeastern Region, illustrates the role of SCS and the districts.

Within the framework of the regional plan, the North Stonington Town Planning Commission is preparing its own comprehensive plan for urban growth and natural resource development, with the help of a private consultant financed by a Federal urban planning assistance grant. SCS provides soils information and other technical assistance through the New London County Soil and Water Conservation District.

Based on five main soil and landscape patterns, the town area was divided into units meaningful in land use and natural resource planning. The delineations are shown on a transparent overlay for use with various planning maps.

A system of stream belts, totaling about 6,500 acres, was delineated on the basis of the water-courses, adjacent wet lands, soils subject to overflow, adjoining areas with severe limitations for urban uses, areas of high open space potential, water-resource development sites, and areas with pollution hazard if developed for urban use. Sixteen water-impoundment sites of regional concern were identified.

About 16 percent of North Stonington consists of very poorly drained soils and marshes. These wet lands present serious limitations for urban development but have many conservation and open space values. As part of the resource planning, the location and acreage of the significant wet lands were shown and an evaluation made of their value and potential for wildlife habitat.

Plans for multiple use of the woodlands that make up three-fourths of the area are considered in North Stonington's plan. Other conservation needs considered include farmland conservation, watershed protection, a system of hiking and riding trails, historic and scenic sites, and public recreation sites. The town conservation commission has embarked on a program to promote conservation among landowners who control most of the area.

Beginning with a nucleus of 10 cooperators in 1965, the conservation district increased the number of its cooperators to 75 by the fall of 1966. Both farm and nonfarm properties are involved, and the conservation plans cover cropland, grassland, woodland, wildlife, and recreational land uses.

In Connecticut, broad plans for the State, the regions, and the towns provide the framework for integrated resource development and use. However, the individual property is still considered the basic unit on which conservation must be done.

Address by the Honorable Wright Patman, of Texas, at Conference on "the Tight Money Crisis"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, on this anniversary of the birth of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, I think it is appropriate to call to the attention of the House a hard-hitting address in the Roosevelt tradition made last Friday by a colleague who came to Congress 4 years before F.D.R. was inaugurated, and who fought before, during and after the Roosevelt years—and is still fighting—for the freedom of the American people from the economic bondage of oppressive interest rates. I am referring, of course, to the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN, of the First District of Texas, chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, who believes that sound money is the kind of which the average family and the small businessman can afford to borrow and utilize economically, and which the Government can also borrow at reasonable rates.

Congressman PATMAN spoke at the final session—a luncheon meeting—of the 2-day conference on "The Tight Money Crisis" sponsored by the Consumers Information Committee on Resources and Energy, which represents millions of Americans who are members of consumer cooperatives, farm organizations, labor unions, and other consumers of credit for personal or business use. It was my pleasure and privilege to attend the luncheon and to hear the gentleman from Texas discuss, out of a unique and limitless storehouse of knowledge about our monetary system, the origins and dimensions and consequences of "tight money" and some of the solutions he believes will be most effective.

PROPOSAL FOR FEDERAL USURY STATUTE

A subject he raised of particular interest to me, and, I am sure, to other consumer-minded Members of Congress, was a provocative suggestion for a Federal usury statute which would set a limit on the rate of interest which could be charged on consumer loans or other credit transactions. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Consumers Affairs of the Committee on Banking and Currency, which has jurisdiction over consumer credit legislation, I will certainly be happy, as Mr. PATMAN indicated in his talk, to give consideration to the pros and cons of this idea when we hold hearings on consumer credit issues in this Congress.

There were many things in Mr. PATMAN's speech on Friday which could be considered controversial, because Congressman PATMAN is, undoubtedly, a controversial person. He has many enemies—and they are very powerful forces and interests in this country which have stood in fear of him for the 38 years he has been serving in Congress. But in addition to powerful enemies, which resent his efforts in behalf of the public, he also has vast legions of admirers and supporters, as demonstrated by the enthusiastic reception he received Friday from an organizational group primarily representing the people.

SPONSORS REPRESENT LARGE CROSS-SECTION OF PUBLIC

The Consumers Information Committee on Resources and Energy is sponsored by the following national organizations: Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; American Public Power Association; Communications Workers of America; Cooperative League of the U.S.A.; Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO; International Ladies' Garment Workers Union; International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers; National Farmers Union; National Rural Electric Cooperative Association; Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers International Union; Textile Workers Union of America; United Automobile Workers of America, and the United Papermakers and Paperworkers.

Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith as part of my remarks the address delivered at the conference at the Statler-Hilton Hotel by Congressman PATMAN, as follows:

THE TIGHT MONEY CRISIS

(Remarks of the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN, chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee)

I want to thank you for the opportunity to participate in this vital conference. Needless to say, I was delighted to learn that there was to be a conference in Washington entitled "Tight Money Crisis". I hope that this conference marks the end of a long drought in public concern about monetary policy.

For two days you have heard some very illustrious speakers and certainly some of the country's leading economists and monetary experts. You are to be congratulated on the tremendously fine program you have put together. If the thousands of words you have heard here are turned into meaningful action, this conference will go down as a major milestone in our progress towards sound monetary programs.

I have always been deeply appreciative of the support which your organizations have given me through the years in our fight against high interest rates. I well remember the great help which was provided by what was then "ECIC" in the late 1950's when we were fighting to hold the 4¼% interest rate on long-term Government bonds. We won that fight against great odds and the organizations and the leaders that made up ECIC had a great deal to do with this success.

As I remember, you people had a conference in 1959 during the height of this monetary crisis. This conference helped to pull together the maximum effort to hold the 4¼% rate. You did a great job.

Now, today, we return to another conference in a time of another monetary crisis. This illustrates a sad situation in which our economy is faced with a constant series of crises caused by special-interest monetary policy. We have these recurring crises because of a Federal Reserve Board which ignores national policy and which concerns itself only with the care and the feeding of the big banking community. As a result, the economy dangles like a dimestore yo-yo which is pulled up and down to accommodate the banking interests.

So long as this situation exists, we will be faced with crisis after crisis. And you will be called back, year after year, to discuss something akin to the "Tight Money Crisis." Yes, we were here in 1959 with a monetary crisis. And we are back here in 1967 with another moneary crisis.

We need to find some solutions and some keys to action between these crises and between these conferences. It is not enough to wait until we have a crisis to call a conference and to mobilize our forces. Monetary policy—and all of its ramifications—cannot be regarded as a part-time job. It cannot be successfully dealt with through an occasional conference. It cannot be handled through high-sounding resolutions, or even the most eloquent rhetoric.

Many of you people in this audience are sophisticated in legislative work. You know what it takes to push major legislation through the Congress. You know that it takes a hard-nosed, day-to-day, effort with strong support from the grass roots of your organizations. Words alone will not do the job.

Many of you come from the rural electric cooperatives. You are represented here by one of Washington's most capable organizations—the Natural Rural Electric Cooperative Association. I am sure that Clyde Ellis and your other legislative leaders can tell you that REA would have been out of business long ago if their lobbying efforts had been on a part-time basis. The same is true for programs of the American Public Power Association, the National Farmers Union, the Cooperative League, the AFL–CIO and other labor organizations. All of you know that you have to be on the job just about seven days a week to keep your place in our economy.

Yet, somehow the battle for sound monetary policy and low interest rates has been relegated to a part-time position. There really has not been a concrete full-fledged, full-time action program from the consumer side of this issue since I have been in Congress.

The special interests, unfortunately, have regarded monetary policy as a full-time problem and the success of their position is all too evident. The American Bankers Association is on the job full time and it has been perching on the doorsteps of the Congress for just about 100 years. This lobby works hand-in-glove, day-to-day, with the Federal Reserve Board; and between them they have compiled a fantastically high percentage of legislative successes. Too many times, these successes have been won by default. They have not had consistent, determined opposition from your side of the fence.

The ABA—let me assure you—is watching this conference carefully. They are watching to see if the conference ends in a simple adjournment this afternoon—or whether this is a forerunner of a full time consumer effort.

Make no mistake about it, they are worried about your group. The ABA knows that you have a great weapon that they cannot match—and that is people. They are hoping—and so far their hopes have been fulfilled—that the people will never be unleashed in this battle.

But I am just optimistic enough to believe that we will see the day when the people who are represented by NRECA, by APPA, the National Farmers Union, the Co-Op League, and the AFL–CIO, will be brought into the front lines of this battle. Let me assure you that the Congress of the United States cannot resist the determined efforts of the millions of people your organizations represent. But, they must know beyond any doubt that the people in your organizations—that is, the grass roots—are solidly behind the fight for lower interest rates.

If you really want to do something about this problem, bring in the people from the local unions, from the rural electric systems, from the farmers' union chapters, from the municipal systems, from your cooperative organizations. They don't have to be sophisticated in every little detail of monetary policy. Just let them express their basic views—which I know they hold—that the people from the grass roots of this nation want lower and lower interest rates.

I don't plan to dwell on this problem. You know what has to be done in a fight like this. If you undertake it on a full-time basis, you are probably picking up the biggest fight of your legislative lives. Your enemy—the banking community—is loaded with cash and is quite willing to make use of the rawest kind of political pressure. So there are no easy solutions. No quick answers. No part-time remedies.

I would welcome a full time effort from the consumer side of this question. But that is not a decision for me. It is a decision for you. You must determine just how fully you are committed to bringing sound monetary policy and low interest rates to this country and to your members.

I am sure there are many in this audience who feel that they have their own particular legislative problems. Some undoubtedly feel that a full time effort on monetary policy is asking too much. But looking down the list of sponsoring organizations, I do not see a one that is not directly affected by high interest rates.

The pressure is on the rural electric cooperatives when interest rates, paid by the United States Government, skyrocket to around 6%. It makes it difficult to hold 2% money, or to institute any supplemental financing program at a reasonable interest rate. Six per cent money would drive most rural electric cooperatives out of business. And that is exactly where your systems are heading if the current high interest rates continue. High interest rates, more than anything else, will bury your hopes of getting a supplemental financing bill through the Congress.

The Farmers Union has done a brilliant job of protecting the family farmer and it is largely responsible for the success of many farm programs. But it is meaningless to raise the income of the family farmer only to have the increase turned over to the bankers in the form of higher interest rates. The members of the Farmers Union—and farmers everywhere—depend heavily on credit and as a result they are the early victims of every money squeeze.

Likewise the municipal systems which make up the bulk of the membership of the American Public Power Association have a direct stake. Much of the expansion needs of municipal power systems are met through the sale of bonds and, therefore, the conditions of the money markets bear heavily on your operations. Eventually, high money costs must be translated into the form of higher electric power rates. In too many cases, high interest rates will actually stop the sale of municipal bonds, and thereby slow the expansion and the improvement of local power systems.

I am sure that the labor representatives in this audience do not have to be reminded that high interest rates pick the pockets of their workers. A wage increase, which is wiped out by high interest charges to the worker, is an empty package. And, in 1966, there is little question that the increased interest charges for automobile loans, home loans, installment purchases, far outstripped any gains which labor may have made at the bargaining table.

In short, high interest rates are a full-time burden on the little people of this country—the people your type of organizations represent. For the homeowners, the small businessman, the farmer, the factory worker, the average consumer, the paying of interest is a constant and burdensome fact of life.

The Federal Reserve Board's December 6, 1965, interest rate increase unleashed new forces against this segment of our population. As a result, today, there are efforts throughout the nation to ratchet in high interest rates—usurious interest rates.

Right here in sight of the Capitol—there are major attempts being made to eliminate state usury laws. Both Virginia and Maryland legislatures are being bombarded with demands that the 6% usury laws be wiped out and that the consumer be left without even the most minimal protection. These usury laws are limited already and apply primarily to big loans like real estate. Nonetheless, these blatant efforts to destroy usury limits—weak though they may be—are strong indications of the public-be-damned attitude that has multiplied since the December 6, 1965, interest rate increase.

The truth is the country really has no effective usury laws. There is no national statute limiting interest rates and the state laws are shot through with loopholes. State usury limits range up to as high as an effective annual interest rate of 48%. In fact, a so-caled uniform small loan law, which has made the rounds and has been adopted in many states, recommends a 36% limit.

To me, such laws do not limit usury; they simply legalize it.

The only meaningful usury limits imposed by the states are on large transactions, such as real estate. And even here, the usury laws are winked at through under-the-table discounts, points, and other devices.

In view of the states' failure to provide any meaningful limit on interest rates, I strongly feel that the Congress should consider its responsibility in this area. I would look with favor on some type of Federal statute that would provide a fair and reasonable limit on interest rates, including those imposed on small loans.

The consumer—and particularly the poor—are completely without protection on small loans. These are the people who often have to borrow $200 or $300 to keep their families together, to meet medical expenses, and to buy some of the basic necessities of life. Yet, these are the people who are left out in the cold by the so-called state usury laws and who have been ignored by the Congress.

In his State of the Union message, the President once again endorsed the concept of "truth-in-lending". As a result, there is renewed talk on Capitol Hill for this type of legislation in the 90th Congress. I think such public disclosures of the effective annual interest charges would be beneficial.

However, such a disclosure law, by itself, would have little meaning for the people who need protection the most. The poor, unfortunately, are regarded as bad credit risks, and they have little opportunity to shop around for credit. They have little chance to gain credit at the magnificent department stores; they are at the mercy of the facilities of the ghetto. So, for this group, disclosure by itself can be empty. I would hope that any such disclosure law would contain specific provisions limiting the amount of interest that could be charged on any loan or purchase.

The Distinguished Congresswoman from Missouri, Mrs. Leonor K. Sullivan, is one of the leading experts on this legislation and has already introduced a "truth-in-lending" bill. As Chairman of the Consumer Affairs Subcommittee, she will be conducting hearings on the legislation during this session of Congress.

The problems concerned with truth-in-lending are, of course, only symptoms and not the root cause of the monetary disease which afflicts the country. Behind the loan sharks and behind the sharp-practice finance company is the so-called "respectable" banking community. It is this banking community that feeds the loan sharks through direct loans, lines of credit, and by the purchase of all types of debt paper.

In turn, it is this banking community that walks in lock-step with the Federal Reserve Board. It is this banking community that sits inside the councils of the Federal Reserve System which, presumably, is an agency supervising the banks. It is a neat system that goes all the way from the fly-by-night loan shark to the Federal Reserve on Constitution Avenue in Washington, D.C.

Until we have the courage and the determination to reform this system, we will continue to have high interest rates at all levels of the economy. We will continue to have an uncertain economy, moving at the whim of the financial community and not at the will of the people.

Many of you here have worked hard to enact major parts of the Great Society. You should be proud of your accomplishments. However, it is regrettable that so many of the Great Society programs have been curtailed, or almost vetoed, by high interest rates and the restrictive policies of the Federal Reserve Board. The Congress has appropriated billions to build schools. The Federal Reserve has raised interest rates and has prevented hundreds of schools districts from selling bond issues to finance new construction.

The Congress has appropriated billions to help build housing, in both rural and urban areas. The Federal Reserve has raised interest rates and, thereby, has wiped out 500,000 housing units in a single year.

The Congress has appropriated billions of dollars to fight poverty throughout our country. The Federal Reserve has raised interest rates and has taken more cash from the pockets of the poor. The Federal Reserve has created poverty while the Federal Government has declared war against poverty.

The list goes on and on. The people have moved in one direction and the Federal Reserve in another.

In the next fiscal year beginning July 1, the American taxpayers will shell out $14.2 billion in interest on the national debt. This sum is second only to the total defense budget. About $2 billion of this interest charge can be traced directly to the December, 1965 action of the Federal Reserve Board.

In fiscal years 1967 and 1968, interest charges in the Federal Budget will have gone up $2.1 billion. At the same time, the increase for Great Society programs will be only $1.9 billion. So, galloping interest rates are far outstripping our domestic programs. Interest rates are getting the priority.

To this audience I do not have to talk about what these billions spent for unnecessary interest charges would have done for the country if channeled into worthwhile, meaningful, and needed programs. It is a shame—a national shame—that we have allowed this money to be poured down the drain when so many needs have gone unmet.

Today we are in what might be called a "lull" in our monetary crisis. The Federal Reserve, with much fanfare, has attempted to indicate that it is loosening credit and seeking to nudge interest rates downward. We have seen much of this propaganda in recent weeks. But, this is only a lull. In many ways, it is simply a smokescreen behind which the Federal Reserve hopes to hide its grievous errors of December 6, 1965.

The errors of that infamous day have not been corrected and it is unlikely that they will be, so long as the Federal Reserve Board remains in the hands of its present policymakers. For those who trumpet so loudly about the minor changes in the money markets in recent days, I suggest a look at the interest rates being charged in November, 1965. Look at these rates and you will see how far we have to go to return to normalcy.

This is one of the tragic problems of these periodic high interest binges of the Federal Reserve. They jack rates up so high that even a microscopic nudge downward is greeted with great relief. In these high interest storms, we develop new floors and new benchmarks from which to measure what are high and what are low interest rates.

This constant ratchet-like effect on interest rates is disastrous to the long range hopes of this nation. The country cannot meet its goals if high interest rates become a permanent element in our economy. Full employment would be no more than an empty slogan if this should come to pass. The building of necessary public facilities and the rebuilding of our poverty-stricken areas would have to be forgotten if the United States joins the league of the high interest nations.

So, my friends, do not be deluded by any momentary lull in our monetary crises. This crisis remains with us and remains a constant danger so long as you—the people—are shut out from the consideration of policy-making in this area.

To accomplish a lasting solution will require that the Federal Reserve System be reformed from the ground up and returned to the control of the people and their elected representatives. The Federal Reserve must be required to join the American democracy.

Whenever this subject is brought up the apologists for the Federal Reserve come up with the old cliche that "monetary policy must be kept out of politics". This is a high-sounding slogan which translated means: "Let's leave the monetary policy to the banking community." This group does not trust the people. But strangely enough, they do trust the bankers.

Such a theory of policymaking by the economic elite has great appeal in totalitarian states. But it has no place in a democracy.

It is strange that these same people do not suggest that farm policy or labor policy or other governmental policy be relegated to some secret, unelected committee. No, for some strange reason, only monetary policy is accorded this special niche in the American system.

Every other segment of the government is subject to review and ultimate control by the people and their elected representatives. The special treatment accorded the Federal Reserve System sticks out like a sore thumb.

There is not a single member of the present Federal Reserve Board who can even remotely be described as a representative of the American consumer. There is not a single member of that Board that can be said to recognize, even slightly, the problems and the needs of the organizations gathered in this room today. As far as monetary policy is concerned the co-ops, the working man, and the farmer are the forgotten people.

You should demand—yes, demand—that you have representation on the Federal Reserve Board. You should demand that you have a voice in a monetary policy that affects you every single day. It is absurd that this policy is left only to the bankers.

As part of its special treatment, the Federal Reserve Board does not come to the United States Congress for appropriations. Instead, it has $42 billion worth of government bonds in the New York Federal Reserve Bank on which it draws $1.7 billion in interest every year. It finances its far-flung operations out of this slush fund. And among other things, it pays $90,000 in dues to various lobbying organizations—including the American Bankers Association.

The Federal Reserve System, along with its sister banking agencies—the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and the Comptroller of the Currency—totally escape review by the appropriations committees of the Congress. They are the only agencies accorded this unusual favor.

To keep the use of its money secret, the Federal Reserve, through the efforts of the American Bankers Association, avoids audits. Its books are not audited by the General Accounting Office as are other agencies of the government.

Even more startling, are the tremendously long terms to which members of the Federal Reserve Board are appointed. These terms are for 14 years and they are staggered in such a manner as to prevent a President from appointing a majority of the Board until his very last year in office. As a result, the Board is never under effective direction of any President or of any Congress. It is therefore, far removed from any control or direction by the people of this country. No one in this country, except a handful of elite within the banking community, really knows what goes on in the Federal Reserve System on a day-to-day basis. The Federal Reserve's Open Market Committee—which sets the basic monetary policy—meets in total secrecy in Washington, D.C. This Open Market Committee—which is anything but open—is composed of the seven members of the Federal Reserve Board and five of the twelve presidents of the Federal Reserve Banks. In practice, the other seven Federal Reserve presidents participate in the meeting; therefore, we have a tight little group of 19 men setting monetary policy for a nation of 195 million people.

These meetings are super-secret—as tightly-guarded as any session of the National Security Council. No member of Congress and not even the President of the United States can gain access to these meetings. Only the banking community is allowed inside. The minutes of these meetings are locked up and are not released until six years later—long after the statute of limitations has run on any possible illegal acts.

How can anyone reconcile this type of secrecy with a democratic system?

These practices must be corrected if we are not to return to crisis after crisis on interest rates. I have introduced legislation—H.R. 11—which I believe would provide some of the basic reforms. This bill would reduce the terms of the members of the Board from 14 to 5 years and would make the term of the chairman co-terminous with that of the President of the United States.

The bill would require that the Federal Reserve System come to Congress for appropriations and that its books be audited.

H.R. 11 would also require that the policies of the Federal Reserve be fully coordinated with the programs and the policies of the other Federal agencies. This would require the Federal Reserve Board to comply with the Full Employment Act of 1946.

In December, 1965, the Federal Reserve, of course, ignored the Full Employment Act and failed to coordinate with even a single agency of the Federal Government. It was open and blatant defiance of the President, the Congress, and the people of the United States. The Board carried out this defiant act under what can only be described as its "seized independence." This "independence" has not been granted by law, but the Federal Reserve nonetheless operates as if it were a separate, autonomous branch of government.

Such a situation, in my opinion, has serious implications for our entire country. The Federal Reserve, in its powerful position, is actually able to negate the will of the people. In 1964, the country elected President Johnson by an overwhelming margin and, in effect, gave the Congress a mandate to go ahead with new programs.

Needless to say, the banking community and the big business corporations did not agree with the people's mandate. But this group still had one out—the Federal Reserve System. This system was not touched by the huge majorities recorded for the Democratic Party.

Since that 1964 election, the Federal Reserve has carried out monetary policy in such a manner as to block and diminish as many programs as possible. They have, through high interest rates and tight money, accomplished much of what Senator Goldwater promised in his campaign.

Today, President Johnson is faced with a serious problem regarding the Federal Reserve. It is becoming more and more difficult for the President of the United States to carry out programs in the face of the Federal Reserves' open defiance. This fact is heightened by the heavy financial requirements of the Vietnamese War.

In his State of the Union message, President Johnson called attention to the Federal Reserve's high interest policies. He pleaded for lower interest rates and pledged that he would do everything to accomplish this aim. But he is faced with this autocratic Federal Reserve Board that will not give in without a price.

Currently, the Federal Reserve is demanding a tax increase before it does anything meaningful about interest rates. The Board is holding a gun at the head of the President saying: "Raise taxes or else," Yes, the Federal Reserve wants taxes raised to hide the mistakes it has made since December 6, 1965. It wants a face-saving device.

We in the Congress should not give in to this kind of political blackmail by the Federal Reserve. I do not intend to vote for a tax increase just to please the Federal Reserve System.

Instead, the Congress should face up to its responsibility and do something about reforming the entire Federal Reserve. What we need is an immediate rollback of interest rates to at least the levels prevailing before December 6, 1965.

Again, I hope you jump into this battle with all of your people behind you. Now is the time to put an end to all monetary crises.

Thank you.

Robin Hood in the White House?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, as most of us have previously noted, there were few surprises in this year's state of the Union message—at least for those of us who had predicted that the President would ask for some kind of an income tax increase—but, certainly, Mr. Johnson's suggestion for a whopping 20-percent increase in retirement payments under social security would have to fall in that category of "surprise."

Fortunately, 1967 is not a congressional election year so maybe—just maybe—this Congress will be able to resist the evident political appeal inherent in the President's generous proposal; though I wonder. I believe that an increase commensurate with the recent increases in the consumer price index is indicated as badly needed by those retired citizens who must depend upon their social security benefits for the greater part of their subsistence, and I shall most certainly support any reasonable proposal along these lines.

However, before going beyond this sort of an adjustment of benefits it is devoutly to be hoped that the members of the Ways and Means Committee will seriously look at the other side of the President's proposal—which is, of course, the inevitable question of just how his suggestion is to be paid for. The cost has to come from somewhere, and I think we must carefully balance the obvious needs of the retired citizen against the equally important needs of those younger persons who will be called upon to shoulder that cost.

As I understand the President's proposal, here, if it is adopted, about an extra $2 billion in benefits would be paid to retirees during 1967, and an additional $4.5 billion would be handed out in 1968. Of these amounts only about $1 billion would be offset by existing social security taxes but, then, if Congress is to be able to avoid the fateful day when it will have to dip into General Treasury funds to finance social security payouts, there will have to be substantial increases—further increases—in social security taxes which, for obvious reasons, the President is suggesting be deferred until after the 1968 elections.

This is the Presidential tax-increase timetable, as I understand it: The current 3.9 percent tax rate for individual workers would be increased to 4.5 percent on January 1, 1969, and then on to 5 percent by 1973. Incidentally, the rate is already scheduled to rise to a maximum of 4.85 percent, by virtue of our earlier determinations. But, in addition to these rate increases, Mr. Johnson suggests lifting the earnings ceiling on wages subject to tax from the current $6,600, yearly, to $7,800 in 1968, and on to $9,000 in 1971, and finally to $10,800 in 1974. This means, for many of our citizens—or perhaps I should say many more of them, for some are already in this category—that they will be paying substantially more in social security taxes than they do in income taxes, which is something that ought to be of concern to all of us as we consider which type of tax is the fairest in application considering one's supposed ability to pay.

We ought also to consider just where social security, itself, is heading—as the winds of economic and political change blow strongly upon it as an integral and accepted part of our social structure. Specifically, we need to give further consideration to its impact upon the younger worker, just entering the labor market for the first time. It was recently brought to my attention that the tax foundation has figured out that a 21-year-old person starting work today at "maximum covered earnings" of $6,600 a year or more, who retires at age 65, unmarried, can expect the value of his social security pension benefits to total about $12,792 less—note this—less than the value of his taxpayments plus compound interest.

Over 44 years of working, he will have paid in social security taxes totaling—at present rates—$32,496, including interest compounded at 3½ percent, but the value of his expected benefits will amount to only $19,704, based on the estimated 13 years he will live after reaching age 65. Not such a bargain, is it?

Mr. Speaker, it is time we did some thinking about all this—if for no other reason than that our constituents, who often are well ahead of us, have already begun to do so, as witness this well-phrased letter from a constituent of mine living in Big Flats, N.Y., whose name I have deleted as I do not have his permission to use his letter in this fashion, but whose thoughts I now wish to share with my colleagues under permission granted me on January 18:

BIG FLATS, N.Y.,
January 25, 1967.

HON. HOWARD ROBISON,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE ROBISON: If a typical American is one who has never written his elected representatives, I guess I qualify. I vote, pay taxes and gripe but never let anyone that might be able to do something about it know my feelings. When I begin to let thoughts of leaving the United States for good flit through my conscious mind, it must be time to write my congressman.

My problem at the present moment is Social Security. One who can throw stones at this sacrosanct institution must also be against motherhood, the Boy Scouts and Abe Lincoln too, but I really am not.

The recent message of the President on increasing Social Security payments really makes one wonder if we have finally reached the point of no return to self-reliance, self-respect and all the good-old American traits. Do we have a Robin Hood in the White House who feels that we all ought to be earning the same amount? How much longer can we go in increasing Social Security taxes?—upon which we have to pay income taxes, too?

To put a proper perspective on my lament, I am 41 years old, a wage earner with 24 years to go before I can become eligible. However, my mother is presently drawing Social Security payments so I am in close touch with the day to day realities of retirement on a limited income.

From this level of your constituency, it would appear that a concerted effort in Washington to maintain the value of the dollars presently being received by the elderly would be more in order than a rise in payments and taxes.

Sincerely yours,

—— ——.

The Fast Deployment Logistic Ship Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, the Department of the Navy, the Department of the Army, and the Department of Defense are now presenting to Congress requests for the construction of a new type of ship to be built for rapid availability of war materiel wherever needed in the time frame of need.

Long ago, President Washington, stated:

> The path to peace is through the preparation for war.

As times change, the needs of our country in being prepared, also change.

For many years, our country has relied upon American-flag merchant marine vessels and the vessels of friendly countries to provide the necessary transportation of war materiel and personnel to places where wars must be fought or where strength must be shown to prevent war. We have found in the Vietnam war that these sources of shipping are not adequate for modern times. Our own maritime industry has shown a reluctance to make the ships available because of the world shipping losses which would occur to them and to our Nation. Our allies have not furnished the ships which we need.

Although our immediate needs have been met, the handwriting of warning is on the wall; and something must be done to prepare for a future that will give us overseas, prompt availability of the needed tools of war.

Two things have already been done. In the first place, we have already shipped and stored across the seas, in various localities, large quantities of military materiel to be available in general localities for ultimate shipping to specific spots where the need may arise.

Second, we have, in the last few years, greatly increased our combat airlift capacity. It is not, however, economically feasible to move by air the tremendous quantities of materiel needed in any large operation; for the cost of this procedure would be prohibitive; much greater than what the proposed new type of ship program would cost.

Therefore, there remains a need for speedy placement of the needed weapons in quantity, without the long leadtimes of advanced notice which would be required if merchant ships were to be used.

The Department of Defense has come up with the idea of the fast deployment logistic ship, a vessel specifically designed to carry all that would be needed in he way of weapons and to have these loaded ships placed around the world in a quickly movable manner. Of course, even with such vessels there would still be, in any great war, a need for calling upon the merchant marine for a reserve capacity.

It is planned to have perhaps 30 such FDL ships. The cost of the construction of each is estimated to be about $30 million apiece for construction. The cost of maintaining each of them through their life span, including the cost of the crews, maintenance men and communications personnel, would run another $30 or $40 million. Thus the cost of the program is about $70 million a ship times 30 ships or $2.1 billion.

A giant step forward occurred this week when the President in his annual budget message to Congress asked for five of these ships, to begin the program. When this group of five ships is added to the two experimental ships previously authorized and funded, the total package asked for is seven ships now, with 23 yet to come. And the request includes contract cancellation costs if all are not later approved.

The personnel aboard each ship would consist of Army personnel who would maintain the equipment; Navy personnel who would man the communications activities; and finally, civilian maritime personnel who would operate the ship itself.

Next week the contract definition stage will be completed by the three bidders on the FDLS project, Lockheed Corp., Litton Systems, and General Dynamics. These three companies have received during the last 6 months a total of $16 million to present their proposals. The total package contract for the ships will be awarded in June 1967, providing Congress approves.

Capt. Lloyd Sheldon, president of the International Organization of Masters, Mates & Pilots, said in an interview in the New York Times last Sunday that the program should not be approved and that—

> Both the unions and private business will be knocked out of the military end of the shipping business if this program is approved.

Some others in organized labor have taken a similar view.

But when all of the facts and data are presented in the coming hearings before the House Armed Services Committee, organized labor may find that this program will be in no way detrimental to them, but actually of assistance. The reason for this is that, as I have already indicated, there will be certain permanently employed civilian martime personnel in this program which would be added to the job opportunities for those now employed in maritime activities. The number of such new jobs would be somewhere between 1,000 and 2,000. When this becomes clear, I would think that the maritime unions would support the program.

There is some opposition from parts of the maritime industry and that opposition can probably be best summarized by the statement of Congressman LEGGETT in his letter to the President dated January 9, in which he said:

> Far better it would be to build a fleet with a function, i.e., a true modern fast merchant fleet that would be available on priority call to the Department of Defense.

The weakness of this position is that no merchant fleet which is engaged in active maritime voyages can be readily available in the time frame that is needed and contemplated for these FDL ships, even if all of the difficulties of obtaining the ships for the military can be overcome in time of war.

Currently, the United States ranks only sixth among the world's active fleets—behind the United Kingdom, Liberia, Japan, Russia, and Norway.

At the present time, owners of the merchant fleet argue that they do not wish to furnish ships which have been financed with Federal assistance because to do so interferes with theirs, and the U.S. world trade.

So, what Congressman LEGGETT argues for is not likely to be a real solution to the problem confronting our country. Moreover, the presence of these FDL ships will, to an extent, allow the maritime industry to have a more solid and permanent base for their investments and operations on a continuous basis, regardless of whether war occurs or not.

There will, in all probability, be something written into the legislation which will protect the maritime industry against competition from these ships. The 30 FDL ships would, in any event, be but about 2 percent of the number of ships in the total U.S. merchant marine.

The decline of merchant marine shipbuilding in the United States has been well publicized. Russia is outbuilding us by a ratio of 12 to 1 on numbers of ships and 8 to 1 by tonnage.

In addition, Soviet shipyards are operating at near capacity; about half of the capacity of this country is today idle. Some shipbuilders feel that the increasing Russian fleet will be her principal economic weapon against the West; the Soviets having the power to control ocean freight rates.

What they overlook is that these ships in key positions throughout the world can position materiel where needed at a cheaper cost in time and money than having to airlift thousands of tons of equipment by air in time of crisis. The merchant fleet could not be depended on to have the capability, to be loaded and assembled in the positions needed to deliver, a division-worth of Army equipment with complete unit integrity in less than a few months.

America suffers a serious disadvantage in shipbuilding: We now rank 14th among the 15 chief shipbuilding nations in the world.

Some shipbuilders now have positive thoughts on this project because they feel the new assembly line type production of ships, similar to the well-known Arendal yard in Sweden, which has developed a standardization in design will help mold modern yards. Some individual shipyards may be hurt by the new concept; but, overall good will be felt by the industry.

There have been questions of the need for a new shipyard to build these ships. The program could be undertaken in several shipyards now in existence, but the cost would be much, much higher and at a reduced level of standardization. There is no single shipyard presently capable of delivering all of these ships at the requisite rate.

Greater economies in shipbuilding from this program will result in overall benefits to the merchant marine as well as to the Navy. The FDLS program will represent only 6 percent of the total U.S. shipbuilding effort on an annual basis for the next 6 years. It is difficult to see how this could create a monopoly.

What of the small shipbuilder? There will continue to be many ship programs involving relatively small numbers of ships and others involving larger numbers of small ships.

In view of the realities of the present situation in shipbuilding in the United States, there are now a goodly number of shipbuilding companies who are giving approval to the FDLS program. This is not to say that all are in agreement but the trend is in the direction of approval.

I did not approach this program and its implications with any prejudgment; and I sought out the facts in a quest only for what is best for our country. After this study it appears clear to me that the program is needed and that the benefits from it will be experienced not only in the added defense strength of our country, but in the upgrading of our shipbuilding and maritime industries, which greatly need any assistance they can get.

Cutback of Highway Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 19, 1967

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to reiterate a statement which I made on December 19, 1966, concerning the cutback of $700 million in Federal highway construction funds during the curent fiscal year. I remain just as strongly opposed to this action as I did on that date.

The following is an article that appeared December 19, 1966, in the Savannah Evening Press, Savannah, Ga.:

CUTBACK OF FUNDS RAPPED BY HAGAN

U.S. Rep. Elliott Hagan said today he has filed a strong protest with the White House over the cutback in Federal highway construction funds.

"The curtailment of federal funds for roads, difficult to understand under any circumstances, is made even more unpalatable in view of the numerous Great Society programs that could be trimmed with little anguish throughout the nation," Hagan declared.

The federal government recently ordered a $700 million cutback in highway construction funds during the current fiscal year. The reduction severely crippled the Georgia road building program.

In the Savannah area, an extension of Abercron to U.S. 17 and I–95 and the completion of the Westside Bypass were immediate victims.

"I am deeply concerned over the federal cutback in highway construction money—severely limiting road construction in the First District—and have already contacted the proper Washington officials strongly protesting the action," Hagan said.

Hagan's office has received protest letters from throughout the First Congressional District. The cutback particularly curtails construction on primary, secondary and urban road projects.

A move is expected to be launched in Congress when the new session opens in January to restore the highway money. The funds were appropriated specifically for highway purposes by the last Congress.

The federal government said the cutback was necessary because of the growing expense in connection with the waging of the war in Vietnam.

Dr. Marie L. Fetsch Receives a Citation and Award From His Holiness, Pope Paul VI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, it gives me personal pleasure to call the attention of my colleagues to the ceremony held at the Sands Point Day School Academy, on Wednesday, October 26, 1966, when my distinguished constituent, Dr. Marie L. Fetsch, was honored by Pope Paul VI, in recognition of her contributions to education, with special emphasis on education for gifted children. This took place in the presence of high ranking officials of the church. Dr. Fetsch is the founder-director of the nonprofit school for gifted children.

Dr. Fine, headmaster, former education editor of the New York Times, presided.

Father Dwyer, Manor Haven Catholic Church, Manor Haven, Port Washington, Long Island, N.Y., delivered the invocation. Thereafter he spoke briefly and extended his congratulations to Dr. Fetsch in being recognized by Pope Paul VI.

Sister Esther Regis, chairman of the Department of Education, Molloy College for Women, Rockville Center, Long Island, N. Y., then translated a message received from the Education Secretary to the Pope, Paul VI, from Italian to English, as follows:

> I am grateful for the opportunity of joining my voice to so many others that are with you to express the admiration, praise, and inaugural wishes: admiration for your generous devotion, with which you aim to the best future of humanity, for the accomplishments already obtained; hope for the future and better developments in your work, and the happiest attainment of its purposes.
>
> It is right and dutiful to celebrate this occasion because it witnesses the good work, to overcome difficulties, and the courageous initiative, promoted in the delicate field of education; it also proves the effort accomplished for the improvement of the systems, the qualification of teachers, and the formation of the students.
>
> Desirous of assuring society a finer future, you have with maternal care, tended to the young plans of the new generations, guiding their growth towards the true and the good. In the years in which external reality begins to take shape for them, while the notions of good and evil replace the sensations of sweet and bitter, of beautiful and ugly, of pleasant and dangerous, you have tried to impress in their souls the real vision of things and the right conduct of actions. Not unaware that to educate well is above all to prevent—and this is true, too, in its meaning "to succeed before others," namely, before error and fault, and that to prevent is certainly easire than to intervene, to correct and remedy, you have known in an atmosphere of liberty and of expansive serenity how to work in the mysterious labyrinth of the child; have taught others to trust not only the validity of the modern equipments and methods, but also in the great potentialities of the child, even if he is little gifted. Not indulging to a gratuitous optimism, you have invited the modern man not to consider the little gifted with a systematic pessimism. And, not denying his limits, you have defended his dignity and capacity to surpass himself. You have lead the absent minded to reconsider that "a child is worth more than the whole world!". Thus, while it is a stop to the predominant pessimism, your work is a proof of the vitality of initiatives and methods that encourage and rejoice the sociologists.
>
> This inauguration then, does not only wish to look back, for a secret desire to count and measure the already achieved, and to boast of it; it wishes to be a stimulus to complete what remains to be done because, in the renewed atmosphere that carries with it an unforeseen number of new and difficult problems for which evaluation and solution it requires a generous task, it demands excitement and leaven for the lift of tomorrow; it measures its step with the world's life, in which the children walk, looking towards its activities in perennial transformation.
>
> So much the worthier, then, of admiration and praise is your initiative, because its program aims not only at a generic education of the child, but intends to form him wholly to become part as a normal citizen of his society, to which he will give his collaboration for a better progress; for the economic, pedagogic, and cultural advantages that the Nation itself may get.
>
> Allow me, once again, a consideration, perhaps a little personal: our world, although feeling far from God, feels deeply the need of Him, and is moved as soon as he comes to know Him, as soon as he meets Him in the reality of life. The world needs a living evidence and becomes good whenever such an evidence is realized.
>
> Your work, Mrs. Fetsch, is a living reality, that witnesses God, and invites the world to meet Him.
>
> Renewing my most fervid wishes for the fruitful increment of your beneficial work, I salute you, Dr. Fetsch, colleagues, friends and students.

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH OF DR. MARIE L. FETSCH

> I am deeply moved by having this high honor conferred on me by that distinguished representative of the Judiciary of the State of New York, that distinguished former Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals of New York, to Dr. Fine, Sister Esther Regis, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Benjamin C. Eckard, my distinguished colleagues, Father Dwyer and Sister Mary Theresa Brentano, Dr. Ewald, and all other personalities who have participated in this ceremony, particularly the high ranking officials ofthechurch. I shall continue to dedicate my life to culture and humanity, in improving the education of Gifted Children in the United States and throughout the world.
>
> I humbly accept this high honor in behalf of my colleagues, the teachers and students of the Sands Point County Day School.
>
> I shall always regard this single honor as a constant reminder of the debt each of us owes to other human beings and endeavor to honor that obligation all the days of my life. Thank you very much.

National Gallery of Art Calendar for February 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a real pleasure to call to the attention of my colleagues in Congress, and to the American people, the excellent and rewarding National Gallery of Art calendar for February 1967:

THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART CALENDAR OF EVENTS, FEBRUARY 1967

> Three lost masters: Paintings by Rembrandt, Ter Borch, and Tischbein, stolen from Germany's Weimar Museum in 1922, continue on view in Lobby D through the month. They were discovered in Dayton, Ohio, and seized by the United States Government as alien property in 1947. A special Act of Congress will return them to Germany next month.
>
> Special loan: Sixty-six French paintings from the private collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon are exhibited in Galleries 69 through 72.
>
> Continuing exhibition: *Master Prints from the Collection of the National Gallery of Art*. Central Gallery. Through March 1.
>
> New reproductions: *Color Postcards:* Joos van Cleve, *Margaretha Boghe, Wife of Joris W. Vezeler;* Modigliani, *Gypsy Woman with Baby; National Gallery of Art, View of the Rotunda; The Andrew Mellon Memorial Fountain.* 5¢ each. Mail orders under $1.00, add 25¢ handling charge.
>
> Radio picture of the week: *"A History of Western Painting"* is the subject of the third Radio Picture of the Week series broadcast over Station WGMS during the intermissions of the Sunday evening concerts. Twenty National Gallery paintings, ranging from the era of Duccio to that of Picasso, will be discussed in chronological sequence from February 5 through June 18. The talks will be rebroadcast on Wednesdays at some time between 2 and 4 p.m. over WGMS–FM. By ordering color reproductions, suitable for framing, listeners can follow the course at home. The reproductions, on 11" x 14" heavy paper, come with printed résumés of the broadcasts in a portfolio cover.
>
> To subscribe send your name and address to Radio Picture of the Week, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. 20565. Orders are taken only for the complete set of twenty. $5.50 postpaid; checks payable to N.G.A. Publications Fund.
>
> The Gallery is open on weekdays from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. and on Sundays from 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. Admission is free to the Gallery and to all programs scheduled. The cafeteria is open on weekdays from 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. and on Sundays from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m.

MONDAY, JANUARY 30, THROUGH SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 5

Painting of the week:[1] Rembrandt, *Self-Portrait* (Widener Collection), gallery 45 Tuesday through Saturday, 12:00 and 2:00; Sunday, 3:30 and 6:00.

Tour of the week: *Techniques of the Decorative Arts.* Central lobby, Tuesday through Saturday, 1:00; Sunday 2:30.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection.* Rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11:00 and 3:00; Sunday, 5:00.

Sunday lecture: *Art and the Flood in Florence. Guest Speaker:* Frederick Hartt, Professor of Fine Arts, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Lecture Hall, 4:00.

Sunday concert: Rita Shane, *Soprano;* Lawrence Smith, *Pianist.* East Garden Court, 8:00.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 6, THROUGH SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 12

Painting of the week:[1] Corot. *Ville d'Avray* (Gift of Count Cecil Pecci-Blunt), Gallery 77, Tuesday through Saturday, 12:00 and 2:00; Sunday, 3:30 and 6:00.

Tour of the week: *Techniques of Print Making.* Central Lobby, Tuesday through Saturday, 1:00; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection.* Rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11:00 and 3:00; Sunday, 5:00.

Sunday lecture: *Psychology and Art. Guest speaker:* Michael F. Andrews, Professor of Art and Education, Syracuse University, Syracuse, Lecture Hall, 4:00.

Sunday concert: Roman Rudnytsky, *Pianist.* East Garden Court, 8:00.

Inquiries concerning the Gallery's educational services should be addressed to the Educational Office, 737–4215, extension 272.

All concerts, with Radio Picture of the Week intermission talks, are broadcast by Station WGMS–AM (570) and FM (103.5).

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 13, THROUGH SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 19

Painting of the week:[1] Holbein the Younger. *Edward VI as a Child* (Andrew Mellon Collection), Gallery 40, Tuesday through Saturday, 12:00 and 2:00; Sunday, 3:30 and 6:00.

Tour of the week: *Early Techniques of Painting.* Rotunda, Tuesday through Saturday, 1:00; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection.* Rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11:00 and 3:00; Sunday, 5:00.

Sunday lecture: *Art and the Irrational in Works by Bosch and Goya. Guest Speaker:* James L. Foy, M.D., Professor of Psychiatry, Georgetown University School of Medicine, Washington, D.C.; Lecture Hall, 4:00.

Sunday concert: Flore Wend, *Soprano.* Reynaldo Reyes, *Pianist.* East Garden Court, 8:00.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 20, THROUGH SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 26

Painting of the week:[1] François Clouet. *"Diane de Poitiers"* (Samuel H. Kress Collection), Gallery 41, Tuesday, and Thursday through Saturday, 12:00 and 2:00; Sunday 3:30 and 6:00.

Tour of the week: Late Techniques of Painting. Rotunda, Tuesday, and Thursday through Saturday, 1:00; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the Collection. Rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11:00 and 3:00; Wednesday, 1:00; Sunday, 5:00.

Sunday lecture: The Hermitage, Leningrad. Guest Speaker: Mary Chamot, Formerly Assistant Keeper, The Tate Gallery, London. Lecture Hall, 4:00.

Sunday concert: George Bennette, *Pianist.* East Garden Court, 8:00.

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[1] 11" x 14" reproductions with texts for sale this week—15¢ each. (If mailed, $1.00 for 4; order under $1.00, 25¢ each, plus 25¢ handling charge.)

Protest Resolutions

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to be the guest speaker at the Ukrainian Independence Day program held Sunday, January 22, in the Irvington, N.J., High School to mark the 49th anniversary of the proclamation of independence by the Ukrainian National Republic. The memorable program was conducted by Dr. W. Huk, chairman, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., branch, for Newark, Irvington, and vicinity.

Over 1,200 persons were in attendance to affirm their dedication to the cause of Ukrainian independence. Believing, as members of this great democracy, in the concept of individual freedom and liberty, Americans of all races join their good fellow citizens of Ukrainian descent in mourning the tragic fate of the captive peoples and in hoping for the restoration of sovereign independence that the brave Ukrainians so gloriously proclaimed 49 years ago.

I am honored to submit to the Congress the following protest resolutions adopted on this significant occasion by the Ukrainian Congress Committee, branch for Newark, Irvington, and vicinity.

The resolution follows:

PROTEST RESOLUTIONS OF UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA, BRANCH FOR NEWARK, N.J. AND VICINITY

We, Americans of Ukrainian descent, of City of Newark and its vicinity, County of Essex, State of New Jersey, appeal to our President and his Secretary of State and to our legislative bodies, the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States, to raise their voices in defense of the recent ruthlessly persecuted Ukrainian culture by the Communist Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the so-called Ukrainian SSR, which is only the administrative region of the centrally ruled Soviet State. There an iron-clad assault on the culture and intellectual life of the Ukrainian people is presently going on with an intensified furor of the Russian chauvinism using the means of suppression of the Ukrainian language in the schools and press and by means of arrests, imprisonments, sentencing and deportation of the Ukrainian writers, poets, and scholars, whose only guilt was writing and speaking Ukrainian and defending the Ukrainian culture against the mass harrassment by the official Soviet Russification policy.

We ask our government to speak up in defense of the rights of the Ukrainians to develop their own culture in their home land by direct talks with the Soviet leaders and through the channels of the United Nations in the name of justice and humanity.

On this day of 22nd of January 1967, the Forty-Ninth Anniversary of the proclamation of the national independence of Ukraine and establishment of the Ukrainian National Democratic Republic in Kyiv, and the Forty-Eighth Anniversary of the unification of all Ukrainian lands and provinces into one national state, we take the liberty to remind our government and all its branches that the Ukrainian political sovereignty was then ruthlessly crushed by the Soviet government by means of military invasion and the incorporation of Ukraine by force into the USSR, giving it the Russian-marinette status of the so-called Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, where the Russians have ruled since and the Ukrainians being there the second ranked subjects of the Bolshevik regime.

On this commemorable anniversary, we take the liberty to remind our government that since that compulsory incorporation of the Ukraine our brethern and sisters there, have been continually exposed to persecution both physical and spiritual. The Soviet regime had but one end in mind and it was extermination of the Ukrainians as a separate nationality.

Genocide was practiced by the Soviets in Ukraine on a large scale. Mass arrests, mass imprisonments, mass deportations to distant parts of the USSR and mass executions, man-made famine in 1932-33 and ruthless suppression of Ukrainian language, folklore, writing, poetry and scholarship were the chief devices of the Soviet-Russian unceasing drive to "solve" the Ukrainian question, of which the present intensified Russification policy in the Ukrainian SSR is only a link in the long chain of Russian policy toward the non-Russian nationalities in the USSR in general.

We call to the attention of our government that the Russians did not hesitate to suppress also the religious life of the Ukrainian people which has been a factor in their intellectual and spiritual development as a separate nationality. Hundreds upon thousands of the faithful of the Ukrainian Orthodox and the Ukrainian Catholic Churches perished under the atheistic drive of the Soviet rulers, along with several bishops and thousands of clergy of both denominations.

We Americans of Ukrainian descent assert, that during the Second World War and thereafter the Ukrainian Insurgent Army fought for years against the Soviets to testify the will of the Ukrainian people to live a free and independent national life in the tradition of the 22nd of January 1918.

We recall the words of the great American, Abraham Lincoln, that no house divided against itself can long endure—half free and half slave. In the world of ours tyranny, persecution and colonialism must be abolished in order to save mankind from a catastrophe. Hence, we appeal to our government to speak up in defense of all those enslaved by the Soviet Russian colonialism.

DR. W. HUK,
Chairman.
VOLODYMYR HUERTYMAC,
Secretary.

You Can't Buy Friends or Votes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, on November 29, 1966, the General Assembly of the United Nations organization defeated a resolution which was designed to expel Nationalist China from the organization and seat Communist China in its place. The vote was 57 to 46, with 17 abstentions and one absence.

It is worth noting that the 46 nations that voted to seat Red China have, almost without exception, received assistance under the various foreign aid programs sponsored by the United States. A total of $37,592,100,000 has gone to these coun-

tries; this does not include aid that cannot be differentiated by country.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the breakdown by nations for the period July 1, 1945, to June 30, 1965:

	Million
Afghanistan	$307.1
Albania	20.4
Algeria	161.9
Burma	111.0
Burundi	7.4
Cambodia	343.1
Ceylon	90.9
Congo (ex-French)	2.4
Cuba	52.1
Czechoslovakia	193.0
Denmark	923.1
Ethiopia	246.5
Finland	135.4
France	9,401.6
Ghana	165.5
Guinea	70.2
Hungary	31.5
India	[1]5,882.4
Indonesia	368.2
Iraq	99.0
Kenya	35.7
Mali	15.8
Mauritania	2.8
Nepal	[1]86.1
Nigeria	160.7
Norway	1,254.4
Pakistan	[1]2,937.3
Poland	548.2
Senegal	19.2
Somalia	47.4
Sudan	89.8
Sweden	109.0
Syria	83.0
Tanzania	44.0
Uganda	17.3
U.S.S.R.	186.4
United Arab Republic	1,080.9
United Kingdom	8,958.8
Yemen	39.1
Yugoslavia	2,733.3
Zambia	30.2
Total	37,592.1

[1] Military aid classified.

Byelorussia and the Ukraine, both of which voted to seat Communist China, are included with U.S.S.R., Bulgaria, Mongolia, and Rumania, received no aid from the United States.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of theHouse or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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Mansfield, Mike, *Mont*	
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Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.
Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 4852 Hutchins Pl.
Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut Ave.
Mr. Justice Harlan, of New York, 1677 31st St.
Mr. Justice Brennan, of New Jersey, 3037 Dumbarton Ave.
Mr. Justice Stewart, of Ohio, 5136 Palisade Lane.
Mr. Justice White, of Colorado, 2209 Hampshire Rd., McLean, Va.
Mr. Justice Fortas, of Tennessee, 3210 R St.

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Second judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Harlan. Connecticut, New York, Vermont.

Third judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Brennan. Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virgin Islands.

Fourth judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia.

Fifth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Black. Alabama, Canal Zone, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas.

Sixth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Stewart. Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, Tennessee.

Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark. Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin.

Eighth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White. Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota.

Ninth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Douglas. Alaska, Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Guam, Hawaii.

Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White. Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Utah, Wyoming.

Appendix

Robert E. Lee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. G. V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following commemoration of the birthday of Robert E. Lee on January 19, 1967, with excerpts from Dr. Frank Rose, president of the University of Alabama, and Mr. Benjamin H. Hill:

ADDRESS OF DR. FRANK ROSE, KAPPA ALPHA-TRANSYLVANIA, PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA, AT THE KAPPA ALPHA CONVENTION IN MEMPHIS

Robert E. Lee was born the son of one of America's most distinguished Revolutionary heroes, "Light-Horse Harry" Lee, a gentleman of impeccable manners and flashing conversation, often mentioned as Washington's successor and as a member of the Continental Congress was the one who eulogized George Washington as "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." His first wife had died early and he had married the lovely Ann Hill Carter, age twenty, and the daughter of one of the richest men in Virginia. This lovely lady was to become the mother of our spiritual founder, Robert E. Lee.

Henry Lee did not have the capacity to retire to the quiet and prosperous life, and soon after his marriage to Ann Hill Carter, he became involved in highly speculative land deals that lost all of the family resources and brought embarrassment to many of his old friends, among them Washington, Monroe and Jefferson. In the summer of 1813, he left his young wife and young son to take a chosen exile in the Barbados, never to see his family again.

Young Robert gave his every attention to his mother and the Episcopal Church and grew into a fine young man. By the end of 1823, he had completed the course at Alexander Academy and enrolled at West Point. He was an outstanding cadet, without demerits and with outstanding marks in all subjects taken. His service in peacetime was excellent and on September 1, 1852, he returned to West Point to become the ninth superintendent of the United States Military Academy. He rebuilt the Academy and inaugurated new courses and instituted new disciplines. In 1855, Lee was ordered to Texas, and it was six years later that he had to declare his faith to the Union or to Virginia. On April 18, 1861, Colonel Robert E. Lee was summoned to Washington and offered the Command of the Northern Army which he declined with a fervent appeal that all differences between North and South be settled without troops. General Scott asked for his immediate resignation, and a few days later, Lee reluctantly assumed command of the Northern Virginia troops.

The War took its heavy toll of Lee's men and his vitality, and following his surrender, he was offered many opportunities to reclaim fortune, but chose instead to become president of Washington College. He was so respected by both faculty and students that they would pause outside his home in the morning in the hope of speaking to him or to see him on his way to his office. Life was not to be kind in the aftermath, as extremists on both sides were to attack him until his death. He accepted his punishment with courage and won many strong friends and the praise of outstanding men on both sides. The New York Herald, in an editorial, submitted Robert E. Lee's name as the Democratic nominee for presidency of the United States on July 1, 1868.

What was it our founders saw in Robert E. Lee? One cannot read the volumes that have been written on his life without being greatly moved.

He was a man of great discipline. This is seen in his life even at an early age—in his care for the wishes of his parents, his attendance and attention to his Episcopal Church, his excellent mastery of subjects taken in school and at West Point, his devotion to duty as a soldier in the Mexican War and later as Superintendent of the Academy. He fought successfully for four years, outnumbered four to one, and with few of the instruments of war. He accepted defeat in honor, and refused great financial fortune to return to his native Virginia to begin rebuilding the lives of those who would become the leaders of tomorrow. His sorrows, he would not allow to become rancor; his defeat, not bitterness; his losses, not helplessness. For Robert E. Lee and his native South there were no Marshall Plans or Reconstruction Finance Corporation. There was no Point Four Program.

He returned home to teach his boys the manhood out of which reason prevails and intelligence conquers. With courage and wisdom and perseverance, he started rebuilding. The South was the frontier and he led the way. This is what our founders saw in Robert E. Lee and this is why they gave us our heritage.

He was a man of great character. Embarrassed by the conduct of his father in early life, poor in the midst of relatives that were rich, left with the care of a mother ill in health, and tempted by the frivolous ridicule of those his own age, he set his mind on higher goals and achieved most of them. He did not want to be a party to those who would destroy the Union, neither would he be made a party to those who would destroy the South. But he would defend his State of Virginia. He surrendered his slaves before the War. Grant did not free his until after the War. Our founders saw justice, goodness and Godliness in Robert E. Lee, and this is our heritage.

Further comments were made by Benjamin H. Hill commemorating the birthday of Robert E. Lee:

"He was a foe without hate; a friend without treachery; a soldier without cruelty; and a victim without murmuring. He was a public officer without vices, a private citizen without wrong, a neighbor without reproach, a Christian without hypocrisy, and a man without guilt. He was a Caesar without his ambition, Frederick without his tyranny, Napoleon without his selfishness, and Washington without his reward."

A Tribute to Gentry Dugat, Scholar and Writer, of Bee County, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, there have recently come to my attention an editorial and biographical sketches, published in the Beeville Bee-Picayune, of Bee County, Tex., on the death of an able writer, Gentry Dugat.

Gentry Dugat was born on a ranch, and after growing up there, going through school and law school, obtaining a law license, and becoming an assistant county attorney in Hidalgo County, he began to serve as a reporter on the McAllen Monitor; then on the Donna newspaper, in Hidalgo County; the Lufkin Daily News in Angelina County, as city editor; and then as a reporter for the Dallas Morning News.

Later he was the managing editor of the Edinburg Review, then the city editor of the Corpus Christi Caller, and then an editor of the Cotton Ginners Journal, in Dallas. Thereafter, he was Dallas County purchasing agent, but he moved back to Bee County, his native county, to become a reporter for the Bee-Picayune, a position he held until his death in 1966.

With his varied experiences in many parts of Texas, Gentry Dugat was more than a reporter, more than a writer. He was a student and a scholar. He studied the development of writing from the cuneiform writing of the Mesopotamian era, through parchment, and through our present printing. He assembled a valuable collection illustrating the development of writing in different languages by the human race. This collection he donated to the Southwest Texas State College at San Marcos, Tex., the alma mater of President Lyndon B. Johnson, where it is displayed in the Dugat Room.

While in his early twenties, he wrote and published "A Life of Henry W. Grady."

Gentry Dugat was my friend. He supported me in my political and governmental activities and was wise in counsel, energetic in action, diligent in his advocacy. I miss him; the State of Texas misses him.

Mr. President, when one soul of such attainments passes from our midst, it is fitting that note be taken of his accomplishments and that they be preserved in a permanent record.

I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a feature article from page 1 of the Bee-Picayune, of Beeville, Tex., of Thursday, February 10, 1966. It is entitled "Gentry Dugat, Oil Editor of Bee-Picayune, Succumbs to Heart Attack Saturday," and was written by Camp Ezell, editor of the Bee-Picayune.

Also, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial from page 2, section C of the Bee-Picayune for February 10, 1966, entitled "Many Hearts Are Saddened Throughout the Country," a tribute to Gentry Dugat; and also in an article from pages C1 and C6 of the Bee-Picayune entitled "Gone, Not Forgotten," all being sketches of, or tributes to, the late Gentry Dugat, scholar, writer, advocate, and friend.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Gentry Dugat, Oil Editor of Bee-Picayune, Succumbs to Heart Attack Saturday

(By Camp Ezell)

Gentry Dugat, 70, oil editor, feature writer, and reporter for the Bee-Picayune the last 18 years, died at his home Saturday, February 5, at 11:30 p.m., apparently as the result of a heart attack.

Mr. Dugtat had suffered several heart attacks and three light strokes during the last several years, and although he passed away unexpectedly, he knew and his friends knew that his life on earth was nearing the end.

Funeral services were held Monday at 4 p.m. in First Methodist Church at Beeville. The officiating ministers were the Rev. Charles Dunn, pastor of First Christian Church at Pettus; the Rev. J. E. Mack of San Antonio, a former pastor of the Methodist Church at Pettus, and the Rev. Leo Ross of Edcouch, also a former Pettus Methodist Church pastor.

With Miss Pam Chandler at the Organ, Mrs. George Brown sang Abide With Me and Where We'll Never Grow Old.

Pettus Masonic Lodge No. 1508 had charge of graveside rites. Camp Ezell, a past-master of Beeville Masonic Lodge, delivered the oration. Interment was in the Dugat family plot of the Mineral Cemetery. Galloway-Wilson had charge of arrangements.

The pallbearers at the church were Ronald Dodillet, Gil Champagne, Bob Bates, Fred C. Latcham, Jr., Bernard McWhorter, and Cameron Devereaux, Masonic pallbearers at the cemetery were C. G. Barnard, John Pogue, W. K. Bateman, D. Passoit, J. B. Vanhooser, George Anderson, James Beauchamp, and Doyle Parker.

Named as honorary pallbearers were Camp Ezell, Dr. Scott McNeill, Sr., Norris Rider, Grady Harrison, Irvin McWhorter, Judge Gus Mattingly, and Davis Delony, all of Beeville, and John Shaw, Kenneth Leggett, Rev. J. C. Horton, Joe Wroten, Fern Harris, and J. V. Witt, all of Pettus.

Gentry Dugat was born on a ranch near Mineral on April 25, 1895, a son of Charles Alexander Dugat and Martha Elizabeth (Page) Dugat, pioneer settlers of Bee County.

He attended A. C. Jones High School three years, but graduated from Mineral High School. He attended a preparatory school in Austin, then entered Cumberland University Law School in Tennessee, where he graduated with a law degree. He obtained a license to practice law in Texas and established an office in McAllen, where he served as assistant county attorney.

The McAllen Monitor editor was short of help one day and asked Mr. Dugat to report an important meeting for the newspaper. The editor liked the story so well that he offered Mr. Dugat a position on the reportorial staff. Mr. Dugat was so well pleased with the life of a journalist that he abandoned the practice of law.

Later Mr. Dugat worked for the Donna newspaper, then went to the Lufkin Daily News as city editor. After serving two years in that capacity, he was offered a position as reporter for the Dallas News, and he changed jobs for the experience that it would give him. He was called by the publishers of the Edinburg Review and asked to assume the duties of managing editor, and he converted the weekly newspaper into a daily publication. Later he served as city editor of the Corpus Christi Caller, and still later he was editor of the Cotton Ginners Journal in Dallas.

Mr. Dugat served as Dallas County purchasing agent, which took him out of the journalism field for a few years. However, in 1948 he felt both the call of newspaper work and the anticipated thrill of living at the ranch home where he was born near Mineral. He moved back to Bee County and became oil editor and reporter for the Bee-Picayune, a position he held until his death.

He was married to Miss Lena Ross on November 16, 1948, in Fort Worth, and Mr. and Mrs. Dugat made the move to the ranch between Pettus and Mineral shortly after their marriage. They lived on the ranch until a few years ago, when they moved to Pettus, because of Mr. Dugat's impaired health.

Mr. Dugat served with the United States Army in World War I, although he did not serve overseas. He was a lifelong member of the Methodist Church, was chaplain of Pettus Masonic Lodge at the time of his death, and was a 32nd Degree Scottish Rite Mason and a member of Alzafar Shrine in San Antonio. He was a member of the Pettus Rotary Club.

During the Bee County Centennial celebration in 1958, Mr. Dugat took the lead in organizing the Bee County Historical Commission, and served as its president for several years, retiring of his own volition. He was still a member of the organization at the time he passed away.

He is survived by his wife, Lena, of Pettus; a daughter, Mrs. J. E. Bullen of Corpus Christi; two granddaughters, Barbara Bullen of Corpus Christi and Diane Dugat of Dawsonville, La., and two grandsons, Johnny Bullen and Arthur Bullen of Corpus Christi. Seven nieces and one nephew also survive.

This writer first met Gentry Dugat at the opening of school in Beeville in September, 1910. Gentry, a lad of 15 years, came to this city to start his high school work. (There were only 11 grades at that time.)

All of the students were amazed at the unusual flow of beautiful English that came from the mouth of this youth from the village of Mineral. We called him the "walking dictionary." He did not employ rare or obsolete words that the students could not understand, but rather he always seemed to have at his command an easy ripple of choice and fitting words that completely expressed the thoughts that were in his mind.

Gentry's vocabulary was an inspiration to me and to all of the students, and he encouraged all of us to improve our English.

The teacher—Prof. J. A. Risenhoover—placed Gentry and this writer at a double desk, and we remained deskmates until the end of the first semester, when I passed into the ninth grade.

Gentry showed me an advertisement in the Beeville Picayune which stated that they wanted a boy to learn the newspaper trade. I took the job, and that began my newspaper career. Gentry also started Morris Frank, sports editor for the Houston Chronicle, as a reporter, and Mr. Frank wrote a feature story in the Chronicle giving him credit for steering him into journalism.

Gentry Dugat was generous, and was always ready and willing to share with others. He had a clean mind, and when he told a story, it was one that any man, woman or child could hear and appreciate.

Although he slowed down the last few years of his life, Gentry had been a prolific writer, as well as an eloquent speaker.

Throughout his life, Gentry had many hobbies. During the last decade he centered his attention on the study of Mexican archeology and the collecting of artifacts in Mexico. He made several trips to Mexico City and brought back many interesting items. He gave one collection of antiquities to the Southwest Texas State College, and the figures were effectively displayed in a place called the Dugat Room.

Mr. Dugat, was a collector of books, and his library at his home was something unusual to visit. He had many rare and valuable volumes.

As a young man, Gentry became an ardent admirer of Henry W. Grady, the brilliant writer and speaker who made the Atlanta Constitution famous. Gentry made an exhaustive study of Grady's life and wrote and published a book, The Life of Henry W. Grady, when he was in his early '20s. When he and Mrs. Dugat visited Atlanta a few years ago, they visited a daughter of the famous newspaper man, and a close friendship was generated between the three.

Gentry was unusually kind to children and polite to women. He had a tender heart for elderly people, and, for that matter, for anyone who was depressed or ill.

Gentry and I did not always agree, especially on politics, but we did not let this divergence of opinion affect our friendship of more than half a century.

Gentry Dugat was one of a kind. There was no one else like him. He was an individual. He was Gentry Dugat!

Gone, Not Forgotten

Pettus, February 7.—The Death Angel took from our midst Saturday night about 11 o'clock the friend of all mankind, Gentry Dugat. For quite sometime Gentry had been suffering from heart attacks, and perhaps other ailments, but he never gave up. When he needed medical attention it was a severe trial for him to have to obey orders. He wanted to be up and doing, and he usually did just that. But when stricken Saturday evening, that was the last and final call.

Gentry was born near the Mineral community almost 71 years ago. He was a son of the late Mr. and Mrs. C. A. Dugat, and the last of a family of 12 children. It was truly wonderful to see the devotion that he felt for the members of his family. He would drive miles to see any member of his family who might be sick or needed his advice or help. He was free with his money. Whenever a call of any kind was made, it was almost a certain fact that Gentry would respond without hesitation.

People of all ages were his friends—regardless of race, creed or color. Seldom a Sunday went by that he was not in his pew at church. He loved to sing, especially the old songs that were so dear to his heart, and now his rich bass voice has been added to the heavenly choir. How he will be missed.

Gentry enjoyed newspaper work, and the greater part of his life was given to it. At the time of his passing he was oil and agriculture editor for the Bee-Picayune. He was also interested in ranching and stock raising.

The old Dugat home was a part of his holdings, and when he was away in other cities working, he would come regularly each summer for a community get-together at the old home place. What fun he would have! Friends and relatives from far and near would come with covered dishes which they spread at noontime out under the trees, and there everyone would feast. Sometimes he would have some contests with attractive prizes, and then when "dinner" was over pictures would be taken and singing would be enjoyed. Such gatherings were his delight and were continued until he returned to make his home here permanently.

He was especially interested in archaeology, and the June 25, 1965, San Antonio Express carried a nice write-up about him and his chosen hobby written by Arthur Moczygemba. The last paragraph was a statement made by Gentry which certainly applies to his very own life. It was concerning some of his collection that he was explaining to Mr. Moczygemba when he said, "Although these people are gone, they left their mark on the face of the earth that is practically indestructible."

Survivors include his wife, Mrs. Lena Dugat, a daughter, Mrs. Margaret Elizabeth Bullen, Corpus Christi, four grandchildren seven nieces, one nephew and a host of other relatives.

Services were held in the First Methodist Church in Beeville, Monday, February 7, at 4 p.m. with the Rev. Charles Dunn, pastor of the Pettus Christian Church, conducting the service. He was assisted by the Rev. J. E. Mack of San Antonio and the Rev. Leo Ross of Edcouch. Burial was in the Mineral Cemetery in the family plot under the direction of Galloway-Wilson Funeral Home of Beeville. Masons had charge of the last rites.

The many friends of the deceased offer sincere sympathy to the bereaved.

Many Hearts Are Saddened Throughout the County

Nothing is permanent except change. And change has again come to the offices of the Bee-Picayune. We are, of course, referring to the passing from the scene of our oil and agriculture editor, Gentry Dugat, Saturday night.

Mr. Dugat was a gentleman of the old school, and as such practiced an unfailing courtesy toward ladies of all ages. He had the blessing of an inquiring mind and his consequent interest in many and varied fields kept him studying continuously. He particularly loved encyclopedias and almanacs and kept a generous supply of various editions where he could refer to them whenever necessary.

His interest in history was well known, and the Bee County Historical Commission will be among those who miss him most. He recently became an avid fan of trains and nothing was more fun for him than reading accounts of the old steam engine.

His love of children and young folks kept him young. No child ever entered the Bee-Picayune office unnoticed by him. A highlight of his day would be to guide a tour of the newspaper plant for groups of wide-eyed and somewhat awestricken youngsters from schools and various youth organizations from over the county.

Gentry was also noted for his unusually large vocabulary and his ability to use it either on his feet or on the written page. Once we took a story back to him, commenting that it could have been written in much more concise form and in simpler language, so that everyone could more easily understand it. He replied that if he encouraged even one person to consult a dictionary, he would consider it a major feat. He added that the good Lord gave us an eloquent native tongue and that we should always strive to excel in its usage.

Mr. Dugat should have been given the title, "Mr. Democrat of Bee County," for he dearly loved his political party and worked in its behalf whenever the opportunity occurred. He sometimes admitted a better candidate could have been the party choice, but he still said that if his own brother were running for office on another ticket, he wouldn't get his vote. Thus, through all types of political weather, he loyally voted the straight ticket.

Although born and reared in Bee County, Gentry had wandered to other cities in his early life, but when he began to feel the call of his native land again, he returned here 18 years ago and settled down for good.

He was a great believer in the soil, and was a staunch advocate of agriculture in all its many aspects. Farming, ranching, soil conservation and related subjects were his dish, and under his leadership in those fields, the Bee-Picayune acquired many prizes from agricultural and press associations. The oil industry also received his intense scrutiny, and his weekly column was eagerly awaited by many subscribers both in and out of the county.

In the last few years, he had a choice to make. He could have become a semi-invalid and perhaps lived several years longer, but being a man of action, this was out of the question. He attended the Masonic Lodge meetings in Pettus by being hoisted up the steps to the hall and helped downstairs after each meeting. He made them all in all kinds of weather. He also followed the Pettus school's teams to their games all over South Texas.

Gentry made a poor patient, his doctor said, for he would not dally long in the hospital following an attack, after he found he could get to his feet once again. His decision, when he realized his failing health, must not have come easily, for he was a man who loved life and enjoyed every minute of it.

Over the last ten years or so, Gentry had developed an interest in archaeology, and his excursion to Mexico were the highlight of his vacations. Just last summer, when a trip to the hospital had threatened to cancel his long-awaited vacation plans, he ignored his doctor's and friends' advice, boarded the train with his loyal wife by his side, and off they went south to the border to have a good time.

The Bee-Picayune is richer by far by having had Mr. Dugat on its staff these 18 years. And, for that matter, so is everyone with whom he came in contact. He was a man who will be sorely missed by every resident of Bee County.

The Challenge of ZIP Code Can—and Must—Be Met

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE R. POOL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call to the attention of House Members an article entitled "The Challenge of ZIP Code Can—and Must—Be Met," written by Mr. Emanuel Cohen of Mailmen, Inc., Syosset, N.Y. No subject is more complicated than the Post Office Department's mandatory requirement that bulk mailers presort their mail by ZIP code sequence. Business firms are being asked to do the sophisticated mail scheming task performed since Franklin's day by postal clerks. Well over a quarter of a billion dollars has been spent by 300,000 bulk mailers to add the five-digit ZIP numbers to their nameplates and computer tapes. In addition to that tremendous cost, business mailers are being called upon to spend quite large additional sums to presort their mail by ZIP code sequence.

Mr. Cohen, a former postal worker, now in private business, is the foremost expert on the handling of ZIP-coded mail. The House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, of which I am a member, has had the distinct privilege of hearing his testimony on the ZIP code program. Moreover, a subcommittee visited Mailmen, Inc., some months ago to learn just how difficult and expensive it will be for mailers to comply with the mandatory order. Mr. Cohen was also generous enough to invite top postal officials to view his operation. Much was learned from these visits.

Inasmuch as individual Members will be hearing from constituents about the complexities of mandatory ZIP coding, Mr. Cohen's article on the subject will be of great value to all concerned with the problem.

The article follows:

The Challenge of ZIP Code Can—and Must—Be Met

(By Emanuel Cohen)

The second phase of ZIP Code is at hand. Until now, most of us in direct mail have been concentrating on adding ZIP numbers to the address without, unfortunately, giving too much thought to phase *two*, the sorting and sacking of mail to 3-digit sectional centers and 5-digit direct sacks. The 5-digits represent either a single ZIP city or the carrier delivery station of the multi-ZIP city.

The time has come to set the record straight on many things. Some of us, and particularly those of us who have served on the unofficial Harry Maginnis Technical Advisory Committee, have been misrepresented as obstructionists, as being opposed to ZIP Code and to progress. The facts are that we "obstructionists" may be the best friends the Post Office has. Unlike the sycophants with their horse blinders who have said an automatic "yes" to anything proposed, it has been the so-called obstructionists who have advocated proper tools to work with and a proper time allowance in which to apply the tools.

We would remind those of you who are now discovering the complications of the new sacking and sorting requirements that this was pointed out in chart form in testimony before the Olsen subcommittee about a year and a half ago and that the validity of this chart has not been refuted to this day. In that same testimony we endorsed ZIP Code as a solution to the internal problems of the Post Office and offered testimony about applying these principles of ZIP Code as far back as 1949. We cannot but wonder about those among us who mouth stirring generalities, offer no solutions, answer no questions and help no one.

Now the "obstructionists" are back again. This time our hope is that we can explain some of the problems we are faced with.

DIVIDE LISTS INTO SIX CATEGORIES

The facts are that in order to mail at bulk rates, we must realize that the sorting and sacking requirements are paramount and that lists will have to be prepared in accordance with these requirements if their use is to remain economically feasible. Based on the amount of handling required, we have divided *fully-ZIP Coded lists* into six categories.

We do not say that these six categories are definitive. We are open to all suggestions. What we are striving for is a standard nomenclature to apply to lists so that purchasers will know that no matter from whom these lists are secured (whether direct or from a list broker) the list category will automatically indicate to the purchaser how complicated the sorting will be and enable him to properly evaluate his total package cost.

Category one. ZIP numerical sequence

This is the easiest type of list to sort and sack. Theoretically, it should not require more than one sack at a time to handle the list. It is the closest equivalent to the handling of an alpha-geo list before ZIP. However, mailers are faced with increased costs since there is a potential usage of 930 sacks (there are approximately 930 3-digit numbers already assigned out of a possible 999) as opposed to 50 sacks—one for each state under the old system.

Category two. Alpha-Geo with multi-ZIP cities in numerical sequence

There are a number of ways to sort and sack such a list. Basically, however, since sectional centers are geographic by definition, it is necessary to use a set of sack racks when working an alphabetic list. There should be a separate sack for each section of the state being worked. Thus Alabama would require only 15 sacks. California would take 31 and Utah would need only 5.

It would be advisable to have an additional sack in each case for use for each multi-ZIP city as you come to it. This requires a lot of floor space, many racks, etc. and is slower than working a *Category One* list.

Category three. Alpha-Geo list with multi-ZIP cities in random sequence

Everything discussed in *Category Two* applies. In addition, however, the 314 multi-ZIP cities must be pieced out to the last two digits. In a representative national list, the 314 multi-ZIP cities can be as much as 50% of the list. Obviously the processing of this list takes more time, requires more work and will necessarily cost more.

Category four. SFC (sectional center facility) sequence

This is a list that is already by 3 digits. Each piece must now be sorted down to the last two digits for the sectional center facility or the multi-ZIP city for proper tying and sacking.

Category five. State sequence

All the names for each state are together but the cities are in random sequence. Such a list requires two full handlings. The first handling is by 3 digits, thus reducing the list to a *Category Four*. The second handling is for the last two digits within the SCF or the multi-ZIP city.

Category six. Random

Theoretically, this requires three full handlings; the first by state reducing to a *Category Five;* secondly, each state is sorted to 3 digits, becoming a *Category Four;* and finally, each SCF or multi-ZIP city is sorted by the last two digits and tied and sacked. It must be realized that every shop must establish its own internal procedures to shorten the number of handlings without sacrificing proper handling of the mail.

WHY PROBLEMS ARISE

Up to now every list we have seen has fit into one of these six categories. There are variations. For example, the list that runs from Alabama to Wyoming but is in numerical sequence within each state is still a *Category One* list.

Comments of Retired Gen. Curtis E. LeMay on Conduct of War in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the El Paso Times of January 21, 1967, contains an Associated Press article which quotes retired Gen. Curtis E. LeMay on the conduct of the war in Vietnam. General LeMay is one of the best generals this country has produced. He is more free to speak out, now that he is retired. I commend his remarks to the careful study of Senators.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the El Paso Times, Jan. 21, 1967]

LEMAY SAYS UNITED STATES MUST WIN WAR QUICK

WASHINGTON—Retired Gen. Curtis E. LeMay, calling for a stepped up air and naval offensive, says the United States has no choice but to win the Vietnam war "and win it quickly."

LeMay, who was Air Force chief of staff from June 1961 until January 1965, sees no hope of trying to negotiate with North Vietnam.

"The only thing I can see is a military victory. To pull out of Vietnam now would mean that dozens of Vietnams would break out all over the world, immediately," he says.

LeMay, now a private citizen who says he is deeply concerned about his nation's defenses, was interviewed during a brief visit here.

He said:

"I just cannot stomach planning a long drawn out war in the jungle. It's inhumane. That's not the way to do it."

"I see no chance of drawing these people to the conference table. Even if we did negotiate, I don't think it would stop the war unless we completely gave in and accomplished none of our objectives to protect the free peoples of Southeast Asia."

"We are at war. We ought to conduct an efficient military operation."

"It is not our aim to invade North Vietnam or destroy North Vietnam. What we want to do is stop them from carrying out their aggression."

"It looks like the only way to do it is to get down to the direct destruction of their capability to do this, or at least go a long way to convince them we are going to do it."

"I would do this with air and naval power rather than put our people in the jungle. Certainly there would have to be some land fighting, but I would do as little of it as possible."

In calling for the progressive destruction of North Vietnamese support and supply bases, LeMay said he would start by closing the port of Haiphong, and other ports.

While not ruling out the possibility, LeMay said he doesn't think his proposals would bring on a world war.

"I don't think World War III will come on due to the flap in North Vietnam," he said. "I don't think the Russians are stupid enough to do this.

"The Chinese may not be quite as stable, but I don't think they are in a position to take us on in an all-out war now."

Since retiring after 3½ decades of military service, LeMay and his wife, Helen, have lived most of the time in the Los Angeles suburb of Bel Air. He is head of Network Electronics Corp., Chatsworth, Calif.

LeMay has nothing to say publicly on his policy differences with Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara. But in areas where he says he feels discussion is constructive he answers questions readily.

LeMay said there is "a very small minority in this country that makes a lot of noise about being against this war."

"I don't think the bulk of the people in this country are against the war," he said. "They want to protect South Vietnam against aggression. They want to fulfill our commitments to these people."

Declaring that "no guerrilla operation can succeed unless it gets support from the outside," LeMay said: "The only way to stop the resupply of guerrillas in South Vietnam is to use direct force against North Vietnam and make it so expensive they will stop it themselves."

He said most of the hard-core South Vietnamese Communists have been killed off.

"But now they are putting the North Vietnamese into the picture in large numbers," he continued.

New Jersey Welfare Costs Rising Despite War on Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, perhaps no single piece of domestic legislation has had such a fishbowl existence as the war on poverty program. It has attracted widespread publicity and editorial comment since its inception and I am sure all of us here are well aware of the program's shortcomings as well as its successes.

The Newark Sunday News edition of January 29, published on its front page an article by Douglas Eldridge, one of its staff writers, on the antipoverty effort in New Jersey and its apparent failure to slow the increase in that State's welfare rolls.

This article by Mr. Eldridge graphically points up the weaknesses of the program, and the disappointment of officials at the steady increase in welfare budgets.

Mr. Speaker, I commend this article to my colleagues. The article follows:

[From the Newark (N.J.) Sunday News, Jan 29, 1967]

NEW JERSEY WELFARE COSTS RISING DESPITE WAR ON POVERTY

(By Douglas Eldridge)

All the antipoverty activity in New Jersey—more than $77 million worth of it—has so far scarcely slowed the steady rise in welfare rolls across the state.

The War on Poverty enters its third year in Newark and other cities this month, yet costs and caseloads of most welfare agencies contiune to climb.

While the economy reached new peaks last year and Economic Opportuntly Act programs trained and employed thousands of New Jerseyans, and ranks of the dependent still grew.

Some 14,700 adults and children were added to the rolls last year alone. This is as big a rise as in 1965, and considerably larger than in 1964—before a single shot had been fired in the poverty war. By the end of 1966, there were more than 187,000 people receiving public assistance in New Jersey.

There are some faint glimmers of hope—municipal relief rolls are down in Trenton, and the rate of increase in Essex County slowed a trifle. But most welfare statistics give no sign that victory over poverty, despite the infusion of $77 million in New Jersey, is in sight.

PROBLEM PINPOINTED

On the contrary, lingering expectations that poverty programs might produce savings in welfare were laid to rest at recent budget hearings for the City of Newark and

Essex County. As usual, appropriations had to be upped.

Meanwhile, figures from many sources only point up the dilemma:

Since December, 1964, the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity has granted $77,022,304 to New Jersey—more than half of it for work and training projects.

OEO grants to Newark and Essex County total $21,269,389 for the last two years, with more than $19 million just for the city. This is on top of $10 million in Labor Department grants for manpower training projects here since 1962.

But in spite of all this spending . . .

—the number of persons collecting welfare in New Jersey rose from 158,550 in December, 1964, to 187,668 in December, 1966.

—the Essex County Welfare Board's rolls swelled from 46,365 persons in late 1964 to 54,324 last month, and its budget from $34 million to $43.2 million in the two years.

—Newark's relief rolls reached 3,070 cases on Dec. 31, the highest year-end figure in years, while total expenditures hit a new high of $5.7 million.

PAINFUL PARADOX

It seems like a painful paradox—both for the taxpayer and for the welfare recipient, who may both have expected the antipoverty army to liberate them from some burdens.

Top welfare and antipoverty officials still see no early end to the upward spiral, either. But this, they insist, doesn't mean the War on Poverty is making no gains. Rather, they say, it shows the need for increased effort.

These officials argue it is still too early to judge the lasting impact of antipoverty efforts. Many training projects have been slow in starting, they say, and are just moving into high gear. All allocations haven't been spent, they add.

Even if there is little or no drop in welfare rolls, they say, many recipients have been helped to become self-supporting—even if others quickly take their place on the relief rolls. The welfare load might be even worse without the antipoverty drive, they say.

The officials blame the continued rise on many factors—particularly the high birth rate in slum areas (half those on welfare are dependent children) and the lag in employment in central cities. Some cite the migration of the helpless to the cities, and the new efforts by civil rights groups to recruit all eligible persons for welfare.

UNABLE TO WORK

These officials contend that most of those now on welfare are unable to work—they are too old or too young, too disabled or too illiterate, or too burdened with child care or personal defects. The most intensive services would make only a fraction of them employable, the officials claim.

Irving J. Engelman, director of the N.J. Division of Public Welfare, concedes there has been no slackening in welfare applications, and the general relief load—normally down in prosperous times—climbed 9.7 per cent last year.

But, he said it is unfair to use welfare "as the key measure of antipoverty programs—the key measure is their long-range impact." And he added: "Who knows whether, without these activities, there would not have been a greater rate of growth in welfare?"

"All the antipoverty programs," Engelman says, "will not reduce the number of aged persons . . . the disabled . . . the blind . . . and they are not going to significantly reduce, at least in any short run, the number of deserted, widowed and abandoned mothers."

And the state's top antipoverty official, John C. Bullitt, director of the N.J. OEO, says many of the major Economic Opportunity Act programs cannot produce quick cures for social ills.

"You don't reduce the welfare rolls or halt their rise through Head Start classes," said Bullitt. "The only thing in our arsenal is manpower training."

Many training projects have been slow in getting under way, he said. But he expects a steadily increasing emphasis on manpower development.

More than 90 per cent of the cases added to the rolls in New Jersey in the last two years are in one category—Aid to Dependent Children (ADC), most of them without fathers in the home. Last year alone some 9,300 mothers and children were added to the ADC rolls—more than a third of them in Essex County.

RISE SLOWED

Philip K. Lazaro, director of the Essex Welfare Board, notes that the rise has slowed a bit—the average increase in cases was 75 a month last year, compared with 90 a month in 1964. And 2,674 cases were closed last year, compared with 2,400 in 1965. But still there was a net gain of 899 families during the year—and Lazaro sees no reversal of the rise until the 1970s.

Lazaro also sees no immediate effects of antipoverty activities on the county caseload.

"I believe in training, I believe in work experience, I believe in all that," he asserts, "but to break the cycle of dependency, we will not make the headway desired by the community through these programs."

"The real solution to ADC goes over and beyond that," he declares, to "a greater focus on working with the children, not just those on ADC but the low-income kids who are our cases of tomorrow."

Lazaro says he has been trying for two years to get funds under Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act to train some ADC mothers. But Washington keeps turning it down because it wants only one to a county—and Newark got there first.

Lazaro thinks only about 500 of the 11,000 women collecting ADC in Essex could be trained and employed. The majority have small children and ought to stay at home to care for them, he said. One study found that only 20 percent have finished high school, he added.

SEVEN PROJECTS UNDER WAY

Of the $77 million allocated to New Jersey by OEO, some $10 million is specifically for training unemployed fathers and mothers on welfare under Title V. Seven projects are now under way, with total enrollment of 1,150.

The Newark Welfare Division has received $5.8 million in these Title V funds, and has spent $2.7 million so far to support and train 972 adults from the relief rolls. More than 250 have been placed in jobs—yet the rolls are higher today than when the project started in mid-1965.

Mayor Hugh J. Addonizio says he is disappointed there has been no appreciable saving. "We were led to believe this would be tremendously successful," he said, "but it hasn't reduced the welfare rolls, even though it has taken people and trained them."

Asked why he thinks the rolls are still going up, the mayor cited recent reports that there were 1,200 illegitimate births at City Hospital last year—many to girls under 16.

In Trenton, meanwhile, a similar but smaller Title V project has produced some apparent results—the average relief load has been cut from 450 to 400 in a year, and the city wound up 1966 with a drop of $73,083 from its 1965 welfare budget of $653,445.

Some observers think Trenton has made headway because its antipoverty agency, United Progress, Inc., gives top priority to manpower and works hand-in-hand with city government. In Newark the United Community Corp. until recently gave low priority to manpower, and many agencies run their own training projects, with little coordination.

ABOVE AVERAGE

But officials of the Newark Title V project—run by the city, with no UCC connection—claim their placement rate of 49 per cent is above the national average. Preliminary figures show the placement rate for all seven New Jersey projects averages 37.

John Taylor, state coordinator of Title V, said Newark is "doing a remarkable job." Those being trained, he said, "are not a bunch of ablebodied, well-motivated men—these are people who are pretty sad."

Mrs. Grace Malone, city welfare director, said Title V "has produced a saving * * * but it's not a numbers game project." If the 440 persons now in training were returned to the city welfare rolls, she said, it would add at least $600,000 to the budget.

She also noted that the project—limited by federal rules to heads of families with children under 18—cannot admit many adults now on relief. In the last 18 months the project has taken in 972 trainees, but has turned away 613 ineligible or disabled volunteers.

And many of those who were trained, she said, "were different from ordinary workers—they had been sapped of their inspiration."

The city's rolls are on the rise again, she says, because many people are being encouraged to apply for welfare by civil rights and antipoverty workers. In addition, she says, some people are applying just to take part in the Title V training.

She and William P. Burrell, acting director, concede that their project—the biggest antipoverty effort in the state—was slow in starting. Some $1.4 million of the first grant of $3.2 million was returned unspent to OEO.

But now it is moving well, they said, and is changing attitudes of employers and welfare clients. Job training and placement are becoming integral parts of the welfare system, they say.

LOAD NOT

The city's manpower director, Donald Malafronte, contends that Title V has been "reasonably successful," although it produced no cut in the relief load. "It's the most interesting and complex of the antipoverty programs," he said, and it's been difficult to mesh it with all the training, education, health and social services the trainees need.

As to the persistence of the relief load, Malafronte cited a report showing the Newark unemployment rate since 1960 has dropped only from 11.3 to 8.2 per cent, while the nation's decreased from 5.6 to 3.8.

He also cited a study which found that most of those who remain on relief for any length of time are unfit for almost any employment. "These are persons beyond the reach of rehabilitation," said Malafronte, and antipoverty programs will have little impact on them.

While the antipoverty effort has done little to ease the city's financial squeeze, Malafronte said, the "overall impact of the programs is really significant, not only in terms of jobs and help . . . the expectations and movement aroused are really fantastic."

The city is now trying, he said, to develop more comprehensive training projects, with more stress on basic education and pre-vocational preparation.

Various officials also note that many of the federal programs so far are not aimed directly at the hard core of adult pool. Manpower training has been geared mostly for those with some education, while antipoverty projects have emphasized youth. Newark's antipoverty agency, the UCC has spent more on play streets than on training projects in the last two years, and is only now shifting emphasis.

But heads of UCC say their success should be measured in involvement of the poor in local affairs—not just by welfare figures.

"We're not geared to replace welfare on a quota basis—one antipoverty job equals one less welfare recipient," says William K. Wolfe, UCC director. "And for everyone that we take off," he said, there is another poor person who is eligible for welfare and isn't collecting it.

And the UCC's associate director, Donald M. Wendell, said most of the UCC's programs so far have been aimed at young people. "Our initial thrust was on preventive programs," he said. "We've been addressing ourselves to them before they become casualties."

More than half the $8.3 million allocated to UCC so far has gone to education of the young and less than 10 percent to manpower programs. But recently the agency's board decided to put more emphasis on training, and less on education.

The rising cost of welfare is due mainly to the growing caseload, but increased allotments and rising administrative expenses are factors too. Average grants to ADC families have risen $15 in the last two years, and grants to individuals on relief are up about $10. In Essex, welfare administrative costs have gone up 36 percent in two years, although the amount given to recipients went up only 23 percent.

Welfare and antipoverty officials recommend many steps to slow or stop the rise—intensified training, education and social services; extension of ADC to discourage desertion by jobless fathers; creation of "one-stop opportunity centers" to combine training and services in slum areas, and modernization of the whole welfare structure.

THE RISING ROLLS

The following figures from the N.J. Division of Public Welfare show the numbers of persons in various welfare programs since the start of the War on Poverty:

	November 1964	November 1965	November 1966
Old-age assistance	13,872	13,992	14,878
Disability assistance	8,635	8,906	9,206
Aid to dependent children	102,218	112,835	122,170
Blind assistance	944	913	906
Medical aid to the aged	5,287	5,849	6,266
General relief	30,475	28,160	29,138
Total	161,431	170,455	182,564

Detailed figures for December are not yet available.

These figures from the Essex County Welfare Board show the numbers of persons it was aiding:

	December 1963	December 1964	December 1965	December 1966
Old age	3,502	3,523	3,650	3,655
Disability	2,535	2,675	2,772	2,752
Dependent children	34,260	39,094	43,006	46,685
Blind	253	262	255	262
Aged medical	867	811	1,028	1,060
Total	41,417	46,365	50,601	54,324

And these figures from the Newark Division of Welfare show the total number of families collecting relief:

	1963	1964	1965	1966
June	2,068	2,538	2,723	2,673
December	2,516	2,909	2,440	3,070

Urgency of Proceeding With Nike X System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Nashville Banner of January 18, 1967, contains an editorial entited "Treaty Wouldn't Protect—Get On With Nike X." The most urgent task facing the 90th Congress is to spur the administration toward immediate and decisive action in beginning forthwith the preproduction engineering on the Nike X system as authorized and funded by Congress.

The editorial wisely points out the sheer folly of further delays in the program. I heartily commend it to the consideration of Senators and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Nashville Banner, Jan. 18, 1967]

RIGHT, REPRESENTATIVE RIVERS: TREATY WOULDN'T PROTECT—GET ON WITH NIKE X

President Johnson's proposal that the United States negotiate a pact with Soviet Russia to "freeze" anti-missile defenses at current levels—hoping thereby to halt proliferation of the arms race—has evoked some elementary questions and blunt warning by House Armed Services Committee Chairman L. Mendel Rivers.

He is not alone in that view. Competent military authorities—as personified by the Joint Chiefs of Staff—have backed the urgent necessity of an effective Nike X system.

The South Carolina Democrat has cause for concern. And so has every American.

Even if the proposed U.S.-USSR paper agreement were reached, it would leave this country starkly vulnerable in a shooting war; with reference particularly to protection at home, in the absence of any completed anti-missile system.

Intelligence reports indicate that both Moscow and Leningrad are ringed with anti-ballistic missiles—and have been for more than three years. The same sources reveal that these devices which intercept and explode nuclear warheads have been proven effective, and are being relied on by the Reds for protection from outside attack.

Despite the fact that Congress appropriated some $153 million last year for initial procurement steps toward anti-missile hardware, and at least a start to match Russia's capabilities, Johnson-McNamara & Co., turned thumbs down on the proposal.

As a result the United States has no such defenses in its arsenal. Neither are any on the drawing board being readied for construction.

To "freeze" production under a mutual agreement with Russia under such circumstances would, even if it were enforced, be stupid folly. Furthermore, since there would be no way to check by on-site inspection, nor guarantee that Russia would live up to the pact, any non-production treaty signed by the U.S. would invite disaster.

This, Chairman Rivers pointed out when he said "even if we could get a treaty, it wouldn't be worth anything" since the Russians repeatedly have demonstrated that pacts provide a ruse and cover for clandestine military production.

Rivers' indignation spilled over in referring to the administration's foot-dragging policy in "delaying the production of our Nike X while it begs the Russians not to install any more of theirs."

In the chilling light of Russia's progress the U.S. military establishment's needed course of action seems clear.

We must not merely match Russia, weapon for weapon, but maintain a distinct advantage militarily in the interests of preserving world peace.

Significantly, the White House and Secretary McNamara seem to be alone in their contention that the Nike X is unnecessary to maintain military superiority.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff have unanimously recommended it as essential to survival of the nation against Red agression.

Rep. Rivers has termed the delay "disgraceful". It is more than that. It partakes of folly.

It's time to quit indulging in illusionary hopes that Russia will curtail her military production and abandon new techniques for war by agreeing that an arms race is too costly and futile for nations involved.

The ability to meet every known threat should be the test of America's defenses. In this instance the Nike X represents a gap to be filled.

"Let's Hold on for Dear Life to Our Desire To Do Good, But—"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, a friend of mine called my attention to a sermon which his pastor, the Reverend Richard Post Williams, vicar of the Holy Cross Episcopal Mission, 3 Carderock Court, Bethesda, Md., delivered on Sunday, January 15. My friend felt that his pastor had a message particularly appropriate for the new session of Congress where the desire to "do good" in omnipresent. After reading the sermon, I agree.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include Vicar Williams' sermon in the RECORD so that my colleagues can have the benefit of this thoughtful message.

The sermon follows:

SERMON, JANUARY 15, 1967, HOLY CROSS EPISCOPAL MISSION, BY THE REVEREND RICHARD POST WILLIAMS, VICAR

Every one of us knows how deeply we want to do good. We resolve to be better citizens and to have the welfare of our fellow men on our minds and hearts.

Yet every one of us is constantly conscious of the possibility of becoming over-emotional and acting in a foolish way—or, because we over identify with a problem, that we will not recognize our incompetence and innocency and therefore what we do may be destructive rather than creative and productive.

Last week I mentioned the following analogy, which to some may be shocking, given to describe innocency in the nineteen-sixties. Innocency is like a deaf and blind leper who does not know that his disease is contagious, who has lost the bell around his neck, wandering through the crowded streets of a city thinking that he is doing no one any harm. To this I would like to add, the same leper is giving away free samples of unwrapped candy.

To make this clear to our imagination, consider two aspects of the current scene, one from public, the other from private life:

Individual clergymen and groups of clergymen are today offering specific solutions and are claiming to be taking leadership in the enactment of these solutions to almost every social, economic, and political problem that exists on a national, international, or interplanetary basis. It seems to me, speaking as one clergyman, that it is the conviction that some specific program is "the answer" or "the solution" that gets us into trouble.

Clergymen, whether we like to admit it or not, are generally speaking guilty of over-simplification and not competent when it comes to anti-poverty legislation or appropriations, urban development, farm subsidies, housing and fair employment practice. Planning and execution can only be carried out by experts with years of training in their field.

It is a great temptation to side-step the difficult and often humbling task of endeavoring to change the hearts and minds of men and to replace it by proposing programs and schemes as the solutions to the ills of men.

In fact, after last week, if taken at face value it would seem some clergy would lead one to think that if you are not 100% for a specific plan to protect Adam Clayton Powell from due process of law, you are against Motherhood and the Flag.

While we are on the subject, we would do well to recognize that there is more possibility of theological heresy couched in political terminology than there is in language of religion. The Presiding Bishop's new Committee on Freedom in the Pulpit I hope will keep this in mind.

Turn now to an illustration from private life. More and more young couples are coming to their clergymen today because they feel that the war is going to have disastrous results on their marriage. When they got married they did not take into account that the husband would be sent overseas for many months. His departure now interferes with all of their well-made plans. The plans include children, savings, small investments, purchase of a house, vacations, and the wife a part of a team to assure vocational advancement. Now all of that has vanished. A good marriage is what they deeply wanted but to have it become a reality somehow or other got to be dependent on a blueprint or a program. Now, faced with separation and the vanishing of carefully laid plans, the more important things of the heart and mind had to have some rethinking and reviving.

What is the conclusion of our thoughts? Let's hold on for dear life to our desire to do good. But let us never over-simplify the fact that the means demand more than just wishes, programs and schemes. And let us with determination be on guard against that kind of innocency that leads us down a primrose path of disappointment.

"Howlin' Mad" Smith, Marine General, Dies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I am sure those of us who were familiar with Gen. Holland McTyeire "Howlin' Mad" Smith, the tough, colorful leader who commanded marines in the bloody Pacific campaigns in World War II, were saddened to learn of his death recently.

A marine to the very last, he suffered a heart attack while attending ceremonies commissioning the 1st Marine Reserve Officer Training Corps at the Marine Military Academy in Harlingen, Tex.

He held the Distinguished Service Medal with three gold stars, the Purple Heart, and numerous other decorations. Gen. Wallace M. Greene, Jr., Commandant of the Marine Corps, said:

> None will miss General Holland M. Smith more than the Marines who were privileged to know and serve with his devout patriot and brilliant military leader. We who "carry on," as General Smith would have ordered, do so with a deep feeling for the loss to our country and Corps. Our final salute is rendered with greatest respect, admiration and sadness.

General Smith was born at Seale, Russell County, Ala., which is located in the district I serve. Besides his son and grandson, who survive him, the general left many friends not only in Alabama but throughout the United States. Out of admiration for the wonderful contribution he made to our country, I would like to submit the following article which appeared in the Brewton Standard on January 19, 1967:

> [From the Brewton Standard, Jan. 19, 1967]
>
> MARINE GENERAL SMITH, COUSIN OF LOCAL WOMAN, DIES AT 84
>
> News of the death of Retired Marine Corps General Holland McTyeire (Howling Mad) Smith, the Alabama native who became the architect of modern amphibious warfare, was learned with regret in Brewton where he had often visited his cousin, the late Mrs. G. W. L. Smith and Mr. Smith. Since their deaths he has returned to visit their daughter, Mrs. Malcolm McMillan and the late Mr. McMillan.
>
> General Smith spent sometime here with his relatives when he came to Alabama for the 60th reunion of his Auburn graduating class in 1961. He came again in the fall of 1965 for a visit.
>
> Born in 1882 at Seale in Russell County, he received his Bachelor of Science degree from Alabama Polytechnic Institute in 1901 and a bachelor of laws degree from the University of Alabama in 1903. His illustrious career stretched from the trenches of Verdun in World War I to Iwo Jima, the last major battle of the famed commander's contribution to the heroic history of the Marine Corps. Since his retirement from the Corps in 1946 at the age of 64 he lived quietly in La Jolla, California with his wife, Ada. Mrs. Smith died in 1962.
>
> General Smith died in Balboa Naval Hospital where he had been under treatment for a heart attack he suffered November 14 while in Harlingen, Texas for a marine academy dedication. He is survived by a son, Rear Admiral John V. Smith, assigned to the office of Chief of Naval Operations in Washington, a grandson, Holland M. Smith II, a navy ensign ticketed for duty in Vietnam and a granddaughter Mim.
>
> Military services were held Saturday in San Diego at the chapel of the Marine Corps Recruit Depot. Burial was at Ft. Rosecrans National Cemetery where Marines fired a final 17-gun salute.
>
> The passing of the retired general has been noted in headlines and editorials in his native state as well as the San Diego Union, Los Angeles Times and other publications throughout the nation. Among those paying tribute were Secretary of the Navy Paul H. Nitze, Marine Commandant, General Wallace M. Greene, Jr., and other fellow officers with whom he served during his 41 years in the Corps.
>
> Smith took the First Marine Brigade to Cuba in 1940 for 7 months then with Pearl Harbor returned to the U.S. to train army and Marine units in amphibious operations. In September 1943 he took command of the Fifth Amphibious Corps and when the Fleet Marine Force of the Pacific was created in 1944 he became it's commander. He helped to plan and personally direct every Marine conquest in the central Pacific from Tarawa, Guadalcanal, the Marshalls, and the Solomons through Iwo Jima and was the commander of the four island campaigns.
>
> In an editorial in the Birmingham News, General Smith was noted as "A man with a dual personality, who like many of the intrepid military leaders of men fretted before battles, cried over the casualty lists but showed no mercy in his intensive drive to win battles."
>
> Smith's nickname "Howlin' Mad" came as a result of his now legendary status as a forceful and controversial leader of victorious Marines in battle in the Pacific. Severe and unsparing of himself and others, he drove his men with an iron will. If troops couldn't move up, he wanted to know why; if they could and didn't, he was likely to take their commanders to task. Withdrawal had no place in his tactics. "Get ground and hold it," he demanded.
>
> The Saturday Evening Post published his war memoirs in installments during 1948.

Tax Sharing: A GOP Strawman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in his inaugural address, as Pennsylvania's new Governor, Raymond Shafer, echoed the Republican tax-sharing cry.

Here is what Robert Gerhart, a newly elected State legislator, reports on the inauguration speech and tax sharing:

> As I sat high in the stands behind Governor Shafer my thoughts wondered from the serious to the ridiculous and back again. Where, I thought, will he go for the new tax revenue we are hearing is so desperately needed. And what happened to the $100 million or more of surpluses which were allegedly the legacy of the Scranton Administration? Wasn't this part of the campaign fodder?
>
> Everyone shares the new governor's desire to make Pennsylvania first in the nation.

The question is, how do you go about achieving that goal? Democrats have their program and Republicans have theirs. It is our view that four years ago a similar aspiration was enunciated by the then new governor, William Scranton. This multi-millionaire from the coal regions presented a professional public relations picture unrelated to achievement. He sold his personality—but after four years we were still way down the totem pole in education, industrial growth, transportation, solution of urban problems, and health and welfare.

Now the refrain is not very different but a new feature has been added—a straw man. Governor Shafer's straw man is a federal subsidy for use as the state sees fit. In every speech since he was elected in November, Shafer has reiterated his views that federal revenues should be piped back into the states with no strings attached. There is as much chance of this happening as of LBJ kissing Mao and making up in a public square in Hanoi. But Shafer is cleverly setting up the straw man so that when it is knocked down he will be able to blame the federal government for conditions requiring more taxes in Pennsylvania. Or, Shafer will employ this ruse to reject social welfare reforms as being too costly. We'll see.

Tax-Sharing Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced legislation which would provide for the sharing of Federal taxes with the States and their local political subdivisions. I am hopeful that the House can take favorable action on this proposal in the near future as it represents a new direction for America which was mandated by the voters last November 8.

The proposal would return 2.2 billion Federal dollars directly to State and local governments without Federal earmarking or control. The President's budget proposes an increase of more than $2 billion in existing Federal grant-in-aid programs for the next fiscal year and a major cutback in these proposed expansions could be the start for an effective tax-sharing plan.

The bill would allocate 3 percent of Federal personal income tax revenue for tax sharing. The 17 poorest States would first receive 10 percent of the total funds as a form of equalization. The other 90 percent would then be divided among all States on the basis of population and a simple tax-effort ratio. Forty-five percent of the funds allocated to a State would have to be passed on to local subdivisions. The other 55 percent would be spent in any way the State desired. States reducing taxes would continue to receive tax-sharing funds, but in a comparably reduced amount.

There are two unique features of this tax-sharing proposal. First, at least 45 percent of the money would go to the local level for education and other municipal expenditures. Second, a new Council on Tax Sharing, with State representation, would administer the program to insure simplified distribution procedures and to preclude any Federal controls. The 10-man bipartisan Council would be appointed by the President and five of them would be State Governors.

As a further explanation, I would like to insert at this point in the RECORD a detailed discussion of the bill's provisions which has been prepared by the initiator of this approach, the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL], who, in my opinion, has come up with the finest new tax-sharing approach to meet the growing public problems of our State and local governments:

COUNCIL ON TAX SHARING

To avoid any possibility of Federal administrators imposing conditions, controls or excessive administrative paper work, the tax sharing program would be administered by a Council on Tax Sharing appointed by the President. Five members of the Council would be State Governors, with no more than three from the same political party. The Governors would be permitted to appoint alternates to represent them on the Council. No more than three of the other five members of the Council could be members of the same political party. The Council would determine forms and procedures with a requirement that they be kept as simple as possible. Only the Council could withhold funds for failure of State and local officials to comply with established procedures. Any decision to withhold funds would be subject to judicial review in a Federal Circuit Court of Appeals. The Council would also be charged with responsibility for assessing the impact of the tax sharing program and making recommendations to Congress for changes.

EQUALIZATION

Ten percent of the total tax sharing fund would first be distributed to the 17 States with the lowest per capita income. Distribution within the 17 States would be based on population and total personal income in such States.

TAX EFFORT RATIO

The other 90% of the tax sharing funds would be distributed to all States on the basis of population and a simple "tax effort ratio" for each State. The "tax effort ratio" is total taxes collected by the State and its political subdivisions (real, income, sales, etc.) divided by total personal income in the State.

DISTRIBUTION OF TAX SHARING TO STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

A. 50% of the funds would go to the States for whatever purpose they wished, including State aid to political subdivisions. Another 5% could be used by the State to strengthen administration or could be added to the general fund at the State's sole discretion.

B. 45% of the tax sharing payment received by a State would be allocated by the State to its political subdivisions. The State would have sole authority to determine the proportion to go to educational subdivisions as distinct from political subdivisions.

How To Reform the Draft Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. C. W. Bader, president of the Bader Building Material Corp., of Gary, Ind., on several occasions has expressed some constructive suggestions on the reform of our Selective Service System. He has forwarded me the accompanying editorial from the Tucson, Ariz., Daily Star endorsing the comments set out therein on some constructive thoughts regarding our draft legislation.

I am hereby submitting it for the consideration of the Members and the American public:

HOW TO REFORM THE DRAFT ACT

(By William R. Mathews)

Published in other columns on this page this morning is a letter from the father of four sons who presents a program to replace the present draft act. The Star heartily endorses it as a plan vitally necessary to support the ever-expanding growth of our diplomatic relations, and to meet the contingencies of a possible nuclear war, probably many years away.

It believes, also, that such a program is vitally necessary to meet the needs of our youth at a critical time in their lives.

The Star for years has championed the cause of universal military training, with few if any exemptions. It believes that every youth, when he becomes 17 or 18 years of age, has a duty to his country, which he should be compelled to perform.

Eighteen months to two years of military duty could be of value to every youth in our nation. Every youth, rich or poor, intelligent or stupid, should serve this period between the ages of 18 and 20.

In this connection it should be emphasized that modern military training involves the teaching of all kinds of trades, that would be of lifetime value to all draftees. Military service could educate the illiterate, it could discipline the disorderly. It could, at this critical time in every youth's life, teach him moral principles and healthy citizenship obligations, as well as of the new and expanding technologies. In short, it could give him a firm basis, and more self-confidence, to venture into the world and complete his education and career after his military service. It could, for instance, wipe out illiteracy in all young men, which would be a notable achievement.

It would create a fluid, active army to support our military operations at home and abroad. The young men who would serve abroad in combat zones, would serve one year. Then they would be relieved from all future military duty save in case of a world war, where complete mobilization was necessary. Thus they could plan their lives with an unusual degree of certainty. Those who would wish to continue their military service would have the right to do it.

Another important nonmilitary aspect of this training would be the recognition that most of our youth are healthy, vigorous boys who get into mischief when they are idle. There are other boys who might be classified as the dropouts, who get discouraged and who, for lack of training and education, have difficulty finding work.

Service of 18 months to two years, between the ages of 18 and 20, in military training, and in the armed forces of our nation, could do much to rehabilitate them and let them know they are needed.

I can't help telling my personal experience. It took me seven years to get through college. Then I went off to war for two years in the Marine Corps. That strenuous service in the Marine Corps, with its stern discipline, has been of everlasting benefit to me.

A few years ago I made an official investigation of the Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps recruiting camps in San Diego. I was dumbfounded with satisfaction and surprise at this wonderful training, which turned youngsters into self-reliant men. It brought out their best qualities by the education, clean living and discipline that is still imposed on them. This same kind of military training goes on in the Army and Air Force, too.

It would be interesting to have Dr. George Gallup or Mr. Lou Harris take a poll of the high school students throughout the nation to see if they would favor such a program. In my opinion, they would.

The volunteer system suggested by some members of the President's committee that has been making a study of the draft is not only disgracefully unjust but would fail to provide the number of men that our military services need. Moreover, the encouraging number of American young men who do volunteer has been made possible by the very existence of a draft law.

The Refugee Problem in the Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, one of most difficult problems facing the Middle East is the problem of the Arab refugees presently residing in Arab camps.

The Zionist Organization of America is as concerned about this as any other group.

Dr. Joseph B. Schechtman, an authority on refugee problems, has made some constructive observations on this situation and I commend to the attention of our colleagues his December 1966 monograph which was issued by the Public Affairs Department of the Zionist Organization of America.

Dr. Schechtman's observations follow:

THE RECORD OF THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND WORKS ADMINISTRATION

(By Dr. Joseph B. Schechtman)

Tension in the Middle East will not subside nor conflicts cease until the Arab refugee problem is solved.

UNRWA—the United Nations Relief and Works Administration, established 17 years ago to help the Arab refugee from Palestine, with a Mandate to undertake "at an early date constructive measures with a view to the termination of international assistance for relief," was to serve as an instrument for the solution of the Arab refugee problem.

Yet, in actual fact, UNRWA has become a potent factor for the perpetuation of the problem. Yielding to the Arab Governments' sabotage of every attempt on the part of the refugees' economic integration through constructive works projects, UNRWA has since 1955 abandoned every effort in this direction. It became a mere relief agency, with no prospect for determination of the costly international assistance and for winding up its activities. UNRWA's admittedly inflated relief rolls artificially magnify the actual number of Arab refugees. UNRWA thus serves the designs of the Arab Governments who are exploiting the plight of the refugees for their anti-Israel crusade.

This state of affairs should not be permitted to continue. The Arab States should assume, with such international assistance as can be mustered for a constructive solution, the responsibility for the re-settlement of the refugees among their own people in the vast and rich Arab territories.

This monograph is a constructive study of the Arab refugee problem and a contribution to its solution. It was prepared by Dr. Joseph B. Schechtman, an authority on refugee problems, and is distributed by the Zionist Organization of America Public Affairs Department, as a public service.

The abbreviation UNRWA stands for "United Nations Relief and Works Administration" for Palestine refugees in the Middle East. It was established by a resolution of the UN Assembly on November 30, 1949, with the proviso that direct relief was to be terminated not later than December 31, 1950, unless otherwise directed by the Assembly.

The UN resolution called for "constructive measures to be undertaken at an early date with a view to the termination of international assistance for relief." Several works programs were presented by the Clapp Mission in 1949, and by UNRWA's second Commissioner-General, John B. Blandford, in 1951, who insisted that "there must be a firm goal of terminating relief operations: sustained relief operations inevitably contain the germ of human deterioration." Blandford believed that "with the fullest cooperation from Arab governments and the international community, homes and livelihood could be provided for 50,000 families (about 150,000 persons) annually."

In January 1952, the UN General Assembly established a $200 million reintegration fund to finance the refugees' resettlement and rehabilitation. "Program agreements for a series of work schemes were negotiated with the governments of Jordan, Egypt, and Syria. But not a single one of the constructive projects of integration, based on the UN funds and recommendations, has materialized. Henry R. Labouisse, who succeeded Blandford as head of UNRWA, frankly said in his 1955 Annual Report that they were frustrated not because of their impracticability, but because of "resistance to self-support programs" and "political objections to large-scale projects" on the part of the host governments. Asked on February 11, 1957 why UNRWA could not help the refugees to settle and work in countries where they are, the UNRWA director said: "The answer lies in the realm of politics and in deep-seated human emotions . . . unscrupulous political agitators have consistently exploited the understandable bitterness of the refugees."

After Labouisse retired in 1958, his successor, Dr. John H. Davis, fully endorsed the Arab attitude. In his Annual Report for 1959–1960 he averred that after ten years of the Agency's existence, "the rehabilitation function of UNRWA, which was intended to render a substantial number of refugees self-supporting, has failed to achieve any appreciable results"; and in November 1959, he also warned the United Nations that direct relief would be needed "for a decade or more." For all practical purposes, the "W" (Works) in the Agency's title has been dropped. It became a mere UNRA—a purely philanthropic relief organization.

Moreover—and this is much more disturbing—Dr. Davis has not merely acquiesced in this amputation of the second part of UNRWA's twin assigment of "relief and works": making a virtue out of alleged necessity, he also made a determined attempt to condone and justify the failure by arguing that the bankruptcy of the rehabilitation effort was not caused (as his predecessor admitted) by obstruction of the Arab governments and "unscrupulous political agitators," but by objective economic "facts of life" in the Middle East. In his address before the 1961 World Refugee Year Conference in Geneva, UNRWA's head categorically rejected what he called "the misconception" that "the Arab host governments have been mistreating the refugees by neglecting them and even 'holding them as hostages in their struggle with Israel.'" "The truth is," he asserted, "that in general the host governments have been sympathetic and generous, within their means." Having thus absolved the Arab regimes of any blame, Dr. Davis proceeded to disprove another "misconception," namely, "that the refugee problem could and would have been settled long ago except for the conniving of unprincipled Arab politicians who have sought to hold the refugees idle." In his view, the real stumbling block to economic integration was that the great majority of refugees were not only unemployed but also unemployable owing to a lack of necessary skills: in the stagnant economy of the Arab host countries, he argued, there is no place for them and no prospect of their obtaining gainful occupation; any project for the refugees' integration is doomed in advance.

Continuing this defeatist approach in his 1961–62 Annual Report, Dr. Davis recalled "the frustrated attempts of UNRWA during its initial year in sponsoring projects to settle refugees," and expressed his "considered opinion" that such projects were bound to fail "because they have been unacceptable to the people (refugee and nonrefugee) indigenous to the region and to the governments who represent them;" UNRWA should, therefore, "not again attempt work projects designed to settle the refugees."

This considered opinion of UNRWA's head represents an outright capitulation to the position taken by governments "indigenous to the region" and to their constant sabotage of any constructive development project. Knocking the "W" out of UNRWA's name, this shift also violates the clear and definite United Nations mandate, which speaks of "economic and social rehabilitation of refugees." Precluding any effort towards the refugees' integration, UNRWA's Commissioner-General was duty bound to ask the U.N. General Assembly for reconsideration and revision of the Agency's original terms of reference. He refrained from doing so, apparently realizing that he had little chance to find support for his new line on the part of U.N. members, in particular those carrying the main burden of UNRWA's budget. But, apparently reluctant to force a showdown, those member-states have also abstained from challenging this *de facto* turnabout. It was by default rather than by assent that this reversal of UNRWA's authentic aims was permitted to become the Agency's stated policy. The only tentatively dissenting voice was that of Carl T. Rowan, a United States Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, who, on December 11, 1962, told the United Nations General Assembly's Special Political Committee that his country endorses Dr. Davis' report *pro forma* only: "My Government did not and does not associate itself with all the views expressed in the current UNRWA report."

2. INFLATED AND FRAUDULENT RELIEF ROLLS

All the refugee statistics bandied about since UNRWA came into being are based not on a census of the refugees, but on the number of never checked applications for refugee ration cards.

The original number of Arabs who had actualy left the territory of Israel in 1948–1949 was grossly misrepresented in the years that followed.

As late as November 30, 1960, Ahmed Shukairi of Saudi Arabia—now the head of the Palestine Liberation Army—told the Special Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly that "a million human beings had had to cross into exile." Five days earlier, the representative of Lebanon, Nadim Dimechkie, told the same body that "more than one million Arabs had been expelled." He was outdone on November 29 by El Nur Ali Suleiman of Sudan, who spoke of "the expulsion of a million and a half Arabs." Prior to all these statements, on November 17, Emil Ghoury, vice chairman of the Mufti-headed Arab Higher Committee, put the figure at two million.

All these and similar figures are in the first place sheer demographic impossibilities.

The number of Arabs residing in the present territory of Israel never reached a million—to say nothing of a million and a half or two million. The latest available statistical data on Palestine's population are those submitted by the British Mandatory Power in 1946 to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry: these data were recognized and accepted as correct by both Arabs and Jews, as well as by United Nations agencies. A close inspection of the detailed lists, on the basis of which the British *Survey of Palestine* (Vol. 1) was drawn, establishes that on December 31, 1944, a total of 640,000 Arabs were living in the present area of Israel; the natural increase during the following 40 months, till May 1948, would amount to about 56,000, making a grand total of 696,000. Not all of them fled: some 142,000 remained; 35,000 were subsequently permitted to return to Israel to be reunited with their kin. That leaves a maximum of 519,000 refugees, who could have "crossed into exile"—to use the terminology of Ahmed Shukairi. But not only the astronomical figures advanced by Arab spokesmen, but also those submitted at various times by the UNRWA (960,000 in 1950; 916,489 in 1953; 1,174,760 as of June 30, 1962; 1,280,000 as of June 30, 1965, and 1,317,749 as of June 30, 1966), and accepted unquestioningly by the United Nations budgeting bodies, as well as by public opinion, are either guesswork or based on fraud.

The First Interim Report of the United Nations Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East, headed by Gordon R. Clapp, candidly stated in November, 1949, that "no one knows exactly how many refugees there are." Testifying three months later before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Mr. Clapp admitted that his mission "did not undertake to count the refugees" and that "population statistics in the Middle East are tricky." Years elapsed and in 1955 Dr. Marguerite Cartwright, a sociology professor at New York's Hunter College met in Lebanon Henry R. Labouisse, then head of UNRWA, and asked him, "How close do you feel that you have come to estimating the actual number of people in the camps?" "Not very close," he confided. "In fact, we really don't have any idea. . . . We just can't get in for an accurate count." When Dr. Cartwright raised the question of an accurate count with one of the camp workers in Lebanon, his answer was: "We try to count them, but they are coming and going all the time; or we count them in Western clothes, then they return in aba and Kaffiyah, and we count the same ones again." He admitted that "fingerprinting had never been tried, nor did it seem that the counting had been taken very seriously." (Plain Speech on the Arab Refugee Problem," in Land Reborn, organ of the American Christian Palestine Committee, November-December, 1956).

This early indiscrimnate, slovenly registration was the "original sin" of the UNRWA's refugee statistics; it had a cumulative effect in the years that followed. Since then, children of alleged refugees have been automatically inflating the relief rolls and perpetuating an artificially magnified, blatantly distorted picture of the true size of the refugee population.

UNRWA's Commissioner-General acknowledged this in 1962 in a statement which appeared in the Agency's Information Paper No. 6:

"In practice, the statistical records maintained and published by the relief agencies ministering to the needs of the refugees have never purported to be more than an account of the way in which the funds entrusted to these agencies for the relief of the refugees have been disbursed and of the number of persons to whom, rightly or wrongly, rations and other relief services have been given."

Since then, the refugees have been using every imaginable stratagem and subterfuge to keep the number of those cards growing. As early as October 1950, the UNRWA Commissioner-General acknowledged that "there is reason to believe that births are always registered for ration purposes, but deaths are often, if not usually, concealed so that the family may continue to collect rations for the deceased." (United Nations Document A/1451).[1] In the years to come, every UNRWA report contained almost identically worded statements to the same effect. Stating that 1,120,000 Arabs have been receiving relief during the period July 1, 1959–June 30, 1960, the UNRWA annual report admitted:

"The above statistics are based on the Agency's registration records which do not necessarily reflect the actual refugee population owing to factors such as the high rate of unreported deaths, undetected false registration, etc."

In October 1959, UNRWA's Director Dr. John H. Davis, averred that ration rolls in Jordan alone "are believed to include 150,000 ineligibles and many persons who have died." Simultaneously, two United States Senators, Albert Gore of Tennessee and Gale W. McGee of Wyoming, who had been touring the Middle East investigating for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Senate Appropriations Committee, cabled from Amman to President Eisenhower, Secretary of State Christian A. Herter, and the United Nations that, according to UNRWA's officials, fraudulent possession and use of ration cards was widespread. "Ration cards," the Senators stated, "have become chattel for sale, for rent or bargain by any Jordanian, whether refugee or not, needy or wealthy. These cards are used as security for loans from money lenders for credit from merchants almost as negotiable instruments. By mortgage, foreclosure and various other means, including concealment of dead, many have acquired large numbers of ration cards, which in turn are rented or bartered to others who unjustifiably receive (organization) rations, much of which are now in the black market."

George B. Vinson UNRWA organization Field Registration and Eligibility Officer stationed in Old Jerusalem, told the Senators that 20 to 30 per cent of rations distribution was unjustifiable. Dr. Harry Howard, United States representative on the organization's Advisory Committee confirmed this and added: "I have actually seen merchants openly weighing and buying (organization) supplies from recipients of distribution centers."

Even some Arab sources have admitted the existence of a thriving black market in ration cards. On July 23, 1955, the *Mideast Mirror*, a weekly news review published by the Arab News Agency of Cairo, wrote:

"There are refugees who hold as many as 500 UNRWA ration cards, 499 of them belonging to refugees long dead . . . They are dealers in UNRWA food and clothing and ration cards to the highest bidder . . . 'Refugee capitalists' is what UNRWA calls them."

Eleven years later (June 1966), Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Refugees, disclosed preliminary findings of his staff director George Abrams who visited Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt:

"Powerful Arab merchants holding 1,000 or more refugee ration cards may be seen collecting sacks of food supplies from UNRWA distributors in refugee camps in Jordan. He said they wield political influence to protest and block refugee rectification."

As early as 1957, the Jordan daily *Ad-Difaa* reported UNRWA's charges that cases even of forgery of ration cards have occurred. In mid-1957, UNRWA discovered that there were cases of more than one card bearing the same serial number. It notified the Jordan Ministry of Welfare and Rehabilitation of this fact and of its intention to conduct an investigation that would lead to the cancellation of the unauthorized "doubles." The answer was that the Ministry was opposed to any action designed to re-examine the refugees' ration cards or to cancel a part of them, regardless or the situation prevailing. The UNRWA leadership tacitly accepted this rebuke.

3. ABORTIVE ATTEMPTS AT RECTIFICATION AND AT FURTHER INFLATION

In August 1964, eight months after he took over the post of UNRWA's Commissioner-General, Laurence Michelmore was quoted by the Arab press as intending to implement the repeatedly announced drastic revision of the notoriously inflated rolls of ration card cardholders by removing some 100,000 names of dead persons; a clause to that effect was to be included in his forthcoming yearly report of the U.N. General Assembly. The original Arab reaction was an indignant denunciation of such a plan. Palestinian refugees in Nablus and Jenin cabled the U.S. Secretary-General, U Thant, charging that UNRWA, "inspired by the imperialist powers which created Israel," was now "turning the Palestine problem from the problem of a homeland and people into the problem of the number of refugees," a move designed to "liquidate the Palestine problem." The cables warned that the refugees would boycott the revised ration cards. Jordanian Prime Minister Bahjat al Talhouni declared in Amman that his government would oppose any "compromise on the refugees' rights." UNRWA headquarters in Beirut reacted with a brave statement that the Agency "should not go on wasting funds on issuing rations to thousands of persons who are dead or absent" and that the contemplated changes were aimed at taking rations from those who did not need them" so that they could be "given to those who did." As a specific measure, UNRWA was reported issuing instructions to buy up ration cards belonging to persons who have died or gone abroad, which were pawned with shopkeepers; if not returned, such cards would be invalidated from November, 1964.

The UNRWA Annual Reports for 1964–65 and 1965–66 averred, however, that not a single ration card holder had been removed from the rolls in Jordan, Syria or Lebanon, because the governments of these countries refused to cooperate with any attempt at verifying the eligibility for relief (in the Gaza Strip, 14,240 rations were cancelled in 1965 and the first part of 1966, and simultaneously alloted to 11,307 children on the waiting list); the total number of those receiving rations was reduced by a mere 0.5 per cent.

Apparently unperturbed by this failure, the Commissioner-General asked for a far-reaching extension of the term "refugee," which would lead to further, practically unlimited, swelling of the refugee rolls. His proposals for expanding eligibility went in three main directions: (Paragraphs 17, 19, 21, 25, 26 of the Report for 1964–65).

A. To include the so-called "Other Claimants for Relief," the inhabitants of certain border-villages *in Jordan* who lost their income (but not their homes) because of the 1948 hostilities.

B. Throughout the first sixteen years of its existence, UNRWA adhered to the principle that only those whose "normal residence" has been in Palestine for at least two years prior to the 1948 conflict were eligible for relief. Now, refugee eligibility was to be stretched to cover "persons who may have lived in Palestine in 1948, but for less than two years, or persons who previously lived in Palestine but not during the two years 1946–1948".

C. By far the most important issue raised by the new eligibility proposals is the intention to extend relief to the third generation of refugees, i.e. to the children of persons who were born after May 14, 1948, as well as to subsequent generations. "Instead of the (refugee) problem shrinking, it would go on expanding, and would be projected into the indefinite future," commented Israel's Ambassador Comay. He expressed doubt whether the contributing governments who have paid the UNRWA budget till now, would want to see their generosity as a blank-check commitment to succeeding generations.

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[1] Footnote at end of speech.

4. A REALISTIC BREAKDOWN

In an earlier report (for the period July 1, 1963–June 30, 1964), the Commissioner-General has for the first time in the Agency's history offered an at least tentative breakdown of the percentages of refugees who are not totally destitute and who might, for that reason, be taken off the rolls entirely or have their UNRWA aid reduced.

Noting obliquely that the Arab host governments—U.A.R., Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon—and the refugees themselves have not cooperated with his efforts to obtain precise statistics on the extent of the need among the refugees, and admitting that "reliable information about the economic status of individual refugee families is hard to come by," Mr. Michelmore nevertheless found it possible to classify three categories of refugees:

1. The destitute and near destitute—40 to 50 per cent.
2. The partially self-supporting, who are still in need of some help from UNRWA—30 to 40 per cent.
3. The securely re-established—10 to 20 per cent.

In absolute figures, this break-down would mean that of the 1,280,000 Arab refugees maintained by the UNRWA to 256,000 (one-fifth) were already self-supporting last year and no longer needed UNRWA's help. The actual number of refugees in a similar position seems, however, to be considerably higher. On p. 13 of the Report for 1965/66, we read that of the 1,317,749 refugees under UNRWA's care only 861,122 were registered for rations: The remaining 456,627 apparently did not need them (their number increased by 88,943 in comparison with 367,684 of the same group mentioned in UNRWA's report for the previous year). Of the 861,122 still on relief rolls, at least 100–150 thousand are admittedly dead, absent or ineligible for ration cards (see p. 6). Thus, more than half a million among the 1,317,949 who are now paraded by the UNRWA administration as "uprooted Arab refugees" are no longer refugees in the commonly accepted sense of this term.

In the report for 1965/66, the Commissioner-General made it unmistakably clear that he has no intention of pressing further the rectification effort, is largely satisfied with the present state of affairs, and is willing to accept the position taken by the Arab host government. Mentioning that "detailed discussions of outstanding problems in relation to the ration rolls . . . have taken place between the Agency and the governments concerned." Mr. Michelmore found it necessary to put on record "his appreciation of the constructive spirit in which the host governments have approached these discussions. At the same time," he continued, "it is clear to him that, in varying degrees, the host governments had real difficulties in associating themselves with action (rectification of fraudulent ration cards) which might have the effect of disturbing the pattern of ration distribution established over so many years past." The Commissioner-General has thus fully endorsed the policy of *status quo* long advocated by the Arab governments.

Moreover, he finds the present state of affairs in Lebanon "unreasonably satisfactory," and "the registration of births and deaths among the refugee population" in Syria, "reasonably accurate and up to date." The report admits that "additional measures to confirm the presence of ration recipients in the country would be desirable," and that "little progress has been made in the efforts to ensure that rations are distributed on the basis of proven need." During the first half of 1966, UNRWA "renewed its approaches to the (Syrian) government on this matter," but "these approaches had not produced a result at the time of presenting this report." Apparently because he considers such verification only "desirable," the Commissioner-General left it at that.

He is equally complacent in regard to the situation in Jordan. The report admits that "no systematic verification" was attempted since 1953 because of "disorders in the refugee camps," and that "subsequent attempts to deal with particular elements of the problem, such as the activities of the so-called merchants, who traffic in ration cards and ration commodities and who have a vested interest in the existing inaccuracies in the rolls, have also often failed, owing to adverse reaction among the refugees."

During thirteen years, UNRWA has thus unconditionally surrendered to refugees' sabotage, instigated by the merchants' "vested interests." In the second part of 1966, prompted by the specific and clear-cut 1965 resolution of the U.N. Assembly, the Assembly, the Agency and the Jordan Government "were able to agree" on a very limited modicum of verification. But again, "shortly before submission of this report, the implementation of these measures was temporarily deferred, at the (Jordan) Government's request." The *status quo* is once more being perpetuated.

In regard to the Gaza area, the report merely makes an evidently intentionally vague reference to the "continuance" of some undefined "action among several different lines with the cooperation of the governmental authorities." No results, no matter how modest, of this "action" are even hinted at.

The true meaning of this obviously deliberate procrastination becomes clear when the Commissioner-General, "turning to broader issues," does not hesitate to announce his own concept of the policy to follow:

"The vexed problem of rectification is often based on a presumption that a clear dividing line exists between those refugees who are totally indigent and those who are totally self-supporting. The number of persons on the rolls is sometimes given exaggerated importance as a presumed index of the extent to which refugees have or have not recovered the ability to support themselves.

"The Commissioner-General feels that in order to view the problem in proper perspective it should be borne in mind that what is at issue is a meagre allowance of dry foodstuffs costing less than one dollar twenty cents a month for each refugee and providing only two-thirds of the normal intake of food of a poor person living in the Middle East.

"Although the original purposes of the rations was to keep body and soul together, they were never in fact adequate for that purpose. Now, with the passage of time and changes in economic circumstances, they have become for many of the recipients a modest economic subvention from the international community, to assist them in their struggle to support themselves and improve their economic condition."

The Commissioner-General therefore "believes that it would be misleading to attach undue importance to the number of ration recipients as an index of the dependence of the refugees on international aid."

In plain language, this latest version of UNRWA's policy means that "international aid" in the form of rations may—or should—continue indefinitely, even in regard to those who have in the meantime established themselves economically, in order to further "improve their economic conditions." The criterion of eligibility is thus completely abandoned. If endorsed—or tacitly acquiesced to—the United Nations—such a concept is bound to preclude any constructive effort of ever rehabilitating the refugees economically and making them independent.

5. THE UNITED STATES SPEAKS UP

The U.S. government is aware of this state of affairs. On July 20, 1966, Joseph J. Sisco, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, told the Senate subcommittee on Refugees and Escapees:

"We have been troubled for many years by irregularities in the ration rolls. We have known for a long time that rations are being drawn in the name of people who are dead, who have left the area, or who no longer require food from UNRWA. We also know that certain merchants have bought up these cards and have made a profit through the sale and exchange of UNRWA foodstuffs. . . We have sought through every practical means available to encourage UNRWA and the host governments to put an end to these abuses through a complete rectification of the relief rolls. U.N. General Assembly resolutions have at various times called for rectification. There has been over the years, a steady but slow process of rectification, and Arab officials on many occasions promised much more vigorous action in cooperation with UNRWA to remove, wholesale, from the lists those who are not truly in need. Unfortunately, these promises remain largely unfulfilled."

Even more outspoken and precise was Secretary of State Dean Rusk who told the subCommittee, in a prepared statement, that half-a-million Arab refugees now have jobs, "live reasonably normal lives" outside the camps and should be removed from UNRWA's rolls. He also stated that "the basic responsibility for helping refugees lies with the sovereign government of the country of asylum."

6. THE IMPLICATIONS

If translated into practice, such an approach would not only ease UNRWA's budgetary problem, but could also pave the way for reducing the Arab refugee problem to its realistic proportions and for its realistic solution. As things stand now, UNRWA continues to operate with admittedly inaccurate, inflated, ever-increasing refugee statistics, which obscure and distort both the scope of the problem and the possibilities of its solution. By maintaining the fiction of more than 1¼ million Arab refugees and preserving the existing pattern of distributing the ration cards, UNRWA is actually perpetuating and reinforcing collective existence of Arab refugeedom. As Dr. Don Peretz put it in the report on his 1962 study mission to the Middle East, the relief ration cards of UNRWA serve as "a token of continued identification as displaced Palestinians . . . in effect, the UNRWA ration card has become the identity card of the displaced Palestine Arab."

UNRWA thus appears as something of an overgrown umbilical cord, which is artificially keeping alive the refugees' vanishing identification with Palestine. It intensifies their feeling of apartness from their Arab kin in the host countries and impedes rather than encourages their integration in these lands. As things now stand, UNRWA, a United Nations agency which has thus far received a total of $535,397,505 of international financing, is actually defeating the purpose for which it had been established: to extend temporary philanthropic assistance to the displaced Palestinians with a view to gradually putting an end to their refugee existence. What the UNRWA leadership is now practicing and planning is just the opposite of this assignment.

7. UNRWA, FOREVER

In his 1964–65 report to the UN General Assembly, Commissioner-General Michelmore expressed his belief that in spite of the progress made in education and vocational training of the younger generation, "the large hard core of refugees will continue to live in poverty and dependence on charity for an indefinite future." He also asked for an extension of the Agency's mandate (which was to expire on June 30, 1965) "for a reasonably long period, such as five years" (p. 7). The voteless General Assembly has on February 10, 1965, by unanimous consensus, approved extension for one year only, to June 30, 1966. Later in the year, extension of UNRWA's mandate was discussed in the Assembly's Special Political Committee, where delegates of the Arab member states, while mildly critical of UNRWA's "meager aid," strongly supported a five-year extension for the Agency. For obvious tactical reasons, in the forefront of this Arab pro-UNRWA crusade were, characteristically enough, delegates of such countries which have no refugees in their territory and where UNRWA is not functioning: Adnan Tarcici of Yemen, Morocco's Younes Neckrouf, Kuwait's Rashid Abdul-Aziz al-Rashid. As against these demands, the delegate of France, Claude Arnaud, advocated the prolongation of UNRWA's mandate for three, and not five years. His proposal was later accepted by the General Assembly: UNRWA's term now runs until June 30, 1966.

UNRWA's leadership and personnel are obviously determined "to stay in business." At the hearings of the Senate Subcommittee on Refugees and Escapees in July of this year, the Committee's counsel, George Abrams, who returned from a study trip to the Near East, reported that there was "some feeling that the UNRWA is becoming a self-perpetuating body."

8. THE ROLE OF UNRWA'S ARAB STAFF

A major, too often disregarded, element in UNRWA's predictament is its own Arab administrative staff.

In the earlier stages of the Agency's existence, its executive personnel consisted mainly of non-Arab career people and technicians. Such composition was dictated by the inherently political and strongly controversial nature of the Arab refugee problem, which from its very inception became a matter of international concern and was overwhelmingly financed by the United States and other Western powers. But by December 31, 1963, the international administrative staff had been reduced from 194 to 151, plus 29 seconded and loaned from other United Nations organs: a total of 180. By December 31, 1964, only 124 permanent UNRWA employees belonging to this category remained, plus 24 on loan from other U.N. bodies—a total of 148. By the end of 1965, the Agency's permanent international staff was cut to 101. They are confined to UNRWA's headquarters in Beirut, with no access to the refugee camps, no direct contact with the refugees themselves, and no possibility whatsoever to check eligibility or registration.

All statistical records originate nearly exclusively from the "locally recruited staff," to use the terminology of the UNRWA report; the report adds that "virtually all in this category are refugees." Their number increased from 11,609 in 1962 to 11,936 by December 31, 1964. While 3,968 of that total were "paid daily" in 1962—indicating the temporary character of their employment, they were all in 1964 transferred to regular jobs and paid a monthly salary. Many of them are in positions of responsibility. Their reports on the numbers of refugees eligible for relief are subject only to a few limitations: two per cent increase, deregistration of the few refugees settled with UNRWA's financial assistance, transfer from "rations to service" register and vice versa owing to changes in UNRWA's staff employment, etc. And by far not all of them are likely to be eager to care for the accuracy of the relief count and to check the rolls scrupulously. The refugees they are supervising are violently opposed to any revision of the rolls, let alone to a genuine census, and the field workers in the camps either sympathize with this attitude or yield to the pressure of their wards. Dr. Don Peretz, wrote in his already quoted report on the study trip to the Middle East:

"The Agency employs thousands of former Palestine mandatory Arab officials, physicians, teachers, and clerks. The number of individuals in families who depend upon UNRWA for employment is approximately 50,000. They constitute a great political pressure group, especially in Jordan. No politician in any of the host countries dares to recommend abolition of their livelihood."

An authoritative confirmation of this statement offers the last report submitted by Dr. Davis before his retirement in January 1964:

"The most difficult aspect of rectification is that of removing names of persons who have become self-supporting. Certain influential refugee elements press UNRWA to halt any major effort with regard to revision of the rolls. They still suspect that UNRWA's motives for rectification are in some way connected with an effort to liquidate the refugee problem in a manner which would deny them their basic rights."

For all intents and purposes, UNRWA is now a prisoner of the vested interests of its large Arab staff,[2] to whom are being turned over ever more executive and specialized positions. Mr. Michelmore argued that the latest reduction of international management and transfer of jobs and authority to Arab functionaries, would result in administrative payroll savings, up to $200,000. But it is also bound to increase the Arab political control over the refugee mass.

UNRWA's Arab employees in charge of the refugees' local needs and interests have become their leaders and spokesmen. Under such leadership, the refugees are being indoctrinated in a spirit of uncompromising militancy and tense expectancy of imminent return to Palestine. After a visit to a 40,000 inmate refugee camp near Jerico in November 1964, where he talked to the camp leaders and listened to their solemn pronouncements that they "would accept no solution except to go back, even if the (Arab) governments agreed on a different arrangement," Samuel William Yorty, Mayor of Los Angeles, came to the conclusion that any possible solution would be feasible only on an individual basis and not through the refugees' leaders who are "consumed with hate and emotion." He felt that "their implacable attitude may be a bluff, and most of the refugees would take compensation if it is offered . . . there is, however, no way of calling the bluff except by making the offer." When Yorty suggested to the refugee leaders that the United States might one day stop its aid, they replied, "You can't, it may start a war." Yet, his feeling was that "if they are told firmly that the aid program will be phased out, the situation may change and it is possible that the attitude, particularly of the younger ones, may change."

9. BRAINWASHING THE YOUNGER GENERATION

Of the 1,317,749 Arab refugees registered with UNRWA by June 1966, over 500,000 are under 18 years of age: they were born outside of what is now Israel and have never been in Palestine; together with those who were infants during the 1948 exodus and have little, if any, firsthand recollection of that country, they constitute more than half of the refugee population. A whole new generation of former Palestinians is growing up, possessing only second-hand knowledge and spirital experience of Palestine.

And yet, UNRWA reports invariably lump them together with the older generation in the "longing to return to their homes," in the feeling that "a nation has been obliterated and a population arbitrarily deprived of its birthright . . . this injustice still festers in their minds." The report for 1964–1965, from which these sentences are quoted, refers to such refugee attitudes without any qualifications, with obvious sympathy and implied assent. It also adds that "during the past year, their (the refugees') emotions have if anything increased with the additional focus for their feelings provided by the Palestine Liberation Organization which came into being in June, 1964, (in order) . . . to consolidate the Palestine entity, and as a vanguard for the collective Arab struggle for the liberation of Palestine. Apart from the view expressed by that organization, the refugees themselves use every opportunity to stress the intensity of their aspirations and hope to return to their former homeland."

Mr. Michelmore repeated this statement, in an even stronger form, in his report for 1965–66: "As year succeeds year, there is no sign that the refugees are becoming any less embittered by their conviction that a grave injustice has been done to them."

If the above description of the refugees' attitude is correct in regard to the younger generation, it can be valid only if such emotions are also being cultivated in the UNRWA's vast educational network (139,826 in primary schools, 34,145 in secondary schools). All these institutions are manned exclusively by a refugee teaching staff, and the pupils are known to be exposed to a systematic barrage of propaganda, incitement and brainwashing. Characteristic of this system is the UNRWA-maintained school for refugee children in Beirut, where the pupils stand every morning at attention and chant the following dialogue with their leader:

"Young men!" "Aye!"

"Young men!" "Aye!"

"Palestine!" "It's our homeland!"

"To return!" "That's our aim!"

"Struggle!" "That's our history!"

"Knowledge!" "Our light!"

"Faith!" "Is our armor!"

"Sacrifice!" "Is our duty!"

"Martyrs!" "Are our people!"

"Death!" "We shall not fear!"

"Palestine." "Ours! Ours! Ours! Our Palestine, we shall not forget you! No other land is ours! Our Palestine, we swear by you, before God and history, that we shall spill our blood to get you back! Long live Palestine, and we shall live for our revenge!"

With this kind of educational conditioning, UNRWA schools are bound to be largely responsible for the younger generation's intransigence and nationalistic fervor. They offer fertile grounds for Ahmed Shukeiry's Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). On September 30, 1966, the Reuter New Agency reported from Beirut that more than 1,000 Palestinian students boycotted classes in schools run by UNRWA; a spokesman for the students, some of whom sat in the offices of the P.L.O. explained that they demanded that UNRWA schools in Lebanon be put under supervision of Lebanese Ministry of Education in cooperation with the P.L.O. and the Directorate General of Palestine Refugee Affairs.

The United States has repeatedly urged UNRWA to identify and remove from the ration rolls the reported 8–12 thousand recruits of Shukeiry's Palestine Liberation Army (P.L.A.). The reply the State Department received, last August, was that "without cooperation from the (Arab) host governments, it would be virtually impossible for UNRWA to identify P.L.A. members."

7. THE UNITED STATES PRESSES FOR A CHANGE

The United States, both government and Congress—though to a different degree—are growing increasingly dissatisfied and impatient with the record of UNRWA, to whose budget the United States has during the period 1950–66 contributed $364,488,069, about 70 per cent of the $534,397,505 the Agency received in international financing.

Announcing in February, 1965, the U.S. contribution of $24.7 million to the UNRWA budget, the U.S. delegation to the United Nations made the pledge—for the first time—subject to the condition that the Agency's relief rolls be purged of persons currently ineligible for rations and that funds as-

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Footnote at end of speech.

signed for education or health purposes be not diverted to the relief services budget. The same year, the Administration proposed to reduce U.S. contribution in foodstuffs by $1 million; in addition Congress slashed the country's cash contribution by $800,000; the total contribution was thus reduced from $24.7 million to $22.9 million for the fiscal year 1966. Then, in June, 1966, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, continuing last year's program of gradual retrenchment, voted to cut the U.S. contribution to UNRWA by five per cent; subsequently, the House slashed $700,000 from the proposed $22.9 million allocation for UNRWA.

Testifying on July 20, 1966, before the Senate Subcommittee on Refugees and Escapees, chaired by Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Joseph J. Sisco, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, declared however, that the Administration was opposed to this latter, additional cut, and expressed the hope that it will not be adopted: "We believe that this cut, coming on top of last year's reduction, might well result in some undesirable cuts in health service and education. If the Commissioner-General has to choose between food for the stomach and food for the mind, he must choose the former."

Apparently to meet this objection, the chairman of the Sub-Committee, suggested that the controversial amount of $700,000 be used to build a vocational training school for the refugees to be operated by one of the four Arab host governments; his proposal, he said, would be consistent with the United States government's continuing efforts to induce the host governments to undertake more responsibility for the refugees' needs. Mr. Sisco told the Subcommittee that he was in general agreement with the Kennedy proposal and would give it study.

The House of Representatives has already in August, 1965, devoted four successive sessions to a critical scrutiny of U.S. policy in the Near East, paying considerable attention to the work of UNRWA.

Representative Frank J. Horton called on UNRWA to concentrate its program on works rather than relief: "We can aim our aid at constructive development of abilities rather than burdening support of what is, in actuality, a manifestation of Arab aggression." Representative William F. Ryan bluntly said that "the Arab refugees do not need relief from the U.N. or the Arab states: they need an opportunity to work; it is the shame of the Arab States that they have not received it." Representative James Roosevelt, who spoke four times in the debate, called for the establishment of an international committee by the United Nations to supervise the gradual transfer of UNRWA activities to the Arab government and insisted that the U.S. contribution to UNRWA should not be wasted on refugees who are partially absorbed or dead, or on those who are being conscripted to fight in a Palestine Liberation War." Representative Leonard Farbstein urged that the United States gradually "phase out" her contribution to UNRWA, with greater emphasis on vocational training and education. At an earlier (June 7th) session of the House, Mr. Farbstein urged that "Congress instruct appropriate officials in Washington to insist that a current census of Arab refugees should be taken by the United Nations." He also introduced legislation which "would make U.S. contributions to UNRWA dependent upon the gradual transfer of responsibility for refugee and refugee camps from UNRWA to the (Arab) host countries . . . The U.S. contributions will be turned over to UNRWA as usual, but UNRWA, in turn, will distribute yearly appropriations to the governments of all the host countries for the actual management of refugee relief. With the contributions will also go the responsibilities for fiscal accountability and for the progress of the integretion of the refugees into the respective economic life of the host countries . . . Transfer is a *sine qua non* to a constructive settlement of the refugee problem . . . Once immediate responsibility for the refugees is transferred to Arab administrations, much of the psychological and emotional obstacles to (the refugees') integration will be removed. Winding up of UNRWA's direct management and responsibility will gradually put an end to incitement and illusion and a dangerous political irredentism."

Feeding the Palestine Liberation Army

In the face of the U.S. Government, the U.S. delegation to the U.N. repeated protests against UNRWA's failure to remove the refugee-soldiers from UN ration rolls, and particularly of the Congress amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act forbidding the use of any part of $22 million U.S. contribution to the UNRWA budget for rations for the PLA,[3] the embarrassed Commissioner-General took recourse to a cunning device to circumvent the unequivocal ban. We read in his report for 1965–66:

"Doubts have been expressed by some governments about the propriety of the Agency's isuing rations which may be consumed by young men in military training under the auspices of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The host countries do not consider these doubts well-founded. In the light of these differences, arrangements have been made for special added donations to the amount of $150,000 which meets the cost of any rations consumed by the young men in question.

"The Commissioner-General is satisfied that these arrangements provide a practical means of disposing of the problem in so far as the Agency is concerned."

"Contributors to UNRWA, who may have been concerned about this matter, may thus be assured by the Agency that their contributions will not be used to furnish assistance to refugees receiving military training under the auspices of the Palestine Liberation Organization."

This statement did not indicate who was putting up the $150,000. But the Jordan daily *Falastin*-(October 16, 1966) revealed that the money came from Egypt, whose Foreign Minister, Mahmond Riad, on October 13, 1966 appealed to "all peace-loving nations . . . to give their support to the Palestine Liberation Organization," the parent-body of the Palestine Liberation Army.

Whatever the source of the "special added donations," the Commissioner-General has made it clear that the monies are being channeled through UNRWA in the form of rations. Mr. Michelmore's new stratagem is nothing more than window dressing. For UNRWA will remain in the same position of administering relief to members of a para-military body whose declared aim is armed aggression against, and destruction of a UN member state. Technically, UNRWA "may be carrying out the letter of the law voted by Congress,"[4] commented *Near East Report* (October 18, 1966).

"But the procedure is unprincipled and repugnant to the intent. Incredible, a UN agency is raising money to feed guerrillas being trained for war against a UN member. UNRWA will not merit confidence or support unless it insists on a complete recheck of the Palestine Arab refugees which, once and for all, will eliminate the dead, the departed and the would-be killers." Any setup which continues providing rations to soldier refugees flies in the face of the very principle on the basis of which the Agency was established.

The manner in which the United Nations and the Western Powers, who had been financing UNRWA's activities deal with this flagrant violation of the UN Charter under which UNRWA's mandate exists, will show whether they are really determined to prevent the rising tension in the Middle East. For eighteen years those Powers have been paying the piper; now the time has come to call the tune.

Footnotes at end of speech.

[1] Between July 1950 and June 1966, a total of 570,785 births and only 112,275 deaths have been registered with UNRWA: a unique, utterly unbelievable ratio.

[2] It is also a very costly and demanding staff. In August 1965, UNRWA employees in Lebanon, who since 1960 had received a 7.7 per cent raise, amounting to about $525,000 a year, went on strike for higher pay, which would amount to another $400,000. A spokesman for the Agency stated that it had a deficit of $2 million in 1964 and 1965, was expecting a $3 million deficit next year, and cannot afford the pay raise: "We must consider that every dollar that goes to the staff is one dollar less to the refugees, whom, after all, this Agency was established for."

[3] The British government has also protested against the misuse of UNRWA funds.

[4] A subsection of the Foreign Assistance Act approved by the Congress and signed by the President, reads: "No contributions under this subsection shall be made except on the condition that the United Nations Relief and Works Agency take all possible measures to assure that no part of the United States contribution shall be used to furnish assistance to any refugee who is receiving military training as a member of the so-called Palestine Liberation Army."

Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, University of Miami Commencement Speaker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, recently Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, delivered the commencement address at the University of Miami in Coral Gables.

In a world where so many are engulfed by revolution, cynicism, and turmoil, Dr. Seaborg's remarks offer an enlightening and optimistic outlook for the future. His confidence in today's youth and tomorrow's leaders gives encouragement to those who might doubt the outcome of our changing world.

The address follows:

YOUTH—A VOTE OF CONFIDENCE

(Commencement address by Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, at the University of Miami, Coral Gables, Fla., January 27, 1967)

As a former Chancellor of the University of California at Berkeley, I can tell you how pleased I am to be speaking at the University of Miami. When President Stanford was kind enough to invite me to be your Commencement speaker today he promised me that the faculty, parents and friends of the graduates would be the only "non-students" present. And I promised to refer to them more discreetly as "former students."

I think it is still somewhat of an honor to be a Californian invited to speak in Florida. As I recall, it was not too long ago that these states carried on quite a rivalry. In those competitive years it was claimed that someone from California could not survive the severe Florida climate more than 24 hours and vice versa. Today, of course, we know that a few Californians have managed to get through a winter or two here. And there are rumors of some Floridians now living on the West Coast—of the U.S., that is.

My own visit here is complicated by the fact that I come via Washington, D.C., a town whose people and pronouncements occasionally provoke a bit of controversy. Actually, what I have to say today may provoke some controversy—but not from the graduates. I hope they will interpret my remarks for what they are intended—a vote of confidence.

As some of you may have seen in a cover story done by a major magazine last summer, my generation—that is, everyone older than Jack Benny—has been named the "Command Generation." Now, that's a very impressive title, and one would imagine that the cover picture which accompanied that story would have been a picture of the President or perhaps one of our military leaders or captains of industry. But as I remember, it was a picture of Lauren Bacall. The point of the article, however, was not to prove that women are taking over, but only that those of us in the 40 through 60 age group—women included—were still the country's leaders in most fields of endeavor.

I bring up this article—which I'm sure was excellent therapy for many of us here—because what it did not say, as well as what it said, bears an important message for all of us here. What it did say, among other things, was that middle-age was a time of success and accomplishment, that the middle-aged were the leaders, the decision-makers, the high-earners of the country, and so on. It named astronauts and artists, senators and salesmen, engineers and executives, and even some Nobel Prize winners—all at their prime between 40 and 60. What it did not say, and what I would like to emphasize today, is how these people achieved their success. They arrived at their current status not merely by aging but because they were exceptional in their special fields—and particularly so in their youth. It was the attributes of youth—the energy, the questioning and open mind, the drive and deterination—all combined with their specific talents which brought these people to their positions of power and prestige in middle-age. In many cases their greatest accomplishments took place in their younger years and launched them on the road to an easier success later.

As a sort of footnote here let me add that the magazine which devoted its cover story to the Command Generation just recently did a cover story on the generation under twenty-five. Referring to you as the "Now Generation," they collectively named you—girls included—"Man of the Year." The article, incidentally, did more than give equal time to, or placate, the publication's young subscribers; it was strongly flattering of today's youth. But let me return to my original thought about the evolution of the "Now Generation" into the "Command Generation."

I know from my own experience that the young years are extremely productive years, and I am inclined to agree with Benjamin Disraeli's statement that "Almost everything that is great has been done by youth." Let me back this up with a few examples in history: Alexander the Great ruled Macedonia at 20 and the civilized world at 27. By the age of 26 Michelangelo had sculptured the famous Pietá. Pascal had written a book on geometry by 16 and invented an adding machine at 19. When he was 27 Charles Darwin began the observations which led to his theory of evolution. At age 21 Michael Faraday started the electro-magnetic work which led to his invention of the electric motor. James Watt patented the first practical steam engine at the ripe old age of 33. Einstein began work on his theory of relativity at 26. Alexander Graham Bell patented the first telephone at 29. The Wright Brothers initiated their aircraft experiments in their 20's. And if you're still not convinced—Mozart completed his first symphony at the age of 8. The full list is, of course, much longer and more impressive. It also includes accomplishments of the youth of today.

For a moment let me present some statistics on the position of youth in the world today. I think they are enlightening. Numerically, youth dominates the scene. While one-fifth of the population is between 40 and 60 years of age, over one-half is under 25. There are about 25 million teen-agers in the country today. By the mid-1970's more than two-thirds, and perhaps three-fourths, of the U.S. population will be under 35. And on a worldwide basis it is forecast that, by 1986, 35 per cent of all the people alive will be less than 15 years old. (It is also interesting to note—and certainly thought-provoking—that China today has more children under ten than the entire population of the Soviet Union.)

Now all these statistics on youth bear more significance than just promising a great market for transistor radios, surfboards and miniskirts. I think they point out, among other things, that "the *young* shall inherit the Earth." And with it they are going to inherit a world of both enormous problems and incredible possibilities. Furthermore, I believe that it is today's "Pre-Command Generation"—those of you now in the 20 to 40 year group—who will, before the end of this century, determine the course of human history perhaps for centuries to come. You may argue that every new generation determines the course of history as it comes of age, but this younger generation is in a very special position. You have arrived on the scene at a time when the Scientific Revolution of the past few decades—forged under the current Command Generation—is effecting the rapid evolution of a truly global civilization. And because of this you are inheriting the Earth morally as well as physically. For as Marshall McLuhan has often pointed out, in this electronic age we are developing a global consciousness. And he questions, "Can we possibly have a global consciousness without also developing a conscience?" I think it is clear today that we are well on our way to having both.

Perhaps it is this fact which heightens so much of today's differences between the younger and the older generations—differences which basically have always arisen between youth and their elders but which are so sharply in focus today. While those of us in the Command Generation feel we are struggling to narrow the gap between our ideals and the harsh realities of the world we experience every day, younger people want only the best of all possible worlds—and they want it now. Seeing more clearly than ever the world as it is, and the world as it should be and could be, rubs raw the impatience of youth. And your reactions disturb, anger, puzzle and exasperate many older people.

But if one has the imagination to project himself into your position, it is not difficult to imagine the feelings that many of you young people share. You are being asked to enter this world of developing global consciousness and conscience, of immense new physical possibilities confined by barriers of social inertia, of affluence existing adjacent to poverty, of knowledge and concern amid ignorance and indifference, of political turmoil and philosophical upheaval, of all this tossing about on a sea of change. You feel the urgent need for coping with this, for working to bring order from apparent chaos, to control and direct the tide of change. The whole thing cries out for action—meaningful action.

Yet there seems to be little opportunity for it—especially for you. Change seems to be made through the Establishment, the Power Structure, the Command Generation—and there are less flattering names—but they do not seem to listen to you. They only ask that you lean all there is to know (and today that's far more than they ever learned in school), join the rank and file and work toward goals you have not set and perpetuate values you wish changed. Unfortunately, if you believe all this, it is only a few steps further to being convinced that no meaningful participation is possible and that a psychedelic experience has more meaning than those experiences in the world of reality. Fortunately, most of you do not go this far, but recognizes that the real world still holds some excitement and purpose worth pursuing.

On the other hand, many of you feel the necessity to go still another route. Feeling powerless as individuals, but not about to retreat, you turn to group action. I will not go into details on the pros and cons of this. Naturally, much good can be accomplished in a democratic society by concerted action. And such action carried out in a responsible and constructive fashion should be encouraged. But I, for one, believe that most accomplishments of youth throughout the ages have come from the attributes of youth being applied through the individual. Perhaps in a free society the qualities which characterize youth become more productive when expressed through individual efforts. Let me spend a minute or two examining some of these qualities, because they are your greatest assets and they should be recognized and encouraged to the fullest.

The first one that comes to mind is sheer energy. I have occasion to speak about the usefulness of nuclear and other energy resources almost every day. And in this country we are all inclined to think of mechanical power as doing most of our work—which physically it does. But in a broader sense human energy is still the most productive force in the world and youth has most of it. Nothing is needed more today than the stamina and determination to see a difficult job through, to generate new ideas and find acceptance for them, to rebuild, renew and revitalize places, organizations and people, and to battle ignorance and injustice. All this is an endlessly wearing and enervating task demanding the vitality of youth.

In addition to physical energy, youth has the emotional energy—the ardor—to keep things moving. If I may use a somewhat mixed metaphor, of which I'm sure Marshall McLuhan would disapprove, youth is a hot item in a cool world. The cool world resists change—particularly social and cultural change. It tends to support the status quo, to perpetuate old institutions, to resist new ideas, and it takes a "show me" attitude, if it is willing to listen at all. But youth is restless and easily bored. It looks for and thrives on change. And change—rapid change—is the order of the day.

I often speak of this change and our new awareness of it. But the other day I was reminded that to some extent the forces of change have been recognized throughout the ages. In fact, some years ago Nicholas Murray Butler (the former president of Columbia University) stated that, at some time in the Garden of Eden, Adam must have paused and said, "Eve, we are living in a period of transition." But they were a young couple so I'm sure they looked forward to this change—even though it involved some temporary hardships.

But change today is different. It is rapid to the point of being "explosive." And it produces crisis after crisis because its effects are disruptive to old habits and traditional, highly-ingrained thinking. Today's rapid change may be painful to many of us, but it is necessary. Most importantly, it is necessary to deal with it effectively—to recognize it, to control and direct it and, above all, to use it to shape the future toward human goals. We have an unprecedented opportunity to do this today, but it is essential that we give great thought to and reach some agreement on those goals, and that we have determination, the staying power, the "guts" to follow through on our beliefs.

There is a vast gap between expressing dissatisfaction and impatience with the way things are going and taking the positive, well-planned action toward constructive change.

In dealing with change youth has a decided advantage. It produces and accepts change more readily because of two things. The first is it has less fear of failure and therefore is more willing to take risk. The world is filled with people who say "It can't be done," and they will give you many reasons, even from their own experience, why it can't. But young people, not having the benefit of that experience, are willing to try for themselves. And if they have the knowledge and skill to go with their courage—perhaps fool-hardiness—and stamina, they may succeed where others have failed.

At this point I must stress the knowledge and skill aspect because these days they make a bigger difference in the margin between success and failure. Last September, in speaking at Rutgers University, Vice President Humphrey made what I feel is a very cogent statement when he said: "The world is filled with the noise and clash of opinion. It is woefully shy of dependable knowledge." So I would not play up courage at the expense of knowledge. It takes both to do the job.

Another factor which gives youth an advantage in producing and working with change is the ability to innovate, to use imagination and a fresh outlook. Oscar Wilde is credited with having said, "In America, the young are always ready to give those who are older than themselves the full benefit of their inexperience." While there may be some truth in this, I think it is for the very reason that the young in America are not afraid to speak up that we have progressed so far. For, aside from the lesser fear of failure which I mentioned before, there is a freshness of outlook which is still present in the inexperienced. And sometimes it is this very quality which allows the imagination and intuition to produce a breakthrough.

In listening recently to an old recording of a lecture given in the early 1930's by Lord Rutherford, one of the founders of nuclear physics, I was struck by a particular phrase he used. In discussing details of the nucleus of the atom, of which so little was known at that time, he said, ". . . but we can look at it with the eye of imagination." "*The eye of imagination*"—this is something which youth is more apt to have and which it should try to retain and make the most of. The world can always use more people who think and act creatively and who can keep that creativity alive as they grow in knowledge and experience. These are the people who contribute the most to society and, I believe, also have the most rewarding lives. They are the ones who stay alive, in the fullest sense, as long as they live.

There is one final element in which most young people today are not lacking and which is so important. In the most old-fashioned and perhaps "squarest" sense, it would be called "brotherly love." Today it is more often referred to simply as "human concern." Whatever we call it, it is the most vital element in human nature and especially today when man is becoming so powerful through his science and technology. If science and technology amplify the power of man, then certainly concern should focus that power on the most human and humane goals. I think most of today's youth have that concern and are determined to keep it alive and growing.

Admittedly, these are trying times for anyone who wants to maintain a high ethical standard. As John W. Gardner has written in his book "Self-Renewal": "One difficulty is that man's moral aspirations rise more rapidly than his performance. Given relatively modest advances in the justice and decency of human life, he is soon dreaming that he can fashion a perfectly just and decent world. And this is a conviction that is certain to bring some measure of disillusionment."

I hope that, on this important day for you, you will rise above any disillusionment or doubts you may have about the state of the world and the state of man, and turn every fiber of your being toward helping shape them toward your ideals. If ever there was a time to act positively and constructively toward those ideals, to which so many give lip service but fail to act, it is now—and you are the "Now Generation."

Today's "Command Generation" feels the hot breath of youth on the back of its neck. But it is not altogether an uncomfortable feeling. In a way it is good to know you're right behind us. And when the time comes—and it is almost at hand—I have a feeling you will do as good a job as you think you can—perhaps even better.

We in the Farming Profession Need Help

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Record at this point a very eloquent letter I just received from one of the farmers in my district. His is not one of the largest farms in my district, but it is not one of the smallest, either, and he is justifiably concerned about the present state of farming. President Johnson and his Secretary of Agriculture must heed this man's plea, which is the plea of so many of our farmers today: "We in the farming profession need help before there is no longer a farming profession."

The letter referred to follows:

Brimfield, Ill.,
January 24, 1967.

Representative Robert Michel,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman: In his "State of the Union" address President Johnson told us he wants to have the farmers work hard to produce enough to feed the hungry of the world. What incentive are we farmers going to get for all this work? It certainly is not in the form of cash profit now. Since 1960 the price received for the sale of wheat has decreased from $2.15 to about $1.60. How could this be possible when in 1960 there was a huge surplus of wheat, and now we are asked to produce more because the supply will hardly meet the demand? We are living in an economy that is based on supply and demand which should mean that next year, since we are to produce a greater supply of wheat, the price will continue to go down. What are you in Congress going to do about our wheat price? I am sure I am not alone in feeling that the price must go up if I am going to produce *any* (not *more*) wheat.

In addition to grain I also produce milk. I am not the biggest, nor yet the smallest milk producer (500 to 1000 pounds a day). It is true that last October and November the price was raised in order to hold the dairymen in the barn instead of in the factory. Then the Federal Milk Marketing Order was passed for our area and now the price has started its downward trend. The feed price, supplies price, machinery price, even breeding fees have been raised; the only thing that has not gone up is the wage of the farmer and his family, because we can't strike against ourselves for a higher salary. If it is true that there is such a shortage of milk that we read about in the newspapers and magazines, it seems to me the first place to look for an increase in production is to the *American* farmer. Why can't the imported dairy products be kept out by an increase in tariff, so that they will not be in competition with our products and our farmers will have a fighting chance?

President Johnson seems to really be out to get the farmer. It was last year that he put the ax to the hog price, by his order to cancel purchase of pork for fighting men. When is the president going to cancel the order for war machinery, because that price was raised by many dollars not just a few cents a pound?

I am located just 20 miles from Peoria, and I can see the farmers leaving the farm for the factory and the high wages of industry. Many of these are not going to come back to the farming way of life. Those of us who would prefer to stay in farming will have to have some assurance that we are going to be able to afford to gamble with our investment and risk bankruptcy in order to continue in farming and expand in production of livestock and grain. It takes only a small change in the market price of beef to make the step from profit to bankruptcy for those who buy feeder cattle. It takes only a small drop in the price of milk to break those who have made a large investment in automatic feeding systems or dairy cattle to improve or increase their herd. How can the current grain prices justify the investment in the new, big, labor-saving machinery. We in the farming profession need help before there is no longer a farming profession.

Sincerely,

Orville L. Ziemer.

New Man on the Hill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN N. ERLENBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, January 26, 1967, an excellent article concerning my good friend and colleague, Tom Railsback, appeared in the Wall Street Journal. I submit the story herewith, believing that it bears reading by all:

New Man of the Hill

A Freshman in Congress Finds First Days Are Confused and Hectic—Representative Railsback Finds Staff, Housing, Social Worries Take Time From Big Issues—Rented Tux and Missing Files

(By Joseph W. Sullivan,

(Staff Reporter of the Wall Street Journal)

Washington.—The Congressman drives away from his new home in Washington's fashionable Cleveland Park section and sets our for the Capitol four miles away. But after missing a parkway turnoff in the morning traffic rush, he finds himself routed inextricably over a Potomac River bridge toward northern Virginia.

At his office, meantime, an aide goes hunting for some file folders in the Capitol stationery room and gets caught in a two-hour waiting line, while a big stack of mail from constituents goes unsorted. The office phones don't work, and incoming calls are routed to another Congressional office where they're greeted less than cordially.

To Rep. Thomas F. Railsback of Illinois, it wasn't quite how he had imagined his first day on the job in Washington as one of the 48 new Republicans who took House seats for the first time this month. "I'd been determined to get off to a fast start," he says with a grimace, "but even after I finally made it to the office, I still found myself rattling around quite a bit. There was so much to be done I hardly knew where to begin."

Such slipups and slippages of course, can be part of any newcomer's initiation to Congress. Actually, the eager, 34-year-old Mr. Railsback appears thus far to have avoided various graver pitfalls that will surely snare at least some of his freshman colleagues. For besides mastering the Washington traffic and Capitol Hill logistics, the first-term lawmaker must quickly come to grips with a host of other organizational problems whose handling may have far more bearing on his reelection chances than how he votes on legislation.

Prickly decisions on staffing, equipping and giving direction to his office, the development of communications lines back to the home folks, as well as sometimes-vexing personal and family adjustments to a new environment, all demand attention more urgently than any national and world problems.

LIKE STARTING NEW BUSINESS

Indeed, to many who've gone through it, setting up shop as a Congressman finds its closest parallel not anywhere in Government but in the launching of a diversified new business venture—by a stranger to the community. With a staff of 10 (no more than one of whom will deal in legislation) and an annual payroll in excess of $100,000, even the lowest-ranking House member's office is bigger than many a small business. Its mail volume, often exceeding 200 pieces daily, approaches that of some small mail-order houses. As for the Congressman himself, competing demands for his attention probably rival those imposed on nearly any corporate chief executive.

"I've been wearing at least a dozen hats these first few days," Mr. Railsback broods, midway through a working Saturday lunch in a Capitol basement cafeteria. "One minute I'm a personnel man sizing up job applicants; then I'm the comptroller trying to figure how to use all our office allowances; then it's playing systems engineer to devise a routing and filing system for constituent aid requests, or working with my district newspapers, radio or TV stations on how to handle news releases. I came to Washington thinking of myself as a Midwestern lawyer concerned about his Government, but I'm coming to realize that I've assumed a new career as a full-time politician. . . . It's a hard thing to get used to."

As Mr. Railsback readily concedes, neither his experience as a trial lawyer in his home town of Moline nor his four years in the Illinois legislature have fully prepared him for many of the roles he's now assuming. Nor were the lanky Congressional newcomer and his brunette wife, Pat, fully braced for the leap from living in Moline (1960 pop.: 42,705) to living in Washington (1960 pop.: 763,956).

"SHOWED US A SHANTY"

Pat's initial dreams of renting an antique-filled townhouse in Washington's picturesque Georgetown section soon were punctured. "For the $300 a month we'd told ourselves we'd probably have to pay, they showed us a shanty that ought to be condemned," she says indignantly. But after a week of searching through the city and far out into its Virginia and Maryland suburbs, Mrs. Railsback and the Congressman, whose pay is $30,000 a year, failed to turn up anything acceptable in their price range to accommodate themselves and their two daughters.

With exhausted resignation, they finally took their Cleveland Park dwelling sight unseen and at the $400 monthly rent being asked. It comes within one bedroom, a recreation area and a half-bath of matching their Moline home, which they want to hold onto "at least until after the 1968 elections." "With a lot of luck," the Congressman says, "I may be able to rent the Moline house for $100 a month to make up some of the difference."

Sudden invitations—to escort the Mexican ambassador and his wife to a dinner hosted by Moline-based Deere & Co. and to attend a birthday reception for Sen. Everett Dirksen—caught the young couple unawares and Mr. Railsback without formal attire. The hastily rented tuxedo he procured soon will be supplanted by a permanent addition to his wardrobe, but mixing with the diplomatic set still comes awkwardly.

There's plenty of less formal hospitality shown the newcomer during daylight hours, too. Reception-briefings held by various Federal officials and "get acquainted" sessions with Washington's corps of lobbyists could often fill a freshman's entire daily schedule if he let them. One day last week, Mr. Railsback managed to squeeze in four such affairs: A breakfast gathering with the Veterans Administration brass, an afternoon State Department reception at which Secretary of State Dean Rusk answered questions for two hours, then a welcome over cocktails from AFL–CIO President George Meany, and finally a cocktail-buffet gathering with newsmen, which the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee sponsored.

While no right-thinking young lawmaker would admit to being easily influenced, the first personal contacts with a Cabinet member or other high official often can make for warmer relationships. "I still have doubts about our Vietnam policy, but my personal respect for Dean Rusk went up quite a bit at that reception," says Mr. Railsback. "He was very charming, often very witty, and gave some straightforward answers to a number of hostile questions."

The Railsbacks' adjustment to capital life undoubtedly would be much harder if it weren't for the help of older hands. To help the new Congressman's wife get oriented, she has been assigned a "big sister"—Elsie Springer, the wife of a fellow Illinois Republican, eight-term Rep. William Springer. Among other useful nuggets of advice, Mrs. Springer assured Mrs. Railsback that a fancy cocktail dress would suffice for most evening social occasions here; a formal gown would not be necessary.

WINNING PROJECTS, WATERING PLANTS

To furnish guidelines for running the Congressman's office, another Illinois GOP colleague, Rep. Paul Findley, provided a copy of an intimate 50-page handbook of Findley office techniques. Besides detailing the responsibilities of every office aide, both for pursuing savory Federal aid projects and attending to such minutiae as watering the office flowerpots, the manual prescribes responses to ticklish situations: Just whose phone calls should or shouldn't be put through to the Congressman when he busy; exactly what to say in the congratulatory or sympathy note sent to constituents upon announcement of a birth, death, marriage, illness, graduation or civic honor in their families. Mr. Railsback also got a thicker how-to-do-it guidebook prepared by the American Political Science Association, along with lots of off-the-cuff advice from other Illinois lawnmakers.

While Mr. Railsback credits all his counselors with getting him on the track, he's finding it often takes a Solomon to put the many principles into practice. And when it comes to detailed operating procedures, he's not so sure he needs any more advice. "I'm afraid that here in Congress like everywhere else, the more helpful hints you get, the more likely they are to contradict each other," he ruefully oberves.

Take the assembling of an office staff, for instance. Acquisition of at least one top-flight secretary who knows the ropes on Capitol Hill is universally rated as a must for any Congressional newcomer. There's also widespread agreement on her prime attributes: She should be a take-charge type who'll keep the office humming, fight hard on behalf of constituents who tangle with the Federal bureaucracy and protect her neophyte boss from bureaucratic ruses, crank callers and the like. But the freshman likely will be admonished in the next breath to guard against hiring a "dragon lady" type. Some have been known to intimidate entire office staffs and even Congressmen.

Loyalty to the boss is considered a prime requisite in Congressional staffers. But among the two-score job applicants who sought out Mr. Railsback were the top male aide of two senior House Republicans, whose staffs were seeking to defect en masse. As the first aspirant for a key post as press-relation assistant, moreover, the relatively conservative Illinois Republican drew an aide from the office of Democratic Rep. Don Edwards of California, who is national chairman of the very liberal Americans for Democratic Action.

"For a time, my impulse was to administer a sworn loyalty oath to everyone I hired. But after satisfying myself about their backgrounds, I finally decided that an oath wouldn't really prove much," he says.

Amid conflicting advice, Rep. Railsback found himself in a quandary as to where to concentrate his legislative efforts. As a result, he made no strong pitch for assignment to any particular one of the House's 20 standing committees. (By contrast, one victorious Michigan Congressman called House Republican Leader Ford at 3 a.m. on election night last November to bid for a seat on the Labor Committee.) Despite his restrained approach, Mr. Railsback landed a prime assignment for any lawyer in Congress: Membership on the Judiciary Committee.

Even in the design of an office filing system, the newcomer may find the advice of seasoned hands conflicting. Everyone agrees that good files are vital in keeping track of the thousands of individual and community aid requests whose successful prosecution may spell the difference between a Congressman's reelection and enforced retirement. ("When Mr. Bigstick in the community calls about the status of his urban renewal project, you've got to have the file on it under the boss's nose in a matter of seconds and no excuses," observes one Capitol veteran.)

But the General Services Administration, Washington's official arbiter on such matters, advocates one filing system and the American Political Science Association's office handbook a radically different one. If the fledgling lawmaker wavers between the two, he may be digging himself a paper grave.

OUT WENT THE FILMS

Complicating the filing picture is the fact that it's one area where Congressional courtesy is sorely lacking. When Mr. Railsback took over Illinois' 19th Congressional district seat this month, not a single file went with it. No matter how urgent is, say, a constituent's appeal for admission to a veterans' hospital, all Congressional records of it departed along with Mr. Railsback's Democratic predecessor, Gale Schisler. Ditto for all status reports on Federal grant and loan applications pending in the district.

"When I first came in two years ago, I thought the files ought to go with the office, too," ex-Rep. Schisler recalls. "But I had to come in cold, and I'm damned if I'm going to give Railsback a big head-start when I may be running against him again in 1968."

However, Mr. Railsback in another respect is more fortunate than some newcomers in Congress. He found a desk in his office in the Longworth House Office Building; some freshmen discovered their offices lacked desks because departing Congressmen were allowed to take them.

Any similarities between a Congressman's operations and a private business end, of course, when it comes to paying the bills. An elaborate assortment of expense allowances permits Mr. Railsback and his colleagues to get reimbursed for their outlays (up to various dollar ceilings) straight from the Federal Treasury.

In addition to staff payroll funds and unlimited free mailing privileges, there are telegraph and long-distance telephone allowances that many members say are worth $50,000 or more a year to them, a $2,400 annual allotment for office supplies, $2,500 for special office equipment on top of standard furnishings and typewriters, plus six paid trips yearly back to the home district for the member or an aide, and numerous other prerequisites.

FINDING "NEW WRINKLE"

"I've gone over and over the formal list of services, but each new reading invariably brings out some new wrinkle or dimension that I'd missed before," Mr. Railsback says. One recent discovery: That a free envelope-stuffing, sealing and addressing service provided for all lawmakers may well be worth more than all the dollar allowances combined, save for payroll funds. With a full-time staff of 115, this Congressional "folding room" does nothing but channel members' newsletters, questionnaires and the like back to their districts—often in lots of 100,000 or more.

One reason why the young Illinoisan may still be missing things is the fact that some of the services available aren't listed on any formal roster. It may take a year or more, for instance, before many members get word of the Army Map Service's informal offer to furnish $50 a year worth of free maps. Some Congressional offices claim, moreover, to have discovered that the production of large campaign-poster pictures of the Congressman fits into the Army's broad definition of mapmaking.

Vietnam and Veterans: War Builds Pressure To Lift Benefits for All Former Servicemen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, with America once again involved in a major war, the question of veterans' affairs becomes increasingly important to Congress.

The Wall Street Journal has published an excellent article on this subject which I commend to all Members. The article follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Jan. 18, 1967]

VIETNAM AND VETERANS: WAR BUILDS PRESSURE TO LIFT BENEFITS FOR ALL FORMER SERVICEMEN—BILL MAY ADD 10 PERCENT TO ANNUAL $2 BILLION PENSION COST—JOHNSON FAVORS RESTRAINT—"FIRE BROADSIDE," SAYS VFW

(By Jonathan Spivak, staff reporter of the Wall Street Journal)

WASHINGTON.—The war in Vietnam is producing powerful political pressures for a substantial increase in benefits for veterans generally, not just Vietnam returnees.

Lawmakers and the influencial veterans lobbies already are primed to pass a new pension bill, raising regular monthly payments to nearly two million veterans of former wars all the way back to the Spanish-American—or to their dependents. These pensions, which can go to veterans of any age who served in the Korean or earlier wars, are based on financial need and non-service-connected disability such as loss of hearing; they're separate from other payments based only on disabling service injuries such as loss of a leg in battle. The best guess is that the planned measure could raise Uncle Sam's $2 billion-a-year veterans pension cost by as much as 10%.

For those who have served more recently, there's strong sentiment to increase the monthly schooling allowances offered under the 1966-enacted Veterans Readjustment Benefits Act, the so-called Cold War GI Bill. These allotments, ranging from $100 to $150 a month, are 10% lower than those that were offered to Korean War veterans, though education costs are said to have increased about one-third since then.

BRINGING IN VIETNAM VETERANS

President Johnson himself is likely to propose extension of certain traditional wartime veterans benefits to men serving since the start of large-scale Vietnam hostilities. Because many veterans benefits expired after the Korean War, Congress may insist on making eligibility retroactive to 1955 to equalize treatment for all recent veterans.

"Vietnam is the key; Congress is getting to be veterans-conscious," reasons one Veterans Administration official. Actually, much of the extra money would go not to Vietnam veterans but to World War I survivors and veterans of other past wars; the pension proposal probably will make specific provision for increased payments to Spanish-American War widows, among others. Yet the patriotic pressures on Capitol Hill to do something for ex-servicemen in general are hard to restrain while combat continues.

VA officials themselves are fearful that Congress could turn the pension program into an outright retirement bonus plan for all veterans. And Administration economizers in general are deeply concerned that a splurge of new veterans legislation will deepen the $8.1 billion budget deficit now projected for the next fiscal year, which starts July 1.

If the President cannot persuade Congress to exercise restraint, VA spending, now $6.4 billion a year, could increase by an unanticipated $300 or $400 million next fiscal year. VA outlays will rise $100 million or more anyway, because of increased applications for educationl assistance, more hospital and nursing-home care, and improvements in the VA's mammoth medical system.

THE PRESIDENT'S CHOICE

"The VA is the real sleeper," frets one White House man worried about budget-busters. So far, it's now known how Mr. Johnson will handle the situation, or even if he has made up his mind. His choice is whether to acquiesce in Congress' course and hope to curtail the cost of new legislation or to hold fast and oppose most veterans proposals entirely.

Adamant Presidential opposition could pay off by postponing passage of expensive pension legislation for at least a year. The delay would allow a more careful examination of the relationship of veterans assistance to Great Society education and welfare programs that also benefit servicemen. Also, 1968 is an election year. Congress might prefer to claim credit then for solicitude toward ex-servicemen.

There's a real chance, though, that the law-makers will push ahead anyway and enact an array of veterans proposals. Congressman Olin Teague of Texas, chairman of the key House Veterans Affairs Committee, and VA officials are convinced that the passage of pension legislation is inevitable this session.

Whether or not the White House goes for some broader compromise with Congress, the Administration is likely to endorse one proposal that is initially inexpensive—entitling Vietnam veterans to pension benefits. The first-year outlays would be less than $1 million, because the eligible ex-servicemen average only 24 years of age. But as they grow older and develop disabilities, the cost to the country will steadily swell. There is no way to tell for sure, but some officials estimate outlays of $2 billion a year could be required by the turn of the century.

FOR AGED, NEEDY VETERANS

These pensions are based on the assumption that the recipient is both poor and too disabled to earn much. To be eligible, veterans must show that their incomes fall below certain ceilings—ranging up to $3,000 a year for a veteran with dependents. Recipients must also demonstrate some physical disability not connected with miltiary service. But the required disability diminishes with age to only 10 percent at 65 years—a standard almost all veterans can meet. Thus this aid is widely considered a straight pension program for aged, needy veterans.

As for increases in these pension rates, the Administration flatly opposed 188 bills of this sort offered by members of Congress last year. There's no current sign of a change of heart. Nevertheless, Chairman Teague intends to hold hearings soon on new pension legislation, and his committee's departure point probably will be a pension-boosting bill that passed the House last year but died in the Senate.

This bill, sponsored by Democratic Rep. William Jennings Bryan Dorn of South Carolina, provided for a 5 percent average pension increase and other benefits to 1.8 million veterans or their dependents, at a first-year cost of $101 million. The veterans organizations bitterly blamed the White House for the proposal's demise and are likely to lobby even more energetically for its resurrection this session.

"The immediate task, however, is to fire a broadside that will put the Administration on notice that a reversal of its policies is in order," declared Leslie M. Fry, commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, in a message to 1.3 million members.

The veterans groups argue mainly that a pension boost is needed to compensate for recent cost-of-living increases. The VA says retail prices have risen between 3½% and 4% since the last pension raise. The veterans organizations also want to liberalize the income ceilings that determine the ex-serviceman's eligibility for a pension and its size. As the rules stand now, a single veteran with income of less than $600 a year receives a pension payment of $100 a month; with annual income of $1,800, his pension falls to $43.

Even the maximum income allowed, $3,000 a year for a veteran with dependents, falls below the Administration's poverty line, an American Legion leader protests. Indeed, a major veterans' complaint is that the President appears to place higher priority on his Great Society programs than on old soldiers' needs.

The Administration's answer is that the living-cost increases are not large enough to justify higher pension payments. Furthermore, an average 9% pension increase was enacted in 1965 to offset living-cost rises since 1960; those in the lowest income brackets received as much as 17%. Anyway, Federal planners prefer to provide for veterans' needs through broad welfare programs such as Social Security. Indeed, separate subsidies for ex-servicemen could ultimately be phased out, some officials insist.

Whatever the merits of the case, Congress is more likely to side with the veterans' organizations. The lawmakers are expected to pass an inflation-compensating increase in pension rates of 5% or so, and to liberalize income ceilings that determine pension eligibility. The main reason for the second step is to avoid the possibility that a prospective increase in Sovial Security income will penalize pensioners and produce angry complaints from some constitutents. The extra income would be enough to disqualify some veterans from pension benefits and would reduce the payments of others.

One solution would simply be to raise VA pension eligibility ceilings enough, perhaps $100 a year, to cancel out the effect of the Social Security increase. Another approach would be to permit veterans, in calculating pension eligibility, to ignore the extra Social Security payments or a proportionate amount of other retirement income.

Either way would undermine the Administration's efforts to tie veterans' pension payments closely to financial needs. Veterans already are permitted to deduct 10% of Social Security or other retirement payments from the income computed to determine pension eligibility.

A Congress New Boy Finds His Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER F. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article that appeared in the January 13, 1967, issue of the London Times, which was sent to me by David Crockett, of Wichita, Kans., who is currently doing graduate studies at the University of London under a scholarship. During the summer of 1965 David Crockett was a summer "intern" in my office and the reason the article was sent to me is that it is based on an interview a London Times reporter had with our new Kansas Congressman from the Third District, the Honorable LARRY WINN, JR. I though the article would be of interest to other Members, and it follows:

HOW A CONGRESS NEW BOY FINDS HIS WAY: COURSE, SEMINAR, AND BRIEFINGS HELP

WASHINGTON, January 12.—The new congressman is from Kansas, the heartland of the United States, and on his desk lies a copy of *The Job of the Congressman*, a Washington guide to help the newly elected member to find his way about the Capitol, run his office, get Bills passed, and service constituents.

He has been reading up procedure before the first appointment starts at 9 a.m.—late by Kansas standards, as his secretary hints.

The congressman is one of the 47 new Republicans elected last November on a surge of "anti-L.B.J." sentiment, making the Kansas delegation now all "Grand Old Party". In his forties, open-faced, but tending to put on weight, he is a successful businessman from a prosperous farming state, who has never been abroad except for a trip once to Canada. He knows that Washingtonians expect all Kansans to be a little slow.

THINGS ARE ORGANIZED

How does a "new boy" to Congress, one amid 435, go about settling into Washington and serving the interests of 400,000 constituents he has sworn to uphold? Things are organized these days—both the Republicans and the Democrats hold two-day seminars, Congress itself runs a course, and the main Government departments provide briefings.

But colleagues from the state delegation, and any friends already established in Washington that the new congressman may be lucky enough to have, remain highly important. This is particularly so for the first, perhaps crucial, step up the ladder to congressional power and influence—getting on the committees you want.

Speeches on the floor of the House may bring publicity, but the bread-and-butter issues to all but a very select band of nationally respected congressmen are voted over in committee; and the "pork barrel" is as important to Republican Kansas today as any Democratic state.

His office, allocated among the freshmen representatives "out of the hat", is still not fully furnished by two women secretaries, one a Washington "career girl", engaged because she knows the paths of the federal bureaucratic jungle, the other, a former Governor's secretary, brought from Kansas. The new congressman is going to try keeping his administrative assistant, the No. 1 man usually in the office, back home in his district.

"Politics is a peculiar thing", he explains. "People may decide they don't like the way I chew gum—and I'm out. So I'm starting campaigning now for two years time, and intend to have a good man back there doing a good job of servicing."

The Congress course includes how to get your parking allotment, use of the gymnasium, hospital services, frank mail, pay and allowances, get the Library of Congress legislative service to ghost speeches (including, if requested, party-appropriate jokes), how to respect very senior colleagues, obtain time on the floor, and then insert brighter second thoughts for constituents in the *Congressional Record.*

WIVES ADVISED

The Republicans' seminar this year laid down some congressional strategy, telling the new members to cultivate the public's impression of a new power in Congress, able to stand up to President Johnson this time round, instead of being clobbered by the executive. The wives, meanwhile, received a quick going over of the political capital and tips when mini-skirts are acceptable.

It generally takes a full session before a new congressman has learnt the fundamentals of the job. Washington, according to the Kansan, strengthens the feeling that you have been elected to help your home state.

Fino Introduces Legislation To Pave Way for New York Lottery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation to first, permit lottery tickets to be mailed in the U.S. mails in States where they can be legally sold; and, second, exempt bets placed in State-run lotteries from the Federal wagering tax.

As things now stand, the imminent New York State lottery will be hindered by two aspects of Federal law. In the first place, while State-run sweepstakes are exempt from the Federal tax on wagering, State-run numbers lotteries are not. The first of my bills would exempt bets placed in State-run lotteries from the Federal tax on wagering.

My second bill would deal with another absurd situation. It is presently illegal to mail lottery tickets. This is stupid, because as the Post Office well knows, thousands are being mailed out of New Hampshire—where they can be legally sold—each year. And then there are the Irish sweepstakes. My second bill would allow lottery tickets to be mailed from States where they can be legally sold. This will avoid the situation whereby a substantial volume of mail from New York and New Hampshire is outlaw mail.

I have asked my 40 colleagues in the House of Representatives from New York, and also our two distinguished Senators, to join me in sponsoring this legislation.

UAW Vice President Says That Aerospace Technology Is Needed To Make Life Better for People on Earth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, last week Vice President Leonard Woodcock, of the United Auto Workers, presented his views on the Scientific Manpower Utilization Act of which I am a House sponsor.

Mr. Woodcock pointed out:

> If our technology can hurtle a man through space around the world in 90 minutes, we can and must find better ways to get to and from work, design and build cheaper and better homes to live in, rebuild our cities, clean up our air and water, reduce crime and rehabilitate criminals, and improve the quality of life for all Americans.

The aerospace industry of California is a great national resource. North American Aviation—one of the largest aerospace companies in the whole Nation—has experienced unemployment because the space program is nearing its goal of landing a man on the moon by 1970.

Mr. Woodcock has suggested that the aerospace industry needs encouragement from the Federal Government in the form of supplemental grants. He has also suggested that the aerospace industry should make "the equivalent of a Chevrolet in designing and producing low-cost housing and school classrooms for a mass market."

Mr. Speaker, I commend the views of Mr. Woodcock to other Members of Congress who are searching for ways to solve the manifold social problems around us.

I also ask that the document called "Managing the Poverty Program in Detroit" be included as an extension of my remarks.

The document follows:

STATEMENT OF LEONARD WOODCOCK, VICE PRESIDENT, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE AND AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL–CIO, BEFORE THE SENATE SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON SCIENTIFIC MANPOWER UTILIZATION, JANUARY 27, 1967

I am Leonard Woodcock, Vice President of the United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America and on behalf of our organization I am appearing before the Subcommittee to support the Scientific Manpower Utilization Act of 1967, S. 430.

One of my chief responsibilities as an officer of the UAW is to represent our membership in the aerospace industries, some of which have expressed interest in and support for this program.

We in the UAW believe that systems analysis, systems engineering and systems management can give the American people new insights, new ideas, now directions and new hope in grappling with many of the perplexing problems of our time.

At the risk of being trite, if our technology can hurtle a man through space around the world in 90 minutes, we can and must find better and easier ways to get to and from work, design and build cheaper and better homes to live in, rebuild our cities, clean up our air and water, reduce crime and rehabilitate criminals, and improve the quality of life for all Americans.

Some critics of the systems approach argue that computers will not tell us anything new. To some extent this is correct. The real genius of the systems approach, as I see it, is a wedding of the many disciplines of the social and physical sciences. By working together on a team basis, sociologists, mathematicians, and many other scientists can apply their special insights to finding new solutions to old problems that beset mankind.

1. *The Problems Are Urgent.* We support S. 430 because problems of air and water pollution, transportation, education and the decay of our major cities urgently need our attention. It has been demonstrated again and again that the social costs of neglect far outweigh the investment required to deal with these problems.

We realize a very tight budget situation faces the nation at this very moment. There is undoubtedly some reluctance by some industries to encourage government spending for programs outlined in S. 430 because of the high priority of defense matters. This, if true, is a tragic mistake.

It is our deep conviction this nation is strong enough to have both guns and butter. We believe investments made in education, the wars on poverty and pollution, and in the rebuilding of our cities are of immense importance and must not be postponed. The kind of outlays we need for education, pollution control, and transportation are mere fractions of our ever growing Gross National Product.

2. *Aerospace Know-How Is A Great National Resource.* Aerospace technology is not the property alone of the various industries who manufacture space hardware. This magnificent technology which resulted from the impetus of the space program and from the demands for national defense, is the property of all the American people.

It is the American taxpayer who pays the research and development bill that makes our space spectaculars possible. This subcommittee is well aware of the vast amounts of tax money poured each year into research and development for space, defense, and other government programs. We strongly believe this brilliant engineering talent and organization should be used to improve the quality of the life for all Americans, not just for space and defense.

3. *Space Program May Be Tapering Off.* Last Sunday's New York Times in a long, front-page story indicated plans for landing astronauts on the moon by 1970 "has plunged space planners into an urgent debate over where to aim next."

Mr. Chairman, it seems obvious to me that one of the targets for the space industry should be improvement of our environment here on earth by using many of the same facilities, technology, and manpower used for reaching the moon.

It is estimated that a man landing on Mars would cost $100 billion and could be completed by the mid-1980's. A small fraction of this sum would go far toward improving our ground transportation systems and catching up with the housing and school needs of the people of the United States.

4. *Labor Has A Stake In Expanding Economy.* Much of our enthusiasm for the systems approach in dealing with social problems results from the plain fact that many of our members are employed by the space companies and these people face the grim prospects of unemployment unless new opportunities present themselves if the space program is reduced in size.

Employment at the space division of North American Aviation, a UAW employer and a prime Apollo contractor, has dropped from 35,000 to 29,000 during the past year. If this downward trend continues, our members will face serious unemployment.

The UAW has always felt that employment opportunities, despite the hazards of automation, will grow with an expanding economy. In the words of the Automation Commission Report, "the basic fact is that technology eliminates jobs, not work." Employment will certainly improve if aerospace technology is applied to social problems.

5. *Systems Teams Should Include People With Horse Sense.* We have already said the genius of systems analysis is the happy combination of scientists working together from many specialties. We also feel it can be demonstrated that persons with special knowledge, but limited education can make a valuable contribution in developing essential information which goes into a systems analysis of a particular problem.

In my city of Detroit, for instance, the anti-poverty program used representatives of Detroit's poor in developing an information profile used to evaluate the Detroit program, using the techniques of planning-programming-budgeting system (PPBS) characteristic of the systems approach. I am attaching a special memorandum describing this so the subcommittee can better understand it.

We feel systems analysis would be wise to include in early planning the special insights of people from the ranks of organized labor where practical.

Since S. 430 involves the systems approach in dealing with social problems, it is particularly important to get people with direct and immediate insight into the various problems. Obviously, trained scientists must be relied on for the major technical work. But there will be many instances where poor people, working people, and people with ordinary, even hum-drum experience can make a significant contribution to a systems team.

6. *Experimental Grants Will Stimulate Industry.* It is my conviction the aerospace industry will not get into work of social consequence unless it can be assured of some continuing interest by the Federal Government.

It is my hunch that if, let us say, Congress decided today to appropriate $1 billion to clean up the Mississippi River from Minnesota to the Gulf of Mexico, there would be a clatter of competition for that federal dollar by many of our most sophisticated and advanced technological systems groups.

The same thing would happen if Congress decided to launch a mass production low-cost housing program, using the systems approach.

One major aerospace industry demonstrated by systems analysis and systems engineering that aerospace technology could be used to vastly improve the construction of school classrooms. However, the materials used in this construction were apparently more costly than commonly used materials. The maintenance of the new building was vastly superior to the old-fashioned schoolhouses so that once these schools were built they could outlast conventional buildings. This aerospace company was discouraged from embarking on this useful work and was unable to compete even though it made a vastly superior product. If both procurement and maintenance costs were considered together on some experimental government grant basis, areospace technology would be harnessed to meeting some of America's school construction needs.

One possible flaw in this experiment is that the aerospace companies, to their credit, are accustomed to make very high quality products and are not used to lowering quality for the purposes of a mass market.

Certainly it should be possible to make the equivalent of a Chevrolet on a mass scale in designing and producing low-cost housing or school classrooms, instead of designing a Cadillac.

The Northeast Corridor Project is an example where systems analysis and system engineering has been encouraged by a substantial federal subsidy to encourage better transportation for this densely populated part of the United States. We hope this program gets every encouragement from Congress.

We believe the proposals in S. 430 or special government grants by existing agencies can harness the technological know-how of aerospace and comparable industries to make real progress in the problems that beset this nation.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, let me emphasize the UAW's deep interest in S. 430 and may we urge you to press Congress for action this year. This can be the beginning of an exciting chapter in the American story, where the new technology that sends a man to the moon can make life better for him on earth.

Supplementary Statement: "Managing the Poverty Program in Detroit"

During the past eighteen months, Detroit's poverty program has experimented with adapting the electronic planning and budget control techniques, now so extensively used in industry and defense, to its human services program. The project is financed by an OEO grant, most of which has been subcontracted to Touche, Ross, Bailey and Smart, a local management consulting firm.

Crucial to the project's success was the development of a reliable method for quantifying client characteristics in a way that permits measurement of their progress from heavy reliance on public services to relative independence.

Anything as new, complex and frightening as an electronic device which acquires, analyzes, manipulates, and stores data about virtually every private aspect of thousands of people's lives is likely to be viewed by them with suspicion and hostility. To head off this predictable resistance, project staff worked closely with representatives of the poor at every stage of the system's creation. Staff explained the system's operation with charts and specially prepared texts. They also pointed out how useful and timesaving the system, if it proved to be workable, would be. Representatives of the poor not only approved use of OEO funds to finance the experiment, they also began attending regular meetings to help develop the all-important quantification scale.

Staff also drew on as many outside perceptions into the causes of poverty as possible, consulting with professional social workers, academicians, and several "people off the street."

Each "consultant" was given a chart similar to the one attached and asked to work across, line by line, rating the comparative importance of each characteristic for each type. When all results were in and synthesized, TRB&S worked out a numerical scale which theoretically measured each client's dependency. The scale ran from one to ten, with ten representing self-sufficiency.

Information about each client is collected at various intake points by regular interviewers. It is analyzed and coded by specially trained staff to insure consistency. Periodic re-measurements and comparison with earlier ratings, should enable evaluators to determine how quickly each client is progressing, what his current needs and past successes are, what overall impact the poverty program is having, and how much it costs to dispense each unit of service. By shuffling data around, they can also determine which component programs are contributing most, and which least, to the city's fight against poverty.

Needless to say, this is all unproven theory. Similar systems work well in industry, but no one knows yet whether they can be successfully adapted to people's problems.

Staff is now testing what the machines say about clients against their personal judgment. If the rating scale works, then the entire system should. There will be errors in individual cases, but in a huge population such as the poor in Detroit, these errors should balance.

Using a computer, the system can recommend various strategies for dealing with the problems of poverty. It sets up mathematical models and, on the basis of present program performance, suggests the best mix for spending whatever money is available. It can also accept pre-conditions, such as the political need to invest heavily in highly visible services, and suggest how remaining funds should be handled. It can also predict how much time and money will be needed to finish the job.

(Prepared by UAW Washington Office, January 25, 1967.)

The Seniority System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, on the opening day of the 90th Congress I introduced House Resolution 96 to change the method of selection for committee chairman.

The seniority system law needs reform. My proposal would allow the majority party on any committee to choose the chairman from the three of its most senior members.

The Tampa Tribune, Tampa, Fla., editorialized about the seniority system recently. This editorial is indicative of the feeling around the country in regard to the seniority system.

The editorial follows:

Cast Off the Palsied Hand

"Nothing moves so slowly or painfully through Congress as reform of its own procedures."

This is the comment of a young Congressman who tried, in a small way, to correct some of the wrongs he saw in the system and gained mainly a bruised head.

History supports his conclusion.

One of the most obvious evils in the musty structure of Congressional operation is the seniority system. A member of Congress can be a senile dodderer, a compulsive drunk, and a known cheat—but if he has managed to stay in office longer than any other member of his committee he automatically inherits the immense powers of the chairmanship.

The system has done untold damage to the effective operation of the legislative process, yet it persists because those with a vested interest in seniority want no change.

But the system tomorrow comes under its heaviest attack, as a result of the scandalous behavior of Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee.

House Democrats, in caucus, will decide whether to strip Powell of his seniority and chairmanship because of his embarrassing record of misconduct. He is a fugitive from his Harlem district, under jail sentence for contempt of court; he has been charged with having staff members falsify travel vouchers for his benefit; he has used a Congressional employe as a personal maid; and he kept his estranged wife on a $20,500 Federal salary in Puerto Rico in open violation of law—among other things.

Powell's right even to take his seat will be challenged, but many House Democrats seem disinclined to go so far as to expel him. Conceding that he is unfit to serve, they argue that his constituents would surely reelect him and can the House deny voters of a district the right to be represented by a rogue of their choice?

But only those who are intimidated by threats of Negro retaliation and those who, like Speaker John McCormack, suffer no sense of outrage at political corruption can support Powell's continuance as chairman.

Two years ago House Democrats snatched away seniority privileges from John Bell Williams of Mississippi, a Representative for 18 years, because he openly supported Barry Goldwater for President.

We hardly think House Democrats can place themselves in the position of regarding party disloyalty as a graver crime than dishonesty in the handling of public funds and repeated defiance of court orders.

If Democrats bounce Powell as chairman—as they should—their action may shake the sanctity of the whole seniority system.

The right of another Congressman to move into a chairmanship through seniority will be challenged by a group of liberal Democrats.

Their case against William M. Colmer of Mississippi, who is in line to head the strategic Rules Committee, is based not on moral conduct but on philosophy. They contend that no member so opposed to Administration policy as Colmer should boss the committee which decides what legislation reaches the floor for a vote. They would give the chairmanship to the No. 2 ranking Democrat, Rep. Ray Madden of Indiana.

We have no feeling for or against Colmer but we heartily endorse the idea of loosening the rigid line of succession to the seats of power.

Under the present system, for example, we can expect that the crucially important chairmanship of the Senate Appropriations Committee will remain with Arizona's Carl Hayden, who will be 90 years old next October; the leadership of the sensitive House Armed Services Committee will return to South Carolina's Mendel Rivers, whose sobriety problem is openly discussed in Washington; the voice of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will continue to be that of Arkansas' J. William Fulbright, whose chief aim seems to be to discredit this nation's policies abroad.

All of these might be replaced, to the nation's benefit, if Congress adopted the modification proposed by Rep. Fred Schwengel, Republican of Iowa.

Congressman Schwengel would permit a committee to choose its chairman from among the *three* top-ranking members of the majority party.

This is a simple change; yet it could vastly improve both the effectiveness and the public image of Congress.

Congress has had many examples, over the years, of the need for casting off the palsied hand of the strict seniority system. Adam Clayton Powell has provided both the most convincing argument and the best opportunity for change. Painful as it may be to the beneficiaries of the system, Congress ought to muster the moral courage to adopt this reform.

The Moral Fiber of the United States—Part 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, because of his vast experience as a writer, educator, and Pulitzer Prize-winning newspaper editor, the views of Dr. Felix Morley on the moral status of our Nation certainly command consideration. A Rhodes scholar who attended the London School of Economics and later president of Haverford College in Pennsylvania, he is no late arrival to the field of education. A number of his productive years were given over to the journalistic field, the Baltimore Sun, the United Press Association, and the editorship of the Washington Post, among his newspaper assignments. He is the author of a number of books on foreign policy and domestic issues, and his authorship of articles include contributions in the political, social, and economic fields. As he points out in the following article, he has written for Nation's Business an unbroken series of monthly columns dating back to 1946.

It can hardly be disputed, then, that Dr. Morley is an active and concerned viewer of the American scene for many years.

In our world of conflict today, it is incumbent upon us to rely on much soul searching and introspection if we are to preserve our freedom and remain the primary bastion of true peace and justice. Comparison of our present moral vitality with that existing during the era of our Founding Fathers supplies much food for reflection.

In our Nation, with the accent on the technologicial, geopolitics and material welfare, there is an urgent need for moral reevaluation, and to stimulate this issue I include the article, "Momentous Question for Our Future," by Dr. Felix Morley from Nation's Business of February 1967, in the RECORD at this point:

Momentous Question for Our Future

(By Felix Morley)

In February, 1946, just 21 years ago, Nation's Business published the first of an as yet unbroken series of monthly columns by me. So the following begins my 22d year as a periodic commentator on "The State of the Nation." This span covers almost one-eighth of the entire life of our Republic. In other words we are still, as history is measured, a young country, with a future which should fulfill the promise of the past.

But the future, it has been said, is past, in the sense that what has been determines what will be. Therefore the editors suggested that I might use this occasion to review the changes that have come to America during the period of my scrutiny in this space. This, it was agreed, should not be a compilation of detail but rather an attempt to detect trends that are determining the shape of things to come. Offhand this seemed a good idea, requiring reflection, of course, but otherwise no great amount of laborious research. I should have realized that it is never easy to see through a glass darkly. Two variables are involved in trying to play the role of Janus, the two-faced

Roman god who looked both back and forward. Any who attempt the task will quickly realize that not only outward circumstance but also internal alteration must be considered.

Nevertheless I was encouraged, in going through the files, to find that in fundamentals my own viewpoint has throughout been consistent. Midwinter of 1946 was indeed a period of disconcerting turmoil and confusion. Amid the prevalent postwar disillusion I recall that "the reefs of history are strewn with the wreckage of republics." Immediately thereafter, however, I quoted Dr. Charles A. Beard, as the dean of American historians, who had then recently written:

"Calamities may come upon America or be brought upon the country by demagogic leadership. . . . Enough of our Republic will be kept intact to restore, rebuild and go ahead. . . . Surely, Americans will endlessly strive to carry on the values in their heritage."

Among those values it is abiding faith in the quality of the human conscience that stands first. As James Madison wrote, in "The Federalist," "we rest all our experiments [meaning the Constitution] on mankind's capacity for self-government." He was using the phrase in the broadest sense. Madison reasoned that men who can control their selfish instincts, out of a real concern for the needs of others, will need a minimum of policing. With self-government the area of external government is minimized. On that assumption was fought and won the battle for a federal republic of limited and divided powers, admittedly an "experiment" which few political scientists had ever before considered practical.

Many have wondered how it was that Americans, so prone to be "realistic" should nevertheless have launched and maintained the most idealistic form of government ever attempted on this earth. The explanation is not obscure. It was the deeply religious faith of most of the early colonists, long before the Revolution, that inspired them to base their society squarely on Christian principles. For Pennsylvania, said William Penn, "I purpose that which is extraordinary. . . . We put the power in the people."

In order to make it work, that democratic principle was always carefully hedged. There is very little socialism in the American tradition and slavery was recognized by the original Constitution. Even today there are those who think that the franchise should be circumscribed. Occasionally Presidents, and Governors, have acted as though the legislature were their tool and the courts their creature. Yet the ideal has remained untarnished. Always Americans have striven "to carry on the values in their heritage." Why shouldn't this continue?

Perhaps because, during the period under review, two fundamental changes have become apparent. It is increasingly argued, in the first place, that there are no absolute values; that people create their own standards and that these alter as circumstances change. It is a development sharply symbolized by the saying that "God is dead," even while every depreciating dollar bill continues to bear the assertion that "In God We Trust."

This irreligious tendency, carried so far as to eliminate prayer from the public schools, of course runs counter to the heritage that we claim to cherish. If there is no higher authority than man, then Mao Tse-tung or any other imposter may reasonably claim pre-eminence. If there are no immutable standards, then there can be no enduring principles on which to take a stand. If the limited vision of fallible officials is sacrosanct, then the very foundations of our political system have been undermined. It may seem outwardly strong, as many a tyranny before it, but the sustaining nature of its spiritual strength has gone.

The tendency to deny all permanent values is paradoxically supplemented by one that makes no sense whatever, if there are no absolutes. This second contemporary trend is an insistence on complete equality as a political and social panacea. To assert that all men are equal in either mental or physical competence is biologically absurd, for evidence to the contrary confronts us every day. But in the spiritual sense, in Jefferson's meaning that all men are *born* equal in the sight of God, there is complete validity, so long as the Creator has meaning for us.

Thus it is wholly rational for a believer to argue that character, rather than competence or complexion, is what counts. For the nonbeliever, however, there is no such over-all commitment. For him, power entails no responsibility to the Ten Commandments. Power is up for grabs and if wheeling and dealing takes it most quickly from the people, that is as fair a way as any. Religious faith, certainly, is no guaranty of ethical behavior, to which agnostics are often unswervingly loyal. But an enveloping atmosphere of disbelief strongly suggests that moral standards have become a matter of personal convenience and soaring crime statistics seem to confirm that inference.

There is no question that the American tradition of limited political government has a firmly religious, though nonsectarian, basis. Only when loyalty to God takes precedence over loyalty to the state is it possible to confine the spreading authority of the latter. Indeed, the story of political progress everywhere is largely written by the heroism of those who, in the test, defied their rulers for religious reasons.

"The Americans," wrote Alexis de Tocqueville 130 years ago, "combine the notions of Christianity and of liberty so intimately in their minds that it is impossible to make them conceive the one without the other."

Not even the well-disposed foreign visitor—and this type is no longer so numerous—would make that observation about us today. And it is within the past quarter-century that the idea of freedom has been completely divorced from religious faith, becoming dependent upon governmental pleasure. In the hymn "America," the punch line still refers to God as "Author of Liberty." But prevalent opinion puts a ghost-writer in the White House. That illusion has a disastrous potential.

There is abundant evidence of disquiet over the contradiction between our traditions and the present reliance on centralized government. A country with institutions based on the principle of diffused power is endeavoring to accomplish ends demanding the utmost concentration of power. Inevitably this produces something akin to national schizophrenia. Few like it, but most conclude that this steadily increasing development is inevitable.

Of course the forces operating to take the power from the people are numerous and persuasive. This is no longer the primitive agricultural country that produced the genius of the Founding Fathers. But it would be one of the most bitter ironies in all history if the technological demands of the modern age should be allowed to smother the philosophy which alone made our unprecedented accomplishment possible.

Misgivings about the future have always been common among the aged. They get consolation from thinking that their own deterioration is mirrored in the society they are about to leave. Today, however, there is an all too obvious apprehension among the young, for whom the future should be exhilarating. Because these anxieties take distasteful forms it does not follow that they are unreal. Surely adolescent unhappiness is as important for us as is the composition of the moon.

Later this month, as always on George Washington's birthday, his Farewell Address will be read aloud to Congress. Hopefully there will this time be special attention for the passage which says: "Let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion."

Upon that caution depends the future of this republic. Fortunately many of its citizens are well aware that collective material wealth will not indefinitely accumulate, if individual spiritual strength decays.

Executive View: Foreign Affairs a Business Affair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it has long been known that the business community in Greater Boston has been outstanding in its interest and analysis of world affairs. Typical of these individuals is my good friend Gerhard D. Bleicken, senior executive vice president of the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co., and a director of the World Affairs Council of Boston.

In a recent interview with Alexander Auerback of the Boston Globe, Mr. Bleicken outlined his views on the need for the modern businessman to be alert to what is going on in this shrinking world.

Because of Mr. Bleicken's leadership in the Greater Boston area, I include the article which appeared in the Boston Globe on January 30 in the Record at this point:

Executive View: Foreign Affairs a Business Affair

(By Alexander Auerbach)

Gerhard D. Bleicken is by vocation the senior executive vice president of the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co. By avocation he is a student of foreign affairs.

"Profit is important, but it is equally important to have an awareness of what's going on in the world—particularly for a business such as ours, which operates all over the world," he says.

He is trying to engage the interest of other businessmen in the world beyond our shores through the World Affairs Council of Boston, of which he is a director.

The Council is initiating a five-part series of "downtown luncheons" to encourage executives toward a broader outlook. The first luncheon is scheduled Thursday at the Sheraton-Plaza, with British Ambassador Sir Patrick Dean speaking.

Bleicken is also a consultant to President Johnson's director of emergency planning and to the National Academy of Sciences.

Is all this interest just a hobby? He says no: "The actions of China, Africa and especially South America are vitally important to our economy and to the business and financial sector.

"We have an obligation, as businessmen, to study and to understand our foreign policy, and to try to influence it as citizens.

"The lifeblood of the free enterprise system is trade, commerce, and unless it is carried on intelligently, business isn't doing it's share, and business will suffer."

Is it the place of business to get involved in foreign policy? Isn't the academic world the usual source of ideas and expertise?

"Business is an integral part of society and as significant as the academic world. If the universities can produce good men in academic fields who are also valuable in foreign affairs, business should be able to do the same.

"Not only should it, but it does.

"One officer of our company, a senior vice president, took a three-month tour of European embassies for the State Department, applying business principles of operation to the activities of the embassies."

But is this just a quirk of the John Hancock group? Are insurance men as a group more conscious of long-range policy planning because they are dealing in life-time contracts and 99-year investments in the course of their work?

"I think it depends on the man and on the leadership from top management, not on the type of business.

"The best businessmen are planning a lot further ahead than they used to, and are taking a much broader view of their markets and potential markets.

"It's not just the big firms, either. Many of the smaller companies out on Rt. 128 do the bulk of their business overseas.

"No, it's not the company, it's the man. The younger men coming into management now are very aware of the need for this kind of understanding—as aware, I would say, as the average congressman.

"This has been a remarkable shift for American business. We only became aware of the rest of the world after the First World War.

"We had wanted men who were only interested in production. Now management wants broader people at the top, although of course they want men who can run the company well.

"The type of men who are educated for business today will be doing both—running the business at home and staying abreast of their rapidly shrinking world."

Air Pollution

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, I wish to make some remarks in support of President Johnson's recent proposals to improve the quality of our air.

There is a tendency to consider air pollution as a problem which afflicts only the heavily urbanized areas of the country. Then why should a Member who represents an area of villages and farms be concerned with this problem? Because in addition to our natural sympathies for the problem faced by our fellow citizens of the great metropolitan areas, we too have experienced the damages and discomforts caused by polluted air.

In my district, there are many resort areas which have traditionally served as places to which the inhabitants of New York City and other nearby urban centers could retreat, leaving behind them the congestion, noise, and dirt of the city. That tradition is eroding. While our resorts still flourish, there are signs that they too are beginning to suffer some of the blights of the city. Air pollution is one of these.

I have been particularly concerned with the discharges from cement and asphalt plants in my area, and last year I held hearings on this subject. It is my feeling, as a result, that in too many instances the State and local governments have not lived up to the responsibility of controlling air pollution sources within their respective jurisdictions.

I am particularly pleased, therefore, by the President's proposal to establish minimum emission control levels on a national basis. I feel the setting of these levels will be particularly beneficial for the nonurban areas of our country. Too often the headlines seem to be concerned only with the major urban air pollution episodes, while the problems of citizens who may reside in the vicinity of a cement mill, for example, appear to go unnoticed. Yet the person who lives near a single air pollution source may, in fact, inhale as much dirt as the person who lives in the city with its many sources.

The Clean Air Act of 1963, and its subsequent amendments, have started us on the road to purer air, but it is only a start. Meanwhile, the problem grows worse with every passing year. If we are are to roll back pollution levels to the point where the air we breathe supports life without adverse side effects, then we must redouble our efforts. The legislation proposed by President Johnson is an essential step in that direction.

Vital Vietnam Role for Radio Repairman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to bring to the attention of my colleagues the unusual duty of A1c. Charles E. Murphy of 25 Carroll Island Road. Airman Murphy is a member of the 5th Direct Air Support Flight based at Clark Airbase in the Philippines; yet the unit has no aircraft. However, Airman Murphy and his fellow unit members supply a vital link in the Vietnam war while on temporary duty in the combat zone. Following is an article which appeared in the Eastern Beacon of Wednesday, January 25, 1967, which outlines Airman Murphy's special duties.

The article follows:

RADIO REPAIRMAN HAS VITAL VIETNAM ROLE

Airman First Class Charles E. Murphy, son of Mr. and Mrs. Charles E. Murphy of 25 Carroll Is. road, is assigned to an unusual U.S. Air Force direct air support unit at Clark AB, Philippines, that has no aircraft.

Yet Airman Murphy and his fellow airmen are fighting the Vietnam war—in Vietnam.

The airman is a member of the highly-specialized 5th Direct Air Support Flight based at Clark. The unit title is the key to the tough job Airman Murphy has while on temporary duty in the combat zone.

The radio repairman helps provide vital communications support for forward air controllers (FACs), also from his Clark unit, who fly as aerial scouts and direct fighter strikes against the enemy.

Many of the communications specialists from his unit are parachutists and if the mission requires, are airdropped with portable radio gear. Airman Murphy also maintains streamline communications equipment in the field, packed into specially designed jeeps that enables ground FACs to talk with airborne FACs, strike aircraft and ground forces. During his deployment Airman Murphy may also find himself digging a foxhole or pulling perimeter guard duty with Army personnel.

Combat veterans of the Clark-based 5th Support Flight have served in some of the fiercest fighting in Vietnam. They have provided FAC support for U.S., Korean, Australian and New Zealand army units during deployment and combat operations in Vietnam since the unit was activated in October 1964.

Back at home base, Airman Murphy stays ready to go to war with the army when the assignment comes.

The airman is a graduate of Kenwood Senior High School.

His wife, Kathryn, is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Wayne Barbour of Johnstown, Pa.

More Shenanigans in Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, my attention has been called to a recent editorial by Mike L. Kennedy, of Midwest Industry magazine, in which he puts his finger on some of the reasons why this administration has not dealt very effectively with the problem of inflation, but, in trying to do so, it has sometimes made some ill-advised proposals. In this editorial, "More Shenanigans in Washington," Mr. Kennedy speaks the minds of many of us when he suggests that a "reduction of Federal spending is the only course to economic sanity."

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include this editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD, and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

MORE SHENANIGANS IN WASHINGTON

(By Mike L. Kennedy, Editor and Publisher)

The recent announcement by the Bureau of Public Roads that Federal highway spending will be slashed some 25 per cent this current fiscal year is another of the increasingly-obvious manipulations of the country's economy in a questionable manner. In an apparent attempt to measure up to an earlier promise to reduce spending in order to combat growing inflation, the Administration has sliced, by $1.1 billion, the amount of money to be returned to the states from the Highway Trust Fund for Interstate and ABC road construction. However, there is more than meets the eye in this most recent attempt to decieve (pull the wool over the eyes of) the electorate.

That action is needed to control inflation seems self-evident. Inflation is currently eating away at the dollar at a better than 5 per cent rate per annum. Wages and prices are unable to keep up with this erosion. The Administration, which confidently declared its ability to finance sweeping social changes in our society concurrently with an expanding war in southeast Asia, is now finding itself in deep fiscal trouble.

In an effort to combat the growing inflation, the Administration has gone to both business and labor for help. The 3.2 per cent wage-price guidelines were established. Business was forced to abide by this, but labor evidently chose to get what it could while the getting was good—the 3.2 per cent guidelines have since been forgotten.

Next, the Administration sought to reduce inflation pressures by curtailing the demand for capital equipment through suspension of the 7 per cent investment tax credit at a time when American industry considered updated, modern plants and equipment a must to compete with imports from low labor-rate countries. To date, the 7 per cent tax credit suspension has apparently had less than the desired effect as many companies must still make necessary expenditures even at the increased cost.

Because of free spending policies and ineffective counter measures the Administration is now faced with the problem of cooling an overheated economy. The 89th Congress, spurred by the Administration, sharply increased Federal spending. Cash outlays for the fiscal year ending in 1967 are reported to total $175.5 billion, an increase of more than 20 per cent in two years, and this does not include the $10 to $15 billion dollars that will be needed for the Viet Nam effort through July. At this rate, the Federal Government will be spending more than $200 billion a year by 1969. Is it any wonder that we are faced with growing inflation?

Now, we are hearing rumors that the budget for the fiscal year ending in 1968 will reflect at least a $10 billion increase. At the same time, we also hear that a tax increase will be proposed to fight inflation and reduce the budget deficit. This comes at a time when the rate of failure of our small and medium sized businesses, the bulwark of our economy, has reached an all-time high. This is no doubt due to the vastly increased costs of doing business. To increase taxes could prove disastrous as there is the ever-present threat of throwing the economy into a tail spin.

It appears that a reduction of Federal spending is the only course to economic sanity. The Administration is limited to areas in which this reduction can be made. Anything but all out support of the Viet Nam effort is, of course, unthinkable. Other fixed obligations, such as interest on the Federal debt, more than $8 billion a year, cannot be cut. There are non-fixed obligations and this is the area that must be considered for federal spending reductions. However, the problem arises in classifying programs into essential and non-essential groups.

The Administrations' announcement on Nov. 23 that the amount of money to be made available to the states for the Interstate and ABC highway programs would be cut by 25 per cent seems to classify our highway modernization program as non-essential. This is an example of the many inconsistencies seen in Washington. Just a few months ago, the Administration declared that the nearly 50,000 highway deaths a year was a problem of the utmost importance when requesting controls over the automakers. Now, it appears that this apparent concern by the Administration was only a smoke screen.

Industry is becoming more and more dependent on all means of transportation, including highways, to get its goods to market. In addition, highway construction represents a considerable market for industrial products. To further penalize industry for inflation caused by governmental spending and high wage settlements, is to jeopardize our economic future. Inflation cannot be curtailed by the business community alone. Most profit margins are being continually harrowed and cannot be expected to absorb additional pressures.

Lastly, in defense of the highway program, it should be pointed out that cutting the amount of money available to the states does not release the money to be spent on other projects. By law, money in the Highway Trust Fund cannot be spent for projects other than highway construction. Instead, the Trust Fund, if the spending slash is allowed to stand, will accumulate money while we let our roads deteriorate. As costs of construction continue to rise, the money we do not spend today will buy fewer improvements in the future.

To cut non-essential spending is a desirable goal. In fact, it should be reduced considerably more than the proposed $1.5 billion. However, the flagrantly-abused Great Society Programs would seem to be the first place for trimming. Elimination of corruption and mismanagement of these ill-conceived programs, is the first step toward economic stability and responsible leadership. It seems, though, that this is not politically appealing in our "something for nothing" society. Unless our political leaders put the welfare of the nation ahead of their own political aspirations, the country may very well find itself in the midst of an unequaled depression. We must demand responsible action on the part of those we have elected.

That a handful of men can control the destiny of the country and its people is only one of many indications of our proximity to dictatorial control by the White House, regardless of who occupies it. The power that can legally be exercised by one man is frightening.

Public Relations—Hanoi Style

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the Communist press, and the gullible among us who believe it, has very carefully built up this country as an aggressor in Vietnam, who is senselessly killing and maiming innocent civilians.

There is no question that innocent civilians are being killed in Vietnam. But there is also no question that we do everything we can do to avoid this and never do it deliberately. There is also no question but that the Vietcong quite deliberately murder civilians.

The following column from the January 5, 1967, edition of the New York World Journal Tribune says some things about this that have needed saying for a long time.

I commend the column to the attention of our colleagues:

WE'RE TRAPPED BY HANOI PR PLOT

(By Bill Slocum)

For the benefit of quick readers and particularly for the benefit of dedicated joiners and petition signers I would like to make it clear that I too am opposed to the killing of women and children.

In fact, I am opposed to the killing of any human.

But I do wish that all my countrymen who are screaming so endlessly about wanton killing in Viet Nam would tell me some other way to fight a war there. Or anywhere.

And while they are at it I'd be grateful if they would offer some proof that our shells and bombs hit nothing but helpless noncombatants. I haven't the slightest doubt that the innocent are dying in Viet Nam. But I have no idea in what number.

Nor has anybody else screaming of slaughter of women and children in Viet Nam got the slightest idea of whether many or few are dying. One is too many. Thousands are progaganda.

The innocent always die in war and that is just one of the reasons war is so utterly obscene. Without for a second suggesting that women and children aren't being killed in Viet Nam I would insist that we are entrapped right now in a beautiful Hanoi public relations ploy.

And I object to that ploy because it is potentially very dangerous to the safe return of American troops.

The Pentagon is far more concerned over the mental attitude of the civilian sitting comfortably in an Idaho arm chair than it is over the attitude of a Yank crouched in a rice paddy in the Mekong Delta. The soldier can't do a damned thing to cut down military appropriations in Congress.

So, I'm very much concerned that the Pentagon brass will yield to this thoroughly unspontaneous idea that is growing in the States that our troops are massacring women and children. The Pentagon will send out orders to fight a careful war.

You just can't fight a careful war. And if you try you are still going to kill some innocent and you are surely going to cause the deaths of a lot of Americans who might otherwise get home.

Pinpoint bombing is out of the question in jungles. Villages can't be cleared with a sporting demand to the Viet Cong to "come out in the open and fight like gentlemen." They are neither gentlemen nor madmen so they use the villages and the villagers for the further successful waging of this war.

I most certainly am not arguing that we are engaged in any holy war out there in Viet Nam. Nor am I at all certain we even belong there.

But I know we are there. I know Americans are fighting and dying there. And I can see no reason why their already ghastly job should be made any tougher by an exquisitely run public relations campaign that already has us convinced of something nobody in the world could prove.

I know my fellow Americans are not barbarians in Viet Nam and if my fellow Americans in Chicago, San Francisco and Greenwich Village don't know it too they are kidding themselves. Or being kidded by experts.

I get the impression that this dreadful murder of civilians in Viet Nam is a peculiarly American sin. The hell it is.

I know two wrongs don't make a right but I have seen a lot of very innocent Vietnamese women and children with their heads and legs blown all over the streets of Saigon. These innocent were not slaughtered by Americans. They were massacred by Viet Cong. And it wasn't bad marksmanship by the Viet Cong. It was magnificent marksmanship.

This is a war. Like all wars it is useless and will prove nothing. But until it is somehow ended I think we might give the benefit of all doubts to our own.

The Tragedy on Launch Pad 34

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JACK BRINKLEY

OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, an artist looks into the heavens and sees beauty; an astronaut looks skyward and sees mystery. The tragedy January 27 on launch pad 34 must redefine our purpose and confirm our intention of fully appreciating the beauty of the heavens and full exploration of their mysteries.

For the children and wives of Roger Chaffee, Virgil Grissom, and Edward White to do less would leave their tragic death without purpose. Their search for knowledge, thirst for achievement, devotion to duty and dedication to their country requires us to continue the search they started and win the goal they prized so highly—insight on the birth of our solar system.

A Better Legislature—I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, in Albany on April 4, 1967, New York State will convene its first constitutional convention in 30 years. Many other States will be reviewing their constitutions in the near future, and the responsibility for recommending changes and rewriting the State constitutions will, in many cases, fall on members of the executive, the legislative, and the judicial branches of the National, State, and local governments. At this time I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues, for their study, an editorial from the New York Times of January 30, 1967, on this important subject.

The editorial follows:

A Better Legislature—I

When New York's first Constitutional Convention in nearly thirty years opens its proceedings in Albany April 4, one of its greatest opportunities for enduring public service will lie in proposing ways to improve the State Legislature. Although New York's Legislature ranks among the best in the nation, even its stanchest defenders admit it could—and should—be vastly better.

The Legislature has far from exhausted its own opportunities for self-reform. But there are certain fundamental changes that only a rewriting of the Constitution can effect. The most important of these is enactment of bona fide "home rule" for local government—the granting to cities and other local governments of the autonomy to manage their own affairs.

Every session at Albany finds the Legislature frittering away its time and attention on a multitude of minor, local problems. Scores of these, perhaps hundreds, must be taken to Albany for decision because the Constitution, despite occasional liberalization through the years, still requires it. Others are sent to Albany because local officials or pressure groups prefer to shift the decision for political reasons.

All of these minor matters require bills, many of them involving "flyspeck" decisions. In 1950, for instance, the Legislature took a solemn vote to increase the official fee for performing a civil wedding in New York City from $2 to $3.

Such examples of Albany lawmaking on hometown trivia could be multiplied endlessly; bills to allow towns in Westchester to hire part-time policemen; permission for Buffalo to increase city marshal fees; allowing towns in Suffolk County to control sand and gravel pits to protect children; exempting Oswego trustees from individual liability for library debts—such is the procession of weary making of laws that should have been made at home, instead of Albany.

Where such frivolous foolishness is demanded by the Constitution it signifies an ancient, but unreliable, assumption that Papa Knows Best, with the Legislature cast in the role of Papa. As a matter of fact, such decisions, made by legislators from a distance, proceed too often from ignorance. But whether these laws are made in Albany because the Constitution insists or merely to spare embarrassment to local officials, the Legislature should be freed—and, where there is an option, should free itself—from being a dumping ground for governmental minutiae. Such emancipation would allow the Legislature to reserve its time for the big problems, including those it likes to duck.

The premise on which deprivation of home rule is presumably based—that the Legislature is an infallibly superior fount of wisdom—has taken many a rude jolt. None was more shattering than the 1965 session's flagrantly irresponsible rubber-stamping of the Wagner borrow-now, pay-later plan, which put New York City more than a quarter-billion dollars in debt in one year. The Legislature concurred in this folly, as did Governor Rockefeller, because it was politically less painful than demanding that the city formulate an authentic budget-balancing tax program.

Cities, counties, towns and villages should have the freedom to govern, including the freedom to make mistakes. Their right to manage should not be limited to the lesser affairs of their communities. It should extend to choice of taxes and the incurrence of debt; if the localities go wrong, the voters will tell them so in due time—unmistakably. As for the legislators, they should welcome with relief this opportunity to be rid of the political headaches of imposing their will on local affairs.

The Constitutional Convention should write a home-rule article that means home rule. It can thus simultaneously improve the Legislature and make local government more responsible.

U.S. Arms Sales Circumvent Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has issued a staff report entitled "Arms Sales and Foreign Policy," which I believe should be required reading for every Member of Congress. In my opinion, it points up the fact that this aspect of our military aid program has become an independent operation that could defy congressional controls or intent and that could easily conflict with any arms reduction or nonproliferation moves we might attempt.

An article in the Washington Post on January 30, 1967, describes the study, which should be read in its entirety for a more complete picture. The article follows:

Senate Panel Raps Pentagon Tactics On Sales of Armaments Overseas

(By John Maffre)

America's sale of weapons abroad has ballooned to more than $2 billion a year in a program so vast that it defies adequate control or supervision by the Government, a Senate report said today.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee probe challenges the wide latitude of the Defense Department's arms-selling agency in setting foreign credit terms, its rugged sales tactics that have riled U.S. allies and its apparent immunity from considerations of policy.

The growing arms sales program appears contrary to the arms-control policies of President Johnson, Congress and Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara himself, the report said.

In the stiffest wording of an otherwise restrained paper, it blasts what it calls Defense's "preemptive selling" philosophy which argues that nations with a shopping list will turn elsewhere if they cannot get a good American deal:

"It seems imperative that at some point the United States take the risk that great powers must take and simply say 'No—go to the Russians or the British if you must,'" the report says.

It quotes Prof. John K. Galbraith's testimony that this philosophy points up the "curious obtuseness which excessive preoccupation with Cold-War strategy produces in otherwise excellent minds."

"One of the major objectives of United States foreign policy is the easing of international tensions, looking toward the possibility of eventual arms limitations—toward a time when it will be possible for nations to devote their resources not to weapons of destruction but to the works of peace and social justice," the report said.

"But it appears that the Defense Department is determined to maintain its arms sales abroad at about $1.5 billion per year level, thus contributing to the buildup of conventional arms throughout the world."

The report also faults the State Department's Office of Munitions Control for "having no influence over the greatest exporter of all, the Department of Defense," and questions whether the Bureau of the Budget or the Agency for International Development (AID) have much say in the selling decisions.

It stresses that "the Arms Control Disarmament Agency, despite its charter, does not sit at the high table when decisions on the sale of arms are made."

CALLS FOR REAPPRAISAL

The United States should, the report concludes, "reappraise the adequacy of the present machinery of policy control and legislative oversight governing the sale of arms."

It was not immediately known whether the committee headed by Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT, Democrat of Arkansas or the subcommittee on disarmament under Senator ALBERT GORE, Democrat, of Tennessee, planned any specific hearings on the issue. In a statement released today one of the prominent critics of the arms race, Senator EUGENE J. MCCARTHY, Democrat, of Minnesota, urged Congress to study the report because "we may be subsidizing weapons manufacturers to a dangerous and undesirable extent."

Chief target of the committee probe was the activity of the International Logistics Negotiations (ILN) office under Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Henry J. Kuss Jr., with its sales force of 21 professional officers in four teams with particular functional and regional duties.

HUGE SALES FOR CASH

It states that the ILN, not AID or the Export-Import Bank, had acquired responsibility for negotiating credit terms for military purchases, especially to underdeveloped nations. The huge sales to industrial countries like Britain, West Germany or Canada were mainly for cash.

One major trend, the report notes, is that while Congress was increasing its watch on military grant assistance, Defense was shifting to direct sales. From fiscal year 1952 to 1961 the total was $17 billion in grant aid and $5 billion in sales, but Defense estimates that in the 1962–1971 period the position will be reversed—$15 billion in military sales and $7 billion in grant aid.

The report quotes approvingly. McNamara's statements in September, 1965, on the desirability of influencing underdeveloped allies to give first priority to the social and economic needs of their peoples.

SIX RECOMMENDATIONS

But it felt that the arms race seemed to defy McNamara's "best intentions".

"The question that must be addressed is whether the governmental machinery designed for the management of our military sales program is adequate to the task of bringing the U.S. actions in line with Secretary McNamara's intentions. There is evidence to suggest that it is not."

The 13-page report ends with six specific recommendations:

Direct the Munitions Control Office to compile quarterly statistics on private and government arms exports at least for the Secretary of State and for Congress;

Require Defense to account fully for its military assistance credit account;

Have Congress examine Eximbank's arms financing role;

Have Congress probe military export credits simultaneously with development loans;

Have Congress examine the effectiveness of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency;

Have the U.S. take the initiative in organizing regional conventional weapons "free zones" that would have no sophisticated offensive or defensive weapons.

A Small Feeling of Guilt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, an increasing number of people are becoming concerned with the manner in which our Government is treating Rhodesia. I am not personally familiar with whether the Ian Smith government of Rhodesia is a good or bad one.

Although one can obviously disagree with some of its policies, it certainly seems strange to me for our administration to be cracking down on Rhodesia at the very time when it is attempting to promote East-West trade with nations supplying our enemies in Vietnam.

Recently, one of the outstanding editors in New Hampshire's Second Congressional District, Mr. Richard Lewis of the Journal-Transcript in Franklin, wrote a most thoughtful and perceptive editorial on the situation, which I commend to the attention of my colleagues and herewith submit for the RECORD:

A SMALL FEELING OF GUILT

The demands by Great Britain that its rebellious colony, Rhodesia, be allowed its independence only if its vast majority of natives are prepared for eventual sharing in the rule of the would-be new nation, leaves us just the least bit uneasy.

We have no argument with the argument that people should rule themselves, and we are not inclined to be patient with the proposition that a limited elite should monopolize for all time, as a matter, perhaps, of divine racial right, the government of a put upon majority.

Yet, as we say, this whole argument as applied in the case of Rhodesia leaves us somewhat shaken. We are painfully reminded of another set of British Colonies that made the break with the mother country under circumstances that were in many ways parallel, and another set of natives who came out of the deal with a far worse proposition than suffered by the original inhabitants of Rhodesia.

We trust we are allowed a small feeling of guilt when we recall that the American Indian not only never did have much of a crack at sharing the government of the country he occupied before it was hit by a wave of Europeans, but in fact, was very nearly wiped out when he failed to greet the newcomers and their thievery of his land with proper gratitude.

We can, perhaps, work up a certain sympathy with the proposition that the native peoples of Rhodesia ought eventually to share their own government in proportion with their numbers, but we can't, in good conscience, say it with much force.

The American Indian, even today, had a pretty lousy deal of it.

The President on the War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, our dedication to peace and our determination to prevent the takeover of South Vietnam by Communist dictators were never better expressed than by President Johnson in his state of the Union message.

An excellent commentary on the message was contained in an editorial in the January 12, 1967 edition of the Washington Post.

I commend it to the attention of our colleagues:

THE PRESIDENT ON THE WAR

The country will have a right perspective about the war in South Vietnam if it keeps in mind the solemn words of President Johnson's message to Congress: "We have lived with danger for a long time, and we shall live with it for a long time to come."

The test of national will and resolution seen by the President is one the American people must come to understand. Much more is involved in Southeast Asia than the outcome of combat in an isolated region. It is, as the President described it, a "test" of our ability to fight a long war of limited objectives, a test of our restraint in the face of temptation to try to end the war at once, a test of our determination to avoid "the hatreds and passions ordinarily loosed in wartime." And it is a test, as he put it, of our will to fight to keep alive the hope of independence and stability "for people other than ourselves."

In the recently published Harold Nicolson diaries, Winston Churchill is quoted as saying that much would turn on the willingness of the United States, in the future, to "think always of something higher and more vast than one's own national interest."

The words of the President and the response of the Congress should correct any illusions that may exist in Hanoi about the resolution and power of this country to continue the struggle in South Vietnam until the North Vietnamese attempt to conquer it is abandoned. The world simply must credit the declaration of the President that "We will stand firm in Vietnam."

There is every present prospect that it will be necessary to stand firm for a long time. The recent spate of peace overtures so far seem to have produced nothing tangible. "Standing firm," of course, does not mean that this country must remain inflexible in the means it employs to prosecute the war or the measures it invokes to seek the peace. The task immediately ahead in South Vietnam clearly is to reinvigorate the war of pacification against the guerrilla forces; to encourage as much as possible the progress toward responsible civilian democratic rule; to maintain the gains against inflation and economic disintegration; to continue the war against the conventional forces of North Vietnam whenever they appear in the demilitarized zone or in South Vietnam. At the same time, means must be sought, through which it can be made clear to North Vietnam and to the world, that our ultimate object is the diminution of the scale of the fighting. If peace by negotiation is impossible—and at present it seems to be impossible—peace must be sought by other means.

This country must be quick to embrace any opening that might lead toward a lower level of hostilities. Since the measures of South Vietnam and the United States are basically defensive, the level of the fighting proceeds at a pace largely dictated by the aggressors. If they exhibit any willingness to lower the plane of combat, the United States forces must be quick to reciprocate.

Congress and the country heard from the President a careful, calm and measured discussion of the outlook in South Vietnam. One might search the archives for utterance of a wartime leader that would exceed it in candor and restraint.

Pacoima Memorial Lutheran Hospital Emerges From Tragedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, 10 years ago today a junior high school graduation exercise was brought to an abrupt halt by a bewildering boom and blackout.

Today, January 31, 1967, marks the 10th anniversary of the air crash over the Pacoima Junior High School playground, in my district in the San Fernando Valley. This tragic mid-air collision brought sudden death to three youngsters, Ronnie Brawn, Yvonne Eleanor and Robert Callan, who only moments before were enjoying a class recess outdoors.

Out of the shadow of this tragedy has emerged the triumph that is Pacoima Memorial Lutheran Hospital. This great community health center serves as a memorial to those youngsters who died that day and further honors their broken bodies by embracing a concern for the whole of man—physical, mental, social and spiritual.

In its 6 years, the hospital has met the around-the-clock emergency needs of the 32,466 persons in its area. It has developed special medical service departments, including a pulmonary function disease laboratory, a nuclear medicine department, inhalation therapy department, and a physical therapy department.

Pacoima Lutheran Memorial Hospital has focused government and community resources on all aspects of mental health care. Preventation and education, as well as treatment are major activities in its new mental health center.

The hospital has been serving the spiritual needs of its patients and personnel with its chaplain, O. W. Mieger, and, under a mental health staffing grant, is developing a program to educate and train the spiritual leaders of the community in mental health.

The staff of Pacoima Memorial Lutheran Hospital recognizes that the problem of sickness, disease and accident is not self-contained. It has sought to understand the needs of the people of the community. This past summer the hospital had three health care students surveying the Pacoima community to determine the availability, accessibility, and acceptability of its services to the persons who need them.

The dark tragedy of a decade ago has brought the light of a great community health center to the people of the San Fernando Valley, and its future looks even brighter.

The U.S. Merchant Marine: "Down to the Sea—In What?"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, on January 10, 1967, I introduced H.R. 1399, a bill to establish an independent Maritime Administration to coordinate and consolidate the duties and responsibilities relating to our U.S. Merchant Marine now spread throughout the Federal Government.

Forty-three Members of Congress have sponsored identical legislation, a heartening signal that the 90th Congress may take action to stimulate the revitalization of our merchant fleet—making it the first in the world.

In the January 30, 1967, edition of Newsday, an editorial appeared entitled "Down to the Sea—In What?" I urge my colleagues to read this revealing editorial which expresses so well the need for legislation to establish an independent Maritime Administration.

The editorial follows:

DOWN TO THE SEA—IN WHAT?

In three years, the United States will only have 200 dry cargo ships that are less than 25 years old. Our fleet is almost obsolete; our shipyards can't compete with foreign yards, and 96 per cent of the strategic materials we import move in foreign ships.

Succinctly, our merchant marine is in a mess.

The situation troubles the President, the Congress and whole hierarchy of bureaucrats. But little action to reverse the trend has been taken. This, perhaps, is because the problem is an old one and a complex one. The first congressional attempt to help the U.S. shipping industry came in 1789 when customs were reduced on imports carried in U.S. ships. The most significant piece of legislation was the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, which established our desire for a merchant fleet to serve the nation's commerce and defense. It also set the pattern for the subsidy program that continues to this day.

But with government aid, there is always government regulation and administration. It is in this area that confusion reigns. Jurisdictions overlap, lines of authority are blurred and responsibility is uncertain. Currently five cabinet level departments, the Federal Maritime Commission, the Maritime Administration and a welter of subsidiary offices and boards have jurisdiction over the merchant fleet in one way or another. New ideas and bold initiatives have little chance of moving through this thicket of tangled authority.

The N.S. Savannah was one such bold innovation. This automated, nuclear-powered ship was to have set the course for the future of the U.S. Merchant Marine, showing that technology could make the U.S. fleet competitive. But last week it was announced that the Savannah was being taken out of service. As an experiment it had a $53,000,000 impact on the U.S. treasury, but its impact on the problems facing the U.S. Merchant Marine was small. Our fleet is still inefficient, almost obsolete, and dwindling.

The idea of the Savannah was a good one. Automation is the only way that the U.S., with its high wage levels, can hope to become competitive on the high seas. But ideas must be pursued into reality. This one wasn't. One nuclear ship was launched; it sailed in lonely splendor for five years, while the rest of the fleet gathered rust and subsidies.

Our competitive position still demands automation and the construction of an efficient fleet. But who is to set the policy and provide the follow-through that was so clearly lacking in the Savannah experiment? Many in Congress believe the task should be given to the head of a reorganized Maritime Administration. At present the Maritime Administration is part of the Department of Commerce, and its head reports to the secretary of commerce. In addition, many functions that could logically be included in the purview of the Maritime Administration, are the responsibility of other cabinet-level departments. In the last session of the Congress, 11 bills were introduced to make the Maritime Administration an independent agency whose head would report directly to the President. The new agency, in addition, would take over responsibility for many of the functions now performed by other departments.

There was no action on these bills during the 89th Congress. But the 90th Congress is to consider similar measures. A new, independent Maritime Administration, with expanded responsibilities, is an excellent idea. The Congress should act to create this new agency.

It would help eliminate one of the merchant marine's most pressing problems, too many captains in Washington.

Freedom and Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, Ho Chi Minh must have raised many eyebrows outside his own misguided world when he said peace would mean the surrender of North Vietnam's freedom and independence.

The Washington Post puts the significance of freedom and independence in sensible perspective. We have never threatened the loss of either, the Post declares. The "freedom" we oppose is to overthrow neighboring governments by violence. And the only "surrender" we seek is that of the right to infiltrate and subvert a neighboring area.

Before offering the Post's editorial on Ho's misapprehension for the RECORD, I would like to quote its concluding sentence:

> "North Vietnam's 'freedom' to invade cannot be reconciled with South Vietnam's 'freedom' to resist invasion."

The entire editorial follows:

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 18, 1967]

"FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE"

There must be some extraordinary total failure of communication if President Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam really believes that peace is to be had only at the sacrifice of North Vietnam's "freedom and independence."

The "independence" the venerable president is talking about and the "freedom" he seeks to preserve never have been threatened by the United States. The only "freedom" for North Vietnam that the United States opposes is the "freedom" to overthrow the governments of its neighbors in Thailand, Laos and South Vietnam by the use of force and violence. The only North Vietnam "surrender" sought by this country is the surrender of the right to subvert and infiltrate and invade a neighboring area. It is only a semantic idiosyncrasy of Communist lingo that can construe a nation's compliance with the conventional rules of international law into a surrender of a national prerogative essential to its "independence" and "freedom." This construction of the words "freedom" and "independence" is a construction that was common among tribes of vandals and huns and mongols, but it is not a view of national right appropriate to the Twentieth Century. If it is a right that must be conceded to any nation then we must resign ourselves to an era of lawlessness and conquest and barbarism such as the world has not seen since the Middle Ages.

It is simply not believable that so sophisticated a master of philosophy and politics seriously believes that the right to conquer and subdue neighboring peoples is a right inseparable from full nationhood. So it must be assumed that there is a failure of communication—that North Vietnamese leaders have been misled by their own propaganda into the belief that the United States, notwithstanding a thousand disavowals, means to invade and occupy North Vietnam. Is there any kind of multinational guarantee of the territorial integrity of North Vietnam that would allay this fear and remove any legitimate anxiety? Perhaps it is the first task of diplomats to find it. For if it is a mere misapprehension about the security of North Vietnam that is involved, it ought to be possible to move toward peaceful settlement. But, if peace is to be had only by accepting the principle that North Vietnam has the "freedom" to subdue all its neighbors on the Indo-China peninsula, then, of course, it is a different matter. North Vietnam's "freedom" to invade cannot be reconciled with South Vietnam's "freedom" to resist invasion.

Ukrainian Independence Day

SPEECH

OF

HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, the continued thaw in our relations in Eastern Europe and the spirit of accommodation which presently pervades United States-Russian affairs should not deflect us from a continued interest in the captive nations.

Patriotism and nationalism still permeate the peoples of Eastern Europe, including the Ukraine. Today's seeming tranquillity and stability may be tomorrow's unrest and revolt.

We should not spurn the voices who call attention to the independence days of Eastern European nations, for events have proved them right on more than one occasion. For example, diplomats on both sides were unprepared for the October 1956 events in Poland and Hungary. Since that time, many experts have miscalculated the reversal of the liberal trend in Poland and have underestimated the rapidity of Rumania's political and economical transformation. The point is that we can benefit from a variety of view in Eastern Europe and particularly from giving a sympathetic audience to those most in tune with the enduring nationalism of oppressed people, such as the Ukrainians.

The Ukrainians, as much as any captive nation, have maintained their language, culture and national spirit despite many, many years of Russian dominance. The people of Ukraine have never been truly afforded the right of self-determination. It behooves us, as responsible public officials, to call attention to the facts.

During this week of special attention to the situation in the Ukraine, I am pleased to join my colleagues in observing the 49th anniversary of Ukrainian Independence Day.

Chairman Rivers, Departments of State and Commerce, Give Response to Editorial on U.S. Trade With Communist Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the Nashville Banner recently published an editorial entitled "U.S. Trade Shores Up Hanoi Military Machine." The thesis of the editorial was that trade with Soviet Russia and Communist nations of Eastern Europe is a funnel through which strategic goods are then shipped to North Vietnam to assist in the war against the United States.

Copies of this editorial were referred to my good friend, Chairman Mendel Rivers, of the Committee on Armed Services of the House, to Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Secretary of Commerce John Connor for study and comment. The response by Chairman Rivers and by spokesmen for the Secretaries—Douglas MacArthur II, Assistant Secretary of State, for Secretary Rusk and Director Rauer H. Meyer, of the Office of Export Control, for Secretary Connor—are most interesting.

In view of the interest of this most important question to my colleagues and to the Nation generally, I insert the editorial and the responses by Chairman Rivers, Mr. MacArthur, and Mr. Meyer to be reprinted in the Appendix of the Record.

The editorial and letters follow:

"BRIDGE BUILDING" HAS ITS LIMITS: U.S. TRADE SHORES UP HANOI MILITARY MACHINE

The United States has figuratively kicked itself in the pants for supplying Japan with untold tons of scrap iron prior to World War II.

Officials responsible for okaying shipment of this war material potential fall back on the lame excuse that we weren't at war with Japan at the time and that they had no reason to suspect that we would cross swords with the Nipponese. Nevertheless, they now agree it was a stupid mistake.

However, if our Central Intelligence Agency reports are accurate, we're doing much the same thing with regard to North Vietnam—a nation with whom we ARE at war.

It all stems from a directive issued by President Johnson designed to "build bridges to Iron Curtain countries through increased trade."

It's now revealed that a big share of the precision instruments and hard goods included in this trade deal is winding up in North Vietnam to shore up military strikes against U.S. forces and strengthen Hanoi defenses.

Incredible as it may seem, we are in the position of fashioning the instruments of our own destruction.

Take Hungary for instance, a country LBJ is trying to woo through trade concessions.

That Red satellite is supplying the Viet Cong with U.S.-made vacuum gauges, radiation equipment, and airborne navigational devices over a round-about trade route through Russia.

At the same time we're shipping radio communication receivers and parts, refrigeration compressors, along with technical instructions as to their application, to Poland, which in turn, makes them available to Russia's military complex—thence to Hanoi to modernize weaponry used against our bombers and ground forces.

Much of the artillery and small arms which Russia is supplying in quantity to North Vietnam are fashioned in the famous Skoda works at Pilsen, Czechoslovakia—a country we are furnishing electronic computers, pyrotechnical rocket engines, and a super-duper hydrogen plant which, in this age of sophisticated weaponry, gives stature to the Soviet war machine.

The caravans of trucks, which in recent months have replaced coolie labor in transporting supplies to the North Vietnamese war front, come from Czechoslovakia and the Wartburg Automotive Works in East Germany where we are now shipping a cold steel rolling mill, a tandem temper mill, rotary combustion engines, data-processing systems, and a wide range of computer spare parts!

Can we be so naive as to believe we are "building bridges" to peace, that the technical know-how and hard goods with war potential we are delivering to Russia's satellites will cement a lasting bond of friendship with a combine of nations which has vowed one day to "bury us"?

The fact that our naval intelligence reports that from five to ten Soviet freighters, with concealed cargoes, are being unloaded each day at Haiphong should alert us to the dangers involved and the folly of peace bids based on the barter of machines, chemicals, and electronics destined for the enemy arsenal.

Such "bridges" can only lead to a longer, more costly war—and worse still, mounting U.S. casualties.

Since there is no evidence that such overtures are serving to thaw out our relations with the Reds the wonder is that LBJ's directive is still in force.

It's enough to make even strong men weep!

House of Representatives, Committee on Armed Services,
Washington, D.C., January 11, 1967.

Hon. Joe L. Evins,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Joe: This is to acknowledge receipt and thank you for your recent letter with which you enclosed an editorial "U.S. Trade Shores Up Hanoi Military Machine" which was published December 22 in *The Nashville Banner*.

This editorial expresses a concern which I, too, have felt for a considerable period of time. As you might guess, I have had occasion to make a number of inquiries concerning our trade with the Soviet Union and other Communist countries and I have been only moderately satisfied with the responses I have received. When Secretary of Defense McNamara appears before the Committee in the near future, it is my intention to go into this matter with him and see whether we are on sound and safe grounds in the trade we are carrying on with these countries.

As I understand the situation, the Government's policy toward trade with Communist-controlled countries varies, depending upon our relations with the particular country in question.

Trade with Communist China, North Korea, and North Viet Nam is embargoed. Similarly, all imports from Cuba have been embargoed since early 1962. Also, all exports to Cuba are prohibited, except medicines not available outside the United States and charity shipments for disaster relief.

The United States maintains certain trade relations with Communist-controlled countries in Eastern Europe. For reasons of national security, however the Government maintains control over U.S. exports to those countries to make sure that no strategic materials are shipped to them. Imports from these areas are not subject to special controls since there is no need to do so on security grounds.

An important consideration underlying the whole matter of trade with these nations is the availability to them of comparable or nearly comparable equipment from countries other than the United States. For example, take the manufacture of automobiles (and, of course, it could be any number of other items including those mentioned in the editorial); although some U.S. machinery is superior to any produced abroad, there are machines designed and built in Europe and Japan that are now being used to produce quality automobiles. If all U.S. machinery normally used in automobile production were denied to Eastern Europe, the Soviets or their satellites could still equip new plants with non-U.S. machinery. In such event, these countries might have a somewhat less efficient automobile plant, but the loss to the United States would be significant in terms of balance of payments and employment.

I think all of us, including those responsible for trade policies and their execution, fully appreciate the concern of people who are apprehensive that our policy of promoting trade with Eastern Europe at a time when we are engaged in a conflict with communism in Vietnam is contrary to our best interests. However, the explanation which I have made above is at least a partial answer to those who feel this concern and I hope it will be satisfactory to you until I have had an opportunity to examine this whole matter in detail with the civilian and military people in the Department of Defense during our hearings.

Thank you for bringing this important matter to my attention and I hope I have been of assistance to you.

Sincerely,

L. MENDEL RIVERS, *Chairman.*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 26, 1967.

Hon. JOE L. EVINS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN EVINS: The Secretary has asked me to reply to your letter of December 30.

This Government is most emphatically not "shoring up Hanoi's military machine" as charged in the editorial which you enclosed. You may also be assured that American production and scientific knowledge are not being used against American troops through trade with Communist nations. This Governments permits no exports at all to Communist China, North Viet-Nam, or North Korea.

The trade that is permitted, as a matter of policy, with the Soviet Union and the other countries of Eastern Europe, does not include strategic goods. In 1965, 94 percent of United States exports to Eastern Europe, which totalled only $139,000,000, consisted of food, feedstuffs, other agricultural products, and industrial raw materials. Only 6 percent of the goods exported fell in the general category of machinery or industrial equipment, all non-strategic.

These exports from the United States, moreover, must be paid for by Eastern European countries through transfers of gold, foreign exchange, or other resources of measurable value. Our imports from Eastern Europe (unlike our exports, which are largely agricultural goods in free supply) include goods directly useful to our own military and industrial potential.

For example, in 1965, the platinum group metals and chrome ore accounted for approximately two-thirds of United States imports from the Soviet Union, the total value of which was $43,000,000. Our exports to the Soviet Union during that year amounted to $44,000,000. The principal items were inedible tallow, soybeans and cattle hides.

A number of recent newspaper articles have drawn on the information regularly published by the Department of Commerce listing export licenses approved for sale to the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe. These articles suggest that such goods shipped to Eastern Europe are either sent on to North Viet-Nam or are used in Eastern European countries for the production of war materials for North Viet-Nam.

If there were evidence that this kind of indirect trade were taking place on any significant scale, this Government would cease approving the goods involved. In fact, however, the Department of Commerce watches American exports very closely to follow up on any evidence of unauthorized diversion. End use checks are made in certain cases prior to export license approval, and it is even possible in an increasing number of cases to make post-shipment checks on the use of United States equipment in some Eastern European countries.

Each export license approved is carefully evaluated by the Department of Commerce to be certain that it will not contribute significantly to the military or economic potential of the countries of Eastern Europe in a way that would be detrimental to the national security and welfare of the United States. In making this judgment, the Department of Commerce consults other executive departments, including the Department of State and the Department of Defense. The items licensed also are alternatively available from other Western countries that trade more extensively with the East than does the United States.

One further point deserves emphasis. Approvals of export licenses, particularly for exports of technology for plants and industrial processes, mean that an American company is being given an opportunity to compete for an order. The trade that actually takes place may be quite a different matter, because American companies face formidable competition from well established Western European and Japanese traders. As I indicated earlier in this letter, actual exports have been primarily agricultural products and raw materials.

I realize that some people feel that no trade at all with Eastern Europe, however harmless, should be permitted while we are fighting in Viet-Nam. We can understand this view, and we can answer it by explaining the reasons for our policy.

The President, the Secretary of State, the Under Secretary of State, and other high officials of this Department have repeatedly explained the bases of American policy on East-West trade.

The issue is very simply this: Should we reverse the policy that has prevailed for almost twenty years under four administrations and cut off all exports to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe? Some of our citizens would clearly feel easier in their minds if we simply had no commercial dealings at all with Communist countries. This view is understandable. It is, however, largely personal, and it is not in itself a sufficient basis for a determination of public policy.

Many other American citizens and nongovernmental organizations do not agree with the simplistic view that all trade with Communist countries is bad. The United States Government must have good reason and a good answer for these groups, too, before placing normal commercial trade outside the law. The only adequate reason for imposing such a ban is the overriding requirement of national interest. That requirement does ban trade with Communist countries in the Far East and the Caribbean engaged in active military aggression or direct subversion. It points in exactly the opposite direction in the case of the Soviet Union and the other countries of Eastern Europe.

We are not at war with those countries and it does not advance our national objectives to treat them as though we are. As the President said on October 6, "the easiest thing we could do is get in a larger war with other nations." This is certainly not what we wish. We wish rather to engage the countries of Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union, across as wide a range of normal, peaceful relationships as possible. In this way we hope that we can increase their realization of the stake which their governments and their peoples have in the peaceful settlement of international differences.

If there were any possible misunderstanding of American resolve to meet aggression with military resistance, the policy I have described might be a risky one. But there can be no such misunderstanding precisely because we are so deeply committed to fight in Viet-Nam to assure the people of South Viet-Nam the chance to decide their future for themselves by peaceful means.

Thus those who advocate the general rule of no trade or other normal civilian relationship with Eastern Europe until Viet-Nam is settled would destroy the whole point and purpose of United States policy for the last twenty years. They would have the United States act as though a state of permanent warfare, hot or cold, with Communist countries is all we can look forward to.

This would be a defeatist view of the future, given the capacity for mutual destruction in the nuclear age.

The American people surely expect their Government to have a more constructive plan of action. The President does have such a constructive plan, and he has done his best to make it clear, both at home and abroad. He believes it does lie within human capability to find a way to preserve the peace in the nuclear age and to stake out gradually enlarging common ground where all nations can work together on affairs of general benefit to mankind. The President spoke eloquently on these broad purposes of our policy at Idaho Falls last year on August 26. I would respectfully urge that you review that statement again, because I believe the President has made no more careful and succinct explanation of the broad policy considerations underlying his position on trade with Eastern Europe.

The President then defined our compelling task: "To search for every possible area of agreement that might conceivably enlarge, no matter how slightly or how slowly, the prospect for cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union."

In summary, therefore, our policies on trade and other relations with the Soviet Union and the other countries of Eastern Europe are intended to keep open the prospects for continued peaceful relations and reduced tensions in the future. If we were to reverse the East-West trade policy that has prevailed under four administrations and cut off all exports to Eastern Europe, we would be acting on the assumption that peaceful settlements are not possible. This is not the policy which this Government wishes to follow in its relations with the Soviet Union and other Eastern European Communist countries.

I hope that this information will be helpful to you.

If I can be of further assistance to you, please do not hesitate to write me again.

Sincerely yours,

DOUGLAS MACARTHUR II,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
BUREAU OF INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE,
Washington, D.C., January 19, 1967.

Hon. JOE L. EVINS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. EVINS: I am writing in reply to your letter of December 30, with which you enclosed an editorial from The Nashville Banner entitled "U.S. Trade Shores Up Hanoi Military Machine."

There are, of course, many considerations involved in determining and implementing our trade policies under the Export Control Act. The United States Government has, for some years past, authorized peaceful trade with the Soviet Union and other Eastern European Communist countries. To that end we permit commercial exports to them of a variety of non-strategic goods. We do not, however, authorize the export of any product that would contribute significantly to their military or economic build-up in such a way as to prove detrimental to U.S. national security and welfare.

Determinations as to the advisability of issuing a license to export goods such as the editorial referred to are reached only after careful deliberation by the Department of Commerce in consultation with all the interested United States Government agencies. The approval of such exports represents a governmental decision that the transaction would not adversely affect the security or welfare of the United States.

That foreign trade transactions conforming to our laws and regulations are clearly advantageous to our nation is widely accepted throughout our country. Nevertheless, we fully appreciate the concern of those citizens who are apprehensive that our policy of promoting trade in peaceful goods with Eastern Europe at a time when we are engaged in a conflict with Communists in Vietnam will undermine our position. Secretary of State Dean Rusk explained this policy when he sent the proposed East-West

Trade Relations Act to Congress in May 1966. In his letter of transmittal he said:

"We are reaffirming in Vietnam—as we have on many earlier battlefields—our determination to aid free and independent nations to defend themselves from destruction by Communist aggression or subversion. But determined resistance to such force is only part of our strategy to maintain a peaceful world.

"It has equally been our purpose to demonstrate to the Communist countries that their best interests lie in seeking the well-being of their peoples through peaceful relations with the nations of the free world. We want the Soviet Union and the nations of Eastern Europe to understand that we will go step-by-step with them as far as they are willing to go in exploring every path toward enduring peace. We require only that our willingness and our actions be genuinely matched by theirs.

"We are confident that this policy is sound even when we are fighting against Communist weapons in Vietnam. Indeed, it is when we are resisting force with force that it is most important to hold open every avenue to peace. We need to make unmistakably clear to all the Communist nations in Eastern Europe that their best interests lie in economic development and peaceful trade, not in support of futile attempts to gain advantage through the use of force."

For additional background, I am enclosing the Report to the President of the Special Committee on U.S. Trade Relations with East European Countries and the Soviet Union, and a State Department publication that includes both the proposed East-West Trade Relations Act and the full letter of transmittal by Secretary Rusk.

If I can be of any further assistance, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

RAUER H. MEYER,
Director, Office of Export Control.

The Late Christian Herter

SPEECH
OF
HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it is with profound sadness that I join my colleagues today in paying tribute to one of the finest public servants of this or any century. Christian Herter brought humility, courage, intelligence, and distinction to every office he held—from the State legislature in Massachusetts to Secretary of State. When lesser men would have chosen to let the arduous duties of public service pass him by, Christian Herter without fail rose to the challenge of political and administrative duty.

It was my great privilege to be associated with Chris Herter from time to time during his public career. I was chairman of the Republican City Committee of Lowell, Mass., when he ran for Governor and had the honor to introduce him to my friends in that community.

I always admired his statesmanship, never more so than when after a difficult term as Secretary of State under President Eisenhower, he once again responded to his President's call and took up the post of Special Representative for Trade Negotiations under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

Christian Herter exemplified what is best in a public man; he was a warm and humble private man as well. We all join his fine family in mourning his passing.

Federal Motor Insurance Guaranty Corporation

SPEECH
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, January 26, together with others of my colleagues, I introduced a bill to establish a Federal Motor Insurance Guaranty Corporation. At the time of introduction, the following release, giving in concise language the purposes of the legislation, was introduced:

Congressman Leonard Farbstein (D-N.Y.), called today for a thorough congressional investigation of the automobile insurance industry and the establishment of a Federal Guaranty Corporation to protect policyholders and injured parties against automobile insurance company failures.

This corporation would compensate the victims of auto insurance company bankruptcies much in the same manner as the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation protects depositors against bank failures. This legislation is similar to a bill introduced by Senator Thomas J. Dodd, and co-sponsored by Senators Magnuson, Bartlett, Brewster, Clark, Hart, Hartke, Moss, Nelson and Yarborough.

During the past six years, 73 companies writing auto insurance have failed. An estimated 300,000 policyholders and injured accident victims are attempting to recover some $600 million out of assets with a net worth of $25 million. The Congressman pointed out that in Pennsylvania 4,000 claimants will receive 1 cent on the dollar; in Illinois 50,000 claimants will be paid 25 cents on the dollar; in Michigan 25,000 claimants will be getting 25 cents on the dollar; and in Missouri 20,000 claimants will receive 10 cents on the dollar.

The Congressman expressed the belief that the Federal guaranty and examination system proposed in the bill would be an essential first step in the protection of the public. He stressed, however, that such serious problems as the indiscriminate cancellation of auto policies, including the refusal of companies to write auto insurance in low income areas, and the method of setting and regulating auto insurance rates need a thorough probing to determine whether other Federal legislation is necessary to fully protect the American public. "To most American families," declared the Congressman, "the automobile is no longer a luxury item, but a virtual necessity." 79% of all U.S. families own one or more autos and 25% own two or more cars. Automobile liability insurance is likewise a necessity. All the states either require or encourage auto insurance. "The regulation of this great interstate business of insurance has been under the domain of the several states, and it's about time Congress took a good hard look at how effectively the public interest is being served", he said.

Mr. Speaker, in 1944 the Supreme Court ruled that the insurance business was subject to full Federal regulation and taxation under the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution. In 1945 the McCarren-Ferguson Act returned to the individual States the power to regulate and tax the insurance business. This legislative history makes it clear that this was a conditional delegation of power to the States.

In 1966, nearly $9 billion in premiums were paid by approximately 100 million drivers of over 80 million motor vehicles. The Interstate Highway System allows our citizens the opportunity to drive from State to State. They should be able to do so with guarantee protection from financial loss.

The proposed Guaranty Corporation, however, is not enough by itself. Such other serious problems as the indiscriminate cancellation of auto policies, including the refusal of companies to write auto insurance in low-income areas, and the method of setting and regulating auto insurance rates, require a thorough probing.

The automobile has become a necessary form of transportation to most American families. Automobile liability insurance is likewise a necessity. To make sure that the general public is fully protected, a good, hard look must be taken to determine whether other Federal legislation is necessary.

For Reforms in Federal Budgeting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the Philadelphia Inquirer of January 29, 1967, carried a constructive editorial on present Federal budgeting procedures and the need for their revision. I request that the editorial "For Reforms in Federal Budgeting" be inserted in the Record at this point.

The editorial follows:

FOR REFORMS IN FEDERAL BUDGETING

Although the President and Congress are in disagreement on many aspects of the Federal budget for fiscal 1968, there seems to be wide agreement on the need for basic changes in the budget-making process. Differences of opinion arise, however, on precise revisions to be made.

Mr. Johnson made several references to the desirability of budgetary reforms in his budget message. A number of bills introduced in Congress deal with the subject. The principal goal should be a budget that, as the word implies, will serve as an effective means of budgeting the Government's income and expenditures on an orderly basis.

This is not now the case. Budget figures on spending are little more than loose approximations. Supplemental appropriations, to cover spending by Federal departments and agencies in excess of their budget amounts, have become a way of life in Washington. For all the talk about economizing, there is not much incentive to compromise when the profligate bureaucrat who runs short of funds is confident that a generous Administration will prevail upon Congress to bail him out.

One budget reform that Congress should consider is a requirement that projected long-range costs of new Federal spending programs be submitted to the appropriate House and Senate committees when the authorizing legislation is introduced. A major flaw in the present system is that Congress enacts vast numbers of new programs with very small initial costs, without any real idea of the huge future expenditures that will be required to keep the program going. The Administration has used this foot-in-the-door technique successfully on many occasions by requesting only nominal funds for new programs the first year, then raising the ante in future years after the program has become firmly entrenched.

Sound and responsible budgeting practices are needed to keep the Government on firm financial ground and the national economy on even keel. Such practices now are lacking in the Federal establishment.

National Student Council Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, we are living in an age where the teenager has come to dominate our civilization. The American teenager represents one of the largest consumer markets and quite a sizable proportion of our population. American fashions have come to revolve around the teenage image and the adolescent has become a major target of news coverage.

Recently the press stories concerning the American teenager have been deprecating. One often reads how rebellious the American adolescent has become and how eager he is to express his nonconventionality. This is particularly emphasized in regard to a lessening of patriotism and a fadishness which seems to condone un-Americanism.

Whether or not it is true that our younger generation is trying to grow up too quickly and asserting themselves too strongly, they are, nevertheless, a force to be reckoned with. They are making their protests known and are demanding to be heard. I believe that they should be listened to, but I also believe that the worthwhile voices of the teenager are often muffled. Adolescents are of an age when they are coming into their independence and must display responsible leadership.

I can think of no better organization that attests to their maturity and dependability than the student councils in our schools. Today, almost every American secondary school has some form of student organization which is usually designated as the student council. Since the student council is a school organization elected by students to represent them, speak for them, and act for them, I believe that this is an excellent introduction to our American form of government by the people.

An effective student council is based on the democratic philosophy in which cooperation is encouraged. A high school student council body cannot succeed in an autocratic school in which the faculty and administration maintain a restricting control of the school. On the other hand, the student council will not be successful under a laissez faire policy, in which the students are allowed complete freedom without any adult help or supervision. A productive student council understands and respects the value of both faculty and student participation in school management.

I believe that we must encourage this understanding of the democratic philosophy so that these high school students will become effective citizens of the future. The student councils of our American high schools need the recognition that they are contributing to the enlightenment of our society and this can best be accomplished by declaring that a week be established to honor them.

The students of South Orange Junior High School, South Orange, N.J., have undertaken a vigorous campaign to win this rightly deserved recognition of National Student Council Week and have enlisted the cooperation of their parents and such fine organizations as the South Orange Woman's Club, who has kindly written me in support of the project.

To any of our colleagues, Mr. Speaker, who may be pessimistic about today's youth and the future of our beloved country, I offer as antidotes the following commendable letters written to me last fall by students at South Orange Junior High School:

From Robert Freda:

I am president of the ninth grade at South Orange Junior High School. Our school president attended the Leadership Camp at Blairstown this summer and while he was there he learned about National Student Council Week. When he told me about this, I explained to him that I thought it was an excellent idea. I then asked him to bring this idea up in our school congress and have a committee formed with me as head to help this program become a reality.

My committee, the National Student Council Week Committee, has done a great deal to get the adults of our community to support the program. However, in another letter I will send you just what my committee has accomplished but since it has not finished its work yet, I will wait a while. This letter that you are reading now is just a message telling you that I think that N.S.C.W. is an excellent idea as an individual and also as a representative of my fellow classmates.

I realize that it will not be able to be brought up in Congress until next year, but I feel if enough people write to you now and express their support it may help in the passing of the bill. This is why I am writing you now.

I truly hope that Congress will pass this bill because it will be a great aid in the changing of the image of the teen-agers of today if the nation will recognize them as hard-working and conscientious students.

I thank you very much.

From Bernard Hellring, Jr.:

I am writing this as the president of South Orange Junior High School, which is the only junior high in South Orange, with an enrollment of over one thousand students. We would like you to support the request for a proclamation of a National Student Council Week. We would like you to help get this bill passed in Congress. You are probably bothered by many people who ask for all sorts of special days and weeks, but we really feel that ours has a worthwhile purpose, and we have received widespread adult support.

The purpose of the Week would be to further the effort of today's teenager to change his image and to show that the conscientious, hard-working students are the ones in the majority, not the hoodlums. The Week would do this by honoring that faction among the students. It would especially honor the school student councils, which are often responsible for healthy student attitudes, and it would promote the student council idea in schools which do not have one.

Recently we have contacted many clubs and organizations in South Orange, such as The Businessmen's Association, The Holy Name Society, Seton Hall University, The League of Women Voters, B'nai Brith and many others, and have already received the support of most of them.

The National Association of Student Councils adopted the program of support for the Week at a convention last year, a program which was started by the New Jersey Association of Student Councils. This year our school joined the rest of the New Jersey schools in working for the Week. Each year, Governor Hughes proclaims the last week in November New Jersey Student Council Week, and we would replace this statewide Week with the national one.

From Eileen Constantin:

I am in the ninth grade at South Orange Junior High School and as president of my homeroom I know how well our school government is run. Our school officers are working very hard to have a week set aside as National Student Week. The entire school is working together trying to get the support of our community and we would really like to get a law passed sometime this year while we (the ninth grade) are still in Junior High. We need your approval and influence to help us and if you possibly could get the law passed I know our school and many others would appreciate it very much. Students today work very hard and I believe there should be one week set aside recognizing the students of America. We are the future businessmen, doctors, lawyers, scientists, and presidents. Everyone talks about how important it is not to drop out of school and to get a college education. This is so true in the progressing world today, but these students that work all year and train for a profession should be acknowledged and praised for their efforts. If the importance of this act could be explained to Congress and they realized how much it means to us all maybe action could be taken to pass it quicker. Thank you very much for taking the time to read this.

From Linda Gittlin:

I am writing you as a representative of my homeroom, as you represent us. I feel that it is our privilege to ask a favor of you, and that is for your support for National Student Council Week. As you might already have heard, this event should take place in Essex County, in the last week of October.

National Student Council week is set aside to recognize all the students of our County, not only as hoodlums and vandals, but as the hard-working students most of them are. These are boys and girls working towards the time when they may enter college so that they may learn how to become good citizens, and be worthy of that title.

We would appreciate your support to promote this to a national basis.

I believe these fine young constituents are representative of the vast majority of American teenagers who are developing into responsible, enlightened adults. A National Student Council Week would focus attention upon the admirable qualities of our young citizens and would encourage an effective student government. It gave me great please to introduce on the opening day of this Congress House Joint Resolution 5, requesting the President to proclaim the last week in October of every year as National Student Council Week. I am delighted to be joined in this cause by my distinguished colleague from the 10th District of New Jersey, the Honorable PETER W. RODINO, JR., who is the sponsor of an identical measure, House Joint Resolution 6. It is my earnest hope that other Members will interest themselves in this proposal and will lend their wholehearted support to House Joint Resolution 5 and House Joint Resolution 6, the text of which follows:

H.J. RES. 5

Joint resolution requesting the President to proclaim the last week in October of every year as National Student Council Week

Whereas the several States have had statewide student council weeks; and

Whereas the National Association of Student Councils in convention at Ann Arbor, Michigan, in June of 1963 approved the student council week project; and

Whereas the student council more than coordinates student activities and contributes to orderly administration of our secondary schools, but also fosters a sense of citizenship and provides a training ground for youngsters interested in participating in democratic government; and

Whereas the values acquired within the student council have great significance when carried over into adult life; and

Whereas the need for efficient and responsible government is even more urgent in these days of strife, it is especially fitting that student councils receive recognition: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the last week in October of every year is designated as National Student Council Week, and the President of the United States is authorized and directed to issue annually a proclamation setting aside that week as a public occasion and inviting the people of the United States to observe that week with appropriate ceremonies.

Johnson Versus the Military

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the restraint with which we are conducting the war in Vietnam has met with criticism among those who believe that we should use our enormous power to simply obliterate North Vietnam. That we have not adopted the latter course is due to the good judgment of our President.

The truth of this is told in the following column which appeared in the January 12, 1967, edition of the Washington Post.

I commend it to the attention of our colleagues:

JOHNSON VERSUS THE MILITARY

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

In Saigon two months ago, Gen. William Westmoreland, the U.S. commander, carefully planted the word with a high-level delegation of U.S. visitors that the next escalation of the war would be the bombing of airfields in North Vietnam.

In fact, however, there has been no bombing of the airfields, nor does President Johnson have any intention of approving such escalation in the foreseeable future.

This, then, is another example of the President's refusal to be stampeded by the generals into dangerous escalation that might provoke Red Chinese retaliation and even bring on World War III.

Such persistence of the President and Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara in withstanding pressure from the brass is neither understood nor appreciated by his critics because the civilian vs. military tug of war is shrouded in secrecy.

For example, it has not been reported previously that just before Christmas Mr. Johnson, strongly backed by McNamara, said "no" to a formal recommendation from the Joint Chiefs for a heavy increase in naval shelling of North Vietnam.

What the Navy proposed and what the Joint Chiefs approved was sea bombardment of transportation routes running near the coast. The request was rejected on familiar grounds: Too much danger of killing civilians.

Other proposals by the military have been systematically turned down in the White House. It is no secret, for instance, that mining the harbor of Haiphong, long on the military's priority list of new initiatives, has been consistently vetoed by the President. Bombing of the docks in Haiphong, another military proposal, also has been rejected by Mr. Johnson and his top civilian advisors.

Thus the picture of a wanton President overruling civilian advisers and yielding to military brass is both untrue and unfair. This inaccurate picture also collides with a significant fact about President Johnson understood only by his intimates.

During his 23 years in Congress, when Mr. Johnson specialized in defense preparedness matters, he developed a healthy skepticism, sometimes bordering on contempt, for run-of-the-mill generals and admirals—particularly the Air Force bomber men.

Mr. Johnson carries this skepticism with him today, and those who know him well are made aware of it. In privacy, he has said: "The generals know only two words—bomb and spend."

Furthermore, McNamara, as the President's principal civilian adviser on the war, has fought the generals with even more gusto than the President. Always somewhat skeptical about the necessity of bombing in the North, McNamara describes it privately as having a useful but distinctly limited value. Naturally, then, he opposes escalation.

As military pressure rises today for approval of new bombing targets, McNamara's closest associates say he is determined to keep civilian control. If he ever feels he is losing it, he will resign forthwith.

In the recent dispute with Westmoreland over bombing the airfields, for example, McNamara claimed that harassment from North Vietnamese Mig fighter planes is far less dangerous to U.S. aircraft than the Soviet built SAM missiles and the tremendous concentration of conventional antiaircraft guns.

Furthermore, McNamara worries that if the North Vietnamese airfields were actually bombed out of commission, Hanoi's infant air force (only six or seven late-model Mig-21s are now fully operational) would move to Red China airfields close to the border. Then the President would be confronted with this agonizing choice: Hot pursuit across into Chinese territory or allow the North Vietnamese planes a privileged sanctuary.

Mr. Johnson is following McNamara's counsel, and the fields are not being bombed. Thus, the critics' charge that the President and his Defense Secretary always yield to the military cannot be supported today.

Indeed, the most significant influence on Mr. Johnson to escalate comes not from the generals but from the politicians. If the President decides on a major escalation during 1967, his old hawkish colleagues on Capitol Hill—Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia and Sen. John Stennis of Mississippi—can take the credit, but the Pentagon brass simply can't call the shots with Lyndon Johnson.

The Nursing Shortage: A National Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, last January 18 Miss Ruth Sleeper, former director of nursing at the Massachusetts General Hospital spoke to a meeting, in Worcester, Mass., of the Central Massachusetts Regional Hospital Planning Council on the challenging subject of the nursing shortage that unfortunately exists throughout this country and which must be equitably solved if we expect to meet the rising demands of nursing services that will be increasingly required by our people in the years ahead.

Miss Sleeper is an acknowledged authority in this field and her comments and judgments on the subject will be, I am sure, of deep interest to the Members of Congress and RECORD readers.

At this point, I would like to include a copy of the newspaper report of Miss Sleeper's remarks in the January 19, 1967, issue of the Worcester Telegram.

The article follows:

NURSE TRAINING PROPOSALS ARE HIT

Vague plans afoot for abolishing the three-year diploma nursing schools in favor of two- and four-year academic training for nurses are misguided, a nationally known authority on nursing said last night.

Miss Ruth Sleeper of Boston, who retired in September as director of nursing at Massachusetts General Hospital, told the Central Massachusetts Regional Hospital Planning Council and its guests at a special program that academic programs and diploma schools together will barely suffice to fill the country's growing need for nurses.

She said a paper published by the American Nursing Association in early 1966 sparked discussions about abolishing the nursing schools and that recent journalistic articles had spread the idea that the nursing schools are closing.

Massachusetts is the fifth largest nurse-producing and employing state in the union, Miss Sleeper said, and 95 per cent of its nurses come from diploma schools, while the national average is 80 per cent.

REAFFIRMED BY LEAGUE

The continuance of such important sources of nursing skill has been reaffirmed recently by the National League for Nursing and the American Hospital Association, she said.

The movement toward academic education comes from a natural desire by nurses to advance their profession and to claim the social distinction that attaches to any college degree, she said.

It is only honest to say that true professional education lies not in a three-year or even in a four-year school, but in a master's degree program, she said. But the distinction might help to confer order on the system, she said.

But whatever system develops, the important thing is not to close the diploma schools, it is rather to add the new programs to them, she said. Only in this way will the state or the nation continue to have the nursing skill needed, she said.

Let Them Help You

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. E. S. JOHNNY WALKER

OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, on January 24 my distinguished colleague and Senator from New Mexico, JOSEPH M. MONTOYA, addressed the plans for progress meeting in this city. The accent of the gathering was placed upon civil rights. Many of those in attendance were industrial and business leaders from all over the Nation.

Because of their presence, Senator MONTOYA sought in his address to accent practical methods of getting potentially frustrated young people from minority groups into the mainstream of American life.

The main pathways to follow, he emphasized, were technical and vocational education for those not continuing on to college, and cooperative education for the bright but economically underprivileged youth.

Because he stressed practical methods of self-help, I feel that he was able to further enlighten these men who make our society move. Rather than stand and shout into the wind, he quietly has put forth practical steps whereby a business or industry may hold out full opportunity and enhance its own profit picture as a result.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, the distinguished junior Senator from New Mexico was my predecessor in this body. During his years in Congress, he has devoted himself to the study of the problems which confront our underprivileged across this Nation. He has established himself as the champion of so-called minority groups and has an intimate knowledge of the perplexity of their dilemma. I do not think his knowledge has been more conclusively or constructively shown than in his speech before this plan for progress meeting. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I recommend it to my colleagues' reading, and I hope that not only they, but also the business and industrial leaders across this Nation, will give his thoughts the consideration I think they deserve. I hope these realistic steps may be of assistance to others who seek down-to-earth ways of aiding those who wish to share fully in the American dream.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the speech to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The speech follows:

LET THEM HELP YOU

Ladies and gentlemen: I have come here today not to speak in platitudes nor to say complimentary things. That is not the best way in the world to win an audience, I know. Of course, I do not mean to offend you. Rather I say that what we must consider here is a problem that goes to the roots of American life as deeply as the aspirations of any American minority group.

The American Negro was brought here against his will, enslaved, treated like a beast and finally ushered into a state of twilight freedom from which he is now graduating. The strictures and pains of that emergence are enormous and will continue to be so for a long time to come. Nevertheless, he shall emerge faster and faster until he obtains his full share of the wherewithal of the nation he has helped to build, defends and believes in.

But now I wish to spotlight another group of Americans, now numbering 6 to 9 million, which is on the verge of bursting upon our national scene with a full realization of what has been denied them in the past. I am proud to say they are my own people. The Spanish-speaking Americans of this country were here before the eastern part of this continent was settled. Their history, culture and heritage are proud, gracious and meaningful. Yet they have been ground into the dust and back alleys of this nation for hundreds of years. Now this is at an end! I say this once more! It is at an end!

I have called them "The Silent People." Why? Because they have labored silently in a million fields . . . have stood silently at a hundred thousand counters . . . have waited silently and patiently at a million back doors. Their hats are no longer in their hands. Their faces no longer contemplate the ground. They no longer are content to await what the fates or an established power structure decree for them. They look up . . . at life . . . at their fellows . . . at our tomorrows.

All are ablaze with new realizations. All have seen with their own eyes the struggle of others to be free. All have seen through our mass media a society they have helped to build, but in which they have not fully shared. They have seen their sweat . . . their strength . . . their agony . . . go to others, and have had to settle for scraps from our national table. They are no longer content with their previous status quo.

Now most are astir. They want. They need. They must have, and will not settle for less. How shameful that while I speak some of these people can do stoop labor (Have any of you gentlemen ever done a day's work of stoop labor in a field under a roasting sun?) in some areas of this nation and when they ask politely for a minimum wage of $1.25 per hour . . . are treated as if they have asked to use the family toothbrush.

I say these things to you in the fervent hope that you will see coming what I have forseen for several years. Many of our boys have served in our armed forces . . . have gone overseas and returned to form G.I. Forum groups all over areas where the Spanish-speaking live. They have carried their message back to every town and village . . . each small and large slum. They have seen the wonders of this world in our nation and overseas. They have risen in a hundred meetings I have attended to ask questions never heard a few years ago.

Why do we not have better schools? Why do we not have higher wages? How come we live as we do? Why are we good enough to fight America's wars, yet come home to be denied equal opportunity?

These are embarrassing questions, gentlement. They go on and on. Why do we have to take some of the social insults that have been the order of the day for our elders? Why are there not more of our people in better paying jobs in industry and business? How can we better ourselves? Where are the schools? Roads? Medical facilities?

Our American dream dances before their eyes, enticing them on. It is their dream too, no? They have fought for it . . . worked for it . . . died for it. They have believed in it. It is the same dream you all believe in. Are they to be denied it?

Do any of you remember a few headlines that struck with such bitter force a few days before last Christmas? They concerned an Army sergeant by the name of Richard F. Campos, who died in Vietnam in action, and whose body lay unclaimed in the Oakland Army Terminal.

Or does the name of Danny Fernandez ring a bell? He came from Los Lunas, New Mexico, and died at the ripe old age of 21 because he chose to fall on an enemy hand grenade in order to preserve the lives of his comrades. I know his parents. They are very proud of the fact that he is to receive the Congressional Medal of Honor. Their awful loss is a shade more bearable because they believe as he did, in the principles this nation was founded upon, and for which he was serving.

Both were Spanish-Americans. Both died for all of us. Both sacrificed so we can sit here today. Neither would be able to earn $1.25 per hour doing stoop labor. Neither really had a chance to live. Would either of them have had any real opportunity had they lived? Would they have been discriminated against in any way?

I speak to you as an enlightened, understanding group of Americans who lead. I ask you to understand their desires and empathize with them. I ask you to understand hopes so many of these young people have that are so similar to those you undoubtedly had not so many years ago . . . dreams that motivate them as they do any young man and woman.

No one can deny that the doors of many an American industry and business have been closed to Spanish-speaking people in this nation. This has been changing for a number of years, but it must change still more and faster in the near future if mounting pressures are to be eased.

But before I make any suggestions to industry and business, let me dwell for a moment on civil rights.

Not only have Spanish-speaking people been deprived of equal opportunity, but the very guarantees due them under the Constitution have sometimes been adjourned, just as has been the case with Negroes and other groups who have suffered injustice. Names they have been called are already added to the too long list of our negative slang expressions. They have in some areas been beaten, clubbed, shot, imprisoned and deprived of their liberties. In a few areas of the country these overt deprivations are still all too frequent. It almost goes without saying that this will come to an end wherever it raises its ugly head.

But now let us get down to realities of everyday business and industrial life, for that is where so much will be decided. If American business and industry, that incredible team that works wonders every day, will extend a hand of opportunity, it will be clasped with eagerness and a will to work and succed by young Spanish-speaking people who are emerging.

They want to be with you . . . not against you. They want to have a chance to enter the mainstream of our free enterprise system, earning their promotions or riches along with the rest of American youth. They want to be your skilled and semiskilled workers as well as your managers and executives. Many a bright young mind growing up in Spanish-speaking communities can and will make money for your enterprises and stockholders if given a chance.

I have seen and talked with them . . . bright, eager and quick to learn. Ideas of work, education and self-help are infecting them in ever-increasing numbers. My personal crusade among my people is built around those words. Others are saying the same to uncounted thousands of them.

Let American business and industry take a deeper interest in programs that will enable them to contribute. Make it your business to understand the concept of cooperative education. This, as I am sure you are aware, is the concept allowing youngsters to alternate between off-campus work and on-campus study, thereby enabling many a young man and woman from economically underprivileged circumstances to earn a higher education while preparing for our world of work at the same time. Last year I cosponsored the first statewide conference on this subject at the University of New Mexico. The Ford and Kettering Foundations are assisting in this. When industry and business join us, our battle is more than half won. Think of the contribution these educated young people can make within and to your enterprises, rather than the thought of them sitting in festering frustration outside your gates.

The other half of this total effort is technical and vocational education that takes potential dropouts, dropouts, underemployed and persons with outdated skills, and reeducates or trains them in technical and vocational fields modern business and industry must utilize in order to function today.

Wherever I go among them I speak of these twin pathways to a full share of America's fruits. If this drive meets with cooperation from men and women like you, then we can open the safety valve wide, releasing pent up frustrations before they erupt in their ugliest forms.

American business and industry has grown to be the wonder and envy of our world on the principles of free enterprise and equal opportunity. Many pay lip service to them. But for a moment reflect upon these enormous enterprises owing their genesis, development and success to immigrants and poor young men who were given a chance and took it. I am sure many of these operations are represented in this audience now.

United States Steel, although put together by J. P. Morgan, had as its major segment Andrew Carnegie's organization. He was a penniless Scotch immigrant boy. Bank of America and the name of Gianinni are synonymous. Weyerhauser Lumber speaks for itself.

A certain department store in Tucson, Arizona, was started by a Jewish merchant whose name for the moment escapes me.

But think for a moment about how this nation was really built. Think of the 29 million immigrants who found here what had been denied them in their countries of origin. Ponder the fact that we have built the greatest nation on earth with people who were, as Emma Lazarus said in her poem . . . "The wretched refuse of your teeming shore."

America gave them all a chance. Where would the free world be today had this opportunity not been extended? We have built it upon the finest expression of man's spirit yet given voice. The words of our basic national documents surely must have meaning and vitality. Surely we have not become so blase as to yawn politely behind our hands when they are referred to. I, for one, believe in them passionately.

When we deny the meaning of those words, and with them all they imply, are we not denying the very essence of this republic? Give these young people a chance! Let this new generation of Spanish-speaking Americans earn what others have earned in our past . . . what your own people have earned. They wil lnot let you down.

Give our free enterprise system a chance to show its vitality. Take them into your ranks and let them be exactly what they want to be . . . Americans who take pride in what they are and what they form an integral part of.

I have as much faith in you as I have in them. Otherwise, I would not be here.

Who's Hiding All the Half Dollars?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, in the year and a half since the Coinage Act of 1965 was signed into law, we have been progressing quietly and quite successfully through a time of testing for our coinage system—the transition period from the old 90-percent-silver-content coins to the cupro-nickel-clad-copper dimes and quarters and the 40-percent-silver 50-cent pieces.

Through my work on the Treasury-Post Office Appropriations Subcommittee and my anticipated participation in the Joint Commission on the Coinage, I have followed closely the activities of this transition. The Bureau of the Mint has met a difficult challenge without hesitation and the American public has sensibly accepted the new coinage system quite matter-of-factly.

However, there is yet another hurdle to be cleared before the race will be won for a viable coinage system fulfilling its primary function—that of a commercial medium of exchange passing from hand to hand and pocket to pocket. It is, of course, the missing 50-cent pieces.

The anguished protests of the silver speculators and coin hoarders to the adoption of the new coinage system have faded to a murmur as they are left with only their silver-containing 50-cent pieces to gloat over. Their persistence defies explanation; their foolishness is apparent.

In the January 1967 issue of "Changing Times," an article entitled "Who's Hiding All the Half Dollars?" reiterates the oftcited arguments against coin hoarding and silver market speculation. With the hope that it might convince just a few of these parasites of our coinage system to let loose of their private treasure troves and seek a wiser and more profitable form of investment, I ask permission to have it reprinted at this point in the RECORD.

The article follows:

WHO'S HIDING ALL THE HALF-DOLLARS

Since 1948 the mint has stamped out more than 900,000,000 50-cent pieces, about four each for all of us. Most of them, it seems, have gone into hiding.

Perhaps 500,000,000 bearing the image of President Kennedy rest in keepsake drawers. But even those imprinted with the likeness of old Ben Franklin are rarely encountered in certain areas.

The mystery of the vanishing halves began in 1961 and deepened last year after the Treasury started making those "sandwich" quarters and dimes, with a copper-colored pinstripe around the edge.

The half-dollar looks suspiciously like a new prisoner of silver hoarders, joining in monetary limbo some 481,000,000 silver dollars and millions of dollars in silver certificates.

Why this surging interest in silver? Is it really worth the time and effort many people are spending to accumulate coins and silver certificates, either for their presumed value as collectors' items or for their trade-in value as pure silver if the price goes up?

THE TREASURY HAS IT

Look at the supply of and demand for silver—the things that really determine how much it is worth.

By far the largest domestic supply of silver is in the U.S. Treasury, which has authority to buy and store silver, order its use in coins or sell bullion to commercial customers. Yet it must keep sufficient silver to back up millions of dollars in silver certificates (bills that entitle the holder to a specified amount of silver) still circulating or in the hands of silver savers.

Although no such certificates have been issued since 1964, the government must back up each unredeemed dollar with 371.25 grains of silver, the amount contained in a silver dollar. Last September the Treasury had on hand nearly 3,000,000 silver dollars to stand behind unredeemed certificates. Since there were $586,000,000 in silver certificates out at the time, it had to make up the difference by stocking bullion or crystals (the Treasury isn't giving out any scarce silver dollars now).

In addition, the Treasury must stock enough silver for its coinage. This need has been reduced because only one coin being minted now contains silver—the new Kennedy half, and even this has been cut to 40% silver.

Quarters and dimes minted today contain no silver mainly because industrial users have convinced the government that silver is a "commodity" and needed more for photo film, electronics, silverware and jewelry than for coins.

THE PRICE OF SILVER

The hope of the savers of silver certificates and coin hoarders is, of course, that the price of silver will rise and make their haul worth more as a metal than as spendable coins.

How would this work? Today, the Treasury's price for silver is $1.29-plus an ounce. By making it available at this figure, the Treasury, in effect, controls the price. But if the Treasury should get out of the silver business, the price would probably go up. When the Treasury stopped selling bullion in 1961 for 91 cents an ounce, for example, the price in the free market began rising. It eventually reached $1.29, the price today.

This figure is especially important. Here's why: By law each silver dollar contains about three-quarters of an ounce (or 371.25 grains) of silver. This is what you could get in actual silver if you turned in a one-dollar silver certificate.

With the market price of silver at $1.29 an ounce, there is just about a dollar's worth of metal in a silver dollar. But if the price should go above that, people might find it worthwhile to melt down silver cartwheels of no coin-collection value for their resale value as silver.

Such an increase could make the silver dollar worth more as meltable silver, but not the older halves or silver quarters and dimes. For these coins to be worth more than their face value, the price of silver would have to exceed $1.38 plus the 2- to 4-cent cost of melting. This is because they contain less silver in relation to their face value than a dollar does.

The mystery of the vanishing halves becomes more perplexing when you note that few, if any, of the more than 106,000,000 reduced-silver Kennedy halves minted as of September 1966 are circulating. If people have been squirreling them away as collector's items, they're probably wasting their time. Millions of the new Kennedy half-dollars have been minted and millions more will be; they hardly qualify as rarities.

The chance of a profit from their silver value is remote. They are 60% copper and 40% silver. The precious-metal content is just .148 ounce. So the price of silver would have to soar to $3.38 an ounce for these new halves to contain 50 cents' worth of silver. This is viewed as "most unlikely in the foreseeable future," by Handy & Harman, a large silver fabricator and refiner. The Silver Users Association, which keeps an eye on the silver market for industrial clients, expects a stable price for at least several years.

CAN YOU MAKE A MINT?

Today, if you took a silver certificate to the government's assay office in New York or San Francisco, you would receive a manila envelop containing .77 ounce, about two heaping teaspoons, of a glistening, coarse sugarlike substance—silver in crystal form. You could sell it for $1 at the present price of $1.29 an ounce. Whether it will bring more someday and how much more are questions tantalizing silver savers.

Alas, every silver lining has its cloud. If you are stashing away coins or certificates with the idea of a profit, consider these points:

Some experts believe that for any chance of a profit by melting halves, quarters or dimes, the price would have to reach a point between $1.50 and $1.75 an ounce. Even if this happened in a few years, you wouldn't make much more than you would with an ordinary savings account, and perhaps not as much.

As long as the supply can meet the demand, the price will probably *not* go up. And the supply, theoretically at least, has been increased by the changeover to silverless coins.

If the price should go up, the Treasury has the authority to prohibit coin melting, and you might end up having to break the law to make a profit. Moreover, Congress could change the rules on redeeming silver certificates.

Finally, you would have to be pretty alert to cash in on a silver hoard: An attractive silver price might suddenly bring out so much silver that the price would go right back down.

Graham A. Barden

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply saddened at the untimely death of our former distinguished and beloved colleague, Graham A. Barden.

Mr. Barden, better known to most of us as "Hap," was elected to the House of Representatives in 1934 and began his first term of office in 1935. I took office in 1941 and had the honor and privilege of serving with Mr. Barden for 20 years. North Carolina and the Nation, too, have sustained a major loss in the passing of this great former Representative. In many ways and under often difficult circumstances, he gave so much of himself, his time and talents, to the service of his district, State, and Nation. Those of us who knew him cherished his friendship and appreciated his great talents. He was a true friend and a distinguished gentleman in the fullest sense.

Mr. Barden was and always will be remembered as a friendly man. In his work here in the Congress, he was very frank. But those of us who knew him caught the spirit of his great courage and convictions and his determination to stand by them under all circumstances.

I admired him for his strength in standing by his convictions regardless of the consequences.

Among his many fine qualities was a sense of humor which enabled him to express himself without incurring the wrath of opponents who knew him. He was a Representative who retained the affection of the people he represented throughout his long career in the House. They, too, admired his strength of character and his unwillingness ever to swerve from principle. They also appreciated his long and faithful service to them and returned him to Congress year after year almost automatically. He was a tireless worker and a devoted public servant. Although he was chairman of a major House committee, he nevertheless found the time to give personal attention to the countless problems of his constituents.

A great American has passed from the scene. We shall all miss him. He will not be soon forgotten. He has left a legislative monument and a record of service that all of us should seek to emulate.

I consider it a privilege to add my praise to his memory and I extend my condolences as a longtime friend to the sorrowing members of his family.

California Redwood National Park

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, I am one who takes great pride in the vast natural beauty of California. There is, however, a great growing fear among California citizens that failure of the Congress to act promptly on creation of a national redwood park will result in destruction of a monumental segment of that beauty.

For the benefit of my colleagues in the House an editorial on this subject which appeared in the Sacramento Bee of January 21, 1967, follows:

FEDERAL REDWOODS PARK STILL IS A NECESSITY

The delay in congressional hearings on a proposed national redwoods park in Northern California, granted at the request of Gov. Ronald Reagan, should be employed by conservationists to consolidate their forces. The goal of creating a redwoods park of high quality is no less important merely because the new governor wishes more time to prepare his views.

The over-riding consideration is that a park of national standards should be established. It would serve no purpose just to change the name of a state park to a federal park with no additional redwoods of prime quality set aside for the future.

The position of the Reagan administration insofar as can be determined at this point is against that kind of park. But this is only one of many viewpoints which Congress must consider. Chief among the others is what is significant from the standpoint of the entire nation.

The desire for a redwoods park of national quality is not of recent origin. As long ago as 1918, when the highly respected Save-the-Redwoods League was organized, a national redwoods park was advocated on the principle that the rare coast giants are of significance to all of the United States.

The campaign received renewed drive in April 1963, when the National Geographic Society made a grant to the National Park Service to finance a special study. The experts concluded all of their investigation led to one most basic conclusion and that is there was even then an urgent need to shore up and consolidate redwood preservation.

In fact, they said it was essential in the national interest.

The duty of Congress is to keep this point in mind. And Congress must not procastinate any longer in fairness to the lumber companies which have held off timber cutting in proposed park areas pending a decision.

Many conservationists fear that should logging be resumed at the previous rate and should no more acreage be placed in the public domain all of the privately-owned old-growth redwoods will be gone by the end of this century.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paving the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

The Supersonic Transport Race

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, when I visited the Soviet Union last fall, I inquired about the status of their supersonic transport development. Although the Russians would not allow me to inspect their development, of course, it was clear to all of us that they were proceeding with this program and would probably fly a supersonic transport long before the United States had one in the air, even though we proceeded promptly and adequately in this field.

Their present plans are to fly a supersonic transport, probably into Kennedy Airport, now that the Moscow-London-New York run has been opened—probably in early 1968. All the evidence points to that. I am sure they want to show their knowledge and technology and their energies in the field of air superiority.

In a recent issue of Look magazine, Mr. Najeeb Halaby, former Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency, has written an article on this subject and I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the RECORD.

Mr. Halaby, in this article, points to our lagging program. I believe that Senators will read the article with a great deal of interest because Mr. Halaby is a man who knows this field and has had close contact with not only the French and British Concorde, which we do know about, but also with the work on the supersonic transport.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILL RUSSIA WIN THE SST RACE?—THE RUSSIANS NEED A SUPERSONIC TRANSPORT AND PROBABLY WILL FLY ONE FIRST, SAYS THE MAN WHO HEADED OUR LAGGING SST PROGRAM

(By Najeeb Halaby as told to Ben Kocivar)

When Najeeb Halaby was a U.S. Navy test pilot during World War II, he studied Russian, hoping to become naval attaché at our embassy in Moscow. That never happened. But when he became head of our Federal Aviation Agency, he was sent to the Soviet Union twice to negotiate for airline service between the two nations. He is now senior vice-president for Pan American World Airways. These exchanges with the Russians and his experience as head of our SST program put him in an ideal position to answer the questions that Look asked him in this exclusive interview.

Question. Could the Russians have the first supersonic transport?

Answer. Any time the Russians wish to put a passenger pod in one of their supersonic bombers and fly their leaders to a politically important spot, they could do so. Back in 1961, we anticipated that Premier Khrushchev might make such a spectacular flight from Moscow to New Delhi or Peking, or even London or Paris, to demonstrate their technological progress. We could have done the same thing. In fact, there was a proposal, when I came into office in the spring of 1961 as President Kennedy's administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency, for Convair to modify one of our supersonic delta-wing B–58 *Hustler* bombers as a Special Air Mission plane.

Question: What is the present SST schedule?

Answer. The first planned U.S. flight in 1971 is the last of four. The French expect to fly the first prototype test *Concorde* on February 28, 1968. A few months later, the British will fly their identical model out of the United Kingdom.

At the moment, there is quite a bit of evidence that the Russians will fly their *Tupolev 144* first. During a recent visit by French technicians, designer Andrei Tupolev said his Tu-144 would be airborne "somewhat before" the *Concorde*.

We know that the Kuznetsov 144, which is the power-plant designation, is operating on the test stand at TsAGI, the Soviet Aeronautical Research Institute, about 25 miles outside of Moscow. More than a thousand test hours have been conducted to date. This fan-jet engine is rated at about 28,000 pounds of thrust, and with the afterburner, about 35,000 pounds. It is designed for their delta-wing airplane, quite similar in shape to the *Concorde* and our rejected Lockheed 2000 supersonic proposal. A full-scale mock-up that prospective passengers are trying has been seen at TsAGI. I think the Russians plan their first flight for next winter and commercial service three years later.

Question. *Have you seen it?*

Answer. I have not. But British and French technicians recently visited it. Designed for 286,600 pounds takeoff gross weight, it is slightly smaller than the *Concorde* and about half the weight of Boeing's winning swing-wing SST. It seats 121 passengers four and five abreast. Designer Tupolev predicts speed of 1,550 mph at 65,000 feet altitude. Like all other supersonics, it has a droop snoot, with a needle nose for highspeed cruise flight and a lowered, visor-like arrangement for landing and takeoff. They will have three in the cockpit and four or more flight attendants.

Question. *Do the Russians have the industrial capability for the SST?*

Answer. They can do anything they place at the highest priority.

They have, as we do, a limited number of scientists, aeronautical engineers, metallurgical engineers. They, like us, cannot do everything at once, filling all of their military and civil desires. Second, they see in both the British-French effort and the American effort a challenge in an area of transport and communications. For world communism, this is an area of very important activity.

Third, they have not had a great success with their long-range subsonic transport, the *Ilyushin 62*, which is not yet in scheduled service; and in conversation with the Russians, I learned they would like to recover with a resounding victory.

Finally, the Russians appear quite advanced in fabricating metals including titanium, particularly in engines, and are developing large presses. In fact, they have a 75,000-pound press that can make very complex aluminum extrusions.

Question. *When did the British and French people see the mock-up?*

Answer. I think an important visit was October 1965. A French delegation of about 30 aeronautical experts spent about three weeks in Moscow, TsAGI, Kharkov and other places. The French and Rusisans have exchanged visits in technical areas a number of times, the last one involving groups of military and journalists last spring.

I took part in discussions with them at the Paris Air Show during June of 1965. Prior to that, I visited them at the direction of President Johnson in 1963. My predecessor at FAA, Gen. Elwood R. Quesada, took a group to the Soviet Union in the spring of 1960.

Question. *The Concorde is in the 1,400-mile-an-hour area; the American SST is in the 1,800-to-2,000-mile-an-hour area. What speed do you think the Russian SST will have?*

Answer. About 1,500 mph. The British, French and Russians are pressing the strength and durability of aluminum to its upper limits, and they have scaled their airplanes to that speed, approximately Mach 2.3.

Question. *Does that mean that this airplane will use titanium in the engines and aluminum for the frame?*

Answer. Both the *Concorde* and the *Tupolev 144* will have some titanium in the engines and in the airframe. In the airframe, the titanium will be around the very hot parts, such as the exhaust in the engine, and perhaps some of the hottest parts of the leading edge of the wing. Even now in our supersonic aircraft, such as the North American XB–70 and the McDonnell F–4H, there are titanium sections in the airplane. The Lockheed SR–71 and the two American SST proposals are all-titanium.

Question. *Do the Russians have any supersonic bomber that they could convert directly to a commercial transport as they did for their first jet airlines, the Tu–104?*

Answer. No, they do not. It would be much more like our building space in what would be the bomb bay and electronic compartment in the B–58 . . . a few seats. It would never be economical to do this.

Question. *Would there be any value in having a smaller supersonic airplane?*

Answer. Well, ultimately, after supersonic commercial-flight safety, economy and public acceptance have been fully demonstrated. This will probably be in the mid-70's. There will be at least two versions of supersonic transports. One will be for long-range intercontinental runs of about 3,500 and 4,500 miles. And the second will be the medium range, from 1,000 to 2,500 miles. This is the way the world's route structures occur.

Question. *Considering the time it takes for takeoff, climb and landing, is there any value in a 1,000-mile-range supersonic airplane?*

Answer. I don't think that there'd be any value in an airplane designed for optimum performance at 1,000 miles. The best performance on a theoretical chart is about 3.5 Mach at around 5,000 miles. The next airplane, the hypersonic transport will have a speed of Mach 6 to 8, and range about 8,000 miles. The ballistic transport will be even faster.

Question. *You've been negotiating with the Russians on a Russia-United States airline service that, optimistically, might start* *sometime in 1967. Could the Russians introduce this service with an SST?*

Answer. With people as capable as the Russian technicians and the Aeroflot operators, I would rule out nothing as impossible. But I think they will not introduce the supersonic before 1970.

Question. *Do you think the sonic boom will restrict the SST to use over large bodies of water?*

Answer. Possibly. Unless the manufacturers and the operators find the answer to the problem of the sonic boom, it could be banned over parts of Western Europe and the United States.

Question. *What can be done about the boom?*

Answer. Distance, detour and design. First, distance from the public. This would be accomplished by very-high-altitude cruising, twice the current level of 30,000 to 35,000 feet. Second would be to detour around noise-sensitive areas. One good thing about the sonic boom is that it doesn't occur at the airport, where the congested population is located. It starts between 150 and 250 miles out as the airplane accelerates through the speed of sound on its way to cruising altitude. The third approach is by design. There are some ingenious ways of shaping the airplane and locating its engines so that the sonic boom is lessened.

Question. *Do you have any reason to believe that the Russian SST would be less safe than an American or the French or British?*

Answer. The Russians' air-safety statistics are not published. They are not members of the International Civil Aviation Organization, and we can only speculate as to their record. I have flown Aeroflot, as have many Americans. It is the world's largest airline in numbers of aircraft and in route mileage. It also must be one of the most rapidly growing airlines. In 1965, Aeroflot reported 23.6 billion passenger miles compared to 19.2 billion in 1964. Of course, this includes all Soviet aviation except military. Present routes are within the Soviet Union, down to the Middle East, across Western Europe to London, over the Atlantic to Montreal, down along our coast to Havana and out to Siberia and Red China.

The Russians have capable pilots, very well-proven manufacturers, good airplanes and power plants. Their electronics and instruments are behind. They are actively seeking to import and license these for manufacture in the U.S.S.R. Without any accident data, we can only believe that their safety record is probably similar to that of other airlines around the world.

Question. *Do you feel that the Russians will try to sell their SST to countries outside the Soviet bloc?*

Answer. At the last Paris Air Show, they had over a hundred salesmen and exhibitors. They displayed their very large military logistics airplane, the *Antonov 22*, their new turboprop, the An-24, similar to our F-27, a whole family of rotary-wing aircraft—including a flying crane that held, kangaroolike under its belly, a bus with seats for 25 passengers—and their regular line of the Tupolev series for short-to-medium-range aircraft.

My hunch is that, because of its own large, long-range structure, Aeroflot would get all of the early *Tupolev 144's*. The next recipients might be other Communist carriers such as the Czechoslovak Airline. So far, the sale of Soviet aircraft in competition with British, French and American products has been negligible.

Question. *Has it occurred at all?*

Answer. Yes. Several helicopters, the IL-14, the IL-18 and the An-24 planes have been purchased by airlines in the Middle East and Africa. Of course, the terms for sale of the Soviet aircraft have been unusually favorable to the customer, particularly for other Communist countries. I don't believe that any Western countries have bought any Soviet aircraft.

Question. *Have any of our companies been invited to see Soviet developments?*

Answer. To my knowledge no American has visited the Soviet SST research-development or manufacturing enterprises. And, in turn, no representative of the Soviet Union has visited Lockheed or Boeing or our SST manufacturing and research sites.

Question. *We have a modest running interchange of scientific information with the Russians on communications and weather satellites. Is there anything like that in the field of aviation?*

Answer. The relationship between Aeroflot, the Soviet national-flag carrier, and Pan American World Airways and the Federal Aviation Agency has been cooperative and candid. There have been two full visits by the FAA to Moscow, in 1960 and again in 1963. The Russians have visited Washington and New York on several occasions, and from time to time, there have been visits such as Vice-President Nixon's celebrated one to the fair in Moscow. In fact, on that occasion, the first real discussions of an exchange of flights between Moscow and New York were initiated.

Question. *Recently, a naturalized American, Vladimir Kazan-Komarek, was arrested by Czech police from an Aeroflot plane that made an unscheduled landing at Prague. In another incident, American safety inspectors were not allowed to visit the crash scene of a Pan Am jet freighter in East Germany, although the plane was later cut apart and shipped over the line. Could these events affect operation of air service that would start this year?*

Answer. Possibly.

Question. *Now, if the Russians start serving the United States, would there be any requirement that their aircraft meet American safety standards of manufacture and operating techniques?*

Answer. This is a very difficult and touchy question. United States and British airworthiness experts have, over many years, exchanged standards of safety and adopted the general procedures and tests and specifications regarding the safety of airplanes, engines, instruments and even pilots. The same is generally true of the French, Italian, Swedish, German and Japanese.

In the case of the Soviet Union, a wholly new situation is faced. But because the airplanes that the Russians have indicated they would operate have been in service for years over Western European countries, my impression is that the Federal Government will permit their operation. They will also have to meet local requirements, such as noise standards of the New York Port Authority.

Question. To achieve this interchange, would we compromise our desire to inspect their airplanes?

Answer. I don't think that any compromise would be permitted, and I suppose if the Russians found that we were operating unsafely, they would correct us; similarly, we would correct them quite candidly. In fact, in our discussions with the Russians in December, 1963, they pointed out several respects in which they believed their standards, particularly of strength of the aircraft, were somewhat more rigorous and higher than ours.

Question. Do you think they will build more than one first test model of the SST?

Answer. The most desirable number in the American experience is three; two for flying and one for static tests. The more available, the sooner the necessary experience is gained, and the safer and better the product is.

Question. Would you have any guess as to what their prototypes might cost? We're talking about ours costing up to two billion dollars.

Answer. There is no comparable basis for estimating the cost of any Soviet development. As to the purchase price for a customer in dollars, that can only be the wildest sort of guess. The Soviet Government will set the price. When I talked to Minister of Civil Aviation Yevgeny Loginov, chief executive of Aeroflot, in the winter of 1963, I asked him why he wished to fly to the United States, and he said "For profits." I believe he meant the prestige of adding the United States to Aeroflot's worldwide system of routes, plus the earning of scarce dollars which the Soviet Union needs to import critical products as well as revenue for his airline.

They use the word profit, in other words, in a broader, less commercial way than we do. In actual dollar terms, I would guess that they would price it somewhat below the *Concorde*, which is about $16 million per copy.

I do not believe that this Soviet Tu-144, being half the size and 70 percent of the speed of the U.S. SST, would approach our estimated price of $36 million each.

Question. Do you think that their development of a supersonic transport is primarily for propaganda?

Answer. I believe it is one reason.

However, other very strong factors are the long reaches of communism from its base in Moscow. I tried to go across the Trans-Siberian Railroad in 1931. From Moscow to Vladivostok was 8½ days. Today, in the turboprop *Tupolev 114*, the trip takes one full day. Their routes from Moscow to Peking, from Moscow to Havana, are very long. The supersonic transport promises to be the greatest, the most efficient, most productive long-range transport in history, so they have a basic Communist communication need for it.

Aeroflot, under the very effective, very able leadership of Minister Loginov, is trying to be a sound commercial competitor along the world's air routes, and they want to do a superior job of flying passengers and freight around the world.

The supersonic transport is not just a technological tour de force. First, it's a time killer. The businessman in California who now takes six flights a year from Los Angeles to Paris would save two full weeks per year if the supersonic were available. Those two weeks are extremely valuable to him and his company.

Second, it presses forward our technology. It isn't just in the space field or the nuclear-energy field that we need to press forward, it's in the aeronautical field as well, which has direct commercial benefits to our society.

We have long exported a billion- to two-billion dollars worth of aeronautical products a year. If we had to buy all of our superjets and supersonic jets abroad, it would cost us in the order of fifty to sixty billion dollars in foreign exchange between now and, say, 1990; whereas if we build the best superjet and the supersonic and sell most of them abroad, we would reverse that trend.

Question. *The British and Russians were first to have jet airliners, and we were last. Yet there are more American jet airliners in use around the world. Do you think the past will repeat itself?*

Answer. This could definitely happen.

Our Government made a big point of saying that there is no military requirement for the supersonic transport. . . . Yet, we already have flying a military Mach 3 airplane, the XB-70, and the YF-12A, Mach 3 titanium airplane which holds the world speed and altitude records. We are also producing the F-111, a Mach 2.5 fighter-bomber.

Question. *In other words, you feel there is a confusion in what we are saying and what we are doing?*

Answer. No, we are pushing military Mach 3 flight, and now we are about to push for commercial Mach 2.7 flight. These airliners may well be used in future Presidential and defense missions.

Question. *Are the Russians maintaining schedules as well as Western carriers?*

Answer. My own experience is that even in the last three years, I've seen progress in their operation and regard them as a formidable competitor along the world air routes.

I also see in the Communist world the greatest untapped market for American airline services. The area from East Berlin to Warsaw to Moscow, southeast to Tashkent, out across Siberia to Vladivostok, then south to Peking and Shanghai is the next frontier for American commercial aviation to develop.

We want very much to see the airplane fulfill its natural role of linking safety, economically, competitively and peaceably all the peoples and products of the world. Here is a challenge worthy of the airmen of the future.

Employee Morale Sagging a Bit? Just Guess Whose Fault That Is

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, many of our colleagues were not in Washington on December 7, 1966, when an unusually humorous column appeared in the Federal Spotlight in the Washington Evening Star. Mr. Joe Young, one of the best friends Federal employees have in the press, attempted to reveal through humor the hopeless situation in which employees find themselves today.

As I believe all will benefit from reading Mr. Young's work, I am pleased to insert it in full in this RECORD.

The article follows:

THE FEDERAL SPOTLIGHT: EMPLOYEE MORALE SAGGING A BIT? JUST GUESS WHOSE FAULT THAT IS

(By Joseph Young)

Q. Good afternoon, sir. As a top official of the Civil Service Commission, are you concerned about reports about employe unrest in government?

A. What unrest? President Johnson has been vitally concerned with improving the morale and the esprit de corps of federal employes.

Q. But what about invasions of employes' privacy, and pressures to make them contribute to savings bonds drives. . . .

A. President Johnson has appointed careerists to some executive jobs hitherto filled by political appointees.

Q. And questionnaires that require employes to list their racial and ethnic backgrounds?

A. He has also appointed women to some key jobs.

Q. And requiring employes, even some in jobs as low as Grade 3, to list all their financial holdings and those of members of their families. And forcing employes to join their local PTA and community and political activities. . . .

A. The President has also set up a talent pool for super-grade employes.

Q. Well, employes seem to be unhappy about the 2.9 percent pay raise they got this year. They feel the President was out of line in holding them to this amount when employes in the private sector got considerably more.

A. When President Johnson was Senate majority leader, he always scheduled federal pay raise bills for prompt action—well, almost always, he did.

Q. Do you think the President's veto of the life insurance bill helped employes morale?

A. No employe that we know of wrote the President to complain and signed his name.

Q. Then you would say that federal employes never had it so good.

A. Absolutely.

Q. Then why are political experts saying that many federal and postal workers voted Republican this year?

A. That's what our Hatch Act investigators are looking into.

Q. What about employes being asked intimate questions about their sex lives?

A. Speaking of sex, President Johnson has appointed a woman as personnel director of a top government agency.

Q. What about the chairman of the Civil Service Commission "wearing two hats" in also being chief political talent scout for the President? Is this good for the career system?

A. Mr. Macy says it's good.

Q. What about the Ervin bill?

A. What bill?

Q. The one sponsored by Sen. ERVIN—to give federal employes a bill of rights to protect their rights against unwarranted invasion of their privacy?

A. Oh, no one favors that bill.

Q. Well, all the government employe unions testified unanimously in favor of it.

A. They didn't understand the provisions in the bill.

Q. What about all the documented evidence uncovered by the Ervin committee and also presented by government employe leaders on invasion of privacy?

A. Oh, all these cases were the result of misunderstanding on the part of the employes. Agency officials wouldn't hurt a fly. The employes are just supersensitive, that's all.

Q. What do you think will happen to the Ervin bill next year?

A. Oh, we're all closing our eyes around here and hope that when we open them up next year the Ervin bill will have disappeared.

Q. Why isn't the Johnson administration endorsing the pay comparabilty principle of the 1962 pay act to place government salaries on a parity with industry?

A. President Johnson took a full hour out of his busy workday recently to address the Civil Service regional directors who were in town for a meeting.

Q. What about the administration curtailing overtime in government and trying to circumvent the law by giving compensatory time instead of paying cash?

A. Lady Bird is working very closely with government agencies to beautify their surroundings.

The 49th Anniversary of Proclamation of Free Ukrainian National Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD W. BROOKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of a proclamation issued January 22, 1967, by the distinguished Governor of Massachusetts, His Excellency John A. Volpe, marking the 49th anniversary of the proclamation of the Free Ukrainian National Republic.

There being no objection, the proclamation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS—A PROCLAMATION, 1967

(By His Excellency John A. Volpe, Governor)

Whereas, January twenty-second of this year marks the Forty-Ninth Anniversary of the Proclamation of Free Ukranian National Republic, and

Whereas, The year 1967 marks the Fiftieth Anniversary of the restoration of a network of national independent republics in Central and Eastern Europe, which were later destroyed by Communist Russian forces, and

Whereas, The love of freedom still reigns in the hearts of the Ukrainian people, and enables them to oppose with fierce determination the oppression of Russian Communist domination, and

Whereas, All freedom-loving people join in sympathy with the thousands of American people of Ukrainian descent in abhorrence of the Communist terror and repression directed against those intellectuals in the enslaved Ukraine who have struggled for freedom of expression for the Ukrainian culture, and

Whereas, This year on January twenty-second, thousands of Americans of Ukrainian descent in this Commonwealth and across the nation will pay tribute to the heroic struggle of those enslaved in the Ukraine, thus enhancing their aspirations for freedom and justice;

Now, therefore, I, John A. Volpe, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, do hereby proclaim January 22, 1967, as "Ukrainian Independence Day" and urge all citizens of the Commonwealth to take appropriate recognition of this observance.

Given at the Executive Chamber in Boston, this tenth day of January, in the year of our Lord, one thousand nine hundred and sixty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the one hundred and ninety first.

JOHN A. VOLPE.

By His Excellency the Governor:

KEVIN H. WHITE,

Secretary of the Commonwealth.

Seafarers Achievement Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, the Seafarers Log, the official organ of the Seafarers International Union, contains in its January 6, 1967, issue two articles which are, in effect, an achievement report on a most unique trade union school. The articles were written by Paul Hall, president of the Seafarers International Union, and Raymond T. McKay, president, District 2, Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, SIU.

Last year our Nation was confronted with a serious shortage of licensed marine engineers to man the vessels required to transport supplies and material for American and allied operations in Vietnam. To correct this situation and to insure that these needed vessels sailed, the Seafarers International Union and District 2, Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, established a jointly operated license training and upgrading program to produce qualified marine engineers, known as the School of Marine Engineering.

This program has managed to provide the trained engineers necessary to cope with this transport crisis. It has also helped prepare this district for future peacetime requirements.

The success of this program can be easily measured. One hundred and eighty-eight men have completed the program without undue financial hardship to themselves and their families. Additionally, all contracted vessels sailed without a single delay.

Mr. Hall and Mr. McKay are to be commended on their acumen in making this school possible. This is but another example of the attempts of Mr. Hall and his organization to meet the needs of this Nation, not only during times of war but in peacetime.

The articles follow:

[From the Seafarers Log, Jan. 6, 1967]

LICENSE TRAINING AND UPGRADING PROGRAM JOINTLY OPERATED BY THE SEAFARERS INTERNATIONAL UNION, AGLIW DISTRICT AND DISTRICT 2, MARINE ENGINEERS BENEFICIAL ASSOCIATION

ACHIEVEMENT REPORT

Once again, this is an occasion to be proud of the determination and performance of SIU members. In less than one year's time, 113 Seafarers have obtained licenses as ships' engineers after preparing for their examinations at the School of Marine Engineering jointly sponsored by the SIU and District 2 MEBA. Many more SIU engine department men are presently enrolled in the School, receiving instruction that will enable them to sit for their licenses and to sail as engineering officers.

This unique school and what it is accomplishing is important to the men themselves, to the SIU and to the nation. From the standpoint of the Seafarers themselves, the manner in which they have upgraded themselves is a convincing demonstration that the foc'sle is still a major source of potential licensed officers. Provided with the protection of the benefits they have earned as unlicensed seamen, the record shows that men from the foc'sle can and will obtain their licenses and perform creditably on the job.

The benefit to the union as a whole derives from the fact that by helping to fill the need for licensed engineers aboard American-flag vessels, these men have enabled SIU-MEBA District 2 jointly contracted ships to continue to sail on time.

And the national interest is served by the continued sailing on time of these ships, particularly those engaged in the vital Viet Nam sealift.

The response to the license training program, first of its kind to be offered anywhere, is most gratifying. We take special pride in the manner in which these SIU engine department men have performed in school and subsequently in their new shipboard duties. The example of those who have successfully completed the course should inspire their union brothers to also take advantage of the opportunity that this union training program affords to SIU members, their families and the nation.

Finally, the jointly operated union school is an example of what trade union cooperation can accomplish and contribute in the interests of the workers involved, and to the security of the industry and the nation.

PAUL HALL,
President, Seafarers International Union.

A little over a year ago, the shortage of licensed marine engineers became more acute as a result of the impending breakout of ships for the Viet Nam sealift. District 2 MEBA, like other unions, faced the possibility of delayed sailings, which posed a threat to the national security and to the security of every District MEBA member and all other ships' personnel.

Now, in January 1967, the picture has changed remarkably for District 2. Because of the success of our joint training and upgrading program—and our ability to provide opportunities for the graduates of the maritime academies—our contracted ships have been able to sail throughout the year without delays, and the Union has met its contractual commitments.

In the relatively short period since the School of Marine Engineering was established, 75 District 2 members have raised their licenses, and the flow of men taking advantage of the upgrading program continues. At the same time, 113 SIU members have obtained original licenses under the program and have sailed as engineers on District 2 ships.

District 2 is proud that we have been able to provide a means through which our members can raise their licenses without hardship to themselves and their families. We have also been able to draw qualified unlicensed men from the SIU into our ranks as engineers, enabling us to cope with the Viet Nam crisis and to prepare for our future peacetime requirements for new engineers.

The success of this program has been made possible by the outstanding cooperation and support of the union's deep-sea membership. A great deal of credit also belongs to the quality of instruction offered by the School of Marine Engineering and its exceptionally qualified staff, many of whom are District 2 members.

We cannot stop now. The need for qualified engineers in all ratings will continue well into the future. Our license upgrading program has proved its worth. Every District 2 member is urged to make use of this unusual opportunity to raise his license.

RAYMOND T. MCKAY,
President, District 2, Marine Engineers Beneficial Association.

Consulate Exchange With U.S.S.R.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, a very capable newspaper in the State of Washington, the Longview Daily News, had a very fine editorial in its issue of January 24, 1967, and a good analysis on the issue of the consulate treaty which will be before the Senate, which was a question before the Senate last year, and on which the Senate Foreign Relations Committee had some hearings.

I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the editorial to which I have referred, entitled "Consulate Exchange Ought To Improve United States-Russ Relations," discussing the pros and cons of the question. The editorial comes to the conclusion that it would improve United States-Russian relations.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONSULATE EXCHANGE OUGHT TO IMPROVE UNITED STATES-RUSS RELATIONS

Seattle has 28 consulates and other foreign government representatives, Portland has 18. They're listed alphabetically in the yellow pages from Austria to Venezuela. But there are none from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. There are none in any part of the country except the Soviet embassy in Washington, D.C. And there are no American consulates in Russia except our ambassador in Moscow.

Officials of both countries are trying to change this situation and get a treaty establishing consulates, but the U.S. Senate is dragging its feet. It won't ratify the treaty. Secretary of State Dean Rusk testified Monday before a Senate committee in this years' go-round.

Arguments against such a treaty stress the espionage angle. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover says Russian consulates spread across the country would make counterespionage work of his agents much more complicated, that the Communists would have an easier job infiltrating labor unions, student groups, and so on.

But would it? Is such a reaction primarily one of fear? Communists aren't getting very far in this country, despite what some alarmists print and broadcast. Labor unions have learned that organized labor is one of the first casualties after a Communist takeover. The Communist reasoning is: "Now that 'the people' are in control, the need for unions is gone." Unions aren't buying that line any more.

The Communists aren't doing very well among the students either. There are some demonstrations from the fringe, and there always will be in a free society where they're tolerated, but young people today are turning more toward personal, individual gratification rather than identifying with "the masses." This generation identifies better with personal problems on a person-to-person basis (as in the Peace Corps) rather than identifying with a government or mass movement. So the Communists are not really doing well with the students, either.

The Communist effort to infiltrate the civil rights movement and organize the Negro has been a total flop.

So what are we afraid of? Spying. Some 90 percent of the effective spying done in the world today is putting together bits and pieces of information from newspapers and technical journals. And this is already available to the Russians.

There was a story once about a newspaper editor who published a story about a new airplane that could fly X-miles-per-hour, and had done so on such and such a date. Officers from the Pentagon swooped down on him and demanded to know how he knew such secret information. He told them he found out in the library by tracing newspaper accounts of sonic booms across the country, complete with the times of when the booms occurred. This was in the days when sonic booms were front page news. The editor had traced the flight of the plane from the Northwest across the country to the South, compared the distance traveled with the time it took, and he had the information on the new plane. Simple as that.

So if it can be concluded that Russian consulates will not hurt us particularly, will they do any good?

Looking at the situation realistically, we cannot be at odds with Russia forever. Tensions between the two nations have eased. Increased trade, which is the prime objective of the consulates, could ease them further.

We should not feel so insecure about our free society that we must keep it sheltered. And the advantages gained by Russia here will be our advantages over there.

A 1966 Survey of Russian Merchant Shipping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, at this time I would like to call to the attention of the Members of Congress an assessment of the growing Russian merchant fleet which just reached my desk. This report is called "A 1966 Survey of Russian Merchant Shipping" and was the result of the labor of Robert L. Nichols, a graduate student in history at the University of Washington. Mr. Nichols undertook his research at the direction of the applied physics laboratory at the university.

The researcher was given the following instructions: He was to survey the Russian literature, primarily through the use of Russian maritime journals and Russian newspapers and the official utterances of high Russian officials, especially those charged with the control and development of the merchant fleet, and produce a compendium of facts about the Russian fleet and its capability to do the tasks assigned to it. He was requested to be particularly attentive to any indications as to the broad purpose for which this enormous fleet was being constructed, both in peace times and war times. He was to draw no conclusions excepting those that could be drawn by a simple reading of Russian literature.

The real conclusions of national import were to be drawn by others possessing the appropriate military knowledge but who lacked direct contact with the nature of the Russian merchant fleet. He was instructed to derive information primarily from Russian sources, and especially not to be influenced by the facts and conclusions of American and British writers on the same subject unless he could substantiate them from the Russian literature. He was given no advance conclusions to support.

Mr. Speaker, this new survey points up very clearly that the Soviets are on a crash program, as a matter of feverish urgency, to upgrade their merchant fleet, while as we know in the United States the administration policy of slow strangulation of our merchant fleet continues.

Unfortunately the report consists of 54 pages of illustrations—so it is not possible to include the complete study in the RECORD. However, as a matter of information, under unanimous consent previously obtained, I am placing the introduction and conclusion of the study in the RECORD at this point:

INTRODUCTION

Because Russia lacks a long history as a seafaring nation Westerners tend to pay little attention to Soviet ships and shipbuilding. Little is known outside Russian borders about Russian shipyards, ports, and harbors. Ports recently completed, some as long ago as 1958, do not appear in Western atlases. This is partially the result of Russian reluctance to disclose information about such matters, but more basic is our neglect of the Russian maritime expansion which has occurred so unexpectedly. This report is based on the latest and fairly accurate information published in the Soviet Union. It conveys the feverish urgency the Russians feel for their new maritime fleet and at the same time provides a reliable picture of Soviet maritime activities.

What are Russia's maritime intentions? This study will not provide final answers to this question, for the answer lies in what the Soviets do with their fleet in the next five years. Some guidelines for interpreting Russian moves will be presented here.

Russian ships, although standardized and mass produced, are modern and technologically advanced. They also possess certain features which make them suitable for purposes other than commercial trade. At a time when our own merchant fleet is shrinking and ships placed under "flags of convenience" are drifting toward the registries of European countries, the appearance of these Russian ships increasingly darkens an already somber picture.

The following report attempts to survey several different facets of the Russian merchant marine: its growth, policies, administration, types of ships, shipyards, and port facilities. How effectively we interpret Russian moves today may well determine the fate of Western shipping in the near future.

CONCLUSIONS

We are all accustomed to see the Russians grandiosely outline their economic plans in five year chunks and then fail to fulfill them. Shipbuilding is one part of the plan which the Russians consistently not only fulfill but overfulfill. Foreign and domestic yards hum with the construction of new ships for the Soviet Union. Embodying the latest technological equipment such as mechanical hatch covers, unstayed bipod masts, bridge and engine room automation, ship board cranes and adjustable pitch propellers, Russian ships present a sleek, modern profile on the world sea lanes. Over half of the Russian tankers and just slightly less than half of the dry cargo ships are under five years of age and the vast majority of ships in both categories are under nine years old.

The Russians are currently in full swing in their campaign to make the Soviet Union a major maritime power. Tonnage is being added from every direction and there is no indication that the tempo of ship construction is going to slacken in the next few years. On the contrary the amount of new tonnage on order is larger than ever before.

Every kind of ship is being built for the Soviet fleet. Tankers ranging in size from 3,000 to 60,000 tons ply the world's oil routes. Being clean oil carriers, these tankers are designed for easy conversion as fleet auxiliaries to the Russian navy. Dry cargo ships are being built in even greater numbers than tankers. Some, like the POLTAVA, have extended holds which can carry missiles, as they did to Cuba a few years ago. Passenger ships are now operating on major tourist lines in the Caribbean, Mediterranean, and the Atlantic.

The Russian fleet has both an economic and a political role to play in the plans of Soviet leaders, for its relieves them from any independence upon foreign shippers for cargo transport. It also provides the Russians with a means of gaining foreign currency, by carrying cargo for foreign countries. Several ships have been sold to Greece partially for this same reason. In the past the Russian merchant navy has been used as a political device for extending the influence of the Soviet Union into Cuba, the UAR, Zanzibar, and presently to North Vietnam.

To what purposes the Soviet Union will use its fleet on the world scene is still not fully clear. However, the next five years will probably provide the answer. The ships for the Russians' own domestic needs have been produced; the ships for other purposes are now being launched.

Crime in the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am submitting a copy of a letter addressed by the Washington, D.C., Clearing House Association to the President of the United States, concerning crime in the District of Columbia. Similar letters were sent by the association to the Honorable JOHN L. MCMILLAN, chairman of the District of Columbia Committee of the House, and to the Honorable ALAN BIBLE, chairman of the Senate District Committee.

I feel that since this correspondence was signed by several outstanding citizens of the District of Columbia, who are interested in the District as residents as well as because of tremendous business investment, there is no question as to their sincerity or their interest in having this deplorable situation in the District of Columbia improved.

Their letter follows in full:

CRIME IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

THE WASHINGTON, D.C., CLEARING HOUSE ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D.C., January 25, 1967.

THE PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

Mr. PRESIDENT: We are writing this letter as one of the groups with some responsibility for leadership in the District of Columbia, some responsibility to speak out on behalf of the entire community.

The crime rate in the District is deplorable. It is unnecessary to muster statistics for purposes of demonstration, nor do we consider it relevant to compare law enforcement here with law enforcement elsewhere in the Nation. The Constitution gives the Congress jurisdiction over law enforcement in the District and that trust should be adequately discharged, should be discharged indeed in such manner as to be a model to the Nation. Armed robberies of banks and other business establishments are happening with frightening frequency. At times it seems to become almost a daily occurrence. Naturally, representing as we do the banking and business community, this is a matter of deepest concern to us. But of even greater concern to us, as having some responsibility for leadership in the community, is the growing and justified feeling of anxiety and insecurity on the part of all of our citizens. In no true sense can we say proudly today that our Government affords us those protections for our persons and property which allow men to live securely and devote themselves without distressing anxiety to the well-being of themselves, their families and their neighbors.

This is no irremediable thing. It may, it probably will, because of past neglect, for a time in the future require large investment. We are prepared to contribute our share. The Nation which has jurisdiction of this community should not be penurious in contributing its share.

Undoubtedly, the root causes need to be attacked, poverty, slum conditions, the lack of adequate education and adequate opportunity which burden so many of our citizens. But these are long-term objectives. The problem is immediate, and the immediate resource is strict and adequate law enforcement.

Our police are undermanned. The facilities available to them are inadequate. The Congress should appropriate whatever is needed to provide enough police, well equipped police and the best police leadership obtainable. Consideration should be given as to whether in the Nation's Capital, as a temporary measure, the Federal Bureau of Investigation might not lend more aid. If this were to be done it should of course be done in such a way as not to reflect adversely, or in any way undermine the responsibilities and morale of the police force of the District. We have confidence in our present police force, if properly supported, but there are areas where no local police force can hope to match the facilities of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and in our view the problem is sufficiently serious to consider making all of their facilities available to correct these deplorable conditions.

Speedy and effective administration of justice also requires adequate financial support and the ablest possible manning of the United States Attorney's office and the Corporation Counsel's office. This requires large increased appropriations. We have confidence in the leadership of those two offices, but they are both overburdened and undermanned. The speedy administration of justice cannot be attained unless they are adequately staffed and unless the salaries are sufficient to attract the ablest people to those jobs.

The speedy and effective administration of justice is also the responsibility of the Courts. We applaud the developments of the last few years. There has been a thoughtful reappraisal of the distribution of burdens between the District Court and the Court of General Sessions. The Courts have been working longer hours, taking fewer vacations, but much still needs to be done. We applaud the recent undertaking by the Courts themselves of an independent survey of the handling of the business of the Courts. The speedy and efficient administration of justice will do much to curb unbridled crime. Swiftness is no substitute for justice, but swift justice will certainly lend the community greater security. Here again, however, in our view the Congress has not done its part. The Court of General Sessions is understaffed, badly housed, badly equipped. The best of men cannot function adequately in such circumstances.

We hesitate to express a judgment on the recent legislation affecting bail. There has not been an adequate time to try out the consequences of this legislation. If there are inadequacies in it, it would not appear to suggest a return to bondsmen, but it might be worthy of consideration that, if a person charged has theretofore been found guilty of a serious crime of violence, some discretion should be allowed the District Court as to whether such a person should be released to the community. We are in no position of course to appraise the constitutional problems that might be involved, but obviously a prompt trial would need to be a corollary of any refusal of bail.

Finally, why should the Congress permit these bandits to be freely armed against the community. Few hold-ups would be attempted without hand-guns. Some restrictions should be imposed on their sale.

The District of Columbia Clearing House strongly urges that you attack this problem of crime in the District immediately and that you make available whatever may be needed in the way of appropriations to attack the problem adequately.

Sincerely,

John C. McCormack, Secretary, the Washington, D.C., Clearing House Association, Executive Vice President, the Riggs National Bank of Washington, D.C.; Robert C. Baker, Chairman, the Washington, D.C., Clearing House Association, President, American Security & Trust Co. Other members: Leo M. Bernstein, President, District of Columbia National Bank; George A. Didden, Jr., President, the National Capital Bank of Washington; William J. Schuiling, President, the First National Bank of Washington; Douglas R. Smith, President, National Savings & Trust Co.; Louis C. Paladini, President, Madison National Bank; William M. O'Neill, President, Public National Bank; T. P. McLachlen, President, McLachlen Banking Corp.; L. A. Jennings, Chairman, the Riggs National Bank of Washington, D.C.; Barnum L. Colton, President, the National Bank of Washington; Frank A. Gunther, President, Security Bank. Associate members: L. P. Harrell, President, Union Trust Co. of the District of Columbia; B. Doyle Mitchell, President, Industrial Bank of Washington.

Ukrainian Independence Day

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, 49 years ago, after centuries of domination by foreign rulers, the people of the Ukraine overcame their oppressors and acclaimed their independence on January 22, 1918.

The democratic government constituted in the new Ukrainian Republic did its utmost to cope with the new state's difficult problems, but, having neither the manpower nor resources to defend itself successfully, it was overrun by the ruthless Red Army in 1920. Thus ended a brief 2-year period of independent existence for the Ukrainian people.

The oppressive Soviet domination has continued over the freedom-loving people of the Ukraine ever since. They have been robbed of their worldly possessions, and put to death by the thousands. They have been forced to work for their heartless taskmasters in the Kremlin under most abominable conditions, with no promise of restoration to their rightful place in the community of nations. Nevertheless, the thirst for freedom has not weakened among these wonderful people, and the spirit of resistance is as strong today as in generations past.

The more than 40 million Ukrainians under Soviet domination are afforded no opportunity to commemorate the anniversary of the winning of their short-lived freedom in 1918. Only we, who live in freedom and independence, can mark the day for them. We can express our concern over their present plight, and pray to God that soon again, they, and all oppressed people throughout the world, will be masters of their own destinies.

Woolworth President Urges Business Careers for Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWIN D. ESHLEMAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. ESHLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, recently the Lancaster New Era in my congressional district published an editorial about a matter of great importance to the business community, and indeed, the Nation as a whole.

The editorial concerned a speech by Lester A. Burcham, president of the F. W. Woolworth Co., in which he urged college students to accept the challenges of a business career.

It is appropriate that this fine newspaper in my district should bring attention to an enlightened speech by the current president of the world-famous Woolworth chain of variety stores. Eighty-seven years ago, the first store established by the company founder opened its doors in Lancaster.

Called at first the Great Five Cent Store, a line of 10-cent items was added a month later and the "5 and 10" was born. From a sales total of $127.65 the first day in that first store, in 1879, the chain has grown to 3,160 stores with sales last year aggregating more than $1 billion. These stores have outgrown the old "5 and 10" by adding more lines of merchandise to meet the demands of modern retailing.

In his speech, Mr. Burcham points out that misunderstanding of business is causing young people to downgrade it as an interesting career. They do not understand its opportunities for creativity and challenge. The New Era notes that the difficulty business leaders are having in telling this story is affecting recruiting of the men and women who will take over in years to come.

I commend the editorial to the attention of my colleagues:

CAREERS IN BUSINESS

New concern has been expressed recently that college students are not looking to careers in business. Lester A. Burcham, president of the F. W. Woolworth Co., a company which got its start here, says that misunderstanding is a major reason.

Many students are not familiar with basic economics, says Burcham.

Take profits, for example. Some people think of profits as a nasty word. But Burcham calls profits essential, "not merely to provide a fair return on stockholder investment, but for expanding and improving the business, for opening new markets, developing new products and creating new jobs."

Profits also, he continues, "produce taxes and add to the nation's total wealth. They are the key to economic growth and economic growth, in turn, is essential to the overall improvement in our living standards."

Another factor preventing students from seeking business careers is that they think there is no challenge in business.

Burcham answers that this way:

"Challenges, in my opinion, are more prevalent in the market place or business world than in any other field of activity, because change is occurring so rapidly. The swift stream of new inventions, new products, new methods of production and distribution, changing demands of consumers, changing patterns of population and changes in competition do not allow businessmen to get in a rut or become complacent.

"There is challenge in modern business wherever you look. It is a field for do-ers and achievers—for creative people who like to 'get involved'—for men and women of action."

Some students think companies lack social consciousness, Burcham finds. Enlightened corporations, he replies, are in the forefront on civil rights, and have made "tremendous progress in providing career opportunities and training so that all employes, regardless of race, can advance to higher levels of achievement."

Burcham is an able spokesman, in a day when many young people look down on business as merely "commercial" as compared to other fields of endeavor. Many of the youngsters who have this attitude, however, come from families whose livelihood stems from business and industry, and many rely on their paychecks from summer or part-time jobs with business and industry, to meet all or part of college expenses.

The nation could not survive without business and industry, yet leaders in this field sometimes have a difficult time telling this story, and recruiting the men and women who will take over in years to come.

Tribute to the Late Graham A. Barden

SPEECH

OF

HON. NICK GALIFIANAKIS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. GALIFIANAKIS. Mr. Speaker, I never had the privilege of serving with the late Graham Barden, but the record of accomplishments he left behind in this body are achievements which all freshman legislators such as myself would do well to emulate.

You who have served with him will remember Graham Barden for his strength of character, his integrity, for his skills in the legislative process and his vision of the future.

We who have watched his career from the sidelines will remember him as a man who never sought a fight but never backed away from one. We will remember Graham Barden as a man who sought sincerely for the truth and for what was right and best for the people and the Nation he served.

There are others though who will remember Graham Barden and mourn his passing as we do.

The farmers and businessmen of eastern North Carolina will remember Graham Barden as the man who led the fight to move a stagnating agriculture-dominated economy into a fruitful 20th century.

The schoolteachers of the entire State of North Carolina will remember Graham Barden as the one-term State legislator who sparked the drive for pay standards for all of the State's teachers.

Graham Barden will be remembered by every person in this country who ever benefited from the talents of home economists or agriculture instructors educated under the provisions of the George-Barden Act.

And he will never be forgotten by the countless thousands of physically handicapped who have been turned into productive citizens by the Barden-LaFollette legislation for rehabilitation.

Mr. Speaker, Graham Barden will be remembered as one of the giants of this House and of his home State. Our deepest sympathies go out to his family for their loss only magnifies our own.

The Saturday Review Discusses Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced legislation which will be an important first step toward the reduction of air and water pollution. A recent editorial in the Saturday Review points up some of the reasons this legislation is necessary and also describes some of the answers that are available for this growing problem.

In order that my colleagues may have a chance to read this fine editorial, Mr. Speaker, I ask that it be included at this point in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

THERE'S SOMETHING IN THE AIR

1. IN THE U.S.A.

The main point made repeatedly at conferences on air pollution during the past two years has been that little could be done unless the public became aroused. That objective has now been achieved. During the past year, air pollution as a major problem has exploded into the national consciousness. The issue has been brought home to the American people by books, magazines, newspapers, television, and radio. The result is that the public is now ready for the drastic measures that only a few months ago would have seemed beyond popular support. In fact, it is possible that the American people are actually ahead of government in their readiness to move swiftly and decisively.

Another major change in the air pollution situation is that the problem no longer affects seriously only a few American cities and population centers. If the concern has become a national one, so has the problem. The airshed over the United States is steadily filling up with poisons. Only a few years ago, the sky over the nation was clear except for the pall over the cities. Today, however, the pall extends hundreds of miles in every direction. It is not unusual for the eastern half of the United States, all the way from Maine to Florida and extending west from Boston to Des Moines in the upper half of the country and from Miami and Atlanta in the Southeast to New Orleans and even Dallas in the lower half, to be covered by a pollution blanket. Arizona, traditionally regarded as the state with the driest and cleanest air, now has to cope with heavy smoke drifts from its mining and smelter operations. The Thanksgiving weekend air pollution episode affected not just New York City but the entire East Coast. Such dangerous inversions can be expected to recur with increasing frequency and severity—not because of new meteorological phenomena but because of the steady buildup in airborne poisons.

Each year for the past decade in the United States, several million acres have been taken out of cultivation for our spreading cities and for the construction of superhighways. This represents double jeopardy. First, it impairs nature's restorative cycle by which air is purified. Soil, vegetation, trees are part of the vital balance of nature. Second, what was formerly open space becomes filled up with pollution-causing agents—people, furnaces, incinerators, manufacturing, automobiles, buses, trucks.

The poisons in the air are no longer transient. They are fast becoming cumulative. The air pollution buildup is developing at a faster rate than nature's ability to neutralize it, or man's attempts to combat it. The gap between the intensification of the problem and the response to it becomes wider all the time.

All this sets the stage for the key question: What would happen if the rate of population growth, industrial growth, automobile growth, and highway growth of the past two decades were to remain constant or increase during the next two decades, assuming the same pace of national attack on the problem?

The conclusion is inescapable that most of the large cities in the United States could be regarded as uninhabitable within a decade.

This does not necessarily mean that the air pollution over the nation's large cities will reach and remain fixed at a lethal level. What it does mean is that enough serious episodes will have occurred within a decade so that the large cities will be considered unsafe as permanent places for habitation or business. This is why a vast acceleration of anti-pollution planning activity, both local and national, is now critically needed. The federal government must play a major part in such a stepped-up program. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the cities and states should no longer have responsibility for attacking the prime sources of pollution.

The reason for a prodigious expansion in federal aid is clear. No municipality has the resources for carrying out all the measures essential to cope with the increasing sources of pollution. Any comprehensive program for the largest cities requires an expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars, both public and private, if critical episodes are to be averted.

There is nothing more important that the United States Government could do to help safeguard the nation's air than to mount a "Manhattan District" program behind the development of the fuel cell as a source of energy.

Gas turbine engines, propane gas, liquefied petroleum, natural gas, electric motors—all these promise relief from air pollution. They should receive strong research-and-development support from the federal government. However, a major breakthrough in replacing the combustion engine may have to await the development of a fuel cell.

The United States Government mounted a $2 billion project for harnessing nuclear power. It did so because it believed that atomic energy was essential to national survival. The same is no less true of the fuel cell. The combustion engine has revolutionized the way of life not just in the United States but throughout the world. But it has produced large clouds of carbon monoxide, lead, oxides of nitrogen, and pyrobenzine, and literally has become the greatest nonpolitical enemy of the human species on earth. It carries the smell of death inside it.

No one knows how much the development of the fuel cell would cost, any more than anyone in 1940 knew how much it would finally cost to liberate atomic energy. But the need is great enough to warrant the efford. The abandonment of major American cities would be incalculably more costly.

This does not mean that everything else should be deferred until a fuel cell is developed. Mention has already been made of the need for a federal crash program to speed up the availability of efficient gas-turbine engines, or engines powered by propane gas or natural gas or liquefied petroleum gas. (Chicago is already operating propane-gas buses.) The federal government should also promote research in chemicals that can be added to gasoline, diesel fuels, and heating fuel oils to reduce excess smoke and noxious fumes. Such chemical additives already exist; they are far from being finished products, but at least they are good enough to indicate that a substantial increase in research and development is clearly justified.

The federal government should also be involved in the regulation of large smokestacks, beyond a specified capacity. Such capacity is of interstate significance. While all smoke emitters, however small, contribute to the overall density and drift, the large stacks are specific and clearly identifiable offenders over a large area, and ought to come under federal statutes, in addition to local and state regulations.

The federal government should require air-pollution control equipment, and clearly defined performance characteristics, for all such stacks. The costs of installing such equipment should be fully tax deductible by industry within a reasonably short period.

The federal government should promote research in the improvement and sharp cost reduction of electrostatic precipitators and scrubbers. Especially is it important to promote research in the development of sulfur recovery from smokestack gases.

Again, this is not to say that the local units of government should be relieved of the central responsibility for controlling or eliminating airborne garbage and poisons. An effective nationwide program involves combined operations, with separate though related activities going forward on the national, regional, state, and city levels. But more and more, the national government will have to get into the business of setting minimum safety standards and establishing *enforcement* procedures in those cases where large air masses of poisonous drift exist.

The fight against air pollution has won its first and most important objective. The public consciousness has been pierced. Those in authority no longer need fear inadequate public support for hard measures. All the parts are now in place for a prodigious step-up in planning and implementation. Delay or inadequacy can be chargeable neither to public opinion nor technology but to government.

Air pollution is but one aspect of the whole environment. It is impossible, for example, to separate the causes and effects of impure air and impure water. Poisonous chemicals in air affect streams and reservoirs. Contamination of both air and water affects crops livestock, and wildlife. Waste disposal through burning can create air pollution; through dumping it can create water pollution. Dumping also creates sanitation hazards.

As these and similar conditions are studied, it seems clear that *whole systems* are needed. The attack on air pollution must be part of a comprehensive program to protect the total environment. What is needed on a national scale is a plan for interrelating and coordinating problems of air pollution control, water pollution control, solid-waste disposal, noise abatement, congestion, and protection of both natural and man-made facilities that give pleasure and well-being to its citizens.

2 IN THE WORLD

It is not now too early to begin thinking and planning on the highest levels for a world attack on the problem of contamination. Week after week, reports are published on the increasing concern of city officials in Europe, South America, Asia, and Africa about the fast-developing hazards of environmental poisoning. Tad Szulc writes from Madrid about a blanket of dust and smoke so thick that it is sometimes difficult to see fom one side of a thoroughfare to the other. From Paris, Stephen Coulter reports that 180,000 tons of toxic matter are now being pumped into the air of Paris and the suburbs every year. The number of vehicles coming onto the streets is constantly increasing—carbon monoxide gas pollution from cars and trucks has tripled since the early 1920s.

London, according to correspondent Colin Chapman, no longer has to cope with soot pollution fumes caused by coal burning. City ordinances now forbid burning of soft coal. But the danger to Londoners now is from carbon monoxide and sulfur dioxide.

Rome's problem, according to Alan McElwain, may not be as serious as that of New York, but it is severe enough to warrant serious counterattack. There are now about 500,000 automobile registrations in Rome and new cars have been coming onto the roads at an average of 100,000 a year.

Tokyo, writes Robert Trumbull, is one of the worst. Oxygen tanks have been installed at ten of Tokyo's busiest intersections for the use of traffic policemen who must stand for hours in a miasma of automobile exhaust fumes. Early in 1966 an air sampling revealed the presence of sulfuric acid in the atmosphere in a proportion of .5 milligrams to the cubic meter—.1 milligram above the point generally accepted as being a serious danger to public health.

And so it goes. Berlin, Frankfurt, Amsterdam, Warsaw, Moscow, Kiev, Karachi, Calcutta, Bombay, Singapore, Jakarta, Hong Kong, Bangkok, Cairo, Tel Aviv, Johannesburg, Buenos Aires, Caracas—all these and others are now apprehensive about the blackening canopy overhead. Meanwhile, scientists examining the ice near the Arctic polar cap report detectable traces of lead.

The United Nations has not been able to fulfill the major hopes of the Preamble to its Charter because the large nations have consistently failed to provide the authority required for these purposes. But surely the protection of the world's air supply is an issue that transcends ideology and national interests. There is no reason why the United Nations cannot now begin to plan for a coordinated world attack on the environmental poisoning of the planet earth. Indeed, its activity in this area may produce a general strengthening of the organization, all of whose members have to breathe.

Address by Senator Howard W. Pollock, Republican Candidate for U.S. Congress, Noon Luncheon—League of Women Voters—World Affairs Council Discovery Room, Captain Cook Hotel, Anchorage, Alaska, October 29, 1966

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, our able colleague, the Honorable HOWARD W. POLLOCK of Alaska, presented a very noteworthy address last fall on membership in the United Nations. Since few of us have had occasion to hear or read this timely statement, I would like to call attention to it by placing it in the RECORD today.

The address follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR HOWARD W. POLLOCK, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR U.S. CONGRESS, NOON LUNCHEON—LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS—WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL DISCOVERY ROOM, CAPTAIN COOK HOTEL, ANCHORAGE, ALASKA, OCTOBER 29, 1966

Madame Chairman, Senator Bartlett, General Leonard, Mrs. Suhrke, Distinguished members of the League of Women Voters and of the Anchorage World Affairs Council:

It is my sincere pleasure and privilege to have this opportunity of appearing before you to discuss an aspect of the purpose and meaning of membership in the United Nations, and have chosen the specific issue of admission of Red China to the UN.

Although there is substantial internal strife in the International Communist movement, we must understand that Communist governments and their fronts are waging war against free peoples worldwide. At the moment the hot spot, the test case for us, is Vietnam—as at other times it has been Greece, Berlin, Korea, Quemoy, Lebanon, Cuba. In my view the stake is not Vietnam; it is Asia—and ourselves and the world. The problem is not Vietnam; it is aggressive, militant Communist expansionism—this time from North Vietnam, backed up by the Soviet Union and Communist China, who are fortunately bickering among themselves.

No great expansionist movement has ever stopped until it was checked. Our choice with Red China—just as it was with Japan and with Hitler—is not between checking or not checking—It is whether to check early, while we can, and with Allies—or try to check the aggression later, when it is stronger, closer, and we have fewer and weaker friends and allies. The question really is *how* to check it . . . with unwavering determination, but with least risk and cost.

Since the beginning of the Korean War in 1950, America's policy toward Communist China under the Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson Administrations has been a hardheaded realistic attempt to protect the security interests of the United States by resisting any steps that would further increase Chinese Communist influence and power. An indispensible part of the policy has been to support and strengthen all non-Communist governments that are trying to preserve their independence and thereby to keep their manpower, territory, bases and resources out of Communist control.

I sense a changing Administration attitude concerning admission of Red China to the UN, talk about "reappraisal" of our China policy, statements by Vice President Humphrey and UN Ambassador Goldberg and Senator Fulbright and *others,* calling for "containment without isolation." It seems to me the Administration is softly and slowly but firmly and surely trying to soften the American attitude and condition the American will to accept Red China as a partner in the United Nations Security Council. I oppose this change and feel we should continue to exert every effort to keep Red China out of the UN.

To those who suggest official diplomatic recognition by the U.S. and expansion of trade relations and admission of Communist China to the UN, let me briefly refresh your memory on certain points.

It is said that to admit Red China to the UN would bring the Chinese *people* into the World community. The only thing it would bring in is a tyrannical regime that holds the Chinese people in bondage. Do we show friendliness toward a people by accepting and strengthening the regime that is oppressing them? Was our opposition and resistance to Quisling when he was in control of every foot of Norway equivalent to hostility toward the Norwegian people? Of course not!

I do not believe all of the people of China have accepted Communism, nor that they are better under it; and I am not at all convinced that the Communist regime is in complete and secure control of the country. The internal purges and terror in China in recent months attest to serious problems within that country.

It is said the UN ought to be a universal organization with *all* existing governments in it. But the Charter makes perfectly clear that the UN was never intended to be a universal organization. The concept was discussed at San Francisco and rejected. Article 6 provides for expelling "A member which has consistently violated the principles contained in the present Charter." Article 4 reads: "Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving nations which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter, and in the judgment of the organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations."

What obligations? Article 2 reads in part: "All members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means" and "All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial or political independence of any state, or in any other matter inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations."

We have tried to get Red China to accept the membership obligations prescribed in the UN Charter and agree to refrain from the threat or use of force in their relations with their neighbors, but they have refused. Red China is stubbornly keeping *itself* out. It simply refuses to qualify. Mao Tse-tung responds by saying, "Political power comes out of a barrel of a gun."

"But what's the difference between Communist China and the Soviet Union?" you ask. The Soviet Union doesn't refrain from the threat or use of force either. The answer is that the Soviet Union got into the UN at the time of the founding when it pretended to be peace-loving and willing to cooperate for peace in international affairs. Red China does not even pretend—in fact, the essence of its quarrel with Moscow is over its unwavering insistence on the use of force.

It is said that if the United Nations does not admit Communist China, then it ought to expel the Soviet Union. This is a good logical argument, but a useless one. The Soviet Union can veto its own expulsion. If Red China were admitted, it could not be expelled, no matter what its conduct. The step is irreversible. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, who can hardly be called a blind reactionary, stressed before the UN General Assembly that ". . . . A power given to such bitter words and ruthless actions as those of the Peking regime . . . would be encouraged by its success in gaining admission to exert, all the more forcefully, by threats and maneuvers, a most disruptive and demoralizing influence on the organization at this critical moment in its history—its admission, in circumstances in which it continues to violate and defy the principles of the Charter, could seriously shake public confidence in the United Nations . . ."

If we do not amend the Charter to admit lawless aggressors then our only alternative in allowing the entry of Red China is to ignore the Charter, nullify it, and we must never advocate that course.

Seating of Red China in the UN would be illegal, for it would require violation of the organization's Charter. It would be immoral, for it would almost certainly mean removal of a member that abides by the Charter to seat a non-member that brazenly refuses to abide by the Charter. It would tell the 700 million people on the China Mainland that we are accepting their subjugation, that we think there is more hope for peace for ourselves in deals with their oppressors than in standing steadfastly with them, the oppressed. It would properly be regarded as an attempt to buy peace for ourselves by sacrificing our principles and the freedom of other peoples.

It would pull the rug out from under our loyal Allies on Taiwan, 12 million strong who represent Free China, but who could hardly maintain indefinitely the will or the capacity to resist the alleged representative government of 700 million, with the World Organization for Peace itself rejecting the 12 million and accepting the oppressors of 700 million.

Free Asia has been gaining in strength and determination because of our presence and resistence to Communist transgressions. But let's be realistic. Free Asia will crumble once it believes the Communists are winning, and that Communism might be the wave of the future. Admission of Red China to the UN would mean to much of Asia that the Communists have all but won.

Admission would represent for Red China the greatest possible diplomatic victory. It would give the Mao regime the stamp of legitimacy and add immeasurably to its prestige and power all over the world.

Having spent more than $100 billion to strengthen the will and capacity of free nations and peoples to resist Communism, does it now make sense to strengthen Communism? The whole Communist movement worldwide is in serious trouble today. Why change the policies that have contributed to its difficulties both abroad and at home?

Admission of Red China is, within the meaning of the UN rules, an "important" question, which must therefore be settled by a two-thirds rather than a majority vote. A year ago the member nations again considered the perennial question of admission of Red China, and it again failed but then with a tie vote, 47 to 47. Interestingly, several countries that voted for Red China have now broken relations with it. Does it make sense to accept Red China's representatives into our country and into the United Nations just when its representatives are being exposed and expelled from countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia, countries that followed the very policies toward Red China we are now being urged to adopt? The 15 million or so Chinese living in Southeast Asia would be as shaken as the 12 million on Taiwan. They occupy key positions of power and influence in Vietnam, Malaysia, Thailand, Burma, Indonesia, the Philippines. The Governments of those countries could not refuse Communist China once we did. Can anyone reasonably expect the Governments of these smaller and weaker countries to be stronger and firmer vis-vis Red China than the great United States is? What would happen to the whole system of collective security we have been building at such cost and effort and which is absolutely indispensable to our own survival as a free nation?

Admission of Red China would mean every Chinese Embassy and Consulate in Southeast Asia, and in the world for that matter, would become a protected center of Communist espionage, propaganda, sabotage and subversion of the host government—as recently exposed in Indonesia and Ghana. Through these "Embassies and Consulates" the Chinese minorities would be under direct and almost irresistible pressure to support the aggressive policies of the Mao regime. The stability of strategic countries of Southeast Asia would inevitably be weakened. If the strong accept the Communist overlords, how long can the weak continue to resist them?

It is clear that Communist governments do not join the United Nations with the same purpose in mind as we and other governments do, namely, to help make it an effective instrument for resolving disputes. Obviously the Soviet Union joined in order to make sure the UN does *not* work effectively. It has a world organization of its own, the Communist party with organized, disciplined, efficient units in every country. The Communists have openly sworn over and over again to the destruction of our way of life. They intend to win for *their* world organization. What could be more advantageous than to have seats in the other world organization also, particularly the Security Council, where perfectly legally under the Charter they can keep the rival organization crippled and ineffective whenever they wish to. Almost all of the more than 100 Soviet vetoes have been against measures that were favored by the overwhelming majority of UN members and were in the direction of peace.

Incidentally, it is not necessary to have Red China in the UN in order to negotiate with her. We've had over 130 negotiations with Red China in the last eleven years—almost one a month—and more than any other non-Communist government has had.

There is no course that does not involve serious risk; we are dealing with a ruthless and resourceful enemy. But we must not aid them to our detriment. If some member of an organization breaks its rules and standards, that is not fatal to the organization. *But* if the organization itself votes to scrap its own rules and standards in a vain effort to appease some lawless members, that is starting down the road to its own destruction. I do not want to see the United Nations destroyed by its own action, as happened to the League of Nations nearly fifty years ago.

In these closing moments I wish to very briefly touch on two other points. The UN has a 1967 Budget of $128,227,800, about 7 million above this year and 50 million above five years ago. The UN "hopes" that donations, voluntary contributions, will overcome this deficit—and you can have one guess as to what nation will be expected to volunteer the most generously. Right! The U.S.A.! In my view, before we give any more contributions, the nations which are more than 2 years behind on their dues and debts to the UN should have their voting rights jerked until they pay up—as Article 19 provides. Why the Administration has been reluctant to more vigorously push the enforcement of this Article I cannot understand.

The final point is that in my humble opinion we are fighting in Vietnam in the just cause of freedom against Communist aggression. I heartily disagree with the views of our junior U.S. Senator on the subject, and am firmly persuaded that but for our resistance to the Communist transgressions all of Southeast Asia today would be in Communist hands; Malaysia would not have survived as a federation; Indonesia would not have toppled the Communist regime of Sukarno; Red China would likely have been admitted to the UN by now; the new atmosphere of hope and confidence and courage throughout Asia's southern crescent of nations would not exist to shore up and strengthen Red China's fearful neighbors from Pakistan and India to Japan and Korea. Because we met our commitment to a nation desiring freedom over Communist domination, a rather astonishing series of transformations has taken place. There has been a quickening of national pride, a new solidity of national spirit, a sense of autonomy and freedom. The nations of the crescent have stood up and gone their own way with a new assurance that Chinese Communism need not be the battering wave of the future, and we must have a determination to insure that it is not.

Down to the Sea—In What?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to submit for the RECORD an excellent Newsday editorial which clearly summarizes in a few paragraphs the sad state of our merchant marine and the importance of action in this Congress.

The editorial follows:

DOWN TO THE SEA—IN WHAT?

In three years, the United States will only have 200 dry cargo ships that are less than 25 years old. Our fleet is almost obsolete; our shipyards can't compete with foreign yards, and 96 per cent of the strategic materials we import move in foreign ships.

Succinctly, our mercthant marine is in a mess.

The situation troubles the President, the Congress and whole hierarchy of bureaucrats. But little action to reverse the trend has been taken. This, perhaps, is because the problem is an old one and a complex one. The first congressional attempt to help the U.S. shipping industry came in 1789 when customs were reduced on imports carried in U.S. ships. The most significant piece of legislation was the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, which established our desire for a merchant fleet to serve the nation's commerce and defense. It also set the pattern for the subsidy program that continues to this day.

But with government aid, there is always government regulation and administration. It is in this area that confusion reigns. Jurisdictions overlap, lines of authority are blurred and responsibility is uncertain. Currently five cabinet level departments, the Federal Maritime Commission, the Maritime Administration and a welter of subsidiary offices and boards have jurisdiction over the merchant fleet in one way or another. New ideas and bold initiatives have little chance of moving through this thicket of tangled authority.

The N.S. Savannah was one such bold innovation. This automated, nuclear-powered ship was to have set the course for the future of the U.S. Merchant Marine, showing that technology could make the U.S. fleet competitive. But last week it was announced that the Savannah was being taken out of service. As an experiment it had a $53,000,000 impact on the U.S. treasury, but its impact on the problems facing the U.S. Merchant Marine was small. Our fleet is still inefficient, almost obsolete, and dwindling.

The idea of the Savannah was a good one. Automation is the only way that the U.S., with its high wage levels, can hope to become competitive on the high seas. But ideas must be pursued into reality. This one wasn't. One nuclear ship was launched; it sailed in lonely splendor for five years, while the rest of the fleet gathered rust and subsidies.

Our competitive position still demands automation and the construction of an efficient fleet. But who is to set the policy and provide the follow-through that was so clearly lacking in the Savannah experiment? Many in Congress believe the task should be given to the head of a reorganized Maritime Administration. At present the Maritime Administration is part of the Department of Commerce, and its head reports to the secretary of commerce. In addition, many functions that could logically be included in the purview of the Maritime Administration, are the responsibility of other cabinet-level departments. In the last session of the Congress, 11 bills were introduced to make the Maritime Administration an independent agency whose head would report directly to the President. The new agency, in addition, would take over responsibility for many of the functions now performed by other departments.

There was no action on these bills during the 89th Congress. But the 90th Congress is to consider similar measures. A new, independent Maritime Administration, with expanded responsibilities, is an excellent idea. The Congress should act to create this new agency.

It would help eliminate one of the merchant marine's most pressing problems, too many captains in Washington.

Men of All Ages Successful in License Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to submit earlier an achievement report written by Paul Hall, president of the Seafarers International Union, on the results achieved by the union's School of Marine Engineering, established jointly by the International Union and district 2, Marine Engineers Beneficial Association. The purpose of this school was to produce qualified licensed marine engineers to man the vessels required to transport supplies and material for American and allied operations in Vietnam and for future use.

It is my further privilege to insert at this point in the RECORD an article printed in the Seafarers Log citing the achievements of three men, varying in ages from 21 to 61, who attended this School of Marine Engineering. The article sets forth a message which is worth remembering as we study legislation aimed at improving the quality of our society—that men, regardless of age or their varying ability to absorb knowledge, possess one equalizing force, a willingness to learn.

The article follows:

MEN OF ALL AGES SUCCESSFUL IN LICENSE PROGRAM

One of the most notable features of the joint union operated license training and upgrading program is the fact that it has enabled men of virtually all ages to participate successfully in the course of instruction and to obtain original and upgraded licenses. As the record points up, the age of a man presents no obstacle if he is interested in taking advantage of the opportunity offered by the program. And, as the record shows, the older men are having as much success in the program as their younger shipmates. This is true of both unlicensed SIU members sitting for original licenses and of District 2 MEBA engineers raising their licenses.

The point is that if a man is interested in upgrading, all he needs is the willingness to try. The program provides him with the necessary financial assistance so that he can concentrate on his training. Men attend the school with shipmates and fellow union members in an atmosphere designed to help them with their studies. The entire program is geared to the man. At all time he is under the instruction and guidance of highly competent and qualified instructors who themselves are licensed engineers.

Similarly, there's no fixed limit on the amount of time a man may spend at the school preparing for his examination. Most of those who have participated in the program take about 90 days to get their licenses, but a man may stay longer if he needs the time. The joint program boasts successful candidates of all ages ranging from those in their early 20s to those in their 60s.

The youngest SIU member to obtain a license after preparing at the school is Harry Pilalis, 23 years old, who is now sailing as a Third Assistant Engineer. Pilalis shipped as a fireman, oiler, watertender on SIU contracted ships before attending the school. He also had received instruction in lifeboat training, for which he holds an endorsement, and in firefighting. The last ship he sailed on before attending the school was the SS Penn Vanguard.

At the other end of the age scale is SIU member Siguard George Nielsen, who obtained his Third Assistant Engineer's license at the age of 61. Nielsen, who is an SIU oldtimer, lives in Hoboken, N.J. He is married and has four children. He sailed in all unlicensed engine department ratings and had most recently been sailing as Chief Electrician. His last vessel before going into the school was the SS Colorado.

The youngest District 2 MEBA member to upgrade after attending the school is Edward Adamson, 21, who has just obtained his 2nd assistant's license. Adamson graduated from the Massachusetts Maritime Academy in 1965 and sailed later as Third Assistant on the SS Transarctic. He also holds a firefighting certificate. Adamson, who got his new license in December, is taking a short vacation before going back to work.

The oldest District 2 engineer to raise his license after attending the School of Marine Engineering is Carl Anderson, who got his license as Chief Engineer at the age of 58. Anderson is now sailing on the SS Manhattan.

Address by Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE ORVILLE L. FREEMAN

It's been nearly two year since I've had the pleasure of taking part in your Governor's Conference on Agriculture, and I welcomed the opportunity to return today to review with you what's happened since . . . and to share with you some speculations about the future.

Back in the 16th century, Michel de Montaigne wrote: "'Tis one and the same Nature that rolls on her course, and whoever has sufficiently considered the present state of things might certainly conclude as to both the future and the past."

If we heed his advice, then we should properly consider the present before we make any conclusions about the future or the past. I intend to do just that.

Today's agriculture certainly is *not* what it was two years ago. And just as certainly tomorrow's agriculture will not be what it is today.

Considering the "present state of things," I think I can conclude that American agriculture has laid some important foundations for today and tomorrow in the two short years since I visited with you last.

Here in Kentucky—as a result of Governor Breathitt's creative, hard hitting leadership, through the work of your Commission on Agriculture, and, I would hope, partly as a result of the efforts of the USDA—you are well on your way toward the billion dollar farm income goal which has been your State's dream for many years.

The last time I met with you, I reported that an increase of between $300 and $400 million would bring you to your goal . . . and I remember describing this as a "big jump" indeed.

Yet already today, you're within a hair's breadth of completing that jump.

Economists are now estimating that Kentucky's gross farm income may reach the $920 million mark for 1966, or 8 percent greater than the 1965 total. And realized net farm income in Kentucky may be as high as $395 million.

With your continued efforts, and with the new help provided by the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 and the Food for Freedom program, I'm confident you'll break the billion dollar barrier this year or next.

Governor Breathitt, members of the Kentucky Commission on Agriculture, and citizens of Kentucky—President Johnson has asked me to bring you his congratulations on this record of progress and accomplishment.

Today, Kentucky is a different, and, I believe, better place in which to farm and to live than it was when I visited you just two short years ago.

The same holds true on the national level.

We began to turn a dramatic corner in agriculture two years ago, and we completed the turn last year. Now we have moved into a *New Era in Agriculture*—an era of change, challenge, and hope, an era in which we'll complete the foundations we're building for the agriculture of the future.

To appreciate the significance of that turn into tomorrow, let's spin the clock back for just a moment to 1960 . . . to that point in time when a decade and a half of overproduction had piled up costly, price-smothering, income-stifling surpluses and cast a pall of gloom over the future of the American farmer.

Think back. What would you have thought had the Secretary of Agriculture appeared before you in 1960 and made these predictions?

1. By January 1, 1967, surpluses of corn, wheat, milk, vegetable oil, and rice will be gone, and tobacco and cotton surpluses greatly reduced.

2. By 1966, total net farm income will rise from the 1960 level of $12.7 billion to $16.3 billion, the second highest mark in history and gross farm income at $49.5 billion and net per farm income at $5,024 will set all-time records.

3. By 1967, agricultural exports will climb from $4½ billion to $7 billion.

4. By 1967, the Government for all practical purposes will be out of the marketplace. Agriculture will be freer of controls than at any time in decades.

Had you heard those predictions, I'm sure you would have suspicioned that the Secretary of Argiculture had harvested a bumper crop of Kentucky bourbon before he stepped to the podium.

Well, I didn't make those predictions, and if someone else had I'm afraid I would have been sniffing his breath suspiciously, too.

But . . . if bourbon sharpens the visionary focus that well . . . then Kentucky's got a new testimonial for one of its best known products.

For *all* of these things did happen!

Because our farm programs have worked . . . and because we put our vaunted abundance to work feeding hungry people . . . surpluses *are* gone.

With the suffocating surplus mantle thrown off, farm prices grew and farm income blossomed. Nationally, net farm income in 1966 *was* the second highest in history, and gross and net per farm income *did* set all-time records. The 1966 income figures I've quoted are brand new . . . released for the first time today.

And agriculture *is* freer than it has been for many years. The feed grains, wheat, and, in part, cotton programs are now voluntary. Only rice, peanuts and tobacco are still under mandatory programs and these have been approved in farmer referenda by majorities of 98 to 99 percent.

Similarly, the Government, in the form of the Commodity Credit Corporation, has largely removed itself from the marketplace.

Farm commodities are now our leading single export . . . and the biggest positive contribution to our balance of payments position. Farm exports set new records in seven or the past eight years and in 1967 will surpass $7 billion.

Again, as in the progress made in the State of Kentucky, this national advance of agriculture didn't "just happen."

It took six years of tough fights in the Congress; it took two great Presidents, both committed to bringing prosperity to rural America; and it took close cooperation between the United States Department of Agriculture and groups such as your Governor's Commission on Agriculture to arrive where we are.

Now let me make it emphatically clear that not all of agriculture's problems of today—or tomorrow—have been solved.

Let me point out as strongly as I can that—despite steady progress all along the agricultural front the last six years—the farmer's income *still lags far behind that of other Americans.*

On a per capita basis, the average farmer's income in 1966 was only $1,700, whereas the average nonfarmer's income was $2,610.

And farm prices, though up last year, have been down the last few months, and today are *less* than they averaged between 1947 and 1949.

But at the same time, food costs are 35 percent *higher.*

This discrepancy the farmer bitterly resents—and properly so. *It must be corrected.* It must be corrected because it is unfair to the farmer—and therefore wrong. It must be corrected because if farmers don't get a fair return commensurate with other segments of the society, *we will lose our best farmers.* And if that happens, the entire nation—not just the farmer—will be hurt.

Let me turn now from the farm price problem of today to a potential production problem of tomorrow.

Today, surpluses are gone and agriculture is more in balance than it has been for half a century. But no sooner have we dug ourself out of the "no farm program mess" of the 50's than certain elements are calling for the abolition of all farm programs and a quick return to totally unrestricted production.

They ignore two facts. First, the farm programs they want to see abolished are the very programs that adjusted farm output expansion in the Sixties until the surpluses of the Fifties were reduced and relative balance restored. At the same time, these programs, largely voluntary, strengthened the market . . . and helped boost farm income through commodity supports and direct payments.

Second, even with large increases in plantings this year, these same programs will continue to help farmers hold 30 to 35 million acres out of production.

If this acreage, coupled with rapidly accelerating yield per acre potential, were unleashed all at once, we'd be plunged right back into the gloom of 1960 . . . inundated by new surpluses, and the price and income structure crushed again.

Technological breakthroughs in production potential will make it infinitely more difficult than it has ever been before to adjust farm output expansion to effective demand in the years immediately ahead. Yet it must be done.

It *can* be done, for now in the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 and the Food for Freedom Program of 1966, we have the tools to do it. With cooperation among producers, the trade, agribusiness and government, we *can* hold a workable balance between supply and demand, strengthen the agricultural economy, and encourage the advances we will need as demand grows in the years ahead.

Now let me bring this overproduction problem down to specifics—down to nuts and bolts as it were—with an appropriate example—Kentucky tobacco.

Tobacco accounted for an estimated 32.8 percent of Kentucky farmers' receipts from all agricultural commodities—including your great livestock industry—last year.

Your acreage allotment and price support program for burley tobacco have been an outstanding success story . . . but in recent years some problems have developed.

The problems, we all know, are due primarily to substantial increases in per acre yields. Not only have these yield increases resulted in a surplus . . . but, as farmers strive for quantity, quality is deteriorating.

In the five years from 1956 through 1960, the average burley yield per year was 1,620 pounds. In 1966, the estimated average yield per acre reached an all-time high of 2,284 pounds—an increase of more than 40 percent. And, I'm told, many farmers have already produced 3,000–3,500 and even 4,000 pounds per acre.

In 1966 we saw the result of the yield per acre increases. It was necessary to reduce acreage allotments by 15 percent . . . but—and here is the problem—total production was reduced by only 6 percent.

This poses the question: Can controlling acreage alone regulate tobacco supplies to keep them in line with effective demand? If it can't be done that way, we must find some other method or face disaster.

The 89th Congress, upon recommendations from tobacco industry leaders and the Administration, authorized a new program to regulate output. Actually this program—called acreage-poundage—had its origin in the burley area some 10 years ago.

In 1965 a referendum of growers of flue-cured tobacco was held. The flue-cured growers voted to adopt the acreage-poundage method of regulating supplies. The program became operational in 1965 and was followed in 1966. Here's what's happened since:

1. The surplus supply has been reduced 233 million pounds in two years.

2. Tobacco taken under Government loan dropped from 20 percent to 6.8 percent.

3. Loan stocks have been reduced 27 percent, or a total of 262 million pounds.

4. Quality has greatly improved.

5. Exports have increased, and may go up as much as 20 percent during the current year.

6. Growers received an estimated 67 cents a pound in 1966 . . . 8.5 cents more per pound than they received before the acreage-poundage method was adopted . . . and a new record high. Growers received an average of 58.5 cents per pound for the 1964 crop and 64.6 cents a pound for the 1965 crop.

This is a mighty impressive record.

What, then, do we do about burley? Taking into consideration the burley tobacco leadership's support of the acreage-poundage method . . . the steadily increasing yields per acre . . . the need for quality tobacco production . . . and the mandate in the law which states that the Secretary of Agriculture must give growers an opportunity to vote in a referendum if he determines that acreage-poundage may be a more effective means of administering the quota program—I have today signed a proclamation announcing a referendum on acreage-poundage for burley tobacco.

This referendum will permit growers to decide which program—the present acreage allotment system or an acreage-poundage method—will best serve their interests in maintaining a sound tobacco industry in the years ahead.

Now—in the time remaining—I'd like to discuss with you another matter of major importance . . . importance to city people as well as to country people.

On September 8, 1966, President Johnson announced two wise and important decisions.

He established a National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty—which I am confident will make history—and he appointed your own Governor Breathitt to chair it.

It is appropriate, I think, to examine two questions which come immediately to mind in connection with the President's action. (1) Why did he establish such a Commission? (2) Why did he select Governor Breathitt to chair it?

Let me direct attention to the first question.

No problem is as severe, nor threatens the future of this country more, than the two-horned dilemma of too little opportunity in the country and too little space in the city.

Sometimes this threat to our national well-being is called, simply, the poverty problem.

Sometimes it is referred to as the displaced farmer problem. Frequently the words slums, ghettoes and human degradation are used to describe it . . . for it embraces all of these and more.

Let me describe it with statistics and examples.

First let's look at the countryside.

Though only one-third of our people live in the country today . . . we find half of our poor there. And ten million of the sixteen million rural poor are *not* farmers.

In a word, the country is job-starved. There are enough underemployed in rural America to equal 2.5 million unemployed.

From 1950 to 1965, 13.6 million new jobs were added to the country's economy. Yet, in a sense, not one was created outside urban America!

This is not precisely true, of course. But let me put it this way: Neither the total rural population, nor the total rural labor force, varied significantly in that 15-year period. Yet during those years we did, indeed, add 13.6 million more jobs to the economy.

Job starvation is only one problem in rural America. Rural communities are short doctors, dentists, clinics, hospitals, classrooms, meeting halls, libraries, theatres, swimming pools, golf courses, and many other things that make a place better to work in, play in . . . live in.

Rural communities face a housing shortage. By 1972, it is estimated, between a million and two-and-a-third million more rural homes must be built—and millions more repaired and improved.

Rural communities need modern facilities. At least 30,000 need improved water systems, and an even greater number better sewer systems.

At the time of the last census, some 7 percent of city school children were behind in school . . . but 11 percent were behind in the country. City elementary schools had an average of 11 to 18 teachers per school. Rural counties had an average of less than 4 teachers per elementary school.

The percent of school dropouts averages about 33 percent among rural school children . . . but only 26 percent among city children.

Sixty-three percent of the children of white collar workers who complete high school go on to college. But only 27 percent of farm children do.

Opportunity-hunger in the countryside is compounded by each of these problems. A shortage of jobs means a shortage of taxes. A shortage of taxes means a shortage of classrooms and public services and facilities. A shortage of services and facilities discourages those businessmen and industrialists who *could* bring jobs to the countryside from locating there. And so the endless circle continues . . . breeding more and more despair and discontent.

And what do the despairing and the discontented do? They move to the cities.

The migration from countryside to city has been going on for many, many years, but in recent times the exodus has accelerated. Now what we have is an old set of problems, transported to a new set of troublesome circumstances.

Thus the slums of our big cities today are people largely by rural immigrants, or the descendants of rural immigrants, who migrated to the city in hopes of a better life . . . and found instead the ghetto.

Let's consider the hypothetical example of a man whose small farm no longer can provide himself and his family with a decent standard of living . . . and he is unable, or, for other compelling reasons, unwilling to increase his farming operation to viable size.

It is unrealistic to expect—and cruel to hold out hope—that farm commodity programs can bring salvation to the farmer whose inadequate-size farm no longer can sustain him. Commodity programs are not designed to do that. They are not welfare programs. They are designed to make possible a tolerable balance between supply and demand in the market so that the adequate-size commercial family farm can earn a fair price for its products and a decent standard of living for its owner-operator.

Now suppose this farmer we're talking about is 45 years old. What is he to do when his farm fails him and his family? There are no jobs in the small town where he's done his modest shopping . . . and no nearby opportunities for job training.

Without choice, he packs his belongings and moves to the city . . . there to become the Biblical "stranger in a strange land."

His limited means limits his choice of housing . . . and he settles in a tenement in the decayed heart of the city. His limited education—perhaps no more than eighth grade—limits his job perspective and potential. His limited occupational skills are useless in the city . . . for who needs a man to plow a straight furrow up an asphalt field . . . or mend a harness for a mechanical mule?

Soon he finds there are thousands like him . . . all disillusioned, all disenchanted, all weary of scrambling for the menial jobs that fall to their lot in piecemeal fashion.

Left behind in a world that had passed him by, trapped in a life that was not his making, crushed by the death of misbegotten hope, his pride expires and his spirit flees. As his pride dies, his authority withers, and as his authority withers, his children lose respect. Sooner or later they wander off to take up blighted lives of their own.

Though I've used a hypothetical case, I know and you know that living counterparts of this human tragedy are taking place every hour of the day in every big city in America.

And they will continue to take place—in ever growing numbers—as long as the out-migration from the country goes on.

Given our present demographic and migration patterns, by the year 2000 three of every five Americans will live in five "strip cities" with nearly twice the population density of present-day Japan.

These cities, and other urban complexes, will contain 70 percent of our population on some 9 percent of the land. The other 30 percent of our people will live on the remaining 91 percent of the land.

Now certainly, the present problems of the cities—congestion, soot, smog, human disillusion and frustration, crime, delinquency, riots, inner decay and outward ugliness—won't be eased by millions more jammed into less and less space.

Yet if this is what we want, we can surely have it. All we have to do is . . . *nothing*. If, on the other hand, we want an America tailored to human size, an America where human values and human resources are given more consideration and invested with greater worth, we can have it . . . by doing *something*.

Happily, this Nation is coming to realize that one of our greatest assets in this increasingly crowded world is space . . . the one commodity in great abundance in Countryside U.S.A.

We are coming to understand that we can made *another* place in the countryside for those who, for one reason or another, cannot find a rewarding place in commercial agriculture. More than that, we are coming to believe we can help relieve the strain on our crowded, troubled cities by building new opportunity into the countryside for those city dwellers who *want* to live and to work in rural America. And—the Gallup Poll revealed last spring—half of our people *do* want to live there.

And rural America boasts more than space. It has fresh air and sun and sky and water. It has proximity to nature. It has uncrowded streets and sidewalks. It has power and communications and transportation. It has a built-in labor pool of people who are eager to work. And it has real profit potential for the businessman and the industrialist who can appreciate the benefits of a healthy, happy work force and relatively low overhead.

Some rural communities already have almost everything people and industry could want. Others need help. *And help is on its way.*

New legislative tools to do the rural development job, tools enacted for the most part by the 89th Congress, are covering the whole range of rural needs, from water and sewer systems to job retraining to loans for better housing to many other services and facilities, and providing the means to attack and solve problems at the local level.

Tools, however, are useless without a skilled work force to utilize them, and a plan to follow. But here, too, we are making progress. I don't intend to minimize the difficulties on the local level which these new programs have presented to local leaders. I know they exist, and I know that coordination has sometimes been a frustrating, difficult task.

Nevertheless, progress is being made, and new ideas and new approaches are helping to close the coordination gap.

And here is where I intend to offer an answer to the second question of why President Johnson took the action he did last September.

Why did the President name Governor Breathitt to chair the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty? Because Governor Breathitt and the State of Kentucky had already shown the President and the Nation that they were attuned to both the problems of rural America and to the ideas and approaches to solutions.

Here in Kentucky, you have pioneered the multi-county approach, keyed to growth centers within each multi-county unit, and allowing concentration of manpower and resources within a logical framework.

Your State has also been a leader in the multi-State regional approach to common problems, providing much of the leadership and drive for the Appalachian Regional Commission—a new approach now being used in the Upper Great Lakes and the Ozarks—and your Statewide Kentucky Development Council can well provide a model for other States determined to achieve coordinated, Statewide human and economic development.

And now your Governor Breathitt has a new charge—a direct assignment by the President of the United States to put his insight and experience to work on the whole range of rural need—from border to border and coast to coast.

He and other members of the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty—all outstanding private citizens—will study the problems of low income, retraining, unemployment, rural economic development, sources of additional rural employment, housing, health and cultural opportunities, the adequacy of rural community facilities and services and the present state of our rural development program.

Governor Breathitt's commission will then present recommendations for action to the President's Committee on Rural Poverty, a group of Cabinet-rank officers which I have the honor of chairing, and next September will report to the President.

Study and planning are the keys to success in the massive effort now getting underway to bring parity of opportunity to rural America . . . and breathing room to our cities. I am confident that Governor Breathitt's Commission will achieve the big breakthrough we need in this effort.

Many years ago, Henrik Ibsen wrote: "I hold that man is in the right who is most closely in league with the future."

Governor Breathitt and the great State of Kentucky are in the right, because they have proved that they are, indeed, in league with the future.

I am confident you will stay that way.

Thank you.

Crippling His "War on Crime"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, on the opening day of this Congress I reintroduced the District of Columbia crime bill, as approved after 6 years of careful study in both the House and Senate, and as vetoed by the President after he was, in my opinion, advised to do so by persons far less familiar with the needs of the District of Columbia than those House and Senate Members who had approved it.

In this connection, I am pleased to insert in the RECORD so that all my colleagues may read, an editorial appearing in the Evening Star on Monday, January 16, 1967. The Star editorial, with which I am in complete agreement, follows in full:

CRIPPLING HIS "WAR ON CRIME"

The President has always talked in ringing terms of his determination to wage an all-out war on crime, to make certain that the law-abiding American people will be safe on the streets, in their homes and in their places of business. When the chips are down, however, he tends to back away from the fight.

This was demonstrated, we think, in his misguided veto of the District crime bill passed by the 89th Congress after long and careful study. The same tendency has cropped up again in his message to the 90th Congress on the state of the Union. Two of his paragraphs illustrate the point.

In the section dealing with "improving the quality of life and enlarging the meaning of justice for all Americans," the President said: "We should protect what Justice Brandeis called the 'right most valued by civilized men'—the right to privacy. We should outlaw all wire-tapping—public and private—wherever and whenever it occurs, except when the security of the nation is at stake—and then only with the strictest safeguards. We should exercise the full reach of our constitutional powers [whatever that may mean] to outlaw electronic 'bugging' and 'snooping.' "

Six paragraphs later the President came to the 1967 version of his War on Crime in a section headed: "This nation must make an all-out effort to combat crime." Here are the key sentences: "Our countrys' laws must be respected. Order must be maintained. I will support—with all the constitutional powers I possess—our nation's law-enforcement officials in their attempt to control the crime and violence that tear the fabric of our communities."

We do not know who is responsible for the inherent contradictions in this rhetorical nonsense. But we do know that the laws are not being respected, that order is not being maintained, that the incidence of crime is constantly rising, and that neither lofty verbiage nor more federal money, which the President proposes, can reverse this trend.

What, we wonder, does the President think Justice Brandeis meant by the right to privacy—the "right most valued by civilized men"? Does this right of privacy apply to the criminal who kidnaps a child for ransom, and who will not hesitate to kill the child if it serves his purposes? Does it apply to those unconscionable characters at the top who enrich themselves from the sale of narcotics, even down to the level of our schools, and never mind the cost in ruined lives? Does it extend to organized crime, to the racketeers who survive by corrupting law-enforcement officials at the price of tearing apart "the fabric of our communities"?

There are two possible conclusions. One is that Mr. Johnson is insincere in his war on crime. We do not believe it. The other is that he doesn't really know what he is saying. This, we think, is likely.

Nothing is easier than to be against "snooping." Who isn't? But the fact remains that wiretaps and electronic devices are vitally important tools if the war on crime, especially organized crime, is to become anything more than a mouthful of words. To say as some do that these tools cannot be used without invading the privacy of the bedroom, whatever the emotional impact of this contention, is simply not true.

Our hope is that the President will take a second look at the phony advice which has been given him, that he will talk to people who know something about the facts of life in any meaningful war on crime, and that he will exercise all of the constitutional powers he possess to seek authorization, subject to strict controls, of the use of wiretaps and electronic devices in the many instances in which they are essential to effective law-enforcement. As a companion piece, he should seek legislation imposing a total ban on *unauthorized* "snooping." For this is the area in which the valid right to privacy is being destroyed.

Incompetents Do Come Along

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, there is ever-increasing support to change the seniority system. On January 23, 1967, the Des Moines Register, Des Moines, Iowa, supported the resolution I introduced to change the method of selection for congressional committee chairmen.

I am gratified for the support of the Des Moines Register. I hope that the Rules Committee will give my resolution prompt and adequate consideration. I am pleased to make this evidence of support for this approach to the problem available to the Members of the House.

The article follows:

INCOMPETENTS DO COME ALONG

Representative Fred Schwengel (Rep., Ia.) made a plea for revision of the seniority system in selection of House committee chairmen when the adoption of rules for the session was under consideration.

The Iowa congressman urged that the members of each standing committee be permitted by secret ballot to select their chairman from one of the three senior members of the majority party. Chairmen of standing committees now are chosen on the basis of their length of service.

Schwengel conceded the importance of experience but said:

"Experience cannot guarantee competence, nor can it promise character and fairmindedness.

"The incompetents, the dictatorially inclined and the dishonest come along infrequently, it is true, but they do come along. The great trouble with our current method of applying seniority to the selection of committee chairmen is that it makes no allowances for the exceptions. It is too rigid, too inflexible."

Representative Schwengel's remarks were well timed. Only a few minutes earlier the House had voted to deny Representative Adam Clayton Powell his seat in the House pending investigation of charges against him. The previous day the Democratic caucus had removed Powell from chairmanship of the Education and Labor Committee.

Had Schwengel's proposal been in effect, the probabilities are that Powell would have been removed by members of his committee before his behavior became a matter of national scandal.

We hope Representative Schwengel continues to press vigorously for adoption of his proposal. It is a reform that is badly needed.

George E. Lewis Is Outstanding Citizen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON FUQUA

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, the retirement of Mr. George E. Lewis as chairman of the board of the Lewis State Bank marks the end of an era for Florida.

Here is a man that serves as an example and I count it a real privilege to call him my friend. His advice and counsel have meant much to me, as it has for so many others.

The Lewis State Bank is more than just a bank, it is an institution for Florida. Our oldest bank, now in its 111th year, there is a family banking tradition here that would make a tremendous article in itself.

But I am concerned here with paying tribute to Mr. George E. Lewis. I have not often felt that this method of paying tribute was necessary, but in the case of Mr. Lewis, I feel it is appropriate. I would like to have reprinted here an editorial from the Tallahassee Democrat of January 14, 1967, which is well worth reading.

Mr. George E. Lewis has meant much to Tallahassee, to his State and to his Nation. I wish for him many happy years of retirement, rich in the knowledge that his has been a life well spent in service to his fellow man.

The article follows:

MR. G. E. RETIRES

The Lewis State Bank here in Tallahassee is Florida's oldest, going into its 111th year—and for more than half of those years, George E. Lewis has been so constant a member of its staff that he has almost become a symbol of its stability.

Now he is retiring. That is, he's no longer chairman of the board. He's chairman emeritus. He still has an office; and we imagine he'll occupy it frequently, but he won't have to get down early enough to open the vaults in the future.

It's not that Mr. G. E. isn't spry enough at nearly 87 to carry on. He showed the same keen good nature of old the last time we talked with him. Mr. G. E. long ago earned his retirement as a banker and as an active citizen of Tallahassee. He's just now taking it.

His grandfather, B. C. Lewis, started the business which became the Lewis State Bank in 1856. His father, George, carried it on until 1933. Mr. G. E. started on Jan. 1, 1901 as a bookkeeper, and has worked through every position to the top. Now his son, George II, succeeds him as board chairman. His son B. Cheever becomes president, and his namesake grandson, George E. II, is trust officer as the fifth generation begins rising in the business. It's a fine old family institution which has opened its directorate to many other outstanding businessmen of our city.

This piece, though, is about Mr. G. E.

While working at and directing the bank these 66 years, he has contributed more than his share to community service. He was captain of the old volunteer fire company when he was a young man. He was a city commissioner. He was a school trustee when the office had responsibilities. He was a leader in St. John's Episcopal church. The Boy Scouts conferred on him one of the organization's highest awards, the Order of the Antelope. (All five of his sons became Eagle Scouts, and a daughter was a Golden Eaglet Girl Scout.) There is no way to recite all his services.

But for all of them, we'll remember Mr. G. E. best as a gentleman of quiet dignity, simple sincerity and considerate courtesy. From exercise of those qualities, he is not retiring.

Red Mass—St. Matthew's Cathedral

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday many Members of this House, including the distinguished Speaker, once again had the privilege of attending the Solemn Votive Mass of the Holy Spirit, which is historically known as the red Mass. The function of this very special Mass offered at St. Matthew's Cathedral is to invoke the blessings of the Holy Spirit on the courts, the members of the bar and those who have the responsibility of enacting and administering our laws.

The red Mass was presided over by His Excellency the Most Reverend Patrick A. O'Boyle, D.D., archbishop of the archdiocese of Washington. His Excellency the Most Reverend John S. Spence, D.D., vicar general of the archdiocese of Washington, celebrated the mass and His Excellency the Most Reverend George H. Guilfoyle, D.D., Episcopal vicar of the archdiocese of New York, preached the sermon. It was a fitting and proper sermon for the occasion and one which well bears reproducing here. Under the permission heretofore granted me, I include the text of the sermon:

TEXT OF SERMON BY THE MOST REV. GEORGE H. GUILFOYLE, D.D. RED MASS—ST. MATTHEW'S CATHEDRAL, SUNDAY, JANUARY 29, 1967

Text: "The joys and the hopes, the griefs and the anxieties of the men of this age, especially those who are poor or in any way afflicted, these too are the joys and hopes, the griefs and anxieties of the followers of Christ."

This text is the opening sentence of the Second Vatican Council's "Constitution on the Church in the Modern World."

Pope John XXIII convened an Ecumenical Council for the renewal of the Church. A principal mark and recurring theme of the Second Vatican Council was pastoral concern for the dignity, the rights and the freedom of each human person.

As the Council opened, with the endorsement of Pope John the Fathers issued a "Message to Humanity." In it they said:

"Coming together in unity from every nation under the sun, we carry in our hearts the hardships, the bodily and mental distress, the sorrows, longings and hopes of all the peoples entrusted to us. We urgently turn our thoughts to all the anxieties by which modern man is afflicted. Hence, let our concern swiftly focus first of all on those who are especially lowly, poor, and weak. Like Christ, we would have pity on the multitude weighed down with hunger, misery, and lack of knowledge. We want to fix a steady gaze on those who still lack the opportune help to achieve a way of life worthy of human beings.

"As we undertake our work, therefore, we would emphasize whatever concerns the dignity of man, whatever contributes to a genuine community of peoples. 'Christ's love impels us', for 'he who sees his brother in need and closes his heart against him, how does the love of God abide in him?' "

While the Council solemnly closed a year ago last month, its work has really only begun. Not only must the Catholic Church internally pursue its renewal but continued efforts must be made to achieve the Ecumenical and other conciliar goals for this society in which we live and through which we seek our personal happiness and salvation.

We have come together in this Cathedral of St. Matthew to offer the traditional Red Mass and to invoke the blessings of the Holy Spirit on the courts. The central thoughts of the Second Vatican Council have special pertinence not only for you who are members of the Bench and Bar, but for those of you whose responsibility it is to enact and administer our laws.

In recent years, increasing stress has been placed on the exalted dignity of the human person, every human person. This heightened awareness of man's dignity is evident in the court room and in the legislative chamber as it was in the deliberations of the Council. And yet, the individual man is not an island. Man is, by his very nature, a social being, forming with all other men one human family. In this family God wills that one person treat another in a spirit of true brotherhood. The dignity and the rights of each human person have become daily more evident and their fulfillment more urgent, but so also has human interdependence. Acceptance of human interdependence, in the spirit of brotherly love, is the hope and need of mankind in our time.

In April of 1963—shortly before his death—in the Encyclical "Peace on Earth" Pope John gave mankind a Declaration of Interdependence. This wise and holy man stirred the conscience of the world with firm insistence that we are rightly brothers, all truly members of one family, the family of God on earth. He called on you and me to help achieve the immense task "of giving a Christian and human note to modern civilization, a note that is required and almost asked by that civilization itself for its future existence."

This high ideal of Pope John was strongly reflected in the Ecumenical Council. The Fathers insisted that the social order must work unceasingly for man's benefit. They warned of the need for constant improvement in the social order which must be "founded on truth, built on justice, and animated by love; in freedom it should grow every day toward a more humane balance." While the Council spoke to mankind—so much of which experiences bitterest suffering and strife—its message is pertinent to our own beloved country. For, despite all that has been accomplished by the United States in achieving the goals of our Constitution and Declaration of Independence, there is still much to be done.

Reverence for man is urgently necessary—necessary everywhere—in the Near East and Far East—in Africa—in Russia—in the United States. Everyone must accept his neighbor without exception as another self. Everyone must take into serious account his neighbor's rights and his needs for a life with dignity.

The equal dignity of human persons and man's brotherhood in one human family demand a more humane and just condition of life for those who are suffering. The deprived and underprivileged are found all over the world, and in their number unfortunately are many millions of our fellow Americans.

Excessive economic and social differences, the Council unequivocally stated, "militate against social justice, equity, and dignity of the human person, as well as social and international peace." While the relationship between poverty and violence has been obvious, it is becoming painfully more evident here at home as well as in the distressed and war-torn areas of the world. Peace efforts are out of touch with reality if they do not envision remedies for basic human needs.

The Council stressed freedom—the individual freedom vital to each man's person and dignity. It is in freedom that man properly directs himself toward goodness. Indeed, "authentic freedom is an exceptional sign of the divine image within man." In every aspect of life today, the conflict between freedom and authority causes frightening situations. The problem perplexes courts; it concerns theologians and philosophers; it agitates universities and social institutions. Whatever the proper roles of freedom and authority—boundaries there are and must be—we should be mindful that Christ "commanded His apostles to preach to all peoples the gospel message to that the human race might become the family of God, in which the fullness of the Law would be love."

St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Galatians, warned men not to "use your freedom as an opportunity for the flesh, but through love be servants of one another." Love imposes its own restraints by reason of one's love for others. Love of God and love of neighbor are the greatest commandments, but they also are essential to the welfare of the human community. They are the paramount need of our troubled times.

In the spirit of love as well as justice the Second Vatican Council insists that "there must be made available to all men everything necessary for leading a life truly human, such as food, clothing, and shelter; the right to choose a state of life freely and to found a family, the right to education, to employment, to a good reputation, to respect, to appropriate information, to activity in accord with the upright norm of one's own conscience, to protection of privacy and to rightful freedom in matters religious too."

These goals are those of most Americans. Our people are showing unprecedented concern for the serious social problems among us—racial bias, insufficient income, bad housing, illiteracy, illness, loneliness, unemployment, lack of opportunity. Independence—so courageously achieved and treasured in the United States—has not fully blossomed and cannot fully develop without respecting mankind's necessary interdependence. Americans have demonstrated to the world in a practical way sacrificial acceptance of the demands of our universal brotherhood. Foreign aid programs underscore our brotherhood and charity. More than that, the works flowing from brotherly love are crucial for peace in the world as they are for peace at home, for peace in families and among neighbors, for peace in the hearts of individual men.

This is neither the place nor the occasion to offer opinions on the specific programs, public and voluntary, undertaken to assist our brothers at home and across the world. I do believe, however, that the values motivating such programs merit admiration and active support. You members of the Bar can and should make a special contribution to them. Endowed with the particular insights and knowledge of your profession and so often situated in positions of importance to others, yours should be keen concern for human need and for the relationship of law to the needs of the poor, whatever the form of poverty involved.

Laws and the courts, of course, have the responsibility of seeking to protect rights and to deter crime. Yet, should not all members of the Bar seriously interest themselves in the formulation and administration of programs to promote human welfare—to provide what is needed, to develop what is helpful, to eliminate what is impractical and wasteful? The present mood of many seems to be—"to be against." Let us rather be—"for"—for what we believe is best whether it involves modification or restriction or expansion.

In addition, should not the legal profession in which so many already contribute much to others, in even greater degree provide personal service of the needy by counsel and representation? Such service is in truth an implementation of the fundamental law of charity—the equivalent of giving a cup of water to the thirsty and food to the hungry. It was urged at the 1965 National Conference on Law and Poverty here in Washington: "Without the active support of the Bar, the poor will not emerge from the tentacles of slum housing, job discrimination, welfare inequities, unjust criminal procedures, and commercial exploitation."

The Vatican Council pleaded that Christian charity seek out the needy, console them with eager care and relieve them with the gift of help.

Seek them out—console them—help them! Surely you members of the Bar have a major role in this vital objective, not only in the policies and programs you espouse but, also, in the personal service you offer to neighbors in need.

Let us, then, invoke the blessing of the Holy Spirit upon our courts and on each one of us while we strive to measure up personally to that inspiring declaration of belief and purpose: "The joys and the hopes, the griefs and the anxieties of the men of this age, especially these who are poor or in any way afflicted, these too are the joys and hopes, the griefs and anxieties of the followers of Christ."

Matter of Fact: The Biggest News

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the February 1, 1967, issue of the Washington Post carries a very interesting column by Joseph Alsop. For the benefit of some of my colleagues I, pursuant to permission granted, insert Mr. Alsop's column into the Appendix of the Congressional Record:

Matter of Fact: The Biggest News

(By Joseph Alsop)

The biggest news at the moment is not getting into the newspapers. There are two closely related items. On the one hand, Hanoi is actively sounding out the Johnson Administration, through diplomatic third parties, to discover whether the President will "stop the bombing to get talks."

Whether the President will be wise enough to insist on the essential quid pro quo for stopping the bombing, still remains to be seen. And it also remains to be seen whether Hanoi really wants negotiations, or merely desires a badly needed respite or breathing spell in which to reinforce the Vietcong units in the South and start the war all over again.

This move forward, from noisy propaganda to quiet diplomatic inquiry, is none the less a very big development. The reason for it can be easily discerned in the other big, as yet unnoticed piece of news. In brief, U.S. bombing of North Vietnam has now begun to produce precisely the strangling effect that it was designed to produce from the outset.

To be specific, the southward movement of North Vietnamese regular troops, to reinforce the Vietcong, has been reduced by no less than 75 percent in the past six months. The Pentagon estimates of month-by-month infiltration in 1966 show many a peak and valley, on both sides of the dividing line. This is at the end of June, just after the bombing of North Vietnamese oil stores began. But the contrast between the first six months and the last six months is dramatic.

In the first six months, the average rate of infiltration of northern troops into South Vietnam was just under 7000 a month. But in the last six months, the rate of infiltration dropped to around 1700 men a month, or one quarter of the former input.

One must say "around 1700" a month because the U.S. Government is currently riven by a vicious insiders' debate about the exact figures for infiltration in November and December. (This kind of argument, it may be noted, can make the religious wars look like fun and games.) But the argument is merely about whether the right figure for these two months is in the range of 1500 men or 2000 men.

As this argument indicates, the formal estimate for each month is only made long after the month in question has passed into history. More time has to pass after that, before the ultimate dependability of the formal estimate is properly cross-checked by additional defector-interrogations, captured documents, agent-intelligence and the like.

Thus the figures for July and August infiltration, having been cross-checked, can now be regarded as pretty hard data. Rounded off, they show 2700 infiltrators in July and 2000 in August. The rounded estimate for September, only 1400 infiltrators, is also hardening fast. The October estimate, well under 1000, seems really too low to be hard. The problem of November-December estimates has already been covered.

There are two reasons why this incalculably important development, previously surfaced in part by Lloyd Norman in Newsweek, has received almost no attention. One is the idiotic information-policy of the McNamara Pentagon and the Johnson Administration.

The other reason is the equally idiotic conviction of the lower echelons in U.S. Headquarters in Saigon, that if they admit to making the smallest progress in the war, the civilians at home will instantly begin clamoring to "bring the boys home." Thus "possible" infiltrators, generally imaginary as the event has repeatedly proven, are included in the infiltration rates cited in Saigon.

The fact remains that the very low Pentagon estimates of infiltration for the last six months of 1966 were produced by precisely the same process, and were based on precisely the same kinds of information, that produced the exceedingly high estimates of infiltration for the first six months of last year. The high estimates were used by opponents of the President's policy to prove that "the northern bombing does no good anyway." Logically, these people ought now to eat their words—although nothing, of course, could be more wildly unlikely.

They will instead attack the figures which they formerly cited to prove their case; or they will talk inspissated nonsense about "voluntary de-escalation." But in fact what has happened is perfectly clear.

Bombing lines of communication, which is what the United States is doing in North Vietnam, is a very long, very slow business. Immediate results are never to be looked for. Results are only obtained, in fact, by the gradual accumulation of thousands of bridge-breaks and roadbreaks and convoy-losses and bomb-caused shortages of this or that.

At a certain stage, however, the cumulative process reaches what may be called a critical point. When that point is reached, all traffic does not stop, of course. But when that point is reached, there is a great reduction of traffic on the lines of communication that are under attack. This is what quite clearly began to happen in July, and has gone on happening to date.

Interstate Highway Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, the progress of our interstate highway program is one of the most commendable achievements of the past decade.

Because an increasing number of our people are taking to these highways, it is even more imperative today that we push onward toward completion of the program.

I have received a great deal of mail from my district and from every corner of the State of Tennessee requesting that the funds for our Interstate System are not reduced, and I wholeheartedly support these recommendations.

I think the following editorial from the Greenville, Tenn., Sun will be of interest to every Member of this body as we contemplate the future of our interstate highway program, and I include the article at this point in the RECORD:

OUR INTERSTATE SYSTEM

The newspaper Grit has reported last summer's highway building brought the nation's interstate system past the half-way mark.

It estimated total cost of the complete system at over $46,000,000,000 (far more than originally estimated) and estimated completion in 1973. In all, the super highway network will total 41,000 miles. When the system is finished a motorist will be able to travel to any part of the country on a super highway without encountering a traffic light or crossroad.

The system will—it is hoped—reduce highway accidents, now costing the nation almost a thousand deaths a week (50,000 a year).

Many states have already completed long sections of the new highways within their borders. Meanwhile the number of vehicles being driven by Americans in all states now totals more than 94,000,000!

Registration continues to increase and no doubt when the biggest super highway network in the world is finished, in 1973, the total will be well over a hundred million and the need for superhighways will be greater than ever. And it may be that launching this highway-building program will be one of the best remembered accomplishments of the Eisenhower Administration.

The Unlimited Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, nearly 100 years ago Alexis de Tocqueville said that the power of the American Supreme Court was the power of public opinion but that it should last only as long as the people respect the law and that it would be impotent against popular neglect or contempt of the law.

This is a double-edged warning, applying equally to judges and to the people, and it has lost none of its timeliness with the passing of years. Recent Supreme Court decisions, in fact, bring these prophetic remarks into clearer focus. The question now is: What to do with the unlimited power of the Supreme Court?

The three divisions of our Government, to wit, the legislature, the executive, and the judicial were unquestionably intended as a balance, one against the other. Yet, speaking from a frank and realistic standpoint, the Supreme Court is presently vested with powers, based upon precedent, that actually could constitute it a dictatorial tribunal from which there is no appeal.

The President is checked by the Legislature and the Court.

The Legislature is checked by the Court and the President.

The Court, however, is responsible to no one.

The American people have no appeal from the dictatorial decisions of the Supreme Court despite the fact that recent decisions protecting the rights of avowed Communists, guaranteeing them free speech, and banning prayer in the public schools are all decisions which are overwhelmingly opposed by the American people.

The only solution to the unlimited and abusive power of the Court is to spell out the intent of the framers of the Constitution and deny the judicial branch its current power to make its own laws, execute its own law and violate our traditional balance of power in Government.

A definite move to grant the Congress judiciary reviewing power was narrowly defeated four times in the Constitutional Convention.

Today, I am introducing a House joint resolution which would provide a constitutional amendment which would allow Congress to limit the power of the Supreme Court by permitting it the right to override a Supreme Court decision by a two-thirds majority vote in both the House and Senate.

The congressional veto would check the power of the Supreme Court just as the President can check Congress by the use of the veto. The American people would then be the final seat of authority because they would have the power of the ballot to reverse any actions of the Congress at the polls at the next election.

No Federal court has the authority to rule out or alter laws unless the law violates the Constitution. Now, however, the Court is exercising final power over not only what the law means, but how it is to be written and how it is to be carried out.

It is my hope that Congress can take action on this legislation in the near future. It is my feeling that establishment of the limiting procedure will provide a true voice of the people and slow down the trend toward concentration of power in Washington.

Explorer Scouts Learn About Medicine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER S. BARING

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to have inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article which appeared in the Journal of the American Medical Association, January 16, 1967, issue, describing an experiment undertaken by the Washoe County, Nev., Explorers Post 117 in the field of medicine.

The article follows:

EXPLORER SCOUTS LEARN ABOUT MEDICINE

Instead of tying knots, building campfires, and studying camping lore, 30 members of an Explorer Post in *Washoe County, Nev.*, are learning how to correct bone defects, making bacterial smears and cultures, and studying tissue slides.

Explorer Post 117 is another Boy Scouts of America experiment in broadening Scouting horizons. And in keeping with this theme, the Washoe County youths have been furnished copies of "Horizons Unlimited," the American Medical Association's medical careers handbook.

The AMA careers handbook is a fitting supplement to the regular Scouting handbook for this group of Scouts. All are top local students interested in medicine, and Post 117 is an Explorer Post in medicine.

Special Program: It is one of several professionally-oriented Explorer Posts springing up across the nation under the Special Interest Explorer Program.

Post 117 is sponsored by the Washoe County Medical Society, which has created an imaginative scouting program designed to give interested high school students an inside look at numerous aspects of the medical profession.

It is the first such Explorer Post to be organized in Northern Nevada, and has caught the imagination of other students and physicians.

MD is adviser: "This is a new experience for us, too," says the Post's adviser, Fred Coddington, MD, a Reno general practitioner.

"But it is the obligation of doctors to help youngsters interested in a medical career. It is a valuable thing. I wish we had had it when we were young."

The Post meets twice a month. One meeting deals with some phase of medical knowledge, and the other is a guided tour of a physician's office, hospital department, or other medical facility.

Post 117 is different in several ways from general Scouting purposes. It is open to girls, and the first meetings have been attended by several interested high school girls.

A typical program prepared for the Explorers by the Washoe County Medical Society members included a lecture course entitled "What Medical School Is Like," presented by James I. Botsford, MD, followed by a "Patho-Physiology Laboratory Demonstration" by George T. Smith, MD.

House Reflects on Powell Haste

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I would like to set forth at this point an article by William S. White, which appeared in the Washington Post on January 31, referring to the action by the House of Representatives on Congressman ADAM CLAYTON POWELL.

This justifies, in my opinion, the position that many of us took when the Congress convened and considered the Powell case.

The article follows:

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 31, 1967]

SECOND THOUGHTS: HOUSE REFLECTS ON POWELL HASTE

(By William S. White)

The House of Representatives is now gloomily trying to dig itself out of a pit lined with misplaced moralism and extremely poor judgment into which it so recently plunged in denying a reseating to Adam Clayton Powell pending an investigation of his conduct.

As a special House Committee of nine unhappy members proceeds with this inquiry there is now a belated general recognition of the central reality of it all. This is that all the House had accomplished here was to give Rep. Powell a loud martydom which will infallibly send him back to Congress from Harlem with a bigger vote than ever, even in the unlikely event that the investigating committee finds him still ineligible.

There are, moreover, second thoughts now all over the House. For the plain truth which was hustled aside in the first place is still there and is now being reluctantly faced. This truth is that Powell, demagogue though he is and highly improper though his behavior has been, has not in fact even been charged with offenses sufficiently grave to warrant his ouster under the unbroken traditions.

In a word, the disciplinary action thus far taken against him, while entirely human, was also entirely unjustified. And it cannot be made to appear just simply because he is a bad and swaggering fellow.

The entire Republican membership of the House plus most of the Southern Democrats on Jan. 10 rushed in to refuse to seat him then and there while wiser heads were trying to seat him provisionally pending inquiry. A majority of the committee which has the thankless chore of investigating him tried then to avoid the more abrupt of these actions and for its pains is now stuck with the job of getting the House off the hook.

The whole thing is an ironic and perfect illustration of the fact that, unlike the Senate, the House allows no "obstructive" debate at times of passion and emotionalism. Given the right to filibuster in the House, a right not present there, and this foolish and extreme business would never have occurred. Never, for illustration, could it have happened in the Senate, with its supposedly evil filibuster custom. For in the Senate a majority is not always right all at once and a minority is always able to slow things down until the heat can subside and men can at last deal in reason and at leisure.

And by a curious coincidence the Senate itself has again just refused to destroy the right of the filibuster at the demand of avowedly liberal members who simply cannot grasp that instant actions by an instant majority are not always wise and are not always even "democratic" except in a highly oversimplified definition of that term.

For the true heart of the American representative process lies in the ability of a minority in one forum and one alone—the Senate—to insist upon long and sometimes even overlong debate as the last guarantee against unfair or heedless actions by momentary and inflamed majorities which might themselves—as now in the case of Powell—decide on more mature reflection that what they were about to do might be both wrong and self-defeating.

What the House forgot here in its howling haste to vote, and what any sort of unrestricted debate would at length have compelled it to remember, is that verdicts in this country are supposed to come after, and not before the trial is held.

The Right to Breathe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, "Los Angeles at 3:30 p.m.," is the caption of the picture on the cover of the January 27, issue of Time magazine. The picture, or lack of it, tells the story. The new Los Angeles Federal Building is the only structure that one can make out with any reasonable surety. From the picture you would never know that only two short blocks from the Federal Building stands the famous Los Angeles City Hall. At 3:30 p.m., on almost any given day in Los Angeles, the range of visibility is rarely greater than two city blocks.

If you live on the seacoast, or have a home in the mountains you can see a faint brown haze begin to etch itself against the blue sky that usually greets each southern California morning. By the end of the morning rush hour the faint haze has taken on the hue of a rich dense brown and has seeped into every crack and corner of the greater Los Angeles basin. Unless it rains, and as the city chamber of commerce boasts rain is rare, or unless a wind sweeps in from the ocean or desert, the 7 million residents of the area are treated to another day of breathing large portions of nitrogen dioxide, hydrocarbons, ozone, peroxyacyl nitrate, and a little oxygen.

The "right to breathe" in Los Angeles, and every other urban area in the Nation is becoming an increasingly perilous right to exercise. In their January 27, edition the editors of Time magazine devoted the lead article to the increasingly menacing specter of air pollution. The article was singularly impressive, and I would encourage every Member of Congress to take the necessary time to read it.

The article of course is part of a larger dialog on air pollution. Yesterday the President joined in the discussion, and while his proposals are not as hard hitting as I had hoped, they are significant.

The President's recommendation to Congress asking for the passage of the Air Quality Control Act of 1967 is a step forward, but only a small step. The act places its emphasis on establishing and enforcing maximum levels of industrial pollutant emissions. Regional air quality commissions would be established where they do not already exist and charged with enforcing the standards that control the emission of pollutants.

I would remind the President and the Congress that this proposal is not new. Some years ago the Los Angeles County Air Pollution Control District was established and given the needed strength to enforce its responsibilities. Today, Los Angeles' Air Pollution Control District runs the strictest and most extensive control program in the United States. The control board battled business and industrial leaders eventually overcoming their objections to regulations limiting the amount of pollutants released into the atmosphere. The control board banned the use of high pollutant fuels, the burning of junked cars, and burning household and industrial garbage. Thousands of violators of pollutant regulations were hailed into court by the control board.

Oil refineries in Los Angeles have developed new techniques in reducing the emission of sulfur pollutants and recycling other wasteful materials that would have ordinarily been dumped into the atmosphere. Los Angeles located power companies are required by statute to use low sulfur natural gas when available and fuels containing a minimum amount of sulfur when the natural gas is not available. Los Angeles industry, especially the oil refineries are considered to be the cleanest in the world.

Since 1964 cars sold in California have been required to be equipped with various types of smog control devices. The 1966 cars sold in California had to have equipment that reduced carbon monoxide by 50 percent and hydrocarbons by 65 percent. In 1970 stricter measures controlling car tailpipe emissions will go into effect.

All in all the Los Angeles County Air Pollution Control District spent close to $4 million in 1965 trying to win the battle against air pollution. This represents an expenditure equal to almost one-sixth of the present total Federal expenditure.

With the great financial investment made by Los Angeles, and with the most comprehensive air pollution control program in the Nation, Los Angeles is steadily losing the battle against smog. Some 13,730 tons of noxious waste are released daily into the Los Angeles sky to contaminate an already overburdened atmosphere. The 3.75 million area cars alone are responsible for 12,500 tons of the daily pollutants. Despite strict enforcement and periodic checks of smog control devices, the level of pollutants released from the exhaust of cars is continually rising. With 2 million more cars expected on Los Angeles highways by 1980, and more than 100 million cars on America's roads by 1975, President Johnson's warning that at the present rate of increased contamination, America can expect to be overwhelmed by a poisonous atmosphere in 10 years is startlingly vivid.

What the above suggests, Mr. Speaker, is that the President's approach, while encouraging, is too modest. Americans are choking their atmosphere with contaminants at the horrendous rate of 370,000 tons of pollutants daily. By 1975 we will be polluting the atmosphere at the incomprehensible rate of more than 1,500,000 tons annually.

Proposing measures for the rest of the Nation that Los Angeles has been using for years while the smog problem has become steadily more acute seems almost futile. Certainly the President's recommendations will meet part of the problem, but only a very small part.

There are two critical areas that should have been given more emphasis in President Johnson's message. First, he did not strike home hard enough the very critical roles that must be played at the local and State levels. While the Air Quality Act provides a framework for meaningful participation by the local levels of government, it seemingly allows little flexibility or room for initiative. Granted, the proposal is primarily designed to affect those areas where little or nothing is being done, but what about the many local programs that have already been initiated?

The National Association of Counties has produced an excellent series of community action guides on air pollution designed to help its membership. The guides are very specific and provide a wide range of alternatives that would allow the local jurisdiction some flexibility in experimenting in order to determine the most effective programs.

Air pollution is not, and nor can we allow it to be an issue of concern only to the various levels of government. It is imperative that industry be one of the leading elements in meeting this problem. We should make it clear whenever we have the opportunity that success in cleaning our air can only be expected if all segments of the society cooperate and recognize their particular obligations.

The other area in which the President's message was weak was in what it offered, or more accurately, what it did not offer in the way of providing leadership for developing new and imaginative programs. The President made a curt reference to the fact that he intended increasing research funds by 50 percent. Nowhere was there an estimate of the kind of research program we will need. Even a 50-percent increase in research appears woefully inadequate in light of the increasing enormity of the problem. It is in this area of ingenuity where leadership is most needed and appears most lacking.

Let me make perfectly clear, Mr. Speaker, that I am one of the many who welcomes what the President is proposing. These proposals are overdue. And it is precisely because this Nation has waited so long in focusing its full attention on the problem that the question of our pollution is now so critical. The problem requires infinitely more than the President has suggested.

Experts have estimated that anyone born in New York City since 1945 has breathed enough contaminated air to have smoked the equivalent of nine cigarettes a day during every day of his life. The richest, most technically advanced Nation in man's history must offer its citizens something better than that.

I see no room for compromise or delay on this issue. Each day of inaction brings us one day closer to a poisoned earth. Our resolve must be equal to the task, and the task that now confronts us deals with our very survival.

There can be no compromise or delay on our right to breathe. Without this right all other rights are rather meaningless.

Nassau County Executive Eugene Nickerson Applauds Congressional Efforts To Modernize and Strengthen Local Governments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, Eugene H. Nickerson, the county executive of Nassau County, N.Y., is painfully aware of the fiscal problems facing local governments, especially those which are striving to provide the improved public services demanded by a growing and increasingly sophisticated population. He follows closely congressional discussion of ways to help local governments both administratively and financially. To share his concern with citizens, he wrote an article in January for the Long Island Press. Referring to my bill, H.R. 1166, proposing "the State and Local Government Modernization Act of 1967," Nickerson stated:

> I consider it my duty, as it should be the duty of every local official, to fight for all such legislation which will strengthen local government in its era of greatest danger.

H.R. 1166 provides that each State would first receive Federal funds—at least $250,000—to draw up within 18 months its own "modern governments program." This program would set forth plans and timetables for modernizing both State and local governments. Such plans would have to include specific proposals for dealing with interstate regional problems, for strengthening State governments, and for strengthening and modernizing local, rural, urban, and metropolitan governments—for example, by reducing the number of counties, eliminating inefficient local governments, reforming personal practices, and strengthening local governments in metropolitan areas.

Each State's "modern governments program" would then be reviewed by one of the four regional coordinating committees—to be set up under H.R. 1166 by the participating Governors in each of the four regions: eastern, southern, midwestern, and western—and by the existing Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Those States with plans designated as reflecting "sufficient State creative initiative so as to qualify that State for Federal block grants" would then begin receiving, in 1970 or at the latest by 1971, unrestricted Federal grants from a 3-year, $5-billion-a-year authorization.

Funds would be distributed according to population, with not to exceed 20 percent for supplements to those States having a low per capita income; a high degree of poverty, dependency, or urbanization; and an adequate State tax effort, as indicated by the amount of State and local taxes relative to personal income. At least 50 percent of the money going to a State would be earmarked for its local governments.

The text of Eugene Nickerson's article follows:

> IF YOU WERE UNCLE SAM
>
> (By Nassau County Executive Eugene H. Nickerson)
>
> Suppose for a moment that you are Uncle Sam and I come to you, hat in hand, with a proposal to stop the squeeze on the local property taxpayer.
>
> I point out that in your star-spangled pockets is the revenue from a nation-wide income tax that you could be sharing with local governments.
>
> "Look, Sam," I say, "local government today is dealing with nation-wide problems, like crime, unemployment, disease, the population explosion, water and air pollution, education, housing, transportation, the whole works."
>
> What would you say to that? Would you turn the corner and run fast? Would you invite me out for a cup of coffee and a hard luck story?
>
> From the talks I have had lately with various of Uncle Sam's relatives, I think you would be sympathetic, but before reaching for your checkbook you would ask me a tough question:
>
> "Why should I write a blank check to local administrations all over America, many of which are inefficient and wasteful?"
>
> And I would say "The answer to that question is partly up to you, Uncle Sam, because you share responsibility for the state of local government today."
>
> Most local governments are not operating at top efficiency because they don't have the resources to initiate new techniques to meet the problems of a rapidly expanding population.
>
> In other words, it's going to cost money now to save money tomorrow, and here's where the U.S. comes in.
>
> The local property taxpayer should not have to foot the whole bill for such techniques as electronic data processing, which are expensive to inaugurate but in the long run save millions of dollars.
>
> In Nassau County government we established the Office of Administrative Services to cut red tape and purchase costs, increase workers' efficiency and morale, and make computer decisions in seconds which in the past have involved weeks and months of clerical processing.
>
> Under a bill which died in committee last year, Congress would have given us substantial aid to develop this economy system.
>
> Well, that's water over the dam now. The new 90th Congress is settling down to business. On opening day, Congressman Henry Reuss of Wisconsin introduced a bill to provide Federal grants for States and localities seeking to modernize their governments, to cut down government costs for decades to come.
>
> I consider it my duty, as it should be the duty of every local official, to fight for all such legislation which will strengthen local government in its era of greatest danger. This year I hope my fellow taxpayers will join me.

A Special Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES J. HOWARD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, on Monday of this week I introduced legislation which would create a Sandy Hook National Seashore in the Third Congressional District of New Jersey which I have the privilege of representing in the Congress.

Under my bill, this beautiful area would be preserved for a public park and recreational area for all of the people of the great State of New Jersey to enjoy.

My bill was introduced because the Department of Defense has announced that some 400 acres of land it has been using at Fort Hancock is no longer needed. The State of New Jersey presently leases 745 acres of land from the Federal Government and that land is used as the Sandy Hook State Park.

Mr. Speaker, what I want to do is have those 1,200 acres turned into a Sandy Hook National Seashore and eventually be expanded to 1,600 acres when the 400 or so acres still being used by the Federal Government are no longer needed.

Mr. James S. Brown of the Asbury Park Evening Press has written a most interesting article which I think will be of great interest to every Member of Congress who will be asked to vote on my bill. For that reason I am enclosing at this point in the Record, the text of Mr. Brown's well written and comprehensive article:

[From the Asbury Park Evening Press, Jan. 27, 1967]

A Special Report—Sandy Hook Worth Saving as Historic Site, Wildlife Area

(By James S. Brown)

Sandy Hook.—This six-mile-long peninsula, soon to be largely abandoned as a military base, is doubly qualified for public preservation—as an historic site and a recreation and wildlife area.

At times an island, according to the whims of the sea, the hook has served as graveyard, lifesaver and battleground since the earliest days of our country.

Some historians say it was first visited by white men in the spring of 1524 when Da Verrazano, sailing for France in his ship Dolphin, cruised along the coast.

There is general agreement that it was here Henry Hudson's sailors from the Half Moon came ashore in 1609 and left behind a crewman, John Colman, who was killed by an Indian arrow. Colman was buried on the hook which Hudson's men named Colman's Point.

And here it was only a few years later that a ship from Holland ran aground. One of its passengers was Penelope Van Princess, later to become the celebrated Penelope Stout, first white woman in Monmouth County.

By 1663, the area was referred to as Sand Point and in 1677, Richard Hartshorne, early settler and probably the first lawyer in the country, leased "the beach called Sandy Hook" for 21 years, rental to be "one peppercorn, if demanded." In granting the lease, the governor and council noted that Hartshorne proposed "to set up a fishery at the river's mouth."

In 1692, Hartshorne obtained title to the hook and other large holdings through a patent from the East Jersey Proprietors. But he apparently was having trouble with the Indians and he finally paid 13 shillings to Vowavapon and Tocushis "for peace and quietness sake, and to the end there may be no cause of trouble with the Indians and that I may not for the future have any trouble with them as I formerly had, in their doggs killing my sheep and their hunting on my lands and their fishing."

By the deed, the Indians also gave up the right to go berrying or obtain wood for canoes on Sandy Hook.

During this same period, the barren, desolate strand was also a hangout for privateers who anchored their ships in the shelter of the hook while awaiting the arrival of likely prey. Treasure hunters have combed the hook periodically in the belief Capt. William Kidd buried some of his loot there.

Many a sailor met death here as storm-lashed ships inbound for New York were driven ashore. But it wasn't until 1759 that the plan originated to mark the hook with a lighthouse.

In 1761, a group of New York merchants began negotiations with the Hartshornes and finally agreed upon a price of 700 pounds for a four-acre tract about 500 feet from the end of the hook.

The land was transferred from Robert and Esek Hartshorne to New York Mayor John Cruger, Philip Livingston, Leonard Lispenard, and William Bayard on May 10, 1762. Three years later, these four men were to serve as New York delegates to the Stamp Act Congress.

In the next two years, the New York Legislature authorized three lotteries which raised a total of 9,000 pounds toward construction of the lighthouse. The 103-foot tower was built by Isaac Conro of New York and when completed in 1764 was lighted by 48 oil lamps whose light was beamed seaward by mirrors.

Only 12 years later, on March 4, 1776, New York officials who had promoted the lighthouse decided to destroy it to prevent its use in guiding British warships into New York harbor. Instead, however, the lamps, reflectors, and oil supply were removed.

For most of the next seven years, the British used the hook as a base of operations, the tall brick and stone lighthouse serving as a fort which was impervious to attacks by local militia units,

In 1778, British forces from Philadelphia, retreating after the Battle of Monmouth, were brought onto the Hook over a pontoon bridge. A storm a short time earlier had again opened an inlet across the base of the Hook, making it an island. From this vantage point the English and Hessian soldiers were taken aboard British warships.

Raiders led by David (Black David) Forman and Lt. John Schenck on several occasions seized British boats and took prisoners but as one English officer wrote, the cannon fire "could make no impression on the walls" of the lighthouse.

On Jan. 19, 1780, in one of the last raids, a party of Colonial rangers took seven prisoners and seized 45,000 counterfeit continental dollars, which the British had planned to circulate to reduce the value of American currency.

Soon after the end of the war, in 1790, the 4-acre lighthouse tract was ceded to the federal government by New Jersey's Legislature. This parcel probably will remain in federal ownership in the future to protect the still-operating lighthouse, according to Joseph J. Truncer, the state's director of parks and recreation.

The Hartshornes in 1797 sold an interest in the hook to Tylee Williams and Nimrod Woodward and apparently the owners began having problems with the government employes keeping the lighthouse.

Several suits were filed against the government and on Dec. 26, 1805, Williams, Woodward and Richard Hartshorne made an agreement ending the litigations. It is recorded at the county courthouse at Freehold, with government ratification bearing the signature of President Thomas Jefferson.

Under the terms, the government agreed its employes would not keep stock on Sandy Hook except for a horse and "no more than four milch cows" unless the animals were kept fenced up on the four-acre site:

Further the government agreed that "no tavern or ordinary or house of public entertainment shall be permitted by the United States of their assigns to be kept on the lands hereby confirmed to them . . ." The agreement seems to imply that the light keepers also operated a tavern during New York's ownership of the property. No doubt the customers came by boat.

Apparently aware of the importance of the Hook, the government on Feb. 26, 1806 bought from Hartshorne, Williams and Woodward all land lying north of an east-west line through the lighthouse. A price of $3,750 was paid for 125 acres.

Though the original four-acre site was only 500 feet from the end of the hook when it was sold in 1762, it is now more than a mile distant. Sand carried northward by ocean currents has extended the beach northward.

During the War of 1812 a massive log fort was built about a half-mile north of the lighthouse and was manned for the most part by Monmouth County militiamen.

On June 17, 1817, Richard Hartshorne and his wife sold a major portion of the Hook south of the lighthouse to the government for $20,000. This deed grants all land north of an east-west line from the ocean to the mouth of Young's Creek.

Finally, in 1892, the government spent an additional $27,000 to buy 21 lots from the Highland Beach Association, the Atlantic Highlands Association and the New Jersey Southern Railroad at the southern end of the Hook.

So, for a total of $59,750 the government purchased property which now includes 1,634 acres and has a value estimated at $250 million. None of the deeds called for property to revert to original owners upon termination of government use.

In 1858, shortly before the start of the Civil War, the Army began construction of massive fortifications built of New England granite near the end of the Hook. Seventy-five cannon were mounted in the incomplete fort during the war and for a brief period it was known as Ft. Lincoln.

During this period a rail spur was extended onto the Hook by the New Jersey Southern Railroad, serving steamboat landings at Spermacetti and Horseshoe Coves.

By the war's end, the government had spent $10 million on the unfinished fort, and because of advancements in artillery weapons, it already was obsolete and work was halted.

About 1875, the Hook was designated the Sandy Hook Ordnance Proving Grounds for testing artillery weapons, a function later shifted to Aberdeen, Md. About 1888, the government began dismantling part of Ft. Lincoln, using the salvaged granite blocks to complete the southwest part of the fort. Increased government use at this time ended rail and steamboat use of the Hook by the public.

The fortifications were named Ft. Hancock on Oct. 30, 1895 in honor of Gen. W. S. Hancock, a hero of Gettysburg. In the past half century, the fort's military significance has gradually diminished, although 13 buildings of brick and stone were built in the early 1920s.

Several years ago, the government leased 745 acres to the state for a public recreation area. Bathing, fishing and nature walks are included in the park area. Vegetation on the hook includes some of the finest holly groves in the state, stands of bayberries and beach plums, which have all but disappeared from other parts of New Jersey.

Inlets across the base of the hook have opened and closed with considerable regularity in severe storms during the past three centuries, during the 19th Century occurring almost every 20 years. For the past two decades, there have been proposals to reopen the old Shrewsbury Inlet at the base of the hook to provide fishermen quicker access to the sea.

Sandy Hook has long been a favorite with fishermen since its waters abound with record-sized striped bass. In years past, it was one of the best duck hunting areas on the Jersey Coast, huge flocks of migrating birds seeking shelters in coves along the bay shore.

With this historical background and these physical attributes, Sandy Hook is well qualified for permanent preservation for the public.

Emergency Parents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, a unique plan, called Emergency Parents, was put in operation about a year ago by the Children's Aid Society of Erie County in Buffalo, N.Y.

Well known for its sympathetic and sensible approach to problems concerned with the welfare of children in our community for many years, the Children's

Aid Society has embarked upon a program that is filling a real need. A great deal of credit for this must go it its executive director, Mr. Norman W. Paget.

In an article which appeared in the Parade section of the Buffalo Courier-Express, Buffalo, N.Y., on January 29, 1967, Shirley Camper Soman tells how the program works and how it helps children who suddenly find themselves without a parent due to illness or other misfortune.

With permission, I include the article below:

EMERGENCY PARENTS

(The program—which can be copied in your community—provides love for abandoned children.)

(By Shirley Camper Soman)

BUFFALO, N.Y.—"All the kids call me 'Mama.' " Mrs. Marguerite Bressler, a plump, happy-go-lucky housewife here, is talking with pride about children who have never seen her before, whose home she has entered in the middle of the night. She has come, a stranger, to care for dozens of frightened youngsters at a crisis point in their lives: when their parents are missing. Mrs. Bressler is an "Emergency Parent."

Established just a year ago this month, "Emergency Parents" is one of the newest and most revolutionary social welfare services provided in the U.S. today. It was originated by the Children's Aid Society of Erie County—and is being closely watched by other agencies all over the country—to deal with the ever-increasing problem of children found neglected or abandoned or otherwise left alone at night.

In all too many such cases, children meet with accidents. According to the National Fire Protection Association, in 1965, 50,000 children left alone suffered moderate to severe injuries or died in fires, and the National Safety Council says 25 percent of children killed in home accidents were alone and unsupervised at the time the accident occurred. Almost equally bad is the fact that children unharmed otherwise are wrenched from their familiar surroundings and plumped into a foster home or other impersonal institution. The shock of such treatment can last a lifetime.

"Consider the steps in the experience," says Norman W. Paget, executive director of Children's Aid, who instituted the Emergency Parent program. "The absence of a parent, the presence of a policeman, the sudden removal from home by strangers at night, being taken to an unfamiliar and often grim place. It leaves children in a state of terror. They can't eat, can't sleep, won't speak, throw up or complain of headaches, stomach aches, every place aches. Some never get over it."

ANSWER TO A PLEA

It was to stave off such consequences—and to provide continuity in the children's lives—that Emergency Parents was started. It came about when Paget, a noted family-life education specialist and troubleshooter on family problems, came to a new post with Children's Aid here. He lent a fresh ear to the plea of longtime staff member Mrs. Dorothy Washburn: "We must do something to prevent these awful night placements of children." The two decided that what was needed was a small corps of low-paid volunteers who would go into a home and run the household until the parents returned or other arrangements could be made.

With a small grant from the Josephine Goodyear Foundation, Children's Aid put the program into action. They advertised for volunteers to be on call all night one week a month. The volunteers were to be paid $2 for each night they were on call, $1.25 an hour ($1.50 after midnight) for time actually served. A teacher, a practical nurse, a management trainee, a postman, a factory worker, a housewife and several husband-andn-wife teams responded.

In the year since, Emergency Parents have more than lived up to expectations. Their service has saved children from fire, smoke poisoning, gas and other assorted perils. Just as important, they staved off emergency placement for 129 children in a ten-month period during 1966. Twenty-six children did need foster care eventually, but the work of Emergency Parents helped them to get used to the idea and allowed time for the best possible foster home situations to be found. And over 100 were able to stay in their own homes *only* because of Emergency Parents.

One recent case illustrates how the program works. At 9 o'clock one stormy night, a mother of four small children was rushed to a hospital after complaining to a neighbor of severe pains in her head. The family was new to the city. The neighbor, who could not help with the children, knew only that the father worked on a night shift. A social worker at Children's Aid Society, called by the hospital, went to the home but could find no address book. And the children, aged 2, 3, 5, and 6, who had been awakened by the ambulance and the commotion hid themselves in an upstairs closet and under beds—and wouldn't come out.

SWEET SMELL OF PANCAKES

The caseworker then called an Emergency Parent, who tried to explain to the children —through the closet door—that she would care for them until their father came home. Silence. She then went downstairs, mixed a batter of pancakes, added apple slices and raisins and began to cook. As the odor of pancakes wafted up the stairs, the children came down one by one—big eyes round, still scared, but interested in the food *and* in the cook. When the father returned, the Emergency Parent was snoozing in a chair, and all the children were sleeping contentedly and well fed. If the Emergency Parent had not been available, the four would have been removed to a foster home in the middle of the night.

Most of the Emergency Parents would have been equally competent to improvise in such a situation. Although untrained in welfare work, they are all men and women with a large-sized affection for children and an easy way of dealing with people. Mrs. Bressler is typical.

In her "Frau Bressler dress"—a clean, starched housedress that "makes children feel more at home," she has set out on her mission even on such occasions as the first night of her husband's vacation, her own birthday, Easter evening. A woman who talks and laughs easily, she has "cuddled the little ones, petted the bigger ones" and in one instance, insisted that a family of deserted children pitch in and clean up their filthy house while she cooked dinner.

Mrs. Bressler has been an Emergency Parent for a few hours, for overnight stays and in some cases for several days at a time. She has gone into very nice, well-kept homes and others in deplorable condition. Her husband, a mail carrier, has often gone along. "I've been scared skinny in some neighborhoods!" Mrs. Bressler explains.

All such volunteers carry an "emergency kit," and each has made suggestions as to what should be included. At present it contains an array of items needed to care for children and home under any possible condition: disposable diapers, light bulbs, canned and packaged foods, paper and plastic eating utensils, pots and pans, an aerosol can of a mild tear gas for protection against potentially hostile intruders (no Emergency Parent has yet been obliged to use it), soaps and cleaning supplies, blankets, a pillow and a folding aluminum cot. The bed was added after one Emergency Parent, Jessie Oates, had to curl up on the floor to get some sleep during one of his missions.

With few exceptions children have responded warmly after their initial fright has passed. Most have tried to pitch in and be helpful. One group of small children burst into tears when the time came for the Parent to leave.

Many of the cases handled by Emergency Parents have had overtones of pathos. Mrs. Myrtle Miller, mother of four children under 4, had been deserted by her husband and had no relatives in Buffalo. When she developed a high fever and became delirious, a neighbor took her to the hospital and stayed with her. An Emergency Parent came to take care of the children, three of whom were ill with measles.

A HOSTILE GREETING

Mrs. Rosamond Domedian, legally separated from her husband, went on a week's trip with friends. She left a teenage babysitter in charge of Gail, 2½, and Jeffrey, 5½. A series of mishaps promptly occurred. The teenager simply left the children after a day. Mrs. Domedian's mother was unable to care for them because her husband had suffered a stroke. Mrs. Domedian herself was out of reach. The Emergency Parent remained nearly a week until Mrs. Domedian returned.

The Emergency Parent program has even involved some drama. One Emergency Parent was greeted with knives and steel-tipped arrows by three out-of-control teenage boys when she answered a call for help. And in a few cases, police have been called to break down a locked door to admit the Emergency Parent. In still another case, a worker arrived to find three small children were sleeping upstairs, while an unvented gas stove was filling the home with fumes.

Children's Aid works closely with police, firemen and hospitals in providing Emergency Parent service. The agency keeps an emergency caseworker on duty around the clock to receive calls. When he or she is notified that children have been left alone, the caseworker goes immediately to the home and tries to locate the parents or a responsible relative. Two-thirds of the time he is successful. Only otherwise does he call an Emergency Parent.

In addition, knowing that children left alone is often a sign of deeper trouble in the home, the agency provides follow-up help. Parents in such cases are asked to come in for counseling afterwards.

In these sessions, caseworkers have found many reasons why parents have left children alone. Illness, accident and unreliable babysitters are most common.

A certain number of parents have gone out carousing and just forgotten home and children. Some simply haven't realized the dangers involved.

One problem lies in the age of the parents: Usually, they are in their early 20's and have taken on too much responsibility at too young an age. In addition, three-fourths of the children in emergency cases were from broken homes. A mother (or father) trying to bring up children alone is often too pressured to give sufficient care and to take reasonable precautions for the children. Many such parents are living in poverty or near poverty—which further limits the kind of care their children will have.

The dividends paid by Emergency Parents are considerable. Besides the shock and trauma spared the children, there are practical benefits. In Buffalo, the total cost of foster-home care averages $5.35 per day for *each* child. Institutional care ranges between $10 and $15 a day per child. This is in contrast to the low fee paid to the Emergency Parents.

"The Emergency Parents program makes hard-boiled sense in human terms and in money terms," declares Paget. If one child can be spared the shock of midnight placement, Paget feels, the program will have been worth it.

Address by the Honorable John C. Kluczynski, Member of Congress, Chairman, Subcommittee on Roads, House Public Works Committee Before the National Limestone Institute, Washington, D.C., January 17, 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, with the transportation challenge heavy on all our shoulders it is, indeed, gratifying to know that men like our most respected colleague, Congressman John C. Kluczynski, of Illinois, is hard at work helping to conquer some of the vexing problems of transportation. It is an honor to include the following address made by our distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on Roads:

Address by the Honorable John C. Kluczynski, Member of Congress, Chairman, Subcommittee on Roads, House Public Works Committee, Before the National Limestone Institute, Washington, D.C., January 17, 1967

Thank you, Mr. Raese, and good morning, gentlemen. I'm very pleased to be able to be with you this morning. I had hoped to be with you at your annual meeting last year, but urgent problems elsewhere made that impossible, so I am particularly glad to be here today.

About 15 months ago I spoke before the annual gathering of the American Association of State Highway Officials, an organization with which most of you are well acquainted. My subcommittee on Roads works closely with that group, and in addressing them then, I urged that they become more directly involved in comprehensive community planning. I urge the same course upon you.

We have long since passed beyond the time when, as highway people, we can be content to pave another road, or connect another town with the highway network. Highway philosophy, if you will forgive that somewhat fancy term, must now be much broader.

Our highways are the basic element in the national transportation system. They are the physical plant upon which the continued economic and social strength of this country depends. I am convinced that we are going to have to develop new or different kinds of transportation on a large scale—mass transit, high speed rail, helicopter, and special inner city methods of getting about—but I am equally convinced that *all* of these revised or added transportation forms will have to be built around the highway networks.

Americans are not going to give up their cars, and the freedom of mobility that these cars make possible, and the expanding human population *and* vehicle population demand that we recognize that fact and be guided accordingly.

But simply to say there will be such and such a number of cars in a given year, and that there must then be so many miles of pavement in that year is not enough. We must rebuild many, if not most, of our existing roads, but in planning new roads, we must outguess everyone else.

We are going to have to be able to *foresee* potential industrial and residential growth, and build the roads to handle the *coming* load, so as to forestall future traffic jams. When the zoning boards consider opening a new area, the highway people had better be on hand to say what that will require in the way of new roads and the zoning boards had better be prepared to take their advice, and make some requirement for the roads before they act.

When the school board plans a new school, the highway people had better be working with them to be sure that the location and plans include adequate provision for safe roads, sidewalks, traffic controls, and whatever else is needed to protect the safe transport, in cars or busses, or on foot, of the children the chool will serve,

When a developer lays out a community, he had better be required to clear his plans with the highway people, to be sure the streets, and sidewalks are properly laid out, and that appropriate access to arterial roads is provided for.

When the city fathers decide to rejuvenate downtown, they had better have the highway people on hand to determine what will have to be done to streets, traffic controls, and parking facilities to make the rejuvenation meaningful.

None of this is going to be easy gentlemen. Everyone likes to operate in his own bailiwick, and everyone is faced with problems of achieving some reasonable balance between function, cost, and good looks. But easy or not, this is the way it will have to be done.

Some of our smaller cities will have to grow bigger. Some of our big cities will have to be content to stay the size they are. And all of our planners are going to have to realize that there is plenty of space for development in this country. It doesn't *all* have to take place on less than 10% of the nation's landscape. The critical factor is bringing about a rational use of the other 90% in a diversified transportation system that will link new areas to older areas in ways that permit people to move about with speed and comfort and convenience.

The bulk of the responsibility for achieving this is going to rest with the state and the local governments. It is the state and the local governments who make the rules, and rightly so. The federal government can help, with advice and guidelines and money, but the actual work has to be done where the people are going to live. A federal official recently suggested that if local zoning practices weren't cleaned up, the federal government might have to take over the zoning. It wasn't the first time that suggestion has been made, and I suppose it won't be the last time, but I certainly hope it never gets beyond the suggestion stage.

Obviously, as we continue to grow, towns and counties, and even states in some cases, will have to come together to do their planning, but that will still be planning by the people who will be doing the living and working, and that's where it belongs.

So when I say highway philosophy, what I am really talking about is the best coordinated system of transportation that can be devised to serve the people who are going to be using it—planned and built, including room for expansion, when the new communities are developed, not 5 or 10 years later when the agonies of safety hazards, traffic jams, and relocation costs are already built in.

In addition to being difficult, this will also be expensive, but not nearly as expensive as doing it the old way. It may *look* expensive to require the roads being built in 1967 be adequate, in both design *and location*, to handle 1987 traffic, but it's a lot less expensive to do it in relatively open areas in 1967 before the housing and industrial build-up actually takes place than it will be in 1977 or 1987, when all the really expensive collateral problems will have taken over.

It's going to be rough, gentlemen, finding the money to provide a good transportation program, and a good pollution control program, and good zoning procedures, and good community development programs that see businesses and industries, and homes and schools, and fire departments and police departments, and water and sewage systems, and sidewalks and streets and traffic controls, as one unit. But if we don't start finding the money to do this now, we're going to have to find a lot more money to do it later.

I think we can accomplish this if everyone will seriously look ahead, and if everyone will be just a little more willing to take an active interest in the kind of development that's going on, or could come, in his area, and how that development can best be handled.

You people are, by virtue of your business interests, in an excellent position to help lead the way. I sincerely hope you will do it.

Thank you, Mr. Raese. I am sorry I have to go to a very important caucus, but I have said this time and time again—as Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Roads in the House of Representatives, it is up to me to take care of that trust fund and see that none of that money is diverted, as I saw in your motion picture, for anything but road building.

The Job Corps: "A Marvelous Thing"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, Miss Ida May Juelch, of Sacramento, is a winner in the war on poverty. Miss Juelch was recently graduated from the Job Corps for women in Huntington, W. Va., and has returned to Sacramento to accept a position with the State department of motor vehicles in the data processing and proofreading division.

Ida May's story is warmly presented by Melody Kercheval, writing in the Sacramento Bee on January 5. Miss Kercheval's article shows how the Job Corps is helping less fortunate young Americans to help themselves open the doors to opportunity, and I include it at this point in the Record:

[From the Sacramento, (Calif.) Bee, Jan. 5, 1967]

Sacramento Girl Successfully Completes Job Corps Training

(By Melody Kercheval)

One of the first graduates of the Job Corps Training Program to return to Sacramento is Ida May Juelch, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Buck Juelch who was graduated from Sacramento High School.

Ida first heard about the Job Corps program through television publicity and decided to file an application.

The Women in Action of Sacramento, who handle Job Corps applications from this area, interviewed her and forwarded her application to Washington, D.C., for further processing. Trainees are carefully screened to assure only those who would benefit most from the program are chosen.

Ida and other trainees from the West Coast met in San Francisco Mar. 14, 1966, for the flight to Job Corps centers in the East.

When Ida arrived at her center in Huntington, W. Va., she was given diagnostic tests in basic areas of knowledge.

A typical Job Corps training program includes mathematics and English courses, physical education, courses in home management and in community and personal problem solving, as well as specialized vocational training.

Bowling, pool, tennis, modern dancing, figure skating and swimming are included in the varied physical education program which is offered, in order to broaden the trainees' recreational horizons. Because of Ida's swimming ability, she was one of three girls chosen to be an assistant swimming instructor.

As part of the home management training, trainees are given clothing allowances and even given practice in comparative shopping.

For her vocational training, Ida chose to prepare for library work and photo finishing. As part of her instruction she was working in a school library in Huntington. Training that she had received at Sacramento High School enabled her to set up the entire library system at her center.

One of Ida's most memorable experiences in the Job Corps was meeting President Johnson. She was among forty girls chosen to represent her center when the President visited Charleston, W. Va.

Ida's parents are convinced that the Job Corps is a "marvelous thing." They feel that the program has enabled Ida to achieve a sense of independence and to receive experiences that she could never have had at home. "The Job Corps background opened many doors for Ida," they said.

Ida found prospective employers impressed by her training and eager to employ young people who had completed the Job Corps training.

Upon returning to Sacramento, Ida accepted a position with the State Department of Motor Vehicles in the Data Processing Proof Reading Division.

Petroleum Industry Leader Looks to Nation's Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I have received a copy of an address Mr. Stanley Learned, president of the Phillips Petroleum Co., made at a recent meeting of the Texas Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association.

Mr. Learned's speech is entitled "An Oilman's Glimpse at the Next 100 Years," and it shows outstanding foresight and a deep sense of public responsibility from an acknowledged leader in the petroleum industry.

Mr. Learned's speech should be of great interest to all of us who are concerned with the development of this Nation over the next 100 years, and I would like to have it appear in the RECORD:

AN OILMAN'S GLIMPSE AT THE NEXT 100 YEARS

(By Stanley Learned, president, Phillips Petroleum Co., before the Texas Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association, Corpus Christi, Tex., Oct. 19, 1966)

Mr. Chairman, fellow members of the Texas Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association, guests of the Association:

My subject today, "An Oilman's Glimpse at the Next 100 Years," developed from a suggestion of your program committee that "since we are observing the 100th anniversary of the drilling of the first well in Texas, a *paper devoted to the next 100 years would be timely and of immense interest.*"

Accurate forecasts are difficult because our world is a world of change. What appears to be a valid premise today has a way of being invalid a year or two from now. I have, therefore, generally tried to disassociate myself from prophesying about even the immediate future, let alone the next 100 years.

However, I decided to take a glimpse at the next 100 years even though my glimpse must be mainly conjecture, because we can benefit by peering into the crystal ball. We can look at some of the ways our civilization is trending and at some of the exciting possibilities which may develop along these ways. Certainly such a look stimulates our imaginations about the enormous promise and potential of our industry.

It seemed the best way to start to get ideas about the next 100 years was to look at the history of the past 100 years. People living 100 years ago could never have even dreamed of the amazing developments the future had in store. Even the visions of Jules Verne in his "science fiction" of 100 years ago were less wondrous than what the realities turned out to be.

Let us look at just a random selection of developments which have come upon the scene since L. T. Barret completed that first Texas oil well near Nacogdoches in September 1866. These developments include the gasoline engine with all its ramifications including automobiles, trucks and buses, farm tractors, piston driven airplanes, motorcycles, motor boats, power mowers, stationary engines, and mobile construction and military equipment of all kinds; the diesel locomotive; turbine and jet powered aircraft; oil fueled ships; rockets and missiles; petroleum fueled boilers, pumps, and other industrial equipment and machinery of many sorts; oil and gas fueled space heating, and cooking equipment; *air conditioning;* the washing machine; clothes dryer; water heater; dishwasher; refrigerator; vacuum cleaner; incandescent lamp; phonograph; telephone; movie machine; radio; television; radar; rotary drill; cream separator; milking machine; flame weeder; orchard heater; linotype; cash register; key punch machines; the atomic reactor; *computers and automatic instruments;* X-ray; heart-lung machine and iron lung. And there are, of course, thousands of other amazing developments which have emerged since 1866. May I interject here that the Petroleum Department of the Chase Manhattan Bank has called air conditioning, just one of the items I have mentioned, the most far-reaching development of a technological nature now on the scene affecting energy demand.

Just the developments I have listed make the tales of Jules Verne pale by comparison. The developments mentioned all have in common one aspect which is especially significant to us—*they all affect energy demand.*

Of course, continued population increases accelerate energy demand. In the past 100 years world population has increased from 1.3 billion to 3.3 billion. U.S. population alone has zoomed from 36,000,000 to nearly 200,000,000 during this time.

Because of developments stimulating energy use, annual consumption of energy in the U.S., measured by barrels of oil equivalent, has skyrocketed from 500 million barrels of oil 100 years ago to 9.4 billion barrels in 1965. In just the past 25 years U.S. energy consumption has more than doubled. Who in 1866 could have ever speculated that we would require such prodigious amounts of energy? At that time, for instance, who would have ever dreamed that the internal combustion engine would come along to open the floodgates for petroleum which was being used then mainly for illumination?

The discoveries listed, revolutionary as they turned out to be, did not burst upon the scene all at once to alter the energy business. Most of them unfolded gradually. The gasoline powered automobile, for instance, was first introduced in the United States in 1892. The airplane was a 1903 invention. Television was a reality at the Chicago World's Fair in 1934. The important factor dictating the large-scale availability of these and other discoveries was economics. *Their solid impact came when they could economically be made for and utilized by great masses of people.*

Now with this background let us look to the future. There seems no end to the variety of discoveries and improvements flowing from the minds of men." This is indicated by patent applications filed. In 1965 alone more than 94,000 applications for U.S. patents were filed, an increase of 11,000 over the number filed five years ago. It certainly doesn't look as if discoveries based on science and engineering are dwindling. Predictions about future developments may actually turn out to be conservative and any estimates about energy demand may be too low. Here are some possible developments that may unfold in the next 100 years, *all of which would affect the use of energy.*

An increase in world population to more than ten billion by 2066. And this figure is based upon man's having the wisdom effectively to control the birth rate. The greatest population increase will occur in countries where per capita energy use is now low. This per capita energy use will climb steeply as technology and machine operation reach the underdeveloped areas of the globe.

In the U.S. population may zoom to 575 million and gross national product may reach $16 trillion 100 years from now. Resources for the Future, a Ford Foundation research group, estimates that by the year 2000—less than 35 years away—U.S. population will be more than 330 million, the annual gross national product will jump from approximately $700 billion now to $2.2 trillion, and 244 million autos and trucks will be in use, compared with 90 million today.

Many forecasters predict that within 100 years we will have computerization of nearly every aspect of life. They predict that computer-robots will prepare and deliver food, and do the laundering, cleaning, dishwashing, and grass cutting around the home, and that offices and industries will be operated almost wholly by machines and computers.

Other energy affecting developments which the speculators say may unfold over the next 100 years include underground, automated highways but with wheels and road surfaces eventually giving way to hovercraft riding on air; enormous supersonic transport planes; individual propulsion; transportation by ballistic rockets to any place on earth within 40 minutes; permanent space stations; regular trips to the moon; all-plastic houses entirely weather conditioned. The next 100 years may also see huge cities entirely enclosed and weather conditioned and served by trains reaching speed of 1,000 miles an hour; synthetic clothes, and other goods and appliances made to be used and thrown away; teaching machines; automated libraries; facsimile newspapers and magazines; communication with anyone, anywhere at anytime by voice, sight, and written message via satellite telephone, radio, and television; motorized and computerized artificial arms and legs; far more use of elevators and escalators, outdoors and indoors; and chemical control of the aging process extending life by up to 50 years.

Part of the most important energy supply of all—food for the human body—may come during the next 100 years from huge fields of kelp and other kinds of seaweed, whale farms, and from cheap, edible protein derived from petroleum.

Needs for fresh water are going to grow enormously during the next 100 years. Thus, one of the most significant developments for furthering human progress will be the economical desalinization of salt water by cheap nuclear power.

These predictions do not allow for any cataclysmic event such as a devastating war. Obviously, any such catastrophe would crush all the grand hopes and dreams of man before they had a chance to become realities. During the next 100 years, therefore, mankind will have the hard job of solving the problems of human and national relationships while there is still time. In any look at the next 100 years this challenge overrides all the others.

One expert has estimated that world energy demand will increase as much as 50 times over the next 100-year period. In terms of billions of barrels of oil equivalent this would be an increase world-wide from 26 billion barrels a year today to 1,350 billion barrels in 2066. This is only conjecture, however. No one can tell really how much energy the world will need.

We do know this though. The energy demand for the future is going to be colossal. There can be no doubt about this in view of the certain explosion in population, dazzling new energy gobbling developments, and increase in per capita energy use. *The really big problem will be getting the energy to supply the massive needs.* In fact, many of the prophets consulted in my research believe that the extent to which *the dreams of the future are realized will be dependent upon the amount of energy available.* Dr. Philip Abelson, Editor of "Science" magazine, this year said, "Fuel reserves are not sufficient to meet our long-term needs."

The huge energy needs of the future, therefore, are going to require not only the utmost from petroleum, but large use of other energy sources as well. It is inevitable, for instance, that electrical energy supplied by nuclear power will become an important factor in the energy picture. Although it may be doubtful an atomic reactor will ever be feasible for operation of small mobile equipment such as the automobile, I believe advances in nuclear power technology will shortly enable this source of energy to supply increasingly larger amounts of electricity. The Atomic Energy Commission now estimates that by 1980 atomic power may provide 20% of total estimated consumption of electricity. Some of the long-range forecasters predict that 100 years from now over 50% of the world's energy supply will come from electricity generated by nuclear power.

Still other energy sources will have to enter the picture on a large scale to supply the astronomical demand. As these demands increase, man will develop energy from the vast reserves of low-grade oil shale and tar sands, thin and deep-lying coal seams, from the great locked-in energy of ocean tides. He may do the same with geothermal energy and energy differences within the earth. Eventually he may find a way to harness and transmit solar energy. These can all develop when the "price is right."

Now what about petroleum? What does this glimpse into the future mean to you members of the Texas Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association in this year of 1966?

The energy needs of the future are going to be so enormous that the petroleum industry will have to exert a supreme effort to supply its share of these needs. Some prophets predict that at the end of the 100-year period there will be no economically producible petroleum remaining at all because the petroleum will have been used up supplying its share of the huge energy demand.

You get a good idea of the challenge which you as petroleum industry members have by looking at what is on tap for just the time from now through 1980. In barrels of oil equivalent, by 1980 energy consumption in the United States will total some 15 billion barrels, 60% greater than the 9.4 billion used in 1965. Although there will be some changes in the proportion of U.S. energy supplied by the various energy sources in 1980, these will not be radical. Liquid hydrocarbons will still supply the lions' share with about 40%, only a slight decline from the 43% today. Let me say that energy consumption for the Free World as a whole will zoom 100% by 1980. *The stark fact is it looks as if we will use more petroleum energy between now and the end of 1980 than we have used in all of our previous history.*

To see what a tremendous job this forecast just to 1980 poses, let me quote from a recent address by Interior Secretary Stewart Udall. He said, "In the case of oil, if domestic sources continue to supply approximately the same relative proportion of our total demand for liquid hydrocarbons as they now do, and if we elect to hold to the historic reserve-to-production-ratio at 12:1, we will have to add 83 billion barrels to our proved reserves between now and 1980." *This means a yearly average for the period of 5½ billion barrels. When you consider that the average of yearly additions since 1955 has been 3.3 billion barrels you get an idea of the big job before you.*

Natural gas consumption in the U.S. should also increase providing the natural gas supplies are ample. Natural gas demand will get a big boost in coming years by total energy systems. The development of an economic fuel cell could well skyrocket gas demand.

As to the outlook for gas supplies, Secretary Udall had this to say, "choosing to maintain a reserve-to-production ratio of 18 : 1, we shall need to add 450 trillion cubic feet to our proved reserves. This is an average of 30 trillion cubic feet a year. At no time in its history has the petroleum industry ever added as much as 25 trillion cubic feet to reserves in any one year. The average since 1955 has been 20 trillion."

To meet these challenges of coming years, some spectacular changes must be made. New and better techniques and devices for mapping underground structures and detecting possible presence of petroleum will be needed. Techniques for defining stratigraphic traps are needed. We are going to have to make breakthroughs in techniques of drilling and in reducing casing costs. Many wells will be in remote, difficult to drill areas such as the Arctic ice cap. Offshore techniques must be improved as we will have to drill further out in the ocean and position producing equipment on the ocean floor.

Artificial lift methods to supplement reservoir energy must be made economical. We are going to have to find and perfect methods of recovery of much more of the oil left in the reservoirs. Controlled nuclear explosions comprise one possible new recovery method which may emerge. Complete automatic transfer in the fields will be a requirement. Computerizing plants and transportation is an inevitable eventuality.

Huge amounts of capital will be needed. Quality people in increasing numbers will be required by the industry. May I say that to attract the individuals the industry must have we are going to have to convince outstanding young people that supplying petroleum energy for the future is just as exciting and significant a job as going to the moon, or eliminating poverty, or rebuilding cities, or beautifying the land, important as these are.

Now what is the one ingredient necessary to accomplish these tasks and sucessfully meet the coming challenges? You know the answer. It is economic incentive. Gentlemen, this economic incentive is not sufficient at present. This is vividly illustrated by several facts about our industry which I should like to mention briefly.

During the nine years following the last general increase in 1957, crude oil prices deteriorated so that the average U.S. crude oil price, according to the U.S. Bureau of Mines, dropped from $3.09 in 1957 to $2.86 in 1965, a decrease of 23 cents per barrel or 7.4%.

Let's compare this decrease with the experience of other segments of our economy, including those which make up the producer's major costs. From 1957 through 1965 the wholesale price index for all commodities other than farm products and foods in the United States rose 3.3%. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, the cost of living in 1965 was 12% higher than in 1957. Data published by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics show average hourly wages for production employees in crude petroleum and natural gas fields during 1965 were up about 23% from 1957. The cost of oil field machinery in 1965 was up 5.1% and the cost of oil well casing was 11.6% higher than in 1957.

It is only natural that this disparity in experience of crude oil prices and that of items representing the major costs of crude oil producers would have a seriously depressing effect upon exploration and drilling activity. From 1956 through 1965, total well completions in the United States declined 29%. But exploratory wells, which are the ones that find new reserves, declined 42%. Geophysical activity, the forerunner of exploratory drilling, decreased 53% from 1956 through 1965. *The situation is not improving.* For the first six months of this year, total domestic well completions dropped 15% from 1965's first six months. Total footage posted a greater percentage drop than completions, sagging 17% below the first six months of last year.

Meanwhile the reserves-to-production ratio for oil has been declining. Despite the great potentialities for greater recovery from old fields, the scarcity of new oil reserves is a cause of real concern. It is too early to tell whether the recent small, spotty crude price increases will provide sufficient incentive to reverse the downward trends.

As for gas, the economic incentive since Federal regulation of producers was imposed in 1954 has, in my opinion, been insufficient to encourage exploring for the necessary new reserves. We are all familiar with the continued decline in the gas reserves-to-production ratio. Anyone familiar with this situation will agree that at some point this decline must be stopped and to do so will require a reversal of the continued downward trend in exploratory activity. In my opinion, the time to begin this reversal is now because of the time lag between exploration and final gas delivery to the pipeline.

It should seem obvious that the prices for both oil and gas are inadequate to provide the incentive sufficient to find and supply the needed petroleum for the future. I don't know precisely what the prices should be to provide an adequate incentive. I know they must be higher than they are now—for crude, at least as high and perhaps higher than in 1957 when prices began their downward slide. *As for gas, there needs to be the added qualification of having the price assured by a contract which cannot be altered by subsequent regulatory actions.*

The industry requires sufficient economic incentive to do its job of helping supply the world's massive future energy requirements. I have faith that competition will do the job of establishing prices that are both adequate and fair if the public and its elected representatives are fully informed of the critical need for such prices and thus permit free, competitive enterprise to do its job.

Vietnam—The Clergyman's Dilemma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL E. BUTTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. BUTTON. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I place in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent report en-

titled "Vietnam—The Clergyman's Dilemma," and prepared by the Executive Committee of Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, for distribution at the Washington mobilization, January 31 and February 1, 1967.

Vietnam—The Clergyman's Dilemma

(A position paper prepared by the Executive Committee of Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, for distribution at the Washington Mobilization, Jan. 31–Feb. 1, 1967)

I. THE NEED TO SPEAK

A time comes when silence is betrayal. That time has come for us in relation to Vietnam. As members of American churches and synagogues, we voice not only our own convictions, but seek also to articulate the unexpressed fears and longings of millions of Americans.

The Old Testament forbids us to prophecy "smooth things," and in the face of any evil, the mandate of Albert Camus is laid upon all men, whether religious or not, that they "should speak out, loud and clear, and that they should voice their condemnation in such a way that never a doubt, never the slightest doubt, could rise in the heart of the simplest man. That they should get away from abstraction and confront the blood-stained face history has taken on today."

Our share of responsibility for that blood-stained face haunts us today and prompts our outcry. We confess that we should have spoken sooner and with clearer voice, but we do speak now, hoping it is not too late, adding our voice to the voice of Pope Paul, the World Council of Churches, the Synagogue Council of America, the National Council of Churches, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, and other religious bodies, in urging a reappraisal of our policy in Vietnam.

Our allegiance to our nation is held under a higher allegiance to the God who is sovereign over all the nations. When there is a conflict between those allegiances, the priorities are clear: "You shall have no other gods before me." "We must obey God rather than men." Each day we find allegiance to our nation's policy more difficult to reconcile with allegiance to our God.

Both the exercise of faith and the expression of the democratic privilege oblige us to make our voices heard. For while we speak as members of religious communities, we also speak as American citizens. Responsible expression of disagreement and dissent is the lifeblood of democracy, and we speak out of a loyalty that refuses to condone in silence a national policy that is leading our world toward disaster.

We speak in full awareness that no easy answers are available. But we believe that issues must be pressed and questions forced, if new answers are to be forthcoming. For the old answers no longer satisfy us.

II. THE ONGOING ANGUISH

No one planned the type of war in which we are involved. It has slowly escalated from one small move to the next small move, each presumed to be the last that would be necessary, so that now we find our nation able to offer only military answers to poitical and human questions. We sympathize with the dilemmas that face our President and Congresmen in dealing with a situation all decent men abhor. But a recognition of past mistakes does not entitle us to repeat and compound those mistakes by continuing them on an ever-widening scale.

We are unable to support our nation's policy of military escalation, and we find those to whom we minister caught as we are in confusion and anguish because of it.

1. This anguish is based first of all on *the immorality of the warfare in Vietnam*. We add our voice to those who protest a war in which civilian casualties are greater than military; in which whole populations are deported against their will; in which the widespread use of napalm and other explosives is killing and maiming women, children, and the aged; in which the combatants are systematically destroying the crops and production capacity of a country they profess to liberate; in which the torturing of prisoners by both sides has been a commonplace.

All who believe that man is made in God's image must be horrified by such crimes committed against God and man. There is guilt on all sides in such a war as this, but the guilt is ours far more than we have courage to admit. We can only tremble at the thought that God is just.

2. Even those of us who recognize that sometimes evil must be done lest greater evil prevail, feel a sense of anguish in *the inconsistency between our stated aims and the consequences they produce.*

Our ongoing escalation, far from bringing the war closer to an end, serves rather to increase its duration and intensity.

Our bombing of the north, far from bringing our enemies to their knees, serves rather to strengthen their will to resist us.

Our military presence in Vietnam, far from stemming the tide of communism, serves rather to unite more firmly those communist societies which might otherwise develop separate destinies.

Our widening military involvement, far from demonstrating to the world our firmness and resolve, serves rather to make the world suspicious of us and fearful of our use of power.

Our unilateral action in Vietnam, far from strengthening our influence among other nations, serves rather to jeopardize new alliances we might be creating.

At home, we find the war threatening the very goals we claim to be defending in Vietnam. Programs to help members of minority groups realize their own human dignity are jeopardized if not destroyed. A spurious type of patriotism is challenging the right of dissent and the open debate of public issues. Financial and psychological preoccupation with the war is destroying creative plans to alleviate poverty, overcome disease, extend education, replace city slums and exalt human dignity. We grieve over lost opportunities that may never be reclaimed.

Many of us are called upon to counsel young men of draft age who in conscience question our presence in Vietnam. The moral dilemma they face is part and parcel of our own. Their anguish is frequently motivated by a high patriotism that forces them to challenge, often at great personal cost, policies they believe will stain their nation's honor. How can we counsel them to participate in such a war as this? When they decide that they cannot condone the war by their personal involvement, we must support them in that decision.

3. Our anguish is deepened by *the discrepancy between what we are told by our government and what we discover is actually taking place.*

We are told that the other side gives no indication of desire to negotiate, and we then discover that such indications have been given, but that we have responded either with rebuff or military escalation.

We are told that our nation is prepared to negotiate with all concerned, and we then discover that certain of the combatants will not be welcome at the conference table.

We are told that certain cities have not been bombed, and we then discover that they have been.

We are told that civilian targets have been avoided, and we then discover that they have not been.

Such actions not only play into the hands of those who distrust us, since they can consistently discount our word, but the continuous discovery of discrepancies between our nation's word and deed has already shaken the confidence of our own people in the word of their government. We fear both the immediate and long-range consequences for our nation of this increasing deterioration of trust.

This, then, is our ongoing anguish: a crisis of conscience concerning what we *do* know, and a crisis of confusion concerning what we do *not* know.

III. THE NEED FOR CLARIFICATION

The public debate is forcing us to choose between wrong alternatives in Vietnam. Consequently, agreeing with the American Roman Catholic Bishops that it is "our duty to magnify the moral voice of our nation," we ask for clarification of the real alternatives.

The choices usually presented to the American people are three: (1) we could escalate rapidly and "win the war" in the forseeable future; or (2) we could withdraw our troops and accept defeat; but (3) since to most Americans these alternatives are unsatisfactory, we must continue our present course, i.e. gradually escalate the war until the other side capitulates to our increasing pressure.

We believe the realistic alternatives are closer to the following: (1) we can continue to fight a hard, bloody, increasingly bitter and frustrating war for many years, a war we can conceivably "win," but at the price of destroying the land and people we presume to liberate, of sacrificing more and more of our own young men to death, of widening the probability that other nations will enter the conflict, of engendering increasing hostility against ourselves throughout the rest of the world, and of emerging at the end with no "victory" worth what it has cost; or (2) we can commit ourselves unequivocally to seek now rather than later for a negotiated peace, realizing that history does not present us with easy choices and that the road to such a peace would be long and torturous. Just as there has been frustration and heartache in our gradual escalation, so too there would be frustration and heartache in the development of new initiatives leading to a negotiated peace. Just as the risks of extending the war are great, so too the risks of seeking new initiatives for negotiated peace are great.

But confronted by such a choice, we believe the American people will choose the path of initiatives for negotiation, and that the risks involved in such a choice are well worth taking.

And so we put these questions to our government:

1. Will you help our nation confront the choice between the expansion of a war no one can "win" without destruction so terrible as to negate its stated aim, and the immediate pursuit of a negotiated peace no one can "win" in the conventional sense?

2. Will you make clear to all that we are not trying to win through negotiation what we have been unable to win through military might, and that we seek a peace without victory—a peace that can come only on terms agreeable to all at the conference table?

3. Will you make more credible use than you have of international agencies that could help us find ways to initiate negotiation?

IV. THE PRECONDITIONS OF NEGOTIATION

The possibility of negotiation will depend in large part on how such questions are answered. Many in our nation already feel that all efforts toward a negotiated peace have been made by us, and that any further initiatives must come from the other side. But certain preconditions that seem indispensible to negotiations are not yet present in our policy, and without them other nations can hardly be expected to take seriously our intent:

1. The first precondition is implied in our questions and involves an assurance from our government that we are genuinely ready to negotiate, and that we are not merely trying to win diplomatically what we have not won militarily. There will be no reason for

response from the other side unless we indicate a willingness to seek peace without prior assurance that all details of the peace will follow our desires.

2. There must be some action by our government to lend credibility to our willingness to negotiate. It is increasingly clear that one indispensible prerequisite is our willingness unconditionally to cease the bombing of North Vietnam.

We are at an impasse. We have said we will not cease the bombing until there is a sign from the other side of willingness to negotiate, and yet when such signs have come we have ignored them. They have said they will give no further sign of willingness to negotiate until we cease the bombing, and yet when we have briefly ceased the bombing, no sign has come.

There is no way beyond this impasse until someone takes a fresh initiative. We, as the stronger nation, have both the obligation and the opportunity to take that initiative.

The initiative must be unconditional. Having ceased the bombing, we must be prepared to wait until the other side responds. We have no reason to expect that a response will come soon, for it will take time to gain credibility for our intent. In the interval, while diplomatic channels are explored, we will call upon religious leaders in other countries to intercede and urge that positive response be made.

3. If we truly do not intend to dictate the terms of peace in advance, then we cannot exclude from the conference table any who are involved in the present struggle. Our nation must accept the National Liberation Front as a partner in the peace talks in its own right. The previous assurances of our leaders have failed to state this clearly.

4. Other conditions are desirable, such as a de-escalation of the ground war to a degree commensurate with the protection necessary for those already there. But since the destiny of all nations is involved in a negotiated peace, we must not seek it unilaterally, but must ask the full cooperation of all agencies designed to deal with international tensions. These must include an increasing role for the United Nations, and a recognition of the potential role of the International Control Commission in reducing ground hostility by providing an international presence under cover of which foreign troops might ultimately be withdrawn from Vietnam.

Although we address these appeals particularly to our own nation, we are fully aware that negotiations involve more than one participant, and we lay the seriousness of our concern upon all men everywhere to offer further help in transforming possibilities into realities.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER ACTION

There are further steps that Americans can take to indicate our desire to play a creative rather than destructive role in the future of Vietnam.

1 Our Congressmen will shortly begin debate on an appropriations bill. Their response to that bill will say much about our true intentions in Vietnam. We urge that additional time be allocated for a careful estimate of the costs of the war by a number of congressional committee, such as the Joint Economic Committee, the Ways and Means Committee, the Education and Labor Committee, the Judiciary Committee and the Foreign Affairs Committee, in addition to the Appropriations Committee and the Armed Services Committee, to determine what costs are necessary (1) to maintain the current level of military operations, (2) to finance new stages of build-up and escalation, and (3) to provide the type of military and civilian security that would be needed during a period of prolonged negotiation. In this way, members of the Congress can choose the type and degree of military operation they wish to support.

2. We ask the Congress to re-examine the international agreements to which the United States is pledged. To an unprecedented degree, today's world order and human life itself depend upon the exercise of constraint in the conduct of foreign affairs. The origin and conduct of the war in Vietnam must be examined in this light. Particular attention must be focused on the destruction of civilian life and property, the use of gas and other chemicals, and the treatment of prisoners of war. Our country must pledge itself anew to conform policy and practice in Vietnam to international law, as embodied in the several agreements of Geneva and the Hague, the Nuremberg judgments, the charter of the United Nations, and other such documents. The abandonment of constraint leads our country and the world down the path of brutalization and destruction.

3. Our religious bodies must assume a particular responsibility for prisoners of war in both the north and south. We call upon international religious agencies to take the initiative in developing effective programs for speedy repatriation and human treatment of prisoners, with special attention to nutritional and medical needs. Under no circumstances can our nation condone brutal treatment of prisoners on the ground that the other side does so.

4. We must immediately support efforts to insure that victims of bombing and terrorism, particularly those who have been burned by napalm, are given proper hospitalization wherever adequate facilities are available, including the United States. We welcome the formation of the Committee of Responsibility that is working to this end, and urge governmental support for its efforts.

We urge all religious organizations to follow the example of the World Council of Churches in arranging special offerings for the relief of all victims of warfare in Vietnam, whether in the north or south, to be administered through the International Red Cross or similar agencies.

5. At such time as negotiations have begun, further creative opportunities should be opened up for both the public nad the private sectors of our nation. There will be need for the development of a genuinely representative government in the south. Members of our Congress and our legal profession can offer their services, under the auspices of Asian members of such bodies as the International Parliamentary Union, for whatever counsel the Vietnamese desire in the development of a constitutional assembly.

Those with special skills in such fields as education, land reform, housing, nutrition, medicine and job training can be prepared to help in Vietnam during the long and, involved period of negotiations. The resources of various Catholic, Protestant and Jewish relief agencies can be coordinated for these and other ventures, and we urge foundations to support extended opportunities for service in these areas.

We are eager that many of our citizens pledge themselves to acts of mercy and rebuilding and reconciliation. These are a particular American responsibility because of the deep measure of American involvement in acts of injury and destruction. But such acts will have enduring meaning only when our nation has pledged itself to seek negotiated peace in more courageous terms than have yet been undertaken. Otherwise we will appear to be using small gestures of creativity to excuse massive acts of ongoing destruction.

Other projects should be initiated even as negotiations proceed, and we urge that further suggestions be sent to Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027, for appropriate implementation.

In all such ventures, however, there is a danger to which Americans must be particularly sensitive. We must not seek to export the American way of life, or impose an alien culture on the Vietnamese. By insisting that our help be channeled through international agencies, we can clarify our desire to serve only as others choose to use us, and not as we dictate. We must convey by word and even more by deed, our desire to let the Vietnamese be the arbiters of their own destiny, and insist only on such international controls as will temporarily be needed to insure that injustices are prevented or properly rectified.

VI. OUR ONGOING RESPONSIBILITY

We know that millions of Americans share the anguish we express, and endorse the alternatives we propose. If they have been silent heretofore, we plead with them to speak up now, and pledge them our support. If they have spoken earlier and felt no resonance of public response, we plead with them to speak again, so that together we can create the new groundswell of public outcry that will force a reappraisal and a new direction.

We reaffirm our own responsibility to urge that new direction. We pledge to lay this burning concern upon the consciences of our religious bodies, through our local congregations, our denominational agencies, our councils of churches, and our involvement in civic groups, so that increasing pressure can be brought to bear, through the pulpit, the public forum, the mass media, and the ballot box, upon those in public life who make our policy decisions.

As we face a difficult and dangerous period in the history of man, we remember that our task is not to assign blame for the past, but to accept responsibility for the future; not to cast the stone of condemnation, but to offer the helping hand of reconciliation; not to proceed self-righteously and vindictively, but to walk humbly and repentantly.

We who are so deeply involved in the immensity of the present war must have the courage to initiate the steps that will lead to peace. If we do not take those steps, we firmly believe that God will judge us harshly, and will hold us accountable for the horror we continue to unleash. But if we do turn about, if we seek to undo whatever measure we can of the wrong that has been done, then we also firmly believe that as we walk that long and hard and often discouraging road, God himself will be with us, to guide us to chasten and sustain us, and that He will deign to use even us in restoring some portion of the divine creation we have so grieviously misused.

Woodford County Protests Control Takeove.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, the board of supervisors of Woodford County, in my congressional district, has drawn a resolution protesting the ever-increasing trend to take away the control of our local governments. They feel as I do that the control of governmental functions should be kept as close as possible to the people.

Under unanimous consent I include the resolution at this point in the RECORD:

RESOLUTION

Whereas there has been developed within the last few years the thought among certain minority groups that the best possible government would be one of bigness, controlled centrally by appointed persons not directly answerable to the electorate, and

Whereas it is the thought and belief of the County Board of Supervisors of Woodford County, Illinois, that the best of government is that in which those governed have a direct voice through the ballot in the selection of those persons who actually govern, and

Whereas this Board feels that it is not in the direct interest of the people of various townships, districts, nor of the State, that governments be necessarily further centralized, and

Whereas the Legislature of the State of Illinois is currently in session and many new proposals and bills will come before this group for elimination of certain local government offices and consequently a centralization at a district or regional or state level removing certain essential functions of government including schools, law enforcement, taxing bodies, and other groups of this nature, from local control.

Now therefore be it resolved by the Board of Supervisors, the County of Woodford and State of Illinois, in session on January 10th, 1967, that it is the consensus of opinion of this Board that before any Master Plan and any further consolidation or centralizations of functions of government is carried out, or passed into law, that there be pilot programs established to evaluate and to give serious study to any type of local, governmental consolidation.

Be it further resolved that the County Board of Supervisors of Woodford County, Illinois, are in general opposed to any further appointive offices and will strongly oppose any movement to remove local government officials from the elective process.

Be it further resolved that the Board of Supervisors of Woodford County, Illinois are on record as favoring efficiency and responsible local, state and national government and will support any consolidation and change which is in the best interest of our society.

Be it further resolved that a copy of this Resolution be distributed to the Honorable Governor of Illinois, the Honorable Senators Everett M. Dirksen and Charles Percy of Illinois, the Honorable U.S. Representative Robert Michels, to State Representatives William Scott, Harber Hall and Ed Madigan and to the Honorable Senator E. B. Groen of this District.

Dated at Eureka, Illinois this 10th day of January, 1967.

Approved and adopted by the Board of Supervisors of Woodford County, Illinois on this 10th day of January, 1967.

JOHN WUETHRICH, *Chairman.*

Attest:

CECIL W. NOHL, *Clerk.*

Preservation of Wet Lands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, on January 10, 1967, I introduced H.R. 1397, a bill to preserve the Nation's valuable estuarine areas. The importance of legislative action to establish procedures for Federal, State, and local cooperation in protecting our natural resources was illustrated at public hearings conducted by the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Subcommittee on Fish and Wildlife Conservation last year.

H.R. 1397 sets forth a plan for preservation of valuable estuarine areas. The basic provisions of the bill are:

First. To preserve, protect, develop, restore, and make accessible selected parts of the Nation's diminishing estuarine areas which are valuable for sport and commercial fishing, wildlife conservation, outdoor recreation, and scenic beauty.

Second. To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to enter into agreements with States and local communities for the permanent management and preservation of publicly owned estuarine and wetland areas; to designate national estuarine areas; and to pay all development costs, except development for recreational uses other than hunting and fishing in which case the Secretary would pay 50 percent of development costs.

Third. To authorize the Secretary to aquire privately owned estuarine areas provided such acquisition is approved by Congress.

Fourth. To authorize the Secretary to conduct a 5-year nationwide study of estuaries of the United States and to report annually to Congress the results of the study. Maximum cost, $4.5 million.

Fifth. To prohibit anyone from dredging, filling, or excavating any estuary of the United States, or the Great Lakes and connecting waterways unless the Secretary issues a permit for such purposes—in addition to Corps of Engineers.

Sixth. The bill provides that State hunting and fishing laws relative to fish and wildlife will apply within any national estuarine area and that the bill shall not affect any authority of the States and local communities to regulate and permit shellfishing.

My original interest in establishing national estuarine areas stems from my efforts to preserve the remaining 16,000 acres of wet lands located on the south shore of Long Island. This area was the subject of my bill, H.R. 11236, introduced in the first session of the 89th Congress. During the past 20 years, the valuable wetlands area of the south shore of Long Island, N.Y., has diminished from 30,000 acres to the present 16,000 acres.

The history of the "rape of Long Island's wet lands" by indiscriminate dredging of bay bottom for commercial development, is set forth in the public hearings on estuarine and wetlands areas referred to above. It is a record of destruction which signals the need for immediate congressional action.

A major change in the legislation which I am sponsoring in the 90th Congress—H.R. 1397—relates to the respective jurisdictions of the Army Corps of Engineers and the Department of the Interior in connection with dredging or filling permits. At the present time the Corps of Engineers has exclusive jurisdiction over applications for permits to dredge, excavate or fill estuarine areas.

Under H.R. 1397 the Secretary of the Interior is given a voice in deciding whether these valuable estuarine areas shall be altered for the commercial benefit of builders and real estate developers. The Department of the Interior is given a veto power over activities in estuarine areas which could destroy valuable wet lands.

A dual permit system is established under section 12 of H.R. 1397 which for the first time places an agency with conservation responsibilities on an equal footing with the Corps of Engineers whose primary responsibility relates to navigation.

I believe this section will place our public policy of preserving natural resources in proper perspective and have a beneficial impact on our sport and commercial fishing industries and our efforts to promote wildlife conservation, recreation, and scenic beauty.

Mr. Speaker, the protection of valuable estuarine areas from the threat of the bulldozer which buries natural resources under concrete foundations is a national problem.

In the November 1966 edition of the Conservation Bulletin published by the Natural Resources Council of Maine, Robert L. Dow has written an interesting and informative article on the "Economic Yield of Some Main Coastal Wet Lands."

I insert the article at this point:

ECONOMIC YIELD OF SOME MAINE COASTAL WET LANDS

(By Robert L. Dow)

We may discuss the value of estuaries in terms of nutrient generation or as spawning and nursery areas for various commercially important marine animals, but in trying to communicate with those who eventually determine the disposition of estuaries, it may be more appropriate to report specific monetary values. Locally, municipal government finds the argument to broaden the tax base a compelling appeal. Biological reports are ignored because frequently they are concerned with intangibles.

I believe the only effective method of assuring protection and intelligent utilization of estuaries and associated wetlands is to use the same techniques that exploiters of these areas have been employing for years—the appeal of economic return.

In 1962 and 1963 I made some preliminary appraisals of the cash value of wetlands. Since then, further study of these source data indicates that my early estimates had been extremely conservative. Studies of shellfish growth and survival in Maine estuarine areas have shown that growth is a continuous process except during the winter months. The length of the non-growing period varies somewhat from year to year, but does not appear to exceed three months. Contrasting with this cessation in growth, shellfish in similar areas to the south frequently decline in metabolic activity during the summer.

From observations made during the past 20 years, it is assumed that the productivity of wetlands in Maine is at least 9/12 of the calorie production of southern marshes reported by Odum, or approximately 24 million calories per acre per year. According to the Maine Department of Agriculture, the best agricultural land in Maine produces about twelve to fifteen million calories (ensilage corn) per acre per year or roughly, one-half the nutrient yield of wetlands. Gross income from the best, market garden farms in Maine runs as high as $2,000 per acre per year. On a comparative basis the major marshlands of Maine are producing $4,000 worth of nutrients per acre per year.

Since the yield of shellfish growing areas within the optimum range of environmental conditions has often exceeded this figure, it is assumed that with more sophisticated management methods, coastal wetlands should produce in shellfish alone average yields considerably in excess of $4,000 per acre per year.

The Scarboro River, for example, produced 1.4 million pounds of clam meats worth one-quarter of a million dollars in 1946 from what is believed to have been the 1941 year-class. Yield was estimated to have been between 500 and 700 bushels per acre, at current landed values worth from $6,000 to $8,400 per acre. The 1947 set in the three to four acres of Brigham's Cove, West Bath-Phippsburg, yielded more than 18,000 bushels or 198,000 pounds of quahog meats, with a landed value of $81,000, currently worth $161,370, or approximately $46,100 per acre. The 1947 set near Bunganuc Point, Brunswick, produced 2,087 bushels of quahogs per acre, or an average value of $9,392 per acre; at current prices, $18,687 per acre. In 1959, a twenty-acre portion of the Wells Marsh flats produced 91,350 pounds of clam meats having a landed value of $42,637, or $2,131 per acre.

The 1952 year class of quahogs in Middle Bay by 1955 had been reduced by natural mortality to 89 million individuals averaging one inch in diameter and occupying 22 acres. Had it been possible to utilize this crop fully, the primary wholesale value at today's prices would have meant a yield of $64,470 per acre for the crop, or approximately $16,117 per acre per year. In 1965, an eight-acre portion of the Scarboro Marsh flats produced 43,035 pounds of clam meats with a landed value of $22,952, or $2,869 per acre. For the past 20 years, a 20-acre portion of Cod Cove, Edgecomb, has produced an annual average landed value of marine worms of $75,000 or $3,750 per acre.

It will be observed that these values are for one species only in each area and suggest that reasonably optimum conditions existed prior to the time when the crop was harvested. Studies of seawater temperature, precipitation, surface water runoff, and other environmental factors in relation to abundance and availability have indicated that total landed value for the more important commercial species has remained fairly stable. Only at the extremes of the historic temperature range have there been significant declines in relative value. Wide fluctuations in the population of individual species have occurred, but generally when some species have declined in abundance because of unfavorable environmental conditions, other species have increased in population and served to equalize the total value of all landings.

Across the Scarboro River from Pine Point is Western Beach, a shellfish area with an entirely different aggregation of problems. The population of this 136 acre flat was estimated from sampling done during the winter of 1947–1948 to be 11,293 bushels of clams averaging one-half inch in diameter, and consisting of one billion, one hundred and thirty-eight million individual animals. Quantitative measurements of clams surviving in the area over the four-year period from 1947 to 1950 indicated that total survival from the time they were one-half inch in diameter until they reached two and one-half inches ranged from .003 percent under the most favorable conditions to .0004 percent under the most unfavorable conditions. Had it been possible to stabilize the sediments, the yield of the resource might very well have been more than 1300 bushels per acre, with a current value of $15,600 per acre for the four-year period.

Efforts to improve the efficiency of estuary yields have not been entirely successful nor completely lacking in promise. Experiments to improve water circulation, thus reducing hydrogen sulphide have been carried out on a small scale. Efforts to reduce scour have likewise been made on a modest experimental basis. Results were encouraging but produced only short term benefits. It is believed that a complete hydrographic study would develop information on the location and construction of baffles, deflectors, stabilizers, or other devices which would make possible an increase in the efficient use of calories and the production of food materials commensurate with the capability of the area.

The Maine Department of Sea and Shore Fisheries has been carrying on commercial-scale shellfish management experiments since 1947. In addition to these projects, various experimental-scale operations have been carried on in many other coastal areas. Management has consisted of area and population surveys, protection of natural sets from predation and premature harvesting, rotation of growing areas, controlled harvesting, in terms of area and amounts, and transplanting of seed stock. Total cost between 1947 and 1954 amounted to $20,489.44. The total landed value of shellfish resulting from these experiments was $238,617.50. Commercial fishermen themselves estimated that the total value of landings would not have been more than the cost of the experiments had no management controls been established. Even without sophisticated management of estuaries, resource productivity directly usable by man has been noteworthy. The crop yields described were from five managed and three unmanaged areas. Average acre yield of the managed areas was $26,851; of the unmanaged areas, $12,600.

Marine worms are generally three years of age when they are harvested. Soft shell clams in the better growing areas first enter the fishery at three years of age; the median for the State is five years. Hard shell clams also first enter the fishery at three years of age, but may remain fishable for as long as ten years. On the assumption that the average inshore crop of shellfish or annelids will be four years of age, the average annual yield per acre for managed resources has been $6,712; for unmanaged stocks, $3,150; or an average of $5,377 per acre per year for all areas.

Since harvesting methods are extremely primitive, inefficient, and resource destructive, the actual productivity of these areas is far greater than the fishery yield. Without mangement, soft shell clam harvesting efficiency, for example, is equivalent to about 34 percent of the total supply.

Mr. Speaker, last year a similar bill was reported favorably by the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee and on October 3, 1966, the vote in the House was 208 for, to 108 against. However, despite this overwhelming support the bill failed because a two-thirds vote was required for a suspension of the rules, to permit other legislation to be considered out of their regular order.

Mr. Speaker, I know that many of my colleagues in the House are concerned with the preservation of our valuable natural resources located in their own congressional districts. I believe the new concept and the procedures established by H.R. 1397 provide a unique opportunity for the Federal Government, the States and political subdivisions to work together under an agreement drawn by them to preserve and protect our natural resources.

I urge my colleagues to review the provisions of H.R. 1397 and to support this needed legislation.

Secretary Freeman Speaks at Tulsa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure last week to attend a luncheon at the Southwest Agricultural Forum in Tulsa, Okla., where the Honorable Orville Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture, took the guests on a fascinating excursion into the future of farming.

The future Secretary Freeman sees as farmers using computers to select crops and acreages and seed types. It has automation and applied genetics. But it also has people, more people than ever before, living in the countryside, enjoying the outdoors and the proximity to the soil, because the Secretary envisions industry scattered across the Nation in the rural areas, rather than clustered around overwhelmingly large cities.

The Secretary's vision, as expressed in his speech in Tulsa, tells us much about the reasons farming is turning into a more prosperous, sounder industry today, with increases in net income and exports and decreases in surpluses during the years he has served.

Mr. Speaker, I believe many Members of this body might find the Secretary's Tulsa speech interesting and informative. I would like to have it appear in the Record.

The speech follows:

AGRICULTURE, 2000

(Address by Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman at the Southwest Agricultural Forum, Tulsa Civic Assembly Center, Tulsa, Okla., January 20, 1967)

You may have noticed by the title that my talk today will go beyond the boundaries of this conference's prime concern—the decade immediately ahead. It will. But in doing so I hope to expand the dimension in a manner that enhances the importance of the next ten years—rather than diminishes it.

Man's fascination with Tomorrow is as old as man himself.

From the dawn of his imagination, he has tried to peer behind the "curtain's magic fold" to where Bret Harte said "the glowing future lies unrolled."

He has speculated about the future for profit, for amusement, out of simple curiosity . . . and sometimes for reasons bigger than himself.

And sometimes, he has, indeed, looked into Tomorrow.

Tennyson said he "dipt into the future, far as human eye could see" and "saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be."

Tennyson was a romantic. A more pragmatic poet turned his inner eye upon Tomorrow and declared that the future has never been . . . that it remains for man to make it.

The towers of Tomorrow, he said, are built upon the foundations of Today.

We're gathered here in Tulsa to try to turn back a corner of the "curtain's magic fold" . . . to peer into the future of American agriculture . . . to determine whether the glowing prospects many foresee will, indeed, materialize . . . to decide whether we have built the foundations for the towers of Tomorrow . . . and to anticipate, if we can, the problems we may be called upon to solve.

In just 33 years we'll turn the corner into the 21st Century. What will it be like, American agriculture in the Year 2000?

No one really knows, of course. There are too many intangibles . . . too many uncertainties. But predictions are being made, and perhaps we should examine them.

As I stand here—about to tell this group what may or may not happen in their own chosen field—I'm reminded of the story of the Army sergeant who had made an excellent reputation lecturing to enlisted men on a certain subject. His captain called him in, complimented him, and said he had been chosen to lecture to a special group.

The sergeant walked into the lecture room and gazed out over the biggest collection of brass hats he had ever seen gathered in one place. Every man in the room outranked him.

Embarrassed, he tried to think of a modest beginning. "There are thousands of men in the Army who know more about this subject than I do," he began. Then, realizing he was destroying his reputation as an expert, he blurted out, "But I don't see any of them in this room!"

Well, I make no pretense of being an expert prognosticator. All I can do is tell you what some experts foresee for agriculture in the year 2000.

So, let's jump to the turn of the new century and take a look at what they predict we'll find.

Some envisage the Year 2000 as the time when the American farmer finally is freed from the arduous and time-consuming demands of planting and harvesting . . . a time when he, too, enjoys leisure for the pursuit of recreation, entertainment, advanced learning, and he and the world he inhabits can provide true parity of education and opportunity for his children.

Some see him sitting in an air-conditioned farm office . . . scanning a print-out from a computer center . . . typing out an inquiry on a keyboard which relays the question to the computer.

The computer center, which he may own in partnership with other farmers, perhaps through his cooperative, helps him to decide how many acres to plant to what crop, what kind of seeds to sow, what kind and how much fertilizer to apply, exactly what his soil condition is, and what day to harvest what crop.

The experts say the fields on this hypothetical farm will bear a surface similarity to the fields of today . . . but a surface similarity only. They see a land carefully graded and contoured to control erosion and the use of precious water. They see a soil bearing nutrients to meet the specific needs of each crop, and treated to control harmful organisms, weeds and plant diseases.

They foresee virus-free plants, bred by geneticists to give higher yields in a much-shorter growing period and to mature at the same time. The stalks on these plants, they say, will lend themselves to mechanical harvesting, and new uses will be made of the parts of the plant once discarded at harvest.

The experts envision all the field work on this farm carried out by automated machinery, directed by tape-controlled programs, and supervised by television scanners mounted on towers.

They predict that weather will no longer be the incalculable threat it remains in our time, for satellites will provide long-range forecasting—providing time to prepare for, divert or dissipate damaging storms.

They say robot harvesters will complete the farming operation with high-speed picking, grading, packaging and freezing . . . and will then transport the produce to transportation depots for distribution to retail warehouses.

While many find this picture of the future exciting, others find it depressing. Some contend that automation and the computer will excise the soul from farming . . . will destroy its joy, dull its satisfactions, and chill the ageless intimacy between man and his land.

But others say No. They say the farmer of the 21st Century will be more deeply, intricately, and learnedly involved with the land than ever before. They point out that no computer can give a learned answer until it is asked a learned question . . . that no robot tractor can operate until a skilled human being programs it to operate.

And they contend that the joy and satisfaction of farming will come—as it always has—from the successful interplay between the farmer and his soil.

By the year 2000, optimistic visionaries say, this interplay will have become so successful that yields of today will be doubled or tripled . . . that corn yields, for instance, could run from 300 to 500 bushels to the acre.

Ah yes, the critics counter, but what good automation, what good maximum efficiency, what good bigness, what good record yields . . . if the producer cannot *own* the land he works? How much joy, how much satisfaction, how much ageless intimacy with the soil can a farmer reap from land that is not his?

For how, they ask, could one farmer ever hope to own a farm that big, that automated . . . that incredibly expensive?

If there is one troublesome nettle in agriculture's garden of tomorrow, this is it. Financing the farm of the future through the methods of today would be impossible, for the farms of the Year 2000 will require investments of millions—not thousands—of dollars.

The inexorable nature of the technological revolution dictates that the farms of the future will be bigger, will be better, and will be far more costly to own and to operate.

The issue then is this: If nothing is done now to insure the creation of a dynamic, new, creatively flexible system of financing farms and farming, the farms of tomorrow will *not* be owned by the farmers who work them. If this is what we want . . . we do nothing.

If this is what we do *not* want . . . if we agree that farming is, indeed, a way of life, and not just a means to make a living . . . if we agree that it is important that the family farm system continues to make a key contribution to the strength and health of this nation . . . then we will adjust our credit systems for tomorrow.

This we have done before. This we can do again.

And now, let me turn my attention to the consumer of tomorrow. What will Agriculture/2000 mean to the housewives of America?

It will mean better foods, more nutritious foods, better tasting foods, a bigger variety of foods . . . and still at a reasonable cost, thanks to an efficiency of operation which continues to hold unit production costs to a minimum.

By the year 2000, the consumer should be able to buy her whole milk according to whatever butterfat content she desires. She'll choose meat cuts with hardly any fat. She'll receive more protein per portion of cereal. And all of these changes will come about through the miracle of genetics . . . by breeding cows and meat animals and cereal grains to meet specific dietary and taste requirements.

And how will she shop?

Most likely, she'll go to a pushbutton supermarket. There she'll drop a coded card into a slot beside the commodity she selects and punch a button. Impulses travel two ways—to a cash register where her bill is totaled, and to a central warehouse where the order is assembled. The completed order will await the customer at her car.

I said this was a speculative sketch. In a few moments I'll point out some of the pitfalls which lie before this optimistic concept of tomorrow's agriculture. But in the meantime, bear in mind that this sketch scarcely touches the surface of the wonders of the future.

As I think of the other fantastic advances predicted for the years ahead—advances I haven't mentioned—I'm reminded of the story about the two soldiers from an inland State who one day found themselves on a transport ship going overseas.

Standing on the deck, one of them gazed out over the vast expanse of ocean and said, "That's the most water I've ever seen in all my life. I never thought there was that much water in the world."

To which the other soldier replied, "Heck, you ain't seen nothin' yet. That's just the top of it!"

And that's the way it is in agriculture. We "ain't" seen nothin' yet.

But the question is . . . are we ready for it? Have we laid those foundations of Today to build those towers of Tomorrow? If we haven't, there'll be no towers of Tomorrow, for as Marcus Aurelius observed many centuries ago, "That which comes ever after conforms to that which has gone before."

So now let's take a quick look at "what has gone before."

In the brief history of our young nation, we've seen the prestige, the influence, and the prosperity of agriculture wax and wane time and time again. Farmers built this nation. They pushed back its frontiers. They won its independence. And they created its government.

In Colonial Days, 90 percent of the working Americans were engaged in agriculture, 90 percent lived on the land, and an overwhelming percentage of the national income came from farm production.

Then came the cyclical changes in the farmer's fortune. When demand outstripped farm production, the farmer gained in income and importance. When production outstripped demand, his income and his influence declined.

In the past quarter century, the cycle has come full circle once again. Throughout World War II and the Korean conflict, farmers produced to intense demand. Their importance was acknowledged and their efforts were rewarded. But the technological advances which had enabled the farmer to meet wartime production demands were to do him in when the Korean conflict ended.

By the middle of the 1950's, the genius of the American farmer had produced the supreme irony. He had become an object of derision and the target of epithets. He was accused of feeding at the public trough, of contributing to high taxes, federal deficits, strained family budgets, and inflation. For a time flogging the farmer threatened to eclipse baseball as the nation's favorite pastime.

By 1960, overproduction had robbed the farmer not only of prestige but had cost him dearly in earnings. By the close of that year, we had a stockpile of 1.4 billion bushels of wheat and 85 million tons of feed grains, and net farm income had plummeted $2.4 billion in just eight short years. In the meantime costs were rising steadily and the cost-price squeeze tightened.

The outlook was so grim that some observers held out little hope. They foresaw political abandonment of the farmer, punitive farm legislation, continued price and income depressing surpluses, little social and economic leigslative concern for his unique conditions, further loss of prestige, a decline in farm living standards and farm production and a resulting loss of natural resources as a product of human neglect.

None of these things happened.

Instead, in six event-filled years, American agriculture turned the corner from gloom to promise.

We began to look on agriculture not as an isolated problem segment of the American economy but in terms of its contribution to the whole economy. We began to view abundance not as a liability but as an opportunity. We focused attention on agriculture as a success story.

Politicians did *not* abandon the farmer. Despite the fact that his representation in the Halls of Congress has diminished in the face of population shifts and redistricting, recognition by urban Congressman of the farmer's new importance was such that five major pieces of farm legislation were passed in the first six years of this decade. Many in this banquet hall helped to pass this legislation.

Each of these was designed to meet specific needs and solve specific problems. The record since their passage is evidence of their effectiveness.

The surpluses of the Fifties are gone—replaced by sensible reserves. By the end of November, the Commodity Credit Corporation investment in farm commodities was down to $4.55 billion, a reduction of $1.9 billion from the previous year, and about $4 billion less than the peak investment years of 1956 and 1959.

Government is reverting to the role of referee in the marketplace—an insurer of equity instead of a participant—and, except for a brief period during the Forties, the market is freer today than it has been for 30 years.

In place of the "little concern" predicted in 1960 for rural America, social and economic measures have been enacted since that time which concentrate on the countryside's special problems and special needs. I speak now of the struggle to build a viable, balanced economy in rural America, of which farming per se is an integral part.

Rural development programs, better community facilities, new homes, improved schools, medical services, expanded electric and telephone service, water and sewer installations, and a resulting variety of new off-farm jobs are helping to bring to an ever-increasing number of rural nonfarm and small farm Americans parity of opportunity.

Let me digress here for a moment. Gradually this nation has come to realize that one of our greatest assets in an increasingly crowded world is space. We are coming to understand that we can make *another* place in the countryside for those who, for one reason or another, cannot find a rewarding place in commercial agriculture. We don't *have* to dump these people into our already-crowded, problem-beset cities.

More than that . . . perhaps we can help relieve the strain on our cities. There are many frustrated urban dwellers who are eager to return to a new countryside—a countryside with opportunity.

Space, fresh air, sun, sky, and water can be "packaged and sold" . . . sold to the industries that can bring jobs to rural America . . . sold to city people who seek outdoor recreation—a chance to get back to Nature—and are willing to pay for it.

So . . . as we look ahead to the Year 2000, we can see a new kind of America—an America where the giant arms of industry extend into the countryside, there to profit by adequate space, adequate power, water and communications, adequate and eager manpower; an America where more and more Americans can live happier, healthier lives where they *want* to live—*in Countryside, U.S.A.*

And now let me turn once again to those gloomy predictions made back in 1960, the predictions that luckily went awry.

Farm living standards were supposed to decline. They did not. They improved because farm income increased . . . and farm income increased because surpluses diminished, the number of consumers grew, the amount of consumer income climbed, farm exports skyrocketed, and Government price support and incentive payment programs moved ahead with the times.

From the 1960 level of $11.7 billion, net farm income jumped to more than $16.1 billion in 1966 . . . the second highest mark in history . . . and gross farm income at $49.2 billion and net income per farm at $4,900 set all-time records.

Of even greater significance was the accelerated graduation into "adequate size" class by family farms in recent years. One measure of "adequate size" is gross sales of $10,000 a year or more. Since 1959, nearly 200,000 farm families have moved into that class. Studies indicate that at that level they are gaining on city workers and approaching parity of income.

But let me make is emphatically clear at this point that, despite steady progress the last six years, the farmer's income *still lags far behind that of other Americans*.

On a per capita basis, the farmer's income is $1,700. Other Americans earn $2,610 on an average per capita basis.

Farm prices, though up last year, have been down the last few months, and today are *less* than they averaged between 1947 and 1949. At the same time, food costs are 35 percent *higher*.

This the farmer bitterly resents—and properly so.

This discrepancy *must be corrected*. It must be corrected because it is unfair to the farmer and therefore wrong. It must be corrected because if farmers don't get a fair return commensurate with the other segments of society, we will lose our best farmers. If that happens the entire nation, not just the farmer, will be hurt.

And now let's look at the final gloomy prediction made in 1960—that farm mechanization and production efficiency would stage a ruinous retreat in the face of continued economic decline and political rebuff.

Once again the prediction was wrong.

From 1960 to 1965, investment in farm machinery *increased* by more than $5 billion.

In the past ten years, farm production per man-hour has doubled. Today, a third fewer people on farms, harvesting one-ninth fewer acres, produced one-fifth more than a decade ago. The average farm worker now supplies food and fiber for 37 persons, 22 more than he could less than a generation ago. In comparison, a farm worker in Russian feeds only seven, and a farm worker in France only fourteen.

In four and a half decades, U.S. productivity per acre has increased 82 percent and output per breeding animal has almost doubled. One hour's farm labor now produces five times more than it did in 1921.

The productive capacity of the American farm has provided this nation's consumers with the best diet in the world—at the lowest cost in terms of percentage of take-home pay—the only realistic measure.

Moreover, the exploding technological revolution in American agriculture has been of vital importance to the poorer nations of the world, for the resulting abundance has often meant the difference between life and death for millions of people overseas. Last year, our country shipped a fifth of its total wheat production to India, alone, and exported two-fifths more to other nations. Yet American consumers suffered no shortage of bread.

I hope this remarkable record of accomplishment in the Sixties is convincing enough proof that American agriculture has, indeed, built its foundations of Today for the towers of Tomorrow.

In this year of 1967, we are embarked on a New Era in Agriculture . . . and we've set sail in a sound ship.

But there are reefs and shoals ahead.

Earlier, I said that historically the fortunes of agriculture in America have been tied to the production-demand ratio. When demand moved ahead of production, farmers prospered for prices were strong. When production moved ahead of demand, the reverse was true.

In recent years, government has used a number of management tools and programs to slow agricultural output expansion, move toward fair income for producers, and make better use of our abundance.

First, the rate of output expansion has been held down by a system of largely voluntary government programs, which strengthened the market and also helped farmer income by means of commodity price supports and direct payments.

Second, our Government joined with private groups to develop new and expanded commercial markets—bringing successive new records in dollar exports in seven of the past eight years.

Third, we have carried on one of history's great humanitarian efforts under Food for Peace—a continuous stream of life-saving food and fiber that since 1955 has averaged about $1.5 billion a year. In addition, in the last six fiscal years we have distributed commodities valued at $2,439,000,000 to needy families, schools, and institutions in the United States. In the same period, our cash donations to the school lunch and special milk programs totaled $1,253,000,000, and Food Stamps given to needy American families were valued at $158,000,000.

Fourth, commodities produced beyond the limits of what the commercial market could absorb at support price levels—and beyond Food for Peace needs—moved into government-held stocks.

In the past six years, these stocks have declined. In fact, the combination of efforts I have just listed—bolstered by new legislation and the support of the farm and business communities—has brought an end to the mountainous surpluses of the Fifties. Prices have been strengthened, and farm income has been sharply boosted.

I only wish I could tell you that all our problems are solved—that the balance in agriculture we are enjoying for the first time in half a century will continue—and that future farm production will keep steady pace with demand.

I can't do that. We must all accept the fact—here and now—that the technological revolution in agriculture is really just beginning . . . and that the production potential it promises for tomorrow staggers today's imagination.

Bear in mind that in 1966—with relative supply-demand balance in the marketplace—your government in effect "bought" about 60 million acres out of production. Even with large increases in plantings to meet world demand and build reserves of wheat and feed grains to safer levels, our programs will continue to help farmers hold 30 to 35 million acres out of production in 1967.

If all that acreage, plus the steadily accelerating production per acre, were turned loose . . . the result would be chaos.

If we ignore the lessons of history, and let supply outrace demand again, we could plunge ourselves right back into the predicament of 1960, a predicament it has taken us six years to overcome.

We can only avoid this predicament by the disciplined use of judgment, reason and vision, for we know that adjusting farm output expansion to effective demand in the years immediately ahead will be infinitely more difficult than it has ever been before.

Yet adjust it we must.

This we can do in the New Era of American Agriculture. For by trial and error, and in the traditional pragmatic American way, we have developed the necessary tools. With cooperation among producers, the trade, agribusiness and government—we can hold a workable balance between supply and demand, maintain economic strength in agriculture, and encourage continued scientific and technological breakthroughs . . . and do it with accelerating efficiency.

For many years now, I have been talking about a National Food Budget. This implies a careful advance determination of what demand will be—how much must be provided for commercial use at home and abroad, and how much must be produced for needy, hungry people at home and overseas.

With the inducements of voluntary programs, our farmers can then set the stage to produce it. Thus they will produce for use . . . real use . . . and not for storage.

Farmers will be able to move acreage in and out of production as it is needed . . . and the market will return fair parity income to the family farm of adequate size.

Admittedly, we can't be precise about this. Weather variations, for example, can make an enormous difference in production. With 70 million acres growing feed grains, a 10-bushel-per-acre variation means 700,000,000 bushels difference in available feed grains. Nevertheless, we can make allowance for such variations, and the free market and the farmers' holding power can carry most of our reserve.

The next few years are both crucial . . . and promising. I say crucial because it is so important that the farmer and his government use the new farm programs wisely and efficiently. If they do—and get good results—then Congress undoubtedly will improve and extend these programs in 1969. I say promising, because the population and income explosions taking place around the world almost certainly will continue to stimulate a strong demand for food.

Prices, then, should be good . . . and income should grow for both the farmer and for the agribusiness which serves him and the consumer.

In such fashion—and with the balance that comes from mature judgment based on experience—we can look forward to a future of abundance for America . . . and prosperity for the farmer and for those who fashion and move his produce to the tables of the world.

I conclude, then, on a note of positive optimism.

I envision the income of farm operators as commensurate with their contribution to American society—income fully comparable with that earned by other business owners, executives, and managers.

I envision a vast flow of the products of American farms to Africa and Latin America, as well as to Europe and Asia—sales for dollars through regular commercial channels.

I envision the continued contribution of American food aid, technical and capital assistance to the developing nations of the world until that time when they are able to sustain themselves.

I envision an American countryside rich in beauty—with the doors wide open to economic opportunity—a countryside which once again will exemplify the good life.

Agriculture's journey to the Year 2000 can be a useful . . . and a pleasant one. I think it will.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

Code of Laws of the United States

Title 44, Section 181. Congressional Record; arrangement, style, contents, and indexes.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congressional Record, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional Record semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

Title 44, Section 182b. Same; illustrations, maps, diagrams.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the Record without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily Record as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the Record shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the Record shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the Record issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the Record for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the Record of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the Record shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the Record style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the Record.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent Record is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the Congressional Record.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the Congressional Record shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the Congressional Record, nor to Records printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of theHouse or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional Record which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

The Kee Report—Federal Funds for Scientific Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include this week's public service television and radio newscast, "The Kee Report." The subject discussed is "Federal Funds for Scientific Research."

The report follows:

THE KEE REPORT—FEDERAL FUNDS FOR SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

This is Jim Kee bringing you the Kee Report. The role played by Federal funds in promoting the advancement of science is perhaps the least understood function of the national Government. Many people wonder why the government is engaged in this work at all. The answer is that failure to do so would imperil the security of the United States.

In this brief talk, I would like to review with you the highlights of one of the most important programs our government has ever undertaken. The space exploration program brought the scientific activities of the Government to the attention of the American public in dramatic fashion. But actually the work has been going on for 25 years—during which time Federal funds have contributed to important scientific discoveries.

At the end of World War II, there were virtually no Federal Government funds for research and development apart from the military. In the brief time since then, Congress has pioneered by creating 5 major agencies whose purpose it is to keep this country in the van of scientific knowledge. The Government is currently spending more than 15 billion dollars a year on these actitvies. The prospects are that this sum will increase.

A large portion of this research money is spent by the military and the Atomic Energy Commission in keeping our military establishment up-to-date. But the Government is also devoting large sums to the improvement of health and education and other peace-time activities.

I believe most American are proud of our space program which may succeed in landing a man on the moon before too many years have pasesd. However, the space program is severely criticized by many well meaning citizens who believe the money might better be spent elsewhere. They believe it would be more appropriate to employ these sums in cancer research or in widening the war on poverty.

The answer is that the United States is engaged in the space race up to the hilt because it cannot afford to do otherwise. Military men have warned that whoever controls outer space will control the earth. The only other nation engaged in space activities at this time is Soviet Russia. If our nation abandoned the space race, we would abandon the cause of liberty for ourselves and we would abandon the rest of the free world as well.

However, the view that nothing practical will result from the space race is entirely wrong. On the contrary, the knowledge gained by this effort will make substantial contributions to everyday living. Already scientists engaged on the program have come up with the strongest plastic ever developed for resisting extremes of heat and cold. In future years, this new substance will have wide-spread domestic uses. The space race will also increase our knowledge of what causes weather disturbances, something which will be of great value to the nation's farmers.

The National Institutes of Health are supervising a vast inquiry into the cause and cure of disease. When the final results are in, I believe this program will prove as important as the space race.

In promoting scientific research, our Government is cooperating with private enterprise and private educational institutions. This partnership will accomplish great things for the future of the American People.

Thank you for listening.

Cleanest Town Achievement Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, my home city of Elkins, W. Va., has won a national award for its cleanup campaign in the 1966 National Cleanest Town Achievement Award contest.

This honor was won in competition with cities and towns throughout the United States and we are grateful. But, of course, we are proud of the achievement because we feel we earned it.

The citizens of the community are to be commended for their civic pride and for taking part in this worthwhile project. This award, which is to be presented during the National Cleanest Town Conference in Washington, D.C., on February 21, is the result of real cooperative effort.

Mr. President, I ask unaminous consent to have the Elkins Inter-Mountain article on the subject in its January 28, 1967, issue printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the story was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Elkins Inter-Mountain, Jan. 28, 1967]

ELKINS WINS TOP NATIONAL CLEANUP CONTEST IN DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Elkins, West Virginia, has won a top national award for its unique and ambitious Clean-Up Campaign.

The national "Distinguished Achievement Award" was won in competition with hundreds of cities and towns—regardless of size—in the 1966 National Cleanest Town Achievement Award Contest.

A member of the city's delegation will receive the award in person at an elaborate Awards Ceremony which is the highlight of the National Cleanest Town Conference in Washington, D.C., on Feb. 21. The presentation of this award which recognizes the city's achievement will be witnessed by beautification leaders from all over the country.

In addition to this high honor, the contest judges have chosen the city's scrapbook entry to be placed on display during the entire length of the Feb. 20–21 Conference at the Statler Hilton Hotel. This will enable delegates from other communities to see first hand the public record of what the city has accomplished.

The award was earned because of the community's enthusiastic response to the month-long clean up campaign which began with a parade led by the "2-B Clean" astronauts. Among the many beautification projects, there was an essay contest in the schools, property complaints were investigated and rectified, and college boys cleaned up the river banks.

"The citizens of this community should be commended for their voluntary accomplishments in the field of civic improvement and beautification," said R. H. Hackendahl, director of the National Clean Up-Paint Up-Fix Up Bureau.

Director Hackendahl has invited the mayor and other civic leaders to attend the National Cleanest Town Conference and to witness the national honor presented to their community and its residents as a result of their 1966 clean up and beautification efforts.

Awards in this, the oldest and largest competition of its kind in the country, are based on the degree of achievement in relationship to the five objectives of the National Clean Up Bureau and on the concept of voluntary self-help. The objectives are: (1) Home and Community Beautification, (2) Prevention of Slums and Rehabilitation of Blighted Areas, (3) Improving Health and Safety Standards, (4) Teaching Juvenile Decency, and (5) Supporting Fire Prevention Programs.

A panel of six judges was responsible for naming the winning cities in two classifications—communities conducting clean up campaigns of short duration and communities conducting continuous programs of clean up and civic improvement.

The judges for this year's contest are: Mrs. Henry H. Fowler, wife of the Secretary of the Treasury and chairman of the White House Speakers Bureau for Beautification; Mrs. E. D. Pearce, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs; John Garvey, deputy director of the National League of Cities; Harold E. Horn, associate director of the International City Managers' Assn.; Alastair McArthur, deputy executive director of the National Association of Counties; and John J. Meehan, manager of Community, Regional and Natural Resources Development, U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

The two-day National Cleanest Town Conference, also sponsored by the National Clean-Up Bureau, each year brings together citizens and civic leaders who are interested in turning their ideas for beautification into practical results.

This year's conference opens at 9 a.m. on Monday, Feb. 20, with the trophy winners forum. After a special luncheon at which programs of the Department of Housing and Urban Development will be presented, the three afternoon seminars begin. These are the working part of the conference, at which the roles of government, business and industry, and citizen action will be explored and recommendations made to the President's

Council and his Citizens Advisory Committee on Recreation and Natural Beauty. In the evening is a reception for delegates to meet the Contest judges.

The awards ceremony starts at 9 a.m. on Tuesday, Feb. 21, in the Presidential Ballroom of the Statler Hilton, and is followed by a special luncheon. The conference ends that afternoon with a general business session which gives delegates the opportunity to discuss their civic problems with Bureau Director Hackendahl and members of the National Advisory Council to the Clean Up Bureau.

The Jaycees 10 Outstanding Young Men

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAM GIBBONS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce recently paid great tribute to 10 fine Americans by naming them the 10 outstanding young men in the Nation. I am proud that one of them—Dr. Walter Lane—is a resident of my congressional district. Dr. Lane was cited for his research in translating complex laboratory procedures into practical, daily office techniques, but his contributions to his community and Nation go far beyond his research.

Under unanimous consent I include two articles from the Tampa Times honoring Dr. Lane and his wife:

HIGH HONOR FOR DR. LANE

Temple Terrace and Tampa have hit the national news map because of the selection of Dr. Walter Lane by the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce as one of the Ten Outstanding Young Men of 1966. The Times joins in extending congratulations.

Dr. Lane, a graduate of Hillsborough High and University of Florida's Medical School, first won national recognition while still a medical student. He developed a new and better method in the college laboratory of detecting bacterial infections.

The Jaycees also praise his professional attitude as a general practitioner. He has persistently urged more medical students to become GPs rather than specialists; he insists that the general practitioner, once known as the "family doctor" or the "country doctor," works "where the people are."

There certainly is a widespread impression that this country has too many specialists and not enough "country doctors." The specialist, of course, is important, in research and in treatment of rare or unusual cases of illness. But his fees are usually higher than the GP's, and the latter often effects a cure as promptly as a specialist.

Dr. Lane, now only 32 years old, is in distinguished company with the other nine on the Jaycees' list; they include onetime Army football star and now Vietnam War hero Capt. William Carpenter, and Ralph Nader, author of the bestseller "Unsafe at Any Speed," which has led to the building of safer automobiles.

May Dr. Lane go on to even higher honors.

THE AWARD IS HIS—AND HERS

(By Diane Vallee)

Success is sweet—and—sweeter when shared.

Dr. and Mrs. Walter Lane are sharing an honor that comes to few.

The United States Jaycees have named Dr. Lane, a Tampa doctor dedicated to the family physician's community role, as one of the nation's Ten Outstanding Young Men.

He has been cited for his research in translating complex laboratory procedures into practical, daily office techniques.

Dr. Lane was presented the American Academy of General Practice Gold Medal Award during the 1966 American Medical Association convention.

He also received the Aesculapius Award for the outstanding scientific exhibit at the 1966 convention of the Alabama Medical Association.

While friends and strangers from coast to coast applaud Dr. Lane and his contemporaries, the doctor is applauding his wife, Nancie.

"Without her help and complete support, the honor would never have been possible, he explained.

"She assisted me in many ways and there was never the problem of fighting a war at home," he said.

In turn, Nancie, is "thrilled and delighted" over her husband's honor—"He worked so hard and I really feel he deserves it.

"I think he's pretty wonderful," she said. "And he's an outstanding husband and father as well as a dedicated doctor."

The Lanes have shared hopes for the future since they met in Hillsborough High School.

Even when Dr. Lane continued his education at The Citadel and Nancie attended Florida State University and the University of Tampa, they maintained strong ties through letters and visits home.

The couple was married in Tampa at Seminole Heights Methodist Church when Nancie was a senior at the University of Tampa and Walt was attending Naval flight school in Pensacola.

After his stint with the Navy, he decided on a career in medicine, a field which had fascinated him for many years.

Following graduation from the University of Tampa and the University of Florida Medical School, he interned and took his residency at Lloyd Noland Hospital in Birmingham, Ala.

During these years of training, he worked part-time in laboratories while his wife taught school and helped him with "small technicalities" whenever she could.

"It was difficult sometimes," Nancie recalled, "but certainly worth every effort."

Last July, the couple returned to Tampa and Dr. Lane went into practice here with Dr. Wayne Lafferty.

They reside in Temple Terrace with three daughters, Pamela, 4; Sharon, 2, and Melissa, three weeks.

When all the excitement of a new home, a new baby and a new award simmers down, Nancie has some plans of her own:

To join a garden club group and help "my black thumb," to become active with the local Zeta Tau Alpha Alumnae group, to play golf with her husband and to sail with him on their new boat.

She'll be with Dr. Lane this week in Jekyl Island, Ga., when he and the nation's other nine outstanding Young Men accept their awards at the National Convention of the Jaycees.

After all, according to her husband, she earned it, too.

Dangerously Neglected Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I invite the attention of Senators to an excellent editorial published in the Philadelphia Inquirer of January 31. It explains succinctly why the American shipbuilding industry has been falling behind its foreign competitors. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial, entitled "Dangerously Neglected Merchant Marine," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DANGEROUSLY NEGLECTED MERCHANT MARINE

Defense Secretary McNamara, in testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee, has made some broad statements about inadequacies of America's privately owned merchant fleets and shipyards.

There is no question that serious inadequacies exist—a fact which this Nation's hard-pressed shipowners and shipbuilders have been emphasizing for some time—but Mr. McNamara need look no further than the Federal Government's own misdirected foreign aid policies to find the main sources of the trouble.

"The American shipbuilding industry is generally technically obsolescent compared to those of Western Europe and Japan," the Defense Secretary testified. "This is a startling development, in view of the fact that the United States is the most highly industrialized Nation in the world."

We see nothing at all startling about this development. It is deplorable and inexcusable, but not startling. It is a development that American shipbuilders have been warning Washington about for many years. Washington's response invariably has been to go on pouring huge sums of foreign aid to this country's shipbuilding competitors, knowing full well that the funds were enabling beneficiary nations to replace war-ravaged shipbuilding facilities with completely new and modern yards capable of operating more efficiently and economically than aging U.S. shipyards.

There are a number of shipbuilding experts in the Delaware Valley, at once-prosperous shipyards, who would be glad to provide Secretary McNamara with the details if U.S. foreign aid officials in the Nation's capital are reluctant to do so.

Zambia Growing Wary on Rhodesia Sanctions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I took a special order of 1 hour on the Rhodesian sanctions and was interested that the Evening Star of February 1 carried a story about Zambia growing wary of the Rhodesian sanctions. A lot of hope has been placed on Zambia, as the next-door neighbor to Rhodesia, carrying out the mandatory sanctions as imposed by the United Nations.

Apparently they, as well as Switzerland, are beginning to renege on compulsory enforcement. A recent story from Switzerland said that in view of the large amount of trade which Switzerland has with Rhodesia, there was going to be great difficulty on the part of Switzerland to stop that trade. This is a good way to say that they are not going to stop it. They are not members of the U.N. so are in no way obligated to carry out the U.N.'s orders.

The story on Zambia follows:

ZAMBIA GROWING WARY ON RHODESIA SANCTIONS

By Gordon Lindsay

JOHANNESBURG.—As Zambia's reappraisal of its confrontation with Rhodesia drags on, a clear reluctance is growing in the Zambian cabinet to approve any hardening of the current limited sanctions.

Government economists estimate that it cost Zambia $300 million to sustain its opposition to the white Rhodesian regime last year.

Copper revenue would have been at least $180 million higher had production not been lost due to coal shortages, rail difficulties and strikes in the mines.

More than $90 million was committed to hasty improvements of Zambia's northern supply routes (the Great North Road from Abercorn, south of Lake Tanganyika, to Dar es Salaam) and a further $30 million can be written off for a variety of reasons including higher prices for goods imported from sources other than Rhodesia and higher traffic rates on routes other than Rhodesian railways.

Reorganization costs spread throughout private business probably would make a mockery of the last figure.

COPPER PRODUCES SURPLUS

But, with the luck of a reckless gambler who throws away winning cards and still finds an ace up his sleeve, Zambia ended 1966 with a $90 million improvement in its balance of payments.

Government estimates are that Zambia will have a favorable trade surplus of $360 million this year.

Exports in 1966 were worth $720 million (compared to $570 million in 1965) and imports were valued at $360 million ($315 million in 1965).

Foreign reserves are now well over $240 million—by far the highest in black independent Africa.

Copper accounts for nearly all Zambian exports and the phenomenal price for copper this year—once as high as $1,800 a ton because of worldwide shortage—is the reason for the record surplus.

Doubles over Zambian supplies contributed to the scarcity value of copper although the Vietnamese war, Chilean strikes and the Congo-Union Miniere wrangle, would still have pushed prices higher than in 1965.

There is little jubilation over the trade surplus among the more level-headed members of the Zambian cabinet, who point out that if Zambia had ignored the Rhodesian issue and exported normally, the copper industry would have been worth at least $900 million this year.

The loss of revenue is by no means their only argument. Christmas goods were arriving in Lusaka shops last week—an odd proof that things are not going at all well with the new supply routes.

In fact, Rhodesian railways still carry more than 80 percent of Zambia's imports. The rest is brought in by road from Dar es Salaam and Malawi and by rail through the Congo to the copperbelt. All the routes are affected by practical or political factors.

Export routes are slightly better with Rhodesian railways now carrying only about half of Zambia's reduced copper output of some 48,000 tons a month.

Against the monetary costs Zambia can also blame its often hysterical stance over Rhodesia for the steady exodus of whites caused by worsening race relations. An easing of tension would arrest any new trek south.

ARGUMENTS LESS VALID

Meanwhile, the arguments for Zambia increasing the confrontation with Rhodesia become less valid.

Zambia has always recognized that if it decides to go it alone against Rhodesia and undertake a complete boycott, it risks economic suicide. While there is still strong support for this sort of move in the cause of pan-Africanism, those in favor of it can do nothing to prove it will have any effect.

A $33 million cutback last year of imports from Rhodesia does not appear to have unduly shaken Ian Smith, the Rhodesian premier.

And those in favor of weakening the confrontation with Rhodesia can show that Zambia still needs at least $60 million worth of Rhodesian goods a year.

Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, one of the foremost critics of this Nation's policy in southeast Asia has been Mr. James P. Warburg. Mr. Warburg's thinking on Vietnam has recently crystallized to where he sees only one alternative to the ruthless pursuit of total victory and this is withdrawal of our forces. We may not agree with Mr. Warburg that we do, in fact, face this choice. Nevertheless, I urge my colleagues to carefully read this letter to the editor of the New York Times, which appeared in that distinguished newspaper on January 10, 1967, for this exposition is thoughtfully written by a man who has studied in depth the entire situation.

The letter follows:

EDITOR, THE NEW YORK TIMES: There is an old Greek saying that "whom the gods would destroy they first render mad." And madness seems, indeed, increasingly to take possession of those into whose hands the American people have confided the destiny of their nation. It seems at this moment as if our beloved country were bent upon suicide and upon tearing down in its self-destruction the whole fabric of that human civilization to which it has contributed so much in the past.

The essentially decent and sensible American people do not share this madness but feel powerless to arrest it. They are forced to stand by helplessly, watching their hopes for the meeting of long-neglected public needs dissolve into unfulfilled promises, their nation's substance being wasted, and their sons and brothers being maimed or killed in a brutal war in the making of which they had no part.

To be sure, voices are being raised to demand an end to this all-devouring conflict but, increasingly, these are the voices of men who know of no other way to end it than by doubling and redoubling the stakes in a gamble for total victory through total annihilation.

Until now, this deeply concerned citizen has not favored an outright withdrawal from a commitment unwisely entered into and stretched far beyond the intentions of those who originally made it. But, if the choice is between withdrawal and the ruthless pursuit of total victory, then the time has come to face the issue; for, if that is indeed to be our choice, it is a choice between sanity and madness.

Your newspaper has rendered a great sevrice by exposing upon unimpeachable evidence the cynical brutality and the futility of seeking to bomb North Vietnam into submission, but there is little evidence that your advice to halt this effort will be heeded. In a broader sense, there is little evidence that our government has recognized the arrogance and the folly of seeking to impose a *Pax Americana* upon a world which does not want and will not accept it.

In these circumstances, true patriotism must demand withdrawal from Vietnam, whatever the consequences. Nor will these consequences necessarily injure our national interest, if that interest is truly appraised. As for prestige, our withdrawal will not be seen as a confession of defeat but, rather, as the recognition of a serious error in judgment—an error for which no one leader and no one political party can be held responsible.

It is admittedly not easy for a proud nation to admit a serious mistake in judgment; but, throughout history, great men and great nations have admitted error and become the greater for having done so. And, throughout history, men and nations that have ruthlessly sought total victory by force of arms have ended by being themselves destroyed.

JAMES P. WARBURG.

DEERFIELD BEACH, FLA., *December 31, 1966.*

More Support for Rules Changes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, during the past few weeks a number of newspapers have endorsed my proposal to change the method the House of Representatives uses to select the chairmen of its committees.

On Thursday, January 26, 1967, the Burlington Hawkeye, a First District newspaper, editorialized in support of my proposal.

It is another example of the growing sentiment across the Nation that Congress should seriously undertake to reform its procedures.

The editorial follows:

A SCORE FOR SCHWENGEL

Our First District congressman, Fred Schwengel, was one of those who voted to deny Adam Clayton Powell his seat in Congress, pending an investigation of misconduct charges.

Many congressmen may be hard pressed to defend their votes against Powell in the face of rising Negro protests. But Schwengel should not be one of them, for he is being consistent in his attack on congressional abuses.

In defending the action against Powell we said the other day that it can be justified only if Congress goes ahead with other reforms for which the Powell case provides a precedent. One of these would be abolition of the seniority system by which members become powerful committee chairmen solely by virtue of staying in Congress long enough.

The system has placed immense power in the hands of men who are often senile and incompetent and, on rare occasions, obvious crooks. They do the country far more harm than a playboy like Powell ever could.

Schwengel made a plea, when session rules were being adopted, to change the system. He would have members of each committee elect their own chairmen, by secret ballot, from among the three senior members. This approach is still conservative enough—limiting the chairmanship to senior members—thereby preventing an inexperienced newcomer from taking charge. But it would be a vast improvement over the present system where the senior man, regardless of qualifications, is automatically chairman.

Schwengel's initial effort was defeated, but we hope he keeps trying and that others will join him. Until Congress makes such changes, it cannot expect the people to take it too seriously.

The Emerging Relationships of Business and Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Henry Ford II, chairman of the board of Ford Motor Co., recently delivered a challenging and creative address on the new relationships emerging between business and Government.

He emphasized the importance of greater mutual understanding between these two great forces in our democratic society and concluded that:

> None of our major problems can be solved and none of our major goals can be reached unless business and Government learn to pull together rather than at cross purposes.

There must be a new drawing of boundaries between the roles of business and Government, he said, and there must be a clear understanding of the roles of each.

Commenting on this address, the Shelbyville Times-Gazette, a leading newspaper of Shelbyville, Tenn., in the Fourth Congressional District of Tennessee which I am honored to represent in the Congress, suggests the need for more bridges between Government and business to lead to better understanding.

Under unanimous consent I ask that this address and editorial be reprinted in the Appendix of the RECORD, because of the interest of this most important facet of our national life to my colleagues and to the Nation generally.

The address and editorial follows:

[From the U.S. News & World Report]

GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

Full text of an address which Henry Ford II, chairman of the board of Ford Motor Company, gave in New York City, Jan. 12, 1967.)

If anyone where to keep track of the top 10 subjects for business banquet speeches, Government and business would probably be No. 1, year in and year out.

My interest in reviving this familiar topic is prompted in part by the well-publicized differences between Washington and Detroit in recent months. But it is prompted also by my conviction that the relations between Government and business have been changing in basic ways and for basic reasons—ways and reasons that affect all business, and should be considered carefully by all businessmen.

The most obvious aspect of this change is the rapid penetration of Government into all the activities of business. This, too, may sound familiar, but I think you would all agree that Government involvement in business has been expanding more rapidly in recent years than at any time since the 1930's.

It would be a mistake, however, to draw further parallels between the 1960s and the 1930s. What is happening now is happening in a different climate and largely for different reasons.

Before I get into reasons, however, let me first sketch the extent of Government's recent penetration into business activities.

As the result of recent traffic-safety and air-pollution legislation, the Federal Government will now be deeply involved in the design and construction of cars and trucks. And there are strong signs that this may be only the beginning. It has been suggested by people in important Government positions that the public interest may soon require severe restrictions on the use of automobiles, a total ban on the internal-combustion engine, the development under Government auspices of alternative power sources, and public policies to force people in metropolitan areas out of private cars and into public transit facilities.

Putting aside the merits of these measures, it is plain that they would have a profound effect on a society that does 90 per cent of its traveling in automobiles, and relies on the automobile and related industries for at least one job in every seven.

Such developments are by no means unique to our business. Similar things are happening in the food and drug industries, in finance and insurance, in advertising and retailing. In virtually every industry, Government looms increasingly large between business and its customers, its employes, its shareholders and the general public.

In the name of consumer protection, we now have federal regulation of packaging, and so-called truth-in-lending legislation is sure to be introduced again. The Federal Trade Commission and the Food and Drug Administration are policing advertising with rigor. The Federal Trade Commission is now engaged in a massive investigation into the heart of the automobile industry's relations with its customers—our warranty and service policies and practices.

A high Government official has suggested that the advertising budgets of big companies are a monopolistic force that should, in some circumstances, be curtailed. Last week, Senator Hart of my own State suggested that the Government should try to reduce prices, curb the growth of big business, stimulate competition and finance the "Great Society" through a series of tax-law changes, including a progressive tax ranging up to 75 per cent of corporate profits. There have also been proposals that the Federal Government go into the business of testing, evaluating, grading and recommending consumer products.

The governmental presence also looms bigger and bigger between business and its employes. Witness the recent extension of minimum-wage coverage and the raising of the minimum-wage level, frequent intervention in labor disputes, the enlargement of the scope of bargainable issues by the National Labor Relations Board and the courts, and current proposals to extend the emergency strike provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act and provide for closer Government regulation of private pension plans.

Under the heading of business relations with shareholders we have the recent Securities and Exchange Commission report on mutual funds, and SEC studies of a possible requirement that diversified companies publish financial results by product lines.

And, finally, under the heading of business and the public at large, we have growing governmental concern in such matters as air and water pollution by industrial plants, and regulation of roadside billboards. Under this same heading we have seen in recent years the burgeoning of governmental guidelines for wages, prices, certain exports and imports, foreign investments and international financial transactions.

Although I disagree with many of these measures, my purpose in setting out this abbreviated catalogue of growing Government intervention is not to suggest that every step taken or proposed by the Government is mistaken. Even less do I suggest that business had better mount its white charger and do battle with the forces of galloping socialism. On the contrary, when a trend is this strong and this pervasive, something fundamental must lie behind it. No matter how misguided some Government policies may be, in the judgment of many of us in business, it would be folly to charge blindly into the fray. What we had better do first is consider carefully what we are confronted by and what lies behind it.

What lies immediately behind every particular issue of this kind is a host of conflicting and confusing pressures, interests, ambitions, irritation and philosophies. But if we look at the forest rather than the trees, it seems to me that what lies fundamentally behind the explosive growth of Government in our day are two other explosions—the knowledge explosion and the population explosion.

The progress of science and technology has given us the material resources to accomplish unprecedented tasks—to reach the moon, to fight a good-sized war and to raise our standard of living simultaneously. Moreover, our capacity to solve the most difficult problems has been vastly enlarged by advances in computer science, in new problem-solving methods and in our knowledge of man and society.

The inevitable result of our growing ability to reach new goals has been the raising of our national sights. If we can reach the moon, then why can't we abolish poverty? If we can have both guns and butter, then why can't we also have safe highways, clean air, pure water, honest advertising, full employment, competent auto mechanics, stable prices, peaceful labor relations, good television programs and all the other things that go to make a "Great Society"?

Of course, there are good reasons why we can't solve all our problems all at once. One of them is that the combination of rising affluence and rising population multiplies our problems along with our problem-solving capacities. More people driving more cars more miles means more traffic congestion, more parking problems, more highway accidents. More people consuming more goods of all kinds means more waste products to be disposed of in the only three available repositories—the air, the water or the ground. Like Lewis Carroll's Alice, we must run faster and faster merely to stand still.

It seems clear, however, that the American people have no more patience with these new problems than they have with the older ones. The more progress our country makes, the more progress it demands. To paraphrase a well-known advertising slogan, we expect more from life, and we are determined to get it. Barring some drastic setback that saps our national confidence, I would expect Americans to go right on demanding more from life—and I, for one, would have it no other way.

To say that people expect more from life really implies that they expect more from all the major institutions of society, including especially business and Government. Business firms, Government agencies and legislatures are all operating today under stricter and more-demanding public standards than ever before.

By and large, I think both business and Government have made a strong effort to respond to the national demand for progress on all fronts. As it happens, however, there are few major problems that can be solved by Government alone, without business, or by business alone, without Government.

Take your pick of the problems I listed a moment ago—from poverty to traffic accidents, from water pollution to labor strife—not one of them is exclusively a governmental problem, nor exclusively a business problem. Each of them overlaps both areas by a very considerable margin.

Here, I think, is where we finally locate the basic source of the growth of Government involvement in business affairs. As Government and business both respond to the major problems of our day, as each of them enlarges the scope of its responsibilities to the public, they inevitably move into the no man's land where functions overlap and boundaries are illdefined. And therefore they are bound to bump into each other more and more frequently, and more or less violently.

From all of this I draw two conclusions: First, the quality of business-Government relations is crucial to the future progress of our nation. None of our major problems can be solved, and none of our major goals can be reached unless business and Government learn to pull together rather than at cross purposes.

BUSINESS-GOVERNMENT COLLISIONS

My second conclusion is that there is really only one way to get business and Government to pull together. To keep them from constantly colliding with each other as they work on common problems, we have to draw boundaries between them. We have to decide more rationally, more consistently and more clearly than we are now doing what functions and responsibilities belong to Government, and what can better be left to private initiative.

It seems to me that there are two ways to go about making these distinctions:

The wrong way is what might be called the good guys vs. the bad guys approach. There are still a lot of businessmen—though, fortunately, fewer than there used to be—who think that the main difference between business and Government is one of virtue and wisdom. From this point of view, the average Government official is a bumbler, a bureaucrat, an opportunist or worse. Government, in short, is the enemy.

On the other hand, there are still a lot of Government people—though again fewer than there used to be—who simply turn this assumption around. From their point of view, the average businessman is a selfish, shortsighted, ruthless profiteer. Business serves only private aggrandizement, while Government serves only the public interest. Business, in short, is the enemy.

This may seem like a caricature, but it seems to me that most people in business and in Government suffer at least a little bit—some of us a great deal—from the tendency to overlook our own failings and exaggerate those on the other side. We could all do with a bit more humility and a stronger effort to see ourselves as others see us.

When you come right down to cases, there is probably very little to choose between business and Government on the score of virtue and wisdom. Let's take a few examples.

Although the Federal Trade Commission may have some doubts, you and I know that the business world is intensely competitive.

We must also admit that in the heat of competition, businessmen sometimes do things they shouldn't do, and leave undone some things they ought to do. That, after all, is why we need commercial law and regulatory agencies.

On the other hand, it's difficult to think of any business that is more competitive than politics. Like businessmen, legislators and Government officials sometimes do things in the heat of competition that they should not do, and leave undone things they ought to do. If businessmen sometimes place short-run profit ahead of higher considerations, I suspect that once in a while politicians give greater weight to their own immediate political advantage than to the public interest

PRETTY GIRLS AND POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

Advertising has been under especially heavy attack lately. The recently published report of the President's Consumer Advisory Council was strongly critical of automobile advertising because it is emotional and persuasive rather than coldly factual and informative. The use of pretty girls in car ads was especially deplored.

It seems to me there is a fair comparison to be made between business advertising and political campaigning. I don't recall that I heard a single campaign speech last fall that consisted strictly of the facts, all the facts and nothing but the facts. It seems to me there were even a few pretty girls in some of the campaign parties. And I wonder when was the last time a political party made good on all the promises in its platform.

Just before Christmas, the four federal agencies that regulate banks sent a letter to all banks whose deposits are insured by the Government. The letter banned misleading claims about interest rates paid on deposits. Among other things, the Government instructed the banks to state the fact if an advertised rate of interest is payable only on accounts held for a specified length of time.

WHAT ABOUT SAVINGS BONDS?

Then somebody asked an embarrassing question. What about Government advertising of Government savings bonds? Shouldn't the Treasury Department point out that bonds must be held for seven years to earn the advertised rate of 4.15 per cent? Shouldn't it state that after one year the interest is only 2.24 per cent?

The Treasury doesn't think so. In fact, an unnamed spokesman was rather indignant at the suggestion, according to the press reports. He was quoted as saying that he saw nothing wrong with the Treasury ads, and he doubted that there was any major amount of public misunderstanding.

Defenders of consumer interests are very much concerned over the bewildering variety of items on the retailer's shelves these days. How, they ask, can the customer possibly choose wisely among so many similar products?

To get back to the last election, I was somewhat bewildered myself when I faced the voting machine, and I doubt that I really made all the wisest choices among all the similar candidates. It may be that something could be done to simplify both sets of choices, but it may also be that the difficulty is at least in part the price we pay for the right to choose.

GOVERNMENT ROLE IN HIGHWAY SAFETY

The automobile manufacturers have taken their lumps for being slow to require all their customers to pay for safety features that the customers were not exactly eager to have. On the other hand, we in the industry think that governments have been slow to enforce the laws against drunken driving and to impose other unpopular traffic-safety measures such as tighter licensing standards and compulsory vehicle inspection. Perhaps both sides have been guilty of expecting the other to take steps that are necessary, but risky.

While the Government is pressing us, in the name of safety, to make some changes in our products that cannot possibly be made by the time we begin producing 1968 models, the Government is also cutting back on highway construction—although new and improved highways are one of the surest ways to reduce accidents and injuries. The recently announced 1.1-billion-dollar cut in federal highway funds has already crippled road building in many parts of the country. It will certainly offset some of the life-saving potential of the federal vehicle-safety standards that will go into effect with our 1968 models. The car manufacturers have been accused of putting dollars before lives, but the Government seems to feel that sometimes it is necessary to count dollars, even when lives are at stake.

"NO MONOPOLY ON VIRTUE"

I think the point is evident. Neither business nor Government has a monopoly on virtue and wisdom. Both are made up of fallible people who generally do their best in a mixed-up world. Sometimes they do well, sometimes not. But, by and large, American Government and American business work reasonably well—better than in most other places, and better than they used to.

There are also several other points to be made. The good guys vs. bad guys approach to business-Government relations is as fruitless as it is harmful. It is harmful because it poisons the atmosphere and leads both sides to take hard-and-fast positions. It is harmful because each side is likely to lose sight of the public interest in its anxiety to gain the advantage over the other.

It is fruitless because it provides no real boundaries that can keep business and Government from colliding with each other. If people in Government regard business as the enemy, then their only logical conclusion is that the responsibilities of Government are without limit.

If businessmen regard Government as the enemy, then their only possible conclusion is that Government should be kept to the barest minimum, and everything else should be left to private initiative.

Neither conclusion is consistent with the interests of a progressive democracy. We cannot expect Government or business to provide all the answers to all the problems our nation faces.

In the face of new problems and new goals, the traditional division of responsibilities between Government and business is no longer adequate. The most urgent need in business-Government relations right now is the development of a new division of responsibilities between them. The more care and the more wisdom we put into this task, the better those relations will be, and the more effectively business and Government will work together in the common interest.

Businessmen sometimes think that the way to stem the growth of Government is to have business take on the responsibility for meeting all the nation's problems and all the nation's needs before Goverment starts to worry about them. I would agree that business must enlarge its responsibilities for solving some problems and meeting some needs. But if we place no limit on our responsibilities, we only invite censure for failing to do what we cannot do and should not really be expected to do.

If there is little to choose between business and Government on the score of virtue and wisdom, there is much to choose between them on the score of special abilities. There are many tasks that business cannot do well, because it has neither the resources, the abilities, nor the incentives. And, likewise, there are some things Government does well, other things it does less well.

I have neither the competence nor the time to spell out these distinctions, but I would like to make a few closing observations about how they should be made.

By and large, Government does well when it works in harmony rather than at cross purposes with the dynamic forces of free enterprise.

By and large, it does well when it sets the broad rules of the game, and it does poorly when it seeks to control business activities in detail.

By and large, business does well when it sticks to what it knows best and has the strongest incentives for accomplishing. Business cannot solve the race problem, but each business can make sure that it does not discriminate.

Business cannot eliminate unemployment, but each business can do its competitive best to expand its own sales and employment. Business cannot stop inflation, but every business can strive for greater efficiency and lower costs.

One more of the many things that businesses can do is support rather than oppose well-considered Government programs to accomplish what Government can do and business cannot do.

The real question for businessmen is not how to stop the growth of Government. To meet our nation's growing problems and aspirations, both Government and business must expand their responsibilities and activities. The only real question is which of them should do what?

NEEDED: "BETTER ANSWERS"

It is imperative that we find better answers to this question, and that we find them soon. We should not delude ourselves, however. By the nature of the question, the answers can never be final or definitive. With the progress of our country comes a steady flow of new challenges to business and Government, and new questions about which of them should do what.

Even more important, therefore, than the answers of the moment is the attitude we bring to the search for new answers. With a bit of humility and a great deal of common sense, better answers should not be too hard to find. And when we have them, business and Government can get on with the job of working together toward the better life that all Americans expect.

[From the Shelbyville (Tenn.) Times-Gazette, Jan. 27, 1967]

Another Gap To Be Bridged

(By Don Oakley)

The real question for businessmen is not how to stop the growth of government, said Henry Ford II the other day. To meet the nation's growing problems and aspirations, both government and business must of necessity expand their responsibilities and activities.

"The only real question is which of them should do what."

Business and government must pull together for the common interest, said this spokesman for an industry which is currently sweating out the need to accommodate itself to new government-directed safety requirements. And the only way to get them to do that, to keep them from constantly colliding with each other as they work on common problems, is "to draw boundaries between them."

"By and large," said Ford, "government does well when it works in harmony rather than at cross-purposes with the dynamic forces of free enterprise . . . It does well when it sets the broad rules of the game, and it does poorly when it seeks to control business activities in detail.

"By and large, business does well when it sticks to what it knows best and has the strongest incentives for accomplishing. Business cannot eliminate unemployment, but each business can do its competitive best to expand its own sales and employment. Business cannot stop inflation, but every business can strive for greater efficiency and lower costs."

There is no argument here. We should not, however, let the word "boundaries" deceive us into thinking there can be any hard and fast delineation between the responsibilities and activities of government and business. Boundaries drawn against the geography of human affairs are by nature ambiguous, fluid and temporary.

There was a time when there seemed to be definite boundaries, when Calvin Coolidge could say that the business of government was business—that is, to keep its hands off "the dynamic forces of free enterprise."

Depression, war, the emergence of a host of national problems like racial justice, urban blight, pollution and zooming population have swept away all kinds of old boundaries.

What we need today is perhaps not so much boundaries, with business on one side and government on the other, as bridges between the two.

Actually, Ford's speech, especially in its rejection of the "good-guys-versus-the-bad-guys" approach to business-government relations, laid a good foundation for such a bridge. The foundation should begin to be built upon.

Patent Infringement in Government Procurement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. MORRIS of New Mexico. Mr. Speaker, in conjunction with my bill on patent infringement in Government procurement, H.R. 2898, I am submitting a review of proposed reform from an article which appeared in the October 1966 issue of the Notre Dame Lawyer. The article follows:

Proposed Reforms

THE WLLIAMS BILL, S. 1047

Senate Bill S. 1047, introduced by Senator Williams of New Jersey in 1965, would reverse the *Herbert Cooper* ruling by limiting the scope and application of 28 U.S.C. § 1498. This bill, which adopts the approach of similar bills pending in the House,[54] would add a new paragraph to section 1498, providing:

"Nothing in this section shall be construed to authorize the use or manufacture by or for the United States of any invention described in and covered by a patent of the United States, which has not previously been held invalid by an unappealed or unappealable judgment or decree of a court of competent jurisdiction, without license of the owner thereof, unless the Secretary of Defense or his delegate, shall determine in the case of each such invention that the national security of the United States requires such use or manufacture."[55]

S. 1047 was among the bills considered at hearings held last year by the Subcommittee on Patents, Trademarks and Copyrights of the Senate Judiciary Committee.[56] Comments on the Williams Bill were received from the federal departments and agencies most concerned with the procurement of patented items,[57] from industry and bar associations, from the International Chemical Workers Union and from the State of Alabama.

Although there was virtually unanimous support for Senator Williams' objective, serious concern was expressed that the bill might not attain this result. NASA, for example, questioned the nature of the cause of action that a patent owner would have if an agency were to purchase products the patent owner felt infringed his patent. Under the bill it is not clear whether a suit in the nature of a mandamus action would lie against officials of the procuring agency or whether the patent owner could enjoin the infringing supplier under the provisions of 35 U.S.C. § 283.[58] The General Counsel of the Department of Commerce concluded:

"By removing authorization for use of patented inventions without license, S. 1047, under the rationale of *Crozier* v. *Krupp*, would also remove U.S. liability for Federal acts of infringement. . . . Thus, as before 1910, only Federal employees would be liable for acts of infringement by the Federal Government in the absence of a determination by the Secretary of Defense, or his delegate, that the national security requires such infringing acts."[59]

A similar view was expressed by the State Bar of Texas, which opposed S. 1047 on the ground, *inter alia*, that "the longstanding right of owners of U.S. patents to recover compensation for the unlicensed manufacture or use by or for the Government in the Court of Claims would be clouded by the amendment."[60]

The Department of Justice did not comment on the legal implications of the bill, deferring instead to the views of the procuring agencies, which would be most affected by its enactment.[61] All of the other agencies that commented, including NASA and the Department of Defense, strongly opposed enactment on the ground that essential government programs—including those not directly related to national security—could be delayed and presumably enjoined by a patent owner alleging that his patent had been infringed. Mr. John M. Malloy, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, summarized Defense Department opposition to S. 1047 while offering possible alternative solutions:

"Although S. 1047 would authorize the Secretary of Defense to determine that unlicensed utilization was necessary in the interest of the national security, such a procedure would introduce serious delay and uncertainty into the procurement process. Moreover, there are agencies other than the Department of Defense which engage in procurement having national security implications, such as the Atomic Energy Commission and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, but the proposed bill makes no provision for their relief, unless it is intended that the Secretary of Defense shall also act on their behalf.

"Moreover, S. 1047 would forgo one of the valuable powers which the Government has to assure fair prices to Government, and would free the price of patented articles required by the Government from the force of competition. While instances of deliberate infringement because of exorbitant pricing are rare, the Government should keep, in our opinion, the authority to obtain competitive prices in those circumstances where it is necessary, regardless of the possible involvement of patented items.

"Accordingly, the Department of Defense strongly opposes S. 1047. The only amendment to 28 U.S.C. 1498 we would recommend is to permit a suit by a patent owner directly against an infringing contractor in a case in which the Government is satisfied that infringement has taken place, and the contractor has indemnified the Government against patent infringement but refuses to settle. Other than this type of amendment, a practicable way to accord greater recognition to patent owners is to restore discretion to contracting officials to deal solely with patent owners and their licensees in appropriate circumstances. This would require amendments to the procurement statutes."[62]

The drug industry, supported by the United Chemical Workers Union, gave its unqualified support to S. 1047. Its remarks were not directed to the legal effect of the bill; rather, its position was based upon a conviction that in the area of drug procurement American industry and labor were being treated unfairly by the Government, and that some change was necessary.

As expected, the Comptroller General opposed S. 1047. After reviewing the *Herbert*

Footnotes at end of speech.

Cooper ruling and its extension in later decisions, the Comptroller General stated:

"We adhere to the views expressed in these decisions which we believe are consistent with the congressional purpose and intent of 28 U.S.C. 1498, relating to the use or manufacture of patented inventions by or for the United States, and the *cardinal principle* that contracts for Government requirements based on formal advertising must be awarded to the lowest responsible bidder."[63] (Emphasis added.)

After the conclusion of the Hearings on S. 1047, Senator Williams[64] analyzed and rebutted the criticisms in a letter to the Subcommittee. He stated:

"If my bill is enacted, a patentholder, whose patent is thereafter infringed by the U.S. Government, will still be able to sue the Government for damages in the Court of Claims and he won't be able to enjoin the Federal Government. If there is the slightest doubt about the validity of either of these points . . . such doubt could be eliminated in the report of the committee covering my bill."[65]

Presumably because reaction to S. 1047 was mixed even among strong supporters of its underlying objectives, no action on this bill by the Senate Subcommittee is predicted.[66] The hearings, however, have served to focus attention on the problem and, to many observers, to demonstrate the need for some remedial action.

SECTION 9 OF THE SALTONSTALL BILL, S. 789

An alternative approach is contained in S. 789,[67] introduced by Senator Saltonstall of Massachusetts. Although this bill primarily concerns the allocation of rights in inventions made under government sponsorship, section 9 provides in part:

"In addition to the rights and remedies conferred by section 1498 of title 28, United State code, the owner of any patent which has been infringed pursuant to a Government contract, or Government manufacture or use, may have his claim for infringement determined by the head of the appropriate executive department or agency pursuant to section 7, subsection (c) hereof."[68]

Section 7(c) of S. 789, provides for formal notice and the opportunity for a hearing under the Administrative Procedure Act.[69] Section 9 of S. 789 further specifies:

"Upon determination of the claim of the patent holder by the head of the appropriate executive department or agency, the finding may be appealed by any party to the original claim under section 8 hereof."[70]

Section 8,[71] in turn, permits appeal of an agency's determination either to the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia or to the court of appeals for the circuit in which the claimant resides; and thereafter, for review by the Supreme Court by writ of certiorari.

Although there is presently no government-wide authority under which agencies may settle administrative claims for patent infringement,[72] the three major procuring agencies, the Department of Defense, NASA and the Atomic Energy Commission, are authorized under their respective statutes to settle such claims.[73] The procedures implementing this authorization are quite informal,[74] usually consisting of an investigation by an agency patent counsel of questions of validity and infringement and, if a determination to settle is made, the negotiation of a patent license agreement. Further, the claimant is not entitled under existing practice to a hearing as such; the rules of the Administrative Procedure Act are not followed, nor is there any requirement that the claimant exhaust his administrative remedy. At any time he may file suit in the Court of Claims under section 1498.

Accordingly, enactment of section 9 of the Saltonstall Bill would establish a government-wide administrative claims procedure, require that this procedure be conducted in accordance with the formalities of the Administrative Procedure Act and provide for appellate review of agency determinations. To the extent that it would provide a government-wide administrative claims procedure, it would serve desirably to strengthen the position of a patent owner whose patent had been infringed by the Government.[75] On the other hand, many of the advantages of the present administrative claims procedure, both to the claimant and to the Government, follow from its informality, and it is at least questionable whether a procedure conducted under the Administrative Procedure Act with the possibility of appellate review would retain these advantages.[76] Moreover, even if section 9 of S. 789 were enacted, a patent owner more interested in sales to the Government than in claims against the Government would still find his patent irrelevant in respect, then, section 9 of the Saltonstall Bill would fail to provide a full solution to the patent owner's dilemma.

Footnote at end of speech.

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[52] See Martin Co. v. United States, 163 F. Supp. 376 (Ct. Cl. 1958).

[53] In Glassman, *supra* note 51, at 280, the author noted:

"At least eight contractors, including several of the largest in the electronic field, have indicated that at least on occasion they include such contingency reserves in the contract price and that there reserves vary from 1 percent to 5 percent of the price. During World War II, one company refunded approximately $410,000 representing a contingency reserve accumulated under a number of contracts in return for the Government's agreement to cancel the indemnity provisions of the contracts. The [Report on the Under Secretary of War Patent Conference held at Aberdeen Proving Ground, Maryland, December 15 and 16, 1944] describes on pages 87 and 88, a similar situation involving $8,100,000, although at the time the discussion reported on took place, the matter had not yet been finally concluded."

In view of this he concluded:

"According to the best available evidence, [use of patent indemnity clauses] substantially increases the cost of government procurement, yet produces only a very minor benefit in indemnification with respect to administrative infringement claims and suits in the Court of Claims. It complicates the Government's placing of contracts, settlement of infringement claims and purchase of licenses. *Id.* at 287."

[54] Representative Roudebush of Indiana introduced bills identical to the Williams proposal in the 87th, 88th and 89th Congresses. See, *e.g.*, H.R. 150, 89th Cong., 1st Sess. (1965). Sixteen bills similar to the Williams Bill were introduced in the House of Representatives during the 89th Congress. *Hearings on S. 1047*, at 28.

[55] S. 1047, 89th Cong., 1st Sess. (1965).

[56] The principal purpose of the hearings was to consider bills designed to establish a government-wide policy on the allocation of rights to inventions made under government sponsorship. These include S. 789 by Senator Saltonstall, S. 1809 by Senator McClellan, S. 1899 by Senator Long of Louisiana and S. 2326 by Senator Dirksen. Comments and testimony on these bill appear in *Hearings on S. 789, S. 1809, S. 1899 and S. 2326 Before the Subcommittee on Patents, Trademarks, and Copyrights of the Senate Judiciary Committee,* 89th Cong., 1st Sess., pts. 1 and 2 (1965). Comments and testimony on the Williams Bill appear in *Hearings on S. 1047*.

[57] Agencies commenting included the Department of Commerce, the Department of Defense, General Services Administration, the Department of Justice, and NASA. *Hearings on S. 1047*, at 2–14.

[58] *Id.* at 13. 35 U.S.C. § 283 provides: "The several courts having jurisdiction of cases under this Title may grant injunctions in accordance with the principles of equity to prevent the violation of any right secured by a patent, on such terms as the court deems reasonable."

[59] *Hearings on S. 1047,* at 3.

[60] *Id.* at 95.

[61] *Id.* at 12.

[62] *Id.* at 70–71. This latter suggestion is embodied in a bill, H.R. 10022, 89th Cong., 1st Sess. (1965), introduced by Representative Morris of New Mexico. This bill is discussed in detail *infra.*

[63] *Hearings on S. 1047,* at 6. See also Statement of J. Edward Welch, Deputy General Counsel of the General Accounting Office. *Id.* at 64–68.

[64] *Id.* at 96.

[65] *Id.* at 97. *But see* a statement earlier in the same letter: "once you get outside the area of the national security, I can perceive of no good reason why the Federal Government should not be in the same situation with respect to the procurement of patented items as anyone else." *Id.* at 96.

[66] In its annual report dated June 30, 1966, the Senate Subcommitee on Patents, Trademarks and Copyrights merely noted that S. 1047 had been considered by the Subcommittee at the Hearings. No action on the bill was predicted. S. REP. No. 1350, 89th Cong., 2d Sess. 10 (1966).

[67] 89th Cong., 1st Sess. (1965).

[68] S. 789, 89th Cong., 1st Sess. § 9(a) (1965).

[69] 60 Stat. 237 (1946), 5 U.S.C. § 1001 (1964).

[70] S. 789, 89th Cong., 1st Sess. § 9(b) (1965).

[71] *Id.* § 8.

[72] Express authority had been granted to agency heads under § 3 of the Royalty Adjustment Act, ch. 634, 56 Stat. 1013 (1942), to settle claims against the United States for the unauthorized manufacture or use of patented inventions. However, the Royalty Adjustment Act, having been extended by the Act of July 5, 1952, 66 Stat. 330, finally expired on April 1, 1953, and the settlement authority presumably was not effective after this date. See 37 DECS. COMP. GEN. 199 (1957).

It had been suggested that the General Accounting Office, under the plenary authority of the Budget and Accounting Act, 42 Stat. 24 (1921), 31 U.S.C. § 71 (1964), to settle "all claims and demands" against the Government, is authorized to settle claims for patent infringement, Saragovitz, *Administrative Claims for Patent Infringement Against Agencies of the U.S. Government*, 42 J. PAT. OFF. SOC'Y 111, 112 (1960); however, the Comptroller General subsequently held that in view of "the exclusive nature of the remedy afforded under 28 U.S.C. 1498 . . . the asserted claims [for patent infringement] properly may not be considered or settled by our office." Duo-Matic, Inc., B–149392 (Aug. 1, 1962).

Under 35 U.S.C. § 183 (1964) agency heads are authorized to enter into an administrative settlement with any person who sustained damages as a result of his patent application being withheld from issuing as a patent for security reasons under 35 U.S.C. § 181 (1964). Although these damages may have been caused by the Government's use of the invention during the period that the application was withheld, the provisions of 35 U.S.C. § 183 (1964) do not confer any general authority to compensate a patentee for the use of his invention by the Government.

[73] The authority to settle administrative claims is conferred upon the Defense Department by 10 U.S.C. § 2386 (1964), applicable to all military departments, and by 10 U.S.C.§§ 5151, 7210(a) (1964), which apply only to the Navy, upon NASA under 72 Stat. 429 (1958), as amended by 73 Stat. 21 (1959), 42 U.S.C. § 2473(b)(3) (1964); upon the Atomic Energy Commission by 70 Stat. 553 (1946), 42 U.S.C. § 2201(g) (1964). See also § 606(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act, 75 Stat. 441 (1961), 22 U.S.C. § 2356(b) (1964), providing for administrative settlements in connection with the foreign assistance program.

Under 35 U.S.C. § 286 (1964), the filing of an administrative claim for compensation with a "department or agency of the Government having authority to settle such claim" tolls the six-year statute of limitations set forth in 35 U.S.C. § 286 (1964) and in 28 U.S.C. § 2501 (1964).

[74] Typical requirements for an administrative claim are set forth in § 9–105.52 of the Army Procurement Procedures, 32 C.F.R. § 599–105.52 (1966).

The following minimum requirements should be met to constitute a claim for patent infringement:

(a) There must be a communication in writing to either the Department of Defense, the Department of the Army, or any organization, office, or field establishment of the Department of the Army;

(b) The communication must allege infringement;

(c) The communication must include a request for compensation, either expressed or implied;

(d) There must be a citation of the patent or patents alleged to be infringed;

(e) The communication must designate the alleged infringing item or process sufficiently to permit identification with certainty, giving the military or commercial designation if known to claimant;

(f) Claimant must designate at least one claim of each patent alleged to be infringed; or

(g) In exceptional cases, as an alternative to paragraph (e) and (f) of this section, claimant must certify that he has made a bona fide attempt to determine the item or process which is infringing, but was unable to do so, giving reasons, and also a reasonable basis for his belief that the Department is infringing his patent or patents.

For a discussion of these requirements and of the administrative claim procedure generally, see Helvestine, *Processing Administrative Claims,* APLA Bull. 490 (October, 1960); Herbert, *Negotiation of a Settlement,* APLA Bull 494 (October, 1960); Hill, *Basis for Services Authority to Settle Administrative Claims,* APLA Bull. 480 (October 1960); Saragovitz, *Administrative Claims for Patent Infringement,* 25 Fed. B.J. 113 (1965); Yeaton, *The Administrative Claim Procedure,* 25 Fed. B.J. 106 (1965).

[75] Because of its informality, filing and maintaining an administrative claim is considerably less expensive than a suit. Moreover, the patent upon which a claim is based is not placed in jeopardy of being judicially declared invalid. Finally, and perhaps most significantly, many companies feel that it is better public relations for a government contractor not to sue its customer, the Government, but instead to attempt to settle a claim amicably within the infringing agency. Yeaton, *The Administrative Claim Procedure,* 25 Fed. B.J. 106 (1965).

[76] In commenting on § 9 of S. 789, NASA questioned the advisability of using the rather elaborate administrative procedures of § 7 of S. 789 as a mechanism to determine the merits of a claim, and the advisability of judicial review by the various courts of appeal rather than by Court of Claims infringement actions. As an alternative, NASA suggested:

"To implement the rationale behind section 9 of the Saltonstall bill, and to carry out to some extent the objective of the Williams bill, NASA would favor amendment of 28 U.S.C. 1948. In 1960, section 1498 was amended by Public Law 86–726 to add a new section (b) directed to copyright infringement by the Government. This new section (b) was patterned generally after the then-existing section on patent infringement, with one important chage. It was provided—

"That before such action against the United States has been instituted the appropriate corporation owned or controlled by the United States or the head of the appropriate department or agency of the Government, as the case may be, is authorized to enter into an agreement with the copyright owner in full settlement and compromise for damages accruing to him by reason of such infringement and to settle the claim administratively out of available appropriations."

NASA strongly urges that a similar provision be included in section 1498(a), giving similar authority to all agency heads to settle meritorious claims for patent infringement. Such authority, coupled with a policy of honoring well-founded claims, would go a long way toward achieving the objectives of the Williams bill and section 9 of the Saltonstall bill.

Hearings on S. 1047, at 14.

Kansas Celebrates Another Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, the great State of Kansas achieved statehood on January 29, 1861. Since 1892, the State's birthday has been observed as Kansas Day, especially by the Republicans of the State since it was a group of young Republicans who thought up the idea for the first Kansas Day celebration.

Last weekend, other members of the Kansas delegation and I had the privilege of participating in the 1967 Kansas Day activities which were held in Topeka, Friday and Saturday, January 27 and 28.

During this 2-day celebration, Republicans from all over the State gathered to honor Senator Frank Carlson, the senior Senator from Kansas, for his long years of public service as Governor of the State, as a Member of the House of Representatives, and as one of the leading statesmen of the U.S. Senate. We heard former Supreme Court Associate Justice Charles Whittaker address the annual meeting of Native Sons and Daughters, where Kansas miler Jim Ryun was honored as "Kansan of the Year." We heard Senator John Williams, of Delaware, as Kansas Day speaker, deliver a timely address on the coverup in Washington.

In addition to the special luncheons and dinners, constituents from the various congressional districts met with their own Congressmen and their Senators at breakfasts, receptions, and other meetings throughout the day and night. A special reception and dance was held for Senator James Pearson and new Congressman Larry Winn.

It was a time for renewed faith and pride in the progress of our State and especially the Republican leadership which is evident in all sections of the State. I was honored to take part in another Kansas Day celebration, and I particularly want to express my appreciation to all of those who made the plans and carried out the hundreds of details in making the 1967 Kansas Day program one of the best.

Those groups which should be cited are the Kansas Day Club, the Kansas Council of Women, the Kansas Republican State Committee, the Kansas Federation of Republican Women, the Native Sons and Daughters, the Kansas Republican Veterans Club, the Woman's Kansas Day Club, the Kansas Young Republican Federation, the Johnson County Republican Central Committee, the Second District Republican Committee, the Sedgwick County Republican Committee, and the Shawnee County Republican Central Committee.

In conjunction with my remarks, I want to include three editorials, one of which points out why statehood meant so much to the people in the Kansas Territory in 1861; another explains why the first Kansas Day celebration was a quirk of fate and the third one tells why the annual Kansas Day celebration is developing an interest in Kansas history and promoting a greater appreciation for all the good things Kansas offers.

The editorials—"It Was a Joyful Day for Kansas," from the Topeka Sunday Capital Journal; "Fate Set Celebration," from the Topeka Daily Capital, and "Developing Appreciation for Kansas," from the Topeka State Journal—follow:

[From the Topeka (Kans.) Sunday Capital-Journal, Jan. 29, 1967]

It Was Joyful Day for Kansas

Only students of history can realize the elation which enveloped the comparatively few thousand settlers 106 years ago this morning as news spread that Kansas had finally been admitted as the 34th state.

It was against a backdrop of cold, drought, poverty, hunger and years of civil war in miniature that Kansans hailed the news that at long last their efforts had been rewarded.

The celebrations were joyful despite the news not being unexpected. For four years Kansans had been attempting to write a constitution under which the territory might be admitted as a state. Instruments drawn at Topeka, Lecompton and Leavenworth had failed for various reasons, the basic one being slavery versus freedom. A fourth constitution had been written at Wyandotte in 1859 and an admission bill introduced in Congress the following year.

Though the bill had passed the House of Representatives, the Senate's Southern bloc was able to keep it buried. In December, 1860, the Kansas bill was brought up in the second session and in January, 1861, after the senators of seceding states had begun to withdraw, it finally was passed by both houses. President James Buchanan signed the bill into law on Jan. 29—exactly 106 years ago today.

Premature celebrations started on Jan. 21, when the bill passed the Senate. A second and more general round of rejoicing was held within the territory after the Kansas bill passed the House on Jan. 28. But celebrating did not become general until the following day when news spread that Buchanan had affixed his signature to the bill.

A Leavenworth newspaper, The Conservative, which broke the news first, reported that "men seemed to forget all other considerations, and to unite heart and hand in giving expression to the universal joy. At every corner might be seen throngs of enthusiastic people giving vent in cheers to the general gladness."

Another Leavenworth newspaper, in the journalistic style of the day, printed this account:

"The long agony is over. The dream of years is realized. Justice, tardy but ever-certain, has been meted out to this people, and this soil which they have chosen as their heritage is embraced within the charmed circle of a State Sovereignty, distinct and yet reciprocal. The field of blue upon our national flag is to be embellished with another star, the luster of whose orb, we predict, will vie with the fairest of the constellation. The last act of the drama which opened in blood and was continued in violence, has been enacted, and the curtain has fallen upon a happy consummation, long desired and long postponed.

"We trust that our history as a state may be as brilliant as the struggles and trials of our territorial condition have been severe and aggravated. . . ."

Those "struggles and trials" began for Kansas with passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, providing that the people of the territory should decide whether it should be free or slave. News of creation of the territory was a signal for Southern proslavery forces to make a bold bid for establishment of a new slave state and opened a six-year era often referred to as "bleeding Kansas."

Soon there was intense activity in the Northern states to create a free-soil state. Years of bloody strife followed, with both sides sending in settlers and forming militia. Antislavery guerrilla bands known as Jayhawkers were organized. Men formed proslavery bands. There were frequent clashes. Rifles, ammunition and cannon were imported; cities were fortified, men were murdered, armed bands raided other armed bands, livestock was stolen, farm houses burned and the city of Lawrence was sacked.

Abolitionist John Brown committed the so-called Potawatomi massacre and Charles Hamelton shot 11 free-state men in a ravine near the Marais des Cygnes.

Finally, federal troops were called in and ended Southern domination of the territorial legislature. Proslavery forces by their excess had defeated themselves. But the free state Legislature could not defeat the Lecompton constitution which would have made Kansas a slave state. Then, gradually, the leaders of the proslavery faction drifted away from Kansas territory and more moderate forces from Iowa, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky and Virginia took over. The slave question shifted to other areas of the United States and became the leading political issue of the nation.

Kansas, with the Wyandotte constitution, was granted statehood, as a free state, on Jan. 29, 1861.

In 1860, Kansans faced severe drought and famine and, shortly after admission to statehood, Kansans had to face the strain of the Civil War. The state, with fewer than 30,000 men between the ages of 18 and 45, furnished more than 20,000 men for the Union Army.

It was this hardy type of men who greeted admission of Kansas to statehood.

The Lawrence Republican reported that "men ran from place to place proclaiming the glad tidings. Cheering and music and all manner of exultation was heard everywhere through our streets . . . The long hoped-for event, the final triumph of freedom, was achieved, and never in the history of Kansas was such exultation known among our people."

The Elwood Free Press reported the news by saying, "We have moved to America."

So it was 106 years ago today.

[From the Topeka (Kans.) Daily Capital, Jan. 28, 1967]

Fate Set Celebration

A good many people have gathered in Topeka today to observe Kansas Day because of a quirk of fate which took place more than three-quarters of a century ago.

Had the Republicans won the election of 1890 and had Sen. Preston B. Plumb either lived longer or died sooner, Kansas Republicans probably would not be holding their 75th Kansas Day activities. Kansas Day—the anniversary of the date when this state was taken into the union—might not even be observed except possibly for school programs.

But the Republicans were licked badly in the 1890 election. And Senator Plumb died on Dec. 20, 1891.

As the late Charles F. Scott, Iola newspaper publisher and congressman, later recalled it, "the fused Populists and Democrats" whipped the GOP at the polls in 1890. "John J. Ingalls had been displaced from the Senate and his requiem was being sung by the breezes that swept through the flowing whiskers of William A. Peffer, Republican congressmen had gone down with Ingalls, county commissioners had gone with the congressmen, and the party leaders who had been marching proudly at the head of the procession from the days of the Civil War were stunned, discredited and silent. The Republican head may not have been bowed, but it certainly was bloody."

Several young Republicans, mostly newspapermen, decided in the early winter of 1891 something should be done to revive the GOP. Among them were Harry Frost of Topeka, C. M. Harger of Abilene, Ewing Herbert of Hiawatha, William Allen White of Emporia, and Scott. They set a meeting to talk things over during the holidays.

Then Senator Plumb died on Dec. 20 and it was announced his funeral would be held at the statehouse on Christmas Day. The young Republicans postponed their meeting. Scanning the calendar they decided Jan. 29, Kansas Day, would be an appropriate time.

The first dinner was served in the Old Throop hotel at 4th and Kansas. Ninety-nine diners were present. There were 12 speakers.

"Each man was supposed to speak for five minutes, but the average was 20 minutes," Scott recalled in 1936. "Twelve times 20; figure for yourself. But it was not held against them. Anyway, four of those 12 afterwards went to Congress and one to the Senate, besides, several of them having been elected to lesser office."

At the first meeting it was decided another should be held a year later, on Kansas Day. The idea continued and as Harger wrote later: "No single event in Kansas history has aroused so much permanent interest as Kansas Day. Other states have no such celebration of their birthday. Perhaps it is because other commonwealths have not the colorful background on which to build, perhaps because Kansans are more loyal and take more pride in their commonwealth than they. Had the first dinner been held as planned during the holidays in 1891, Kansas Day might have been altogether different or little observed."

With other statewide organizations, most of them Republican, joining the celebration, Kansas Day has become one of the most widely attended events in Kansas.

"Kansas Day," wrote Harger, "is a state institution, serving not only Republicanism, but the spirit of pride and loyalty in the commonwealth. It brings together as does no other occasion the leaders in every community and imbues them with new admiration for their state . . . Out of the day comes a finer appreciation of the greatness of Kansas and of the splendid character of the people."

And but for a quirk of fate . . .

[From the Kansas State Journal, Jan. 28, 1967]

Developing Appreciation of Kansas

Kansas, on the 107th anniversary of its birth, is a state of more than two and quarter million people. It has grown in wealth and prestige as well as population from that January 29th in 1861 when it was admitted to the Union.

The Kansas heritage is one that should be viewed with pride by every citizen of the state. At the same time he should view with the same pride the progress the state is making as it proceeds well on its way into the second century of its statehood.

Kansas Day, observed each year on the anniversary of the states birth, provides citizens the opportunity not only of reviewing their great past but in dedicating themselves to the future greatness of the state.

In the past, Kansans sometimes have been the greatest critics of their state with the result that Kansas has been the innocent victim of bad publicity. Fortunately, this peculiarity on the part of some of the citizens to detract their own state is on the wane. The day when it will completely disappear cannot come too soon.

There is no longer any excuse for not knowing Kansas history. While more literature on the State is always desirable, the needs are now being met adequately. Every library contains much Kansas material. History-conscious communities are either creating new museums or expanding the services of those in existence.

School children are being exposed to the history and traditions of their state in some manner all the way from kindergarten to the 12th grade. In the Topeka schools pupils in the fourth and seventh grades get Kansas history in generous doses.

They study Kansas' importance as a state. They learn of its changing economy and its influence on their lives. The relationship of Topeka and Shawnee County to the state is studied. They learn to appreciate the rich heritage of the state. They study about its industry and its agriculture and learn the chief products of Kansas. And they are taught their responsibility as its citizens.

Maps and encyclopedias are used in supplanting histories in the teaching of school children. In some classes the labels of Kansas-made products are collected and posted on bulletin boards. Some visit the capitol or the Historical Society. Some classes even write and present plays of early-day Kansas life. Others keep abreast of progress by the use of material obtained from the Kansas Economic Development Commission.

Nyle H. Miller, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, recently authored "A Student's Guide to Localized History" designed to stimulate the continuing and deeper study of history not only of the state but of its various communities as well. It directs the student in learning more about his own community—its history and its traditions.

Thus from many angles, young Kansans are learning the truly great heritage which is theirs. They are developing a pride in their state that cannot help but lead it on to even greater honors than it has achieved in the past.

Deaths Were Not in Vain

SPEECH

OF

HON. EARLE CABELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in the House, and with all my fellow Americans, in lamenting the tragic deaths of our three astronauts.

These outstanding young men, as pioneers in space, exemplified the pioneers in other fields who made such great contributions to the development of our Nation and to the knowledge of our world.

Nothing that mortal man may say or do can compensate for the loss of human life.

But the families of these men, and the Nation as a whole, may take solace in the fact that their deaths were not in vain.

Ours will be a better world for having had such men of courage and character in the forefront of our space effort.

Miss Lynda Bird Spoils the Game

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, our satirist, Arthur Hoppe, has once again entertained his readers by placing his column in the San Francisco Chronicle under date of January 23.

His column follows:

MISS LYNDA BIRD SPOILS THE GAME

(By Arthur Hoppe)

That ace cub reporter, Miss Lynda Bird Johnson, has been in San Francisco, ferreting out news in the finest traditions of the hard-driving old newspaper game.

The spot Miss Lynda Bird chose to ferret it out was the Presidential Suite of the Fairmont Hotel atop Nob Hill. There, in the company of several Secret Service agents and a private secretary, she called in subjects and asked them what I am sure were hard-hitting, tough-boiled questions. And then she went out each night while her secretary typed up her notes.

While you can't help admiring Miss Lynda Bird's style as an ace cub reporter, I'm afraid she's giving a distinctly false impression of the career opportunities available in the business. Indeed, the phone's hardly stopped ringing, what with young ladies wanting to know, "How do I get to be a cub reporter, honey?"

Frankly, it's not that way at all. To set the record straight, I've asked Miss Flossie Upheaval, a seasoned cub reporter, to put down the way it really is.

"Frankly, it's not that way at all," writes Miss Flossie. "Golly, I remember my very first assignment. The nice City Editor came up to me and said, 'Gee, Miss Flossie, would you mind awfully going out and solving the Pratt-Whitney Triple Love Nest Slaying?'

"Well, I wouldn't have dreamed for a moment of renting the Presidential Suite, me only a cub reporter and all. So I took the one right below it. I told James to keep driving around the block and went up all alone—except, of course, for Miss Preen, my part-time secretary, and Joe, my single bodyguard.

"After a scrumptious crab bisque luncheon, I called the mayor, the police chief and the Board of Aldermen and told them I was ready to receive them now.

"When they finally got there four minutes later—really, the public servant problem is so frustrating—I put it to them point blank: 'Which one of you did it?' I said.

"They all denied it. Wouldn't you know? Being a cub reporter is such a grind sometimes. But the nice police chief slipped me a piece of paper with the names of the killers on it.

"My City Editor was awfully elated. 'Bang out a story for the first edition!' he cried. 'Please?'

"But I couldn't, of course, because I didn't want to just ruin my fingernails. And besides, I'd lost that silly slip of paper. Anyway, the publisher was terribly pleased I hadn't rented the Presidential Suite but just a plain old ordinary one instead.

"'Young lady,' he said, 'I can tell you have the best interests of our paper at heart. You're going right to the top in this game some day.'

"Well, I was so all choked up I couldn't think of a single thing to say. So I just looked him squarely in the eye and said simply, 'Gee, daddy, thanks.'"

So you can see the false impression Miss Lynda Bird's been creating. The reason she could rent the Presidential Suite for her interviews is that she works for a magazine, not a newspaper. And magazines have more liberal expense accounts.

Thus I've been advising every young lady who calls up wanting to be an ace cub reporter to study hard, learn the craft from the ground up, practice, practice, practice, and pick a good daddy.

Milpitas Cinderella Becomes a Queen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON EDWARDS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I was very proud to learn that last year a Milpitas, Calif., girl was named to be Miss Teenage America. Sandy Roberts, the 17-year-old daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Norman Roberts of Park Hill Drive, Milpitas, is an honor student at Samuel Ayer High School and plans to use her scholarship award to attend Stanford University. I am delighted that Sandy, a lovely young girl whose abilities and achievements are many, has been chosen to exemplify the best of youth today and I am sure that all Milpitas residents are as proud of Sandy as I. Under unanimous consent, I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article from the Milpitas Post telling of Sandy's crowning and the many activities she will take on as Miss Teenage America of 1967:

MILPITAS CINDERELLA BECOMES A QUEEN

Sandy Roberts, a Milpitas girl, was named Miss Teenage America of 1967 last Saturday night in Dallas, Texas, before a television audience of millions.

The beautiful 17 year old senior at Samuel Ayer High School, an honor student who wants to be an electrical engineer, entered the contest as a candidate-at-large.

She performed a hula dance during the ceremonies as a part of the talent requirements to be chosen. Her new title is worth about $23,000, including a $10,000 scholarship and $5,000 for personal appearances. During her reign she is expected to travel over 300,000 miles on behalf of traffic safety programs and Easter Seals sales. Her expenses will be borne by American Airlines and the Pepsi Cola Company.

Sandy plans to use the scholarship studying mathematics and science at Stanford University.

"I'm so happy for Milpitas," she said. "They say nothing ever happened like this before to Milpitas."

Sandy is the only child of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Norman Roberts of 221 Park Hill Drive in Milpitas.

Ayer principal Leo Murphy, who was flown to Dallas to be present at Sandy's crowning said Sandy will make most of her appearances on weekends.

Jewish Population in Hawaii Shows Substantial Gains

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA
OF HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, a prominent Honolulu businessman and national leader in the Reform Jewish movement, Mr. James Zukerkorn, in a recent interview with the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, presented some very interesting information regarding the Jewish population in our 50th State which I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues.

Mr. Zukerkorn, a longtime island resident, estimates that there are some 4,000 Jews living in Hawaii today, whereas there were only 50 to 60 Jewish families in Hawaii prior to the late 1930's.

As always, I feel a great admiration for the progressive spirit, courage and perserverance of the Jewish people, and Hawaii is fortunate in having an increasing number of Jewish families as citizens of our State.

I am pleased to submit for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the news article with Mr. Zukerkorn's comments, which appeared in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin on Wednesday, January 25, 1967:

[From the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Jan. 25, 1967]

ISLAND JEWISH POPULATION AT 4,000

James Zukerkorn, Honolulu businessman and a national leader in the Reform Jewish movement, estimates that there are 4,000 Jews living in Hawaii today, although only 175 families belong to the single Jewish temple here.

Zukerkorn, an Island resident for the last 47 years, said there were no more than 50 to 60 Jewish families in Hawaii up until the late 1930s.

"But numbers are often misleading," Zuckerkorn said.

"I am concerned with those who are interested in Judaism as a religious force, with those who would like to give their children a religious education."

Zukerkorn, besides being a leader of Honolulu's Temple Emanu-El, is a vice-chairman of the national board of trustees of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

This is the Reform or liberal branch of Judaism. The other branches are Orthodox, which sets a strict interpretation on the Bible and tradition, and the Conservatives, a middle-of-the-road branch.

Zukerkorn is convention chairman of the regional biennial convention of the Reform congregations in Sacramento this week-end. He will leave for the West Coast today.

The theme of the convention is "The Spectrum of Reform Judaism—its Weaknesses, its Strengths, its Future."

He declined to discuss the weaknesses of Judaism in Hawaii, but said Reform Judaism had a great future here.

Reform Judaism, he said, allows modern man to be modern and to be Jews. Jewish liberalism, as practiced here, emphasizes prophetic Judaism and an advocacy of social action, social justice and civil rights.

"From almost nothing, we have a growing and flourishing congregation in Hawaii," Zukerkorn said. ". . . There are more than 150 children in our religious school. We are in the process of building four more classrooms, additions to the seven we built in 1960."

I Used To Cry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, the Cincinnati Enquirer is in the process of publishing a series of articles by its distinguished writer, Margaret Josten. These articles deal with the practical application of our welfare system to people. She is attacking, in a most understandable way, the practical problems of "What's it like to be poor?" To provide all Members with the benefit of her observations, I am submitting for the Appendix of the RECORD the first of these articles and I expect to follow up with others.

The article follows:

I USED TO CRY

(By Margaret Josten)

(First of a series)

"Since I've been on welfare I've learned to become very hard. I used to cry when I wasn't getting support and my kids didn't have food. Now, as long as they have a scrap of bread, I don't worry."

The woman's eyes and nose reddened, but she did not permit herself to cry. Her youngest, a restless lad of five, tried to climb into her lap with a box of crackers and a quart jar of peanut butter. She ignored him.

"If you start feeling sorry for yourself you'll wind up in Longview," she continued above the screams of the now-angry child and the tinny noise emanating from an old radio on the kitchen table.

"You've got to remember the big thing is to feed the kids and get them through school somehow.

"The other things, like the patched-up clothes that make other kids make fun of your kids, aren't big things. And what's so awful about going out after dark to pick up pop bottles so you'll have bus fare?"

Rosalind Doe (not her real name) laughed nervously, almost hysterically.

She is an intense white-haired woman of 45 who was deserted by her husband a few months before the youngest of the eight children was born. The man has eluded all efforts of authorities to find him, leaving the public to pick up the check for his family's support.

Mrs. Doe and her children are among approximately 23,000 Hamilton County residents being fed, clothed and sheltered via monthly checks from Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) or Aid to Dependent Children of the Unemployed (ADCU).

ADC, the program giving the Doe family $192 monthly, supports households where the mother is the only adult in the home. In ADCU, either parent may be unemployed.

The costs are tremendous in Hamilton County alone. In 1966, ADC here required an outlay of $8,586,106 from Federal, state and local sources, with the Federal government supplying the majority of the money. ADCU, financed the same way, cost $839,682.

Fights are brewing over ADC in the Ohio Legislature, as well as in the U.S. Congress.

At the state level there is powerful agitation, namely from the Ohio Council of Churches and the Ohio Citizens Council for Health and Welfare, to upgrade ADC and ADCU payments to 100% of subsistence based upon 1967 costs of living. Recipients now get 70% of the amount considered necessary to live, based upon 1965 costs.

Gov. James A. Rhodes, currently being pressed for more money from a variety of sources, blames much of the trouble in Ohio upon the Federal government itself. Federal subsidies in assistance grants to the aged, the blind and the disabled are much higher than those to dependent children.

A full-scale debate over the nation's welfare program is shaping up for the 90th Congress. Last year, the congressionally-created Advisory Council on Public Welfare issued a sharply critical report stating that America's present welfare programs have failed to eliminate poverty.

The advisory body said: "Public assistance payments are so low and so uneven that the government is, by its own standards and definitions, a major source of the poverty on which it has declared unconditional war."

Mrs. Doe, who gets mad every time she hears an allusion to the "illiteracy" of welfare clients, never heard of the advisory council But she thinks welfare perpetuates poverty.

She does outside domestic work that brings her about $40 a month. Of that, about $25 actually goes into her pocket to be used primarily for babysitting and transportation needs attendant to the job. The rest is figured into the 70% of subsistence.

The Ohio Legislature passed last session a bill permitting ADC mothers and others on welfare to earn and keep the difference between the 70% and 100% of subsistence.

But the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare refuses to permit implementation of the so-called "incentive" law because it is in conflict with the Social Security Act.

Governor Rhodes has been after HEW to do something about the conflict.

Why does Mrs. Doe continue to work when it brings her no real extra income?

"I figure it takes initiative away from kids if they don't see a parent going out to earn some money, no matter how little it is," she answers.

"I wonder about the kids who are born into the second or third generation of welfare. How are they ever going to get out of the hole?

"Believe me, welfare creates an awful lot of problems for kids—problems that maybe never can be solved."

She mentions the lack of nutritious food and milk to give them energy to improve their minds, the jeers they take from schoolmates who have good clothing and the wherewithal to indulge in youth activities; the absence of books and magazines and newspapers that can help their development.

"There's no future on welfare," she says bitterly. "You can't plan on a future. You hear people worrying about how to get a new dress and you think, 'Gee, I wish I had that worry.' "

Fino Introduces Bill To Extend Medicare Benefits to the Disabled

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced legislation to make all those persons receiving disability social security payments eligible for medicare.

One of the most heartening pieces of legislation passed by the 89th Congress was medicare. This year, I expect another milestone piece of legislation to be passed—the proposed social security hike.

For my part, I would like to see social security and medicare even more closely tied together. I think that it is not enough to make persons eligible for medicare at age 65. I believe that those persons who are receiving social security disability payments ought to be made eligible for medicare.

Surely there can be no dispute about their need—that need is obvious. Very few of those receiving social security disability payments have other financial resources. Medicare would be a boon to them.

Third-Class Mailers Respond to Misinformed Critics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, following is an article from the January issue of the Postal Record, the official publication of the National Association of Letter Carriers.

I think this article illustrates the reason for third-class mail. I might add that there are millions of lonely people, primarily senior citizens, who never receive mail other than third-class advertising mail. They look forward to receiving it and read it from cover to cover. It gives them something to look forward to.

The article follows:

THIRD-CLASS MAILERS RESPOND TO MISINFORMED CRITICS

By reading some segments of the nation's press, the average person would think that Third Class Mail has no friends at all. No one would guess that approximately 300,000 American business men, small merchants, churches, charities, and others, find this class of mail an effective way to get their message across to the public.

This is not an accident. Those who attack Third Class Mail most bitterly, do so, not because it is a *useless* form of advertising, but because it is a *useful* medium. Third class mail has become an aggressive competitor for the advertising dollar and is therefore a convenient target for editorial attack.

As Senator Daniel B. Brewster (Democrat, Maryland) wrote, in a recent letter to the New York Times: "A good many people are offended by all forms of advertising, but the fact remains that the 20 billion pieces of bulk third class mail dispatched annually, account for sales in excess of $35 billion, proof positive that Americans do read and respond to this sales literature . . ."

Third Class Mail, in fact, is responsible for 28% of the total mail volume each year, and produces 16% of the total postal revenue. Second class mail is responsible for 12% of the total volume and produces only 3% of the revenue.

If there were no third class mail, the Post Office Department could eliminate about one-quarter of its clerical employees, and about one-fifth of its letter carriers. During the Great Depression, third class mail did dwindle away to a whisper of its former self because merchants didn't have the money to advertise, and customers didn't have the money to respond to advertisement. The result was massive cuts in the postal employee force.

Harry J. Maginnis, President of the Associated Third Class Mail Users (and an annual contributor of a scholarship to the William C. Doherty Scholarship Program), in a recent letter to the Washington *Star*, explodes many of the malicious myths that have been built up around Third Class Mail. He points out that the revenues from this class of mail are sufficient to pay for the salaries of around 110,000 postal clerks and carriers. He also points out that third class mail is a deferred class which is denied at least 18 benefits which are, as a matter of course, afforded first class mail. This latter fact, of course, justifies the lower rates which third class mail enjoys. (The rates on third class have been raised 188 percent in the past 15 years.)

The ironical things about third class mail is that those who attack it the most are among those who use it the most. When the magazines and newspapers who most loudly declaim against "junk" mail embark on a circulation promotion program—they use third class mail, the very same type of mail that their editorialists decry as being useless and an unnecessary burden on the postal service.

Third class mailers, of course, are used to having their mail deferred but most of them thought the threat of burning their mail in Chicago recently was a little excessive. The Post Office generously returned the postage on the delayed mail but, did not defray the expense that went into the printing and preparation of the material.

Desptie great improvements after the notorious autumn crisis, mail problems still abound. We reproduce, in part, a circular sent out recently (November 14) by St. Mark's Episcopal Church, in Palo Alto, California:

"Dear Brethren in Christ: Last week I was puzzled by our mail delivery. As late as four o'clock I was assured by local postal authorities that our man was just late that day—a real feat when one considers that we are about the tenth stop from the beginning of the route, and usually get our mail reasonably early in the morning . . . A little later, a neighborhood survey revealed that no one had received any mail . . . late in the evning the mail authorities grudgingly agreed that something was wrong. The carrier was contacted and said he had delivered all his mail, but he hadn't even seen a church. Onward creaked the machinery. One postal authority told me the Palo Alto Post Office was hiring 'anybody we can get' because there is a current ruling against paying regular postal employees overtime. One postal agent said he didn't think some of the new fellows could read . . . In the meanwhile, part of the mail (the last half of the route) was discovered, but the first part, including our own which can run as high as fifty pieces a day, is still missing . . . Up until the 'Great Mail Call-It-What-You-Wish' we had been receiving cards making reservations for this week's men's luncheons (and for other parish functions) . . . Now we are going to have to call up almost everybody to find out what they might have said."

And so it goes.

Or, rather, and so it does *not* go.

Welcome Home, Leo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, I am very happy to have the privilege of serving in the 90th Congress and I am thankful to the constitutents of the 12th Congressional District for giving me this responsibility.

We know as years come and go that there are many changes and in new sessions of Congress there are many new faces. We miss our colleagues when they retire—voluntarily or unvoluntarily.

There is one who retired voluntarily and I know all Members of the House will miss him. He was so loyal, so expert in his endeavors, so kind and realistic that we all sought his help and advice.

I speak of the one and only Leo W. O'Brien. We all admit that Washington's loss is Albany's gain, "the hometown guy" has returned to home base. We hope he will come back and visit us on the Potomac, but there is no place like home.

Our best wishes and love go to Leo and to his charming wife.

I place in the RECORD an editorial which one of my friends sent to me from his hometown:

WELCOME HOME, LEO

(By John Maguire)

Well, hello, Obie; well, hello, Obie; it's so nice to have you back where you belong . . .

If you missed yesterday's edition of this newspaper, which is unthinkable, you may not know that Congressman Leo W. O'Brien will resume his journalistic career in January with The Times Union, whose pages he graced for so many years before departing for Washington. It's so obvious it's hardly necessary to say it, but for the record this is good news for all of us, and everybody around here is delighted.

Leo was always one of the best newspaper reporters anywhere, and he was generous in helping other reporters who, because of inexperience or lack of knowledge of the area, needed a fill-in on the details of some story. When I came to Albany permanently in 1950, I began stringing here for Business Week, and one day they wanted a detailed analysis of the ton-mile, or weight distance, tax legislation.

I got the message on a Saturday when no legislators were in town, and the story had to be in New York Monday. So I called Leo, whom I'd never met, introduced myself and told him I planned to talk with Judge Sol Rubinstein and some others who were associated with the legislation, but that I needed a quick fill-in on the background of the thing.

If he'd said, "I'm busy, Mac," I wouldn't have been surprised. But he talked for about five minutes straight while I took notes, and not only gave me excellent factual detail but also threw in some of the behind-the-scenes significance of the legislation. He even suggested a few good questions to ask people I had to interview.

Over the years, he has continued to be helpful to all newspapermen, not only by being always available for questions but by answering the toughest of them quickly and frankly. Once when he was moderator of a meeting in town and one speaker said his next remarks were off the record, I stood up and said I was a reporter and I wouldn't agree to regard anything said in a public meeting as off the record. This put Leo in a kind of a spot, but to his credit he said immediately. "In that case, we'll have to skip that subject." He told me later he agreed with me 100 per cent.

If Leo's column is as good as his record in Congress, and I'm sure it will be, then we're all in for a treat.

BUT HE'S LOST A GOOD SOURCE

But, to be honest, I've got to admit that I'm probably the only person on The Times-Union who will suffer somewhat by Leo's joining us. He was one of my best contributors of stories, and I doubt if any columnist—even one so generous as Leo—would be crazy enough to give away good stories that he could use in his own column.

Also, his son Bob has eight lively children, and I used to get the exclusive release rights on their adventures and escapades and bright sayings. I don't suppose Bob and Pat O'Brien will continue to funnel the stuff to the public through me—not when Gramps is doing a column, too. Well, we've all got to take the bitter with the sweet—and, to sum up what we all feel about having Leo O'Brien back with us, all I can say is, "How sweet it is."

Basketball Hall of Fame—Barney Sedran

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an editorial written by Mr. Abe E. Eisenstein for the East Side News, which is published weekly in my congressional district, in connection with the 76th birthday of Barney Sedran, known to all devotees of the sport of basketball.

The editorial follows:

BASKETBALL HALL OF FAME—BARNEY SEDRAN

(By Abe E. Eisenstein)

Memories of settlement, high school, college, and professional basketball games of yesteryears will come flooding back to many thousands of individuals everywhere who had witnessed (heard or read) of the playing of that all-time top ranking star—Basketball Hall of Fame Barney Sedran. On Saturday, Jan. 28, he will be 76 years young.

The respected and admired athlete and colorful personality of yesteryear and today, Barney Sedran is the first of the best of little men who routed the prejudice against small men in basketball. He is one of the many famous basketball stars developed on the Lower East Side. At the age of fifteen, the present noted trustee of the University Settlement Alumni of the famed world historic settlement in America, Sedran already had a reputation playing on the settlement team with a group known as the "Busy Izzies."

The DeWitt Clinton High School graduate (played in his senior year on the basketball team) and basketball captain of CCNY (played three varsity years), Barney Sedran, the 5'4" tall, weighing only 118 pounds, with the cooperation of his teammates, formed one of the best college quintets of that day and age. City College met all comers and defeated most of them. It was reported then that: "Sebran drifted around the court like an anemic ghost, and was the sensational star of the team that whipped Yale, Harvard, Princeton, Penn, Navy, Columbia and Army." Forward Sedran was shifty, speedy, clever in feinting, dribbling, passing, and an expert shot.

After graduation from CCNY (Class of 1910), Sedran played for sixteen years as a professional in organized basketball and played on ten championship teams. In 1913, playing with the Utica Indians in the N.Y. State League in a championship game with the Camden team of the Eastern League, Sedran scored 17 field goals from 25 to 30 feet out, in a caged court without any backboards. He was a leading scorer or runner up in every league in which he played.

The "Maker of Champions," Barney Sedran had to have enormous talent and toughness to survive the competition (contest games) in those days. He retired in 1925 and became a professional basketball coach for twenty years. He coached the Troy Team; The Kingston Five; The Brooklyn Jewels; The Whirlwind Team for Ted Collins in the Hippodrome; The Wilmington Bombers; The Cleveland Rosenblums, and singer Kate Smith's Celtics.

We Salute and Congratulate one of the many genuine genius' of sports and gentleman, who has left a good example and a notable record of achievement behind him as player and coach—the Basketball Hall of Fame—Barney Sedran—on his 76th birthday.

Vietnam Servicemen and Veterans' Act of 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I want to express my wholehearted support for President Johnson's proposed Vietnam Servicemen and Veterans' Act of 1967, which he so effectively presented this week in a message to Congress.

I was equally enthusiastic in my support of the so-called "cold war GI bill of rights" adopted by the 89th Congress. At that time, I advocated that the bill include even more liberal provisions for returning veterans than those recommended by the administration.

With more and more of our young men being drafted to serve their country in this time of need, I am pleased to see that the President agrees with me that today's veterans are entitled to the same benefits as those given the veterans of World War II and the Korean war. The conflict in Vietnam is obviously no longer a cold war. It is a very hot war indeed for the nearly 500,000 Americans now serving there.

These young men are giving up some of the most important years of their lives in the service of their Nation, and we certainly owe it to them to make their transition back to civilian life as orderly and effective as possible.

As a World War II veteran who took advantages of the original GI bill of rights to obtain a college education and law degree, I am fully aware of the great benefits that this program brings to a young man whose life has been disrupted by military service.

The basic idea of the GI bill program is to hasten the readjustment of veterans to civilian life, through education, job training, medical benefits and financial aid in purchasing a home.

On the basis of past experience, following World War II and Korea, every dollar spent in these efforts is returned many times over in the form of income tax payments, since the GI bill programs enable veterans to further their education and improve their job skills, and thus earn far better incomes.

The President pointed out in his message to Congress that some 20 percent of today's veterans have not completed high school. I heartily support the President's plan to encourage these young men to complete their high school educations and take refresher courses, if necessary, so that they can enter college.

The President's program includes other fair and sensible liberalizations of benefits for servicemen and veterans, including life insurance, pensions, wages, education expense allowances and other fringe benefits.

President Johnson said in his message:

> No act of Government, and no legislative proposal can ever repay the Nation's debt to these brave men.

I certainly concur in this statement. But I believe that a grateful Nation should make every effort possible to repay this debt. There is no better way to do this than to help prepare these young men in every way for a happy, prosperous and satisfying life. In this way, we assure the veterans of yesterday, today and tomorrow that we do recognize their efforts and sacrifices, and that we do appreciate what they have done in defense of their Nation and of freedom.

I join with President Johnson in asking for prompt enactment of this legislation.

Westwood Student Wins Honors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, too often when we read of the activities of today's youth, as cited in the newspapers, magazines and other press media, they are accounts of juvenile delinquency, drug addiction, LSD parties, and the like. I am pleased, therefore, to bring to the attention of my colleagues, the accomplishments of one of my constituents, Miss Marilyn Maxine Richmond, a senior at Westwood High School, in Westwood, N.J., and a student who has maintained a high degree of excellence in her studies and in her extracurricular activities. Marilyn has taken part in a National Science Talent Search aimed at discovering high school seniors who have the potential to become the research scientists of the future. She has achieved, for her "Study of Three Mutations in the Mouse Which Produce Disproportionate Dwarfism," placement in the honors group of the search, which is earned by only 10 percent of those who enter and is considered as evidence of science ability and interest which can be taken into consideration by colleges and universities in admissions and in the granting of scholarships.

Marilyn, in her pursuit of knowledge, does not restrict herself to school work alone, but takes advantage of the extracurricular activities available to her through her school and her community. She belongs to the Westwood High School Science and Mathematics Clubs and is a Girl Scout. She has also entered projects in Westwood's local science fair.

The recognition that the National Science Talent Search has granted to Marilyn will undoubtedly take her far in her desire to be a biologist or a college professor, and I am sure that all of my colleagues in the House will join me in congratulating Marilyn on her achievement and wishing her the best of luck in her future endeavors.

Tribute to Retiring Secretary of Commerce, Hon. John T. Connor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, although the past 2 years have been hectic and at times frustrating for my committee and the maritime industry, they have also been gratifying and rewarding ones because of the opportunity to work with talented people like John T. Connor, who has just retired as Secretary of Commerce.

I personally felt keen disappointment and regret at the news of his departure, and would like to voice my respect and admiration for this dedicated public servant.

John Connor's extensive knowledge, skill and know-how were combined in a unique blend of leadership, which steered America's commerce through two trying but outstandingly successful years. No one regrets his departure more than I. As chairman of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, I have worked closely with Mr. Connor; together, we have wrestled with the complex problems of the troubled maritime industry, and I have been impressed with his vast knowledge and ability to understand and his eagerness to help.

These keen powers of perception are especially important now, when America's ailing merchant marine faces such critical times. Although I am reluctant to see him go, I want to wish Mr. Connor the best of success in his new endeavors.

As to the new Acting Secretary of Commerce, Alexander B. Trowbridge, I congratulate him upon his appointment and extend to him my personal wishes for a brilliant career. I understand that our new Secretary is only 37, and I think this is in itself indicative of great talent and ability. Mr. Trowbridge's past experience as Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Domestic and International Business will no doubt be invaluable to him in his new important post.

I earnestly hope that the new Secretary will—like Mr. Connor—develop an interest in and understanding of our maritime industry, which plays such a vital role in our Nation's commerce.

Toward this end, I pledge close cooperation of my committee which will avail itself of every opportunity to make Mr. Trowbridge's task an easier one. As for myself, I will take advantage of every opportunity to work closely and harmoniously with Mr. Trowbridge, as we work together toward the common goal of stimulating and expanding America's vital business of commerce.

Kerr Ouster Should Help Return of Campus Sense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT J. BURKE

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to my colleagues' attention an editorial written by Mr. William A. Mullen, editor of the Fort Lauderdale Sun Sentinel, which appeared in the January 24, 1967, issue of this excellent newspaper.

The editorial poignantly assesses the ills of our present system of higher education. Using the current situation that now exists with the California Board of Regents as a base, Mr. Mullen in essence asks the question: Do our young people go to college to educate—or to be educated? He seems to further ask, Will the time-honored role of the educator be subjugated to the rule of the ultraliberal mob or will we "return to a sense of normalcy on the major campuses around the country?"

It would be well if we all took serious note of Mr. Mullen's remarks and rededicated ourselves to the tenet that higher education in our country is intended primarily for the gaining of knowledge so that the student will be a credit to himself, his family, his community, and his country.

The editorial follows:

[From the Sun-Sentinel, Jan. 24, 1967]

KERR OUSTER SHOULD HELP RETURN OF CAMPUS SENSE

The University of California, its ousted president, Dr. Clark Kerr, and new Gov. Ronald Reagan are a continent away from Florida, but we here in the Sunshine State will feel the titanic battle taking shape on the Pacific Coast.

This will be the case, for the gauntlet has been thrown before the liberal community, and there is no reason to doubt that the left-wingers, ther sympathizers and the pro-Communists will not take the challenge lying down.

Out of the pitched battle is likely to come the direction of higher education in this age of flux that indicates a turn from ultra-liberalism toward more traditional American moderation, as reflected in the November elections.

If the firing of Dr. Kerr by the California board of regents is made to stick, the growing campus movement toward conservatism will have been given some substance. If, on the other hand, the liberals win at Berkeley, write off any prospects of returning to a sense of normalcy and practicality on any of the major campuses around the country.

No matter what the outcome, the University of California will continue in being; the conflict is not one of a mundane nature, it is a battle of symbolism. That is demonstrated by the direct attacks upon Gov. Reagan, and by the liberal community arising in unison to the defense of Dr. Kerr, making him, at the same time, a martyr for their cause.

Take the action of former Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, whom Reagan defeated, as an example. Commenting on the Kerr dismissal, Brown said:

"The reactionaries of the State of California are really taking over. It's just too bad . . . too bad."

His reaction may leave a dark picture with those who forget (1) that Dr. Kerr's administration literally accepted a state of anarchy on the Berkeley campus when the Marxists, the falsely named "Free Speech Movement," and the Filthy Speech Movement caused riots and disrupted campus order, (2) that he, former Gov. Brown, failed to cope with the situation effectively, and (3) that the dismissal of Dr. Kerr is in keeping with the mandate of the majority of California voters.

To support the last-mentioned item, it will be remembered that California voters elected Dr. Max Rafferty, a conservative, as state superintendent of public instruction knowing his position and his determination to restore some sense of reality to the school system there; that Californians elected Mr. Reagan as governor fully aware that he was not happy with conditions at Berkeley, and that Mr. Brown is himself a rejected politician after two terms of liberalism, license and permissiveness that tolerated conditions leading to the ferment at Berkeley.

These he dismisses in dark terms of "reactionaries taking over," when, in fact, the will of the majority is being implemented.

Also significant is the concerted attack upon Gov. Reagan in the wake of the Kerr dismissal. The vote among the regents was 14 to 8, among 24 regents, with Dr. Kerr abstaining and Dr. Rafferty absent.

Gov. Reagan was merely one vote among the majority, but the liberals have zeroed in on him over the Kerr affair because he becomes a threat to the entire cause if he is not destroyed forthwith.

That is why the Berkeley affair will have its impact far beyond the borders of California. Across the nation the academic community has arisen to Dr. Kerr's defense because he is a symbol of their movement, while Gov. Reagan automatically is their adversary. It becomes a national issue because if the firing of Dr. Kerr prevails, there may be more tendency on the part of regents to restore discipline to the campus and to curb the recruiting activities of the ultra-liberals and pro-Reds thereon.

Conversely, if the liberal clique prevails, opposition to unbridled academic free wheeling will be virtually eliminated through reluctance of regents and public officials to face the ferocity of the followers of the cause, creating a campus autonomy of the type that has kept numerous Latin American nations in a turmoil.

Gov. Reagan and the regents voting to dismiss Dr. Kerr undoubtedly were aware of the calculated risks. For the good of higher education it is hoped they will persevere and reverse the ultra-liberalism that has burgeoned on too many campuses for too many years in the disguise of academic freedom.

WILLIAM A. MULLEN.

Footprints of Some in Washington Last a Long Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, many eulogies have been offered in the memory of our late colleague, the Honorable John E. Fogarty, whose untimely death on January 10 removed from our midst a dedicated public servant.

No tribute better expresses the true image of John Fogarty and his life's work than a column written by our distinguished former colleague, the Honorable Leo W. O'Brien, entitled "Footprints of Some in Washington Last a Long Time."

Mr. Speaker, so that our colleagues may have the privilege of reading Congressman O'Brien's tribute to Mr. Fogarty, I include his remarks at this point in the RECORD:

FOOTPRINTS OF SOME IN WASHINGTON LAST A LONG TIME

(By Leo W. O'Brien)

The swift disappearance of footprints left by a man who dies or leaves public office is a tragic but understandable thing. It should teach all of us a lesson in humility.

Those who swell up under the false adulation which goes with office or who believe they have become indispensible to a position or a cause must be very blind to what went before.

How quickly, when a man leaves office, or a high managerial position or an important university chair, his replacement moves in.

But there are exceptions, though few. Some leave footprints so deep and unique that they resist for a long time human forgetfulness and the careless steps of those who walk the sands where the footprints lie.

KEEN SORROW NOTED

My nostalgia on Jan. 10, when I missed the first opening of a new Congress in nearly a decade and a half, was sharpened into keen sorrow by the sudden death of an old colleague and friend.

Just two hours before members of the 90th Congress took their collective oath of office, Rep. John Fogarty of Rhode Island collapsed and died at his desk. But government can't stand still for individuals or tragedies and the Congress, already one short of full House membership, was born, adjourning soon after out of respect to John Fogarty.

Congressmen often have two images, one in Washington and one at home. The former is the true image. It's forged by the honest evaluation of a man by those who know whether or not he a good congressman and not distorted by the back-home image which often is composed of shoddy gimmicks, speeches and news releases.

John Fogarty had the good Washington image, but I am sadly aware that most of the readers of this column are unfamiliar with the name.

They know about the Dirksens and the Fords, the Mansfields and the McCormacks, the Fulbrights and the Kennedys, but Fogarty—who was he?

He was once a bricklayer, without the usual degrees, except for the string of honorary ones given him by colleges which knew of his great work.

A SAVAGE FIGHTER

Who was John Fogarty?

Millions of persons in our land, unfamiliar with the name, are alive today because he fought savagely and relentlessly, even against Presidents, to win adequate funds for the wars against heart disease (his killer), cancer, tuberculosis and other scourges of humanity.

We in Congress knew of his greatness, but we were not alone. There was grief in the health research centers, in hospitals and in medical colleges. They had lost more than a friend. They lost a champion.

Another will arise, I'm sure, but it will take time, much time. The tide will roll in and out many times on the beaches of national health before the footsteps of John Fogarty are erased.

This somewhat sentimental piece could be called "Epitaph of An Ex-Bricklayer." I prefer a title already used:

"Requiem for a Heavyweight."

One Hundred and Five Job Corpsmen Refurbish Park in Catoctin Mountains

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, there has been much criticism of the Job Corps since this agency was set up in the 1st session of the 89th Congress in 1965. It is, however, much easier to view with alarm than it is to point with pride and, also, it makes much more interesting reading. Thus, there is a tendency to ignore the greater good for the lesser evil. During the recent adjournment, I had the opportunity to read a very balanced account of the work done by job corpsmen in the Catoctin Mountains of western Maryland. The story in question was by Miss Katharine Gresham of the Washington Post and was published on December 15, 1966. The world of journalism needs more writers like Miss Gresham who report the facts as they see them even at the cost of a sensational story. I urge all Members to read this story and under unanimous consent to have it included in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 15, 1966]

ONE HUNDRED AND FIVE JOB CORPSMEN REFURBISH PARK IN CATOCTIN MOUNTAINS

(By Katherine Gresham)

Job Corpsmen at the Catoctin Conservation Center, situated within a mile of Camp David in western Maryland, completed conservation work during 1966 valued by National Park Service officials at over $250,000.

During the year the 105 youths at the Center, who range from 16 through 20 years in age, built roads and facilities for a 50-site camping area in the 6000-acre Catoctin Mountain Park and began work on another 50-site picnic area which will open this spring, according to the Center's director, Jack Wheat.

Some 300 picnic tables as well as numerous stone fire places were constructed for these sites. The youths have also cleared and reconstructed an estimated 20 miles of park trails.

Corpsmen have dug ditches in the Park's stony terrain to bury electric power lines. To date about a mile of lines have been buried. Work will continue on the electrical lines and begin on telephone lines during the spring.

In the Center's sign shop more than 500 information signs have been produced for the Catoctin Park, Antietam National Battlefield and numerous parks in the National Capital area.

Two large sandboxes were built for children at migrant workers' camps in the nearby cities of Thurmont and Frederick. Assistance has also been given Thurmont in clearing and developing a 17-acre city park.

This spring the Corpsmen will begin clearing some 20 overgrown acres on Little Round Top, the south end of the Union line at Gettysburg National Park, which is located 25 miles from the Center. They will also take down wire fences at Gettysburg and replace them with chestnut rail fences.

The Center, which in February, 1965, was the first Job Corps Conservation project opened in the country, is operated by the National Park Service and financed by annual Federal grants of about $600,000. The youths spend half their time working and half studying basic English and math with an educational staff of four.

The Catoctin Center is not uniquely productive, but officials express great pride at its accomplishments. Job Corps spokesmen estimate that roughly $30 million worth of conservation work has been completed at the 88 centers operated under the program since its inception in 1965.

On Cutting the Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, as a relatively new Member of Congress, I have been deluged with proper communications from my constituents urging that the budget be cut in a material way. Perhaps the questions I am asking will seem naive to my more experienced and learned colleagues, but I am confused in seeking to find a proper answer to their suggestions.

I note that $76 billion is budgeted for national defense. Are there many of my colleagues that believe significant cuts can be made in this portion of our proposed expenditures?

Fourteen billion dollars is needed to meet the interest on our public debt. I cannot conceive of any economies there.

Some $6.7 billion is assigned to veterans programs. Our present level of service to the veteran is too low, and certainly we cannot find much to slash there.

There is $3.2 billion set aside for agricultural programs and subsidies. Perhaps we can cut here but I suspect there are not enough votes to cut more than a token amount, if any.

The space program proposes an expenditure of $5.3 billion. I would be willing to vote for economies in this area but I doubt that many citizens would want to see a major reduction in that national effort.

Some $2 billion will be spent for elementary and secondary education. If we cut this program, the local property tax will have to pick up the price tag and I think that is undesirable.

We could eliminate the entire poverty program, though I personally would believe that action to be unwise. Even if we were to be so shortsighted as to discontinue this valuable assistance to our beleaguered cities, we would only reduce the entire budget by $1.9 billion, hardly a sufficient amount to balance it.

I have covered about 90 percent of the budget in the above items. The remaining portion deals with items such as programs to control pollution, prevent floods, reclaim unusable lands; or public health research into cancer, heart disease, and strokes—or the new program designed to combat crime. None of these areas seem too fruitful as services that should be discontinued.

What, then, Mr. Speaker, is the answer that a new Member seeking to be responsible and not wishing to be a demagog, replies to the constituents demanding a major slash in Federal spending?

Partners for Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, Sacramento County in general and Del Paso Heights in particular are currently better places to live for many previously discouraged citizens because of the Economic Opportunity Act and the untiring dedication of Mrs. Louis Brown, and the Good Neighbors Club of Del Paso Heights.

An article in the Sacramento Bee of January 8, 1967, by Miss Brenda Banks outlines the positive effect the Good Neighbor Child Care Center has had on the citizens of Del Paso Heights.

The article follows:

[From the Sacramento (Calif.) Bee, Jan. 8, 1967]

GOOD NEIGHBOR CENTER OFFERS A WIDE VARIETY OF OPPORTUNITY

(By Brenda Banks)

The Good Neighbor Child Care Center in Del Paso Heights is not just a child care center. It is a school for adults, a doctor's office, a counseling service and a source of hope for many in the area who had begun to shrug at life.

Mrs. Louis Brown, a former Louisiana school teacher, became interested in establishing such a program through her affiliation with the Good Neighbors Club of Del Paso Heights, an organization formed in 1947. The women in the group began, on a much smaller scale, the work Mrs. Brown is carrying on today.

In the latter part of 1964, she heard about the Economic Opportunity Act. She brought it to the attention of the club and was encouraged to explore the possibilities. After some research, Mrs. Brown drew up a proposal for a child care center which would accommodate up to 30 children.

With funds provided by the act and with money accumulated by the club, the center was initiated.

The program now includes two centers in Del Paso Heights, with Mrs. Brown in charge of both. Its workers and supporters are able to serve a total of 100 children from the area.

When caring for an underprivileged child, Mrs. Brown and the teachers in the program have discovered their services must include the parents as well as the child. This is one of the chief differences between the Good Neighbors' facility and those of higher income neighborhoods.

With the aid of the center, low-income mothers can at last free themselves of a sad and ironical bind: By staying home with their children, mothers were in a sense depriving them of many of the things they needed. Unable to search for jobs, they had to watch many a gloomy birthday anniversary go by. Now, their worries about baby-sitting fees are finished.

The center offers its services free of charge. Jobless parents in the area could not afford a regular sitter, much less the average $70 per month charged by nurseries.

"There were times when I was the sole support of my family," one mother comments. "I would pay for a sitter but still was never sure my child was being well taken care of."

For this mother, the day service accomplishes "things I didn't have time to teach my child, like table manners and getting along well with the other children."

One example of how the center gives parents a new start is expressed by another mother: "It has enabled me to finish high school and I hope to continue to college . . . I don't know what I would have done had it not been for the child care center."

The Good Neighbors' organization, in its complete involvement with the children and their parents, resembles Head Start. It is, in fact, a kind of continuation of that program which is in operation during the summer months.

The children, aged 3 to 6 years, learn crucial social lessons such as how to handle their emotions. They are introduced to the world of science and the world outside their backyards.

Field trips to the bakery or the zoo are, to them, fascinating experiences. To the older children, the all-important use of the telephone is taught along with other tasks which come more easily to the financially secure children (using various pieces of silverware, pencils, crayons).

Also available at the center are a psychologist, a doctor and a nurse. Mrs. Brown and the teachers on the staff have noticed definite changes in some of the children who enrolled with distinct emotional problems.

Naturally, these services are prized by families in the area, and the long waiting list keeps growing. Because of the center's yet limited capacity, parents must meet qualifications before their children may be enrolled. They must have an income of $400 per month or less. They must be employed, seeking employment or attending school.

The center offers adult education courses once a week which parents are required to attend.

"These children all come to us with problems, social or emotional and sometimes both," Mrs. Brown offers in explanation. "Unless the parents understand the program, understand more about themselves, they can't continue the program in their homes."

Address by Donald F. Turner, Assistant Attorney General in Charge of the Antitrust Division, "Consumer Protection by Private Joint Action"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, on January 26 of this year, Donald F. Turner, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice, delivered an address to the annual meeting of the antitrust law section of the New York State Bar Association in New York City. The subject matter of his remarks was the "inadequacies of private joint action as a device for protecting consumers." Mr. Turner commented on the broad aspects of both voluntary and mandatory standards programs and cited specific examples to illustrate the inadequacies which he considers present in terms of protecting the public interest.

As I announced in my remarks to the House on this same subject during the closing days of the 89th Congress, it is my intent, once the House Small Business Committee is reorganized, that the Subcommittee on Regulatory and Enforcement Agencies will hold hearings on standards programs and their effect on small business.

I believe that Mr. Turner has made an excellent analysis of the problems inherent in standards making and the ways in which present programs fail to protect the public interest. I am sure that this being a matter of broad significance his remarks will be of interest to the Members of the House. I therefore insert at this point in the RECORD the text of Mr. Turner's address:

CONSUMER PROTECTION BY PRIVATE JOINT ACTION

My assignment today is to comment on the inadequacies of private joint action as a device for protecting consumers. You have no doubt expected that in passing I would express some views on the antitrust dangers in private joint action of this kind. I shall of course do so. However, while there is a close correlation between the inadequacies of private group action and the antitrust risks, absence of antitrust risks does not necessarily mean that private joint action adequately serves the public interest. I feel it necessary, therefore, to go somewhat beyond purely antitrust considerations.

I can conveniently begin the discussion with an analysis of the *Radiant Burners* case, which, though raising only one comparatively easy antitrust issue, could well have raised a good many more. . . . The plaintiff sued the American Gas Association and assorted members, including both gas distributors and manufacturers of gas equipment and appliances. The plaintiff charged an unlawful combination to exclude from the market gas appliances not receiving a seal of approval from AGA's testing laboratories. AGA's testing laboratories, according to the complaint, purported to test the utility, durability and safety of gas burners and other equipment. Yet, it was asserted AGA approval was not based on "valid, unvarying, objective standards" and that AGA could and did make determinations arbitrarily and capriciously as to whether a given gas appliance had passed its tests. Plaintiff alleged that its own gas burners, denied the seal of approval, were more safe and more efficient, and at least as durable, as burners which the AGA had approved. . . . .

As you now, the District Court dismissed plaintiff's complaint for failure to state a claim upon which relief could be granted; and the Court of Appeals affirmed. . . . The Supreme Court unanimously reversed in a per curiam opinion, holding that the collective refusal to supply gas for use in plaintiff's burners fell into the category of restraints that are unlawful in and of themselves, and that plaintiff need establish only his injury in order to recover.

In view of the fact that plaintiff was allegedly excluded from the market by a collective refusal to deal, *Radiant Burners* raised no novel antitrust points. But suppose that there had been no allegation of a collective refusal to deal on the part of the gas distributor members of the AGA. It seems clear to me that serious antitrust problems would have remained. Failure to obtain AGA's seal of approval would tend to exclude a manufacturer's product from all or a substantial part of the market for the following reasons:

(a) The existence of municipal and other ordinances prohibiting the use of non-approved equipment within the limits of their jurisdictions;

(b) The high likelihood of individual refusals by AGA's gas distributors to supply gas for use in non-approved appliances; and

(c) The high likelihood that denial of the seal of approval would impose upon a manufacturer a serious competitive disadvantage in the advertising and other promotion of his wares.

Given these exclusionary effects, I think the complaint in *Radiant Burners* still stated a cause of action. An allegation that plaintiff's products were arbitrarily and capriciously denied a seal of approval would support a claim that the AGA and its various members were carrying on a combination plainly in unreasonable restraint of trade. Certainly where competitors are involved in an organization granting a seal so important to business success—and even, I believe, where competitors are not involved—the group is under an obligation to insure that its decisions to grant or withhold the seal are fairly made. Cf. *Silver* v. *New York Stock Exchange*, 373 U.S. 341 (1963). Moreover, they are under a duty to insure that the testing procedures and the seal of approval are available to all interested manufacturers on non-discriminatory terms. It should not be limited to members only; it should not be limited to American manufacturers only.

Moreover, where a seal of approval or promulgation of standards has such practical exclusionary effects, it seems to me that the group must, at the least, establish appropriate procedures for the formulation of standards for approval; and serious questions are raised as to whether particular bases for exclusion are appropriate for private group action at all. Let us look again to the facts alleged in the *Radiant Burners* case: . . .

(a) There was an inferable conflict among appliance manufacturers as to the minimum standards that had to be met before the seal of approval was given.

(b) There was no indication that the ultimate purchasers of gas appliances had any representation in the formulation of standards (although the gas distribution utilites might arguably have represented the consumers' interests at least in part).

(c) The AGA's seal of approval required the meeting of minimum standards not only on safety but also on "utility" (which I take to mean efficiency) and durability.

Such circumstances raise at least two dangers:

(1) Due to diverse manufacturer interests, the standards procedure might be used by a dominant group of manufacturers to handicap or exclude competitors for any one of several wholly unacceptable reasons—that the competitor is a price cutter or that he has developed a new product which threatens a serious invasion of established producers markets; and

(2) Due either to diverse manufacturer interests or conflict of interest between manufacturers and consumers, the standards might cut off from the ultimate consumer product options that a substantial number of them would very much like to have.

A good case might well be made for safety standards which kept unquestionably unsafe products off the market, at least until there has been an opportunity for legislative action. . . . I might note, however, that even on safety standards a point could well be reached where the added cost of further enhanced safety would arguably be too high; that is, where the risk to be guarded against is so remote that many consumers would prefer to disregard it rather than pay the price.

But whatever the case for safety standards, questions of efficiency and durability are quite different. Why deprive consumers who know what they are about from purchasing a less efficient or less durable stove at a lower cost if they wish to do so? . . .

It is not "protecting" consumers to deprive them of safe product options which they, fully aware of all the facts, prefer to buy.

The dangers that a standards procedure or seal of approval may be used by a dominant group of manufacturers to unreasonably handicap their competitors and/or to drive desired product options off the market are of course reduced by affording to all affected groups an opportunity to make their views known and to have some voice in the ultimate results. They are reduced if nonmember manufacturers as well as member manufacturers participate, and if consumers have effective representation. But if there are substantial differences among these diverse groups, is there any completely satisfactory way of determining on what basis decisions are to be made? Is each manufacturing member to have one vote; or plural votes depending upon his sales? How many votes should consumer representatives have? The short of the matter is that the problems raised by conflicting interests of this kind cannot be appropriately solved by any voting procedures within the private group. It seems to me that they can only be resolved satisfactorily by establishment of an impartial tribunal of some sort to make the ultimate determination. But if this is so, have we not really said that the kind of standards which the group is attempting to impose are of such a nature that the responsibility should be given, at least ultimately, to a governmental body?

The dangers I have described—unreasonable exclusion of competitors and/or unwarranted elimination of product options—would also be minimized by adopting, instead of a single standard or single seal of approval, a grading scheme based upon general acceptable testing standards. In *Radiant Burners,* for example, the AGA could have simply made testing reports on safety, efficiency and durability of the various products submitted to it. This would have given consumers a large amount of highly useful information, but would leave them free—insofar as their local distribution utilities did not interfere—to assign their own weights to price and performance characteristics.

I have said that this method of procedure would tend to minimize the dangers, but of course they would not wholly eliminate them. There still may be serious good faith dispute on whether particular characteristics of a product are of enough significance to warrant testing and grading. But I would guess that this problem would be of serious proportions in only a comparatively few cases.

So far, I have been discussing the inadequacies of private group action to protect consumer interests largely in terms of correlative antitrust risks. It is obvious, however, that the absence of antitrust risks does not mean that private group action is an adequate or appropriate means of doing the job. . . . While members of an industry might conceivably push safety requirements to an excessively high level, the much more likely danger is probably the reverse, namely that the diverse interests of various private producers will be accommodated in such a way that safety standards will tend to be based on the lowest common denominator. Either that, or the standards will be set at such a point that one or more manufacturers will simply refuse to adhere.

The main conclusion to be drawn from all of this is that the prospects for satisfactory private solution of the problems of protecting or helping consumers is directly dependent upon the extent of conflicts of interests among the groups affected. The greater the conflicts of interest—either among competing manufacturers, or between manufacturers and parties with whom they deal—the more likely it is that private group action will prove comparatively unsuitable as a device for protecting consumers from products they do not want or should not be allowed to have. The more the conflicts of interest, the more likely that private group action will either harm the kind of competitive and consumer interests which antitrust law can protect, or simply prove inadequate for establishing the kind of standards that the public interest would dictate. I realize of course that legislation, with or without implementation by an administrative agency, is not without problems of its own. But it is the only appropriate solution where serious conflicts of interest are involved and where the general public interest seems likely to require higher standards of consumer protection than will evolve from private joint action.

This by no means eliminates all room for private activity. There is no doubt that there are wide-spread opportunities for legitimate and highly beneficial collective private activity in the area of voluntary formulation of and adherence to standards. There are some 300 standards-writing organizations in the United States which have developed more than 13,600 standards. The annual rate of publishing new and revised standards exceeds 3,000. More than 400 of these standards have been developed under procedures established by the United States Department of Commerce. I would not pretend to know very much about the details, and if I did it would be risky for me—for obvious reasons—to cast any general blessings on these troubled waters. But I can make a few comments. There are many situations in which standardization is in the interests of all concerned, and diversity is minimal. No serious criticism can be directed at the private formulation of standards designed to reduce clearly excessive and pointless proliferation of product variety. No one's interests are served by having an infinite variety of sizes of nuts and bolts. There are many other instances in which product variety—in terms of size, weights, shapes, and the—has proliferated not in response to any felt consumer need or demand, but by accident or for such other reasons as the desire of competing manufacturers to do something distinctive. If flour manufacturers put out packages in all one-ounce variations from 4 to 104, almost certainly at least some consumers will randomly select packages of each size that is on the market. But this hardly reflects a "consumer demand" in the ordinary sense of that word. Group action to reduce the number of package sizes would almost certainly be beneficial. They would help the buyer in making comparisons among the products of competing manufacturers, and help protect him against deception and just plain befuddlement.

There are other advantages that are obtainable in appropriate circumstances by standardization of consumer goods. By ensuring that different brands will be equally satisfactory in important functional respects, standards may well lessen the influence of advertising and promotional activities unrelated to actual product differences, and thereby lower the barriers to effective entry by new producers. Standardization may lead to significant reductions in production and distribution costs. Standards which facilitate interchangeability of parts may promote competition by increasing the sources of supply available to the consumer and, by the same token, the markets available to competing producers.

Yet, again, the existence of these actual or potential advantages is not determinative. I don't have to tell you that standardization can be misused. It can and has been used to facilitate non-competitive pricing. *C-O-Two Fire Equipment Co. v. U. S.,* 197 F. 2d 489, 493 (9th Cir. 1952).

Moreover, even where it is generally agreed that standardization to reduce excessive product variety would be desirable and in everyone's interest, there may be serious conflicts of interest which make appropriate private solutions difficult if not impossible to achieve. A possible example is a current dispute on lumber standards, a dispute which I gather has been going on for some time. While I am not acquainted with all of the facts, I understand that a principal difficulty involves comparability of green and dried lumber. More particularly, the question in whether a green 2 x 4 should be bigger than a dry 2 x 4 in order to be called a 2 x 4, and if so, by how much. The consumer is obviously interested in a standard that accurately reflects the comparability of wet and dry lumber. If all producers were similarly situated there would be no problem. Manufacturers equally capable of producing both would normally have no evident interest in distorting the standard to favor the purchase of one or the other unless the industry's structure and behavior is imperfectly competitive in some significant respect. Absent significant imperfections, the producers would presumably endeavor to establish as accurately as possible the normal shrinkage of green lumber and set a standard such that a green "2 x 4" would be the same size as a dry 2 x 4 once it became dry.

Suppose, however, that the producers are not similarly situated, that a large number of small producers have no drying facilities and therefore sell green lumber only. Suppose further that only a very few large producers possess drying facilities. If this is so, a conflict of interest among the two groups immediately arises. The producers of green lumber have a strong interest in obtaining a standard which creates no gap or a minimal gap between a green and a dry "2 x 4." Competitive interests of producers of dry lumber would lead them to favor a standard creating as wide a gap as possible. It seems clear that the private interest of neither of these two groups should be decisive in the formulation of the standards. Yet with such diversity of interests, it would be only fortuitous for any conceivable voting scheme to produce what appears to be the proper result, namely a standard which accurately reflected average shrinkage.

This example illustrates again the proposition that the problem of protecting or helping consumers requires a decision-making procedure independent of private interests wherever there are significant conflicts, a procedure which perhaps can be established effectively under private aegis in some instances but which probably implies a governmental solution on all matters of widespread significance.

I close with one further illustration. At first blush, an agreement among competing manufacturers purporting to eliminate "deceptive" advertising would appear to involve no problems whatsoever. Yet a careful study of the joint action among cigarette companies on advertising of tar and nicotine content demonstrates amply that even such an agreement has its pitfalls. The original agreement among cigarette companies to abandon advertising of tar and nicotine content was tolerated if not blessed on the following reasoning: Actual differences in tar and nicotine content among cigarettes appeared to lack the significant relation to health which many if not most consumers supposed that they had; *ergo,* eliminating such advertising saved consumers from buying cigarettes with the lower tar and nicotine content in the mistaken belief that they would be benefitted thereby. However, there is now considerable doubt, to say the least, that this is an appropriate way of looking at the matter. Abandonment of such advertising eliminated or at least sharply reduced the incentive for cigarette manufacturers to lower tar and nicotine content to levels that might be medically significant. Moreover, numerous decisions in the area of false and misleading advertising have rested on the proposition that consumers are entitled to disclosure of facts that they are interested in even though their preferences seem wholly irrational. More specifically, those cases suggest that consumers were and are entitled to information which would enable them to pick cigarettes with the lowest tar and nicotine content, simply because they prefer to do so. . . .

United Nations Debate on Chemical Warfare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, Homer Jack, of the Unitarian Universalist Association, has performed a useful public service in setting down a record of the debate in the 21st General Assembly on Chemical and Biological Weapons.

His narrative describes the arms race aspect of research and stockpiling in this field. It is a development which should be more widely known and understood in the United States, and I recommend it to you for your consideration.

The article follows:

THE UNITED NATIONS AND CHEMICAL WARFARE—CONDEMNATION FROM THE PAST

"After 2,000 years of Christian mass
We've got as far as poison gas."
—*Thomas Hardy.*

The untold story of the 21st U.N. General Assembly is the debate on chemical and biological weapons. For some reason, news of this acrimonious, interesting, and perhaps constructive discussion was all but ignored by the U.S. press. It is true that the focus of news throughout the session was on the ideological battle over representation of China and the future of U Thant, but it is probably also true that the U.S. mission to the U.N. did not encourage dissemination of news about the debate on chemical weapons.

During the annual discussion in the First (the Political) committee on the agenda item titled "question of general and complete disarmament: report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament," any member state can introduce almost any disarmament item. This year Hungary introduced a brief draft resolution (1) demanding "strict and absolute compliance by all states with the principles and norms established by the Geneva Protocol of 17 June 1925," (2) condemning "any actions aimed at the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons" and (3) declaring that "the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons for the purpose of destroying human beings and the means of their existence constitutes an international crime." In presenting this initiative Hungarian Ambassador Csatorday gave a comprehensive summary of past efforts to limit the means of warfare. He cited the Hague conventions of 1899 and 1907, the Declaration of Washington of 1922 and the Geneva Protocol of 1925. (The latter repeated the provisions of the Declaration of Washington condemning "the use in war of asphyxating, poisonous or other gases and all analogous liquids, materials, or devices" and extended the prohibition to "the use of bacteriological methods of warfare.") Mr. Csatorday also mentioned Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1943 declaration that the U.S. would "under no circumstances resort to the use of such weapons unless they are first used by our enemies." He recalled that Italy used gas against Ethiopians in 1935–36 and that nazi Germany used gas for genocide.

WE'RE NOT GUILTY! SO?

If the Hungarian ambassador had confined his speech to history, the debate in the First committee might have been routine. However, he brought his survey up to date and into southeast Asia, asserting: "We know that chemical and bacteriological weapons are not only being prepared under the conditions of the armaments race, but some of them are actually being used in the war now raging in Vietnam." He cited numerous examples of the use of tear or riot-control gas, napalm and herbicides "which, unfortunately, are related to Vietnam, but the problem is of much wider scope."

William Foster, director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, immediately exercised his right of reply, calling the Hungarian speech "sterile propaganda." As the representative of Nigeria subsequently commented, the First committee at once became "polluted by the poisonous gas of the cold war." Through the next two weeks major speeches came from both Hungary and the U.S., each offering rejoinders to the other. The representative from Kenya observed that it "takes two parties to make a cold war; one cannot wage a cold war against a wall." Once Hungary had taken the initiative, most of the invective came from the U.S. and other Western states. Lord Chalfont, British disarmament negotiator, deplored the "tendentious debate on propaganda themes" and warned that it would "upset the whole delicate machinery" of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee (E.N.D.C.).

The debate initially covered two questions: (1) Are riot-control gases and herbicides dangerous? (2) Are they within the meaning of the Geneva Protocol? The U.S. and her allies insisted that the answers to both questions are in the negative. Declaring that "more than 50 countries have used tear gas for domestic riot-control purposes," Mr. Foster held that the Geneva Protocol "does not apply to all gases, and it certainly does not prohibit the use of simple tear gas where necessary to avoid injury to innocent persons." The herbicides used in Vietnam, he said, involve the "same chemicals and have the same effect as those commonly used in the U.S. and a great many other countries to clear weeds and control vegetation"; as such, their use is not "contrary to international law." Mr. Foster refused to accept the "false, distorted charges [by Hungary] that my government is engaged in chemical and bacteriological warfare."

CONDEMNED BY OUR OWN

The Bulgarian representative commented that the debate at times appeared designed "to determine whether the electric chair or the guillotine is more severe and less humane." Ambassador Csatorday quoted a 1962 *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article on chemical warfare which referred to the term "gas" as "those chemical agents used in war which, by ordinary and direct chemical action, produce a toxic or powerful irritant effect on the human body." He also quoted a statement released a few weeks earlier by a group of 22 distinguished American scientists who asked the U.S. government to end the use of antipersonnel and anticrop chemical weapons in Vietnam, asserting that "no lasting distinction seems feasible between incapacitating and lethal weapons or between chemical and biological warfare," that "the great variety of possible agents forms a continuous spectrum from the temporarily incapacitating to the highly lethal" and that "if the restraints on the use of one kind of CB [chemical-biological] weapon are broken down, the use of others will be encouraged."

Soviet disarmament negotiator Roschin later called this statement of American scientists "the voice of reason and good will," but Mr. Foster dismissed the scientists as "22 individuals out of about 200 million." Later he corrected himself and agreed that they have "the full right to give their comments." Then he commented about the Hungarian: "I wonder whether, in his country, the same consideration is given to those who oppose government plans." Dr. Prandler of Hungary had the last word in this particular dialogue when he asked Mr. Foster to "consult and study statements made by the 'squares,' including several Nobel prizewinning scholars, of the U.S."

AMENDMENTS

In the midst of this debate amendments were introduced. Eight African states submitted three; Canada, Italy, the U.K. and the U.S. together submitted three, each different from the other. The African amendments, accepted by Hungary, changed only slightly the original intent. Whereas the original Hungarian draft in its operative clause had both condemned "any actions aimed at the use" of the weapons and declared that their use "for the purpose of destroying human beings and the means of their existence constitute an international crime," the operative African amendments (1) united the two clauses by substituting this clause: ". . . deplores the use of chemical and bacterial weapons for the purpose of destroying human beings and the means of their existence"; and (2) added an important new clause: ". . . invites all states to accede to the Geneva Protocol." By the substitution the Hungarians relinquished what was most objected to by the U.S.: their clause which interpreted the Geneva Protocol as simply prohibiting "the use of chemical and biological weapons."

The Western amendments made two principal changes. One added a preambular paragraph noting that E.N.D.C. has the task of seeking an agreement on the cessation of development and production of chemical and bacteriological weapons and their elimination from national arsenals within the context of general and complete disarmament (G.C.D.). The other substituted for two operative paragraphs a terse clause calling for "strict observance by all states of the principles and objectives" of the Geneva Protocol.

The U.S. tried to eliminate both African operative amendments (which were accepted by Hungary). There was a legal debate in the committee as to whether the Geneva Protocol constitutes in fact a rule of international law even for those states which have not ratified it. Lord Chalfont felt that "it is far more important that countries should observe the principles of the Geneva Protocol than that they should simply be required to accede to it." The French delegate, however, reasoned that "it is difficult to demand . . . that states which have not signed and ratified a treaty or convention comply with its principles and norms." Just before the balloting, Mr. Foster agreed to include the operative clause inviting states to accede to the Protocol.

Separate roll call votes were taken on the Western amendments. The third was the most crucial; it was a milder substitute for the African-Hungarian clauses deploring "the use" of such weapons and, by implication, indicating that such weapons were in fact being used. It was more ambiguous in condemning "all actions contrary to the objectives of the Protocol."

The U.S. had expended a good deal of political capital, both at the U.N. and in diplomatic missions around the world, to win this vote. We did win—51–34, with 19 abstentions. Those in favor included most of our allies around the world, but also Malta, Niger, Senegal, South Africa, Sweden, Tunisia, Austria, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Finland, Ireland, Israel and the Ivory Coast. Those opposed included Hungary and her allies and many nonaligned states. Abstaining were Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Nepal, Pakistan, Spain, Togo, Afghanistan, Burma, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Ceylon, Cyprus, Dahomey, France, Gabon, Ghana, Guyana and India. With all three Western amendments approved, the Frst committee adopted the revised resolution as amended by a vote of 101–0, with three abstentions (Cuba, France and Gabon). In the plenary session the vote was 91–0, with four abstentions.

WHAT ABOUT E.N.D.C.?

During the debate a delegate from Byelorussia asserted: "The U.S. has so far not ratified the Geneva Protocol of 1925. This fact can be explained only by the assumption that the U.S. militarists want to have a free hand." Mr. Foster replied that "whether or not, or by what procedure, states which have not yet done so should adhere to the Geneva Protocol is for each of them to decide in the light of constitutional and other considerations that may determine their adherence to any international instrument and particularly one which dates from 1925." The delegate from the Netherlands said that after more than 40 years "the moment has come to give serious consideration to a possible review of the Geneva Protocol by an appropriate body," since "in the light of the scientific and technological developments of the postwar era, such a review is not only warranted but in fact overdue."

Mr. Pardo of Malta suggested that E.N.D.C. be given the task and be asked by the General Assembly to study the procedures necessary to "give effective publicity through the U.N. to the national production and to the stocks of chemical and bacteriological weapons in national arsenals." With Secretary General U Thant requested by the General Assembly to prepare a report by the summer of 1967 on the effects of the possible use of nuclear weapons, it is not inconceivable that the U.N. will someday be asked to study the effects of other weapons of mass destruction. Sooner or later E.N.D.C. must tackle the task of regulating research, production and stockpiling of such weapons.

The 21st General Assembly discussed many other disarmament issues and adopted eight other resolutions in the field, besides considering the important treaty on outer space. And whatever the motivations of the Hungarians, their delegation performed a useful service by bringing the issue of chemical and biological weapons to full debate, however acrimonious.

HOMER A. JACK.
Unitarian Universalist Association, 25 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.

Hawaii Scientists Meet Challenge of Ocean Frontier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, with our attention focused as it is on the tremendous advancements being made in the exploration of the space frontier, I think it of equal importance to point out the significant explorations being made on another of our frontiers—the ocean. Each year as more and more of our land resources are lost to erosion, the building of superhighways, and the burgeoning of our suburbs, we must turn to this other great resource, the ocean, to learn its secrets and obtain information on how its resources may best be utilized.

We are fortunate in having in Hawaii the Sealife Park project at Makapuu Point, where a challenging new concept of research is being carried on under the direction of the very distinguished scientist, Taylor A. (Tap) Pryor, president of the Oceanic Foundation. Recently joining the staff at Sealife as the new director of the Ocean Institute is Dr. John R. Hendrickson, who will be responsible for the program of basic research carried on by the institute's three divisions of marine science, biomedicine, and ocean engineering.

Dr. Hendrickson's decision to return to science to help carry on this important work is, indeed, an auspicious decision for scientists throughout the world who will be able to benefit by the information obtained at the institute.

I believe my colleagues will find it of great interest to read about this exciting project, and I am pleased to submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article by Advertiser Staff Writer Wallace Mitchell on the "Wet Scientist," which appeared in the January 29, 1967, issue of the Sunday Honolulu Star Bulletin and Advertiser:

HIS CHALLENGE IS TO PRODUCE THE "WET SCIENTIST"

(By Wallace Mitchell)

The challenge facing sandy-haired John R. Hendrickson, new director of Oceanic Institute at Makapuu Point, is to produce "the wet scientist."

He envisioned it a half dozen years ago at his first exposure to Taylor A. Pryor, now president of the parent Oceanic Foundation, at a Pacific Science Congress here.

"I sat in on some informal seminars with some of the scientists talking over the concept of this park," Hendrickson said.

"I was introduced to Tap Pryor and my attention was attracted immediately to him because he was completely unencumbered by the traditionalism and conservatism associated with marine biology.

"He impressed me as the happy kind of visionary that had the guts to voice rather novel answers to problems and the brains to make them work.

"The thing that really grabbed me was his belief in a concept I thought the most logical thing in the world but which nobody had tried.

"That was, to put the man in the ocean, instead of bringing the ocean to the man, so he can study the animal in its own environment and living naturally—not suffering in a glass box.

"That is the essence of the vision that attracted me most."

Hendrickson, 45, is a marine zoologist who got his master's and doctor's degrees in the field from the University of California at Berkeley, after obtaining a bachelor's degree at the University of Arizona.

He went to the University of Malaya in 1951, first as a lecturer in zoology at its Singapore campus and in 1959 as head of its zoology department at the Kuala Lumpur campus.

In September, 1962, he was named East-West Center vice chancellor for student interchange.

"When I joined the East-West Center, I made contact with Tap again and observed with great pleasure the progress that he had made," Hendrickson continued.

"We cooked up a couple of little research projects for me and I saw visible evidence of how he had made his own vision become a reality.

"I had been four years away from science and realized I had been homesick for it and became more and more wistful every time I talked to Tap or any other scientists.

"I finally admitted to myself that I was going to have to go back."

Hendrickson had at least two other job offers—one here and one on the Mainland—to return to science.

"But when Tap offered me this—I jumped at it," Hendrickson said, blue eyes sparkling and a grin splitting his face.

His responsibilities embrace the entire program of basic scientific research carried on by the institute's three divisions.

He currently is heading the Marine Science division. Dr. Charles Aquadro, for the past five years with famed French diver Jacques Costeau, arrives next month to head the Biomedical division and a chief of the Ocean Engineering division still is to be named.

"Our basic plan is to have as small a permanent staff as possible and to build a clientele of repeating scientific investigators from all over the world," explained Hendrickson, swiveling back and forth in a rattan chair in his airy office on institute grounds.

"We are building appropriate laboratories and facilities to enable visiting investigators to rapidly come to grips with their work.

"We will provide the equipment, living facilities and basic background. We hope to collect all of the basic data relating to our immediate piece of ocean so the visiting investigators will have the counterpart of weather bureau records.

"That is, we'll have all the basic information of temperatures, salinity, currents, turpidity and principal components of flora and fauna so people working in the ocean will have a solid basis on which to start working on their own problems without having to get the data themselves."

Hendrickson has to arrest his enthusiasm in talking about preliminary work being done on porpoise physiology.

"We know so little about it that it is dangerous to speak too freely," he apologizes.

"But it appears that they may have a normal blood pressure which is fantastically high, right outside the limits of human tolerance.

"One immediately wonders if we may learn something from these animals that is applicable directly to human physiology.

"Similarly, their kidney appears to function in a very different way than normal mammalian ways and there may be some exciting things to be learned from this.

"Although I am very much intrigued, there is one limiting factor we must weigh very deeply before we go too heavily into this cetecean physiology work.

"Too often, research entails the sacrifice of some experimental animals and no place on Makupuu will any work go on that involves serious danger to our porpoises.

"Any physiology we do must be the sort that can be carried out on healthy, happy, intelligently cooperating animals. This could be a limitation."

Hendrickson figures it will take from two to three years to bring the institute to full operating capacity. But the laboratories flanking his office—with hot and cold fresh water as well as sea water available at the turn of a tap, are busy.

"We're 25 per cent busier than is comfortable," he said, glaring at a pair of mullet cruising in a tank oblivious of plans Hendrickson has for an artificial insemination project.

"That is normal and right for an institute like this with our on-going projects and with preparations for this tremendously complex job of carrying our facilities out into the sea and preparing for our ideal—the wet scientist."

The Honorable Edwin E. Willis

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

(Mr. RARICK asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, fellow colleagues from Louisiana, and Members of Congress, I rise as the junior member of the Louisiana delegation to join in the tribute to our distinguished fellow colleague, the Honorable EDWIN WILLIS.

I know Congressman WILLIS as an able attorney representing the fine folks of our Third District. I wish he and his house well and join with him in the representation of the citizens of Louisiana.

Rights and the President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, the President is a realistic man. He well knows the fickle fortunes of political life.

But still he must have sighed deeply when critics charged that his state of the Union message indicated he was turning his back on civil rights.

This false and cruel accusation was leveled by people who counted the number of words the President devoted to civil rights—and not what those words said.

Effective rebuttal to this libel comes, I am happy to say, from a newspaper read by those whose concern with the progress of civil rights in this country is most intense.

The New York Amsterdam News, largest Negro weekly in the Nation, states the truth with no hedging compromise:

> There has been no evidence that the President is no longer committed to the fight for racial equality. And, by his past actions, we do not see where there is any reason for any outspoken concern at this time.

The editorialist puts the President's accomplishments in perspective:

> President Lyndon B. Johnson has been responsible for the passage of more controversial progressive legislation than any president in history. And this legislation has been for the benefit of minorities—the aged, the sick, the underprivileged, the forgotten.

And a closing word for the newspaper's readers, words all Americans might ponder. The paper says of the President:

> Stand by him. He has stood by you.

The entire text follows for the RECORD:

[From the New York Amsterdam News, Jan. 21, 1967]

UNWARRANTED ATTACKS

Many Negroes have voiced attacks on President Johnson as a result of his State of the Union message last week because of what, they believe, showed a growing lack of interest in the continuing fight against racial discrimination—another victory for the backlash victories in last fall's elections.

We believe those who spoke out against the President were premature and illy advised.

There has been no evidence that the President is no longer committed to the fight for racial equality. And, by his past actions, we do not see where there is any reason for any outspoken concern at this time.

President Lyndon B. Johnson has been responsible for the passage of more controversial progressive legislation than any president in history. And this legislation has been for the benefit of minorities, the aged, the sick, the underprivileged—the forgotten.

It is good to remember who our friends are and under what conditions they are able to work. In years past and in other Congresses, Mr. Johnson was able to get through just about every piece of legislature he needed for building our Great Society. He had friends and help in the Congress. Because of this we were able to get the anti-poverty program launched, additional civil rights legislation, a liberal immigration bill, medical care. and social security programs launched, student loan programs and the voting rights act.

All these programs, under the Johnson administration, were aimed towards translating the long-held hopes of Negro Americans—and other minorities—into actual law.

There is more to be done. Sure. In the area of housing, especially. And Mr. Johnson, in his State of the Union message, renewed his pledge to intensify the war against poverty and to continue the fight against racial discrimination. What more can we ask?

It is well to remember that any civil rights legislation, anti-poverty measures or open housing bill that might come out of this 90th Congress will come through a change in the prevailing attitude of the current members of Congress.

For once again, we see in Congress a coalition of conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats. And this time it is indicated that they will operate more in the open than they have in the past. Already they have won several victories.

It was this group that joined hands and prevented Rev. Adam C. Powell from taking his seat while his conduct is being investigated. It is this group that bodes ill for any liberal legislation the President will try to get through Congress.

So, think twice before belaboring a friend like Mr. Johnson.

Stand by him, he has stood by you.

Bill in Arkansas To Outlaw Stamps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, as I am sure the membership is aware, I have proposed legislation to both the 89th and 90th Congresses to establish a Commission on Trading Stamps for the purpose of regulating trading stamps, to eliminate the unscrupulous elements of the industry, and for the protection of the consumer. The time to act on this problem, to insure that proper, uniform Federal measures are enacted, is now. The States have begun to realize the need for such legislation, as evidenced by the following article, and the Congress must act now to pass uniform, equitable laws to regulate the trading stamp industry.

Under leave to extend my remarks, therefore, I wish to include the following article from Home Furnishing Daily of January 31, 1967, which fully bears out my contention:

BILL IN ARKANSAS TO OUTLAW STAMPS

LITTLE ROCK, ARK.—The Arkansas Senate Judiciary Committee heard opposing groups last week on SB 46, which would outlaw the use of trading stamps in Arkansas.

Several industries locally were acknowledged at the hearing including Cal-Dak Industries whose spokesman said 35–40 per cent of $5 million worth of annual sales of TV trays and household items were sold by his firm to stamp outlets.

A group of housewives and salesmen also stated before the committee that "these stamps" are a concealed inflationary device which is taking a great portion of family food budgets.

Honolulu YMCA Observes 98th Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the editors of the Sunday Star-Bulletin and Advertiser on January 29, 1967, extended birthday greetings to the Young Men's Christian Association of Honolulu on the observance of its 98th birthday, and I know that my colleagues will want to join with me in congratulating this dedicated organization on its nearly a century of service to the youth of Hawaii.

To the YMCA's basic objectives of providing our youngsters wholesome recreation and spiritual inspiration has been added in recent years the serious program of fostering in its club members an awareness of the great social problems facing this generation of Americans. The enthusiastic response to this challenge from the hundreds of teenagers from 300 different high school and junior high school clubs in our State who are participating in the YMCA's program is most encouraging, indeed. The "Y" continues to be an important community center in the development of responsible and enlightened citizens working toward the betterment of our great Nation.

As a former chairman of the board of directors of the Kaimuki Branch YMCA I am pleased to submit the editorial from the Sunday Star-Bulletin and Advertiser for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

[From the Sunday Star-Bulletin & Advertiser, Jan. 29, 1967]

HAPPY 98TH

The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) of Honolulu was 98 years old last week.

The "Y" has come a long way since its major objectives were recreation for youngsters and providing them with spiritual inspiration—although these continue as basic precepts.

The "Y" now attempts to foster in its club members an awareness of the social problems facing this generation of Americans. It attempts to bridge the comprehension gap between youngsters of this country and those of foreign countries. It tries to get teens to better understand themselves and to strive for clearer inter-personal relationships.

This is a big order but nevertheless in the YMCA's normal program, as witness the gathering today at the Waikiki Shell of some 1,700 teenagers from 300 different high school and junior high school clubs.

Topics to be discussed will be "The Roots of Prejudice," based upon meetings with "Y" members in Los Angeles, and the experiences of "Y" youngsters living with Japanese families in Hiroshima.

To this old, but still young and vital organization, we offer congratulations for grasping the responsibility to enlighten Young America in some of the nation's difficult problems.

Happy birthday and many happy returns.

Honor, Devotion, Courage

SPEECH

OF

HON. DON FUQUA

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, a tragedy took the lives of three brave men.

In man's never ceasing quest for knowledge and advancement—Virgil Grissom, Edward White, and Roger Chaffee gave their lives.

They died as heroes of this Nation, above and beyond the call of duty. The pain and the agony their families know is shared by all Americans, for truly this was a personal loss for each American. Indeed it was a loss for all mankind.

I had talked with each of these three men. All were men you instinctively liked.

Merciful providence had spared us a tragedy throughout the Mercury and Gemini programs.

But at the outset of man's greatest scientific adventure, a voyage to the moon, three were called upon to make the supreme sacrifice.

I had discussed this particular chance with several of our astronauts, including one we miss today. They knew the danger far better than you and I. Each knew they might be called upon to give their lives. They knew that eventually something like this would happen.

They were technicians and test pilots who participated in the planning of the flights they would be called upon to make. They calculated every risk, every danger, minimizing chances for failure, but striving fearlessly for success.

They did not die in vain.

This Nation is richer because they lived. Each of the three astronauts had two children. They leave to these children the same heritage that Colin Kelly left to his son.

Duty, honor, country.

President Johnson's attendance at the funerals of Grissom and Chaffee symbolized the grief of a stunned nation. At West Point, Edward White was laid to rest at the institution he loved so well.

Americans should never forget their sacrifice. They gave their lives in service to their country, just as much as if they had been in armed combat.

They knew the danger, but more important, they knew how important success in the space program was to their country. Because they knew the latter, they were willing to risk their lives, and to give them if need be.

No quest in the history of man is more important. Building upon the foundation of Columbus, De Leon, Polo, Byrd, Magellan—of the explorers of the past, we strive to seek and to find.

For just as sailing across the Atlantic to find the new world became one of the most glorious feats in the history of man—so will be our quest for knowledge of the distant stars.

The task for which they gave their lives they knew was worth the sacrifice. This Nation could not honor their memory more than to continue its quest for knowledge.

Grissom, White, Chaffee.

To that endless line of men of all nations whose names will be revered through the ages because of their bravery, devotion, and contribution, is engraved forevermore, three additional names.

Grissom, White, Chaffee.

Implications of Education TV Proposals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, many Members of Congress on both sides of the aisle, including myself, are strong supporters of improved educational television. Yet, to be truly educational, we must be assured that it does not become a propaganda operation, particularly for the Federal Government.

The guarantees of objectivity and local self-determination are a part of the responsibility of Congress in drafting precise legislation. It is now suggested that the Government should operate educational television, which creates a whole new set of problems and challenges.

In this connection the recent editorial of famed national columnist David Lawrence is of interest to all Americans.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that this editorial be included in the Appendix of the RECORD:

IMPLICATIONS OF EDUCATION TV PLAN

(By David Lawrence)

The administration in power in Washington soon may have its own television network of about 380 stations across the country to carry on a so-called "educational" campaign, but it could convey to the people whatever political propaganda it wishes.

This is the first time the federal government would be obtaining, in return for financial support, a voice in what information a section of the press gives to the people.

The theory is that, because stations do not sell advertising time, they are "noncommercial" and are, therefore, entitled to governmental help. While it is true that the big television networks at present aim at mass audiences with news and entertainment of the widest possible interest, this does not mean that the American people are being deprived of any information by all the other media of expression which use the printed or spoken word. The plan to be considered by Congress at the present session calls for a federal outlay of many millions of dollars to build and equip so-called "noncommercial" stations. The initial appropriations that are going to be requested are estimated at $68 million a year at first, rising to $91 million a year in another decade. This would be authorized through the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which, of course, could issue its own "guidelines."

In addition, a manufacturers' excise tax, starting at 2 percent and increasing to 5 percent on TV sets bought by the public, also would be expected to help finance the operation. The whole plan involves an outlay of about $178 million a year during the first four years and could reach $270 million in a few years more.

The Carnegie Commission of Educational Television has recommended the project, which would supply programs on cultural and educational subjects, as well as on news and public affairs. There is no reason, of course, why private foundations should not by themselves furnish all the support for this kind of venture. But when the government of the United States enters with a controlling power, such a project is bound to become political.

Some of the state governments have been furnishing television with classroom instruction on academic subjects. More and more, the schools themselves are getting lectures or speeches by long-distance telephone and then loudspeakers. But the schools control these programs.

There also have been some grants to "educational" television by private businesses, which get credit on the air for their donations. Still, this isn't being called "commercial."

The new governmental project would be operated by 12 directors—six to be appointed by the President of the United States and confirmed by the Senate, and the other six to be selected by the first group of federal appointees. Their terms of office would be for six years. The government would retain its control even though donations from foundations and other sources might be made available to the new television network.

Never has it been provided by law that the American government should actually get into the business of distributing information or news to the people. If the federal government can have a television network of its own to distribute its propaganda, there is no reason why it could not some day also have a network of newspapers throughout the country to take care of local political problems, too.

Under the new scheme, there presumably would be no competition between the government-supported stations and the private networks, but there would, of course, be competition for the attention of audiences. Even if there were substantial numbers of people who would like the new programs, the question arises whether the government of the United States should set up its own medium to disseminate news and opinion on political subjects.

The Late Honorable James J. Heffernan

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply saddened to learn of the passing of my longtime friend and colleague the Honorable James J. Heffernan. For 12 years Jim Heffernan represented the people of the old 11th Congressional District in Brooklyn and they were indeed well represented. He was a quiet, highly intelligent and gentle man who brought to this body a vast store of knowledge. Jim Heffernan was no newcomer to Brooklyn when he was elected to the House of Representatives. His family settled in Brooklyn before the War of 1812 and he himself had been a district leader in the Park Slope area of Brooklyn for 17 years before coming to Washington.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

Mr. Speaker, 15 years ago on the sad occasion of his departure from the House of Representatives, I said of Jim Heffernan:

> Jim has always been a quiet, unassuming, kindly, capable gentleman, respected here in the House by all of his colleagues and in the Borough of Brooklyn by all its citizens.

This was true to the end of his days. To his daughter, Patricia, and her family, I extend my deepest sympathy and prayers.

Down to the Sea—In What?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I believe that Capt. Harry F. Guggenheim, the publisher of Newsday, is to be congratulated for recognizing a great national problem, and offering a solution. The problems of our merchant marine, if permitted to continue, will lead to the destruction of the United States as a shipping power. As the Members, I am sure, are aware, we have lost our preeminence of the seas. The Members may be aware of the fact that on January 12, 1967, I introduced a bill similar to that which Newsday's editorial recommends. I refer to H.R. 2168, which would create a new Federal Maritime Administration. The new agency would take over the responsibility for many of the functions now performed by other departments and make for a strengthened merchant marine.

I think that the matter demands the most rigorous examination, and appropriate action, as has been recommended by the Newsday editorial, now, before it is too late to save our merchant marine.

Under unanimous consent I place the editorial, entitled "Down to the Sea—In What?" from Newsday, a Garden City, N.Y., daily at this point in the RECORD:

DOWN TO THE SEA—IN WHAT

In three years, the United States will only have 200 dry cargo ships that are less than 25 years old. Our fleet is almost obsolete; our shipyards can't compete with foreign yards, and 96 per cent of the strategic materials we import move in foreign ships.

Succinctly, our merchant marine is in a mess.

The situation troubles the President, the Congress and whole hierarchy of bureaucrats. But little action to reverse the trend has been taken. This, perhaps, is because the problem is an old one and a complex one. The first congressional attempt to help the U.S. shipping industry came in 1789 when customs were reduced on imports carried in U.S. ships. The most significant piece of legislation was the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, which established our desire for a merchant fleet to serve the nation's commerce and defense. It also set the pattern for the subsidy program that continues to this day.

But with government aid, there is always government regulation and administration. It is in this area that confusion reigns. Jurisdictions overlap, lines of authority are blurred and responsibility is uncertain. Currently five cabinet level departments, the Federal Maritime Commission, the Maritime Administration and a welter of subsidiary offices and boards have jurisdiction over the merchant fleet in one way or another. New ideas and bold initiatives have little chance of moving through this thicket of tangled authority.

The N.S. Savannah was one such bold innovation. This automated, nuclear-powered ship was to have set the course for the future of the U.S. Merchant Marine, showing that technology could make the U.S. fleet competitive. But last week it was announced that the Savannah was being taken out of service. As an experiment it had a $53,000,000 impact on the U.S. treasury, but its impact on the problems facing the U.S. Merchant Marine was small. Our fleet is still inefficient, almost obsolete, and dwindling.

The idea of the Savannah was a good one. Automation is the only way that the U.S., with its high wage levels, can hope to become competitive on the high seas. But ideas must be pursued into reality. This one wasn't. One nuclear ship was launched; it sailed in lonely splendor for five years, while the rest of the fleet gathered rust and subsidies.

Our competitive position still demands automation and the construction of an efficient fleet. But who is to set the policy and provide the follow-through that was so clearly lacking in the Savannah experiment? Many in Congress believe the task should be given to the head of a reorganized Maritime Administration. At present the Maritime Administration is part of the Department of Commerce, and its head reports to the secretary of commerce. In addition, many functions that could logically be included in the purview of the Maritime Administration, are the responsibility of other cabinet-level departments. In the last session of the Congress, 11 bills were introduced to make the Maritime Administration an independent agency whose head would report directly to the President. The new agency, in addition, would take over responsibility for many of the functions now performed by other departments.

There was no action on these bills during the 89th Congress. But the 90th Congress is to consider similar measures. A new, independent Maritime Administration, with expanded responsibilities, is an excellent idea. The Congress should act to create this new agency.

It would help eliminate one of the merchant marine's most pressing problems, too many captains in Washington.

U.S. Troops and Apartheid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. aircraft carrier *Franklin Delano Roosevelt* is scheduled to stop for shore leave at Cape Town, South Africa, on February 4–7.

I strongly oppose this proposed visit. The inhumanity of South Africa's apartheid laws is well known and has been rightfully deplored by the President and our Ambassador to the United Nations. Knowing this, I do not see how it is possible for the United States to subject the members of the *Roosevelt's* crew, both Negro and white, to the degrading apartheid system.

Department of Defense figures show that American Negroes have suffered casualties in Vietnam far out of proportion to their percentage of the U.S. population. I find it inconceivable that these sacrifices by men who have served in Vietnam are to be rewarded by humiliation while on shore leave in South Africa.

From a strictly technical viewpoint, Cape Town may have the best equipped facilities for refueling our aircraft carriers. However, at least two other considerations must be weighed: First, our long-range foreign policy goals; and second, the need to avoid deliberately subjecting the men of our Armed Forces to humiliating social experiences.

An article and a press release pertaining to this matter follows:

NEGROES ATTACK, U.S. BACKS CARRIER VISIT TO CAPE TOWN

(By Joseph R. L. Sterne)

WASHINGTON, Jan. 27.—Civil rights leaders today denounced Government explanations of a decision permitting the aircraft carrier Franklin Delano Roosevelt to call at Cape Town next weekend.

Nicholas Katzenbach, Under Secretary of State, told the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa that $250,000 would be saved by avoiding a refueling at sea.

He reported that the South African regime had not raised the racial issues this time that caused Washington to cancel a visit by the carrier Independence in 1965.

LEADERS RESTIVE

Already agitated by last night's statement of A. Philip Randolph, president of the Sleeping Car Porters Union, that the contemplated "Courtesy call" was "an insult to the black people," the civil rights leaders were restive during Katzenbach's explanation.

Cleveland Robinson, a Negro union official, bluntly told Katzenbach he could not accept his "apology."

"A quarter of a million dollars is a small price to pay for Negroes giving their lives in this supposed fight for freedom in Vietnam," he declared. "The Government is basing its decision on money, rather than on principle, while it is wasting billions in Vietnam."

FRIENDLY GREETING

Katzenbach, who thought he was stopping in for a friendly greeting to the conference, mildly replied he was trying to explain rather than debate the Government's decision.

In his explanation, the Under Secretary said that in the case of the carrier Independence the South African Government had barred aircraft with racially mixed crews from flying in, as normal, ahead of the carrier.

As a consequence, he related, the visit was canceled.

While Katzenbach said South Africa had "withdrawn" the conditions that caused complications last time, other sources reported that neither South Africa nor the United States had raised the issue. These sources also said there was a possibility no aircraft would be sent in ahead of the carrier.

According to William E. Lang, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Defense for the African region, who testified last March before the House African Affairs subcommittee, other naval ships calling at South Africa have had Negro crew members aboard who have "been free to go ashore and, in fact, do go ashore in mixed groups."

"A report from the commander of the last naval vessel to visit South Africa, which was in November (1965), indicated that the Negro members of the crew enjoyed their stay in South Africa," Long testified.

A source knowledgeable about South Africa said that, when he was in Cape Town, American negro crew members often were entertained from the moment they stepped off the gangplank by the "colored" community, while white sailors were left to fend for themselves.

In South African terminology, a full-blooded African is a "Bantu," while a person with a mixture of white and African blood is called a "colored." South Africans classify all American Negroes as "colored."

ABIDE BY CUSTOMS

He said both white and Negro crew members were instructed to abide by the customs of the host country—a mandatory practice wherever Navy ships call.

In the case of South Africa, he said, that meant that Negro sailors had to adhere to certain racial restrictions. Beaches, restaurants, toilet facilities, hotels and some—but not all—public transportation are segregated.

But this source emphasized that the Negro crew members had little chance to feel these restrictions because of the hospitality of the Cape colored community.

OPERATIONAL STOP

Robert McCloskey, State Department spokesman, today described the February 4 to 7 visit of the ship to Cape Town as an "operational" stop to take on fuel and supplies rather than as a "protocol" visit. He said that "no problem of racial discrimination is involved."

But Randolph, who had described the visit as a "courtesy call," urged the Negro Leadership Conference to adopt a resolution and send denunciatory telegrams to President Johnson and Dean Rusk, Secretary of State.

His request is likely to be indorsed overwhelmingly when the civil rights leaders conclude the conference tomorrow in which the emphasis has been on generating pressures for tougher American policies against the white governments of Southern Africa.

Randolph, noting that the carrier will be on its way home from the Vietnam theater, said the stop at Cape Town would "dishonor" Negro servicemen "by exposing the very men fighting (in Vietnam) to the cruel and dehumanizing experience of apartheid."

STATEMENT BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, AT THE AMERICAN NEGRO LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON AFRICA, MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

On Tuesday, January 24, the New York Times reported that the United States Embassy in Capetown, South Africa had announced that the United States Aircraft carrier—Franklin Delano Roosevelt—returning from combat duty in South Viet Nam would make a courtesy call at Capetown from the 4th through the 7th of February.

The U.S. Embassy described the visit as "routine". Such a visit would be far from routine.

The aircraft carrier Franklin Delano Roosevelt, which has Negro servicemen amongst it's crew cannot make a courtesy call to South Africa without doing a vast disservice to the ideals, principles and honor of the United States—without doing dishonor to Negro servicemen in particular and without offending the democratic sensibilities of all men who love freedom in this nation, in Africa, in Asia and throughout the World. It is ironic and tragic that a U.S. naval vessel should dishonor Americans stated objective of defending freedom in Asia by exposing the very new men fighting there to the cruel and dehumanizing experience of apartheid on their way from the very battlefields of Viet Nam.

In 1965 when the carrier Independence was scheduled to call at Capetown, the U.S. government, under pressure of men of goodwill finally rejected such a visit as a matter of policy.

I believe that this conference should unanimously go on record to urge the President, Lyndon Baines Johnson, and the Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, to cancel such a visit as an affront to democracy and an insult to the black people of the country and of Africa.

Unless and until the government of South Africa is willing to guarantee total equality of treatment not only to American servicemen of color but also to its own citizens of color—in short until the South African government policy of apartheid is abandoned once and for all, no such visits should take place.

It is inconceivable that the U.S. government would for one moment tolerate that Negro servicemen returning from Viet Nam should be subjected to the humiliation, the discrimination and the segregation they would endure in South Africa.

I, therefore, urge this assembled body at the proper time, to dispatch the following telegram to Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, and to Lyndon Baines Johnson, President of the United States and Commander-In-Chief of the Armed Services of the United States:

We are deeply distressed that the U.S. aircraft carrier—Franklin Delano Roosevelt is reported to be stopping in Capetown, South Africa February 4–7.

In view of South Africa's apartheid policy such a visit will violate our basic principles and past policy statements.

It contradicts the policy set in 1965 when carrier Independence by-passed Capetown.

Strongly urge reaffirmation of previous policy and cancellation of carrier's call at Capetown.

Such a visit will be an insult to American Negroes, to the black people of Africa and to democratic men throughout the World dedicated to the elimination of apartheid.

Economics of Revenue Sharing Analyzed in New Studies by Joint Economic Committee and the Brookings Institution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, Business Week published in January 21, 1967, an article reviewing two economic studies, just released, which contribute to current discussions about how Federal financial resources can be channeled best to assist impoverished State and local governments. The first is the Joint Economic Committee's study, "State and Local Public Facility Needs and Financing." The second is a book published by the Brookings Institution, "Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations in the United States," by George F. Break. Both the article and the studies will aid Members in considering the merits of the several proposals now before the Congress, including my bill, which if enacted would become "The State and Local Government Modernization Act of 1967."

H.R. 1166 provides that each State would first receive Federal funds—at least $250,000—to draw up within 18 months its own "modern governments program." This program would set forth plans and timetables for modernizing both State and local governments. Such plans would have to include specific proposals for dealing with interstate regional problems, for strengthening State governments, and for strengthening and modernizing local rural, urban, and metropolitan governments—for example, by reducing the number of counties, eliminating inefficient local governments, reforming personnel practices, and strengthening local governments in metropolitan areas.

Each State's modern government program would then be reviewed by one of the four regional coordinating committees—to be set up under H.R. 1166 by the participating Governors in each of four regions: eastern, southern, midwestern, and western—and by the existing Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

Those States with plans designated as reflecting "sufficient State creative initiative so as to qualify that State for Federal block grants" would then begin receiving, in 1970 or at the latest by 1971, unrestricted Federal grants from a 3-year, $5 billion a year authorization.

Funds would be distributed according to population, with not to exceed 20 percent for supplements to those States having a low per capita income; a high degree of poverty, dependency, or urbanization; and an adequate State tax effort, as indicated by the amount of State and local taxes relative to personal income. At least 50 percent of the money going to a State would be earmarked for its local governments.

The text of the Business Week article follows:

STATES LOOK TO FEDERAL DIVIDENDS—IDEA OF UNRESTRICTED GRANTS IS GAINING FAVOR AMONG GOVERNORS AND ECONOMISTS, BUT COST OF VIETNAM AND DISAGREEMENT OVER A FORMULA FOR REVENUE SHARING MAKE QUICK ACTION UNLIKELY

The thought of unrestricted federal grants to the states brings a gleam to many budget-bleary eyes these days. Advocates of federal revenue sharing include:

Governors desperate to find ways of paying for growing amounts of services and facilities they must provide.

Republicans seeking a constructive way to fight the growth of centralization in Washington.

Many academic economists—Republicans and Democrats—who see tax sharing as an automatic device for providing long-range stimulus to the economy.

HEADWAY

With that lineup in support, the idea of unrestricted grants has been making steady headway since it was proposed to the White House in 1964 by Walter W. Heller, then chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. President Johnson liked the idea enough to commission a task force headed by Joseph A. Pechman, of Washington's Brookings Institution, to study Heller's proposal. Pechman refined the Heller scheme in his report, but Johnson made the decision to put it on ice.

The Heller-Pechman proposal has been followed by other revenue sharing plans—some from congressmen. But with Johnson's record budget, swollen by the cost of the Vietnam war, it is unlikely that the 90th Congress will be able to act on any plan this year. Like Medicare, though, revenue sharing looks more and more like one of those ideas that has staying power.

Up to now, lack of knowledge, as well as loose federal cash, has been a stopping point. The whole idea of tax sharing involves many complex equations for relating federal grants to local needs.

KEY QUESTIONS

Two questions legislators must first consider are: How much will state and local

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needs grow? And which of the many possible formulas for handing money to the states should the federal government choose?

In the last two weeks, two groups equipped to provide some of the answers—the Joint Economic Committee of Congress and the Brookings Institution—released studies that take a close look at both questions.

The JEC study, State and Local Public Facility Needs and Financing, estimates requirements in 1975. The projections—by experts in 42 fields—only cover capital outlays. But in the last 10 years, these expenditures have had a steady relationship to total needs, and the JEC expects that they will continue to make up about 30% of state and local budgets in 1975.

SURGE IN SPENDING

According to the study, state and local governments will have to put $40.7-billion into public facilities in 1975. This means that in 10 years they will have to double the $19.5-billion they spent on public facilities in 1965. It also means their capital budgets will have to expand by 7.6% a year in the next decade—as rapidly as they did from 1955 to 1965 but from a higher base each year.

What's more, the JEC says, this will happen even though state and local governments will get some relief on their education bills, the second largest capital expense in their budgets. While the nation's spending for educational facilities will increase 72.8% in the 10 years to 1975, the part paid by state and local governments will grow only 59.5%.

SLOWDOWN

The state-local share of educational outlays will shrink because of a slowdown in the rate of spending for elementary and secondary school facilities. These are financed wholly out of state and local budgets, but their cost will increase only 44.4% in the 1965–75 span, compared with 58% in the preceding decade.

The biggest increases in school spending will be in facilities for higher education, spurred by a continuing rise in the percentage of college-age people enrolled in colleges. These expenditures will grow from $2-billion, or 33.9% of all spending on educational plant, in 1965 to $2.2-billion, or 40.8%, in 1975. But in 1975 state and local governments will pay only 59% of these costs, with tuition and private sources paying the rest.

ON THE ROAD

The big boost in state and local spending will finance transportation—the largest item in nonfederal budgets. This will rise from $8.9-billion in 1965 to $17.7-billion in 1975. The biggest part of transportation expenditures goes for highways, roads, and streets—$15.8-billion in 1975. But says the JEC, revenue prospects are good.

Of $12.6-billion spent on highways in 1964, for example, $10-billion came from user taxes, fees, and tolls. There was actually money collected from users that was not spent on highways—$2.6-billion in federal excise taxes on cars and parts and in certain state user fees. Capital needs for highways in 1975 should be $10.8-billion, with $11-billion in funds available, the JEC says.

In general, the JEC study does not talk about revenue. However, an introductory chapter by Louis J. Paradiso, of the Commerce Dept.'s Office of Business Economics, says that if the trends of the past several years continue, present financing methods will cover the growth of capital spending.

SOME DOUBTS

However, cautions JEC economist James W. Knowles, "any revenue estimates depend on projecting past trends into the future—and this may not work." And says one outside economist who is skeptical about saying revenues will be adequate on the basis of the JEC's projections:

"State and local governments depend heavily on receipts from property and sales taxes—both of which grow more slowly than the economy." The only reason revenues have kept up in the past is that rates have been sharply increased or new taxes have been added.

"To project the same rate of increase into the future assumes that these taxes will continue to be increased—and judging from the number of state and local tax proposals that were defeated in the last election, I'm somewhat doubtful."

THE CASE OF SHARING

The other study isued last week, Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations in the United States, written by University of California economist George F. Break, is the most careful discussion yet of the case for revenue sharing.

Break, whose book was published by Brookings, begins by looking at all state and local spending—not just capital spending. Using estimates made by the Council of State Governments, Break expects state and local governments to have a gap between revenues and expenditures in 1970 of $30-billion to $56-billion.

PRESSURES

This estimate is pegged to variables that economists can only guess at now—the growth of gross national product, for example, and what share of GNP will go into state and local revenues; hence, the great latitude of the forecast. Still, it's certain the gap will be large in 1970. And, Break adds, there's a 50% chance that "pressures will soon be too great to be met in conventional ways."

This is the argument most commonly made for some major reallocation of resources between the federal and state and local governments. But to most economists the case for revenue sharing goes beyond the states' ability to find the money they need. Break examines the two other major arguments economists make.

One is that there are wide disparities between states in per capita income. As a result, some states cannot provide public services and facilities at reasonable tax rates. And, economists argue, inadequate facilities for education, to cite one vital sector, can have harmful effects outside the immediate area—when a poorly educated person migrates to another part of the country, for instance, or votes in an election.

FILLING THE GAP

Up to now, the revenue gap has been filled by conditional grants-in-aid from the federal government. These grants reimburse state and local governments for expenditures on specific items—highways, health, and pollution abatement—that benefit people outside the taxing area. Last year, they amounted to $11.2-billion, or more than 15% of all state and local expenditures.

But Break finds such grants have not gone very far in solving the problems of the low-income states. Dividing the states into five groups according to per capita incomes in 1962, he found there were "few areas in which average per capita grants are systematically related to state per capita income."

For example, federal grants for resource development in 1962, including money for urban renewal, school lunch programs, and watershed protection, gave $4.40 per capita to the 10 states with highest per capita incomes and $3.36 to the 10 lowest-income states.

FISCAL DRAG

The other argument that economists make for revenue sharing is a subtle one that involves the recently developed idea of "fiscal drag." If the economy grows in a way that keeps both labor and capital reasonably fully employed, this theory holds, growth in federal revenues follows automatically.

Federal fiscal policy must find some way of returning this revenue growth—dubbed the "fiscal dividend" by Heller—to the economy; if it doesn't, the federal government would soon begin to run huge surpluses at full employment, and that would lead to business stagnation.

For the time being, the war in Vietnam has made this problem academic. But economists, concerned with what will happen after the war ends, have continued their search for methods of eliminating fiscal drag. For many of them, the solution seems to be the use of the dividend to allow state and local spending to grow as needed.

MIXED PROGRAM

Break's own preference is for a mixed program of conditional and unconditional grants—conditional payments to help underwrite the costs of programs with significant benefits spilling over to other areas, and unconditional grants to help states with inadequate resources to pay for programs with reasonable tax rates.

But the hardest part in any revenue sharing plan is to offer a rational formula for handing out the money—the kind of problem economists dote on. Break tries six simple formulas to show the possible range of distributive effects.

Distributing grants to the states according to their share of federal income tax payments in 1962, he notes, would have given the 10 wealthiest states 45% of the total, the 10 poorest only 9%. If grants were based on state populations in 1963, the wealthiest would have received 35% of the money, the poorest 16%.

Of the six formulas, the one distributing most aid to low-income states is based on weighted population figures, where the weight increases rapidly as state per capita income drops.

OBSTACLES

Disagreement over the formula to be used is one of the major obstacles to current proposals. The father of them all—the Heller-Pechman plan—would return 2% of federal income tax revenues to the state on a per capita basis. Others—like those proposed by Representatives Henry S. Reuss (D-Wis.) and Melvin R. Laird, (R-Wis.) or Senator Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.)—would take out a share of the fiscal dividend for low-income states, and distribute the rest of the money on the basis of population or income tax payments.

Frequent objections to the whole revenue sharing idea are that state governments have what critics consider a poor record in coming up with innovative approaches, and that the best administrators just aren't in state houses. Thus, most proposals to date would tie some strings to the grants.

BYPASS METHOD

Some would bypass state governments altogether with a portion of the grants, giving them directly to cities. Others would tie the money to modernization of state and local government, or restrict its use to certain broad areas like health and education.

Heller, however, continues to favor unconditional grants, because "new demands flooding in on the states and localities are stirring new efforts at administrative and legislative reform."

With the budget straining to provide for Vietnam, revenue sharing probably won't get beyond the talk stage in the 90th Congress. But to many economists it looks like an idea whose time will come.

District of Columbia Crime: Recommendations by the Washington Clearing House Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the persistent and very serious problems of crime in the District of Columbia have been analyzed many times, but have not yet been adequately attacked. This year, however, there are many indications that we may finally begin to take constructive steps to increase public safety in Washington right now and, in the long run, reduce crime by striking at its roots.

Led by their distinguished president, Mr. Robert C. Baker, whose many community activities give him the right to speak out, the members of the Washington, D.C., Clearing House Association last week sent a thoughtful letter to the President, outlining some of the initiatives which they believe could be and should be taken, right now, to reduce the crime rate by strengthening law enforcement and reforming the administration of justice in Washington. Their letter should have wide attention, both for its specific suggestions and for the sense of civic responsibility which it expresses.

I trust that the House District of Columbia Committee will consider these recommendations in detail, and would like to call the letter to the attention of the entire Congress:

THE WASHINGTON, D.C.,
CLEARING HOUSE ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D.C., January 25, 1967.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

MR. PRESIDENT: We are writing this letter as one of the groups with some responsibility for leadership in the District of Columbia, some responsibility to speak out on behalf of the entire community.

The crime rate in the District is deplorable. It is unnecessary to muster statistics for purposes of demonstration, nor do we consider it relevant to compare law enforcement here with law enforcement elsewhere in the Nation. The Constitution gives the Congress jurisdiction over law enforcement in the District and that trust should be adequately discharged, should be discharged indeed in such manner as to be a model to the Nation. Armed robberies of banks and other business establishments are happening with frightening frequency. At times it seems to become almost a daily occurrence. Naturally, representing as we do the banking and business community, this is a matter of deepest concern to us. But of even greater concern to us, as having some responsibility for leadership in the community, is the growing and justified feeling of anxiety and insecurity on the part of all of our citizens. In no true sense can we say proudly today that our Government affords us those protections for our persons and property which allow men to live securely and devote themselves without distressing anxiety to the well-being of themselves, their families and their neighbors.

This is no irremediable thing. It may, it probably will, because of past neglect, for a time in the future require large investment. We are prepared to contribute our share. The Nation which has jurisdiction of this community should not be penurious in contributing its share.

Undoubtedly, the root causes need to be attacked, poverty, slum conditions, the lack of adequate education and adequate opportunity which burden so many of our citizens. But these are long-term objectives. The problem is immediate, and the immediate resource is strict and adequate law enforcement.

Our police are undermanned. The facilities available to them are inadequate. The Congress should appropriate whatever is needed to provide enough police, well equipped police and the best police leadership obtainable. Consideration should be given as to whether in the Nation's Capital, as a temporary measure, the Federal Bureau of Investigation might not lend more aid. If this were to be done it should of course be done in such a way as not to reflect adversely, or in any way undermine the responsibilities and morale of the police force of the District. We have confidence in our present police force, if properly supported, but there are areas where no local police force can hope to match the facilities of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and in our view the problem is sufficiently serious to consider making all of their facilities available to correct these deplorable conditions.

Speedy and effective administration of justice also requires adequate financial support and the ablest possible manning of the United States Attorney's office and the Corporation Counsel's office. This requires large increased appropriations. We have confidence in the leadership of those two offices, but they are both overburdened and undermanned. The speedy administration of justice cannot be attained unless they are adequately staffed and unless the salaries are sufficient to attract the ablest people to those jobs.

The speedy and effective administration of justice is also the responsibility of the Courts. We applaud the developments of the last few years. There has been a thoughtful reappraisal of the distribution of burdens between the District Court and the Court of General Sessions. The Courts have been working longer hours, taking fewer vacations, but much still needs to be done. We applaud the recent undertaking by the Courts themselves of an independent survey of the handling of the business of the Courts. The speedy and efficient administration of justice will do much to curb unbridled crime Swiftness is no substitute for justice, but swift justice will certainly lend the community greater security. Here again, however, in our view the Congress has not done its part. The Court of General Sessions is understaffed, badly housed, badly equipped. The best of men cannot function adequately in such circumstances.

We hesitate to express a judgment on the recent legislation affecting bail. There has not been an adequate time to try out the consequences of this legislation. If there are inadequacies in it, it would not appear to suggest a return to bondsmen, but it might be worthy of consideration that, if a person charged has theretofore been found guilty of a serious crime of violence, some discretion should be allowed the District Court as to whether such a person should be released to the community. We are in no position of course to appraise the constitutional problems that might be involved, but obviously a prompt trial would need to be a corollary of any refusal of bail.

Finally, why should the Congress permit these bandits to be freely armed against the community. Few hold-ups would be attempted without hand-guns. Some restrictions should be imposed on their sale.

The District of Columbia Clearing House strongly urges that you attack this problem of crime in the District immediately and that you make available whatever may be needed in the way of appropriations to attack the problem adequately.

Sincerely,

John C. McCormack, Secretary, The Washington, D.C., Clearing House Association, Executive Vice President, The Riggs National Bank of Washington, D.C.; Robert C. Baker, Chairman, The Washington, D.C., Clearing House Association, President, American Security and Trust Company.

Other members: Leo M. Bernstein, President, District of Columbia National Bank; William J. Schulling, President, The First National Bank of Washington; Louis C. Paladini, President, Madison National Bank; T. P. McLachlen, President, McLachlen Banking Corporation; Barnum L. Colton, President, The National Bank of Washington; George A. Didden, Jr., President, The National Capital Bank of Washington; Douglas R. Smith, President, National Savings and Trust Company; William M. O'Neill, President, Public National Bank; L. A. Jennings, Chairman, The Riggs National Bank of Washington, D.C.; Frank A. Gunther, President, Security Bank.

Associate members: L. P. Harrell, President, Union Trust Company of the District of Columbia; B. Doyle Mitchell, President, Industrial Bank of Washington.

The 442d Wartime Chaplain Hiro Higuchi Retires After 20 Years in Army Reserve

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the original 100th Battalion, which later became the 1st Battalion of the 442d Regimental Combat Team during World War II, I take particular pride in calling to the attention of my colleagues the recent activities of the 442d's brave chaplain, the Reverend Hiro Higuchi.

Chaplain Higuchi was honored this past week at a banquet in connection with his retirement after 20 years in the Army Reserve, but this energetic minister is not retiring from his best known role—that of Hawaii's "do-it-yourself" builder of churches. His beautiful new Manoa Valley Community Church will be the latest of several building projects the much-decorated wartime chaplain has been instrumental in bringing to completion as a result of his hard work and faith.

During the war, a frontline dispatch recounted how members of the 442d were so inspired by Rev. Higuchi's words that they marched into combat singing "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." Today, the peacetime good works of this retired Army chaplain, indeed, "go marching on."

I am pleased to submit for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a very interesting feature article about Rev. Higuchi by Reporter Bruce Cook which appeared in

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the January 29, 1967, issue of the Sunday Star-Bulletin & Advertiser, and which outlines the many contributions he has made to his community and to his fellow men:

. . . And the 442d's Brave Chaplain Higuchi

(By Bruce Cook)

On a Sunday morning in the fall of 1944 a war correspondent sent a dispatch from a little valley in Northern France.

It told of an Army chaplain conducting services as artillery crashed around the GIs who had crawled from their foxholes and squatted on their field packs to listen.

The men were with the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. They had been through some bloody battles and still were fighting in France.

The chaplain said prayers with the men and then delivered his sermon.

"Remember that you are fighting not for yourselves alone, but for all of mankind," he told them. "That from out of this bloodshed and strife will come a new and better world because of your sacrifices . . ."

The dispatch said the soldiers were so inspired by the chaplain's words they marched into combat singing "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."

Some of those same GIs will be at the Reef Hotel tonight to honor that chaplain, a man who became a symbol for the nation's Nisei fighting men.

The Rev. Hiro Higuchi, who will be 60 Tuesday, is retiring as a colonel after 20 years in the Army Reserve, and his friends are seeing him out in style with a banquet.

Higuchi, best known today as Hawaii's do-it-yourself church builder, was splattered with paint and hard at work on his new Manoa Valley Community Church when he took time out for an interview.

"Before we sit down, come, I want to show you the progress we have made on our new church," he said.

We started on a tour of the two-acre site, located a half-block off East Manoa Road.

"This is going to be a beauty spot for all of the people of the valley to enjoy," he said.

As he walked through the complex, wearing a hard hat with the inscription "Colonel Superintendent," Higuchi reminisced about World War II.

HE WAS A PACIFIST

"When the war began I was at the Waipahu Community Church. I was against war, a pacificist. I wanted no part of it.

"But I was the YMCA leader in the district and 1,200 boys were members. I remember how 135 of them volunteered to go, and I thought to myself I couldn't stay back. Pacifist or no pacifist I had to go and do my part."

He volunteered to go overseas and found himself in Italy.

"We were getting barraged all the time. The guys would call me and say: 'Chaplain, we need services. If you're not scared come on up' (to where the bullets were flying).

"Scared? I'll tell you I was really scared. But I'd get me a foxhole, read to the men—then I'd take off as fast as I could."

Higuchi didn't mention the times he took off in the other direction—toward the enemy.

Once, a patrol reported it had sighted the body of a missing sergeant. Higuchi set out with a team of engineers through areas heavily mined and booby-trapped and returned with the body after four hours behind enemy lines.

Another time he stayed at a forward aid station to help medics with wounded and dying men through a five-hour enemy barrage.

Higuchi recalled some of his saddest days in the war—once when 800 men of the 442nd went into combat and only 200 returned, another time when 205 went out and just five came back.

SOUGHT THE LIVING

And the many times he picked his way through piles of American bodies.

"I would always check because there was always a chance one of the men would still be alive."

One day in France he found a soldier still breathing, so he put him with the wounded.

"I visited him later in a hospital, and thought he was going to die," Higuchi said.

"Then, just a few years ago, a man from Boston came to see me, to thank me for saving his life.

"'It was the surprise of my life. It was the man I had pulled from that pile of bodies. I had no idea he was still living."

Higuchi said it bothers him when he reads that the 442nd soldiers fought so well mainly because they were trying to prove they were good Americans.

"That is not true. We fought because we didn't like Nazism. We didn't like the evil and horror it brought to the world. We were fighting, like all Americans, for a principle—for freedom and democracy. We were not trying to prove ourselves.

"I remember my second sermon. I told the men if they were there only to prove they were good Americans they might as well go home. But I didn't have to say it because they realized the issue was much bigger than that."

When the war was over, Higuchi had the Legion of Merit, Purple Heart and Italian Cross of Military Valor. You have to dig back in the records to learn about the medals; he doesn't mention them.

Higuchi said the war gave him the inspiration to build churches.

"It was amazing what men could do in the war. Why, they could build anything with almost nothing to start with and with the odds stacked against them.

"I thought that man can do anything if he sets his mind to it. So we decided to build a church in Waipahu.

"We started the church, but we ran out of money and I was scared. We held a meeting and a guy said: 'This is a church we are building. Let's go ahead and build it on faith.'

"The next day I went to the post office and found checks for $5,000 from two estates. That convinced me that faith can build anything."

OTHER PROJECTS

Higuchi has spearheaded other building projects besides churches. During two years in Waimea, Kauai, he helped the people there build a community swimming pool. Later, he helped in the construction of a pavilion at Waimano Home, a project of the Lions Clubs.

As chaplain for the IX Corps in the Army Reserve he has made trips to Thailand, where the unit has periodic exercises, and in 1963, he started projects to help an orphanage and school there. His church also is helping support a reform school on Okinawa.

Higuchi served on the Mayor's Advisory Committee on Ethics and now is the only holdover member on the new Ethics Commission.

He also was on the Mayor's Conflict of Interest Investigation Comimttee; led the Disabled American Veterans' fund-raising campaign for their Keehi Lagoon Memorial project; served on the State Board of Paroles and Pardons and on the Governor's committee to select a site for a new State prison. (He was the only committee member who voted against moving the prison from Oahu to Maui.)

In 1961, he was named Hawaii's Father of the Year for Religion.

He and his wife, Hisako, have a son, Peter, 30, an electrical engineer in Los Angeles, and a daughter, Jane, 28, the wife of engineer Ray Fukinaga of Honolulu.

Higuchi paused to reflect again on the part of his life he gives up tonight.

"I will miss the fellows. We had a lot of fun together and I made many good friends in the Army.

"Every time I've been ready to build a church they've been ready to help me, with money and with hard work.

"They have given me so much and now this. I'm kind of embarrassed," he said.

Elizabeth Shoumatoff's F.D.R. Portrait To Hang in White House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I had the honor of attending President Johnson's reception at the White House which marked the birthdate of our late beloved President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

At the reception, a new and brilliantly executed portrait of the late President Roosevelt was unveiled. I am proud, Mr. Speaker, to say that the artist who produced this magnificent painting is a distinguished constituent of mine, Madam Elizabeth Shoumatoff, who resides in Locust Valley, N.Y.

The inspiring program, highlighted by the unveiling of the portrait, also featured readings from "Sunrise at Campobello" written by Dore Schary and performed by Charlton Heston, Mary Fickett and Anne Seymour.

To view this portrait as a great work of art is one thing. But the critics have given professional praise for it, and I wish to share these laudatory comments with my distinguished colleagues.

Mr. Speaker, I, therefore, place these stories and articles from the Washington Post, the Washington Evening Star and the Locust Valley, N.Y., Leader in the Appendix of the Record.

Johnsons To Unveil New F.D.R. Portrait—No Fuss This Time

In the wake of the furor over rejection of a portrait of President Johnson, the White House plans to unveil a new portrait of Johnson's favorite president—Franklin D. Roosevelt.

This portrait, the White House said, depicts "a strong and vigorous Roosevelt in the middle years of his presidency" and Johnson plans to hang it in his White House office.

It is the work of Elizabeth Shoumatoff, who was painting Roosevelt when he was fatally stricken at Warm Springs, Ga., on April 12, 1945. The artist is donating her new work to the White House art collection.

The Johnsons announced yesterday they will have an unveiling party for it Jan. 31, commemorating Roosevelt's birthday, which occurs Jan. 30.

Roosevelt sat for several portraits, one of which, by artist Frank O. Salisbury, hangs in the White House Red Room. But it is a copy made in 1947 of a portrait Salisbury had done of Roosevelt in 1935, in his early years in office.

The White House said the idea of getting a new portrait of FDR came from C. F. Palmer, chairman of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Warm Spring Memorial Commission. After the White House acquired a $25,000 portrait of Eleanor Roosevelt by artist Douglas Chandor, Palmer suggested the possibility of acquiring a portrait by Mme. Shoumatoff, whom he called the "leading Roosevelt artist." She now lives in Long Island, N.Y.

This portrait is the fourth Mme. Shoumatoff has done of Roosevelt. The late President is pictured in a three-quarter seated pose, with the water of the North Atlantic in the background. He wears a favorite Navy cape. In his hands, he holds a rolled copy of the Atlantic Charter, a declaration of postwar objectives made jointly by Roosevelt and Britain's Prime Minister Winston Churchill during a meeting in Argentina Bay, off the coast of Newfoundland, Aug. 14, 1941.

In contrast to the negative reaction to artist Peter Hurd's recent portrait of Johnson, there was no trouble at all when Mme. Shoumatoff presented her portrait of Roosevelt, completed in November 1966.

When Mrs. Johnson first saw it last July, the White House said, she wrote the artist that her reaction was a "quick flash of certainty that this is it."

Mrs. Johnson today expressed great pleasure in acquiring the portrait for the White House collection and said it shows "the great vision and strength which both the president and I knew in him."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Jan. 15, 1967]

FAMILIAR FACE COMING BACK TO WHITE HOUSE

When Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson was the wife of a very junior Congressman from Texas, she used to stand timidly and wait for a chance to snap pictures of Franklin D. Roosevelt as he came through the White House gates.

Jan. 31 the President and Mrs. Johnson will unveil a portrait of FDR—"that towering figure we loved so much"—to hang in the President's office.

The 42 by 34-inch portrait is the work of Elizabeth Shoumatoff of Locust Valley, Long Island. The artist was introduced to President Roosevelt by Lucy Mercer Rutherford, who had a special place in the late President's affections. Mrs. Shoumatoff was painting a watercolor of Roosevelt at the time he suffered a fatal cerebral hemorrhage at Warm Springs, Ga.

The unfinished portrait of President Roosevelt, interrupted by his death, hangs in the Memorial Library at Warm Springs. Mrs. Shoumatoff says a second portrait painted after his death and "finished as I thought he would have liked it," also hangs in Warm Springs.

The idea for the new portrait came last February when the Douglas Chandor painting of Eleanor Roosevelt was presented to the White House.

According to Elizabeth Carpenter, Mrs. Johnson's press secretary, C. F. Palmer, who is chairman of the FDR Warm Springs Memorial Commission made the suggestion.

Mrs. Johnson and the President were enthusiastic about having a worthy companion portrait to the one of Mrs. Roosevelt.

They were especially anxious to have one recalling him as the "strong and vigorous Roosevelt in the middle years of his Presidency," Mrs. Carpenter said.

"To the Johnsons, the Roosevelts were towering figures when they were very young. This portrait project has included the Johnsons' heart."

President Johnson was a Roosevelt protege. He ran on a New Deal, Roosevelt platform, after President Roosevelt had appointed him as secretary of the NYA in Texas.

When Roosevelt died, LBJ said, "He was like a daddy to me."

For Mrs. Shoumatoff, as well as the Johnsons, the commission was the completion of a cycle.

In 1943 she had painted a small watercolor of Roosevelt. After it was finished, FDR loked at it and said, "It's a shame this isn't a full-size portrait. Someday I will ask you to do another portrait of me for the White House."

"Of course I never expected to hear from him again, but after he came back from Yalta I received a message asking me to come to Warm Springs," Mrs. Shoumatoff recalled. He wanted it done before the opening of the U.N. Conference in San Francisco. Unfortunately, this portrait never materialized.

The portrait for the White House shows Roosevelt in his familiar Navy cape with the Atlantic Charter in his hands—the charter which pledged freedom of speech and religion, freedom from want and fear. The waters of the North Atlantic form a blue background.

When Mrs. Johnson saw the painting for the first time in July, she wrote the artist, "This is it."

Mrs. Shoumatoff, a society portrait painter for many years, is giving the portrait to the White House.

[From the Locust Valley (N.Y.) Leader, Jan. 19, 1967]

ELIZABETH SHOUMATOFF'S F.D.R. PORTRAIT TO HANG IN WHITE HOUSE

Congressman Lester Wolff is planning a special honor for Locust Valley artist Elizabeth Shoumatoff whose portrait of Franklin Delano Roosevelt will be presented to President Johnson on January 31 at 4:30 in the White House. The gift of the artist, the portrait will go into the White House collection and probably will hang in the office of the President.

This is the fourth portrait Mrs. Shoumatoff has painted of Roosevelt. The first, a small water color, done shortly before the war, showed him much as he is in the latest. The second, a life size water color, was not completed. It remains just as it was when the President was stricken with his last illness while sitting for Mrs. Shoumatoff. It showed a different person than in the first and last portraits. In it the President was tired and thin. The third, also a life size water color, is the unfinished portrait as it would have been if completed. Both hang in the Little White House, Warm Springs, Georgia.

The most recent portrait, life size in oils, depicts FDR in his naval cape as do the others. It shows him at the time he presented his "Four Freedoms" program to Congress in 1941. He holds the Atlantic Charter in his hand.

One of the nation's busiest portrait painters, Mrs. Shoumatoff has been working on the Roosevelt painting for several months in her Locust Valley studio on Ayer road.

Hail and Farewell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, recently an outstanding journalist of our Nation, Mr. Alan Hathway, retired as executive editor of Newsday. I have known Mr. Hathway for many years, both personally and as a newsman, and found him forthright, interesting, and an asset to the community. In the last few days one of Newsday's outstanding columnists, Mr. Jack Altshul, wrote what could be considered a final tribute to Alan Hathway. I wish to spread it on the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues and the people of our Nation.

The article follows:

HAIL AND FAREWELL

It takes a certain amount of fanaticism for a man to achieve greatness in any field and Newsday's Executive Editor Alan Hathaway was always a fanatic newspaperman. Fantastic, too. This week he takes leave of his desk at Newsday, that was his for almost 25 years, for a supposedly less frenetic existence in semiretirement on the island of Puerto Rico. One can only judge on the basis of past performance that Puerto Rico will never be the same once he takes up permanent residence. At age 60, still bubbling, imagination undiluted and ideas pouring out of every pore, it seems inconceivable that Hathaway will permit retirement to catch up with him. He never could accept a sitting-down position gracefully, and the idea of watching the world go by without lending a Hathaway assist was never part of the man's makeup. The record proves it.

There was a time in the late 40s when a tough little Irishman named Bill DeKoning was threatening to take over Nassau County. He had built himself a labor empire, controlled the hiring and firing at Roosevelt Raceway, expected and got political and cash tribute from the highest places, and ran rampant over housebuilders and contractors. Alan Hathaway kept a file on Bill DeKoning for six years and when the time came, he opened it in Newsday's pages. DeKoning went to jail for extortion, Newsday got a Pulitzer, and Hathaway had demonstrated what a newspaperman could do for a community.

There was a town board in Hempstead which had carried on its books since time immemorial regulations on the building of houses. One of the regulations said that a Town of Hempstead house had to have a cellar. After the boys came home from World War II, along came a builder named Bill Levitt with a house he could massproduce to fill the desperate housing shortage. It didn't have a cellar. The Town of Hempstead said he couldn't built it. So Hathaway made building writers out of his reporters and one story after another showed the public the efficacy of Levitt's idea. The Town of Hempstead still wasn't buying. Levitt asked for a final hearing and the date was set for Town Hall. Not only would Levitt keep the date, but so would hundreds of ex-GIs, wearing legion caps and old uniforms. They were there because Hathaway had stayed up nights contacting them. The august members of the board took a look at the milling, shouting and homeless soldiers and Levitt had his approval for a cellarless house. The housing explosion on Long Island followed and you can credit it to Bill Levitt with a big assist from Alan Hathaway.

Russ Sprague, the most powerful politician ever bred on Long Island, was trapped in a train that was snow-bound on the Donner Pass, on his way to a Republican national meeting in Los Angeles. Wire service reporters couldn't get up the mountains to the train to report whether Sprague, his wife or the hundreds of other passengers were safe. Hathway got hold of a nearby Nevada ski lodge by phone, hired a skier to reach the train, and the story of the snow-bound passengers and how they were faring broke out of Garden City. It was the kind of piece people were expecting from Newsday.

The man mapped his projects like a logistically-minded general. Security was the key word and often only a very few of the staff knew that a Hathway production was in the making. He set out, for instance, to prove that the winter-deserted beaches out around Montauk could be reached by a Russian submarine carrying an atom bomb. The pitch was to man the beaches with more Coast Guardsmen. A Newsday team landed near Amagansett in a rubber boat launched from a trawler in the ocean. Reporters and a photographer carried a large suitcase that could have contained a small A-bomb. They were met by other Newsday "agents" in a car. Nobody stopped them on the beaches or on the long ride into New York. There they planted the "bomb" in a subway locker on 42nd Street. Presumably the bomb could have been triggered to go off and destroy a good part of the metropolis. "Man from U.N.C.L.E." stuff? Maybe. But Hathway proved his point and it got national attention. And there were the camera raids on the Suffolk horse rooms and picture-taking of gamblers moving their equipment once they learned Newsday was after them. And politicians, who controlled their own press notices, couldn't once Newsday's Alan Hathway found out about them.

He drank hard, he played hard, and he worked hard. Alan Hathway did when his world was Newsday. Something of him rubbed off on everybody with whom he worked closely. For whatever rubbed off on me, I am grateful.

Seizure of American-Flag Shipping

SPEECH

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

(Mr. REINECKE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, the seizure of American fishing vessels by certain Latin American nations has, I believe, been permitted to go much too far. Since 1964, certain of our so-called neighbors to the south have taken it upon themselves to claim sovereignty over vast expanses of ocean which have traditionally and historically been recognized as being the high seas upon which all nations are supposed to be free to pursue legitimate and gainful occupations.

Countless of our fishing vessels have been boarded on the high seas in a manner reminiscent of "Terry and the Pirates" and seized by these Latin American nations. The vessel owners have then been subjected to severe fines amounting to approximately $250,000 over the last 3 years. In addition to these burdensome fines and license fees which have been assessed under the false colors of questionable claims of national sovereignty, American fishing vessels have been subjected to accompanying severe economic loss. Operating expenses have increased substantially owing to unlawful periods of detention in the ports of these Latin American nations following seizure upon the high seas. In addition, there have been instances where catches of these American fishing vessels have been confiscated as well as the vessel's fishing equipment and gear.

These piratelike seizures upon the high seas are not new. We have patiently endured them for several years in the hope that the several Latin American nations would ultimately see the light of day and act in accord with the principles of the family of nations. However, it has become blatantly apparent as a result of the seizure of six American fishing vessels in the month of January alone by these nations that our State Department either cannot or will not take effective remedial action to cease this costly harassment of American fishermen. American citizens everywhere, and no less the American fisherman peacefully pursuing his chosen profession upon international waters, have a right to look to our Government for protection, and if the executive branch fails to be responsive to this need, then it behooves the Congress to act.

Accordingly, my distinguished colleague from the State of Washington, the Honorable THOMAS M. PELLY, and I today are introducing identical bills to compensate American fishing vessel owners for economic losses sustained as a result of these illegal seizures and to make it mandatory for the President to suspend foreign aid to offending Latin American nations unless and until such nations honor our Government's claims for reimbursement paid to American fishing operators for such losses.

Mr. Speaker, I feel that we have exercised admirable restraint in the face of harassment of our fishing vessels by these Latin American nations over these many years, and while I regret the necessity to resort to such strong measures, I sincerely believe that neither as a nation nor as individuals can we continue to condone what is tantamount to piracy upon the high seas. The situation dictates the use of stern measures to resolve this problem once and for all before it is allowed to spill over into an area of possible open conflict between American fishermen and the patrol vessels of these several Latin American nations. It is to this end that I earnestly urge all my colleagues in the House to join with me and our distinguished colleague from Washington, Congressman PELLY, in supporting this measure so as to enable American fishermen once more to sail forth from their home ports without fear of being set upon by naval craft of other nations making extraordinary claims upon the high seas which must remain free and open to the use of all nations.

Hon. Winfield K. Denton Honored at Luncheon With Gift of Letter Album

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, the following speaks for itself, just as the Honorable Winfield K. Denton has spoken so eloquently and effectively for the Eighth Congressional District of Indiana and all the people of this Nation for so many years.

Mr. Denton first came to Congress in 1949, a freshman Member of the 81st Congress, along with my father. The esteem and affection with which Mr. Denton is regarded by his colleagues mounted steadily through the years.

Today, a number of Mr. Denton's friends gathered at a luncheon to honor him. The following letters, presented to him in album form, are a measure of the respect and affection which all who knew him held for Mr. Denton:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, January 31, 1967.

Hon. WINFIELD K. DENTON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR WINFIELD: I would like to join with the Indiana Society and all your other colleagues as they pay tribute to a great Congressman, model public servant, good Democrat, and loyal friend.

The people of the Eighth District will miss you—as will all who have met and known you.

Your dedication to the people of Indiana, throughout the forty productive years of your career, are an inspiring example of unswerving devotion to the public good.

You have been a credit to the cause of responsible, progressive government and to the Congress, the State, and the Party you have served so long and so well.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE VICE PRESIDENT,
Washington, January 31, 1967.

Hon. WINFIELD DENTON,
Evansville, Ind.

DEAR WINFIELD: When the ballots are counted after each election, one always feels a sense of loss in seeing some of his friends go down to defeat through redistricting or some other factor beyond his control. This is particularly true in your case. We entered the Congress together, and I have always had a special feeling of communion with those who were a part of that class.

I can well remember Winfield Denton as one of the bright lights among the new members in the 81st Congress. Your record of public service has amply demonstrated your tenacity and your skill. Your many contributions have strengthened our nation and given us increased pride in our party. Yes, you have served your nation well—both in war and peace.

We wish you well in the years ahead. May you find time for reflection and enjoying the precious blessings of family and friends. I feel honored to have shared in your friendship and to have served with you.

Sincerely,

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY.

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, January 31, 1967.

Hon. WINFIELD K. DENTON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR WINFIELD: I regret very much that I cannot be with you for your reception on February 2, but, as you know, I will not be in the country.

There just simply are no words at my command to express to you my very deepest and heartfelt appreciation for all your unstinted cooperation with this department, not only during your tenure as chairman of our subcommittee, but during all your years of service in the Congress. Winfield, I'm speaking for everyone in this department when I say to you that no chairman could have helped our conservation efforts more than you.

You know that you have the very warmest wishes for everything good in life from Lee and me.

Very sincerely,

STEWART L. UDALL,
Secretary of the Interior.

THE SPEAKER'S ROOMS,
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., January 30, 1967.

Hon. WINFIELD K. DENTON,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR WINFIELD: During your years as a Member of the House of Representatives in Congress, you have rendered outstanding service for the people of your district, your state, and for our country. I feel very sorry that the great service that you have rendered has been terminated as a result of the last election, which termination I sincerely hope will only be temporary.

I have a profound respect for you and deep appreciation of your dedication to public service. I also entertain for you a strong feeling of friendship, which has grown up between us during the years that we have served together in the National House of Representatives. You are justified in feeling proud of the great record you have made in behalf of the people, as well as in behalf of our country.

I wish for you every future happiness and success.

With kind personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

John W. McCormack,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C., January 30, 1967.

Hon. Winfield K. Denton,
c/o Honorable Andrew Jacobs, Jr.,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Winfield: I appreciate the opportunity afforded me by Congressman Hamilton and Congressman Jacobs to tell you how very much I will miss your wise counsel in the halls of the House of Representatives.

Since you first came to the House in the 81st Congress, I have valued your friendship and your judgment and have admired the dedicated and devoted way you have served the interests not only of the people of the Eighth District of Indiana but also the interests of the entire country. As chairman of the Subcommittee on the Department of Interior and related agencies of the Committee on Appropriations, you have contributed immeasurably to the welfare of our country. Thanks for the many things you have done for me and for the people I represent.

It has been a pleasure to work with you over the years. I hope you will accept my best wishes for the future.

Sincerely,

Carl Albert,
Majority Leader.

House of Representatives,
Office of the Democratic Whip,
Washington, D.C., February 1, 1967.

Hon. Winfield K. Denton,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Win: It is a honor to join with our colleagues in saluting you for your many years of distinguished service in the House. I am pleased to commend you for the fine record of public service which you achieved for your State and our Nation.

In sixteen years in the House, your service was marked by the highest measure of devotion to your District, State and Nation, and I am proud of you and your good works. The dedicated spirit with which you did your work here has left this House a finer institution of our government, and you are most deserving of this tribute by our colleagues today.

Through your exemplary service in the House, you have brought honor and credit not only to yourself and your family, but also to the people of the Eighth District of Indiana and to the whole State. Your constituents are to be commended for their wisdom in selecting you to serve them for many years.

Personally, I wish to thank you for the splendid help which you provided to me, to Speaker McCormack and Congressman Albert, as Assistant Whip for your State. We are most grateful for your consistent and ready advice and counsel.

Mrs. Boggs joins me in congratulating you for your exemplary public service, both here in the House and in your State, and wishing for you many more years of health, happiness and fruitful endeavor.

Sincerely,

Hale Boggs.

U.S. Senate,
Committee on Commerce,
February 2, 1967.

Hon. Winfield Denton,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Winfield: You were my Congressman, Winfield, even before I was your Senator.

Never was I more proud of you or more impressed with the depth of your knowledge and the esteem of your colleagues than when I, myself, came to join you in these halls. Your dedication to your constituents, to our country, to its way of life and to the cause of free men has left a mark on all who know you.

We miss your guidance and counsel, your help and your advice. We miss not having you around.

I, for one, feel richer, better and more capable for having served with you and having learned from you. No one in the delegation will miss you more than your one constituent in the group. You and Grace deserve a little respite, though, and we wish you well.

Sincerely,

Vance Hartke, *U.S. Senator.*

U.S. Senate,
Committee on Public Works,
January 31, 1967.

Hon. Winfield K. Denton,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Winfield: Indiana and the nation will be poorer without your firm, guiding hand in Washington. I know that the loss to me in not having you, as friend and adviser, ever-present in the national capital will be one I will feel for a long time to come.

The influence and the accomplishments you leave behind you here will help our fellow Hoosiers for many years. The monument to the man is seen throughout the State of Indiana—productive farmlands, no longer surged by floods; the George Rogers Clark National Park; dams and reservoirs dotting the map of Indiana providing jobs, recreation and conservation are contributions people will long remember.

We expect to see you often in Washington in the years ahead, Winfield. Among us, you will always be welcomed and revered.

With my warmest personal regards, I am,

Sincerely,

Birch Bayh.

Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C., January 31, 1967.

Hon. Winfield K. Denton,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Winfield: I could write fourteen pages about the record and virtues of Winfield Denton, about my esteem and admiration for him. I will make it short with the hope that what I say will be more impressive.

Winfield Denton in my book is the greatest!

Sincerely,

George Mahon.

Congressional Colleagues Extend Tribute to Congressman Winfield K. Denton at Rayburn Building Luncheon, February 2, 1967

(Message from Congressman Ray J. Madden, First District, Indiana)

Congressman Winfield K. Denton has, for sixteen years, ably served the Eighth Congressional District in the United States Congress. I had the pleasure and honor of serving with him during this period of time. He had given to his constituents outstanding service not only in the legislative field, but has complied with all their numerous requests and devoted his time and efforts to improving his Congressional District, the State of Indiana, and our Nation.

Most of his adult life has been spent as a public servant, having been prosecutor of Vanderburgh County and having served three terms in the Indiana State Legislature at which time he was honored as being elected Minority Leader and Caucus Chairman. He also served on the State Budget Committee under Governors Townsend and Schricker.

In World War I he was an aviator thus having the rare distinction of having served in two world wars . . . World War I as an aviator and World War II as a Major and Lieutenant Colonel.

The people of the Eighth Congressional District can indeed be proud of the public service record made by this able and illustrious Hoosier Congressman. His colleagues have known him as an honest, conscientious and dedicated legislator. He has made a host of friends in the House of Representatives as well as in the Senate and the various governmental departments of our nation.

The Indiana Congressional Delegation and his many friends in Washington regret to see Winfield leave the House of Representatives but we all wish him many years of good health and further public service to his community, state and nation.

Ray Madden.

House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C., February 2, 1967.

Hon. Winfield K. Denton,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Winfield: I want to add my own to the many tributes being paid you on your many years of service in the Congress of the United States.

One of the aspects of your career that has always deeply impressed me has been your continuing dedication to the principal purposes of the Democratic party. From your important assignment on the House Committee on Appropriations, you helped make possible a richer, fuller life for millions of Americans and I am sure that this knowledge must give you the deepest satisfaction.

I count it an honor to have served with you in the House of Representatives for eight years, and I wish you and Grace all good things.

Sincerely,

John Brademas,
Member of Congress.

Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C., February 2, 1967.

Hon. Winfield Denton,
Evansville, Ind.

Dear Winfield: Those of us who have served with you through the years have an affection for you which has deepened as the years have gone by. I know that I have personally appreciated the advice, the council, and the example you have provided for me. You expressed concern for my problems when I went through some very trying and tedious times.

How can I ever forget your unfailing support during the time of my recount? It spoke clearly of a personal friendship which I shall always covet.

You have provided an example for those of us whose service in the Congress is relatively new. Not only your District owes you a debt of gratitude but your state and the nation itself should be grateful for your tireless and unselfish service.

We miss you in the Congress. We all share the hope and desire that the coming years will treat you kindly and that God will look after you and your family and shower you with his richest blessings.

With warm personal regards, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

J. Edward Roush,
Member of Congress.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., February 1, 1967.
Hon. WINFIELD K. DENTON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR WINFIELD: I am especially pleased to add this note of tribute to your record of service to your district, your state and your country.

The public improvements which you have brought to your district and your record of achievement with the House Appropriations Committee are far more impressive tributes to your years of service than any words of mine, however.

I have had many, many personal testimonials to your concern for your constituents from Clark County residents. You are known throughout Indiana as the man who saw to the needs of his constituents.

It is the hope of all of us I'm sure, that you will continue to express your concern, and to give us your advice and support in working for a greater Indiana.

Meanwhile, all my best wishes for health, happiness and success is whatever course you choose to take.

With fondest regards,

LEE H. HAMILTON.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., February 1, 1967.
Hon. WINFIELD K. DENTON,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. DENTON: Our friendship goes back only to 1949, but that was one-half my lifetime ago. I was 17 then and because of your kind friendship for my father I came to love you as a part of our family.

"Grace and Winfield," my father often has said "are saints."

Since I've got to know you better as a result of the honor of serving with you in the Congress, my admiration for your kindness and ability has grown more and more.

I wish you every happiness in the future and just as you became my father's extraterritorial Congressman in the fifty's, I should be honored to be that for you and Grace for such time as I may remain in Washington.

Sincerely,

ANDREW JACOBS, Jr.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., February 1, 1967.

DEAR WIN: I'm just sorry that some time ago I committed myself to play host at a luncheon on the day I now learn has been set for a farewell luncheon in your honor.

As a couple of Hoosiers who have been around the Congress for a number of years, you on your side of the aisle and I on mine, the record will show that we had honest differences from time to time on legislative issues.

As far as that's concerned, I wouldn't want it otherwise, and neither would you.

But I have counted it a privilege to know you not merely as a colleague but as a warm friend from Indiana who has shared with me this business of bouquets and brickbats which come our way in this difficult business of being a public servant.

May the years ahead be good ones for you, Win, in all ways. You have earned them.

Sincerely,

CHARLES A. HALLECK.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., January 31, 1967.
Hon. WINFIELD DENTON,
202 Court Building,
Evansville, Ind.

DEAR WINNIE: I'm very sorry I cannot be present at the luncheon in your honor but I did want to send this personal note.

In your long years of service in the Congress you, like all of us, have seen colleagues defeated and thereafter retire from the public life to which they have given their time and devotion. You know, too, that the way a man is remembered in the Congress is not necessarily measured by whether he made the headlines or became a national figure. Rather, when we think of someone who no longer serves among us in the House, we put aside party lines and partisan differences, and we consider the whole man—our friend, our colleague—and how he carried himself in the halls of Congress.

Was he true to his convictions and to himself? Did he render honest and faithful service to his constituents? Had he always given his very best for his District, his State and his country? Did he reflect credit on the Congress of the United States, and did he leave public life with the same dignity and nobility with which he had served?

For you, Winnie, our friend, the answer to all of these questions is a clear, ringing "Yes!" and those of us who know you and are proud to call you our friend will always testify to this fact. We wish you well, and that you may find, always, the very best life has to offer. This is only fitting for a man who has always given the very best he could.

Best wishes, always,

WILLIAM G. BRAY.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., February 1, 1967.
Hon. WINFIELD K. DENTON,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR WINFIELD: I was pleased to receive the invitation to the reception in your honor and hope to see you there.

Believe me, I have enjoyed our acquaintanceship during the time we have both served in the Congress. I hope that you are now able to relax, take things easy, and enjoy life.

With kind personal regards.

Sincerely,

ROSS ADAIR.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., February 7, 1967.
Hon. WINFIELD K. DENTON,
Evansville, Ind.

DEAR WINNIE: I am pleased to join your colleagues in wishing you every happiness as you begin your retirement in Indiana.

I hope that you and Mrs. Denton will have many more years together among your old friends and neighbors. I certainly wish you all of the very best.

Sincerely,

RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., February 2, 1967.
Hon. WINFIELD K. DENTON,
% The Honorable Andrew Jacobs, Jr.,
234 Cannon House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: It is not a difficult thing for me to address you as Mr. Chairman. I will always think of you in those terms.

I know well what long hours of service you have given to the American people. Through sixteen years, you worked here in the very heart of the greatest Government of the world and did much of that work on the most important Committtee of the Congress.

For myself personally, there will always be a particularly warm spot for a kind and thoughtful friend who always was willing to sit with me, to discuss the problems which I felt should be discussed, and to offer help when I needed help. I know that all of us in Congress will miss your wise presence. I personally will miss it greatly.

I am sure that you will come back often to visit your many friends here on the Hill. I would certainly consider it a great privilege to have you think of me as a long time friend and I hope you will always come by the office when you are in town.

My best regards, as always,

Sincerely,

JOSEPH M. MCDADE,
Member of Congress.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., February 1, 1967.
Hon. WINFIELD K. DENTON,
202 Court Building,
Evansville, Ind.

DEAR MR. DENTON: Naturally, it is with regret that I direct this type of letter to you; however, I am sure that your many years of distinguished public service bring considerable happiness to you and your family when you reflect—particularly on occasions such as this—on your many accomplishments.

Having been privileged to serve in the House with you, and especially as a Member of the Subcommittee which you chaired, I am pleased that I could take part in giving tribute to you for your service on Capitol Hill.

Quite frankly, one of the aspects of your long career of public service that impressed me was the fact that in World War I you were among that small group of American pilots that flew for the AEF. I always enjoyed hearing you recount your service in France as an instructor in what was then the beginning of the Army Air Corps, that we know today as the Air Force. No doubt your service then is indicative of what would be a consistent pattern of civic achievements in later years.

With every good wish, to you, Mrs. Denton and members of your family, I am,

Sincerely yours,

JOHN O. MARSH, Jr.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OIL IMPORT ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C., February 2, 1967.
Hon. WINFIELD K. DENTON,
Evansville, Ind.

DEAR WINFIELD: From Starlight to Bethlehem, Utica, Memphis and Jeffersonville, "Thank God for Clark County." Clark County was always privileged to record its votes for one of Indiana's most illustrious and outstanding Congressmen, Winfield K. Denton. It was always a pleasure for me as one of the County Chairmen to campaign with you.

Every county, city and town in the Eighth District is brighter and more prosperous. It is evidence of your concern for their welfare. Your leadership has inspired us all. We have moved forward to improve our educational, public health and hospital facilities. Many of our communities have electricity, water, sanitation because you helped them. Repeatedly, we demonstrated our confidence in your ability to represent us. Our highways, bridges, airports, post offices, parks, forests all across southern Indiana stand better today, each one has been touched by your willingness to improve them.

Perhaps I know and can enumerate better than many for I, as your Congressional District Chairman, had the joy of sharing the victory ovation with you on so many election nights. We shall never forget the anxiety and momentary anguish when you appropriated for your trip home one time a young ladies auto in New Albany. Your record as a public servant to your district, State and nation will stand as a challenge for a long time for others to equal.

I, my family, Frances, Kathy and Pat are proud and happy to be friends of Winfield and Grace Denton.

May both of you enjoy good health and happiness always, I am,

Sincerely,

ELMER L. HOEHN,
Administrator.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION,
Indianapolis, Ind., February 1, 1967.
Hon. WINFIELD K. DENTON,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR WINFIELD: I am sorry that I will be unable to join with my other colleagues that served with you in the House of Representatives at your farewell party on February 2, 1967.

I would like to say what a great privilege it was for me to serve with you and how helpful you were to me. I know that your services will be greatly missed by the people of the Eighth District of Indiana. For having worked with you in the District, I know firsthand of all the accomplishments that you achieved. In fact, I have said many times that you have done more for your District than anyone else was able to do or will be able to do. I know the veterans of all wars will miss your great service because the veterans considered you a champion for their cause.

My wife joins me in wishing you and Grace many more happy years and a rest truly deserved.

If I can ever be of any service to you and your family, do not hesitate to call on me.

Sincerely,
EARL HOGAN,
Former Ninth District Congressman.

ANDERSON, IND.,
January 31, 1967.
Hon. ANDREW JACOBS,
1029 Longworth Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN JACOBS: One of the truly great men that I have ever had the pleasure of knowing is our mutual friend, and former colleague, Winfield K. Denton.

Win Denton is a gentleman at all times, and was truly a servant of his people; he is a genuine liberal in every sense of the word. He was not what many refer to as a "professional liberal," as he believed in, the progressive and liberal program of the Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson Administrations. On many of the issues of the day he took the unpopular side, as far as his District was concerned, and voted his convictions, in spite of popular opinion. In time, these decisions took their toll.

Indiana and the Nation will miss Congressman Winfield K. Denton.

I join with all of his former Colleagues in paying my tribute to a truly great man and a good friend.

Sincerely,
JOHN R. WALSH.

JACOBS & JACOBS,
ATTORNEYS AT LAW,
Indianapolis, Ind., February 1, 1967.
Hon. and Mrs. WINFIELD K. DENTON,
Care of Hon. Andrew Jacobs, Jr.,
1029 Longworth Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

OUR DEAR FRIENDS: It is with regret that we are unable to attend the dinner given in your honor. Our absence denotes no lessening of our deep affection for you.

Through the long years you have come to comfort us when fate was unkind, and our good fortune has always made you happy. We hope we have, though we fear we have not, always openly responded, in like measure, though we assure you our hearts' sentiments were the same. These comments are to you, as the dear friends you always have been.

To you, Winfield, we express our deep admiration. You have been an effective statesman of keen understanding and deep concern for your people, (and mine—AJ Sr.'s). Grace has been your devoted and understanding companion through the dark, as well as the bright, days.

May you both find happiness and contentment in your retirement. This is the wish of two who love you both:

Sincerely,
JOYCE.
ANDY.

U.S. DISTRICT COURT,
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF INDIANA,
Indianapolis, Ind., January 31, 1967.
Hon. WINFIELD K. DENTON,
Evansville, Ind.

DEAR WINFIELD: It gives me a great deal of pleasure to write to you on this occasion of the luncheon given in your honor by a group of your Washington colleagues. I know that you look with pleasure on the eight terms of Congressional service which you rendered to the citizenry of the 8th District and to the nation at large in the important position which you held in the United States Congress. I further know that you have the high personal satisfaction which comes from a job well done and a splendid contribution made.

My own service in the Congress was quite short in retrospect, however I have thought many times over the years since then of the splendid association which our new group had in 1948. I feel sure that you recall our trip to the White House early in 1949 with Ray Madden when he took all of the Indiana Congressmen to see President Harry Truman. I am certain you have many experiences which will continue to support you and keep your life full at this particular time.

With all best wishes, I am,
Very truly yours,
JAMES E. NOLAND.

INDIANA DEMOCRATIC STATE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
Indianapolis, Ind., January 30, 1967.
Congressman WINFIELD K. DENTON,
First Citizen Anywhere,
Eighth Congressional District, Ind.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Our country, our state, and our district are better places to live because of you. No one man has tried any harder to serve his fellow man with compassion, understanding, and responsibility as have you. To have had you as my own personal Congressman for 16 years, to have worked with you in many of those campaigns, and to have been a friend of yours during this period, has been one of the great experiences of my life. I rate it equally with my acquaintance with the great John F. Kennedy.

Your service to our Party is one that many of us younger in years, but perhaps not as youthful as you, will long hold as an example of devotion to our political faith and desire to serve the people. Our Party will always be better because of your being an intricate, active member of it.

The loss of your services as Congressman is partially offset by the fact that you will continue to serve the people and your Party. We gratefully acknowledge and sincerely extend appreciations for your services, but enthusiastically request your continued presence and activity among us.

Your friend,
GORDON ST. ANGELO,
Chairman.

STATE OF INDIANA,
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA OFFICE,
Washington, D.C., January 30, 1967.
Hon. WINFIELD DENTON,
4818 Chevy Chase Boulevard,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR WINFIELD: The State of Indiana lost in the 1966 election more than just a congressman. It lost the man who was acquainted with the needs and the problems of his congressional district, and a man who had given for years his best thought and sincere judgment to the problems of that area.

History will record our great congressmen, and your name will be high on the list. I know that the improvement of the Ohio River, the new locks and dams, will be a living memorial of your efforts and your concern for the future of the southern part of Indiana, as well as the many other projects that you so successfully sponsored in your area. It matters so little what a person has to say about your wonderful record as a congressman. Your work will speak for itself.

Representing Governor Roger D. Branigin and the State of Indiana in Washington, I would like to express my appreciation to you for the untiring efforts on the behalf of the entire state. I want to thank you, Winfield, for the many bits of kindness you have extended to me, as an individual, and as the representative of the governor.

I look forward to the future, and I am counting on your help and your advice to make my efforts here more worthwhile. May we all continue to enjoy your advice and counsel.

Kindest personal regards to you and your wife. May the roads of the future be real bright.

Sincerely,
GEORGE D. GETTINGER.

JANUARY 30, 1967.
Hon. WINFIELD K. DENTON,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR WINFIELD: I am pleased to have the opportunity to express to you my appreciation for the assistance you have given to me and the contributions you have made through the years I have been privileged to work with you. I regret that I will not be able to be with you on Thursday to personally thank you.

Your service to your District, our State and our Nation will always be remembered. I join countless of your friends to say thank you not only for what you have done for each of us individually but also for the many who have benefited from your vision and energy. In the years ahead, the value and magnitude of your efforts will continue to grow. I have been rewarded by having had the good fortune to work with you and for you on many occasions.

My wife joins with me in wishing you and your family many well-deserved years of happiness together.

Sincerely,
RICHARD B. STONER.

Hon. WINFIELD DENTON,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. DENTON: May I too congratulate and compliment you on the tremendous job that you did for the Eighth District while serving in the United State Congress. Your dedication to the Eighth also extended into the Ninth District as well as the entire State of Indiana.

My sincere wishes for your future success, as well as health and happiness to both you and your wife.

Sincerely,
BILL GOEN,
Ninth District Chairman.

INDIANA STATE DEMOCRATIC
CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
January 30, 1967.
Hon. WINFIELD DENTON,
Evansville, Ind.

DEAR MR. DENTON: I join with your many friends in the Eighth Congressional District in congratulations and wishing you continual health and success.

Mr. Democrat of the Eighth District, working with you throughout these years, has been, not only, inspirational but rewarding.

Thanking you always.
Sincerely,
ED.

Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Committee on Appropriations,
Washington, D.C., January 30, 1967.

Dear Mr. Denton: As Chairman of the Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee, and ranking member of the Labor, Health, Education and Welfare Subcommittee, your contributions to the operation of House Appropriations Committee have been most significant.

I am sure it is a great satisfaction to you to know that you have had an important role in building a better America.

On behalf of myself and the other members of the Committee Staff with whom you have worked, I extend best wishes for good health and good fortune in all of your future endeavors.

Sincerely,

Kenneth Sprankle,
Clerk and Staff Director.

Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Committee on Appropriations,
Washington, D.C., February 2, 1967.

Hon. Winifred K. Denton,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Denton: I expect you would remember something that Mr. Cannon said at the luncheon you and the other Members of the Committee gave on the occasion of his 80th birthday anniversary. I recall—like it was only yesterday—his statement that he and Mrs. Cannon agreed that they would not trade the 70–80 decade for any of the other seven of his full and rewarding life.

I hope you may find that also to be your reflection ten years from now.

On his ninetieth birthday, Chief Justice Holmes said that the riders in a race do not stop short when they reach the goal. There is a canter before coming to a standstill. There is time, he said, to hear the kind voice of friends—and to say to one's self, "The work is done". But he hastened to add that just as one says that, the answer comes: "The race is over, but the work is never done while the power to work remains."

Mr. Denton, I want, in so small a way, to repay you for your kindness to me. Kindness is a great Christian virtue—and it is one of yours.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

Paul Wilson.

Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives, Committee on Appropriations,
Washington, D.C., January 31, 1967.

Hon. Winfield K. Denton,
Evansville, Ind.

Dear Mr. Denton: Along with many others on Capitol Hill, I regret that you will not be back with us as a Member of Congress. Certainly, the Subcommittee on the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education and Welfare will miss you. It will miss you both for your conscientious hard work that contributed so much to the efficient conduct of the Subcommittee's business, and your pleasant personality that contributed so much toward making the conduct of that business a pleasant endeavor.

There are many incidents in connection with committee business in which we both participated that will be good memories for me always. For instance, I will always remember the trip to California and Texas that John Fogarty, you, and I took in 1960—the long days visiting government offices, Mexican farm labor camps, etc., and the pleasant evenings with a good dinner, a few drinks, and, best of all, good company. I am still retelling some of your Texas stories. But this could go on for pages.

I hope that you and Mrs. Denton enjoy a great many years of good health and enjoyment together, and that our paths will cross frequently.

Most Sincerely,

Robert M. Moyer,
Clerk, Labor-HEW Subcommittee.

Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives, Committee on Appropriations,
Washington, D.C., January 30, 1967.

Hon. Winfield K. Denton,
Evansville, Ind.

Dear Mr. Chairman: One of the greatest rewards one can achieve is to have the respect and genuine friendship of his associates.

In this respect, I would say you have been most successful. The various individuals who have come to know you through the "appropriation process" invariably voice the phrases "good guy", "hard worker" or "a real square shooter" when referring to you.

Our association during the past two years has been most pleasant and rewarding to me. No staff member has ever had a more understanding and considerate Chairman.

Best wishes and good luck in your future endeavors. You have worked long and hard—I hope you will take time to relax and enjoy life.

Sincerely,

George Evans,
Staff Member.

Mead Johnson & Co.,
Evansville, Ind., January 30, 1967.

Hon. Winfield K. Denton.

Dear Winfield: I am most happy to join with your many friends in honoring you for your long and faithful service to the people of the 8th District, Indiana and the Country.

We are all well aware of your great contributions. But I most particularly remember the great assistance you rendered to the City of Evansville when I was heading the community development program. Your leadership and contributions on behalf of Evansville and the 8th District will long be remembered. And you helped make life a little better for so many who will never know that you were responsible.

I wish you well in your new venture into the practice of law. May your days be just as fruitful in the future as they have been in the past.

Cordially,

William G. Greif.

The Indianapolis News,
Washington, D.C., February 2, 1967.

Hon. Winfield K. Denton,
The Rayburn Office Building,
The Capitol, Washington, D.C.

Dear Winfield: Some ancient Greek once observed that it is not the places that grace men, but men the places. You "graced" Congress and made it a much more pleasant place to cover for working stiffs, like myself, in the press.

To say we shall miss you would be an understatement. One just doesn't live his working days and abruptly end such relationships without long pauses of regret. I particularly appreciate your many kindnesses, generally coupled with considerable patience, over the 14 years I've been in Washington.

I'm sure whatever you plan for the future will be successful. And if you should have any news releases please remember my deadlines are 12 noon and 2 p.m., and I won't try to beat your hometown Evansville papers.

Best of everything to you and your Grace.

Sincerely,

Lou.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided,* That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and condtions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective departments or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

Appendix

Presentation of Distinguished Service Award of Richmond, Va., Chamber of Commerce to Former Senator A. Willis Robertson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 3, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech of presentation of award for distinguished service to former Senator A. Willis Robertson. The award was made by Dr. George M. Modlin, president of the University of Richmond, on behalf of the Richmond, Va., Chamber of Commerce at its centennial banquet meeting on January 19, 1967.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRESENTATION OF AWARD FOR DISTINGUISHED SERVICE TO SENATOR A. WILLIS ROBERTSON BY DR. GEORGE M. MODLIN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF RICHMOND, ON BEHALF OF THE RICHMOND, VA., CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AT ITS CENTENNIAL BANQUET MEETING ON JANUARY 19, 1967

On his 75th birthday, Willis Robertson gave this advice to today's young men and women: "Work and put iron in your blood and backbone. There is no substitute for exercise to build up muscle, nor is there any substitute for work to build the foundation for any worthwhile activity in life."

In an age when too many persons are looking for the short cut, the easy way, it is refreshing to behold a man whose lifetime of distinguished public service has been built on a foundation of hard work.

He was a gangling, six-feet-two, 160-pound boy when, the son of a Baptist preacher, he enrolled in Richmond College in 1903 with two burning desires: to prepare himself for a life of public service and to win a place on the football team. As for the second of these ambitions, he had serious concerns because he feared himself to be "too light for the line and not fast enough for the backfield." That was not the ultimate judgment of his coach, however, nor was it the ultimate judgment of a committee that many years later, in selecting the all-time University of Richmond football team, designated Willis Robertson as one of the three or four greatest tackles in the long history of the institution.

He was a great football player because he worked at it. He was a great statesman because he worked at it. Perhaps his colleague, Senator Ervin, best described the character of the man and the nature of his public service in these words: "While others may have sought the hollow applause of more sensational causes, this Virginia Senator has steadfastly spent his time and intellect on the underlying backbone issues affecting the national economy. As chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee * * * he keeps close watch over the intricate, detailed banking and currency problems of the nation."

He served his State and nation with dedication over a period of 34 years in the House and Senate after earlier distinguished service in the Virginia Senate and as Chairman of the Virginia Commission on Game and Inland Fisheries. His ardor as a sportsman understandably led to devotion to the cause of preserving the state's resources of fish and game. Friends, much younger in calendar years, can attest that as a fisherman and a huntsman he has few equals.

We would like to think that now, with no more Senate roll calls to answer, he could find abundant time for the diversions of field and stream, but the World Bank has seen to it that he will not be a gentleman of leisure. The Bank has persuaded him to serve as a consultant, and happily he has agreed to do this, thus making available to this world agency all of his experience and judgment in banking and financial affairs.

To the scroll of Virginia's illustrious sons who have served with distinction in the halls of Congress, we add the name of A. Willis Robertson—a man of courage and courtliness, a patriot, a man of self-discipline, of industry and, above all, a man of integrity. And if we were asked to summarize the philosophy of this great man, we would quote from one of his own brief meditations on man and the relationship of man to his fellowman: "In his ministry, Jesus taught that the discipline of self involves service to the state and to God. It is not selfish for a man to want to live in a society where the rights of the individual are recognized and protected. But it is our Christian duty to want such a political and economic organization for our neighbors also."

For distinguished service to his State and country and for what he has meant to this City for half a century, on behalf of the Richmond Chamber of Commerce and his many admirers here tonight, it is my honor and my personal pleasure to present this silver tray to our renowned statesman and friend, A. Willis Robertson.

Agricultural Employees Under the Fair Labor Standards Act

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, there is some confusion among farmers relative to the coverage of agricultural employees in the amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act adopted by Congress last year. The effective date of the amendments is February 1, 1967.

Whether a farm will be covered is generally determined by the test of whether 500 man-days of agricultural labor was employed in any calendar quarter during the previous calendar year. There are certain employees exempted from the man-day count as noted in the explanation I will place in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The definition of employee as applied to sharecroppers or tenants has created misunderstanding. Generally, sharecroppers and tenants are covered under the law if their activities are closely guided by the landowner; and they are not covered if the landowner in no way guides, directs, or aids in management of the farming operation. The latter are independent—contractor sharecroppers. However, there is no single rule or test for making such a determination.

Mr. Speaker, many of us were fearful that the inclusion of agriculture in minimum wage legislation would be unduly burdensome by subjecting farmers to unnecessary regulation. I, therefore, voted against the bill in the House. Nevertheless, the majority of the House and Senate favored the principle of covering farmworkers and such is now the law. Because this is a total new experience to farmers, I would hope the Department of Labor would be sympathetic and understanding in administering this provision.

I include at this point excerpts from House Report 1366, 89th Congress, which explains the intent of Congress in regard to agricultural employees in the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966:

The bill amends section 13(a)(6) of the Act so as to extend minimum wage protection to 485,000 agricultural workers. They will remain exempt from the overtime provisions of the law. The minimum wage for covered agricultural workers will be $1 an hour beginning February 1, 1967; $1.15 an hour beginning February 1, 1968; and $1.30 an hour beginning February 1, 1969. Room, board, and other facilities customarily furnished employees by employers are "wages" according to their fair value or reasonable cost as provided for in section 3(m) of the Act.

The committee is fully cognizant of its action in entering the area of agricultural employment. Opponents of this coverage constantly assert that agriculture is an area to which the minimum wage cannot be applied. By limiting the wage increase to $1.30 an hour, the committee is affirming its intention to follow closely the effect of minimum wages in agriculture. It is not, however, subordinating its belief in a minimum wage as a wage below which no employee should be paid. Likewise it is in no way implying that the wage floor for agricultural employees should lag permanently behind that of other protected employees.

Of the agricultural workers to be covered, some 213,000 (44 percent), presently earn less than $1 an hour. Given the initial coverage of such workers at $1 an hour, the wage bill increase for agriculture will be $52 million.

The method of covering agricultural workers received considerable attention. A dollar-volume test, such as that applied to enterprises, is inapplicable in an industry so subject to seasonal variation. The committee decided an equitable and administerable formula would be a test considering the quantity of labor used by an individual farm. This accounting procedure would reflect the variations of farm activity.

Generally, only the employees of large farms will be covered. To be covered, an employee must be employed by an employer who used more than 500 man-days of agricultural labor in any calendar quarter of the preceding year. "Man-day" means any day during any portion of which an employee performs any agricultural labor. If the employer used more than 500 man-days of agricultural labor as specified, all of the employees on that farm are covered by the minimum wage. This is intended to provide protection to the employees of large agri-busines enterprises. Five-hundred man-days is approximately the equivalent of seven employees full time in a calendar quarter. Therefore, it would generally require that a farm have seven or more full-time employees, a cosiderable enterprise in farming, before the employees receive minimum wage protection. The parent, spouse, child, or other member of an agricultural employer's immediate family are not covered.

The calculation of man-days is not a simple count of all workers on a farm. The bill provides that certain agricultural employees not be included in the general count; that is, the labor of certain employees will not be recognized as increasing the man-day count. The employees who will not be included in determining whether or not an individual farm exceeds the 500 man-day criteria are—

(1) the parent, spouse, child, or other member of an agricultural employer's immediate family; or

(2) an employe who (*a*) is employed as a hand harvest laborer and is paid on a piece-rate basis in an operation which has been, and is customarily and generally recognized as having been, paid on a piece-rate basis in the region of employment, (*b*) commutes daily from his permanent residence to the farm on which he is so employed, and (*c*) has been employed in agricutlure less than 13 weeks during the preceding calendar year.

The latter category generally defines local, temporary employees, who work during a crop harvest. The committee did not intend to have the limited labor of these employees raise the man-day count above 500. The committee further believes that an individual employed in agriculture for fewer than 13 weeks should not be considered as an agricultural employee. The effect of including these employees in the man-day count would be to cover the employees of small farms which may utilize extensive local and temporary labor during a harvest season.

It is intended that the minimum wage provisions of the Act be extended to certain sharecroppers and tenant farmers. The test of coverage for these persons will be the same test that is applied to determine whether any other person is an employee or not. Employer, employee, and employ, are all defined terms in the Act. Coverage is intended in the case of certain so-called sharecroppers or tenants whose work activities are closely guided by the landowner or his agent. These individuals, called sharecroppers and tenants, are employees by another name. Their work is closely directed; discretion is nonexistent. True independent-contractor sharecroppers or tenant farmers will not be covered; they are not employees.

The Supreme Court (in *Rutherford Food Corp.* v. *McComb*, 331 U.S. 722 (1947) has made it clear that there is no single rule or test for determining whether an individual is an employee or an independent contractor, but that the "total situation controls." In general an employee, as distinguished from a person who is engaged in a business of his own, is one who "follows the usual path of an employee" and is dependent on the business which he serves. As an aid in assessing the total situation, the Court mentioned some of the characteristics of the two classifications which should be considered. Among those are:

(1) The extent to which the services rendered are an integral part of the principal's business;

(2) The permanency of the relationship;

(3) The opportunities for profit or loss;

(4) The initiative, judgment, or foresight exercised by the one who performs the services;

(5) The amount of investments; and

(6) The degree of control which the principal has in the situation.

The committee fully subscribes to these criteria.

Testimony indicates that there are large numbers of so-called sharecroppers who are not allowed to make a single economic decision regarding the land upon which they live and work. For example, they do not decide what to plant, when to plant, when to harvest, where to purchase seed, or where to sell the product of their labor. For these people, the term "sharecropping" only denotes a means of compensation; it conveys no connotation of independence, individualism, or self-determination. On the other hand, there are true tenant farmers, who make basic economic decisions upon which rest the productivity of the farm and consequently the amount of their compensation. Generally these tenants operate farms owned by absentee landlords. They are unsupervised, make day-to-day decisions necessary to the running of the farm, and share in the profits related to the productivity, for which they are greatly responsible. Such persons are not intended to be covered by the Act.

Average hourly earnings in agriculture were 90 cents in 1964 in the United States. In some States the average falls below 60 cents an hour, and there are reports of wages of 30 cents an hour. Migrant agricultural workers had average annual earnings of only $868 in 1963, and this includes $211 earned during an average of 17 days of nonfarm work. In 1961, in households with three or more farm wage workers, the total year's farm and nonfarm earnings of these family members together averaged only $1,432. This is less than half of th $3,000 income level below which families are considered to be living in poverty.

The two top classes of farms (class I equals $40,000-plus and class II equals $20,000 to $39,999, total value of farm products sold commercially) include only 9 percent of all farms, but they produce 50 percent of all farm output. These two top classes of farms pay out more than 70 percent of the total annual farm wage bill. In fact, class I farms alone pay out more than half of the annual commercial farm wage bill. Very recent sample studies incidate that this concentration of agricultural production and hired labor on large farms has been increasing. Such cost increases, focused primarily upon the largest agri-business enterprises who tend to be the price leaders, would tend to create a more favorable competitive situation for family farm operators. The imputed wage for the family farm operator and his family would no longer be so drastically undermined by the tragic wages of workers on the largest farms. There were 2.6 million households in the United States that contained at least one person who did farmwork for wages in 1962. The total population of these households is 11.2 million persons. Forty percent of these households had an annual income of less than $2,000 and 56 percent of such households had annual income below $3,000.

Between 1950 and 1960 output per agricultural man-hour increased 69 percent compared with 23 percent in nonagricultural employment. From 1960 to 1964, the output per man-hour in agriculture increased 23 percent compared with 13 percent in nonagricultural industries. The labor of 1 farmworker supplied the farm products needs of 11 persons in 1940, 15 persons in 1950, 26 persons in 1960, and 33 persons in 1964. This has been accomplished through the use of improving farming techniques. Mechanical harvesting has made enormous strides and use of fertilizers and other chemical agents has grown rapidly. Despite this gain in productivity, wages of farmworkers have lagged far behind those of workers in nonagricultural industries. Not only have farm labor wages lagged behind those of other workers, but a widening of the gap between agricultural and nonagricultural wages has, in fact, occurred despite the fact that output per man-hour in agriculture was 2.7 times as great in 1964 as in 1947, while in nonagricultural industries it was 1.6 times as great.

The policy of the Fair Labor Standards Act is to provide a wage which will enable a worker to maintain a decent standard of living. If prices were to rise equally or faster than the rise in wages, the real earnings of workers would remain stable or decline. If the price of farm products were to rise more than wages as a result of the coverage of farmworkers, the intent of the legislation would be negated. Thus, the committee looked at the relation of the cost of field labor to the price of farm products to the consumer. The conclusion is clear. Field labor is a very small percentage of costs to the consumer. The cost of bringing seasonal agricultural wages up to the level of about $1.25 an hour is approximately equal to 1 cent per unit for most vegetables and fruits—per pound or per dozen or per head or whatever the ordinary unit may be. If retail prices go up more than that and if the increase is blamed on rising labor costs in the field, the American housewife should demand a complete and immediate congressional inquiry.

Dayton Kelley, of Mary Hardin-Baylor College, Writes of Preservation of Historic Sites in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 3, 1967

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the preservation of historical sites in the United States has long been one of my great interests. This Nation is rich in its heritage for present and future generations, but much of the tangible evidence of its past has been and will be destroyed, unless efforts are made to save it.

It is encouraging that the American people are awakening to this need and that distinguished writers are informing the public of conservation efforts. One such writer is Prof. Dayton Kelley, chairman of the department of journalism at Mary Hardin-Baylor College at Belton, Tex., and a scholar of history.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "Preserving Historical Items In Evidence All Across the United States," written by Dayton Kelley, and published in the Waco Tribune-Herald of January 2, 1967.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Waco Tribune-Herald, Jan. 2, 1967]

HEART O'TEXAS NOTEBOOK—PRESERVING HISTORICAL ITEMS IN EVIDENCE ALL ACROSS THE UNITED STATES

(By Dayton Kelley, Mary Hardin-Baylor College)

It has been a long time since anything caught the fancy of the American public as has the growing interest in historical preservation. Stemming from an interest in the past, the movement has branched out in several different directions to include the preservation of items ranging from small mementoes to antique furniture, from historic sites to fine old houses.

All over the United States people seem to be awakening slowly to the intrinsic and aesthetic value of architectural, cultural and historical remainders of the past and are rushing to preserve as much of that as possible before it disappears beneath the avalanche of progress.

Evidence of the preservtaion movement is seen not only in the individual who collects such items as antique furniture, glassware or books, but also in the groups of individuals who have banded together with the express purpose of preserving some worthy old home, marking appropriately some historic site, or displaying in a museum artifacts and mementoes of the long ago.

Waco's Heritage Society is an excellent example of such a group. Under able leadership, these devoted and dedicated conservationists and preservationists have rescued from destruction some of the finest examples of architecture in the Heart O'Texas area.

Individuals too have put forth great foresight, effort and financial outlay to restore and preserve old homes, fill them with antiques and share them with appreciative audiences of either their friends and neighbors or the general public. Hundreds of Texans of means ranging from modest to affluent now own and enjoy old homes in such towns as Salado, Anderson, Huntsville, and Round Rock to which they commute on week-ends and during vacation periods from larger towns like Houston, Dallas, and Austin.

All the signs of American awakening to the value of the past are encouraging but it appears to have been a long time coming—and still has a long way to go before it reaches full fruition. It all began more than a hundred years ago with the effort of a group of women called the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association to preserve the home of George Washington and reaches from that first preservation effort to the present when even the federal government has become aware of the need to preserve for the future tangible evidences of the past.

It is regrettable that in the interim so much that should have been preserved was lost and is beyond recall.

On the other hand, it is encouraging that such eminent Americans as Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, and members of the United States Congress such as Texas Senator RALPH W. YARBOROUGH, Maine Senator EDMUND S. MUSKIE and New Jersey Representative WILLIAM B. WIDNALL should interest themselves in the movement.

And working hand-in-hand with these are local and state individuals and groups such as Texas' Historical Survey Committees, heritage societies, and other conservation and preservation zealots like John Ben Sheppard of Odessa, Mrs. Kathryn O'Connor of Goliad and architect Raiford Stripling of San Augustine.

Preserving our heritage is a never ending taks in which all Americans can participate with satisfaction and fulfillment.

Footnotes and fan mail: We've been reading up during the past few months on the history of conservation and preservation in these yet young United States, especially in three excellent and enjoyable volumes. These are Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall's "The Quiet Crisis," published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston; Elswyth Thane's "Mount Vernon Is Ours," published by Duell, Sloan and Pearce; and "With Heritage So Rich" published by Random House.

Secretary Udall, whom we met and heard speak at the State Historial Survey Committee meeting in Fort Worth a month ago, does a masterful job of telling Americans of "The Quiet Crisis" being experienced by the need for conservation. The Secretary believes that conservation and historical preservation go hand-in-hand and his narrative traces the conservation movement from the time of the Indians to the present day.

Thanes book is the interestingly-told story of how the Mount Vernon home of the nations first president was rescued from destruction by the determined efforts of a group of ladies and "With Heritage So Rich" is a book of essays and photographs on what historic preservation is and its status today.

Both "Mount Vernon is Ours" and "With Heritage So Rich" ought to be required reading for all Americans interested in the past as well as in what the future holds for America's heritage.

Recommended reading: Houses, like people and nations, have intriguing stories of their own to tell to those who will listen or research to find those stories.

For a long time, the standard guidebook for Texans interested in the states older and more historic homes has been "Early Texas Homes," written by Dorothy Kendall Bracken and Maurine Whorton Redway and published by Southern Methodist University Press. Although published more than 10 years ago, the book is still in print and contains a wealth of photographs and information about homes still standing in Texas.

Richard Pratt's "Houses, History & People," published by M. Evans and Company of New York, is a handsome volume of photos and text about old homes of the United States and W. Darrell Overdyke in "Louisiana Plantation Homes," published by Architectural Book Publishing Co., presents both handsome photos and textual material to tell the story of some of the most imposing homes in the land.

"The Galveston That Was," published by the Macmillan Company, is a treat that no Texan should deny himself, and Roland Van Zandt's portrait of "The Catskill Mountain House" published by Rutgers University Press, is a well documented and lovingly recreated story of one house which came to symbolize an entire era.

Unequal Weight Given to Equal Protection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I find some very solid arguments for a review of the authority now exercised by the Federal courts in an editorial from the Tallahassee Democrat on Sunday, January 29. It is entitled "Unequal Weight Given to 'Equal Protection'." The editorial was written by Malcolm B. Johnson, editor of the Tallahasse Democrat, and it merits reprinting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The article follows:

UNEQUAL WEIGHT GIVEN TO EQUAL PROTECTION

(By Malcolm B. Johnson)

There is in charge of our land a judicial cult which seems to think that one part of our Constitution from time to time becomes more constitutional than another part.

A case in point is last week's assertion by three Florida federal judges that they have authority to "reconstitute" the representative bodies of our State government in an effort to conform to some mathematical formula the Supreme Court requires but hasn't defined.

They do this by assigning more validity to the Supreme Court's interpretation of the "equal protection" clause of the 14th Amendment than they do to Section 4 of Article IV which plainly says "the United States shall guarantee to every state in this union a republican form of government."

The "republican" form of government which the Constitution mentions was well-understood by the drafters; and it is well understood today by students of government and those who can read the dictionary. Webster defines a republic:

". . . a state or nation in which the supreme power rests in all the citizens entitled to vote (the electorate) and is exercised by representatives elected directly or indirectly by them and responsible to them."

DEMOCRACY FETISH

We have today in Florida a Legislature composed of 117 Representatives and 48 Senators, chosen by the people from among candidates who ran in districts set up by other elected legislators trying sincerely to achieve fair apportionment of representation.

Can anyone successfully argue that this Legislature isn't more republican in form than the federal judiciary, which is made up of men appointed for life, representing no one, elected by no one and responsible to no one for their bad judgments?

Yet these authoritarian federal judges, whose only oath was to uphold the Constitution (including its guarantee of a republican form of state government) presume to dissolve and reconstitute the republican lawmaking bodies of those states by decree.

The fact is that they are relentlessly remolding our government from a "republic" into a "democracy" by blind subservience to a fetish and a recently court-written ideal of "one man-one vote" which is foreign to every clause of the Constitution (save one, perhaps).

NOT IN THE BOOK

Now, you have to watch those words "republican" and "democracy" because their governmental meanings have been distorted by use as political party labels and politicians' oratory.

But "democracy" is as fully understood by scholars of government as "republican." In its purest form, it would by-pass representation and provide for decisions by direct vote of all the people. That is the ultimate, the only absolute, application of "one man-one vote." Common sense tells you this would mean every-man-for-himself until some tyrant, some judicial priesthood, stepped in to give and enforce law.

If that's where we want "one man-one vote" to lead us, let us write "democracy" into the Constitution of the United States. The word isn't there now, and never has been, in any of its forms. It would have been abhorrent to the drafters, who feared democracy more than the monarchy they had just overturned.

Our Supreme Court got to "one man-one vote" by reading a guarantee of "equal protection of the law" in the 14th Amendment to mean "equal representation in making law." That's the only use of the word or consept of "equality" in the Constitution—and to anyone but a lawyer or judge, it is stretched pretty far in this context—particularly when you read it along with the guarantee of a republican form of government.

REDS MAY TEACH

Also last week, the Supreme Court ruled the State of New York couldn't have a law denying school teaching jobs to Communists—even though it was passed by representatives of patrons who, through a republican form of government, said they didn't want Reds teaching their children. (Here, in addition, was a confusion of rights. The court said such a law infringed on freedom of speech; but the right to state a political belief doesn't carry with it the right to be hired to teach it—or to teach anything—to little children against the wishes of parents.)

In California, a while back, the people voted 2–1 for an amendment to their State Constitution which would prohibit any law that wouldn't let a man choose the person to whom he would sell or rent his property. This direct action by the people was overturned by the courts because it seemed to violate the "equal protection" clause. Again, the courts placed "equal protection" on a higher plane than the right of a people to a republican form of government. "Equal protection" also was rated above the guarantee that property may not be taken without "due process of law." (Due process is guaranteed twice in the Constitution, once in the very same sentence with "equal protection.")

UNEVEN-HANDED

Federal courts ruled the State of Georgia must continue to operate its university, and the State of Virginia couldn't withhold tax money from public schools, if it were done to avoid racial desegregation. Where is "republican" government if an unelected court can force the elected officers of a state to levy taxes to support institutions the people would be willing to close?

Equal protection vs. republican government isn't the only issue on which our courts attach varying values to provisions of the Constitution.

The 5th amendment guarantee against self-incrimination has been given a heavier weight than the service of "general welfare" and "domestic tranquility" which are set forth among the purposes of our Constitution. There even is some indication of criminals getting more protection than their victims. Where is "equal protection" in these rulings?

Examples are endless. Yet we talk about even-handed justice. We'll never get it as long as we let judges read the law as they please; nor as long as we have lawyers encouraging them to do it by basing appeals on the most recent rulings favorable to their side instead of on the Constitution itself.

We must stick to the rules of government as they are written in the Constitution; or write a new Constitution, and stick to it. The ultimate alternative is anarchy, which can only be beaten down by tyranny.

United States Should Not Become an International Don Quixote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 3, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Don Quixote to the World," published in the Wall Street Journal of February 1, 1967. The editorial relates to Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor's new book entitled "Responsibility and Response."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DON QUIXOTE TO THE WORLD

Coming from one of the principal architects of Vietnam policy, it makes pretty interesting reading: The United States, writes General Maxwell D. Taylor, should not "become an international Don Quixote, trying to rescue the distressed and punish the unjust in every quarter."

That refrain, which runs throughout the General's new book "Responsibility and Response," does not mean he has now decided it was a mistake to get involved in Vietnam and that we should simply withdraw. On the contrary, he sees little in the way of an acceptable alternative to present strategy and thinks our Government did the right thing in the first place. Significantly, however, he adds that it was "more from instinct than from sound judgment based on an analysis of alternatives and consequences."

In other words, while realizing the U.S. is stuck with it, the one-time ambassador to Saigon is plainly troubled by many aspects of the Vietnam war and its implications for the future. We believe his is a perfectly reasonable and respectable position.

One problem in his experience is Washington's hair-raisingly bureaucratic approach—as though fighting a grisly guerrilla war and trying to deal with the successive "eggshell" governments in Vietnam were not enough. Here is part of his account:

"At one time we had on our books at the embassy in Saigon 21 military, 42 nonmilitary and 12 intelligence programs for which we were required to furnish progress reports to Washington. Since many of these were pet projects sponsored by some important agency back home, it was never easy to get rid of them."

As for coping with those Saigon regimes, the General observes simply: "One cannot work effectively with a government which does not exist or which has just been formed."

To him (and to us) the lesson is as clear as it is important. The U.S. must take careful account of the political situation in any country it is considering giving military aid. It should not rush into places where there is no likelihood of political stability for the indefinite future. It should be slow to commit itself to any country until it has identified adequate and compatible indigenous leadership.

A degree of political effectiveness is not the only criterion the Taylor viewpoint would apply to future "wars of national liberation," as the Communists are pleased to call their mischief-making. We must weigh the consequences of intervention much more cogently and in a much more hard-boiled fashion than was the case with Vietnam. "We cannot afford to stake our world standing on a lost cause or on one with unduly high risks of failure."

The ultimate criterion, of course, is the nature and extent of the American interest. And that can be a very rubbery yardstick indeed.

It is impossible to prove conclusively, for example, that America's interests were sufficiently threatened in Vietnam to cause the kind of response that has developed. Our guess is that they were not. That is, the potential Asian threat to the U.S. is Red China, and it might have been better to meet it elsewhere, although once in Vietnam one cannot merely abandon the effort. But certainly if the Vietnam model were followed in the years ahead, the U.S. could be embroiled in too many places.

Instead of assuming that the Nation must fight against every single Communist outbreak, we believe the national-interest guide will have to be defined more narrowly. Is the particular occasion a direct threat to the national interest or only a vague, tangential one? And we suspect that as a result of the Vietnamese experience our political leaders will in fact be quite careful. We hope so.

In the meantime General Taylor has provided a concise case against casual intervention. It is a case for extreme caution and high selectivity.

Famed Geneticist Dr. Laurence H. Snyder Retires at University of Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA
OF HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, with the retirement in mid-January of Dr. Laurence H. Snyder, senior professor of genetics and president emeritus of the University of Hawaii, a long and distinguished career in the field of education has come to an end.

Dr. Snyder came to the University of Hawaii as its president in 1959, and his contributions have been far reaching in the development of this institution as a great center of learning.

In reviewing his career for the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, the internationally renowned geneticist recalled his early student days at Rutgers University where, after listening to a half hour lecture on heredity, he said he became "absolutely fascinated" with the subject and persuaded his academic mentor, Dr. William John Crozier, to teach Rutgers first course in genetics. Being a member of the initial three-student genetics class was the beginning of Dr. Snyder's scientific career which resulted in his international fame as the "Father of Human Genetics," a science the growth of which he helped foster from a classical study of hypothetical genes to a molecular study of genes with written chemical compositions.

Dr. Snyder's academic career took him to North Carolina State University, where he founded the department of genetics, and to Ohio State University, where he taught some 34,000 students over a 17-year period. At Ohio State, he established and taught the first genetics course ever to be offered at any medical school in the United States. Genetics is now a required course in nearly all the medical schools in the country.

The academic scope and vision of this brilliant educator is reflected in his belief that the humanities, the social sciences, and the arts should receive as much attention as is paid to the physical sciences. He stated that:

> It would be a terrible thing if the balance between science and creativity gets lopsided.

If Dr. Snyder's prediction that the next century will find genetics taking a big step forward in producing cures for hereditary diseases proves correct, it will in no small part result from the forward strides taken during the 20th century by Dr. Snyder and the vital role he has played in this important field.

Geoffrey Chaucer could have been speaking of Dr. Snyder when he penned the words:

He shall gladly learn and gladly teach.

This medical missionary's son, whose early love of birds and plants and people led him into the field of natural science and education, shared the knowledge he learned with mankind, and he leaves a legacy of learning for which we are truly grateful.

Mr. Speaker, I know that my colleagues in the Congress would want to join with us in Hawaii in honoring this outstanding educator as he drops the mantle of duty, and wish him Godspeed with the hope that he will now have greater opportunity to enjoy many of the pursuits he had very little time to follow during his active years.

I am pleased to submit for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the following story on Dr. Snyder which appeared in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin on Wednesday, January 11, 1967:

FAMED GENETICIST DR. LAURENCE H. SNYDER RETIRES AT UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII—"NO MORE ALARM CLOCKS" SAYS GENETICIST AS HE REVIEWS CAREER

(By Judy Chase)

"I had a little dog.
His name was Rover.
And when he died,
He died all over."

"That's how I'm going to retire—all over," says Dr. Laurence H. Snyder, senior professor of genetics at the University of Hawaii.

Dr. Snyder, internationally famed geneticist and president emeritus of the university, will retire Friday at the age of 65.

This means "more more deadlines, no more alarm clocks" and no round-the-world chases to deliver lectures.

Dr. Snyder's not retiring from practicing "songs written before the days of television" on his piano, tending his garden of 300 rare big-leaf plants with Mrs. Snyder, reading and finishing a book based on lectures to Hawaii doctors during eight years.

After all, he's still as young as the twinkle in his eye.

Somehow it seems just like him to recite a favorite childhood rhyme to express his thoughts.

Thinking as far back as he can remember into those carefree days as the son of a medical missionary, Dr. Snyder recalls that "I always knew I wanted to be a natural scientist of some sort. I loved birds and plants and people."

ORIGIN OF INTEREST

He never thought about genetics—a very young field in 1920—until his biology professor at Rutgers University in New Jersey devoted about half of a lecture hour to heredity.

"I was absolutely fascinated," Dr. Snyder says.

So fascinated, in fact, that he convinced Dr. William John Crozier, the man to whom Dr. Snyder feels most indebted academically, to teach Rutgers's first course in genetics.

"He wouldn't agree to teach a special course unless I could find two other people willing to take it, which I couldn't.

"Finally, I had to rope my roommates into taking it with me. Both of them were engineering students who weren't a bit interested in genetics. But I'll be eternally grateful to them both for jumping in with me."

Since that first three-man genetics class, Dr. Snyder has become known as the "Father of Human Genetics," a science the growth of which he helped foster from a classical study of hypothetical genes to a molecular study of genes with written chemical compositions.

It seems he's left a genetic "offspring" just about every place he's been.

ACADEMIC CAREER

Dr. Snyder founded the Departments of Genetics at North Carolina State, where he held his first job, and the University of Hawaii, where he's finishing up his last.

At Ohio State, where he taught some 34,000 students "nothing but genetics" for 17 years, he established and taught in 1933 the first genetics course ever to be offered at any medical school in the United States.

Today there is hardly a medical school in the country that doesn't require genetics.

"Identifying in quite a number of different types of diseases and anomalies genetic factors that were not understood before," has been his most important contribution to his field, he says when asked to single out one.

Relaxing at home in Manoa dressed in an informal shirt that is typical of him, Dr. Snyder sat reviewing his entire 45-year career in genetics during which he realized he has only one regret.

NEXT 50 YEARS

"I wish I could work at it another 50 years," he said.

In the next century, he predicts that genetics will take a big step forward and produce cures for hereditary diseases.

"Most genetic diseases in human beings, of which we know several hundred," he said, "are caused by the failure of an enzyme.

"My guess is that genetics will begin to synthetically produce enzymes and get them into the body cells to replace the old ones.

"We have the environmental diseases pretty well conquered now, but we still don't know how to cure the genetic diseases.

"Undoubtedly, it will be possible to build life synthetically in the future, though I don't know that that's anything to look forward to," he added.

"I do look forward to bringing back health through genetics."

WISHES, PREDICTIONS

While peering into the future, Dr. Snyder, who came here in 1959 to be University of Hawaii president (for three years), made a few retirement wishes for the university and a few predictions for U.S. universities of the 21st century.

"When I came here," he said, "the university offered every challenge you could possibly want. From just a college that time, it is now becoming a fine university."

In the future, he'd like to see the University of Hawaii at Manoa become more and more of a graduate school and research center with a reasonably small undergraduate section and the rest of the undergraduates taken care of at the community colleges.

"I'd like to see the medical school flourish and other professional schools such as law come in," said the man who himself made the College of Engineering a separate college at the university.

"And I'd like to see as much attention and money paid to the humanities, social sciences and arts as is paid to the sciences.

"Today anyone in science can get money for research. It's just waiting to be asked for—to burn, so to speak. The same is not true of the creative fields.

"It would be a terrible thing if the balance between science and creativity gets lopsided."

LIBERAL ARTS

Dr. Snyder believes that the liberal arts emphasis at United States universities in general can't help but increase in the future.

He laughed when he remembers how strictly he had to discipline himself to learn something about "such things as history and government and most other liberal arts subjects for that matter."

But he said liberal arts education is something that lasts a lifetime while technical education lasts only until the next set of new inventions.

"Big business, government and the military are realizing more and more the importance of liberal arts education and showing it in selections of people for professional jobs."

The American university of the 21st century will have much more student participation in its administration, if Dr. Snyder's forecast proves correct.

"We are already seeing this trend now, and I think it's a good one as long as students take responsibility seriously. I don't like what's been happening at Berkeley recently."

Dr. Snyder also has a future vision of the undergraduate teacher in a position of much greater importance than today.

"The dignity of the undergraduate teacher has been lowered somewhat, because of hero-worship of professors doing research and publications," he said.

"However, I do think the balance between teaching and research will come back again."

Reflecting a moment on undergraduate teaching—the subject dearest to his heart—he said that the most meaningful experience of his career came every year when students came to him and said: "All of a sudden, you've made biology come alive for me."

Most of the hundreds of thousands he may have inspired in his day don't realize this, but everytime Dr. Snyder gets up in front of a class he gets "goosepimples."

"Even after 45 years, I put so much of myself into every class and every lecture that I actually get scared beforehand."

Dr. Snyder's last two days in class promise to be no exceptions.

Twentieth Anniversary of Radio Station WAVA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 3, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a message of congratulations to radio station WAVA on the occasion of its 20th anniversary.

There being no objection, the message was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I would like to take this opportunity to cite a public service in the metropolitan Washington area with which I am certain you are familiar. I refer to WAVA, the first and only "All News" Radio station in the Washington-Virginia-Maryland area, now celebrating its 20th Anniversary. Special recognition upon this is due to the outstanding efforts of its President, Mr. Arthur W. Arundel, who founded this all-news broadcast service here.

The concept of all news radio is a complete departure from the usual pre-programed musical format of radio stations with news at the hour and half hour. This unique station must be able to respond to any difficulty the moment it arises and at the same time maintain a constant flow of informative, factual and interesting material. WAVA has many times demonstrated its ability to so respond.

An outstanding example of this occurred during the Blizzard of '66. WAVA then went into a full time News Alert, providing a constant means of mass communication to the people of this area. WAVA reporters worked hand in hand with area police, fire department and military helicopter rescue services giving stranded listeners at home, office and in their cars assurance and news of the Blizzard situation.

WAVA has established a system by which Metropolitan area police and fire departments may, by using a special priority code, communicate with the listening audience. This was demonstrated during the recent Autumn flooding in areas around Washington as over six inches of rain fell in a few hours. Area police and fire departments then broadcast live over WAVA facts important to the safety of life and property.

These, of course, are more dramatic examples. The station's day to day value is that in this news-oriented area citizens now have a means of staying informed on what is taking place in the city, the nation, and the world simply by tuning to 780 on their AM radio dial, or 105.1 on FM. They do not have to wait for a certain time of day or for the printing of a newspaper, although Mr. Arundel is the first to say that no broadcast news service will ever be but a poor imitation of the depth reporting of a good neswpaper.

I'm sure, Mr. President, you will join me in extending sincere congratulations to a pioneering effort that has achieved success, not only financially, but more importantly as a public service to the citizens of the national capital area.

Hometown Lauded for Storm Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARRY BROWN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. BROWN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, there was a general uprising in central Michigan last weekend to fight a common enemy—the snow. Every community—no matter how large or small—was paralyzed by the worst storm in more than 40 years which dumped more than 2 feet of snow in a 24-hour period. But the real news was not in how the wind blew or how the snow fell in record heaps. The big news was what one neighbor did for another, brought closer together by a deep, white band.

There were hundreds of reports of people, joining in with their neighbors to dig out, get food and meet the situation effectively. One such report deals with my hometown of Schoolcraft, Mich. It is with a great deal of pride that I include this account from the Kalamazoo Gazette of January 30, 1967, in the RECORD, for when Schoolcraft residents and visitors tell future generations about how they witnessed the "blizzard of 1967" they will have to add they live in or visited one of the world's finest communities.

The article follows:

[From the Kalamazoo Gazette, Jan. 30, 1967]

WARMING ADVENTURE—SCHOOLCRAFT HOST TO 500 SNOW GUESTS

SCHOOLCRAFT.—More than 500 persons agree today that if you have to be snowbound, Schoolcraft is a good place to be.

When the storm closed in Thursday afternoon, Schoolcraft residents and merchants opened their doors and their hearts to stranded motorists, truckers and travelers.

Most of the 500 people were guests until late Saturday afternoon, and some appeared reluctant to head for home and end the heart-warming adventure in this small Kalamazoo County village.

With the first reports of trouble on U.S. 131, the expressway that cuts through the heart of this town, volunteer groups were organized to lead the stranded motorists to safety and comfort in homes, offices and public buildings.

An even 100 persons found their way to the home of Laurence Middlebush north of the village near the Shaver Road exit.

Two school buses made their way to the Middlebush home Friday morning and transported most of the stranded guests to storm facilities in the village.

About 82 persons dropped in out of the storm at the home of John Wyant on U.S. 131, south of the village.

Thursday night a group of men loaded a toboggan with pancake flour, eggs, milk, bacon and bread and trekked out to the Wyant home.

The overflow of storm refugees at the Middlebush house was taken to the Randel Burson farm half way between the Middlebush home and the village. At one time 46 persons were counted there.

In the village, D. B. Leonardelli, Gary Steeby and other community leaders organized volunteer work parties. Leonardelli a Western Michigan University staff member, set up emergency headquarters in the Kalamazoo County State Bank building. It served as a liaision center for directing people to shelter, routing food to the homes with unexpected guests and receiving emergency and medical calls.

The Masonic Temple was opened as the community food center, and meals were prepared on an almost continuous basis from Thursday night to Saturday afternoon when the major routes were reported open.

Harding's Market worked overtime grinding hamburgers to feed the hungry workers and snowbound people. A farmer who became stuck en route to Kalamazoo Thursday with 60 dozen eggs found his cargo welcome at the Masonic Temple.

The crews checking the stalled cars along the highway found one woman partially overcome with carbon monoxide. She was taken in a wrecker truck to the bank office where she was examined by Dr. Charles Bates. The doctor advised the woman to stay in the bank and rest, and a cot was set up for her.

Telephone calls and word of mouth spread messages through the community of what items were needed and where. Citizens carried in huge armloads of bedding and collapsible cots to the bank building and Westminster Hall of the Presbyterian Church.

Residents of the Sugar Loaf Trailer Park gathered together extra food supplies and carried them to the Middlebush home.

One emergency medical call was received, Mrs. Kenneth Kline, an expectant mother, fell down a flight of stairs. Although she was not injured she said she was afraid to stay too far from medical assistance. Two men with a snowmobile went to the Kline home seven miles west of the village and brought her back to relatives in town.

When a milk shortage threatened, leaders at the emergency storm center in the bank called for a reserve supply to be set aside for babies and small children. The supply was not needed.

Throughout the time the village was cut off from the rest of the world, two tractors with caterpillar treads worked to haul out trucks and cars lining the highway in both directions.

In the Masonic Temple kitchen, truck drivers pitched in to help wash the tide of dishes that flowed in from the dining hall area.

Children ran messages between volunteer work groups, and teenagers formed shoveling and car-pushing teams. A spirit of friendship and coperation pervaded the community.

Many of the truckers chose to remain together in the Wyant home, declining the invitation of sharing facilities in Westminster hall.

With the opening of roads Saturday, Kalamazoo residents could make their way home from Schoolcraft over the South Vicksburg Road and Sprinkle Road. By afternoon U.S. 131 was broken open and wayfarers were bidding farewell to their new-found friends.

Addresses were exchanged, and many promised to return to Schoolcraft in brighter weather to pay their thanks to their hosts in the village.

Downright Scandalous

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE SKUBITZ

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, possibly the least understood of all the undertakings of our Government is the maintenance of our national debt. With increasing regularity, the Members of Congress are instructed to "raise the ceiling" on the national debt—a task which is looked upon by many as being as routine as the rollcall. Whether or not we will let habit cultivate our consent to this "ceremony" remains to be seen. Personally, I feel there are limits.

In the Washington Daily News of February 1, 1967, Editor Richard Hollander "pulled out all the stops" in his discussion of our debt ceiling. I commend this editorial to the attention of my colleagues:

DOWNRIGHT SCANDALOUS

Once again Congress is required to raise the ceiling on the national debt and the arguments for this are the same as usual.

But Treasury Secretary Fowler, as he told it, is more desperate than ever. If Congress doesn't raise the leaky debt ceiling from $330 billion to $337 billion at once, he said, millions of Americans won't get what's coming to them—because the Government won't be able to borrow enough to pay them.

In immediate jeopardy, he said, would be Social Security benefits, veteran pensions and retirement pay for former military and civilian employes of the Government. He said "other millions" would be affected directly or indirectly: Taxpayers who have refunds coming, Government employes who have salaries coming, people on public assistance, people depending on medicare, people due unemployment benefits, farmers eligible for subsidies, contractors and suppliers who have furnished the Government services and materials.

This is downright scandalous.

Social Security, unemployment benefits, medicare and retirement allowances for military and Government employes come out of trust funds—and however hogwild the Government may go on spending otherwise, these funds should not be involved.

Mr. Fowler told Congress any delay in raising the debt limit to $337 billion would be "disastrous." If Congress doesn't make the new ceiling effective by Feb. 28, he said, the Government won't be able to pay its bills.

He no doubt is right. If the Government couldn't pay its bills it would be disastrous—not only because the bills weren't paid but more seriously because of the effect on the Government's credit and the effect on the prestige of the dollar.

But how does the Government get into this fix year after year? Because the Administration spends too much. And Congress appropriates too much. They both know that if they spend more than the Government takes in they will have to borrow more. And they go right on doing it.

Congress has no choice but to raise the debt limit—because the Administration has incurred the bills and Congress has approved of this. Each is in a bind of its own making—the Administration because it wilfully spent more than it budgeted, Congress because it authorized this excess spending.

As Mr. Fowler said, this is not the time for economy-minded congressmen to cast their protest votes; the time was last year when the appropriations bill were passed. But Congress at this session can put an end to this sham battle over raising the debt limit either by (a) reducing spending or (b) raising taxes, or both.

The Milwaukee Sentinel Tells How To Modernize State and Local Governments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 16, 1967

Mr. **REUSS**. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the Milwaukee Sentinel for February 1 discusses the reasoning underlying H.R. 1166, a bill to improve intergovernmental relationships between the United States and the States and muncipalities, and the economy and efficiency of all levels of government, by providing Federal block grants for States and localities which take steps to modernize State and local government.

The editorial follows:

A PLAN WITH MERIT

Among plans for providing federal aid to state and local governments is one by Rep. Reuss (D-Wis.) calling for a 15 billion dollar program of grants to encourage these governments to modernize and strengthen themselves. Whatever its imperfections and the potential threat of federal domination, the plan deserves attention.

The grants, under the terms of the Reuss bill, would be available in two stages. First, each state would receive federal money out of a 50 million dollar fund to prepare within 18 months a blueprint for modernizing its own state and local governments.

These plans would have to include specific recommendations for strengthening the state and local governments as, for example, by reducing the number or eliminating local governments too small to provide efficient administration; reforming personnel practices to bring them under merit systems; granting home rule powers to reform local governments; improving local property tax administration; authorizing transfers of specified functions between cities and counties; modernizing state constitutions; creating interstate compacts.

These plans would be reviewed by one of four regional co-ordinating committees, to be created by the Reuss bill, and by the advisory commission on intergovernmental relations. If these two agencies adjudge a plan submitted by a state to show sufficient creativity, that state would then qualify for federal grants, to be made over a three year period starting in 1970 or 1971, out of the proposed 15 billion dollar fund. Half of the money going to a state would have to be passed on to its local governments.

Some dangers of thus investing a federal agency with such vital decisions would appear to be avoided under the Reuss proposal which provides that these regional coordinating committees are to be set up by the governors of the states in the various regions, with the governors designating the representatives of his state on the co-ordinating committees. State and local interests would, thus, seem to be adequately protected.

Reuss says that the other tax sharing plans would be pouring federal money down a rat hole unless the states reinvigorate themselves and their local governments to meet the challenges of the late 20th century. Ample support for Reuss' thesis can be found in the numerous examples of the failures of ineffective, fragmented state and local governments unequipped to meet the needs of their citizens. Many of these failures flow not from a lack of will or of an absence of dedicated public officials, but from antiquated governmental structures.

The Reuss plan might make for more effective use of federal programs at the state and local levels. But, more important, it could prod those governments into providing themselves with the tools to govern themselves. If state and local governments do not do the job, and the federal government assumes full responsibility and authority, they will eventually atrophy and die.

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Appendix

The Challenge of ZIP Code Can—and Must—Be Met

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE R. POOL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, last Tuesday, January 31, a portion of my remarks in the RECORD were not printed; therefore, I would like to bring the full text to the attention of my colleagues, an article entitled "The Challenge of ZIP Code Can—and Must—Be Met," written by Mr. Emanuel Cohen, of Mailmen, Inc., Syosset, N.Y. No subject is more complicated than the Post Office Department's mandatory requirement that bulk mailers presort their mail by ZIP code sequence. Business firms are being asked to do the sophisticated mail scheming task performed since Franklin's day by postal clerks. Well over a quarter of a billion dollars has been spent by 300,000 bulk mailers to add the five-digit ZIP numbers to their nameplates and computer tapes. In addition to that tremendous cost, business mailers are being called upon to spend quite large additional sums to presort their mail by ZIP code sequence.

Mr. Cohen, a former postal worker, now in private business, is the foremost expert on the handling of ZIP-coded mail. The House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, of which I am a member, has had the distinct privilege of hearing his testimony on the ZIP code program. Moreover, a subcommittee visited Mailmen, Inc., some months ago to learn just how difficult and expensive it will be for mailers to comply with the mandatory order. Mr. Cohen was also generous enough to invite top postal officials to view his operation. Much was learned from these visits.

Inasmuch as individual Members will be hearing from constituents about the complexities of mandatory ZIP coding, Mr. Cohen's article on the subject will be of great value to all concerned with the problem.

The article follows:

THE CHALLENGE OF ZIP CODE CAN—AND MUST—BE MET

(By Emanuel Cohen)

The second phase of ZIP Code is at hand. Until now, most of us in direct mail have been concentrating on adding ZIP numbers to the address without, unfortunately, giving too much thought to phase *two*, the sorting and sacking of mail to 3-digit sectional centers and 5-digit direct sacks. The 5-digits represent either a single ZIP city or the carrier delivery station of the multi-ZIP city.

The time has come to set the record straight on many things. Some of us, and particularly those of us who have served on the unofficial Harry Maginnis Technical Advisory Committee, have been misrepresented as obstructionists, as being opposed to ZIP Code and to progress. The facts are that we "obstructionists" may be the best friends the Post Office has. Unlike the sycophants with their horse blinders who have said an automatic "yes" to anything proposed, it has been the so-called obstructionists who have advocated proper tools to work with and a proper time allowance in which to apply the tools.

We would remind those of you who are now discovering the complications of the new sacking and sorting requirements that this was pointed out in chart form in testimony before the Olsen subcommittee about a year and a half ago and that the validity of this chart has not been refuted to this day. In that same testimony we endorsed ZIP Code as a solution to the internal problems of the Post Office and offered testimony about applying these principles of ZIP Code as far back as 1949. We cannot but wonder about those among us who mouth stirring generalities, offer no solutions, answer no questions and help no one.

Now the "obstructionists" are back again. This time our hope is that we can explain some of the problems we are faced with.

DIVIDE LISTS INTO SIX CATEGORIES

The facts are that in order to mail at bulk rates, we must realize that the sorting and sacking requirements are paramount and that lists will have to be prepared in accordance with these requirements if their use is to remain economically feasible. Based on the amount of handling required, we have divided *fully-ZIP Coded lists* into six categories.

We do not say that these six categories are definitive. We are open to all suggestions. What we are striving for is a standard nomenclature to apply to lists so that purchasers will know that no matter from whom these lists are secured (whether direct or from a list broker) the list category will automatically indicate to the purchaser how complicated the sorting will be and enable him to properly evaluate his total package cost.

Category One. ZIP Numerical Sequence.

This is the easiest type of list to sort and sack. Theoretically, it should not require more than one sack at a time to handle the list. It is the closest equivalent to the handling of an alpha-geo list before ZIP. However, mailers are faced with increased costs since there is a potential usage of 930 sacks (there are approximately 930 3-digit numbers already assigned out of a possible 999) as opposed to 50 sacks—one for each state under the old system.

Category Two. Alpha-Geo With Multi-ZIP Cities in Numerical Sequence.

There are a number of ways to sort and sack such a list. Basically, however, since sectional centers are geographic by definition, it is necessary to use a set of sack racks when working an alphabetic list. There should be a separate sack for each section of the state being worked. Thus Alabama would require only 15 sacks. California would take 31 and Utah would need only 5.

It would be advisable to have an additional sack in each case for use for each multi-ZIP city as you come to it. This requires a lot of floor space, many racks etc. and is slower than working a *Category One* list.

Category Three. Alpha-Geo List With Multi-ZIP Cities in Random Sequence.

Everything discussed in *Category Two* applies. In addition, however, the 314 multi-ZIP cities must be pieced out to the last two digits. In a representative national list, the 314 multi-ZIP cities can be as much as 50% of the list. Obviously the processing of this list takes more time, requires more work and will necessarily cost more.

Category Four. SCF (Sectional Center Facility) Sequence.

This is a list that is already by 3 digits. Each piece must now be sorted down to the last two digits for the sectional center facility or the multi-ZIP city for proper tying and sacking.

Category Five. State Sequence.

All the names for each state are together but the cities are in random sequence. Such a list requires two full handlings. The first handling is by 3 digits, thus reducing the list to a *Category Four*. The second handling is for the last two digits within the SCF or the multi-ZIP city.

Category Six. Random.

Theoretically, this requires three full handlings; the first by state reducing to a *Category Five;* secondly, each state is sorted to 3 digits, becoming a *Category Four;* and finally, each SCF or multi-ZIP city is sorted by the last two digits and tied and sacked. It must be realized that every shop must establish its own internal procedures to shorten the number of handlings without sacrificing proper handling of the mail.

WHY PROBLEMS ARISE

Up to now every list we have seen has fit into one of these six categories. There are variations. For example, the list that runs from Alabama to Wyoming but is in numerical sequence within each state is a *Category One* list. If you examine the handling requirements for the six categories carefully, you realize that a blending of lists can be prohibitively costly. Although you may protest that this is not required, you are falling into a trap.

What are you going to do with a series of lists that are rented as one list? The last three combinations observed by us were as follows:

1). Two *Category Three* lists, each running from Alabama to Wyoming, with *one* key assigned, and therefore mandatory blending required.

2). Three *Category One* lists, each state in numerical sequence, represented as a single list, one key assigned, and mandatory blending required.

3). Three lists, one a *Category One,* one a *Category Three* and one only partially ZIP Coded, represented as a single list. Due to the nature of the third list involved, blending is impossible since not all names are ZIP Coded.

In each case the purchaser was appalled at the cost involved and in each case he said he would gladly have purchased each list separately had he known it was, in reality, not one list. Such instances are not due to any attempt to mislead, they are due to lack of undersanding of the sorting and sacking required. Hopefully, after publication of this article, such combinations will disappear.

Another area that requires correction is the proper packing and identification of the lists. If a list is on Cheshire tape, the sequence of rolls should be marked. If a list is addressed to envelopes or order cards, it must be packed properly, preferably only one row to a box. Each box in a carton should be numbered and each outer carton numbered in sequence. Failure to do so, especially in the case of lists addressed directly to envelope or order card can convert a *Category One* list into a *Category Three* price since it becomes necessary to reset the whole list. And always include the customer's name and the key number assigned on each carton.

Due to the fact that some sectional centers service so many offices that more than one 3-digit number must be assigned, there is a built-in regression factor involved in the proper sacking of the mail. Ordinary common sense tells you that a list of the number of names in each 3-digit sectional center and for each of the 314 multi-ZIP cities would be of considerable value in planning. Each list compiler should make a study and supply a breakout with each rental, or indicate which ZIP Code areas are included in the rental of a partial list. To dignify such an elementary concept with the word "system" is gilding the lily. Any such so-called systems we have seen so far fall short of the mark. It is to the benefit of the mailer as well as the Post Office Department if we regress all the way. It means less mail sacks used, faster delivery service, and less handling by the post office. Halfway regressions become just that, half the job done.

We question the necessity for including a sack break out in the case of an outside rental. This depends on the size of the envelope—#10, 6x9, 9x12—and the contents—3, 4, 5, or 6 pieces—light material, heavy material, thick material, thin material. A good lettershop will determine the sack requirements from the number of pieces in the listing.

Full cooperation within the segments of the industry (list compilers, list brokers, mailers, lettershops) and with the Post Office Department is the order of the day. Frankly we still do not see the need for full 5-digit sorting. However, we must work at it and hope the cost of doing so will not drive anyone out of business.

It will be a Pyrrhic victory indeed if the loss of taxes to the government exceeds the savings to the Post Office Department. When we say cooperation with the Post Office Department, we mean just that. There must be no irrational, childish, spiteful dumping of piece-rate mail into the postal channels. Let's act like adults.

It is our opinion that the Postmaster General holds the second most difficult job in the country, next to that of the President. Let us remember that he administers one of the largest businesses in the country but with major differences that do not apply to private industry. We can sum up these differences by saying that the Postmaster General is handcuffed. Congress fixes the cost of production—salaries—and also the selling price of the service-rates—and he is answerable to the Bureau of the Budget and subject to the actions of the appropriations committee. We sincerely believe that no private industry operating under the same conditions can be run profitably. The Postmaster General needs our understanding and our help. Let's give it to him by communicating any ideas we may have that will speed mail service at reduced cost.

Certificate of Appreciation Awarded to the Textile Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD H. BAKER, JR.

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, we have always been proud that American fighting men are the best trained and best equipped troops in the world. When we became involved in the Vietnam conflict, we found ourselves in a very special type of war which required us to make substantial changes in the type of weapons and clothing our troops use. One area where the demand for large supplies of new materials was particularly acute was the type of clothing and shelter our men needed. We looked to our domestic textile industry for tremendous amounts of duck, tentage, and uniform fabrics. In the period of 1965 to 1966, our military requirements for cotton, manmade fiber, and wool cloth were some 600 million yards. Our domestic textile industry has consistently met these military requirements and at the same time has kept up with the normal civilian needs. This is a tribute to the technology and people who have made our textile industry the greatest in the world.

I was pleased to see that on January 27 the Defense Personnel Support Center in Philadelphia recognized the contribution the textile industry has made to the war in Vietnam by awarding a special certificate of appreciation to the textile industry. The award was received by Mr. J. Burton Frierson, chairman of the board of Dixie Yarns, Inc., of Chattanooga, Tenn., and the immediate past president of the American Textile Manufacturers Institute. I ask unanimous consent that the text of the certificate of appreciation awarded by the Defense Personnel Support Center be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the text of the certificate of appreciation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEFENSE PERSONNEL SUPPORT CENTER,
Philadelphia, Pa.

In recognition of maximum support of the Defense Personnel Support Center's heavy textile requirements by the American Textile Manufacturers Institute from 1 October 1965 to 1 October 1966 to supply the requirements of the United States forces in Southeast Asia, this Certificate of Appreciation is presented to Mr. J. Burton Frierson who served so ably and effectively as its president during this period.

Brig. Gen. JOHN M. KENDERDINE,
U.S. Army.

Is Kerr's Departure a Disaster?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, James J. Kilpatrick's column, which appeared in the Washington Star of February 2, 1967, demonstrates how someone not connected with California can view more objectively the firing of Dr. Kerr as president of the University of California than can someone who is so close to the picture that they cannot see the forest for the trees.

I am quite sure that Mr. Kilpatrick's views coincide with the views of a majority of the voters in California relative to the administration of the University of California and the reasons why it became necessary to make the change. His column follows:

IS KERR'S DEPARTURE A DISASTER?

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

The late Douglas Southall Freeman is best remembered as a famed historian and editor, but he was also for many years an active member of the board of visitors of the University of Richmond. It was in this capacity that he once drafted Freeman's Rules of Parliamentary Procedure for the Governing Boards of Institutions of Higher Learning.

These were quite brief, and went something to this effect:

"The annual meeting having been called to order, the chair shall immediately entertain a motion to fire the president of the university, which motion, being privileged and not subject to debate, shall be put at once to a vote. If the motion carry, the next motion shall be a motion to appoint a committee on succession. If the motion fail, the next motion shall be a motion to adjourn."

The Freeman Rules were drafted with a twinkle of course, but they contained a hard glint of truth. In any effective academic chain of command, a president must be responsible for the university he heads; but the regents must be responsible for the president they choose. Responsibility becomes meaningless unless authority goes with it, and authority has no meaning without the power to exert it.

These truisms apply with special aptness to the recent dismissal of Dr. Clark Kerr as president of the University of California. He had been given full responsibility for running one of the world's great systems of higher learning. In the ten days since his ouster, the liberal press has fairly burbled with praise of his achievements—the Nobel laureates attracted to Berkeley, the endownments added, the buildings erected the research completed—and doubtless a meritorious case can be made in these fileds.

Yet the regents clearly had the responsibility to examine Kerr's total record. As the Freeman Rules suggest, this was very nearly the whole of their responsibility. And it may be that the regents perceived far more clearly than Kerr's admirers have perceived, that his record of achievement could not overcome his record of failure.

The charge against Kerr is not merely that he exhibited weak and inefficient discipline—that he let a part of his kindergarten run the school. The charge is much deeper than his feeble tolerance of a Mario Savio, a Bettina Aptheker. It boils down to a failure on the part of Kerr to comprehend the very essence of a free university, which is that freedom depend upon order.

This is not to say that freedom depends upon regimentation, which is a very different thing. It is merely to say that the pursuit of truth becomes a travesty, when truth must be pursued through an artificial maze of booby traps, pitfalls and kid games. It is not for nothing that we speak of academic "disciplines." But at Berkeley, the very word "discipline" had become a mockery. In his devastating essay on the university's decline, published in Atlantic last fall, Professor Lewis Feuer made precisely this point—that Berkeley had yielded to a perversion of freedom so gross that true freedom was hard put to survive.

In the aftermath of Kerr's dismissal, the trumpeters of instant liberalism sounded a predictable dirge. They blamed it all on Gov. Ronald Reagan (through the motion to dismiss originated with an appointee of former Gov. Edmond G. (Pat) Brown). They charged it to a right-wing political conspiracy (though the majority against Kerr cut across lines of both party and philosophy). A covey of California congressmen—Cohelan, Waldie, Edwards, Burton, Tunney—rushed to the floor to denounce the regents' action as unwarranted, unbelievable, unthinking, ill-considered and disastrous. The New York Times could see only the "twilight of a great university."

This is nonsense. As the whole story emerges and takes on perspective, it becomes apparent that Kerr himself forced a showdown, and that his own glaring faults as an administrator cannot be obscured in an adulatory fog. And far from being a disaster, his dismissal may well prove to be the university's salvation. In exercising their undoubted authority to fire the president, the regents provided a sudden and dramatic reminder of the order that is indispensable to freedom.

Berkeley will survive as a great institution of learning. It is bigger than Kerr, greater than its sometimes dictatorial faculty, more enduring than the forces of bombast and politics that have lately swirled about it. But it cannot regain its prestigious reputation without a new dedication, from top to bottom, to discipline, responsibility and authority. The regents—or at least a solid majority of them—recognize this. A new president will have to recognize it, too.

Need for Antimissile Defense System for United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Investment in Survival," published in the Northern Virginia Daily of Thursday, February 2, 1967. The editorial discusses the views of the distinguished Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON] concerning an antimissile defense system for the United States.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INVESTMENT IN SURVIVAL

Senator Henry Jackson of Washington is an influential member of Congress. He is a member of the Armed Services Committee and the Atomic Energy Committee, two of the Senate's most powerful committees.

Despite his pre-eminence the Washington legislator does not often project himself into the limelight. He is, rather, one of those men who work quietly but effectively behind the scenes. Perhaps because he is more reserved than flamboyant, when Sen. Jackson does speak out on an issue his colleagues are inclined to pay deferential attention.

Sen. Jackson spoke out last week on the advisability of going ahead with an adequate antimissile defense system in the United States. In doing so he diametrically opposed the position taken by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara in his annual military posture report. He does not agree with the secretary that an effective antimissile defense system would be an expensive and unnecessary luxury.

Nor does the senator go along with the secretary's statement that such a system now "would be a waste of time and money." He apparently does not think that the U.S. can continue to rely on its known superiority in offensive weapons—an advantage which, as of now, indicates our ability to destroy an enemy even after we have absorbed an initial attack.

On the contrary, Sen. Jackson urges Congress to proceed immediately to deploy an antimissile defensive system for the purpose of protecting our offensive weapons. In discussing the senator's proposal *Human Events* put it this way:

"Jackson agreed that there were weaknesses in any antimissile defense system, but he said the most important point is whether the Soviet Union believes it can destroy American retaliatory capability. He suggested, therefore, that our offensive missiles be given every sort of protection."

All of which brings us to the question—who's right? Today's total warfare is so all-inclusive, so final, and could be over so quickly, that we cannot afford to guess wrong.

Sen. Jackson estimates the cost of an adequate system at $5 billion, spread over a five year period. He suggests an immediate requirement of $800,000, enough to get the project going. By today's standard of military spending the above figures seem an almost modest investment in survival.

The United States will not launch a nuclear attack. We will wait for the enemy to strike first. In a nation that spends $65 billion a year on defense and the Vietnam War an additional $5 billion, over a five year period, to insure that we will be able to retaliate after the initial enemy blow, appears to be a sensible course.

Sen. Jackson's proposal impresses us as a wise precaution which the nation should take.

National Naval Medical Center Celebrates 25th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, February 5, 1967 marked the 25th anniversary of the National Naval Medical Center. The Center is a world-renowned medical institution, and a significant landmark in the Maryland countryside. This memorable date commemorates a record of past accomplishments of which we can be justly proud. In its 25-year history, the Medical Center has proved itself as the medical, diagnostic, and educational center of the Navy, with numerous contributions to the medical health of the world. It turns out hundreds of hospitalmen, doctors, nurses, and technicians each year, bolsters daily the Navy's rank in medical research and concern for the patient, having admitted over 383,696 patients for treatment since is commissioning in 1942.

The hospital is designated as a treatment center for corneal transplant, radiation therapy, radioisotope studies, surgery for deafness, acrylic ocular prosthesis, open heart surgery, neurologic disorders, thoracic surgery, oncology neurosurgery, plastic surgery, and tropical diseases. In September 1949, the Center established the world's first "bone bank" for the collection, sterilization, and preservation of surplus bone from clean orthopedic surgical cases until it was needed in grafts. As the need for other tissues increases, the "bone bank" was expanded into the tissue bank.

Other notable accomplishments include the first successful attempt to surgically replace a portion of the abdominal aorta in a human patient with a freeze-dried aortic hemograft; installation of the first nuclear reactor for patient therapy in a Navy hospital; and the development of improved therapy techniques for radiation injury by the use of blood, blood products, antibiotics, and bone marrow infusions. In addition, the pioneering efforts of the U.S. Naval Hospital in the development of open heart surgery gave impetus to an increasing use of the pump-oxygenator, popularly called the artificial hear and lung, in cardiovascular surgery.

Congratulations for a job "well done" and happy anniversary.

Statement of National VFW Commander in Chief Leslie M. Fry Concerning President's Message on Veterans Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the United States has cause to consider with gratitude the valor and vigilance of members of our armed services.

Congress this week received a message from President Johnson recommending prompt action to broaden and modernize veterans legislation. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs, I pledge my support. We are mindful of the tremendous sacrifices of service people.

The President has suggested improvements to provide equal recognition and benefits for personnel now serving in Vietnam; to enlarge opportunities for educationally disadvantaged veterans; to expand GI bill educational allowances; to raise amounts for servicemen's group life insurance; to increase pensions for some 1.4 million disabled veterans, widows, and dependents, and to insurance that no veteran's pension is reduced as a result of increases in Federal retirement benefits, such as social security.

Mr. President, the national Veterans of Foreign Wars commander in chief, Leslie M. Fry, commended the President's message to Congress, and I ask unanimous consent that his statement be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VFW CHIEF HAILS PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE ON VETERANS

(Statement of VFW Commander in Chief Leslie M. Fry)

I commend the President for his fine message to the Congress outlining the changes and improvements he sees as necessary to give substance to the Nation's desire to honor every man who wears the uniform of his country. The President has wisely directed the attention of every American to the diverse needs of our veterans in today's world.

He has focused the Nation's attention to the fact that it has not fully discharged its responsibility to those of our young men who have already placed us in their debt but whose lives and major contribution to our Nation fortunately still lie ahead of them. And for those who have perished in Vietnam and other battlefronts the President's message reminds us that we must look to their families and loved ones and serve their needs.

The President has outlined also the course we must take if we are to sustain the programs we have laid down as necessary for the veteran of past wars and his survivors—those who have come down the long road together.

We in the V.F.W. are proud to stand together with the President in pursuit of the goals he has outlined in his message just as we in past years have supported the course he has set for the Nation in Vietnam.

The V.F.W. has spoken out forcefully on the needs of the veteran. We are particularly pleased that the President has authorized a continuing study of veterans programs. We offer our full support and cooperation in this venture and commend the President for the wisdom of this action.

I have today sent the following wire to President Johnson:

"The 1,350,000 members of the V.F.W. of the U.S. welcome your message to the Congress today outlining the steps you consider necessary if the Nation is to honor its commitment to Americans who have borne and today bear arms in defense of our liberty and for the cause of peace to which you are so personally dedicated. It is timely. It focuses attention on the unique sacrifices that a relative few Americans are making tion. You may count on the full support of the V.F.W. of the U.S. in your efforts to fulfill the Nation's obligation to those who have borne the cost of conflict."

Tribute to the Honorable Edwin E. Willis

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues in the House of Representatives in paying tribute to our colleague, the gentleman from Louisiana, Edwin E. Willis. I am pleased and happy to know that his health is improved. It is gratifying to have him return to active participation on legislative matters which so typify his dedication to the deliberations of this body.

Congressman Willis and I first came to the House in the 81st Congress and I deem it a privilege to serve with a man of his integrity and ability, demonstrated by his leadership in the consideration of important and difficult proposals. Mr. Willis represents his district and the Nation ably and with great distinction and I look forward to our continued friendship and counsel.

What Is a Cop?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DEL CLAWSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. DEL CLAWSON. Mr. Speaker, to his millions of fans the reappearance of Sgt. Joe Friday of "Dragnet," on their TV screens is one of the happier events of the new year. The good sergeant's timing, as always, is faultless. With reports reaching us here in Washington of the nationwide upswing in crime, violence and disregard for the law, Sergeant Friday's return to increase public understanding of the function performed by the defenders of society could not be more auspicious.

The following statement, which he informs me will be delivered in this week's episode, was brought to my attention by the star of the show, Jack Webb. It is an impressive insight into the police officer's view of his own job—particularly since Mr. Webb advises that members of the Los Angeles Police Department and Police Commission who have previewed the film containing the speech have informed him it accurately portrays their own feelings about their work. Under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I am pleased to call attention to this fine statement:

What Is a Cop?

(By Richard L. Breen and Jack Webb)

It's awkward having a policeman around the house. Friends drop in. A man with a badge answers the door. The temperature drops twenty degrees. Throw a party and that badge gets in the way. All of a sudden there isn't a straight man in the crowd. Everybody's a comedian. "Don't drink too much," somebody says, "or the man with the badge will run you in." . . . Or, "How's it goin', Dick Tracy? How many jaywalkers did you pinch today?" . . . And there's always the one who wants to know how many apples you stole. All at once you've lost your first name. You're a "cop," a "flatfoot," a "bull," a "dick," "John Law," You're "the fuzz," "the heat," . . . you're poison, you're trouble . . . you're bad news. They call you everything, but never a policeman. It's not much of a life . . . unless you don't mind missing a Dodger game because the hotshot phone rings . . . unless you like working Saturdays, Sundays, holidays . . . at a job that doesn't pay overtime. Oh, the pay is adequate. If you count your pennies, you can put your kid through college. But you'd better plan on seeing Europe on your television set. Then there's your first night on the beat. When you try to arrest a drunken prostitute in a Main Street bar and she rips your new uniform to shreds. You'll buy another one . . . out of your own pocket.

You'll rub elbows with all the elite; pimps, addicts, thieves, bums, winos, girls who can't keep an address and men who don't care. Liars, cheats, con men, the class of Skid Row. And the heartbreak: underfed kids, beaten kids, molested kids, lost kids, crying kids, homesick kids, hit-and-run kids, broken-arm kids, broken-leg kids, broken-head kids, sick kids, dying kids, dead kids. The old people that nobody wants, the reliefers, the pensioners, the ones who walk the street cold and those who tried to keep warm and died in a three-dollar room with an unvented gas heater. You'll walk the beat and pick up the pieces. Do you have real adventure in your soul? You'd better have.

You'll do time in a prowl car. It'll be a thrill-a-minute when you get an "unknown trouble" call and hit a back yard at two in the morning, never knowing who you'll meet . . . a kid with a knife . . . a pill-head with a gun, or two ex-cons with nothing to lose. And you'll have plenty of time to think. You'll draw duty in a "lonely car" . . . with nobody to talk to but your radio. Four years in uniform and you'll have the ability, the experience and maybe the desire to be a detective. If you like to fly by the seat of your pants, this is where you belong. For every crime's that committed, you've got three million suspects to choose from. Most of the time you'll have few facts and a lot of hunches. You'll run down leads that dead-end on you. You'll work all-night stakeouts that could last a week. You'll do leg work until you're sure you've talked to everybody in California . . . people who saw it happen, but really didn't. People who insist they did it, but really didn't. People who don't remember, those who try to forget. Those who tell the truth, those who lie. You'll run the files until your eyes ache.

And paperwork . . . you'll fill out a report when you're right, you'll fill out a report when you're wrong, you'll fill one out when you're not sure, you'll fill one out listing your leads, you'll fill one out when you have no leads, you'll make out a report on the reports you've made. You'll write enough words in your lifetime to stock a library. You'll learn to live with doubt, anxiety, frustration, court decisions that tend to hinder rather than help you: Dorado, Morse, Escobedo, Cahan. You'll learn to live with the District Attorney, testifying in court, defense attorneys, prosecuting attorneys, judges, juries, witnesses. And sometimes you won't be happy with the outcome. But there's also this: There are over five thousand men in this city who know that being a policeman is an endless, glamorless, thankless job that must be done. I know it, too. And I'm damned glad to be one of them.

(Note.—*Excerpted from the Feb. 9, 1967 episode of "Dragnet" on NBC–TV—Sgt. Joe Friday talking to an unhappy rookie.*)

Youth Deserves Credit When Credit Due

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE SKUBITZ

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, with increasing frequency, we assail the thoughts and actions of our younger generation. It is sometimes necessary that we be reminded that the majority of the "Pepsi" generation are not frivolous, careless, and irresponsible products of humanity. My attention is drawn to an outstanding example of the youth who seldom make the newspapers. David Beck, a student of Wichita High School South, made the news with his editorial discussing the worthiness of the Job Corps program. Maturity cannot be lacking in this student who undoubtedly has conducted research and analysis of the Job Corps and its problems. I applaud the efforts of his teacher, Miss Sussanne Shaw, who must enthusiastically pursue the objective of education to stimulate the interests of students in matters of current discussion and debate. The thoughts of David Beck warrant our attention and I commend to my colleagues his editorial, printed in the Wellington Daily News, January 31, 1967:

THE DROPOUT PROBLEM

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the second of two editorials written by journalism students of Wichita High School South, in a class project. Members of the class, taught by Miss Susanne Shaw, former Daily News employe, visited this newspaper yesterday to study production methods.)

In this age of automation and the specialization of labor, a high school diploma or special training of some sort has been becoming and will continue to become increasingly important in securing a job. For this reason, the problem of what to do with the high school dropout has been accented in recent years.

The latest attempt to help these dropouts is one of President Johnson's Great Society programs, the Job Corps. Designed to help disadvantaged youths by removing them from their home environments and teaching them, in better surroundings, the skills necessary to find permanent employment, the Job Corps is an excellent program—in theory. In actual fact it has become an impractical program because of the astronomical cost—more than a quarter of a billion dollars for fiscal 1966 alone.

The cost of keeping a single youth in the program for one year is at least $9,000 according to the latest figures supplied to Congress by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Compare this to the $1,500 necessary to send a student to a state university for one year or even to $3,500 a year for maintaining a student in the most expensive American college, and the figure seems way out of line.

But even the $9,000 figure is not a true picture of the costs since it does not take into consideration an estimated 26% dropout rate. The actual cost-per-graduate of the whole program is not known, but at one center it was more than $28,000 and the figure was nearly as high at many other centers.

One reason the costs are so high are the "extras" given each enrollee such as $75 store credit for clothing of his choice, but flying all 30,000 Corpsmen home, and back for Christmas does not help defray expenses either. The case of the training center that had approximately 500 staff members on the payroll to serve 410 corpsmen is another example of the great amount of waste within the program.

The Job Corps has the potential to become an excellent program for helping youth, but until some changes are made in the administration of funds and unnecessary extras are done away with the program is too unrealistically expensive to continue.—David Beck, Wichita High School South

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Delay on the ABC–ITT Merger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. WAMPLER
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. WAMPLER. Mr. Speaker, on January 28, 1967, the Washington Evening Star carried an editorial entitled "Delay on the ABC–ITT Merger." I believe the Star has taken a reasoned position which ought to be called to the attention of the Nation.

In order that all the Members might have the opportunity to read this excellent editorial, I have permission to have it included in its entirety in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The editorial follows:

DELAY ON THE ABC–ITT MERGER

The Justice Department has put on a baffling performance in its recent effort to block a proposed merger of American Broadcasting Company and International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation.

As Senator Morton of Kentucky pointed out in a floor speech, Justice remained aloof while the Federal Communications Commission held public hearings on the case. Although given the opportunity to testify, it elected to remain silent. As recently as last month, Senator Morton noted, Justice wrote the FCC it did not have sufficient grounds to stay the merger, although it belatedly did question the move.

But 48 hours before the merger was scheduled for a green light this month, Justice asked the FCC for a delay. In doing so, the department suggested the merger might be harmful to competition in the broadcasting industry.

This line of reasoning is puzzling. As anyone in the broadcasting industry knows, ABC is not only the smallest of the three television networks but is up against competition with formidable diversification. The National Broadcasting Company is owned by Radio Corporation of America and has enjoyed a huge advantage because of this, particularly in development of color programming.

Senator Long of Louisiana, who served for many years as chairman of the Senate Small Business panel's subcommittee on monopoly, is in a good position to judge the matter. In supporting the FCC's approval of the merger, he notes that ABC "up to now has had difficulty in competing with the other two giants," and that combining it with ITT's resources in electronics would make its capital structure "parallel to that of the other two networks."

Perhaps the oddest statement put forth by Justice was the suggestion that the merger "threatens the independence and objectivity of ABC's news and public affairs reporting." If the department really wants to raise that gratuitous question, what about ABC's corporate competitors, who are embroiled in everything from book publishing to defense and space electronics, phonograph records, computers, and the New York Yankees? Does every broadcasting company's news integrity automatically come under a cloud of suspicion when it merges with an unrelated business? To believe this is absurd.

Senator Morton terms the Justice Department's move ill-conceived. At the least, it strikes us as displaying a superficial, poorly-reasoned and badly-timed approach.

John Bell Williams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article which appeared on the front page of the New Orleans Times-Picayune on February 2, 1967. It follows:

HOUSE DEMOS REJECT BID BY REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAMS—MISSISSIPPIAN FAILS TO REGAIN SENIORITY

(By Edgar Poe)

WASHINGTON.—In a move with far-reaching ramifications, House Democrats Wednesday by a vote of 134 to 100 politically shot down Rep. John Bell Williams, a crippled World War II bomber pilot, for the second time in two years.

The 48-year-old Mississippi conservative, seeking to get his seniority restored after being stripped of rank in 1965 after he supported Republican Barry Goldwater for president in 1964, said he was disappointed but not bitter by the action.

COLMER MOTION

The chairman of the House Rules Committee and the dean of the Mississippi delegation, Rep. William M. Colmer, offered the motion in the caucus directing that Rep. Williams be restored to the second position of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

The Colmer motion that the majority rejected said that Williams in the 1966 general election was again elected as a Democrat, and that he "actively and effectively campaigned" for Democratic nominees in Mississippi. Further, the resolution said that Williams voted for renaming John W. McCormack speaker and Carl Albert House majority leader at the beginning of this Congress.

Rep. Williams came to Congress in 1946.

The text of his formal announcement follows:

"To those of my colleagues who worked so diligently in my behalf and supported my effort, I am profoundly grateful.

"For those of my colleagues who, for whatever reasons, saw fit to oppose me, I harbor no rancor or ill will.

"I am disappointed, but I am not bitter.

"My political trademark has always been one of candor and honesty, and I have no apologies to make for having supported the candidate of my choice in the last presidential election.

"I have no regrets: no man should ever regret having followed the dictates of his conscience. My self-respect and political integrity are not for sale at any price—not even for patronage or positions of power. I have given much to my country: I stand ready to give more.

"My special appreciation must be directed to my fine colleagues from Mississippi—Mr. Colmer, Mr. Whitten, Mr. Abernethy, and Mr. Montgomery, and both senators—for their untiring and diligent work in support of my efforts, as well as to Gov. Johnson, the Mississippi State Legislature, the Mississippi Democratic Executive Committee and the people of Mississippi for standing by me loyally throughout this ordeal."

German Day in Texas Ceremonies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE R. POOL
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, I have for several years been a proponent of national observance of "Germany-American Day." The State of Texas has been enriched by the contributions of its many citizens of German heritage. In our annual day of tribute to our German communities in Texas last October, the late

Fleet Adm. Chester W. Nimitz was honored. I should like to share the memorable words of Rear Adm. P. N. Charbonnet, Jr., in commemoration of this great Texan:

Remarks by Rear Adm. P. N. Charbonnet, Jr., U.S. Navy, for Honoring Fleet Admiral Nimitz at Pioneer Ball, Dallas Auditorium, Dallas, Tex., October 15, 1966

Honored Guests and Ladies and Gentlemen. I consider it a great honor to be with you tonight as we observe the 283rd anniversary of the establishment of the first German colony on American soil . . . as we pay tribute to the descendants of that first colony, and others that followed, who have contributed in so many ways toward the establishment of our proud republic and who haved served it so well for many generations . . . and more specifically, I am proud to be a part of this ceremony as we honor a great American, a profound naval strategist, and a grand Texas gentleman . . . the late Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, United States Navy.

There is little to say about Admiral Nimitz that has not already been said in far more eloquent fashion than I could hope to match. His dedicated service to the Navy spanned two world wars and the birth of the atomic age. His love of the Navy and Navy men was an inspiration to all of those who had the honor of serving with him . . . from his fellow flag officers to the most junior seaman.

He was a man possessed of great wisdom . . . of quiet courage. . . with a fine sense of humor . . . and a gifted understanding of human nature.

It was Admiral Nimitz who said, "To fulfill its mission, the Navy must have the finest, most dedicated officers and men it can attract. Being a part of the Navy is honorable, soul-satisfying and sufficiently remunerative to reward any active young man who loves his country and is willing to accept its responsibilities."

Tonight, as we celebrate "German Day in Texas," young men of that vary caliber are defending the interests of freedom and self-determination some nine thousand miles from Dallas . . . in the waters of the South China Sea and on the shores of South Vietnam.

They are typical of the fine young men to who Admiral Nimitz devoted his career and who, in turn, bestowed upon him their deepest respect.

As we pause tonight and pay tribute to Admiral Nimitz, who served this nation so honorably in the past, let us include in our thoughts those gallant young men of all the Armed Forces who serve us so well today.

Thank you.

Gentleman, Think Again—Our Tragic Rhodesian Error

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, as additional information on the Rhodesian affair, attached is an article by Frank J. Johnson, published in the Manchester Union Leader, Manchester, N.H., on January 16, which gives very cogent reasons why the decision of our administration joining with England in imposing compulsory sanctions upon Rhodesia was fundamentally wrong.

The article follows:

[From the Manchester N.H., Union Leader, Jan. 16, 1967]

Gentlemen Think Again—Our Tragic Rhodesian Error

(By Frank J. Johnson)

(Mr. Johnson, author of this article on Rhodesia, is foreign editor of the American Security Council's "Washington Report.")

Salisbury, Rhodesia.—Monday, December 5, 1966 was one of those dramatic moments when history holds its breath and the affairs of men hang briefly in suspense on the edge of the abyss. Because of the policies which preceded that fateful day and because of the actions which may now follow it, the American people may soon find themselves dragged into one of history's most ruinous and tragically unnecessary wars. The plunge into the abyss has now begun. Only a much greater public understanding of the dangers involved may be able to stop it.

As an inquiring visitor to southern Africa I was fortunate to be in Salisbury on the day when the future of Rhodesia had to be decided. In an atmosphere electric with tension, I joined the crowd of Rhodesians, white and black, who stood all day before the office of Prime Minister Ian Smith, patiently awaiting the decision of his Cabinet in response to the British ultimatum of the day before. Given scarcely a dozen hours in which to decide, the Rhodesian leaders were ordered to answer "yes or no" to proposals which had the practical effect of returning the rule of their country to Her Majesty's ministers in London, and which could have deprived the Rhodesian people themselves of the decisive voice in their own future.

When Smith and his weary colleagues emerged to announce their answer, they acceded completely to the Britih demands for iron-clad constitutional guarantees of eventual African rule in Rhodesia. However, they refused to give up their independence in the meantime. As Smith concluded by saying, "and so, ladies and gentlemen, the fight goes on," a tremendous cheer burst from the hundreds of people who surrounded him.

To this reporter, it was a moving, multiracial demonstration of faith and loyalty towards the man who, to Rhodesians, embodies the straightforward virtues of honesty and integrity so much lacking among many of the world's statesmen. Left to themselves, the whites of Rhodesia would split over the usual kinds of issues that separate democratic political parties. Smith's almost universal popularity stems from the fact that he reflects the united determination of Rhodesians to preserve civilized standards in the face of the chaos and barbarism that has overwhelmed much of Africa following the premature withdrawal of Western rule.

There has never been any constitutional bar to eventual African majority rule in Rhodesia. But the whites are determined that this will occur only when the Africans have matured sufficiently to be able to rule responsibly. Africans are free to vote now, provided that they meet certain educational or income qualifications. This is why Rhodesia could agree to the British formula for a new constitution which would further guarantee African rights.

However, the British left themselves the loophole that the constitution would have to be "acceptable to the people as a whole." There has never been any agreement on how the opinion of an African tribal society can be determined. The British have refused to accept the customary method, which is that the chiefs speak for the people. Neither are they impressed by the hard fact that the Africans have expressed support for the Smith government by promptly killing or reporting to the police the Communist-trained terrorists who periodically cross into Rhodesia from Zambia.

The problem is that the Rhodesians simply do not trust Britain. Her record in Africa is one of recognizing those African nationalists who establish their "authority" over their countrymen by rigorous application of knife, club, and gasoline bomb. In the case of the now defunct Central African Federation of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland, solemn British promises to the whites were repeatedly broken in reply to the wishes of African nationalists and the United Nations. British policy today toward Rhodesia is primarily a mixture of wounded pride, deference to "world opinion" and fear for Commonwealth relations. These considerations take precedence over any objective interests of the Rhodesian people. The Rhodesians thus fear that if they give up their independence in favor of an "interim government" under a British Governor, London would find neither scruple nor difficulty in scrapping the Constitution and handing over power to anyone who found favor with the African bloc in the U.N. This is why the Rhodesian people are prepared to accept any consequence rather than submit.

TOTAL SANCTIONS WILL NOT WORK

And now the first consequence that all rational men have dreaded during the Rhodesian crisis has occurred: mandatory sanctions in the United Nations. Throughout my African travels I was advised that Rhodesia, even more than Southwest Africa, was the spark that could set off catastrophe if the UN became involved. The reasons are starkly simple.

Those who know the caliber of the Rhodesians know that limited sanctions can never hope to break their will to resist. (Harold Wilson has blundered repeatedly because he never understood this.) Rather than admit defeat, the UN majority will demand total sanctions, which must involve South Africa and Portuguese Africa because those two nations will not comply with sanctions against Rhodesia. For now, Britain and the U.S. oppose this step, but in the end they may well succumb to the Afro-Asian clamor.

Total sanctions, when and if applied, will not work either since they can only be enforced by a total blockade, and even then, the people of southern Africa will only redouble their determination to resist. (Based on my own observations, I believe that this will include the majority of blacks as well as whites.) At this point questions of prestige will become paramount. To admit defeat and call off sanctions, it will be argued, will mean the end of the UN. "Save the UN" will become the battle cry of those who call for a military attack against all of southern Africa. Obviously only the United States will have the power to carry out such an attack, so the U.S. will be asked to lead the UN into war.

This is not idle speculation. Before I left for Africa, a high official in the State Department's African Bureau told me quite frankly that the American people might have no more to say about involvement in such a war than they did in the case of Vietnam. "Things could easily get out of control," he said. There was no indication that he, personally, opposed such an eventuality. Diplomats and officials in Africa with whom I spoke expressed their deep concern that the events I have outlined are indeed a real possibility.

NO SANCTIONS UNLESS U.S. SUPPORTED THEM

Britain could not, and would not, resort to mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia were it not for the support of Washington. It seems incredible that a U.S. Government determined to oppose Communist aggression by force in Vietnam could be so singularly ill-advised as to support a policy likely to involve the U.S. in a war in Africa against our most reliable friends. It is particularly incredible because, the consequences of a U.S. victory could well be the extension of Communist influence or control over the wealthiest and most strategic portion of Africa.

I found that many U.S. representatives in South Africa and Rhodesia who were willing to speak frankly disagreed with much of Washington's policy. At the least they seemed to have a much more realistic and appreciative outlook on the problems of the area and the feelings of the people than did their colleagues in Washington. All were opposed to UN intervention.

The problem seems to be that many of the men chiefly responsible for U.S. policy towards Africa have little or no experience with the continent itself. Their thinking is dominated by ideological clinches which may be relevant to Western democracies but violently contradict the everyday facts of life in Africa.

At the top of the list is the false notion that "one man-one vote" is possible or suitable to the African environment where the majority of blacks are still at a relatively primitive tribal level of development. Because minority white governments prevail in Rhodesia, South Africa, and the Portuguese territories, it is automatically assumed that these governments must be oppressive and acting contrary to the interests of the Africans. Much nonsense is written to this effect, but any factual, on-the-spot appraisal, reveals that the opposite is true. Although the specific racial policies of Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa differ in important respects, they all have programs in which considerable resources in money and talent are devoted to raising the educational levels, developing the political maturity, and improving the economic prosperity of the Africans. By any reasonable comparison, the blacks of southern Africa are infinitely better off than their brethren in the north, where independence has invariably been followed by a return to tribal warfare, economic loss for those in the money economy, and political dictatorship. There has yet to be a single change of government by constitutional means in newly-independent Africa. Whatever "majority rule" means in theory, in the African context it has meant one man rule and in many cases, it has meant irresponsible rule.

There is also the argument of expediency. Can the overthrow or white rule in southern Africa be justified on the grounds that it will eliminate the threat of Communism by eliminating the frictions which the Communists seek to exploit? Will the loyalty of Africa to the West then be assured?

It is a highly dubious proposition. Experience has already shown that while African "friendship" can be temporarily rented, it can never be permanently bought. In this kind of game, Communist cynicism is likely to prove more effective in the long run than Western idealism. Africans can comprehend the former more easily than the latter. It would be a highly reckless gamble to believe that we can win the permanent support of black Africa by warring against our white friends in southern Africa. What guarantee do we have that, in the smoking aftermath, African hostility would not be simply transferred to all whites in general in order to provide the emotionally necessary foreign enemy?

The Western policy towards Africa has been a record of one tragic error compounded upon another. Before the final peak of madness is reached, before we may find ourselves "plunging headlong into an insane war against people who are among the best friends we have in the world, there should still be time for men of good will to address a last appeal to the leaders of the West in London and, above all, in Washington, and to say: "Gentlemen, think again!'

The Federal Highway Program: A National Commitment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, last November President Johnson ordered a $1.1 billion cutback in Federal highway funds, effective for the remainder of the present fiscal year.

State highway departments were told that the cutback was necessary to reduce inflationary pressures caused by Government spending in Vietnam.

However, the proposed freeze of $700 million is less than 1 percent of the total estimated construction for 1967. It is very questionable whether that small percent will have any effect on inflationary pressures.

In Minnesota this cutback represents over $40 million or 28 percent of the program that was originally planned. This will mean postponing much needed projects in all parts of the State on interstate, regular trunk, and county highways.

Mr. Speaker, I feel strongly that we cannot further delay a roadbuilding program that is already behind schedule.

The farm-business economy of Minnesota's Sixth Congressional District moves on roads—and depends on roads. Any delay in the State roadbuilding program can cause serious problems, since the construction season is short and no work can be done during the spring breakup.

Sixth district people have made advance payments on the costs of good highways. Federal roadbuilding is done with the proceeds of gasoline and other highway users' taxes which go into a special trust fund—and not with the appropriated money in the regular budget. Consequently, the President's action does not reduce our huge Federal deficit by so much as one penny.

Highway modernization not only is an aid to the economy in providing better transportation, it is also a boon through increased employment. The safety factors, saving lives through better highway construction, should be the most compelling reason why we cannot afford a single day or a single dollar of cutback.

For these reasons, Mr. Speaker, I am introducing a House concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the Federal-aid highway program should proceed as rapidly as available revenues to the highway fund permit. The resolution also makes it clear that the integrity of the highway trust fund should be preserved. In introducing this measure I believe we are really only asking for something we have already paid for.

The resolution which I have introduced is as follows:

H. CON. RES. —

Resolved by the House of Representatives (*the Senate concurring*), That in view of the fact that the Congress, in enacting the Highway Revenue Act of 1956, created the highway trust fund to receive specific tax revenues levied upon the users of the Nation's highways for the sole purpose of financing the Federal-aid highway program, and that the recent cutback in the amount of Federal funds which can be committed for highway construction in fiscal 1967 will have little effect on current inflationary trends, but will deny the Nation urgently needed highways which are being paid for by special taxes; it is the sense of Congress that the limitations imposed on the highway program by the cutback in Federal highway expenditures be removed, that the Federal-aid highway program proceed as rapidly as available revenues to the highway trust fund permit, and that tax revenues designated specifically for the highway trust fund be disseminated in accordance with the legislative intent expressed in the Highway Revenue Act of 1956.

What's It Like To Be Poor?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, I am submitting for the Appendix of the RECORD the second of the series, "What's It Like To Be Poor?"

The article follows:

WHAT'S IT LIKE TO BE POOR?—NO WASTE—EVERY CENT COUNTS HERE

(By Margaret Josten)

By anybody's standards, including those set by the U.S. Government, the woman was poor. Very poor.

She was the estranged wife of a patient at Longview State Hospital; she and her three teenage children lived in a particularly raucous section of a downtown housing project; she existed on $128 a month from Aid to Dependent Children (ADC).

The surprising thing about this woman—Ann Smith, we'll call her—was that she insisted upon seeing something hopeful in nearly every facet of her life.

She was even grateful to the Hamilton County Welfare Department for giving help to persons like herself. What's more, she had never heard of the Ad Hoc Committee for Adequate Welfare and she thought anybody who marched to demonstrate over inadequate welfare was "silly".

"They know what we need," she said, "and I imagine they'll give it to us if they can."

AVERAGE ADC FAMILY

Mrs. Smith, 36, was chosen by The Enquirer for day-long interview and observation in her home because she and her three children comprise the statistically "average" family on ADC.

Each of the four is allowed $22 a month for all needs except rent, utilities and medical care. Her rent, including utilities, is $40. This brings her total monthly check to $128.

Illnesses in the Smith family are rare. When one of the children gets a cold she treats it herself via a remedy she learned from an aging aunt: "Sniff a drop of rubbing alcohol and take a couple of aspirins." She claims it works.

Mrs. Smith is like the average ADC mother in another respect: lack of education. This does not show, however, in her aspirations for her children.

The two boys, one of whom shows talent as an artist, are on the honor roll at their school. Mrs. Smith keeps a "hawk eye," as she puts it, upon the boys and the girl, who is only 13, so they will not associate with others in the housing project.

"It can't do them any good to get mixed up in all the drinking and gambling and carrying on you see around here," she warned.

TRIED JOB TRAINING

Mrs. Smith told how, a year or so ago, she decided to get some job training for herself in a night class for adults. But she worried so about the things the children might be doing while she was away from home that she soon gave up.

Now she concentrates mostly on keeping their five-room apartment spotless. She visits her mother, also in Longview, and an aunt, who is dying of cancer. She goes to church frequently.

The day the $128 check arrives, Mrs. Smith pays $40 rent to the housing project office and visits a food stamp store. There she puts out $56 in cash and gets about $86 in purchasing power in return. She then has left $32 in cash for soaps, toothpaste, shoes, bus fare and other needs.

At the supermarket, a "good walk" from her home, Mrs. Smith stocks up the first of the month on canned foods and such staples as oatmeal and flour, maybe grits.

She buys the cheapest of meats. One of them is hamburger because chili and Spanish rice are big items in the family's diet. If she sees something on sale—such as chicken at 25 cents a pound, she buys a couple. But the freezer of her refrigerator will hold at the most only two chickens.

Mrs. Smith thinks it is economical to cook for two days at one time. If she makes Spanish rice today, for instance, there will be enough left over for the main meal tomorrow or the next day.

Friday is "leftover day"—which means the food on the table is that which has been accumulating in the refrigerator all week. "We don't miss anything," she says.

FRUGAL—BUT NEEDY

Even with her shortcuts and emphasis on planning ahead, Mrs. Smith always runs out of food stamps before the end of the month.

How she is able to save any of the $32 left over after the rent is paid and the food stamps are bought is hard to understand, but Mrs. Smith does. This she uses to feed the children at the end of the month. Such feeding is meager.

She never eats lunch herself—partly to save money and partly to keep down the weight gains which come with high starch diets such as hers.

Mrs. Smith figures she probably has it easier than most on ADC. Relatives help out occasionally with clothing for the children. The furniture, including a TV set and kitchen appliances, was paid for before welfare came into the picture.

"The TV broke last summer and we saved until the first of this month (January) to get it fixed," she said.

"We're grateful to have it fixed."

Tomorrow: Illness Is A Cause.

A Bill To Amend the Enabling Act Admitting the State of Washington Into the Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing an amendment to the enabling act that admitted the State of Washington into the Union.

At the last general election, the citizens of my State approved a constitutional amendment to our State constitution to create the common school construction fund to be derived from certain income from the school lands and interest on the permanent school fund.

Mr. Speaker, it is a well known fact that the State of Washington is experiencing an unprecedented rate of population growth. The citizens of my State have recognized this growth and desire to meet this challenge. In 1965 the legislature appropriated $11,270,000 to be used to match local school district funds for the sole purpose of constructing new school facilities. The next step was the adoption of the amendment to the State constitution mentioned above. Now it appears that in order to appropriate these funds to the local school districts and to place the action of the legislature and the electorate in operation there will be required an amendment as provided in my bill to section 11 of the enabling act, 25 Stat. 676, as amended May 7, 1932.

I urge the Congress to act with expeditious speed as our State legislature is well past the halfway mark in its session and above all, these funds are greatly needed by the local school districts if they are to meet the pressures placed upon them by the tremendous population growth which they are experiencing.

At this point, I would like to insert a copy of the Washington State Legislature's House Joint Memorial No. 1 which deals with this matter.

HOUSE JOINT MEMORIAL No. 1

(By Representatives Holman, Mahaffey, and DeJarnatt, State of Washington, 40th Regular Session; read first time January 9, 1967, and referred to committee on education and libraries.)

To the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States, and to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress Assembled:

We, Your Memorialists, the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Washington, in legislative session assembled, respectfully represent and petition as follows:

Whereas, the voters of our state, by an overwhelming seventy-three percent majority, ratified the provisions of 1965 Senate Joint Resolution No. 22, Part I of which amended our state Constitution to create the common school construction fund; and

Whereas, this vote is indicative of the desire and dire need of the people of this state for the accelerated construction of additional common school capital facilities; and

Whereas, this fund would be generated by income from rentals and sale of timber crops and other renewable resources from the permanent school lands, and from interest accruing to the permanent school fund, and would be used to assist in financing the state's share of matching funds for local school construction; and

Whereas, in anticipation that the voters would approve this constitutional amendment, the 1965 legislature has appropriated eleven million two hundred seventy thousand dollars from the common school construction fund for the support of the construction of common school facilities during the current biennium; and

Whereas, it appears that in order to effectuate the aforesaid action of the legislature and the electorate there will be required an amendment to section 11 of the Enabling Act (25 Stat. 676) as amended May 7, 1932;

Now, therefore, your Memorialists respectfully pray that the Congress of the United States enact legislation to further amend section 11 of the Enabling Act so as to provide:

(a) That income from renewable resources shall be permitted to be utilized as contemplated in 1965 Senate Joint Resolution No. 22, Part I, and

(b) That such interest on the permanent school fund may be made available to service school construction bonds, and

(c) Such other provisions as may be necessary to effectuate the provisions of the constitutional amendment adopted by the ratification of Senate Joint Resolution No. 22; and

Be it resolved, that copies of this Memorial be transmitted by the secretary of state to the President of the United States, and to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the State of Washington.

Passed: 98 to 0.

Don't Believe What the Liberals Tell You

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to insert my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an article by the Honorable Barry Goldwater which appeared in the current issue of the Saturday Evening Post.

Having been the subject of the same type of smear referred to in the article, I can well attest to the truth of Mr. Goldwater's analysis of nonobjective reporting by all news media.

Under the recent line of decisions by the Supreme Court, it is impossible to get any redress for libel. Under these immunities provided by the Supreme Court, the news media will expand its vicious attacks against those with whom it disagrees without worry as to any action which might be taken by the individual.

Mr. Goldwater presents a cogent case but it will not stop the untruthful statements which will be made by the news media in their effort to destroy anyone who supports sound constitutional government.

The article follows:

DON'T BELIEVE WHAT THE LIBERALS TELL YOU

(By Barry Goldwater)

What do you call it when a person falsely makes the accusation that someone is associated with the enemies of democracy?

Or what do you call it when someone tries to slam the door on a political debate by the use of personal insults?

Or how do you describe the regular use of the plain old-fashioned lie as a tool of "truth"?

What do you call that kind of behavior? McCarthyism? Extremism? Birchism? Ku Klux Klanism? The Big Lie Technique?

Self-styled liberals, in particular, have a wide vocabulary of political and philosophical cuss words to describe such activities. They should. They are personally guilty of practicing every one of those techniques even as they weep, wail, moan, shriek, cry, froth and foam about how those nasty conservatives go around "smearing" people.

I'm not speaking from theory or secondhand opinion. I'm speaking from firsthand experience. And I'm not hinting anything, or suggesting, or supposing, or guessing. I am saying flatly, and on the basis of the factual record, that "liberals" in this country have piled up a record of smear and distortion that gives the lie to their every utterance of pious moral superiority.

They are two-faced.

They practice a double standard of truth and fairness.

The only part of this charge for which I am prepared to hear some contradictory evidence is the generalization. There must be some liberals who do not practice this double standard. But if any are brought to my attention, I would be prepared to bet that they are the sort of liberals whom most of their fellow liberals regard as renegades.

By liberals, of course, I mean, in a political sense, those who believe that the only solution to our political problems rests in collectivity and not in individual initiative. I hasten to add that this does not fit the classic definition of "liberal," but these people have done their own perverting of words and their meanings. For one reason or another it has always seemed somehow impolite to bring the moral credentials of liberal writers and commentators into question. Dick Nixon, for instance, was widely castigated for his criticism of the press coverage of his California gubernatorial campaign in 1962—but I have yet to hear a person who listened to him who didn't also admit, in effect, that "Of course we all know that what he said was correct. He just shouldn't have said it in public."

I, for one, am tired of this pussyfooting about a matter of crucial importance to every American. We should make our political decisions in an atmosphere of free, open and rational debate; not in a steaming sewer of half-truths, no-truths and ideological fog.

The need for some public candor on this subject is particularly painful, it seems to me and to every person with whom I have discussed the matter—persons ranging from cab drivers to ex-cabinet officers—since the fantastic coverage of the recent congressional and gubernatorial elections.

Now that is a matter that doesn't need to be documented in detail here. It is documented, indelibly, in the memory of practically every man, woman and child who watched network television on election night last November. The bias toward victory by so-called liberal, or at least nonconservative or non-Republican candidates, was obnoxious to most viewers. I think anyone would remember David Brinkley's hound-dog look as the votes piled up for Ronald Reagan, and certainly everyone will remember the doomsday look of Eric Sevareid as he began to realize that many liberal bubbles were being pricked around the nation. In my judgment, the overall bias was so strong that Mr. Brinkley actually seemed to me to lose his temper when a colleague "revealed" that Brinkley himself lived in a heavily Republican suburb of Washington. Mr. Brinkley's ringing defense against this slander was to quickly reassure his audience that he hadn't even voted. No matter what Mr. Brinkley's personal political leanings, which I myself feel to be honest and responsible, the atmosphere of the evening was so heavily charged that it was bound to provoke such an incident.

Let me get something straight, however, at this exact point. No matter how lopsided this liberal double standard makes news coverage—I do not regard censorship or any kind of formal control as a solution. In fact, it is part of the problem that liberal domination of the working level of most news media exercises a sort of censorship on its own. No. Censorship is never an answer. I know that as the double standard becomes more pronounced there will be more and more cries for censorship. I even know that things some day could get so bad that, in sheer revulsion, and given localities with the political balance of power to do something about it, there might even be impositions of censorship. Recent attempts to bar some speakers from certain state campuses are just a symptom.

The impulse to such censorship is understandable. It is not, in conscience, supportable. Censorship is not the answer. The answer is open competition. And I am not so pessimistic as to believe that those most sensitive of corporate entities, the TV networks, aren't going to realize some day that true balance and a true coverage of "both sides" of political issues is a highly salable commodity.

Rather than dwell on what millions of Americans have seen with their own eyes and heard with their own ears, however, I want to take a few swats at the liberal double standard as practiced in the public print—including the print of *The Saturday Evening Post*.

During the 1964 presidential campaign this magazine presented an editorial which—I will bet a year's subscription—will be read for years in journalism schools as an unbeatable example of editorial extremism. I will quote just one typical sentence, lest the present *Post* editors lose any sleep over an "incident" which, if they choose, they can simply slough off as having been "someone else's responsibility."

The Saturday Evening Post, in its epic contribution to clean campaigning, presented this thoughtful evaluation of the presidential candidate with whom I am the most closely acquainted, me:

"He is a wild man, a stray, an unprincipled and ruthless political jujitsu artist. . . ."

There is not, in the entire long repetition of such charges, a single factual statement that had real bearing on the campaign. It was hate literature, pure and simple—exactly the kind of intemperate diatribe which—I'll bet another year's subscription—the editors have editorialized against throughout the years; until it came time to practice what they preach.

Let's return, for a moment, to the points with which I began this little love letter to the illiberal liberals. Do I really mean that any lofty liberal ever really falsely accused someone of being asosciated with subversives or totalitarians? You thought that was the sort of thing only done by anti-Communists, some of whom have used pretty skinny excuses for calling a person pink?

Well, let me first assume that you regard Fascism as subversive, along with Communism. Wouldn't an unfounded charge linking one with Fascism, or saying he was a Fascist, be pretty much the same as an unfounded charge linking a person with a Communist group or saying he was a Communist?

Agree? Then will CBS and *The New York Times* please stand up and take their well-deserved bows for practicing precisely this sort of smear technique?

The CBS contribution came in a widely broadcast dispatch from one of the network's European correspondents, Daniel Schorr, in July, 1964, just ahead of the presidential campaign. Schorr flatly reported that I was trying to appeal to right-wing elements in Germany as "only the start of a move to link up with his opposite numbers in Germany." Referring to "right-wing elements" in Germany is the equivalent, of course, of referring to pro-Communists as the "far left." It avoids certain legal complications, but it gets the point across neatly and precisely. Schorr, however, wasn't content to risk anyone's missing the point. He then went on to report that I had accepted an invitation to speak before an evangelical academy near Munich which, he dutifully reported to his audience, was widely regarded as a breeding ground for neo-Fascism.

Mr. Schorr's report was, to put it politely, not true. But millions heard it, thanks to the facilities of the Columbia Broadcasting System, which has devoted major documentary time to bemoaning the fact that there is "extremism" abroad in the land—and on the airwaves, fellows, eh?

The New York Times not only repeated the Schorr charges regarding the evangelical academy, of which I had never even heard, but it added some new fuel to the fire, concerning the charge of neo-Fascism. In a dispatch from its correspondent, Arthur J. Olsen, the *Times* reported that I had been in "frequent and friendly" correpsondence with a controversial and "militant" German politician and had given an interview to "an extreme rightist weekly."

There was no such correspondence, nor was any evidence of it ever produced. There was no such interview. As the *Times* could easily have checked, this "extreme rightist weekly" had simply quoted public statements which I had made. The *Times* piece, in short, was a full-fledged falsehood.

And what about the personal-insult technique? Is that below the belt for upstanding liberals? If so, they must wear their belts in an odd position. Again, during the campaign period, no less a liberal leader than Mr. Walter Reuther, president of the Uinted Auto Workers, wrote a widely quoted letter saying that I was not only wrong but mentally unbalanced. Temperate, eh? High-level liberal debate!

Mr. James Farmer, a man of luminous liberal credentials, who was then head of the Congress for Racial Equality, summed up an aspect of the liberal double-think process that extends far beyond journalism. He was quoted, during the campaign, as saying that I had "no program. He is just against everything." I submit that for someone to be against everything would surely represent a remarkable feat. One of the specific suggestions I made during the campaign (and I made and published them on dozens of subjects, including the draft—which I pledged to end—and on the need to upgrade skills to end poverty) is still today caught up in the double standard. This suggestion, made early in the campaign and repeated throughout, was that we establish an equitable way in which the Federal Government could share tax revenues with the 50 states. Today that same proposal is being hailed as a triumph of "moderate" and "progressive" thinking. But even if Mr. Farmer himself agreed with those descriptions, today, I wonder if he might be moved to reexamine his former statement? Not under the liberal double standard he wouldn't.

Perhaps the most flagrant example of widespread use of The Big Lie technique came after I had been interviewed by Howard K. Smith on ABC's *Issues and Answers* program. One question was about interdicting Viet Cong supplies in the heavy jungle cover of Vietnam. Part of my reply was, from the transcript: "There have been several suggestions made. I don't think we would use of them. But defoliation of the forests by low-yield atomic weapons could well be done.

The San Francisco Examiner, next day, ran this front-page headline: "Goldwater's Plan To Use Viet A-Bomb."

The Associated Press, which originally reported, also, that I had suggested A-bombing Vietnam, took the trouble to double-check its reporter, found that the facts didn't back up his story and issued a correction. But who read the correction? Liberals always complain that corrections never do catch up with misstatements. Did they complain about this example? If I'd have held my breath waiting for them to do it, I'd be sea-blue by now.

Two of the most critical issues of the entire 1964 presidential campaign, as a matter of fact, hinged not on facts but on journalistic "extremism." During the primary campaigning in New Hampshire *The Concord Daily Monitor* ran a headline saying flatly, "Goldwater Sets Goal: Abolish Social

Security." There was nothing in the story to support the headline. There was nothing in anything I had said to support the headline. It became, however, a banner for my opponents in a flurry of falsehoods from which I was never able to escape. (Ignored in this flurry was my public voting record in support of Social Security, my frequent statements that, specificaly, the system cannot now be abolished, and my coincident concerns for all the voluntary forms of insurance upon which so many Americans must depend for security.)

That *The Concord Daily Monitor* should have taken the cake for misrepresenting does not mean that the rest of the press shouldn't step up to the table. Can anyone honestly say that he did not read a dozen repetitions of the Social Security distortion during the campaign? It was, in fact, commonplace. I have yet to hear many sighs of ethical concern about this in the journalism profession with its otherwise great concern for professional standards of objectivity.

Another issue that received similar treatment was control of nuclear weapons. In 1964, at Hartford, Conn., I held a press conference at which a question was asked on this subject. I answered, as I had suggested in an article for *Life* magazine, that more control over tactical nuclear weapons should be extended to the commander of NATO.

Yet the reporter present for *The Washington Post* reported the answer as being a suggestion that NATO *commanders* be given nuclear authority. My views on this could easily have been checked in my published works. But hundreds of other papers also went ahead with the same casual-liberal disregard for objectivity, when it concerns a conservative, to repeat the misrepresentation until it was possible for editorialists and opponents alike, across the country, glibly to say that I wanted "every second lieutenant" to have an A-bomb. (At least two major publications, *Time* and *U.S. News & World Report*, proved later on, incidentally, that *the* commander of NATO has in fact been given tactical nuclear authority. The revelation did not shake, so far as I can observe, the consciences of most of those who had earlier reported my suggestion as one of alarming folly.)

Lest you get the idea that all this double-standard business is past history, let me refer to a few current examples of two-faced liberals at work. Hate literature? You remember how, during the period of mourning following the assassination of President Kennedy, even the Chief Justice of the United States referred to the climate of "hate" that breeds such violence. Liberals everywhere began to hate hate, so to speak. What about today, when many of them also dislike the incumbent President? The double standard goes to work. There is now in wide circulation a little booklet entitled *MacBird*—a play which uses *Macbeth* as its model. It is described as a political satire. And what does it have to say? It simply sets up a situation in which the character representing President Johnson plots the assassination of the character representing President Kennedy. And what does the author, one Barbara Garson, have to say about this "funny" idea? "It doesn't worry me if people think he killed Kennedy," she is quoted as saying. Do liberals rush to heap hate labels on her and her work? Not at all. The highly regarded liberal critic Dwight Macdonald calls it "the funniest" political satire he's read in years. *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, the fountainheads of liberal restraint, have glowed over it, and Yale's drama school has given the authoress a $5,000 fellowship! Sic Semper Hate!

Or, take an example that I read even while writing this. In his syndicated newspaper column of December 18, Joseph Alsop says that I support Richard Nixon as a Presidential candidate for 1968 "beyond any doubt at all, because he has indicated to Goldwater that, if nominated, he will adopt the 'Southern strategy' that Goldwater invented and still favors." He goes on to make it clear this strategy is a racist strategy. (By the way, Alsop invented the "Southern strategy" slogan.)

Joseph Alsop may not have any doubts; he also hasn't any facts. It is "beyond any doubt" flat dishonesty to say that Richard Nixon has indicated to me that he will follow any particular strategy if I support him. It is a flat misrepresentation and not true to say that I favor a racist strategy of any sort, in any section, for any excuse, under any circumstances. I reject it. I abhor it. I have never accepted it, and I have never permitted it. I am not a racist, Mr. Alsop, and you do every standard of objective truth, commentary, and reportage a disservice when you say that I am or that I favor a racist strategy, or that Mr. Nixon does.

But the double standard takes care of that. Mr. Alsop and his friends object to the smear technique only when applied to themselves or *their* friends.

In not a single one of the examples mentioned would I argue for a moment against the right of the reporter to express whatever opinion of me he might have. Nor am I even arguing that a man should not have the right to distort the truth or even reverse it in an open society where a free exchange of ideas would provide a natural and effective antidote and counterbalance. At any rate, I would not argue that we should take any form of action that would give anyone the power to compel these men to behave differently.

My argument, which may seem more like a cry in the wilderness at this late date, is simply for every American to examine his premises and his standards when it comes to so-called facts and fairness. If it is a fact for liberals, it must also be a fact for conservatives.

I know that there are those on the right who have their own double standard of fairness, and I deplore that just as heartily. But there are frequent and ample outcries against that. There are saefguards aplenty. Not so with the double standards of the left. Liberals do not even seem aware that they *are* practicing a double standard, a two-faced fairness, a spread-eagle truth.

In short, I'm not looking for retraction or apology—just simple recognition of the facts and the useful, thoughtful reflection which we might expect to follow such a recognition. But I'm still not holding my breath waiting for it to happen.

Pampa, Tex., Jaycees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT PRICE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the December issue of the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce Future and JCI World carried an excellent article by Eddie Polnac, Pampa, Tex., Junior Chamber of Commerce president for 1965–66.

The opening paragraph of that story is a clue to the reason the Pampa Jaycees are one of the outstanding and active chapters in the Nation and are an asset to their community.

I recommend the following article as a case history of dedicated community service:

PAMPA, TEX., DIVISION III

"Our basic goal is really just to give back to the community what they have given us."

Eddie Polnac, 1965–66 President, thus sums up his chapter's philosophy toward community service, and how they look at their role in the community. Polnac explains that the Pampa Jaycees have found they can conduct three or four money-making projects, but the rest of their activities eat up the profits. But that's just the way they would have it.

The chapter has approximately 100 members on the rolls, with 60 being "real active." The chapter was chartered in 1929, and was the first on the North Texas plains.

Pampa, "heart of the Top o' Texas," is a city of 26,500 that revolves around two things for which the state is famous—cattle and petroleum. The majority of the residents are employed by some form of these industries. Also, Celanese, a chemical firm, and Cabot Corporation, the world's largest producer of carbon black, are located here and employ big payrolls. Cabot is one of the largest single employers, and is also a major manufacturer of gun barrels for the Defense Department.

Pampa, like their fellow winners in South Carolina, played an important role in a bond issue last year. The $2 million bond vote for civic improvement was officially endorsed by the chapter, and they helped push it by participating in special television programs in nearby Amarillo, explaining why it was needed, and what it would do for their city. Support of the successful campaign may have been their single-most important contribution to Pampa's future last year.

A Community Fair, held each June, is annually their major project, and about 40 members put in a lot of hard work to make it a success. The Fair is divided into several categories, and the Jaycees are the sole sponsor. Last year's Fair was the third one staged. Previously, there had not been anything such as this held in Pampa for 13 years. It usually draws over 10,000 persons, and runs for four days.

Of their community service projects, Pampans are especially proud of the Career Clinic, sponsored each year in connection with Altrusa Club and Chamber of Commerce. Under this sponsorship, speakers and top educators visit Pampa High School, with students from Pampa and surrounding schools participating. It's a two-day affair, held in February. Last winter the keynote speaker was Louis Timberlake of Austin, past national Jaycee Vice President.

While experiencing a year of progress on projects and service, this chapter also increased in membership, from 72, to the present number.

The Pampa success story hinges on a Board of Directors, which most pointed to as the key to their organization.

"All projects, anything at all done by the club, must first be passed by the Board," Jake Webb, current president, said. "They really run the organization; that's all there is to it. This way we feel it's an incentive to be a director or an officer, and the men always do a good job when they attain one of these positions."

Polnac agreed with this, and further explained that, "Last year, our Board was dedicated to their various portfolios, and were constantly trying to do the best job they could. Also, highly important to the year, was the fact that we had an extremely strong and active Jayceeette affiliate. They were so active in 1965–66 that they won both outstanding president, and member, in their division."

The past year's officers admitted that at times they thought they were in a little deep on something, but managed to carry off what they attempted. One of the city's leaders confirmed this.

"This group constantly bites off quite a bit more than it can chew—but it somehow always seems to get the job done, and come out looking great," said Bill Power, general manager of the *Pampa Times* and a director of the West Texas Chamber of Commerce.

This can readily be seen when you check that last year they had an average of three projects a week underway, and by the end of Polnac's term, had completed 187.

The community's top business leaders think that some of their most vital work is being done in connection with the Chamber of Commerce-sponsored Pampa Industrial Foundation.

"It's really tough for a town of this size to attract industry, and that's what we must do for communities like this to prosper," said E. L. Green, Jr., former president of the Chamber of Commerce.

"We have always received maximum cooperation out of the Jaycees when we asked them to help us concerning this, or anything else for that matter. They are an active, aggressive organization, always pushing their community, and its future."

To gain respect such as this, a chapter has to have strong cooperation and participation from the entire membership. This Pampa has had. Typical of the response that they can receive was a recent leukemia project. The chapter organized a blood bank for patients from their area of the state, located in Dallas. They sponsored a blood donor campaign, and had 100% participation in volunteers from the chapter. This might be computed down in the following formula: leadership + participation + service = Howard Award.

Oshkosh: A Special Place

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the January issue of Views, published by the Wisconsin Telephone Co., carries an excellent article entitled, "The Gentle People of Oshkosh: A Special Place."

Mr. Speaker, like all Oshkoshans, I am aware that the name of our hometown, as with Walla Walla and Kalamazoo, is often used to indicate a small town in Nowhere, U.S.A. Actually, Oshkosh, Wis., is a thriving, busy, and beautiful city with exceptionally friendly people and a population of around 53,000. So that my colleagues may be more familiar with this wonderful city, I would like to include the article from Views at this point in the RECORD:

THE GENTLE PEOPLE OF OSHKOSH: A SPECIAL PLACE

The ingredients that go into the making of a city are no different than those that make Oshkosh "A Special Place": Its industry, business, educational facilities, political structure—and most important—its people.

But the city has an intangible something more—congeniality. Amid rapid growth, Oshkosh has retained its charm. Its people seem to disdain the role of "big city folks."

Oshkosh has become an outstanding economic center in the thriving Fox Valley without losing its homespun flavor.

"Everything points to great potential growth for our city," asserts City Manager Angus Crawford. He says it with the directness of a command.

"There's nothing but growth. Anyone who can't see it has his head in the sand."

Few would argue with Crawford. Since 1960, the population of Oshkosh has increased 120 per cent over that of the preceding two decades; 137 basic industries now employ over 11,000 people, or nearly 20 per cent of the city's 53,000 residents; the unemployment rate is less than one per cent.

Wisconsin State University-Oshkosh also has influenced the city's growth—culturally, academically and economically. In addition, industry in Oshkosh draws skilled workers from a fine vocational school.

Business is so optimistic about the city's revitalization that one firm recently announced plans to build a $9 million downtown business re-development project entirely with its own money.

An early-day fur trading center, Oshkosh became a busy lumber town during the 19th century. It was a community of mills and wood craftsmen—and of paper and cloth, and cloth products. Its early claim to fame lay in the slogan coined by a local overall manufacturer, "Oshkosh B'Gosh."

Then, it slept.

A few years ago, it stirred, then soared.

There was motion everywhere. New industries came. Old ones expanded. University enrollment rose. The city bid successfully for the Fox Valley's major regional airport. But with this growth and diversity, Oshkosh successfully blended its frontier past with its urban present.

Picture the waterfront along the Fox River which meanders through the city: There are old buildings, many of them remnants of the logging era. By contrast, high-rise buildings probe an otherwise level skyline on the campus of the state university. And down the street stand ornate, majestic homes—reminders of the city's past and of the industrial leaders who built and lived in them. But the transition from one period to another is hardly noticeable, because one element has remained unchanged—the people.

How do the people who live in Oshkosh react to their city? What's it like to live in Oshkosh—to be a part of the city?

Suzie Radtke says, "I came here from Tomah. It's a small place with friendly people. But, people here are just as friendly. And Oshkosh has just about anything you'd find in a larger city." Suzie operates a computer in our company's accounting center at Oshkosh, which services the accounts of its customers outside the Milwaukee division. She is one of some 300 persons employed at the center. Many of them are college students working part-time. Some, like Suzie, are working to help their husbands through college.

"There are good places to eat and opportunities for recreation," Suzie continued. "I'm trying to sell my husband on the idea of a sailboat, but he keeps saying 'no'."

Suzie added, "And of course, it has the university, and—" she paused thoughtfully. "What else do you need? I don't know. I like it here."

Suzie's observations reflect the way businessmen view Oshkosh.

"Oshkosh is a great place," said businessman Ted Leyhe, vice president of Miles Kimball, one of the nation's leading gift mail-order houses.

"This is where we are. This is where our employees are. Because we're dependent on the city and its good will, we want to do our part as good community citizens."

But the feeling of community interest is not confined to a single company.

"Teamwork! That's the key to the whole story of progress in Oshkosh," declared Ed Kelly, executive vice president of the city's Chamber of Commerce.

"It's teamwork between the political, business and educational groups, and organizations of our city. It's teamwork that's expanding our regional airport. It's teamwork that's establishing Oshkosh as an important convention and tourist center. And it's teamwork that makes business a part of our community."

Garner Horton, coordinator of public information at Wisconsin State University-Oshkosh, summarized the contribution of the university to this teamwork: "Our philosophy is fundamental: We have both an educational and a service mission. We don't stand apart from the community.

"There is a close relationship between the college and the community. Many of the students work part-time for local businesses and, when they are graduated, often take jobs here. Some industries have remained in Oshkosh because they can easily tap this pool of talent. The university also offers its employees excellent opportunities for additional study at the college level."

A city of education. A city of industry. a city of recreation. A city of 50,000 people who feel that Oshkosh is indeed "A Special Place."

Washburn University, Topeka, Kans., 102 Years Old Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, today, February 6, is Founder's Day at Washburn University in Topeka, Kans. This year, 1967, will mark the beginning of its 102d year of existence as one of the fine educational institutions in the Midwest.

As Washburn continues its service to the academic world in this second century of its being, it does so by overcoming a serious handicap inflicted by the tornado of June 8, 1966, when its physical plant was all but wiped out in a few minutes of destructive fury.

The damage was assessed and the decision made almost immediately that Washburn would adjust in the face of tremendous odds and be prepared to carry on with the start of the fall semester last year.

This is a time to pay tribute to the administration, the faculty, and the students of Washburn and to wish them well in their endeavors to rebuild and emerge with a greater Washburn than ever before.

An editorial broadcast by the WIBW news department in Topeka on February 5 tells the story of Washburn's past, present, and future, and speaks eloquently for all of us who have faith in Washburn's rise to new heights. As a part of my remarks, I wish to include this editorial as a significant contribution to the importance of Founder's Day at Washburn University on February 6, 1967.

The editorial follows:

Ordinarily, a college Founders' Day celebration is an occasion on which friends of the university, the administrative staff, the governing body, students and alumni gather to exchange best wishes and praise the university. Monday, February 6, 1967, is

Founder's Day at Washburn University in Topeka. It will be a very special day.

Washburn was founded as Lincoln College on February 6, 1965. During its first 100 years, Washburn established an eminent reputation as an outstanding liberal arts college with an exceptionally fine law school. It was in her 101st year on June 8, 1966, that Washburn faced its greatest challenge. On that date, a massive tornado, the most destructive ever known to mankind, ravaged the city of Topeka and swept through the very heart of the Washburn campus. Every building on the campus was severely damaged or totally destroyed. Over 600 trees, some of which had been growing since the very earliest days of the university, were swept away.

The first building on the Washburn campus, Rice Hall built in 1874, was a victim of the storm. The June 8 tornado destroyed eight campus buildings—Crane, Rice, Thomas, MacVicar, Boswell, ROTC and two sorority houses. Fourteen other buildings were extensively damaged. The loss of equipment, books, supplies and facilities has been conservatively estimated at *ten million dollars*. On the morning of June 9, there were those who said, "Washburn will never hold classes again." But they were wrong. So the Founders' Day celebration on Monday takes on special significance.

Thanks to the dedication of the Washburn Board of Regents and administrative staff along with faculty, students, alumni and friends, Washburn is building back. Last year, the student enrollment was 4,500. This year, it is 4,200—a loss of only 300 students—a loss which was, without question, due to the tornado. But now that the young men and women of Kansas and the Middle West know that Washburn will continue for another 100 years, the enrollment figure will climb again to even higher levels.

Now . . . Washburn is building for the future. Plans for a new law school building are being drawn. Carnegie, the old law school, was almost destroyed, but it is being rebuilt and some classes are already meeting in this building. The Fine Arts Center is under construction. The studio and office building for the Washburn Educational TV station is being planned. The addition to the Washburn Student Union building was damaged while under construction at the time of the tornado. It is now open and is a splendid new facility for students and townspeople alike. The addition of the new wing to Morgan Hall, which will house an important computer center for university research and academic needs, will be completed in September. One of the highlights of the Founders' Day will be the laying of the cornerstone for the new Morgan Hall addition at noon Monday.

Other buildings must be built. On Thursday, the Higher Education Facilities Commission of Kansas voted to ask the U.S. Office of Education for an appropriation of $1,727,000 in federal disaster funds for the tornado-damaged university. The funds will help rebuild the 103,500 square feet of space destroyed by the tornado. The mere action of the Commission in making the recommendation doesn't solve Washburn's problem. But the recommendation does have the blessing and support of Governor Robert Docking. We hope the Kansas Congressional delegation along with the Governor and all other interested parties will push for approval of this emergency appropriation at the earliest possible date.

But this won't fully do the job. The fact is that Washburn is about four million dollars short of enough funds to replace the classroom space and other facilities lost in the storm. The university must find additional funds from whatever sources it can. Washburn University has meant a great deal to Kansas over the years. Isn't the June 8 tornado unique in the annals of college and university history any place in the nation? Where would the 4,200 students go if the university had been completely destroyed?

Yes, Washburn is building for the future. Much remains to be done if Washburn is to meet its forthcoming responsibility. Congratulations to Washburn on its 102nd birthday. It is a proud day for Washburn.

Udall's Watery Compromise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall has taken a switchblade knife to plans to supply the Pacific Southwest with adequate water by gutting the proposal for a Pacific Southwest water plan approved last year by the House Interior Committee. About all the Secretary salvages out of it is a puddle of water for his home State of Arizona and the fleeting approval of the Sierra Club whose affections are notably fickle. On February 3 the Los Angeles Times made the following editorial comments concerning Udall's folly:

UDALL'S WATERY "COMPROMISE"

Interior Secretary Stewart Udall has proposed an astonishing new plan for regional water development in the Pacific Southwest that is neither regional in scope nor creative in development.

It is, in fact, not so much a plan as a series of concessions.

The Colorado River Basin "compromise" announced Wednesday by Udall bears little resemblance to the imaginative concept of regional co-operation he once championed. Three years ago the secretary was urging the Basin states to join in developing new sources of supply so that present rights could be protected and future needs satisfied.

With Secretary Udall's support, the seven states served by the Colorado agreed last year on the introduction of legislation that would achieve the individual and collective aims of the states.

That regional approach is "rudely shattered" in Udall's new proposal, declared Sen. Thomas Kuchel (R-Calif.) one of the leaders in Congress most responsible for the progress that had been made. "The principles the secretary once espoused," said Sen. Kuchel, "are suddenly abandoned now. We have a right to ask: Why the switch?"

Why indeed?

Secretary Udall explained that "This is not a big victory for anyone. It's a victory for common sense."

"Conservationist" groups, however, can claim victory in the dropping of plans to build Marble Canyon and Hualapai (Bridge) Dams in spite of Udall's earlier insistence that hydroelectric development is essential to the economic integrity of a regional program. And Pacific Northwest members of Congress were victorious in insisting that no provisions for water importation studies be included.

Many Arizonans also will be elected because their cherished Central Arizona Project is included, even though the arrangements for financing and necessary power supply are at least debatable.

Politics thus prevailed, but it was hardly a "victory for common sense."

For as the secretary must know, there simply is not enough water in the Colorado to divert the 1.2 million acre-feet proposed for the Central Arizona Project and still provide the absolute minimum amounts guaranteed by law and court decree to the other basin states and by treaty to Mexico. Without the importation of new water, the CAP could be built only by cutting California's use nearly in half and by taking water granted to the upper Basin States by the original Colorado River Compact.

This is one of the reasons that Rep. Wayne Aspinall (D-Colo.), chairman of the all-important House Interior Committee, expressed immediate opposition to the new Udall plan. Chairman Aspinall had already introduced a bill authorizing the CAP but with provision for importation studies and a guarantee of California's fundamental right to 4.4 million acre-feet.

He and the other Colorado River Basin members of Congress will be awaiting a much fuller explanation of what Sen. Kuchel called the "bewildering intellectual somersault" of Secretary Udall.

It is a time for the Pacific Southwest states again to join in the common cause of sound water development. Or, as the 1963 Secretary Udall put it, if we do not work together, "we shall shrivel separately."

Two Views of the President's Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include editorials from the Wichita, Kans., Eagle and the McPherson, Kans., Sentinel which provide constructive commentaries on the President's proposed 1968 budget. Significantly, each of the editorials point to the great responsibility resting with the Congress in making an intensive examination of the budget and keeping it within reason. The editorials follow:

[From the Wichita (Kans.) Eagle]

THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET MAY BANKRUPT THE PUBLIC WILL

Presidential budgets are notoriously poor yardsticks by which to judge our nation's financial condition.

To begin with, the United States government actually operates under three budgets—the administrative budget, for which Mr. Johnson offered the fiscal 1968 edition this week; the cash budget, which reflects not only the administrative budget but also the various government trust funds; and the "national-income-accounts" budget which shows most but not all of what the cash budget shows, but reflects taxes as they accrue rather than as they are collected. From each of these budgets a citizen can get a different picture of the nation's fiscal situation.

Second, of course, is that Congress doesn't always go along with the President's budget. And sometimes the President doesn't either.

A year ago Mr. Johnson made about a $10-billion error in estimating the cost of the war in Vietnam. There is no guarantee he isn't making another one now. He may be off again in estimating the deficit, too.

So Mr. Johnson's fiscal 1968 budget—calling for total spending of $135-billion, a deficit of $8.1-billion, a big increase in defense spending and modest hikes in domestic spending—is not a detailed blueprint.

All-Americans really can be sure of is that government steadily is costing more, and that the national debt will continue upward.

Where citizens really can understand government spending is in their individual pocketbooks. And prospects are that the bite there will be bigger. Mr. Johnson has proposed the 6 per cent surtax on income. He also is proposing, in order to finance greatly expanded Social Security benefits, an increase in Social Security taxes. In fact, by 1974 the amount deducted from paychecks would be doubled.

The question is whether the nation can stand this. In one sense, there is no question that we can afford it. Our economy is growing, and government spending today represents less of the annual Gross National Product than in years past.

But an expanding economy creates a kind of "rising expectation" among the people. People expect increased earning power to produce increased buying power. When higher taxes and inflation eat significantly into increased income, a reaction sets in.

The danger in swiftly growing government spending is not that it will bankrupt the country, but that it will bankrupt the people's will. Heavy taxing and inflation can destroy public acceptance of and enthusiasm for public programs. It can produce an attitude of negativism that could hamper a nation for years.

Congress must and undoubtedly will look critically at President Johnson's budget. A balance must be struck carefully between need and resources, between the desire for programs and the willingness to pay for them. Spending inevitably will be up. It is Congress' responsibility to keep it within bounds.

[From the McPherson, Kans., Sentinel]

JOHNSON BUDGET REFUSES TO FACE FACTS

President Johnson's proposed new budget still ignores the basic fact that his increase ignores the threat of inflation. We had a bad taste of that last year and we can expect more as long as our government continues to spend more and more. Sooner or later we will be so far in debt that these impractical overspending plans will bring even more serious inflation.

As expected, he made no reductions in his Great Society. Instead, preliminary study indicates that he asks for increases in the total Great Society spending. The only major reduction is for the space program.

The war is going to cost more and more. Judging by last year the cost of this coming year will be even higher than he plans.

With money and credits already the tightest in recent history, this added increase in our deficit cannot be carried forever.

May our Congress have the sense to strip some of the mishandled Great Society projects and let them wait until we get done with the increasingly disastrous war we are fighting.

The Communist World in 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GILBERT GUDE
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, in the interest of public information I wish to include in the RECORD the thorough and informative testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of the Honorable George Kennan, former Ambassador to Moscow and Belgrade.

With respect to changes within the Communist world and their effect on East-West relations, Mr. Kennan concludes:

> These changes have now come. They are, in my most earnest opinion, of such a nature as to give us, for the first time perhaps since 1917, a real and hopeful possibilities for the adjustment of peaceful means of our relations with certain of these Communist countries, particularly the Soviet Union.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT ON "THE COMMUNIST WORLD IN 1967" BY THE HONORABLE GEORGE KENNAN FOR THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE JANUARY 30, 1967

Mr. Chairman, distinguished members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee:

The subject on which you would like me to testify today is, as I understand it, "The Communist World in 1967." In reflecting on what I might usefully say in the way of initial remarks on this vast subject, it occurred to me that the present state of the Communist world cannot be understood except in its historical context. So I am going to ask for your patience in letting me turn back very briefly to the past and review once more the main events out of which this present situation has been formed.

As we all know, there grew up around the turn of the last century in a number of European countries, but particularly in Germany, a strong social-democratic political movement based on the writings and teachings of Karl Marx. In Western Europe this was, for the most part, a moderate and humane movement. It was revolutionary in its objectives, but moderate and democratic, for the most part, in its methods.

In Russia things took a somewhat different course. Here the Social-Democratic Party, coming late to the political scene, was affected by the violent and extreme tendencies that had already come to prevail in much of the older Russian revolutionary movement, with the result that the Party split from the start into two wings: one relatively moderate one, committed to the belief that the Party should observe democratic procedures in its own internal administration and should compete for mass political support; the other basing itself on the concept of the Party as a small conspiratorial core of highly trained and disciplined professional revolutionaries, and committed to the belief that desirable changes not only in Russian life but in the lives of all the advanced Western peoples could come only by violent revolution—not by the operation of the normal democratic and parliamentary process. And it was this second and violent wing of the Russian Social-Democratic Party which, under the brilliant and uncompromising leadership of Lenin, triumphed in the Russian Revolution fifty years ago this year, and established throughout Russia a dictatorial power which it has retained to the present day.

Now this triumph of the Bolsheviki, or the Communists as they now came to be called, in the Russian Revolution was one of the great determining events of this century, and one that endangered in the cost serious way the interests of Western peoples. With this event the human and material resources of one of the world's great countries—a country with tremendous economic and military as well as cultural potential—came under the control of a group of fanatics deeply prejudiced against the traditional institutions of the Western countries and determined to do what they could to bring about the overthrow of the governments and social systems of those countries. They did not hesitate to undertake vigorous efforts in this direction; and in the conditions of instability and economic distress that followed the First World War they found many people in the West willing to accept their lead and to join them in these efforts. This was of course a dangerous situation. Its dangers were moderated at that time by the fact that Russia, weakened by the ravages of war and revolution, was not a strong military power for offensive purposes, and by the fact that the traditional institutions of Western countries proved much more resistant than had the institutions of Tsarist Russia to the revolutionary pressures which these people engendered. Nevertheless, the Soviet regime of Lenin's day, inspired by an intense world-revolutionary enthusiasm, presented a serious danger to the stability of the Western community of nations and an unprecedented problem for Western policymakers.

In the mid-nineteen twenties, Lenin's leadership was replaced by that of Stalin. This was a significant change. Stalin was a less fanatical, more cautious man, skeptical of the possibilities of achieving world revolution, anxious to retain his own personal ascendancy in the world communist movement, but interested more immediately in building up Russia's industrial and military establishment than in encouraging other Communist Parties to seize power. He was a crafty, cynical politician, a man of great and dangerous tactical ability in political action and no friend of the West. The reign of terror that he instituted in Russia in the nineteen-thirties and continued in some degree down to the day of his death was so extreme that it complicated in many ways the maintenance of anything resembling normal relations between Russia and the Western countries. His behavior toward the West in the common confrontation with Hitler's Germany was devoid of both good will and good faith. Throughout his lifetime, too, Russia remained, although for reasons somewhat different than in Lenin's time, a dangerous adversary of the United States and other Western powers in world affairs.

Down to the Second World War Stalin kept the world communist movement under his own jealous and unrelenting personal control. There was, however, no major expansion of the geographic area to which Communist power extended until the final phases of the war against Hitler carried the Soviet armed forces into the heart of Europe. Stalin was quick to take advantage of this development as a means of extending the borders of the Soviet Union in the West and of installing or assisting the installation of Communist regimes in all of Eastern and part of Central Europe, including the Soviet zone of Germany. Slow to realize the dangers of this development we had little choice but to accept it once it had occurred. The alternative was only to add another great war to the one we had just finished. The Sovietization of Eastern and Central Europe was part of the price we paid for the defeat of Hitler.

This success of Stalin's wartime statesmanship appeared to be supplemented in the immediate postwar period by the triumph of the Communists in China. This event was of course a great boon to the prestige of Communists everywhere. But it did not constitute quite the extension of Stalin's power that many people then thought it did. Differences between the two parties—the Russian and the Chinese—were of long standing. Once in control of China's resources, independent therefore of Russian support, and having their own national pride, the Chinese Communists saw no reason to take orders from Moscow or to respect Moscow's authority in the world communist movement. The Chinese Revolution did indeed mean the creation of another great Communist power, no less violently prejudiced against the West, no less hostile to Western interests and institutions, than Lenin's or Stalin's Russia. The differences between this power and the Soviet Union did not become openly apparent for several years to come; but in actuality Communist China represented for the Soviet Union from the start in some respects an ally, in other respects a rival, never a satellite.

The triumph of the Communist in China coincided in time with the decision of the Communist leaders of Yugoslavia, which had initially been included in the postwar Soviet bloc, to defy Moscow's authority and to strike out on an independent path. They were successful in doing this, and have maintained their independence ever since.

It will be observed, therefore, that while the events of the final phases of World War II and the immediate postwar period did indeed bring about significant increases in the territory ruled by Communist regimes, they also had the effect of destroying the monolithic character of Moscow's control of the world communist movement. Moscow did retain control over most of the territory—not all—that Russian troops had overrun in Eastern and Central Europe. Moscow further retained, for the time being, its dominant influence among the various Communist Parties in the countries where communism had not triumphed. But it had to accommodate itself to the existence of two Communist states—China and Yugoslavia—whose policies and behavior it could not control.

This was the situation that existed from 1948 down to Stalin's death five years later. After his death this situation underwent a fundamental alteration. The disorders in Eastern Germany in 1953 and the troubles in Hungary and Poland in 1956 shook Moscow's moral authority throughout the world communist movement. Khrushchev's effort, then, to improve relations with Yugoslavia—an effort to which he felt himself driven precisely by the growing tension between Russia and China—contributed further to the weakening of Moscow's authority among the Communists of the world because it appeared to give Russian sanction to Tito's independent course. It caused other Communist leaders to ask themselves: "Well, if Tito can follow an independent line and be respected and rewarded for it by Moscow. why can't we?" But most important of all was the emergence to the surface, beginning in 1957, of serious differences between the Soviet and Chinese Communist Parties and the development of these differences into a full-fledged open political conflict between two powers.

What earlier events had left undone in the way of destruction of the unity of the Communist bloc the Chinese-Soviet conflict now completed. In the light of this conflict, the other Communist Parties and regimes were not only placed in a position where they *could* make independent choices and decisions; they were virtually forced to do so. A bewildering variety of options was now open to them. They could hold to Moscow. They could hold to Peking. They could take the Yugoslav course and follow neither of the great powers. They could follow the lead of one of the two great powers in their external relations, but follow their own needs and preferences in domestic policy. Or they could do just the opposite: They could follow Moscow's example, or Peking's example, in domestic policy, but strike out on their own in the field of foreign policy. The very inability to avoid a choice among these various alternatives forced the foreign Communists, right then and there, to a complete independence of decision. And this was an independence of which they could no longer really be deprived; for even if their decision ran to the respecting of the authority of one or the other of the great Communist powers, they would be doing this now of their own free choice, and they could withdraw their allegiance as easily and independently as they had given it.

The result was, of course, that decisions went in a variety of different ways. Bulgaria, for example, held in all respects to Moscow, Albania, to Peking. Rumania continued to adhere generally to the Russian example in its domestic practices but largely emancipated itself from Russian influence in its foreign policies. Poland did just the opposite.

The same dissimilarities soon became apparent in the reactions of the various Communist Parties not in power. They, too, were forced to make choices. Some adhered to Peking, some to Moscow. Some went one way at one time, another way at another. Some split up entirely into mutually antagonistic pro-Moscow or pro-Peking factions. Some, disgusted with the whole business and unable to get anything in the nature of effective guidance from either of the two great Communist capitals, simply decided to begin to disregard both of them and to go their own way.

This is the sort of Communist world we have before us today. The existence of this situation is a matter of easily ascertainable fact, not of speculation. This being the case, to attribute today to the various parties, regimes and factions that make up the world communist movement any sort of a unified political personality—to speak of them as though they represented a single disciplined force, operating under the conspiratorial control of a single political will, as I sometimes still here people speak of them in this country, and occasionally even within the halls of this august legislative body—is to fly in the fact of an overwhelming body of evidence, to move intellectually in the realm of patent absurdity, to deny by implication the relevance of external evidence to the considerations and decisions of foreign affairs. The unity of the Communist bloc is a matter of the past; and it will not be restored. This Humpty Dumpty will not and cannot be reassembled.

Now this, of course, does not mean there is no problem. These regimes and parties and factions remain Communist, or nominally Communist, even if they are not united; and as such they continue to reflect in verying degrees elements of the Communist ideology that are adverse to our concepts as well as to our interests—adverse also, we like to think, to the interests of world peace. But here there are certain circumstances that we must be careful to bear in mind.

First of all, what communism means today embraces a very wide spectrum of outlooks and behavior. Some of these Communist elements, like the Chinese Communist regime, present from our standpoint as ugly and menacing a phenomenon as did Lenin's Russia at the height of its world-revolutionary enthusiasm. Others, as in the case of the Yugoslav regime or the Italian Communist Party, are operating on the basis of concepts which present no greater problems from our standpoint than those that govern the behavior of many regimes or parties that do not call themselves Communist at all. It is simply impossible to generalize, today, about communism as a problem in the spectrum of American foreign policy.

But in addition to that, even within the framework of the individual Communist parties or regimes, the nature of communism is not a static thing. It has already undergone great changes in many instances, and is still in a process of change everywhere. This is particularly important in the case of the Soviet Union. I can assure you that the outlooks that are prevalent today in the Russian Communist Party are greatly different from those that prevailed in earlier decades. Of course, not all of these outlooks are reassuring; habits of thought, prejudices and preconceptions still endure that we have to recognize as hostile and dangerous to the only sort of world stability we can imagine. Efforts carried forward in the name of these outlooks merit our continued vigorous and vigilant resistance. But these are no longer the only outlooks that exist. In the main, the changes that have come over Soviet communism and the mental world of its leaders, particularly in the years since Stalin's death, have been hopeful rather than alarming ones—ones which, if properly understood and met from the non-Communist side, hold encouraging rather than menacing connotations for the prospects for world stability.

It must never be forgotten that in the pattern of our relationship with any great nation there are always elements of conflict in outlook as in interest. An uncomplicated relationship between great nations does not exist, has never existed, and will never exist. In the tensions that have agitated the relations between our country and the Soviet Union over the half century of the latter's existence, there have always been, for this reason, two components: one that arose from the peculiar ideological outlooks and commitments of the Soviet leaders—from their quality, in other words, as Communists; the other one composed of the abundant frictions, suspicions, anxieties and conflicts of interest that normally bedevil the relations between great states and do not constitute in themselves a proper source for discouragement or despair with relation to the prospects for world peace. I think it may safely be said that, in the pattern of our differences with the Soviet leadership over the course of the past fourteen years, that component which reflects the nature of the Communist ideological commitments has tended generally to decline; and the relative importance of the other component, the normal one, has tended, accordingly, to rise. Many of us would be helped in our thinking about the problems of Soviet-American relations if we could free ourselves from the abnormal sensitivities and reflexes to which the extreme tensions of earlier decades have led and teach ourselves to think about Russia as simply another great world power with its own interests and concerns, often necessarily in conflict with our own but not tragically so—a power different in many respects, but perhaps no longer in essential ones, from what Russia would have been had there been no Communist revolution in that country fifty years ago.

Finally, there is one vitally important point on which I would like to conclude. Not only does international communism present itself to us today in many diverse aspects, and not only is it a phenomenon constantly in process of change; it is also something that reacts sensitively in many respects to what we do and say, and must therefore be regarded as partially subject to our influence. Almost everywhere in the Communist world there are forces more inclined to appreciate the values of a peaceful world and to contribute, where they can, to development in that direction, and there are forces less inclined to move along this line. We have it in our power, by the manner in which we frame our policies, to encourage or to discourage either of these conflicting forces. International communism is thus not just entirely what we find it to be. It is in part what we make of it.

The implications of all this, from the standpoint of American policy, are of enormous seriousness at this present moment. We stand today at something of a parting of the ways with respect to our approach to the Communist world. If we fail to take account of the encouraging elements in the situation—if we act as though they did not exist and carry our differences against individual Communist powers as though we were still dealing with the naive world-revolutionary force of Lenin's day or with the grim monolith of Communist power that confronted us in the days of Stalin—we may be neglecting and discarding the only chance that I can see to spare ourselves or our children, or both, the immeasurable catastrophes of a world war among nuclear powers.

As one whose professional experience with world communism now runs back for just forty years, I think I have as intimate an acquaintance with this phenomenon as anyone in this country. I saw it and knew it at first hand in the difficult times of the nineteen-thirties. I knew it again at the most difficult time of all—at the heyday of Stalin's triumph and arrogance at the end of World War II. I had the temerity to urge publicly upon our Government and our people at that time patience in the approach to Russian communism, being confident that there would be changes, and thinking it likely that these changes would be ones that would make it easier for us to cope with it without inviting the catastrophe of another war. These changes have now come. They are, in my most earnest opinion, of such a nature as to give us, for the first time perhaps since 1917, real and hopeful possibilities for the adjustment by peaceful means of our relations with certain of these Communist countries, particularly the Soviet Union. I can think of nothing more tragic than that today, when these possibilities are really coming into being, when rays of light are visible which twenty years ago were only gleams of hope in our own eyes, we should fail to perceive or recognize these hopeful elements, should lose our patience just when it is most vitally important to retain it, and should risk driving our differences with Communist powers to a violent and apocalyptic conclusion.

Humble Barber Is Key Man at Prayer Breakfast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, one of our good friends and most dedicated employees on Capitol Hill, Tom Fox of the Rayburn Building barbershop, achieved note in an article which appeared in last Saturday's Cleveland Plain Dealer, one of the Nation's outstanding newspapers.

His contribution to the Presidential prayer breakfast last week was certainly deserving of national attention.

Tom Fox is a worthy man, whose good deeds and genial philosophy never fail to brighten one's day, and whose tireless endeavors for Christianity are an inspiration to us all.

The article follows:

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer, Feb. 4, 1967]

HUMBLE BARBER IS KEY MAN AT PRAYER BREAKFAST

(By Roy W. Adams)

WASHINGTON.—One of the most influential men, at least for a brief hour or so this week in this city of influential men, was not one who held a seat in the U.S. Senate or in any other agency of the federal government.

The seat he holds can be turned easily with a slight flick of the wrist. He stands behind it or alongside of it and cuts the hair of people sitting in it.

He is a humble barber, and his name is Thomas W. Fox, 42.

But Tom Fox, as he is called by the congressmen whose hair he has trimmed for years and the generals and admirals who were his customers before that, is far more than a barber.

Fox, one of three principal planners, for the past six years has been head usher at the annual Presidential Prayer Breakfast.

The 15th annual Presidential Prayer Breakfast drew about 1,200 top government leaders—all men—headed by President Lyndon B. Johnson, to this city's Hotel Shoreham Thursday morning to hear a sermon preached by Secretary of the Treasury Henry H. Fowler.

It was the first time in 15 years that the preacher has not been Evangelist Billy Graham.

Another 500 to 600 persons sat in an overflow congregation. They had breakfast at the International Inn, where the Shoreham proceedings, including a 12-minute speech by the President, were piped in.

The entire group included most members of both houses of Congress, Supreme Court justices, the cabinet, heads of agencies, etc.

U.S. Rep. William E. Minshall (R–23), who hadn't been able to attend for a number of years, said in advance that he wouldn't miss this one and called the whole occasion "a tremendous spiritual experience."

While the men were eating, listening and praying, nearly 600 women, led by Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, gathered in another room of the Shoreham for their own 7th annual Congressional Wives Prayer Breakfast.

This sort of thing isn't too difficult for an usher of Fox's caliber. The World War II Navy veteran is head usher at National City Christian Church, here, where President Johnson often worships. He is a "gold key" usher, which is just about as high in ushering as one can go.

Fox lives in South Arlington, Va. with his wife and two sons, age six and three. He has been a barber for 20 years, ever since he got out of the Navy, and for the past 15 of those in government barber shops.

For some time he cut hair in the Pentagon, where the Joint Chiefs of Staff were among his best customers. For many years thereafter he was at the Fort Myer Officer's Club. For nine years, until the new Rayburn Building opened a year or two ago, he pursued his trade in the former new House Office Building, the Longworth Building. It was there he built up his congressional clientele.

The annual meal-rite usually includes a hymn by a topflight military singing group, and New Testament and Old Testament readings by members of the House and Senate. It lasts about one hour.

Doing most of the administrative work arranging these breakfasts are two other men. They are Douglas Coe, who grew up in Salem, Ore., and Fred Hyne, his administrative assistant.

Coe is associate executive director of the International Christian Leadership, a Washington-based organization formed with the specific purpose of following up the idea and directing the operation of such high level functions as the Presidential Prayer Breakfast, annual Gubernatorial Prayer Breakfasts—which have been held in all 50 states but in no more than 40 in any single year—1,200 Mayoral Prayer Breakfasts and similar civic types of breakfasts around the nation.

The aim is the same in all: to bring the nation's leadership together in a religious setting.

The presidential breakfast costs from $7,000 to $9,000 each year and, until this year, the tab has always been picked up by one man, William C. Jones of Los Angeles, publisher and philanthropist. This year, however, a separate group supported the function.

Thursday's theme was "Prayer for the nation."

Our Movable Debt Ceiling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that Congress is now considering the question of the debt ceiling, the Economic Council letter of February 1 should, in my opinion, be excellent background reading by all Members of Congress before voting on this serious question. The letter follows:

[From the Economic Council letter, Feb. 1, 1967]

OUR MOVABLE DEBT CEILING

The irony of it was that the very same day in the very same paper which carried the little note about the Office of Emergency Planning, there was an item saying that Congress was being asked to push through an immediate increase in the debt ceiling, because the federal government was already (in fiscal mid-year) close to the legal spending limit. The debt ceiling is set by Congress to be the upper limit on all government borrowing, above which the Treasury cannot legally borrow any money. The limit is supposed to last until the end, not the middle of the year. Almost every year, under the Leftist revolution, Congress has been asked to raise the debt ceiling, and Congress has somewhat reluctantly complied. Congress became so angry at this game that it began to make only temporary increases in the debt ceiling. This serves a very useful purpose, because it compels the Treasury to come back to Congress and ask to have the ceiling lifted. This compels the executive to make some explanation and some promises about how much better they will do next year, and it compels the appropriate committees of Congress to take a momentary look at what is happening to the national debt.

Don't believe that it is of no importance. The federal spenders do not like it at all. They do not like to go down to the Hill and explain what they are doing to the debt. They do not like to be scolded and told that they are spending too much. It cramps their style and makes them a little hesitant for a while in asking for as much money as they would like to have.

They are now asking Congress to abandon the idea of debt ceilings, and give them unrestricted authority to borrow whatever they "need." If you think our present method of regularly raising the legal limits on borrowing whenever Congress is asked is foolish, just imagine where the debt would be now if the happy spenders on the executive side did not have to come in regularly and tell Congress why they were exceeding their limits.

A great many good people are saying "Why don't we take the limits off entirely and stop this farce?", but they are so wrong. That little farce of raising the debt limit in small pieces has saved us many billions of federal waste. It also keeps the reins in the hands of Congress, so that some day, when the people demand it, Congress can say, "You must live within the limits we set and when you come back to us again we will not raise the limit. If you borrow money, you will go to jail, and you will not be able to pay the government's bills."

It will come to that some day. We do not know when. But during the credit crisis of a few weeks back, one federal official said, "you don't know how close we came to not being able to meet the government's bills."

Yes, some of us know. And we know the crisis has not passed at all. The government is still close to being unable to meet its bills. It is meeting them with what is in fact printing press money. Printing press money is inflated money like that which caused the Mississippi Bubble or the catastrophic German inflation of the 20's which destroyed the German middle classes and cleared the way for Hitler.

And today, as before, there are a few voices in the wilderness sounding the alarm in this country. One goes so far as to predict that "the government of the United States will go bankrupt in 1970."

So we come back to the gas main fire in New York, "the miracle of Friday the thirteenth" when instantaneous, perfectly correlated actions by a variety of city and private agencies saved hundreds of people from a fiery death, and began immediate aid for the homeless.

By what kind of crazy logic does the Federal Office of Emergency Planning, over in another state get into the act, and get Washington into the act on the same day when the Treasury had to ask Congress to give them an immediate increase in the debt limit so they could pay their bills?

You will remember the Office of Emergency Planning, of course. It is the agency which has been exercising the frightening range of "emergency" powers which were widely discussed recently in connection with the President's Executive Order No. 11310, transferring some of these total emergency powers to the Attorney-General.

The Office of Emergency Planning keeps in practice on current "emergencies" to be ready for the Big Day, when the federal Planners take over total power. Meanwhile they are rehearsing. You pay for it.

This "emergency" planning was not devised by President Johnson or President Kennedy. War time emergency powers have been renewed periodically since the end of World War II.

When will the Governors and state legislatures begin to flight?

THE ROOTS OF LOCAL SOVEREIGNTY

What we would like to know is why our sovereign states tolerate this daily invasion of their sovereignty, as laid down in the Constitution. We have no trouble understanding why the Planners want these powers, and this money, but we cannot understand why our sovereign states and their people are willing to surrender their sovereign power.

The colonists did not bring over the English Government only English law. They set up very few governmental processes—those for the registering of wills, of marriages, of land sales, and dealing with obvious law breakers. The people governed themselves. They had no intention of giving up this remarkable system, because they saw the needs for a national unity. So they devised a compact, laying down the requirements of a national agreement with limited powers. Even so, the people were not satisfied and insisted on specific amendments, reserving to the states and to the people all powers not actually granted to the newly-formed government.

There were only thirteen original states, but when the new government took over the north-west territories of these colonies, there was never any question but that the people in the new territories would also have the right to form sovereign states.

All of the Louisiana territory, Florida, the former Mexican lands, and the Oregon territory had the same equal claim to becoming free and sovereign states. If there were any doubt about the importance of the states as part of the American design, Florida, Indiana, Kansas, Texas, and Oregon would be dependent provinces of the original Thirteen.

Why aren't the states proud? Why don't they love their freedom, their history, their unique culture, their great contribution to the American miracle of unity in diversity?

GRANTS ARE BRIBES

The chief instrument for the undermining of our states has been federal grants-in-aid, as they are called. The federal government contributes a percentage of the cost of state governmental projects, in return for the right to control the "plan."

This device was not invented by the New Deal, but came into use earlier, for a few new problems.

The New Dealers and their successors with varying names saw an infinite number of new ways in which to use the principle of "matched" grants. They raised the federal contribution, gained increasing control over the "planning" and introduced the insidious concept of "training" by which the personnel of the state bureaus were indoctrinated by federal agencies in the concepts that helped the growth of federal power.

We have written of the danger of letting the federal government "train" the police forces of our cities. We believe they intend to indoctrinate the police in the ideas of criminology held by the Planners. We know, because they took over the "training" of state welfare workers many years ago, and indoctrinated them with certain basic concepts like the teaching that grown children have no responsibility for aging parents, but should turn them over to Social Security or public welfare. They also taught that mothers of illegitimate children must be compensated for each illegitimate child on the incredible basis that encouraging illegitimacy and one parent homes was "benefiting" children.

Grants-in-aid make the state Governors dependent on federal approval, delude the legislatures into thinking they can avoid the costs of rising welfare, make state employees conform to federal ideology, and greatly increase the total cost of each program. They are rapidly driving our state governments into dangerous financial shoals.

If the states remain dependent on grants-in-aid, they cannot be sovereign.

ONWARD AND UPWARD

President Johnson's State of the Union Message was overlong, rhetorical, pie in the sky. But make no mistake, President Johnson was on his way. The message was a bold challenge to critics of his past record and a warning that he was moving triumphantly to conquer new worlds.

This undertone was seen clearly by James Reston. He said of the President, "He may have made a tactical move to the right. But he is still moving and reforming. The liberals, who cry for innovation and reform, have been somewhat unfair to him in recent days; his overall strategy is not conservative, but progressive."

President Johnson is not trying to carry out the New Deal or the New Frontier. He is pointing out that beyond each range is a higher range and that he intends to climb it. Dynamism Unlimited must be the rule of the "Welfare" State.

Johnson has no use for crying towel liberals. He has higher goals. As Reston said, "He moves by fits and starts; he advances and retreats; but in general he moves with the tides of power."

The key words in his bigger and better New Deal are housing, rebuilding of our cities, education, and training, welfare, and air pollution. These are cloudy words, the kind carefully designed to cover anything and everything the President may wish to do.

The planners are moving step by step toward a great envelopment of state government, local government and private industry. We have seen tentative steps in this direction, but "we ain't seen nothing yet."

President Johnson calls this "creative federalism" or a new "partnership" between the federal government and the formerly independent sectors of our nation. The key for Constitutionalists is to remember that a government with very large sums of money operates as a suction pump. It sucks the life and initiative out of its partners, making them ever more dependent.

We live in a world in which nothing is what it seems. We may not like conspiracy, intrigue, Machiavellian cleverness, but they are real. They occur again and again as human energy deteriorates, as problems become too numerous and complex. Such is the time in which our lives must be lived. If we wish to serve, we must serve in that world, not some other.

It is quite true that the New Deal—New Frontier is old and tired. It is a burnt out cause. But no one sees that as clearly as President Johnson and the deep thinkers among his advisers.

The President told these men months ago that he wanted them to come up with new and daring solutions. He gave them funds, privacy, all the resources of the federal government. We shall see the new dynamism spring out through one dramatic program after another for years to come. It is our belief that when men of lively minds are given vast sums of money, and are told to find new and lively ways to spend money, with the implied promise that they will be invited to carry out their ideas, they will produce enough new ideas to shake their society to its foundations. Any spending government can do it—and will. That is, unless we are courageous enough to take back our money.

Here we repeat—these men do not need to know anything about the problems of cities, slums, welfare, health, education. That is not what they are paid for. They are paid to come up with ideas for centralizing the funds and governmental powers needed to dazzle the rest of the society.

The preferred method is to put the federal government into "partnership" with the states, the cities, and private business, but on a greatly expanded scale. It is becoming increasingly difficult for the federal government to ask for vast new funds. So they plan to get their finances by diverting to their ends the funds which can be raised by local governments and business firms.

Will the Governors, the Mayors, and the business men swallow the pretty feathered hook? Our guess is Yes, especially the business men.

The largest share of this new Federal dynamism falls to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. This Department now spends $12 billion a year, plus $25 billion for social security. It administers 150 programs. It employs 100,000 people, But it will grow and grow!

HEW Secretary Gardner believes the states and cities do not have "the vitality and competence to play their role in an effective partnership with the federal government." He is going to reform them.

Says *Time*, "With the aid of a former Pentagon Whiz Kid, Assistant Secretary William Gorham 35, grafted McNamara style systems, analyses, techniques, onto HEW's programs" so Gardner can decide how the money is to be spent. Do you see?

In an article in the *Reporter*, Douglas Cater says that "throughout the government the federal Budget Director has worked this past year with department heads to initiate the Programming, Planning Budgeting system already in effect in the Pentagon."

Do you see? The whiz kids in the Pentagon were only the beginning. We are moving rapidly to Pentagonize the federal government, as it acquires a firm grip on our states, cities, and private business.

The question is not whether the states want to refuse the federal bribes. The question is whether they are to survive as states. They can choose to wear the yoke and be harnessed to the triumphal chariot of omnipotent federal power. It won't be long now.

Remarks of the Honorable John V. Tunney

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of the Members of Congress a speech given in New York City, January 31 by the Honorable JOHN V. TUNNEY. It was given before the American-Arab Association for Commerce and Industry, Inc., a trade organization in New York which tries to promote closer relations between the United States and Arab nations.

The speech points out the benefits of regional cooperation in the Maghreb, and the problems and opportunities the United States and the north African countries must face together.

I believe all will benefit from reading Mr. TUNNEY's remarks, which follow:

It is a great pleasure for me to be here. I would like to discuss briefly with you some of the problems and opportunities we jointly face in the Maghreb.

All of us have an interest in the peaceful development and political stability of this region, so important strategically and economically in world affairs.

Under our system, private business can do at least as much to promote economic development as government, and we all know that the benefits of prosperity abroad are shared by all of us at home.

Maghreb means the "west" in classical Arabic. During my recent visit there with Senator Edward Kennedy, I had occasion to see how much it does resemble our own west, particularly that part of California from which I come. Many of its problems—the urgent need for water and for regional solutions to economic difficulties—are similar to those of my own district. I am sure that the members of the U.S. Trade and Investment Mission, in whose honor we are meeting, will bear me out on these striking similarities.

For those who have not yet had the opportunity to visit the area, let me set the scene briefly.

First, the four countries—Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco—form a homogeneous area one-half the size of the United States with about one-fifth the population. To be sure, much of this vast area is Saharan desert, but we are only now beginning to realize how valuable a piece of real estate this "inland sea" really is.

Secondly, we are talking about old peoples but new countries. Libya, the oldest, just celebrated its fifteenth birthday, but Algeria is still only five. In this connection, we should also bear in mind that none of the countries of the Maghreb was able to devote its full energies to economic development until the Algeria war for independence ended in July 1962.

Thirdly, if the countries are new, so are the people. Fifty percent of the population is under twenty-one. I had the impression of vast numbers of children in the three Maghreb countries I visited. The danger is that this new generation coming of age in new countries without strong institutions or economics will demand more of their governments than they can possibly provide. We may then find the infernal cycle of agitation, repression and revolution repeated in an area that has seen bloodshed and turmoil enough.

Fourthly, the key to economic stability is a stronger agricultural base. None of the countries of the Maghreb is able to feed itself, even though most of its people depend on agriculture for a living. This points to the direction United States aid ought logically to take.

Fifthly, one cannot travel through north Africa without being impressed by its essential units. Only the inevitable customs and police formalities differentiate national frontiers. There is a common language, a dialectal variety of Arabic. All form part of the widespread family of Islam, which remains perhaps the most powerful social and cultural as well as religious force. The similarities extend to cuisines, dress and even superstitions. All have emerged from a common colonial past, three of the four under the same master.

Thus, on the level of people, everything serves to unite. One could argue with some justice that there is greater unifying force in north Africa today than there was in the United States under the articles of confederation. Moreover, beginning well before Algerian independence, common agreement was reached by nationalist parties in the four countries to seek the maximum political and economic unity as soon as independence was attained. I will have more to say on the prospects for Maghreb unity a little later.

The north African economies resemble nothing as much as a paradox. In Arzew in Algeria, you can walk in just a few minutes from the most modern gas liquefaction plant in the world to fields plowed by donkeys. Shacks of wood scraps and tin have mushroomed alongside modern superhighways. There is great progress and the most grinding poverty. For these are developing countries and everywhere the development is unequal.

The Libyan economy has known the greatest rate of growth. Since the first major oil strikes in 1959, it has expanded rapidly; per capita GNP rose from about $145 at that time to $435 in 1964. Possibly no other country in the world has ever run the gamut of oil development in such a short period. The Libyan Government is channelling seventy percent of its growing revenues from the oil industry into development programs in less favored sectors, including agriculture and education. Although three-quarters of the population is occupied with agriculture, Libya no longer is able to feed itself, largely because of sporadic and inadequate rainfall. Manufacturing is relatively unimportant but should increase as a result of the current development plan.

Tunisia is one of the prime examples of a country raising itself by the bootstraps. It has made the most of its limited natural resources, assisted by one of the largest U.S. aid programs in Africa, totalling $400 million up to the end of FY 1965. The basis of its economy remains agriculture, and here the limiting factor is lack of water. Tourism and industry are beginning to thrive and the potential for overall development is within reach.

It would takes volumes to adequately describe the Algerian economy. Oil was discovered and produced in 1957, and is now the most important export. Plans are well along for important industrial development and tourism is again receiving the attention of the government. Ten percent of the world's natural gas remains largely unexploited under the Sahara. There is a very modern industrial sector and extremely rich, rationally-exploited farm lands, but fifty percent of the labor force is unemployed and some 500,000 Algerians must earn their living abroad. Recent studies have indicated a potential for the highest rate of growth in Africa, but there has been little net investment in recent years. It can be hoped that the Algerian Government will turn full attention to the problem of proper incentive and guarantees to encourage private enterprise and capital investment from abroad. With a proper combination of government planning and sensitivity to business growth needs, we can hope for a sizeable spurt ahead shortly.

The Moroccan economy also depends largely on agriculture, but there is growing exploitation of minerals and some industrialization as well. It does not have the rich gas and oil resources of Libya and Algeria, but it is developing a promising chemical industry based on large reserves of phosphates. Tourism is highly developed and will continue to grow.

Each of these economies has strengths and weaknesses, but it seems clear that none can develop satisfactorily in a vacuum. In this day and age, the only way any country can achieve a modern industrial society is by the creation of a large market through systematic elimination of barriers to trade.

If it was important for the highly industralized countries of Europe to form a common market, how much more urgent it is for the developing economies of North Africa. Only in this way will they be able to derive the benefits of modern mass production methods. Though the experience of the European common market is not fully applicable to the Maghreb, the Central American common market is. That region has fewer resources than the Maghreb, but with joint planning, coordination of investment, and mass production for a greatly enlarged region-wide market, exchanges within the members of the Central American market have increased 500% in the five years of its existence, to the benefit of each of the member states.

What are the prospects for economic coordination in north Africa?

During my recent visit, I had the impression that the countries of the Maghreb were indeed making slow but steady progress towards this goal.

Institutions have been developed to coordinate policies and are functioning well. There are annual meetings of Maghreb economics ministers, as well as a permanent consultative committee in Tunis. There are seven permanent commissions for specific problems and products, and more are under consideration. Those already in existence cover air transport, highways, railways, maritime transport, tourism, telecommunications, and commercial relations. In addition, there is a regulatory body which oversees and coordinates the production of esparto grass and which sets production quotas. A similar body handles all national problems of locust control, for many years a scourge in the southern Maghreb.

One of the proposals that has been discussed by the Maghreb group has been the formation of a regional airline, replacing the four small independent airlines. The tourism commission has inaugurated a hotel training program, with United Nations assistance, in Algiers. Consideration has been given to creation of a Maghreb development bank. A study is underway on lowering of customs barriers and quotas among the four countries.

Steps taken thus far compare most favorably with those of other regional economic organizations at comparable stages of development. To be sure, a great deal remains to be done to translate aspirations into reality, but without the aspirations nothing can be accomplished.

The United States has encouraged these trends toward regional cooperation. We remember that at the time of our own independence a confederation of States with differing monetary and customs systems posed insuperable obstacles to economic development. Having profited ourselves from an internal policy of economic integration, we have long been leading proponents of this policy in other parts of the world.

In his address to African ambassadors at the White House on May 26, 1966, President Johnson said that "we have been particularly heartened by the impetus toward regional cooperation in Africa. The world has reached a stage where some of the most effective means of economic growth can be achieved in large units commanding large resources and large markets. We have learned in this generation that most nation-states are too small, acting alone, to assure the welfare of all their people."

In accordance with the President's statement, our new aid policy is designed to accelerate the movement toward regional cooperation by channeling substantial aid funds to regional projects. We are just in the proces of implementing this new policy. In my opinion, a great deal of earnest effort by both the Maghreb and donor countries is going to have to be expended to achieve the possibilities of greater economic growth through regional participation.

Among the problems that unite north Africans in misery, none is more basic nor more important than water, or the lack of it. There are countless farms in the Maghreb where it rains only every 3 years, and where hard-working people live futile lives.

And yet, the water is there, everywhere available. There need only be constructed an adequate network of wells and irrigation channels, and to maintain them in a spirit of international cooperation, and the vast Saharan Desert would bloom like an English garden.

Some years ago, an oil-drilling company was hired by the Libyan Government to drill a water well near the village of Sokna, deep in the Sahara. It had been calculated that the water table should be found at 2,000 feet. Instead, at 650 feet the bit hit a high-pressure artesian zone that shot 52,000 gallons an hour of sweet water over the derrick top. This water will permit the transformation of an arid region that once needed to fetch its water from twenty miles away.

There have been comparable water "strikes" in Tunisia. For about a year, the Parsons Company has been engaged in ground-water development under the so-called "Fifty-Well Project." This program is aid-financed, and includes training of Tunisian water resources technicians as well as drilling. By these means, Tunisia is now in position to double its irrigated land surface.

These are parts of the evidence that large areas of the Sahara are underlain by an enormous fresh-water lake, extending at least five hundred miles south of the Atlas Mountains and east of Tunisia.

This enormous resource poses prodigious policy problems which have been considered only superficially thus far. The recharge and discharge of groundwater under desert conditions are usually under delicate balance, and can be seriously upset by concentrated withdrawals. When that happens, the groundwater is being mined. Since one area can withdraw inequitable amounts at the expense of a neighbor, controversies can arise. This presupposes a comprehensive plan for utilization of the water table on the scale of the Sahara itself.

The United States has no absolute shortage of water—only of clean water—but there are areas of our country where conditions are similar to those of the semiarid zones of the Maghreb. I would like to see us contribute our specialized knowledge to making the desert bloom. For example, Congress has held hearings on cloud seeding, and there is no doubt that under certain conditions it can contribute markedly to agricultural development. This is an example of the sort of activity AID should involve itself more heavily in. If we wish to assist the less developed countries, we should use the best of our technology in the process, not the most pedestrian.

One of the major impediments to peaceful regional development of the Maghreb is the arms race. One of the heritages of their common colonial past is a set of conflicting border claims, the direct cause of an inordinately large emphasis on military preparedness.

The countries of the Maghreb, if they are not careful, may find themselves caught up in an arms spiral whose continuing escalation dilutes every effort by governments to achieve economic development.

First, the money spent on armaments could give a tremendous impetus to the economy. Based on official disclosures the four countries of the Maghreb together spent more than $230 million last year on defense. Most authorities believe these official figures underestimate the actual arms outlay. As we all know, the spiraling arms race has most intimately affected Algeria and Morocco, where over 95% of the total Maghreb military expenditure occurred.

Some of this money doubtless went for army-operated reclamation and development projects and some for salaries, but most of it could have been spent more productively.

Secondly, the existence of armaments by itself breeds suspicion and inhibits the sort of confident cooperation required for joint action against the real enemies of mankind: Poverty, disease, and ignorance. Suspicions will be generated, tensions will increase, and inevitably there will come a day when someone will wish to test the expensive toys he has acquired. We hope this day will never come, but it would be better to take timely action now to reduce armaments than to regret later.

This is a problem endemic to the world, not only north Africa.

But nowhere, because of the religious and racial unity I mentioned earlier, does it seem more uncalled for. I would hope that the political leadership will ask itself whether expenditures for armaments bring more security or less, and whether they are warranted in terms of lost opportunities for development and cooperation.

We believe, and we should try to convince others, that real security can better be achieved by weaving such a strong pattern of economic inter-relationships between the countries of the Maghreb that war between them would be unthinkable.

There are other, and very significant difficulties to rapid regional economic development.

First, alongside the unity of peoples there is great political diversity. Morocco is a traditional hereditary kingdom; Algeria a new republic struggling to define its permanent institutions; Tunisia perhaps the most successful practitioner of the one-party state in Africa; and Libya a new constitutional monarchy. These differences can only be explained in terms of historical accidents, but they do inhibit somewhat the closeness of ties required.

Secondly, there is the operation of Malthus' science. We do not have really accurate statistics, but the annual rate of population growth in north Africa is certainly well over two and a half percent.

More than half the Algerian population is under twenty years of age. There is a simple way to judge whether a developing country is winning or losing its race against poverty: by comparing birth rates and growth of GNP on a chart. By this test, the countries of North Africa—with the exception of Libya—are probably losing the race. There is still time to win, but very little leeway for mistakes.

In recent days, our aid policies abroad have come under increasing public criticism. Criticism can be stimulating and constructive, but it can also intimidate and prevent us from doing what we should in our own self-interest.

There are four good reasons why foreign aid is important to the United States in its own self-interest.

First, foreign aid is basic to our security. As Secretary McNamara said recently, most of the major outbreaks of violence since World War II have taken place in the less developed countries. Without foreign aid, many countries undoubtedly would have been subverted or overrun in the past two decades. Without aid, we would surely be living in a less stable and more threatening world. Unless we are willing to retreat to fortess America and a new and costly maginot line, we must make sacrifices to create the sort of world order in which we can live at peace.

Secondly, using the standard of crass economic self-interest, aid stimulates trade. In the long run, foreign aid will substantially help our balance of payments. As countries we are now assisting grow stronger, they will provide new and growing markets for U.S. business. An increasing flow of dollars to the United States will result from loan repayments. Even today, the net impact on the U.S. balance of payments of aid offshore expenditures in fiscal year 1967 was estimated to be only $217 million.

Thirdly, aid is not a bottomless pit. Since 1948, economic assistance has ended in nineteen countries. Twelve of these countries now conduct aid programs of their own. In 1948, the U.S. was the only country strong enough economically to supply foreign assistance; today seventeen free world countries share the burden, and some, such as France, devote a larger part of their GNP to foreign aid than we do.

Finally, as President Johnson said recently, "we extend assistance to nations because it is in the highest traditions of our heritage and humanity." Pope John, in *Mater et Magistra,* put it this way: ". . . today, men are so intimately associated in all parts of the world that they feel, as it were, members of one and the same household. Therefore, the nations that enjoy a sufficiency and abundance of everything may not overlook the plight of other nations whose citizens experience such domestic problems that they are all but overcome by poverty and hunger, and are not able to enjoy basic human rights. . ." Let me add only that all the religions of the Western World, including Islam, levy this obligation for the rich to help the poor.

There is another side to this coin. Just as the countries of North Africa ought to combine their resources through regional cooperation and planning, so should the developed countries of the world make a greater effort to coordinate their aid efforts. Let me describe briefly one direction this might take.

One of the difficulties faced by all less developed countries is fluctuating price and demand for their raw materials. Boom or bust economics is anarchronistic in a world crying out for social justice and a higher standard of living. I personally believe that the United States, in conjunction with other industrial powers, should take the lead in calling a conference to discuss international action to establish stability of prices for the primary products of the developing countries. The latter are unable to engage in long-range economic planning unless they have some idea of what their cocoa, coffee or oil will bring on the world market five and ten years hence. International stabilization funds could be set up for many of these products.

We could also consider ways of making certain that the less developed countries enjoy a greater share of the multiplier effect of their trade. Today, few of them share in the benefits of such related economic activities as processing of raw materials, shipping and insurance.

Business cooperation with the countries of the Maghreb would seem to me potentially almost unlimited. There are resources, skilled manpower trained in European factories—and a desire on the part of the governments to enter into cooperative arrangements with U.S. firms. Within the past six months, three American firms have concluded partnership arrangements with the Algerian government. In Tunisia, American firms have been active in such widely operated fields as private housing, tire manufacturing, sewing machines and hotels. In Lybia we have massive investments in the fields of gas and oil. The existence of foreign capital investment in Morocco is long-standing and private business is involved in a number of factories, hotels and other enterprises.

The remaining possibilities are almost legend. North Africa should be a much larger market for American farm machinery than it is now, and the possibilities in petrochemicals, oil and gas, plastics, tourism and food processing are unlimited.

The result of this type of assistance and investment in the Maghreb would be more orderly economic growth, better government planning, greater purchasing power and eventually a higher level of commodity purchases from the United States and other developed nations.

It seems to me that assisting countries such as the four new nations of North Africa is a challenging and important task. Everywhere I went in North Africa I found an enormous reservoir of good will towards the United States. I would not like to see that good will dissipated by our lack of imaginative understanding, and concrete sympathy.

North Africa today stands at a crossroads. It can take the path of regional cooperation and development, or it can intensify tendencies toward narrow nationalism with its emphasis on armament.

The tiniest spark can then set-off a conflagration, with big power involvement.

It may take a substantial commitment of economic and technical assistance to promote the development of regional economic ties, but the price is small when one considers the possibility of failure.

Dr. Henry Steele Commager, one of the most perceptive historians of our era, once described the phenomenon and contradictions of emerging nationalism in the following terms:

"Without too much distortion of history," he said, "we can trace two fairly clear patterns in the history of modern nationalism; the malignant and the benign. The first has tended always to emphasize the local, the parochial, the private, the selfish, the things that separate men from each other. It has commonly taken the form of chauvanism, militarism and territorial imperialism. . . . The other pattern has been in whole benevolent. It has preferred the agencies of peace to the instruments of war, has celebrated the common inheritance of man rather than the things that divide man, has connected itself with freedom and equality and popular enlightenment and morality." North Africa furnishes us now with a fateful test of nationalism.

Because of your substantial economic power, all of you here this afternoon can have an influence on whether the choice in this area of the world is for the malignant or the benign version—whether private enterprise is to flourish in this region or wither and die under the impact of retrictive local governmental regulation?

North Africa's journey is important, for it serves not only as a testing ground, but as an example for emerging nations throughout the world.

Progress—real progress—toward Maghreb unity and cooperation can, and will, have an impact elsewhere, and could be the spark for progress everywhere.

What Is a Cop?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, on February 9, on the NBC TV show, "Dragnet," Jack Webb—as Sgt. Joe Friday—instructs a rookie policeman on what lies ahead of him in the conduct of his duty as a police officer. His instructions surely should give pause to all civilians relative to their remarks and consideration of the law-enforcement officers for whom we must have the highest respect if crime is to be reduced in this country.

Excerpts from that TV performance by Jack Webb follow:

WHAT IS A COP?

(By Richard L. Breen and Jack Webb)

It's awkward having a policeman around the house. Friends drop in. A man with a badge answers the door. The temperature drops twenty degrees. Throw a party and that badge gets in the way. All of a sudden there isn't a straight man in the crowd. Everybody's a comedian. "Don't drink too much," somebody says, "or the man with the badge will run you in." . . . Or, "How's it goin', Dick Tracy? How many jaywalkers did you pinch today?" . . . And there's always the one who wants to know how many apples you stole. All at once you've lost your first name. You're a "cop," a "flatfoot," a "bull," a "dick," "John Law." You're "the fuzz," "the heat," . . . you're poison, you're trouble . . . you're bad news. They call you everything, but never a policeman. It's not much of a life . . . unless you don't mind missing a Dodger game because the hotshot phone rings . . . unless you like working Saturdays, Sundays, holidays . . . at a job that doesn't pay overtime. Oh, the pay is adequate. If you count your pennies, you can put your kid through college. But you'd better plan on seeing Europe on your television set. Then there's your first night on the beat. When you try to arrest a drunken prostitute in a Main Street bar and she rips your new uniform to shreds. You'll buy another one . . . out of your own pocket.

You'll rub elbows with all the elite: pimps, addicts, thieves, bums, winos, girls who can't keep an address and men who don't care. Liars, cheats, con men, the class of Skid Row. And the heartbreak: underfed kids, beaten kids, molested kids, lost kids, crying kids, homeless kids, hit-and-run kids, broken-arm kids, broken-leg kids, broken-head kids, sick kids, dying kids, dead kids. The old people that nobody wants, the reliefers, the pensioners, the ones who walk the street cold and those who tried to keep warm and died in a three-dollar room with an unvented gas heater. You'll walk the beat and pick up the pieces. Do you have real adventure in your soul? You'd better have. You'll do time in a prowl car. It'll be a thrill-a-minute when you get an "unknown trouble" call and hit a back yard at two in the morning, never knowing who you'll meet . . . a kid with a knife . . . a pill-head with a gun, or two ex-cons with nothing to lose. And you'll have plenty of time to think. You'll draw duty in a "lonely car" . . . with nobody to talk to but your radio. Four years in uniform and you'll have the ability, the experience and maybe the desire to be a detective. If you like to fly by the seat of your pants, this is where you belong. For every crime that's committed, you've got three million suspects to choose from. Most of the time you'll have few facts and a lot of hunches. You'll run down leads that dead-end on you. You'll work all-night stakeouts that could last a week. You'll do leg work until you're sure you've talked to everybody in California . . . people who saw it happen, but really didn't. People who insist they did it, but really didn't. People who don't remember, those who try to forget. Those who tell the truth, those who lie. You'll run the files until your eyes ache.

And paperwork . . . you'll fill out a report when you're right, you'll fill out a report when you're wrong, you'll fill one out when you're not sure, you'll fill one out listing your leads, you'll fill one out when you have no leads, you'll make out a report on the reports you've made. You'll write enough words in your lifetime to stock a library. You'll learn to live with doubt, anxiety, frustration, court decisions that tend to hinder rather than help you: Dorado, Morse, Escobedo, Cahan. You'll learn to live with the District Attorney, testifying in court, defense attorneys, prosecuting attorneys, judges, juries, witnesses. And sometimes you won't be happy with the outcome. But there's also this: There are over five thousand men in this city who know that being a policeman is an endless, glamorless, thankless job that must be done. I know it, too. And I'm damned glad to be one of them.

(NOTE.—*Excerpted from the Feb. 9, 1967 episode of "Dragnet" on NBC–TV—Sgt. Joe Friday talking to an unhappy rookie.*)

The Iowa Farmer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, in recent years Iowa, along with many other States, has entered into the competition for new industry. Iowa has done well. Many new industries have been attracted to Iowa.

In the process, however, Iowans should not lose sight of the importance of the farmer and agriculture.

An editorial which appeared in the Muscatine Journal on January 27 calls attention to the importance of the Iowa farmer and to agriculture as an industry.

The editorial follows:

[From the Muscatine Journal, Jan. 27, 1967]

Sometimes, in the state's headfirst rush to obtain new industry, we tend to overlook the importance of the farmer and agriculture in Iowa.

Results of a recent survey published by the Iowa Farm Bureau should serve as a reminder that agriculture is still the cornerstone of our economy.

According to the survey, every $1 earned in farming creates at least $3½ in the local economy for main street merchants, factory and office workers and people employed in research.

Eight out of ten Iowa workers depend on agriculture—directly or indirectly—for their jobs.

Iowa farmers produce more than $3¼ billion worth of crops and livestock annually. Of this amount, over $2¼ billion is spent on farm production expenses. Farmers in Iowa spend more than $700 million annually on feed, seed and fertilizer alone—plus the millions more for farm machinery.

Iowa farmers have more than $16 billion invested in land, buildings, machinery and livestock.

The survey of farm facts also points up the growing importance of farm exports in Iowa. In 1966, Iowa farmers exported the products of one acre in four—a total of nearly $430 million.

Part of the export trade in feed grains and soybeans may be seen leaving from the Mississippi river grain terminals at Muscatine, and this aspect of the community's business economy is expected to grow rapidly with the recent purchase of riverfront land for grain shipping facilities.

A number of other Muscatine industries are directly related to the agricultural economy. Hundreds of tons of corn, soybeans, tomatoes and cucumbers are transformed here into food and commercial products. Other firms produce fertilizers, farm herbicides and livestock feeds.

The farmer is an important man in Iowa. We shouldn't lose sight of the fact that the land and the men who work the land are the chief assets of this state.

Island of Molokai Shows Great Promise of Becoming Hawaii's "Potato Country"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, we are all aware that our island State of Hawaii is famous as the "Land of the Pineapple"—but I think my colleagues will find it interesting to know that on the island of Molokai a significant new industry has developed which may also earn that isle the sobriquet of "Hawaii's potato country."

Last week, the Frito Co., of Hawaii, marked its 20th anniversary in Hawaii and from that beginning of two decades ago, with the only equipment being a small cooking vat, an industry has grown which today has about 200 acres planted in potatoes and plans for increasing the plantings to 1,000 acres including corn. Frito does an annual business of more than $2 million in potato and corn chips.

Fred Yuen, Frito Co. president, stated that the Kennebec variety of potatoes grown on the Hoolehua lands of Molokai is the world's finest for making potato chips.

I extend congratulations to Mr. Yuen and his employees, and I invite my colleagues to read the article by George West on the Frito enterprise, which appeared in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin on Wednesday, February 1, 1967:

LAND OF PINEAPPLES YIELDING POTATOES

(By George West)

Molokai, the land of pineapples, may one day be known also as Hawaii's potato country.

About 200 acres of Hoolehua lands adjacent to the airport have been planted in potatoes, the Kennebec variety, reportedly the world's finest for making potato chips.

The planter is the Frito Company of Hawaii, makers of Vita-Sealed potato chips and corn fritos.

Fred Yuen, its president, says plans call for increasing the plantings to 1,000 acres, which will include some acreages for growing corn.

The first crop of potatoes from 25 acres, consisting of 125 tons per acre, was harvested last week. Harvesting from additional 25-acre plots is planned each month.

Each crop reaches full growth within 100 days from the date of planting.

Potatoes tested in the past, specifically other varieties, turned a dark brown due to excessive starch content turning to sugar.

CORN TOO

Yuen is also going to start planting corn next week.

He's decided to grow his own potatoes and corn because "you get a better product. It gives you control over the whiteness of potato chips. People prefer white chips."

He's one of two Frito franchise holders in the state.

The company is growing the spuds on lands leased from the State.

Edward Gonsalves heads the potato cultivation project on Molokai. One of his assistants in Randall Wungnema, a full-blooded American Indian of the Hopi tribe from northern Arizona. There are 14 other employees on the Molokai program.

Yuen expects to produce half million dollars worth of potatoes within a year and a similar amount in corn.

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY

Today also marks the Frito Company's 20th anniversary in Hawaii.

Many of the original employees are still with the company. They remember how 20 years ago it all started with only a small cooking vat.

Now the chips—potato and corn—are processed by controlled equipment, producing more than $2 million yearly.

Frito has a staff of 76 employees today. It's located on Ualena Street in the Airport Industrial Park.

Letter From a Constituent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN R. DAVIS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I am setting forth hereafter a most unusual letter from a constituent.

We have all had letters requesting some information, asking us to vote one way or another, seeking help, and, once in a while, criticizing or condemning us.

This recent letter is unlike any of those. It is, instead, a prayer-like reminder, worthy to be kept on the wall of one's office, or on one's desk for constant reference:

In your deliberation during the coming session of Congress we wish you God's guidance. If we may have one wish fulfilled above all others, we would ask that in your re-examination of existing legislation and enactment of new legislation you be guided by the following thoughts, and reflect on these principles on which our country was founded. Whence have we come—from religious homes where our life philosophy was deeply grounded in religious faith—from sturdy ancestors who sought freedom and liberty and were willing to pay the price for it—from self-reliant, courageous forebears who faced life and its problems resolutely, confident in their ability to provide for their loved ones and themselves—from kindly folk quick to come to the help of neighbor or of stranger in times of distress, danger, sickness or sadness—from days when honor, truth, justice, loyalty, patriotism, reverence, respect for our elders, and many other like attributes were highly honored virtues and widely practiced.

Comments From the Honorable Carl T. Durham

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HORACE R. KORNEGAY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 19, 1967

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure and a privilege for me to place in the RECORD the following comments sent to me by the Honorable Carl T. Durham, my predecessor in the Congress, who is well remembered by the Members of this House. Congressman Durham and the late Congressman Graham A. Barden served together for 22 years in the House, Mr. Barden's service antedating that of Mr. Durham's by 4 years. They were both chairmen of important committees and they both retired from the House at conclusion of the 86th Congress. Mr. Durham's comments were penned on the date the news of Mr. Barden's passing was received. His remarks follow:

Today we have lost one of our great Americans—Graham A. Barden. He passed away in the region of the early settlers in North Carolina. He never deviated from the ideals they taught, loved, and lived by—that man should be free to think, speak, and communicate his views to his fellowman. Graham Barden lived this precept in his daily life and fought for its preservation in the greatest forum on earth—the U.S. House Of Representatives.

I have been associated with Graham Barden for nearly fifty years—first at the University of North Carolina, where as a great athlete he played fairly, superbly, and to win. Later it was my privilege to serve for twenty-two years with "Hap" in the House of Representatives and to maintain a close association with him in our North Carolina Delegation. I knew him well and I honor his memory as a man and as an able and dedicated Representative of his District, State, and Nation, which he served for so many years as a proud and proved American.

The Durham, N.C., Morning Herald and the Durham Sun carried editorials on Hap Barden and on his record in the Congress, which I would like to have inserted in the RECORD for the benefit of his House colleagues and his friends. These statements sum up so admirably Hap's worth to the country which he served for so long. I trust they will be comforting to his wife and children, to whom my deep sympathy and my sense of personally shared loss are extended. The editorials follow:

"[From the Durham Sun, Jan. 31, 1967]

"HE LEAVES A BRIGHT RECORD BEHIND

"History, to be truly accurate, must record former Rep. Graham A. 'Hap' Barden of the state's Third Congressional District as one of the real luminaries among North Carolina's delegations in the United States Congress in the past three decades.

"Congressman Barden, who died at his home in New Bern Sunday, was a man of great integrity, courage and ability. And, he was a happy man. He was happy, even when doing battle in the halls of Congress.

"He had served his district for 13 consecutive terms when he retired in 1960 because 'I want to go home.' He served as chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee from 1950 until his retirement. He had an important role in passage of Section 14 (B) of the Taft-Hartley Act and was cosponsor of the George-Barden Act of 1946 that provided federal-state training programs for agricultural and home economics teachers.

"Throughout his congressional career he was a vigorous, outspoken foe of federal controls over education.

"He was a crusader for the handicapped and it was due largely to his efforts that the program which made 'talking books' available to the blind citizens of the country came into being. This program was extended by the last session of Congress to make these machine-played voice recordings of magazines, books, articles and numerous other features also available to bedridden, handicapped persons unable to handle a book.

"To attempt to review in detail his many legislative achievements for his district, his state and his country would require more space than is available in this column. But, Graham Barden was a fearless champion of things that were right for his people. Just as he had long ago made his mark on the minds and hearts of his constituents, he made his mark, too on Congress—where he served for so long as one of its more respected and highly regarded members."

"[From the Durham (N.C.) Morning Herald, Jan. 31, 1967]

"A. NOTABLE TARHEEL CAREER ENDS

"When Rep. Graham A. Barden retired from Congress six years ago, he truly retired. Rarely since has he been in the news, though his complete withdrawal from public life throughout this period was no doubt due to the ill health he had suffered since a stroke four years ago.

"Mr. Barden served North Carolina and its Third District with distinction for more than a quarter-century in the national House of Representatives. For a decade of that period (except for the Republican-controlled 83rd Congress) he was chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee. The decade of the 1950s was a peak period in Tarheel influence in Congress, four representatives holding chairmanships: in addition to Rep. Barden, Rep. Bonner, Merchant Marine and Fisheries; Rep. Cooley, Agriculture; and Rep. Durham, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

"Mr. Barden's successful efforts in securing defense installations for his district—the Camp Lejeune-New River Marine base, the Cherry Point Marine Air Base, and the Seymour Johnson Air Force Base at Goldsboro—constituted pioneering work in broadening the economic base of Eastern North Carolina from almost complete dependence on agriculture.

"An attack on Mr. Barden by Cardinal Spellman brought him most prominently to national attention. Shortly after he became chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, Mr. Barden sponsored a bill which would have provided federal aid for public schools, but specifically excluded parochial and private schools from its benefits. Cardinal Spellman thereupon called the North Carolina representative 'a new apostle of bigotry.' Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt then entered the controversy in defense of Mr. Barden. That controversy intensified the church-state issue in this country, making it a matter of increased public concern.

"Perhaps Mr. Barden's most enduring and most significant work was in behalf of the handicapped. He had every right to pride in the Barden-LaFollette Act of 1943, which made possible a great expansion of rehabilitation work. Those concerned for the rehabilitation of the handicapped join him in regarding this legislation the most significant which he sponsored. North Carolina felt its impact particularly in the expansion it made possible in the rehabilitation program for the visually handicapped, in physical restoration of sight, eye surgery and hospitalization, the purchase of prosthetic devices, vocational training, and the development of home industries, though other areas of rehabilitation were similarly stimulated by it."

Kansas City (Kans.) Chamber of Commerce Leads Voter Registration Drive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LARRY WINN, JR.

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, of chambers of commerce across the Nation, the Kansas City, Kans., chamber is one of the most outstanding. Recently, they have embarked on a very ambitious voter registration program in an attempt to register some 25,000 to 35,000 people who are eligible to vote but are not registered. Cooperating with the chamber in this effort are the women's chamber, the Jaycees, and the League of Women Voters. I want to bring to the attention of my colleagues an article which appeared in the Kansas City Kansan on Sunday, January 29, 1967:

[From the Kansas City Kansan, Jan. 29, 1967]

CHAMBER PLANS FEBRUARY PUSH FOR CITY VOTES

Increased voter registration will be pushed by the Kansas City Kansas Area Chamber of Commerce in the next month.

Board of Directors took action Friday to boost the number of eligible voters in Wyandotte county and KCK that are registered, Joe F. Jenkins, president, announced.

Only 47,000 people are registered in Wyandotte county, which has a population of nearly 200,000. Based on current census figures from William Bradish, county election commissioner, an estimated additional 25,000 to 35,000 persons are eligible to vote but not registered.

Jenkins said directors "believe that a program of his type should be part of a Chamber effort, as the privilege to vote is one of our most cherished rights."

Special staff personnel will be assigned to the effort between now and Feb. 21, the last day to rgister, Jenkins reported. He said many other organizations are expected to take part including the Women's Chamber, Jaycees, League of Women Voters, and organized labor.

Extra hours and locations for voter registration have been scheduled by William Bradish, Wyandotte county elections commissioner.

Regular hours at his office in the courthouse are 9 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. Monday thru Friday, and from 9 a.m. to 12 noon Saturday.

Starting Feb. 9 and continuing thru Feb. 21 with the exception of Sunday's and holidays, the election commissioner's office will be open from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. to accommodate persons who are not registered to vote in the city elections, or those who must re-register because of such things as a change of address.

To Clean the Nation's Air and Its Water

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 3, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial appearing in the New York Times of Tuesday, January 31, 1967, entitled "To Clean the Nation's Air and Its Water."

TO CLEAN THE NATION'S AIR AND ITS WATER

The United States is in serious danger of running out of its most important natural resource—the air that supports life. President Johnson indicated his recognition of this critical fact by devoting more than half of his message on "protecting our national heritage" to the problem of air pollution.

If the President's program is readily adopted by Congress and effectively administered, it will diminish but not do away with the danger. Lethal air inversions such as New Yorkers experienced on Thanksgiving weekend and again last week threaten everyone, and so do the pollutants that slowly poison the air, day in and day out, in cities large and small and even in rural areas. Yet many corporations and private individuals can be expected to resist the imposition of strict antipollution standards, and to refuse to make the costly innovations that would bring complete protection.

Mr. Johnson delicately referred to this opposition when he observed, "We must recognize that in dealing with fuels for industry and motor vehicles, we are dealing with matters of enormous importance to every section of the nation and to many economic interests. . . . Great investments have been made on given assumptions about those fuels and uses. These considerations require that we approach the pollution problem with respect for its complexity and its economic implications."

The nation's health, however, has to come first. Sheer human self-protection commands the attitudes of "urgency and tenacity" that the President also recommended. Mr. Johnson is right in the specifics of his program. The nation has long needed uniform national standards for what constitutes a dangerous level of noxious emission is each of the major polluting industries.

Equally necessary are air quality commissions to enforce standards in regional airsheds which cut across state and local boundaries. It is a disgrace that nearly four years after Congress passed the Clean Air Act of 1963 containing financial incentives for metropolis-wide antipollution programs, there is still not an effective interstate program in the New York-New Jersey area or anywhere else in the nation.

Mr. Johnson's message zeroes in on the research problems that need attention, notably the emissions from automobiles and diesel engines, as well as the sulfur compounds created by the burning of coal and oil. His recommendation of a 50 per cent increase in research funds is welcome. The only weakness in the air pollution section of the message was the failure to recommend more than just a study of the long delays that now exist between hearings, findings and actual enforcement. This leisurely two-to-three year process requires immediate acceleration.

The passages in President Johnson's message on water pollution were perfunctory and comparatively brief. That is not surprising, since the necessary structure of law on this question is already on the statute books.

What is needed is money to make those laws meaningful, and what was surprising in President Johnson's budget message last week was his failure to ask for even half of the money for new sewage-treatment plants that Congress had authorized. The law authorizes $450 million; Mr. Johnson asked for an appropriation of only $203 million. That will leave a lot of dirty water.

The 1968 Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, on January 31, 1967, I delivered a lengthy speech in the House on the subject of the 1968 budget. Since then numerous requests have been received for copies of the speech. Instead of reprinting the speech in full, I have decided it would be better to revise and summarize it in order to reduce its length. Under leave to extend these remarks in the Appendix, I include that summary, as follows:

Mr. Speaker, President Johnson projects a deficit of $8.1 billion in his administrative budget for fiscal year 1968. But the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. Mahon], the chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, in a speech in the House on January 24, 1967, said that this low deficit projection is based upon a number of assumptions and contingencies, all of which will have to be met if the deficit is to remain under $18 billion next year. Following is a table inserted in the Congressional Record by Mr. Mahon in support of his statement:

Selected major contingecies surrounding the administrative budget for 1968 (a partial list only)

	Amount
1. Administrative budget deficit as projected by President	$8,096,000,000
2. If proposed 6-percent surtax is not adopted	4,700,000,000
Then the projected 1968 deficit would be	−12,796,000,000
3. If the proposed postage rate increase is not adopted	700,000,000
Then the projected 1968 deficit would be	−13,496,000,000
4. If the proposal to further accelerate corporate tax payments is not enacted	800,000,000
Then the projected 1968 deficit would be	−14,296,000,000
5. If it were not for the offsetting effect of sales of "participating certificates," shown in the budget for 1968, and treated as offsets to expenditures rather than receipts, of	5,000,000,000
Then the projected 1968 deficit would be	−19,296,000,000
6. On the other hand, if the proposals in the budget for pay raises were not enacted	+1,000,000,000
Then the projected 1968 deficit would be (this is a partial listing only. Other considerations enter)	−18,296,000,000

NOTE.—Perhaps the most important single contingency that could affect the tentatively projected budget picture—and it is not tabulated above—would be if the general performance of the economy in calendar 1967 were to vary significantly from the economic assumptions underpinning the budget. And, of course, large unforeseen military requirements could introduce some turbulence.

One of the contingencies cited by Mr. Mahon will be the ability of the Government to raise $5 billion by disposing of that amount of "participating certificates" in a pool of Government-owned mortgages. Under the peculiar way the Government keeps its books, the sum received from disposition of these "participating certificates" is carried as a reduction in expenditures. The disposal of these participating certificates is not in fact a sale because title to the mortgages in the pool does not pass and the Government guarantees the full return of investment to those who exchange their money for the participating certificates. It is simply a convenient way of borrowing additional money without having it added to the national debt.

These participating certificates cannot be sold on the open market for their face value, because the interest return on the collateral mortgages is less than an investor can get elsewhere. So, in order to induce an investor to "buy" one of these participating certificates, the Government has to subsidize the interest. Therefore, this year Congress will be required to provide out of the General Treasury a subsidy of *x* number of dollars, depending upon how many of the participating certificates are disposed.

CONFUSION REGARDING BUDGETS

It is very difficult for anyone who is not familar with the Federal budget to figure out what the Government actually plans to spend next year, because there are five separate sets of figures in the President's budget showing different levels of spending, as follows:

The administrative budget: This budget covers only estimated receipts and proposed expenditures of funds owned by the Government. It lists estimated receipts for 1968 at $126.9 billion and expenditures at $135 billion—for a deficit of $8.1 billion.

The consolidated cash budget: This budget records the flow of money between the Government and the public on a cash basis, including trust fund transactions. It lists estimated receipts from the public at $168.1 billion and projected payments to the public at $172.4 billion in 1968—for a deficit of $4.3 billion.

The national income accounts budget: This budget includes actual cash receipts and expenditures plus accruals but excludes loans and receipts from the sale of loans. Estimated receipts are listed in this budget at $167.1 billion and expenditures at $169.2 billion in 1968—for a deficit of $2.1 billion.

Gross expenditures of government-administered funds: These gross expenditures, on a checks-issued basis, are projected in 1968 to be $210.2 billion.

New obligational authority: The fifth set of figures used in the budget shows that the President is requesting Congress to appropriate $143.9 billion in 1968 in the form of new spending authority to the executive branch of the Government. Incidentally, the new spending authority requested of Congress is $17.5 billion more than was provided for fiscal year 1966.

SPENDING AUTHORITY

It is important to note that whatever Congress appropriates in 1968 in new spending authority will not control the level of spending in 1968 because, while some of whatever is appropriated will be spent that year, some will be retained for spending in subsequent years. It must not be forgotten that, while the President is asking Congress to appropriate new money in the amount of $144 billion for next year, payments to the public in 1968 are projected at $172.4 billion in the cash budget.

The funds that will be spent next year, in addition to those appropriated in new obligational authority, will come out of a backlog of $125 billion in previously appropriated but unspent funds. The budget estimates that, at the end of fiscal year 1968, this pool of unspent funds will amount to $132.8 billion and this money will be available for expenditures in 1969 and beyond.

But some of the money in this pool, while unspent, will already have been obligated by the time we come to the end of 1968, but not all of it. The balances of unobligated funds held in the executive branch of the Government at the end of 1968 will be $49.5 billion. The following list shows some of the departments and agencies which will hold these unobligated balances at the end of 1968:

	Billions
Department of Defense	$13.8
Department of Housing and Urban Development	12.5
Funds appropriated to the President (foreign aid, etc.)	9.5
Department of Agriculture	2.5
Independent agencies	8.6

While it is understood that some lead-time is necessary, particularly in areas such as construction, research and development, and the procurement of materiel requiring manufacture, it is entirely possible that a close and searching examination of these unobligated funds may show that all of this money is not required to be carried over into 1969 in the form of unobligated balances. A corresponding reduction in new money requested to be appropriated can be made if part of these unobligated balances can be used in 1967–68. I therefore recommend that the House Committee on Appropriations make such a close and detailed study of these unobligated balances in an effort to reduce the amount of new funds the President is requesting Congress to appropriate.

CIVILIAN EMPLOYMENT IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

There is another area which deserves special consideration by the House Committee on Appropriations. I refer to civilian employment in the executive branch of the Government, which has been going up by leaps and bounds under the present administration. The following table shows how Government jobs have been increasing, broken down into defense and nondefense activities:

	Total jobs
December 1, 1965:	
Defense jobs	791, 292
Nondefense jobs	1, 155, 774
Total	1, 947, 066
June 30, 1966:	
Defense jobs	1, 052, 998
Nondefense jobs	1, 313, 319
Total	2, 366, 317
June 30, 1967 (estimated in the budget):	
Defense jobs	1, 180, 500
Nondefense jobs	1, 366, 000
Total	2, 546, 500
June 30, 1968 (estimated in the budget):	
Defense jobs	1, 204, 900
Nondefense jobs	1, 410, 100
Total	2, 615, 000

It will be seen from the foregoing table, that from December 1, 1965, to June 30, 1968, there has been an increase of 667,934 jobs, of which 413,608 have been in defense and 254,326 in nondefense activities. This is shown in detail in the following table:

	Increases in employment		
	Total	Defense	Nondefense
Dec. 1, 1965, to June 30, 1966	419, 251	261, 706	157, 545
June 30, 1966, to June 30, 1967	180, 183	127, 502	52, 681
June 30, 1967, to June 30, 1968	68, 500	24, 400	44, 100
Total	667, 934	413, 608	254, 326

The following table gives a breakdown showing how Government jobs are increasing in the nondefense activities of the Government:

Full-time permanent civilian employment in the executive branch as of June

	1966 actual	1967 estimate	1968 estimate	Comparison	
				1967 with 1966	1968 with 1966
Agriculture	84, 070	84, 400	85, 800	+330	+1, 730
Commerce	25, 133	25, 100	26, 800	−33	+1, 667
Defense, civil	30, 290	32, 300	33, 000	+2, 010	+2, 710
Health, Education, and Welfare	91, 650	95, 900	99, 800	+4, 250	+8, 150
Housing and Urban Development	14, 009	14, 200	15, 400	+191	+1, 391
Interior	59, 432	60, 200	62, 100	+768	+2, 668
Justice	33, 067	33, 100	33, 700	+33	+633
Labor	9, 208	9, 250	9, 800	+42	+592
Post Office	489, 898	525, 000	539, 300	+35, 102	+49, 402
State	24, 572	25, 000	25, 400	+428	+828
Agency for International Development	14, 892	16, 800	17, 500	+1, 908	+2, 608
Peace Corps	1, 158	1, 240	1, 600	+82	+442
Transportation	52, 924	53, 850	55, 800	+926	+2, 876
Treasury	80, 176	80, 900	83, 200	+724	+3, 024
Atomic Energy Commission	6, 974	7, 010	7, 200	+36	+226
General Services Administration	35, 955	36, 600	37, 500	+645	+1, 545
NASA	33, 526	33, 600	34, 000	+74	+474
Veterans' Administration	147, 634	149, 300	154, 200	+1, 666	+6, 566
Selective Service System	6, 969	6, 300	6, 300	−669	−669
Small Business Administration	3, 862	4, 050	4, 800	+188	+938
Tennessee Valley Authority	11, 486	11, 800	12, 300	+314	+814
Panama Canal	14, 129	14, 600	14, 900	+471	+771
U.S. Information Agency	11, 516	11, 900	12, 000	+384	+484
Miscellaneous agencies	30, 789	31, 700	32, 900	+911	+2, 111
Allowance for contingencies		1, 900	4, 800	+1, 900	+4, 800
Subtotal	1, 313, 319	1, 366, 000	1, 410, 100	+52, 682	+96, 781
Department of Defense, military and military assistance	1, 052, 998	1, 180, 500	1, 204, 900	+127, 502	+151, 902
Total	2, 366, 317	2, 546, 500	2, 615, 000	+180, 183	+248, 683

The foregoing comments and tables refer only to full-time employment. The budget actually projects an additional number of 266,500 part-time employees in 1968. If they are all employed, the total number of civilians on the Federal payroll will be 2,881,500. It is not difficult to anticipate that this goal will be attained because the latest figures show that there were 2,842,491 persons on the Federal payroll in December of 1966—an increase of 104,444 during the first 6 months of the current fiscal year.

The Civil Service Commission estimates that the average Federal civilian employee's salary is $7,904, and this does not count the cost of fringe benefits, space or supplies necessary to keep one employee at work for the Government. On an annual basis, the salary cost alone for the 667,934 new Federal jobs created since December 1, 1965 through June 30, 1968 as projected, will be $5.3 billion. And it must be remembered that this will be a recurring annual cost so long as the jobs are filled.

I recommend to the Committee on Appropriations that this is an area which should be explored for reductions. Remember that in 1968 we will be dealing with a total Federal civilian payroll of $23.3 billion. Remember also that, unless reductions are made in this area, by June 30, 1968, the Federal Government will have added 254,326 civilians to its payroll in nondefense activities during a period of just 19 months. If we could eliminate 100,000 of these new jobs created in nondefense activities since December 1, 1965, the saving would amount to approximately $800 million, and this will be a recurring annual saving so long as the jobs are not refilled. This can be accomplished without firing anyone but through attrition due to the large annual turnover in Federal employment.

OTHER OBJECTS

There is another area which deserves most careful scrutiny by the House Committee on Appropriations. In every agency justification there will be a table giving a breakdown of obligations by object, including travel, transportation of things, printing, supplies, utilities, and so forth. There is no summary of these objects in the budget but for the last several years I have asked for such a summary and always receive it but usually it comes in a month or two after the budget document has been submitted. I have asked for such a summary this year and assume it is in preparation. Based on the summary supplied by the Budget Bureau last year, I predict that the one this year will contain some shocking information and will open up another area for substantial budget cutting. Here are a few items taken from the summary provided last year:

	Billions
Personnel travel (civilian, $442 million)	$1. 7
Transportation of things	3. 8
Printing and reproductions	. 305
Supplies and materials	26. 5
Grants, subsidies, and contributions	20. 9
Rents, communications, and utilities	2. 4

My guess is that very few U.S. citizens know that the Government's travel bill last year amounted to $1.7 billion or that the printing bill exceeds $300 million a year.

Obviously cuts proposed in "other objects" cannot be pinpointed until the individual justifications are received but I strongly recommend that the Committee on Appropriations give close and careful attention to these other objects because I believe they can be reduced substantially without damage.

GROWTH IN FEDERAL SPENDING

The last year we had a balanced budget and paid anything on the national debt $1.2 billion—was in 1960. Since then there has been a succession of deficits—red ink each year on the Government's books. The following table contains a year by year record of these deficits and will show that unless the new budget that will be considered this year is substantially reduced, by the end of fiscal year 1968 we will have piled up an accumulation of $48.3 billion in deficits since 1961:

[In billions]

	Deficit
1961	$3. 9
1962	6. 4
1963	6. 3
1964	8. 2
1965	3. 4
1966	2. 3
1967	9. 7
1968	8. 1
Total	48. 3

The impression is sought to be left that these deficits have been caused by the escalating war in Vietnam. While defense spending has increased substantially, there has also been a substantial increase in nondefense spending as will clearly appear from the following table:

Expenditures, administrative budget funds

[In millions of dollars]

	1960 actual	1966 actual	1967 estimate	1968 estimate
National defense:				
Military	41, 215	54, 409	66, 950	72, 300
Military assistance	1, 609	968	1, 000	800
Atomic energy and defense related activities	2, 867	2, 341	2, 271	2, 387
Total, national defense	45, 691	57, 718	70, 222	75, 487
Nondefense:				
International affairs and finance	3, 195	4, 191	4, 608	4, 797
Space research and technology	401	5, 933	5, 600	5, 300
Agriculture and agricultural resources	3, 475	3, 307	3, 035	3, 173
Natural resources	1, 798	3, 120	3, 226	3, 518
Commerce and transportation	1, 963	2, 969	3, 495	3, 089
Housing and community development	122	347	890	1, 023
Health, labor, and welfare	3, 650	7, 574	10, 389	11, 304
Education	866	2, 834	3, 304	2, 816
Veterans benefits	5, 266	5, 023	6, 394	6, 124
General government	1, 542	2, 464	2, 725	2, 781
Total, nondefense	22, 277	37, 762	43, 666	43, 925
Interest	9, 266	12, 132	13, 508	14, 152
Civilian and military pay increase				1, 000
Possible shortfall in asset sales				750
Contingencies			100	400
Interfund transactions	−694	−635	−766	−682
Total	76, 539	106, 978	126, 729	135, 033

In fiscal year 1966 spending was up to $106.9 billion from $76.5 billion in 1960. The increase in 1966 over 1965 was $10.5 billion, of which $7.5 billion was for defense and $3 billion was for nondefense purposes.

In fiscal year 1967 the latest spending estimate is $126.7 billion which is up $19.7 billion over 1966. Of this increase $12.5 billion is for defense and $7.2 billion for nondefense purposes.

Proposed spending in fiscal year 1968 is estimated to increase by $8.3 billion to $135 billion, of which $5.3 billion is for defense and $3 billion for nondefense.

Thus, unless Congress practices restraint and refuses to follow the administration's unsound fiscal policies, nondefense spending will have increased by $13.2 billion during the last 3 years.

REDUCTIONS CAN BE MADE

In the light of the foregoing, it is imperative that the administration and the Congress tighten their nondefense spending belts to avoid the necessity of further tax increases and the chances of a recession. What should be done? I have indicated previously several areas in which I think close and careful scrutiny of the new spending proposals would bear fruit. Another suggestion would be for the administration and Congress to immediately exert every effort to roll back 1967 and 1968 nondefense spending to the levels of fiscal year 1966 which ended just 7 months ago. If this rollback should occur, the spending programs for the remainder of 1967 and for 1968 fiscal years could be reduced by as much as $10 billion. The only dislocation would be that resulting from rolling back nondefense spending levels to those in effect just 7 months ago.

CONTINUOUS DEFICITS AND MOUNTING DEBT MUST END

I have previously shown that the accumulated deficits from 1961 through 1968 will be $48.3 billion. This means that the Government has spent that much more money than it has taken in—including proposed spending through fiscal year 1968—during this 8-year period.

These years are alleged to have been the most prosperous in our country's history. Accepting this as true, do you find it ridiculous that the Government has run up a deficit in every single one of these years?

Now, faced with a national debt of $330 billion, a record of six successive budget deficits, and the continuation of a costly war in Vietnam, what kind of fiscal discipline does the President propose? Does he issue a call to arms for economy? Does he urge harder work and more sacrifices? Does he ask that the country forgo some of the things it might want but can do without until the Government's financial house is in order? No; he does none of these things. He proposes to continue to spend and spend; to increase taxes and raise postal rates; and to borrow and borrow, thus adding to the already badly swollen national debt.

This would not be so bad if we had a modest debt, but it is quite serious when considered in the light of the fact that at present this debt is larger than the combined debts of the other countries of the world put together. We have already borrowed the money to make up the deficits accumulated in the last 6 years and now it is proposed to borrow more to make up the deficits projected for this year and next, so that at the end of 1968 it is estimated that the national debt will be $335.4 billion.

The carrying charges on this fantastic debt have gone up also from $9 billion a year in 1960 to $14 billion projected for 1968. Here we are paying out $14 billion a year just because we refuse to curtail this enormous debt, and instead are adding to the debt each year and thereby increasing the interest charges.

Let me give you something to think about with respect to this interest. In just 23½ years we will pay out, in interest alone, an amount equal to the national debt but will still owe every dime of the principal. It has been figured out that if we would just begin to reduce the debt by 1 percent a year, in less than 30 years we would have paid the principal down to a sufficient point that we could continue to pay interest and curtail principal at 1 percent a year without paying out any more than we are now paying in interest alone.

Administration spokesmen like to relate the interest on the national debt to the gross national product. I do not think that is a realistic relationship and believe that interest should more properly relate to income. If you relate interest to income, you will find it is taking 11 cents out of every dollar received by the Government in individual, corporate, estate, and excise taxes, plus custom receipts, just to pay the interest on the national debt. This leaves only 89 cents out of each dollar to pay for national security and the various other programs of the Federal Government. You have to go all the way back to 1950 before this high ratio is exceeded, and it has been exceeded only 10 times during the last 46 years.

I believe it is time to call a halt to deficit financing. Let us refuse to increase this burden of debt. Let us demand that the Government begin to live within its means and stop borrowing more money to pay current bills. We owe this to our constituents and to future generations. Every generation should pay for its own mistakes and for its own benefits. Let us not leave our children a heritage of burdensome debt. We can do our part by reducing the 1968 budget by a sufficient amount to bring it in balance and leave a surplus which can be used to reduce the national debt.

Pollution Peril

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post of February 2, 1967, urges prompt action by Congress on the President's proposals for bringing our air pollution problem under control. I also feel that this is a field in which it is imperative that the 90th Congress act. Therefore, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Washington Post editorial entitled "Pollution Peril":

POLLUTION PERIL

The President's strong message on air pollution ought to move Congress to the prompt enactment of the Air Quality Act of 1967 for which he asks. This six-point program will launch a more aggressive Federal intervention in this area than anyone would have thought possible a few years ago. It is clear that the Nation, having only barely acknowledged the existence of a problem, five years ago, now finds that it has to deal with a crisis that already menaces the health and safety of millions of Americans.

The President's proposals are sound. Emission control levels for industry should be fixed. Regional air quality commissions are needed. Annual vehicle pollution inspection is essential. Enforcement procedures must be improved. Research on fuel additives is imperative. The whole problem must be given more urgent study.

The smog in New York City two months ago, to which the President alluded, alarmed the whole Nation to the seriousness of its pollution peril. Sweeping as the President's proposals are—and perhaps the very lack of information inhibits more drastic steps—the uneasy feeling persists that this program is not going far enough fast enough.

The country may have to brace itself for prevention and abatement measures that will be more costly in terms of money and more disagreeable in terms of their restraint upon the actions of private individuals and corporations.

Antitrust and the Status Quo in a Changing Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, because it is so timely and because it contains information which should be of interest to the entire Congress, I submit the text of an address by Mr. Glen McDaniel, senior vice president and chairman of the executive committee, Litton Industries, Inc., which was delivered to the Antitrust Law Section of the New York State Bar Association on January 25, 1967.

I commend this speech to the attention of my colleagues:

Let me first say a word of appreciation about the kind introduction and statements made about Litton Industries. There is a point I want to make about Litton. It was organized in November 1953, by two young men with a lot of ability and only $40,000 of their own money. Thirteen years later the Company has profitable sales at the rates of more than a billion and one-quarter dollars a year. This story is a testament to the successful enforcement of the antitrust laws. Starting from scratch, Litton has entered a number of highly competitive industries and has survived against the competition of many of the strongest and best managed companies in the country. Such a story is possible only in America, and only because of the successful job that has been done by our antitrust enforcement officials in keeping the economy free of restraints, cartels and monopolies, and maintaining an environment in which competition can flourish.

I might add we have tried to do our part to promote enforcement of the antitrust laws. We have always conducted an antitrust appraisal of each acquisition candidate, and you would be surprised at how many have been turned down on antitrust grounds.

However fairly and efficiently the antitrust laws have been enforced in the past, it is inescapable, I believe, that such enforcement in the future will be increasingly difficult.

The most important fact facing industry today is change—change at an accelerating rate. During the last fifteen years we have been witnessing an enormous cascade of technological development. But this phenomenon is only a smoldering beginning of what is to come. During the next ten years our technological advancement is predicted to more than double that of the last twenty years. It is said that there will be more technological progress in the next generation than in all the rest of human history put together. After all, ninety per cent of all the scientists who ever lived are at work today. Sums are being spent on research and development that would have shocked us only a few years back. The annual rate of expenditures is more than 20 times the rate of 25 years ago.

While our technology is expanding it is also becoming more complex. Industries that once were based on simple processes now embarce many fields of science and technology.

Companies, to meet this challenge and to remain competitive, have had to expand and improve drastically their technical capabilities. Some companies have been able to keep pace through internal growth; for others the only means have been through merger. Thus the inexorable technological explosion in industry has brought about many mergers, and it is inevitable that it must bring about many more. And it is only natural and logical that we have seen the growth of large, multi-industry corporations embracing complementary technologies. As our economy and technology expand, we are bound to see the growth of many more.

Meanwhile, the challenges and needs of consumers and society are undergoing changes, and this process will also require more corporate mergers. We see gigantic problems groping for solution. Problems like water pollution, the growing crime rate, traffic congestion, urban decay, the declining per capita production of food, and the need to create de novo cities, to mention a few. To give you an idea of the magnitude of these problems, it is estimated that to go into a de novo city program would require a company to raise one billion dollars. Yet these problems are peculiarly suited to solution by today's large corporations experienced in applying a broad range of science and technology to hiterto staggering problems. Problem solving in this manner has itself become a science—called the systems management approach.

The full extent to which public problems will be farmed out by government to private industry for solution is yet to develop. The trend has started, and the potential is enormous. As the trend accelerates, it will create a need for more large, broadly based companies and lead, inevitably, to more mergers involving far-reaching and complementary technologies.

Unfortunately, in the face of this developing revolution in industry, we have seen, in the last few years, a definite trend toward judging the legality of mergers by simple, shorthanded tests—tests based simply on changes in industry structure with no analysis of market trends, technological changes, or a merger's actual effect on competition. Abstract economic theories are urged as *substitutes* for *proof* of anticompetitive effects. We are told that competition is injured when one competitor goes out of existence because of a merger. We hear of theories like "multiplicity of contacts," "barriers to entry," "subsidization," "competitive advantage," and "deep pocket."

Reliance on structure and theory alone is too far out of touch with competitive and business reality to produce dependable results. As our technology expands, you will not be able to protect competition by merely protecting structure. Theory which ignores the facts will become increasingly undependable. Take the theory that a conglomerate merger should be condemned because a multi-industry company can use profitable products to subsidize unprofitable products. Certainly in our company, and in others with which I have had contact, each product must stand on its own feet as a profitable endeavor. The aim is to make unprofitable products profitable or to eliminate them—not subsidize them.

The barriers to entry and multiplicity of contacts theories are equally illusory. I do not know of a single large company which we meet competitively in more than one market that is a patsy as a competitor, nor am I aware of any smaller competitor that is afraid to tackle us head-on in the market place. My experience has been to hear small companies boast about how they are able to beat big companies because they are more flexible and can act faster. Litton was a small company that did just that to its big competitors. Thousands of little companies are doing it every day.

Judging a merger on the basis of its effect on an industry's structure is undependable because changes in industry structure increasingly are being caused by factors other than mergers. They are being caused more by changes in technology, consumer demands and the needs of society than they are by mergers.

Condemning a merger which takes place in the midst of a technological revolution in an industry merely because it contributes to that technological revolution or because it occurs in the midst of such a revolution is simply an attempt to maintain the status quo.

This is the trap into which antitrust enforcement of mergers unfortunately appears to be falling. With its emphasis on simple, shorthanded tests, its effect is to attempt to maintain the status quo. Its simple rules are rigid and narrow. It fails to see the technological improvements taking place and those that must take place to meet the needs and challenges of tomorrow's consumers and society.

For example, a while back our company considered an acquisition in a sick industry which is struggling with obsolete equipment. We know it is in grievous need of new technology. We think we have conceived a new approach and would like to contribute to bringing about this revolution. We do not compete with that company and have no vertical relationship with it. Yet we were concerned that antitrust officials might regard this set of facts as an opportunity to extend the Clorox doctrine. We dropped the idea of making the acquisition. The industry continues in its sick and inefficient state. An opportunity to serve the public interest has been lost. The status quo has been maintained.

But America has other needs that are more important than maintaining the status quo.

Antitrust enforcement of mergers is going to have to cope with the technological explosion in industry. This means it is going to have to perceive dramatic technological changes in advance and adopt flexible rules that will not stifle these changes. This, I believe, is the problem facing antitrust in our changing society, and the problem that is going to make enforcement increasingly difficult.

Many new measures will be necessary to enable antitrust to meet this challenge. For one thing, I think we need to adopt a new psychology of working constructively for competition. I would change the name of antitrust, which is obsolete, in favor of a pro-competition law. As part of the new psychology, we need a new statement of national policy as to what our objective is. We should decide whether we really believe in competition or whether we believe in building walls around individual competitors and protecting them from competition. We need a restatement and clarification of the antitrust laws because only in this way can we achieve the wholehearted compliance and self-policing measures by industry on which antitrust increasingly will depend.

These are long-range objectives which will require, among other things, a renewed interest in antitrust by the public at large. Before they can be accomplished we must meet an important shorter-range requirement of better communication and understanding between industry and antitrust enforcement officials. This, I think, is the most crying immediate need and must be met before the long-range objectives can be accomplished.

Tonight I want to suggest a means for beginning this task. I propose the establishment of an Antitrust Industry Advisory Council patterned specifically on the experience of the Department of Defense with the Defense Industry Advisory Council.

That Council, now 6 years old and familiarly known as DIAC, was formed by the present Secretary of Defense for the purpose of helping him do his job. The members are some 22 industry leaders selected by him. Alternates are not permitted because the purpose is to pick the brains of the particular members chosen by the Secretary. These men are not considered as representing their companies or even their industries; they are there as informed public spirited citizens—not to negotiate—but to give their advice to assist the Secretary to perform his job.

DIAC has a full-time manager who organizes the work. Meetings are held quarterly with agendas carefully prepared in advance and supported by studies made by Government staff people and by a member of supporting committees consisting of Government and industry representatives.

At first industry was apprehensive about DIAC because it seemed that the Government was making skillful presentations supported by elaborate staff work on new proposals and getting the assent of relatively poorly prepared and busy industry leaders, thus neutralizing later industry opposition. As the months and years have gone by, however, industry has realized that this Council provides a means of communication that helps industry itself to do its job. There is a better appreciation of the tasks and problems facing the Department of Defense, and the Government officials have a better understanding of some of the problems of industry.

My proposal is that the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission jointly establish an Antitrust Industry Advisory Council consisting of representative industry leaders selected by them. The point would be to select those industry leaders who could provide the most help—in an advisory capacity—to the antitrust officials. It would have an independent manager who would plan the quarterly meetings and send out carefully prepared agendas and supporting studies or postion statements beforehand.

In selecting the members I would hope that antitrust officials would not choose lawyers. Lawyers have been virtually the only means of communication between antitrust officials and industry for decades, and they have done an excellent job, but they are not equipped to foresee the trends and currents of rapid and accelerating technological change. The antitrust laws exist for regulating business, and businessmen are better able to explain business and industrial trends to the Government.

Specifically, what would the new council do? What problems would it consider? That would be entirely up to the antitrust officials, but I would suggest the following:

1. *Guiding Businessmen*. There has been considerable talk by the Government about issuing guidelines. If antitrust is going to formulate guidelines, its purpose surely must be to create a document which would be understood by businessmen and wholeheartedly observed. If this is true, I do not think you can avoid the necessity of discussing the guidelines with businessmen while they are being formulated.

2. *Getting the Facts*. The council would help antitrust do what we all keep hoping it will do—enforce the antitrust laws in accordance with the facts and not preconceived theories. I would hope that the council could help enforcement agencies ferret out the facts as to industry changes, technological advances, and shifting demands. An Industry Advisory Council could also help the enforcement agencies obtain up-to-date information from unbiased and independent organizations.

3. *Advising on Business Trends*. The council could help the enforcement agencies keep ahead of business trends—such as products that are fading, industries that are going to disappear because of new technological developments, new industries that are emerging—and in general assist enforcement officials to peer into the future of rapid change. Technological advancements are producing much shorter product life spans with the result that companies and even industries become obsolete and give way to new industries faster than before. This kind of information is not written in books. It exists in the minds of businessmen who are continually analyzing and preparing for the future. Tapping this information could help alert antitrust to important areas of enforcement as well as to areas where unduly strict enforcement would work against the national interest, such as where entire industries are declining but where their technology is essential to the national security.

4. *Advising on Legislation*. Members of Congress are now saying that the antitrust laws are archaic. The enforcement agencies will no doubt be called upon to make presentations on more legislative proposals than they have in the past. I should think they would want the assistance of discerning industry leaders in preparing these presentations. The effect could only be to strengthen the presentation. If the antitrust officials do not agree with the advice of members of the council, at least they will be better prepared to cope with similar objections in Congress.

Also the advice of the council should be helpful to officials in distinguishing between those matters which can be handled through existing law and those that should be the subject of new legislation. Commissioner MacIntyre, for example, indicated here in New York last month before the Practicing Law Institute, that he feels the problems of concentration, superconcentration, and bigness are matters better left to Congress than to an administrative attempt to stretch present law. In view of the complexity of these matters, and their seriousness from a national security standpoint, surely this is the proper approach.

These would be some of the functions of the council. I think the advantages would be tremendous. For example:

(a) The council could promote industry understanding of antitrust aims and standards through more realistic guidelines and policy statements. This would lead to more effective compliance and self-policing programs in industry. After all, antitrust is dependent upon these self-imposed compliance programs, for it is the great company law departments, guided by able independent counsel, that are really responsible for the day-to-day enforcement of the antitrust laws. But they need help, particularly in the merger fields, because of the uncertainty of the laws, the contradictions of the decisions, and the divergent policy statements of our antitrust officials.

(b) It would help antitrust to understand business and businessmen. We have been described in ways that amaze us by people who have had no industrial experience whatsoever. They talk as if they had been living in an isolation ward. Antitrust officials need a means to get a better "feel" of industry's thoughts and actions.

(c) The council would promote uniformity of policy and action between the two antitrust enforcement agencies. Industry has never understood the concurrent jurisdiction of the Antitrust Division and the Federal Trade Commission. The differing enforcement policy and judgment criteria followed by the two aegncies have created misunderstanding, uncertainty, distrust and criticism of antitrust enforcement in the business community. All of this would be minimized if members of the council received an understanding of the problems involved, and especially if the work of the council led to more uniformity of action between the two agencies.

(d) It would provide a more accurate and complete factual basis for antitrust enforcement, thereby enabling enforcement to adapt and cope with the rapid changes that are taking place in industry and the needs of the economy. This is necessary if antitrust enforcement is to promote the national interest and avoid the trap of trying to preserve the status quo.

(e) It would help in time to remove public apathy to antitrust and to bring about ultimately an increased public interest which will result, I hope, in a restatement and clarification of the antitrust laws and national enforcement objectives.

Perhaps there are those who think that an Antitrust Industry Advisory Council will be nothing but a debating society or a rubber stamp to approve what antitrust enforcement officials were already resolved to do. Would it really accomplish anything? My answer is that you will never know unless you try and that you have nothing to lose by trying. I believe that such an instrumentality has been sorely needed for a long time. Experience shows that intelligent people engaged in dialogue learn from each other.

I believe such a council would help the great American economy to be more productive through the stimulus of competition. We doubt that Government officials realize the vast degree to which the American economy must become more productive. If antitrust really promotes competition instead of trying to preserve the status quo and resist change, American industry can, to an extent heretofore thought impossible, make in the years and decades ahead a massive contribution to improving the well-being of mankind.

Graham Barden

SPEECH

OF

HON. HORACE R. KORNEGAY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, while I never had the privilege of serving with the late Graham A. Barden, because he retired at the end of the 86th Congress and my service in the House began in the 87th term, I did know him for many years and considered him a most valued friend.

His great record of public service was well known and admired by me. He devoted most of his adult life to serving his fellowmen in many important capacities, and his outstanding achievements have brought benefit to countless thousands and at the same time have built an enduring monument to his memory.

Graham Barden will long be remembered not only for his dedication to the cause which he served so well but also for his strength of character, humility of person, and graciousness and charm of manner.

His passing is a loss not only to his devoted family but to his legion of friends and admirers throughout North Carolina and the Nation. I extend to his family my deepest and most heartfelt sympathy in their hour of bereavement.

In Memory of a Leading Senior Citizen of Broward County, Fla.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HERBERT BURKE

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I would like to say a few words to my colleagues concerning the death of one of the leading senior citizens in my congressional district, Mr. Loren Hicks, who passed away last Monday, January 30. His death will be mourned by all leaders of the community who watched him lead his colleagues through the years.

Mr. Hicks lived to be 76 years old, and with sheer strength of character and drive he worked for the betterment of his county, State and country right to the day of his death.

Like so many senior citizens across the country, he chose my district in Florida in which to retire. Twelve years ago he and his wife, Marie, moved to Pampano Beach, Fla., from South Bend, Ind.

The first day he set foot on the sands of Florida he began his drive to make the lives of senior citizens enjoyable for all such residents of Broward County. In 1959 he created the nucleus of the North Broward Senior Citizens Club and within 6 years he brought its enrollment to more than 1,600 members.

Having fought gallantly for medicare, he considered its passage a personal victory. He continued to fight for additional legislation on the State and Federal level which would benefit our elderly, not only in my district and State, but throughout the entire country.

One of Mr. Hicks' last acts on behalf of our elderly was a sad task. He, like many of us, witnessed the famed *Yarmouth Castle* ship disaster off the shores of Florida in November 1965. That disaster, as you may recall, took the lives of 91 people. But the accident, certainly horrible for most of the country, had a much deeper meaning for Loren Hicks. He lost 23 members of his North Broward Senior Citizens Club in that sea disaster. Almost as soon as the tragedy had struck and the victims were identified, Mr. Hicks, disregarding his advanced age, went immediately to work with his fellow volunteers to care for the survivors, doing anything he could to help.

Loren Hicks immediately was on the move for the erection of the Yarmouth Castle Memorial Fund to erect a monument in memory of his friends and the others who were lost.

Now Loren Hicks has joined the many friends he lost in that sea disaster. And, just as he mourned a year ago the loss of his good friends, we mourn today the loss of an outstanding community leader who was also a true, dear friend to young and old alike in Broward County and in our State of Florida.

Mr. Speaker, I direct these remarks to you and to my colleagues in the House of Representatives in memory of a great man and a great senior citizen, Mr. Loren Hicks.

Robert H. Bailey, of Kingsport, Tenn., Elected U.S. Ruritan President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, a number of national honors have been received by residents of my district in the last year—Miss Vicki Lynn Hurd, of Kingsport, was second runner-up in the Miss America contest; Mr. Steve Spurrier, of Johnson City, received the Heisman Trophy; David Russ, of Kingsport, winner of the VFW Voice of Democracy contest—and now to add to that list of distinguished citizens, we have Robert H. Bailey, my good friend from Kingsport and Church Hill, who has been elected president of the Ruritan National.

I am extremely proud of Bob's success, as are all east Tennesseans, and I want to congratulate him on his election and wish him well.

I insert at this point in the RECORD an article which relates Bob's outstanding career:

KINGSPORT LAWYER NAMED U.S. RURITAN PRESIDENT

Robert H. Bailey, a prominent Kingsport Tenn. lawyer, was elected president of Ruritan National Tuesday at the annual convention in Cleveland, Ohio.

A native of Greene County, Tenn. with law offices in Kingsport and Church Hill, he succeeded Edwin H. Ragsdale of Richmond, Va., and became the 36th Ruritan president which has included three other Tennesseans.

With his election to the presidency, Bailey has reached the organization's highest office after several years of Ruritan service.

He has been active especially throughout Sullivan County and has installed officers in many area clubs during past years.

Other national officers include Charles H. Allen Jr., Sinks Grove, W. Va., vice president and Raymond Franklin, Maryville, Tenn., who was elected to represent Tennessee for a three-year term on the National board of directors.

Three other Tennesseans were installed as district governors in the state for 1967. They are James Myers Jr., Kingsport, J. Fred Pinkard, Cleveland, and Thomas B. Rowe, Pinson, Tenn.

Bailey previously has served a three-year term on the Ruritan national board of directors, national convention chairman, district governor of Tennessee, zone governor and president of the Baileytown Ruritan Club in Greene County.

He is a senior member of the law firm of Bailey-Fraley in Kingsport with degrees from the University of Tennessee Law School and Tusculum College at Greeneville.

He is a past master of Greeneville Lodge No. 3, F. and A.M., Kerbela Shrine and a veteran of the Korean War.

With his election Tennessee now has the distinction of having three leaders of the five largest civic organizations in America serving in office.

The other two are Robert H. Leonard of Knoxville, who is president of Optimist International and Edward M. Lindsey of Lawrenceburg, president of Lions International.

Ruritan National is the largest rural service organization in the nation. It opened new $125,000 headquarters in 1965 at Dublin, Va.

Statement of George F. Keenan, U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, January 30, 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask under unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the text of the statement delivered to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on January 30, 1967 by the Honorable George F. Kennan, former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union and a scholar of Soviet affairs, as reprinted in the Washington Sunday Star, February 5, 1967.

Mr. Kennan's statement is a significant contribution to the present dialog about the relations between the United States and the Communist world.

The statement follows:

KENNAN'S VERSION OF WHY COMMUNIST WORLD IS SPLIT

(George F. Kennan, former Ambassador to the Soviet Union and a scholar of Soviet affairs, appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week to give his views on where we stand today.

(The first of Mr. Kennan's prepared statement gave his interpretation of the main events of recent years which have led to the present East-West relationship. Then he went into some detail on why he feels that the growing independence of the nations within the Communist world has opened up the possibility of better relations with the rest of the world. This is the text of his statement.)

The subject on which you would like me to testify today is, as I understand it, "The Communist World in 1967." In reflecting on what I might usefully say in the way of initial remarks on this vast subject, it occurred to me that the present state of the Communist world cannot be understood except in its historical context. So I am going to ask for your patience in letting me turn back very briefly to the past and review once more the main events out of which this present situation has been formed.

As we all know, there grew up around the turn of the last century in a number of European countries, but particularly in Germany, a strong social-democratic political movement based on the writtings and teachings of Karl Marx. In Western Europe this was, for the most part, a moderate and humane movement. It was revolutionary in its objectives, but moderate and democratic, for the most part, in its methods.

In Russia things took a somewhat different course. Here the Social-Democratic party, coming late to the political scene, was affected by the violent and extreme tendencies that had already come to prevail in much of the older Russian revolutionary movement, with the result that the party split from the start into two wings: one relatively moderate one, committed to the belief that the party should observe democratic procedures in its own internal administration and should compete for mass political support; the other basing itself on the concept of the Party as a small conspiratorial core of highly trained and disciplined professional revolutionaries, and committed to the belief that desirable changes not only in Russian life but in the lives of all the advanced Western peoples could come only by violent revolution—not by the operation of the normal democratic and parliamentary process. And it was this second and violent wing of the Russian Social-Democratic party which, under the brilliant and uncompromising leadership of Lenin, triumphed in the Russian Revolution 50 years ago this year, and established throughout Russia a dictatorial power which it has retained to the present day.

THREAT TO WEST

Now this triumph of the Bolsheviki, or the Communists as they now came to be called, in the Russian Revolution was one of the great determining events of this century, and one that endangered in the most serious way the interests of Western peoples. With this event the human and material resources of one of the world's great countries—a country with tremendous economic and military as well as cultural potential—came under the control of a group of fanatics deeply prejudiced against the traditional institutions of the Western countries and determined to do what they could to bring about the overthrow of the governments and social systems of those countries. They did not hesitate to undertake vigorous efforts in this direction; and in the conditions of instability and economic distress that followed the First World War they found many people in the West willing to accept their lead and to join them in these efforts. This was of course a dangerous situation. Its dangers were moderated at that time by the fact that Russia, weakened by the ravages of war and revolution, was not a strong military power for offensive purposes, and by the fact that the traditional institutions of Western countries proved much more resistant than had the institutions of Tsarist Russia to the revolutionry pressures which these people engendered. Nevertheless, the Soviet regime of Lenin's day, inspired by an intense world-revolutionary enthusiasm, presented a serious danger to the stability of the Western community of nations and an unprecedented problem for Western policymakers.

In the mid-nineteen twenties, Lenin's leadersihp was replaced by that of Stalin. This was a significant change. Stalin was a less fanatical, more cautious man, skeptical of the possibilities of achieving world revolution, anxious to retain his own personal ascendancy in the world communist movement, but interested more immediately in building up Russia's industrial and military establishment than in encouraging other Communist parties to seize power. He was a crafty, cynical politician, a man of great and dangerous tactical ability in political action and no friend of the West. The reign of terror that he instituted in Russia in the nineteen-thirties and continued in some degree down to the day of his death was so extreme that it complicated in many ways the maintenance of anything resembling normal relations between Russia and Western countries. His behavior toward the West in the common confrontation with Hitler's Germany was devoid of both good will and good faith. Throughout his lifetime, too, Russia remained, although for reasons somewhat different than in Lenin's time, a dangerous adversary of the United States and other Western powers in world affairs.

Down to the Second World War Stalin kept the world communist movement under his own jealous and unrelenting personal control. There was, however, no major expansion of the geographic area to which Communist power extended until the final phases of the war against Hitler carried the Soviet armed forces into the heart of Europe. Stalin was quick to take advantage of this development as a means of extending the borders of the Soviet Union in the West and of installing or assisting the installation of Communist regimes in all of Eastern and part of Central Europe, including the Soviet zone of Germany. Slow to realize the dangers of this development, we had little choice but to accept it once it had occurred. The alternative was only to add another great war to the one we had just finished. The Sovietization of Eastern and Central Europe was part of the price we paid for the defeat of Hitler.

THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS

This success of Stalin's wartime statemanship appeared to be supplemented in the immediate postwar period by the triumph of the Communists in China. This event was of course a great boon to the prestige of Communists everywhere. But it did not constitute quite the extension of Stalin's power that many people then thought it did. Differences between the two parties—the Russian and the Chinese—were of long standing. Once in control of China's resources, independent thereof of Russian support, and having their own national pride, the Chinese Communists saw no reason to take orders from Moscow or to respect Moscow's authority in the world communist movement. The Chinese Revolution did indeed mean the creation of another great Communist power, no less violently prejudiced against the West, no less hostile to Western interest and institutions, than Lenin's or Stalin's Russia. The differences between this power and the Soviet Union did not become openly apparent for several years to come; but in actuality Communist China represented for the Soviet Union from the start in some respects an ally, in other respects a rival, never a satellite.

The triumph of the Communists in China coincided in time with the decision of the Communist leaders of Yugoslavia, which had initially been included in the postwar Soviet bloc, to defy Moscow's authority and to strike out on an independent path. They were successful in doing this, and have maintained their independence ever since.

It will be observed, therefore, that while the events of the final phases of World War II and the immediate postwar period did indeed bring about significant increases in the territory ruled by Communist regimes, they also had the effect of destroying the monolithic character of Moscow's control of the world communist movement. Moscow did retain control over most of the territory—not all—that Russian troops had overrun in Eastern and Central Europe. Moscow further retained, for the time being, its dominant influence among the various Communist parties in the countries where communism had not triumphed. But it had to accommodate itself to the existence of two Communist states—China and Yugoslavia—whose policies and behavior it could not control.

SINO-SOVIET SPLIT

This was the situation that existed from 1948 down to Stalin's death five years later. After his death this situation underwent a fundamental alteration. The disorders in Eastern Germany in 1953 and the troubles in Hungary and Poland in 1956 shook Moscow's moral authority throughout the world Communist movement Khrushchev's effort, then, to improve relations with Yugoslavia—an effort to which he felt himself driven precisely by the growing tension between Russia and China—contributed further to the weakening of Moscow's authority among the Communists of the world because it appeared to give Russian sanction to Tito's independent course. It caused other Communist leaders to ask themselves: "Well, if Tito can follow an independent line and be respected and rewarded for it by Moscow, why can't we?" But most important of all was the emergence to the surface, beginning in 1957, of serious differences between the Soviet and Chinese Communist Parties and the development of these differences into a full-fledged open political conflict between two powers.

What earlier events had left undone in the way of destruction of the unity of the Communist bloc the Chinese-Soviet conflict now completed. In the light of this conflict, the other Communist Parties and regimes were not only placed in a position where they could make independent choices and decisions; they were virtually forced to do so. A bewildering variety of options was now open to them. They could hold to Moscow. They could hold to Peking. They could take the Yugoslav course and follow neither of the two great powers. They could follow the lead of one of the two great powers in their external relations, but follow their own needs and preferences in domestic policy. Or they could do just the opposite: They could follow Moscow's example, or Peking's example, in domestic policy, but strike out on their own in the field of foreign policy. The very inability to avoid a choice among these various alternatives forced the foreign Communists, right then and there, to a complete independence of decision. And this was an independence of which they could no longer really be deprived; for even if their decision ran to the respecting of the authority of one or the other of the great Communist powers, they would be doing this now of their own free choice, and they could withdraw their allegiance as easily and independently as they had given it.

The result was, of course, that decisions went in a variety of different ways. Bulgaria, for example, held in all respects to Moscow, Albania, to Peking. Rumania continued to adhere generally to the Russian example in its domestic practices but largely emancipated itself from Russian influence in its foreign policies. Poland did just the opposite.

RED PARTIES ALSO SPLIT

The same dissimilarities soon became apparent in the reactions of the various Communist Parties not in power. They, too, were forced to make choices. Some adhered to Peking, some to Moscow. Some went one way at one time, another way at another. Some split up entirely into mutually antagonistic pro-Moscow or pro-Peking factions. Some, disgusted with the whole business and unable to get anything in the nature of effective guidance from either of the two great Communist capitals, simply decided to begin to disregard both of them and to go their own way.

This is the sort of Communist world we have before us today. The existence of this situation is a matter of easily ascertainable fact, not of speculation. This being the case, to attribute today to the various parties, regimes and factions that make up the world Communist movement any sort of a unified political personality—to speak of them as though they represented a single disciplined force, operating under the conspiratorial control of a single political will, as I sometimes still hear people speak of them in this country, and occasionally even within the halls of this august legislative body—is to fly in the face of an overwhelming body of evidence, to move intellectually in the realm of patent absurdity, to deny by implication the relevance of external evidence to the considerations and decisions of foreign affairs. The unity of the Communist bloc is a matter of the past! and it will not be restored. This Humpty Dumpty will not and cannot be reassembled.

Now this, of course, does not mean that there is no problem. These regimes and parties and factions remain communistic, or nominally communistic, even if they are not united; and as such they continue to reflect in varying degrees elements of the Communist ideology that are adverse to our concepts as well as to our interests—adverse also, we like to think, to the interests of world peace. But here there are certain circumstances that we must be careful to bear in mind.

COMMUNISM CHANGING

First of all, what communism means today embraces a very wide spectrum of outlooks and behavior. Some of these Communist elements, like the Chinese Communist regime, present from our standpoint as ugly and menacing a phenomenon as did Lenin's Russia at the height of its world-revolutionary enthusiasm. Others, as in the case of the Yugoslav regime or the Italian Communist party, are operating on the basis of concepts which present no greater problems from our standpoint than those that govern the behavior of many regimes or parties that do not call themselves Communist at all. It is simply impossible to generalize, today, about communism as a problem in the spectrum of American foreign policy.

But in addition to that, even within the framework of the individual Communist parties or regimes, the nature of communism is not a static thing. It has already undergone great changes in many instances, and is still in a process of change everywhere. This is particularly important in the case of the Soviet Union. I can assure you that the outlooks that are prevalent today in Russian Communist Party are greatly different from those that prevailed in earlier decades. Of course, not all of these outlooks are reassuring; habits of thought, prejudices and preconceptions still endure that we have to recognize as hostile and dangerous to the only sort of world stability we can imagine. Efforts carried forward in the name of these outlooks merit our continued vigorous and vigilant resistance. But these are no longer the only outlooks that exist. In the main, the changes that have come over Soviet communism and the mental world of its leaders, particularly in the years since Stalin's death, have been hopeful rather than alarming ones—over which, if properly understood and met from the non-Communist side, hold encouraging rather than menacing connotations for the prospects for world stability.

It must never be forgotten that in the pattern of our relationship with any great nation there are always elements of conflict in outlook as in interest. An uncomplicated relationship between great nations does not exist, has never existed, and will never exist. In the tensions that have agitated the relations between our country and the Soviet Union over the half century of the latter's existence there have always been, for this reason, two components: one that arose from the peculiar ideological outlooks and commitments of the Soviet leaders—from their quality, in other words, as Communists; the other one composed of the abundant frictions, suspicions, anxieties and conflicts of interests that normally bedevil the relations between great states and do not constitute in themselves a proper source for discouragement or despair with relation to the prospects for world peace. I think it may safely be said that in the pattern of our differences with the Soviet leadership over the course of the past 14 years, that component which reflects the nature of the Communist ideological commitments has tended generally to decline; and the relative importance of the other component, the normal one, has tended, accordingly, to rise. Many of us would be helped in our thinking about the problems of Soviet-American relations if we could free ourselves from the abnormal sensitivities and reflexes to which the extreme tensions of earlier decades have led and teach ourselves to think about Russia as simply another great power with its own interests and concerns, often necessarily in conflict with our own but not tragically so—a power different in many respects, but perhaps no longer in essential ones, from what Russia would have been had there been no Communist revolution in that country 50 years ago.

REACTS SENSITIVELY

Finally, there is one vitally important point on which I would like to conclude. Not only does international communism present itself to us today in many diverse aspects, and not only is it a phenomenon constantly in process of change; it is also something that reacts sensitively in many respects to what we do and say, and must therefore be regarded as partially subject to our influence. Almost everywhere in the Communist world there are forces more inclined to appreciate the values of a peaceful world and to contribute, where they can, to development in that direction, and there are forces less inclined to move along this line.

We have it in our power, by the manner in which we frame our policies, to encourage or to discourage either of these conflicting forces. International communism is thus not just entirely what we find it to be. It is in part what we make of it.

The implications of all this, from the standpoint of American policy, are of enormous seriousness at this present moment. We stand today at something of a parting of the ways with respect to our approach to the Communist world. If we fail to take account of the encouraging elements in the situation—if we act as though they did not exist and carry our differences against individual Communist powers as though we were still dealing with the naive world-revolutionary force of Lenin's day or with the grim monolith of Communist power that confronted us in the days of Stalin—we may be neglecting and discarding the only chance that I can see to spare ourselves or our children, or both, the immeasurable catastrophes of a world war among nuclear powers.

As one whose professional experience with world communism now runs back for just 40 years, I think I have as intimate an acquaintance with this phenomenon as anyone in this country. I saw it and knew it at first hand in the difficult times of the nineteen-thirties. I knew it again at the most difficult time of all—at the heyday of Stalin's triumph and arrogance at the end of World War II. I had the temerity to urge publicly upon our Government and our people at that time patience in the approach to Russian communism, being confident that there would be changes, and thinking it likely that these changes would be ones that would make it easier for us to cope with it without inviting the catastrophe of another war. These changes have now come. They are, in my most earnest opinion, of such a nature as to give us, for the first time perhaps since 1917, real and hopeful possibilities for the adjustment by peaceful means of our relations with certain of these Communist countries, particularly the Soviet Union. I can think of nothing more tragic than that today, when these possibilities are really coming into being, when rays of light are visible which 20 years ago were only gleams of hope in our own eyes, we should fail to perceive or recognize these hopeful elements, should lose our patience just when it is most vitally important to retain it, and should risk driving our differences with Communist powers to a violent and apocalyptic conclusion.

Capetown and U.S. Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, in a statement issued to the press earlier today, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RIVERS], expressed concern about the incident occurring when the aircraft carrier *Franklin D. Roosevelt* visited Capetown, South Africa, last weekend.

As I, and the colleagues who have joined me during the last few days in objecting to the *Franklin D. Roosevelt's* visit to Capetown, have said repeatedly, we regret the unquestioned blow that has been struck at the morale of the *Franklin D. Roosevelt's* crew. It is unfortunate indeed that these brave and dedicated men have been made to suffer.

The blunder was committed some time ago, when the decision was made for the aircraft carrier to make a refueling stop at Capetown.

For it has been the policy of the United States for years to condemn the South African policy of apartheid, the legal and rigid separation of races. Apartheid is in direct opposition to the values in which our country believes and for which our forces are fighting in Vietnam. The only policy consistent with our frequent condemnation of apartheid would be a complete ban on all ship visits to South Africa. Let us make fueling and liberty arrangements where our servicemen will be treated with honor and dignity and where American foreign policy objectives can be upheld. We must look beyond the understandable displeasure of the *Franklin D. Roosevelt's* crew to the broader, long-range goals of equality for all men to which the United States is dedicated. To preach equality at home and tolerate the grossest of all inequality abroad would be disgraceful hyprocrisy.

President Johnson stated this point eloquently last June, in a speech commemorating the third anniversary of the Organization of African Unity. He said, in part:

> The United States has learned from lamentable personal experience that domination of one race by another leads to waste and to injustice. Just as we are determined to remove the remnants of inequality from our own midst, we are also with you—heart and soul—as you try to do the same.
>
> We believe, as you do, that denial of a whole people's right to shape their nation's future is morally wrong. We also know that it is politically and socially costly. A nation in the 20th Century cannot expect to achieve order and sustain growth unless it moves—not just steadily but rapidly—in the direction of full political rights for all its people. It has taken us time to learn this lesson. But having learned it, we must not forget it.

The Government of the United States cannot, therefore, condone the perpetuation of racial or political injustice anywhere in the world.

Since, as a condition to using the Capetown port facilities, South Africa requires our servicemen to submit to the apartheid system, we must find other ways to service our naval vessels. The United States must continue its policy of bypassing South African ports rather than abandon our opposition to apartheid.

An End in Sight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the Congressional Record an editorial column appearing under the byline of Mr. Joseph Alsop, a respected and able correspondent in the Washington Post of February 3, 1967 meriting careful attention by my colleagues.

The article follows:

Matter of Fact—An End in Sight

(By Joseph Alsop)

One way or another, the end of the big unit war in South Vietnam now seems to be rather clearly in sight.

As recently revealed in this space, the Hanoi leaders are using diplomatic intermediaries to feel out the President's willingness to "stop the bombing to get talks." If the President has not taken leave of his senses, he will reply that he is perfectly ready to stop the bombing *but only* if the Hanoi leaders will stop sending troops and supplies into South Vietnam.

If Hanoi is willing to offer this kind of quid pro quo, it will mean that Hanoi wants genuine negotiations. If Hanoi is not willing, it will mean that Hanoi merely wants a respite in the war, in order to reinforce its badly battered southern units, and then to start the war all over again.

But unless the President has succumbed to a political death wish, this is unlikely to be allowed to happen. Hence events can take two alternative courses, as follows.

The first possibility is genuine negotiation on equal terms, which could perhaps bring the whole war to an end. This is imaginable, although it seems more likely that Hanoi is merely seeking a respite.

The second possibility is that Hanoi will reject negotiations on equal terms; and our Northern bombing will therefore continue.

Assume that the second and more likely possibility develops. In that event, one can rather confidently forecast the fairly early end of the big unit war in South Vietnam. The end may come within a matter of months. And when the big unit war has been won, the worst of the war will be over.

The big unit war (a current Pentagon phrase-of-art) is the war we are now fighting. It is primarily aimed at the enemy's "main forces" his near-regular battalions, regiments and divisions which are quite different from his guerrilla and local forces.

Essentially, it is a war of attrition. The attrition's cruelly severe effects on the enemy's big units had already begun to be visible as long ago as last September.

Two factors, it need hardly be said, mainly determine the success or failure of a war of attrition. One is the enemy's rate of loss; and the other is the rate at which he can replace his losses. The Northern bombing is so important because it so greatly affects the enemy's replacement rate.

Since 1964, local recruitment in South Vietnam has never come within miles of meeting the enemy's needs. In the first six months of last year, by enormous and costly efforts, Hanoi managed to bring the average rate of infiltration to the rather high figure of 7000 Northern regular soldiers a month. Even so, the loss-replacement balance was far from satisfactory.

In the last six months of 1966, the cumulative effects of our Northern bombing then began to show in a dramatic manner. The infiltration rate was in fact cut, according to the Pentagon's best estimates, by no less than 75 percent. In other words, the monthly inflow of Northern soldiers, to serve as replacements in the South, dropped to only about 1700 men a month.

For the same period, the enemy's heavy rate of loss remained approximately constant. And this happened although the Hanoi war planners seemingly adopted a new policy of ordering their big units to elude combat if possible.

In the period before combat began to be eluded, the grisly "body-counts" were running at a level a bit above 5000 a month, on a three month moving average. Today, again on a three month moving average, they are running at about 4900 a month.

These figures of course represent the dead who are left on the field of battle in defiance of VC discipline. A conservative estimate of the enemy's total current rate of loss from all causes, including disease, is 12,000 a month; and it may be a good deal higher.

With only 1700 men a month coming in from the North, the most extreme press gang recruitment in the South can hardly bring the enemy's total of available replacements above 4000 men a month. If the loss rate continues at 12,000 a month, and the replacement rate at only 4000 a month, there can be no question about the final result. It will be the defeat of the enemy's big units. Yet that still leaves many unanswered questions.

Can Hanoi find ways to bring up the infiltration rate again? One must wait and see the January, February and March infiltration figures. If high losses and low replacements knock the enemy's big units out of the war, how will this bitter and demoralizing defeat affect the VC's widespread guerrilla infrastructure?

Again, one must wait and see. And may not the President start image-making once more, yielding a unilateral bombing halt after all, and thereby risking every gain already made? Yet again, one must wait and see.

Dane County, Wis., Democrats on Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, within the past 2 weeks the Dane County, Wis., Democratic organization adopted a resolution on the need for a cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam as the best method of bringing the parties involved in the Vietnam war to the conference table. Dane County not only is the site of the State capital at Madison and the University of Wisconsin, but also, outside of Milwaukee County, is Wisconsin's most populous county. The resolution is self-explanatory, and, in view of the significance of this issue for the Nation, I thought it would be of interest to other Members in assessing the present political climate.

The January 18, 1967, resolution of the Dane County Democratic Party follows:

Dane County, Wis., Democrats on Vietnam

At its monthly meeting tonight the Dane County Democrats resoundingly adopted the following resolution submitted by Mrs. Gretchen Pfankuchen:

"Whereas, the Wisconsin State Democratic Convention, 1966, resolved that "the active intervention of American troops will not furnish an ultimate solution to the Viet Nam problem"; and

Whereas, the Viet Nam conflict is being escalated on both sides, while efforts to bring it to the conference table have not succeeded; and

Whereas, it has become apparent that the bombing of military targets in North Viet Nam unavoidably kills innocent civilians and solidifies a patriotic North Viet Nam resistance; and

Whereas, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the most authoritative voice of world opinion, has stated that negotiations are not possible without a cessation of the bombing of North Viet Nam; therefore

Be it resolved, that the Dane County Democratic Party urge the President of the United States to order, without any stated time limit, the cessation of United States bombing of North Viet Nam, as the best method of bringing the parties involved to the conference table; and that copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, Wisconsin representatives in the Congress, and the appropriate Committees in the Senate and the House of Representatives and all appropriate news media."

New Ethics Committee Proposed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, late in the 89th Congress the House of Representatives acted judiciously by establishing a Select Committee on Standards and Ethics. This action exemplified the Members' concern that proper standards for Members be determined, to prevent and eliminate conflicts of interest and to insure that the Nation have complete confidence in its lawmakers.

My colleague, the gentleman from Florida, Charles E. Bennett, first called for a committee designed to fulfill the above. He ably led the fight for approval of the proposal and was selected as chairman of the original committee. In the 90th Congress, Mr. Bennett has again requested that the committee be operable, as the following article from today's New York Times points out.

I have long felt that Congress must initiate whatever actions may be necessary in order to indicate to the public that we are able and willing to effectively deal with problems of ethics and conduct of individual Congressmen which are questionable or on which complaints have been made. Consequently, I cosponsored Congressman BENNETT's original proposal and his present one to extend the life of the select committee through the 90th Congress.

As the following article points out, the committee would have the authority to recommend rules or regulations to the House, to report violations of any law to the proper Federal and State authorities, and to investigate any violation of the standards recommended by the committee.

Mr. Speaker, may I commend Congressman BENNETT for his monumental contribution to the House of Representatives, and call to the attention of my colleagues the following article:

[From the New York Times, Feb. 6, 1967]

DEMOCRATS IN HOUSE PREDICT A NEW ETHICS COMMITTEE

(By John D. Morris)

WASHINGTON, February 5.—Democratic leaders predicted today that the House would set up an ethics committee with authority to investigate complaints of wrong doing by members and employes.

"The leadership will not oppose the establishment of a committee, and you can assume it will happen," said a spokesman who asked not to be identified.

It was uncertain, however, whether the committee's effectiveness would be impaired by restrictions on its authority.

Thirty resolutions to create an ethics committee are pending before the House Rules Committee. One is sponsored by Representative Charles E. Bennett, Democrat of Florida, and 26 of the others are identical to it.

Mr. Bennett was chairman of a select (special) ethics committee that was created just before Congress adjourned last October. The panel had insufficient authority or time to make any investigations before it went out of existence with the expiration of the 89th Congress on Jan. 3. Mr. Bennett is expected to head a new select committee if it is established.

WIDE SUPPORT SEEN

The Bennett resolution, which has the widest support among House members, was said to be acceptable to the Democratic leadership as a basis for action. But some modifications were expected to be sought by Speaker John W. McCormack of Massachusetts.

One such amendment would prohibit the investigation of any activities that took place before the committee's creation. Another would prohibit an investigation unless a complaint received by the committee was "supported by evidence."

The Bennett resolution would authorize an investigation only on receipt of a complaint made in writing and under oath. In addition, the complaint would have to be transmitted to the committee by a member of the House.

Some critics have suggested that Representatives would be reluctant to pass along complaints against colleagues and that the committee might consequently find itself with little to investigate.

RESTRICTION DEFENDED

Mr. Bennett, however, said in an interview that he did not believe the requirement would have such an effect, particularly where valid charges of serious misconduct were involved.

He said it was just as important to protect Representatives against the circulation of false charges as it was to investigate well-founded charges of improper or illegal activities. He maintained that the restriction of investigations to complaints transmitted by House members would work toward that end.

The new select panel, like the old one, would consist of six Democrats and six Republicans. Its duties would include the presentation of recommendations to the House for rules or regulations "to insure proper standards of conduct by members of the House and by officers and employes of the House in the performance of their duties and the discharge of their responsibilities."

After investigating charges of misconduct, the committee could recommend House approval of "appropriate resolutions of censure."

Mr. Bennett has asked the Rules Committee for hearings and has been told that they may be held after the House has decided whether to seat Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat of Manhattan. A special nine-member committee has until Feb. 23 to report to the House on its investigation of Mr. Powell's qualifications. The House will then decide whether to seat him.

PANEL CALLED IMPERATIVE

Most House members agree that the Powell case has made it imperative to create an ethics committee, especially in view of Mr. Powell's contention that other members engaged in the same sort of activities that deprived him of his seat pending an investigation.

These included charges of private travel at governmental expense and misuse of his office payroll in the employment of his estranged wife, a resident of Puerto Rico.

The Senate created its own ethics committee in 1965, with broad investigative powers after the forced resignation of Robert G. Baker as secretary to the Senate Democratic majority. The six-member panel is now investigating charges of improper conduct against Senator Thomas J. Dodd, Democrat of Connecticut.

The Sad Death of a Spirited Young Couple

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the sudden death of the young always comes as a shock to our minds and hearts—the abrupt and sudden ending of a life yet to be lived and yet to be fulfilled. Two weeks ago, we suffered such a shock when we learned of the disappearance of a private aircraft somewhere in the Caribbean. The names of the two passengers were probably unknown to many who read or heard the news—Stephen and Audrey Currier. But these two young people have played over, the last 10 years, a vital role in American life. It is an ironic tribute to the character of their work and of their lives that only after their death will their many worthwhile activities be made known.

Heirs to vast wealth, they recognized the obligations that economic power imposes. Through the Taconic Foundation and their personal charities, they used the vast fortune they controlled as a tool for change rather than a weapon of reaction. The civil rights movement, the cities of America, and thousands of students and children have benefitted from their generosity. And most strangely in modern America, their passion for anonymity led them to retain a public relations firm whose sole task was to keep them out of the limelight.

Mr. Speaker, I want to pay public tribute today to Stephen and Audrey Currier, whose deaths have saddened all of us who knew them and respected the work they were doing.

Mr. Speaker, August Heckscher paid moving tribute to Stephen Currier in a letter to the New York Times. I ask that this letter be included in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks:

To the EDITOR:

Two weeks have passed since Stephen Currier, with his wife, Audrey, disappeared into the darkness between San Juan and St. Thomas. It seems time to say a word about Stephen as one who in many quiet ways was playing a role in the life of this city and of the country, and would have played a very large role had more years been given him.

He was full of the zest of living. He had come through a rather stormy youth to attain in his maturity a buoyancy tempered by a strong sense of social obligation. Disposing with his wife of a great fortune, he turned principally to the issues of racial justice and urban progress; but the whole range of his interests and benefactions, and his many personal kindnesses, can hardly be known to anyone among those of us who admired him and enjoyed his friendship.

To whatever he gave he added the gift of his own intense and adventurous concern. He was a lover of beauty, in nature and in the man-made world, with an artist's eye and with incredible energy to turn things to the better.

The Taconic Foundation, Urban America, a revived Architectural Forum and the Potomac Institute of Washington stand as his chief works. He will be remembered for these, but even more, by quite a few of us, for his modesty and youthful charm and truly bountiful spirit.

AUGUST HECKSCHER.

NEW YORK, *January 30, 1967.*

Letter from Secretary Rusk to Student Leaders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, amid the increasing speculation about the possibility of a peaceful solution to the war in Vietnam, the Secretary of State, the Honorable Dean Rusk, has made our position in this matter perfectly clear.

In a January 4, 1967 letter to student leaders the Secretary again reiterated our desire to meet with the opposing side to determine whether grounds for peace do in fact exist.

I commend the Secretary's letter to the attention of our colleagues:

LETTER FROM SECRETARY RUSK TO STUDENT LEADERS

Following is the text of a letter from Secretary Rusk to 100 students leaders in response to their letter to President Johnson of December 29. The Secretary's letter, dated January 4, was forwarded to Robert

Powell, president of the student body, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill:

"January 4, 1967.

"Dear Student Leaders: I have received and read carefully your thoughtful letter to the President about our policy in Viet-Nam.

"Your interest and your concern are shared by most thinking Americans. No one desires more strongly to bring an early and honorable conclusion to the conflict in Viet-Nam than those who are working day and night, both here and in Viet-Nam, to achieve that end.

"The questions you have raised are among those that have been asked and discussed repeatedly in the councils of your Government. If some of these matters continue, as you say, to agitate the academic community, it is certainly not because answers have not been provided. It is more, I think, because the answers to great and complex questions can never fully satisfy all the people in a free and questioning society.

"Nevertheless, I am glad to have the chance to address myself to the four specific questions about which you stated you and others felt doubt or concern.

"First, you asked if America's vital interests are sufficiently threatened in Viet-Nam to necessitate the growing commitment there.

"There is no shadow of doubt in my mind that our vital interests are deeply involved in Viet-Nam and in Southeast Asia.

"We are involved because the nation's word has been given that we would be involved. On February 1, 1955, by a vote of 82 to 1 the United States Senate passed the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty. That Treaty stated that aggression by means of armed attack in the treaty area would endanger our own peace and safety and, in that event, "we would act to meet the common danger." There is no question that an expanding armed attack by North Viet-Nam on South Viet-Nam has been under way in recent years; and six nations, with vital interests in the peace and security of the region, have joined South Viet-Nam in defense against that armed attack.

"Behind the words and the commitment of the Treaty lies the lesson learned in the tragic half century since the First World War. After that war our country withdrew from effective world responsibility. When aggressors challenged the peace in Manchuria, Ethiopia, and then Central Europe during the 1930's, the world community did not act to prevent their success. The result was a Second World War—which could have been prevented.

"That is why the Charter of the United Nations begins with these words: 'We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind. . . .' And the Charter goes on to state these objectives: 'to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained . . . and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security. . . .'

'This was also the experience President Truman had in mind when—at a period when the United Nations was incapable of protecting Greece and Turkey from aggression—he said: 'We shall not realize our objectives unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes.'

"These are the memories which have inspired the four postwar American Presidents as they dealt with aggressive pressures and thrusts from Berlin to Korea, from the Caribbean to Viet-Nam.

"In short, we are involved in Viet-Nam because we know from painful experience that the minimum condition for order on our planet is that aggression must not be permitted to succeed. For when it does succeed, the consequence is not peace, it is the further expansion of aggression.

"And those who have borne responsibility in our country since 1945 have not for one moment forgotten that a third world war would be a nuclear war.

"The result of this conviction and this policy has been a generation's effort which has not been easy for the United States. We have borne heavy burdens. We have had to face some conflict and a series of dangerous situations.

"But the hard and important fact is that in the postwar world external aggression has not been permitted to develop its momentum into general war.

"Look back and imagine the kind of world we now would have if we had adopted a different course. What kind of Europe would now exist if there had been no commitment to Greece and Turkey? No Marshall Plan? No NATO? No defense of Berlin? Would Europe and the world be better off or worse? Would the possibilities of detente be on the present horizon?

"Then turn the globe and look at Asia. If we had made no commitments and offered no assistance, what kind of Asia would there now be? Would there be a confident and vital South Korea? A prosperous and peaceful Japan? Would there be the new spirit of regional cooperation and forward movement now developing throughout Asia?

"If you were to talk to the leaders of Asia as I have, you would know what Asians really think of our commitment in Viet-Nam. You would know that the new vigor in Asia, the new hope and determination, are based in part on the conviction that the United States will continue to support the South Vietnamese in their struggle to build a life of their own within the framework of the Geneva Accords in 1954 and 1962—that we shall see it through to an honorable peace.

"Second, you wonder whether our vital interests are best protected by our growing commitment.

"We must always weigh what we are doing against the requirements of the situation and what the other side is doing. You are aware, I am sure, that the flow of men and material from North Viet-Nam into the South radically increased towards the end of 1964 and continued at a high level in the next two years. It was to meet that escalation, designed to achieve military victory by the North against the South, that we sent our men in large numbers and began an air campaign against military targets in North Viet-Nam.

"At the other end of the scale, one must contrast what we are doing with what we could be doing. You know the power that is available to us—in men, resources and weaponry.

"We have done both more than some people would wish, and less than others advocate. We have been guided both by the demands imposed upon us by increased aggression and by the need for restraint in the application of force. We have been doing what the President judges to be necessary to protect the nation's vital interests after hearing the views of the government's military and civilian experts. We shall continue to do what is necessary to meet the threat the Vietnamese and their allies face.

"Third, you raise the question whether a war that may devastate much of the countryside can lead to the stable and prosperous Viet-Nam we hope for.

"First, it is an error to suggest that the fighting in Viet-Nam has devastated 'much of the countryside.' There has been too much destruction and disruption—as there is in any war. And we deeply regret the loss of life that is involved—in the South and in the North, among both soldiers and civilians.

"But devastation has been far less than on the conventional battlefields of World War II and Korea. If peace could come to South Viet-Nam today, I think most people would be amazed at its rapid recovery. For the Vietnamese are intelligent, energetic and ambitious people. And they are determined to see their country prosper. I am confident that they can achieve that end—if they but have the chance to do so, in peace and in their own way.

"That day cannot come too soon.

"You also suggest that there are 'apparent contradictions' in the American position on efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement.

"We have said that there will be no difficulty in having the views of the Viet Cong presented at any serious negotiation. The details of how this might be done can be discussed with the other side; there is little point in negotiating such details with those who cannot stop the fighting.

"We have made it clear that we cannot accept the Liberation Front as the 'sole' or 'only legitimate voice' of the Vietnamese people. Yet that is what the Front has said it is. The Buddhists, Catholics, Cao Dai, Hoa Hao, ethnic Cambodians, the almost a million refugees who fled from North Viet-Nam to the South in 1954–55, and the Montagnards are not prepared to have the Liberation Front as their spokesman. The capacity of the Government and people of South Viet-Nam to conduct the election of the Constitutional Assembly in September 1966, despite the opposition of the Viet Cong, made clear that the VC are a small minority in the country, determined to convert their ability to organize for terror into domination over the majority. Those now enrolled with the Viet Cong should be turning their minds in a different direction. They should be asking: 'How can we end this war and join as free citizens in the making of a modern nation in the South Viet-nam'?

"We know that the effort at armed conquest which we oppose in Viet-Nam is organized, led, and supplied by the leaders in Hanoi. We know that the struggle will not end until those leaders decide that they want it to end.

"So we stand ready—now and at any time in the future—to sit down with representatives of Hanoi, either in public or in secret, to work out arrangements for a just solution.

"You state correctly that we have a commitment to the right of self-determination of the people of South Viet-Nam. There is no ambiguity whatsoever. We shall abide by the decision of the Vietnamese people as they make their wishes known in free and democratic elections. Hanoi and the Liberation Front do not agree.

"You also suggest that there is disparity between our statements and our actions in Viet-Nam, and you refer to recent reports of the results of our bombing in North Viet-Nam.

"It is our policy to strike targets of a military nature, especially those closely related to North Viet-Nam's efforts to conquer the South. We have never deliberately attacked any target that could legitimately be called civilian. We have not bombed cities or directed our efforts against the population of North Viet-Nam.

"We recognize that there has been loss of life. We recognize that people living or working in close proximity to military targets may have suffered. We recognize, too, that men and machines are not infallible and that some mistakes have occurred.

"But there is a vast difference between such unintentional events and a deliberate policy of attacking civilian centers. I would remind you that tens of thousands of civilians have been killed, wounded, or kidnapped in

South Viet-Nam, not by accident but as the result of a deliberate policy of terrorism and intimidation conducted by the Viet Cong.

"We regret all the loss of life and property that this conflict entails. We regret that a single person, North or South, civilian or soldier, American or Vietnamese, must die.

"And the sooner this conflict can be settled, the happier we and the Vietnamese people will be.

"Meantime, we shall continue to do what is necessary—to protect the vital interests of the United States, to stand by our allies in Asia, and to work with all our energy for a peaceful, secure and prosperous Southeast Asia. Only by meeting these commitments can we keep on this small and vulnerable planet the minimum conditions for peace and order.

"Only history will be able to judge the wisdom and the full meaning of our present course—in all its dimensions.

"But I would close by sharing with you a hope and a belief. I believe that we are coming towards the end of an era when men can believe it is profitable and, even, possible to change the *status quo* by applying external force. I believe those in Hanoi who persist in their aggressive adventure—and those who support them—represent ideas and methods from the past, not the future. Elsewhere in the world those committed to such concepts have faded or are fading from the scene.

"I believe, therefore, that if we and our allies have the courage, will, and durability to see this struggle through to an honorable peace, based on the reinstallation of the Geneva Accords of 1954 and 1962, we have a fair chance of entering quieter times in which all of us will be able to turn more of our energies to the great unfinished tasks of human welfare and to developing the arts of conciliation and peaceful change.

"The overriding question for all of mankind in this last third of the Twentieth Century is how to organize a durable peace. Much of the experience which has gone into answers to that question has been largely forgotten—perhaps some of it should be. But the question remains—and remains to be answered. I should much enjoy discussing this with you if we can find a way to do so.

"I would value a chance to discuss the issues posed in your letter with a representative group of signatories or with as many as could conveniently join me in Washington at a mutually agreeable time.

"With best wishes and thanks for your serious concern,

"Sincerely yours,

"Dean Rusk."

Cancellation of Capetown Shore Leave for Vietnam Veterans Was Unfair to Sailors and an Insult to a Friendly Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, many Americans felt embarrassed and disappointed when they read the news report from Cape Town which stated that shore leave for officers and crew of the U.S. aircraft carrier *Franklin D. Roosevelt* had been canceled as it arrived there en route home from Vietnam.

The ship's executive officer announced that the cancellation came from "higher up," meaning Washington.

In Washington it was reported that a relatively small group of liberal Congressmen had agitated for the cancellation, and evidently the administration buckled under in response to this and other pressures. This seems a bit odd when it is realized that some of our ships are known to dock in Communist and pro-Communist ports, and when the seamen are granted shore leave not a whimper of protest is heard from these liberals and professional civil righters.

Mr. Speaker, the Republic of South Africa is not an enemy country. It is not a neutral or an uncommitted country in this desperate idealogical war that is being waged in this world today. South Africa is a committed country, and it is committed on our side. She has always been a valued friend of ours, both in peace and in war. South Africa is one of the few nations in the world which has never sought or received 1 cent of foreign aid from this country.

Yet, our Government applies to that nation what many people will consider a gratuituous insult—and why? The excuse is that some people in this country do not like the way South Africa handles her race problems. What business is that of ours? Has the Government of South Africa applied similar treatment to us because some of her people may not like the way race relations are handled in this country? Have you read of any shore leaves being denied to South African sailors whose ships have docked in U.S. ports, because somebody in that country does not like the way we handle race problems?

How stupid can we be? How inconsistent can we become? The matter of our good relations with South Africa should not be treated as a triviality. After all, who are we to criticize the manner in which other countries handle their race problems? Perhaps we should seek to learn some lessons from South Africa. Perhaps a solution that would be helpful in one country would be unworkable in another. We do know that judged by riots, crime, demonstrations, fires, vandalism, and murder, our methods of handling our race relations leave much to be desired. Certain it is that South Africa's record in those respects are far superior to ours. In any event, we know that it is none of our business how South Africa, the U.S.S.R., or any other country deals with purely internal domestic problems.

Mr. Speaker, the Cape of Good Hope is one of the most strategic spots in the world, from a military viewpoint. Over the long pull, Cape Town can be of much greater importance to us and our survival than is Vietnam.

The press reported that Cape Town had gone to great effort and expense to give our fighting men from Vietnam a grand welcome during the 72-hour shore leave. Every sailor takes pride in saying: "I was once in Cape Town," or "I was in Singapore."

Tens of thousands of South Africans thronged beaches and vantage points to see the *Roosevelt* appear on the horizon. The weather was ideal. A mile out the carrier's guns boomed out a 21-round salute, which was returned by shore batteries. Our sailors knew that a mighty welcome was awaiting them. Then as the ship pulled into its berth, there came the sad announcement: "All shore leave is cancelled—orders from higher up."

Mr. Speaker, we are made to wonder how many discourtesies our South African friends can take from us—and still be friendly.

Sandy Hook National Seashore

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, since introducing legislation on January 30, 1967, calling for the establishment of a Sandy Hook National Seashore, I have been gratified by the editorial support this proposal has received.

Last week I entered several articles in the Record which pointed out the great need for maintaining this valuable land as a public park and recreational area. Today I include in the Record, the following two editorials, one from the Asbury Park Press of February 3, 1967, and the other from the Asbury Park Sunday Press of February 5, 1967.

The first editorial points out that this plan is not something that developed overnight. The Asbury Park Press, one of New Jersey's leading newspapers, called for the creation of such a park 30 years ago. And former Congressman Bill Sutphin, who some of you will remember served here in the House from 1933 until 1943, also introduced bills which would have established a national park in this area.

Mr. Speaker, support for this proposal is overwhelming in New Jersey and it is my sincere hope that other Members of this House will approve my bill when it comes to the floor for a vote.

At this point I am including those two editorials I just discussed:

[From the Asbury Park Press, Feb. 3, 1967]

SAVING SANDY HOOK

Some three decades ago The Press called for the preservation of Sandy Hook and the Highlands hills as a national park. We suggested that the Hook was an irreplaceable site for a public aquatic park and natural preserve, while the hills that overlook it were the most attractive site for recreation and scenic enjoyment along the middle Atlantic Coast. Former Congressman Sutphin introduced bills to establish these two tracts as a national park.

But indifference and inertia are a tremendous obstacle to a progressive suggestion. After more than two decades the military finally acknowledged that most of Sandy Hook was useless as a coastal fortress and a sizeable tract was leased to the state of New Jersey for public use as a state park. Now the Defense Department has acknowledged that it no longer requires another large tract on the Hook. Its action indicates that the acreage might be turned over to the General Service Administration as surplus and sold to private ownership.

Such a disposition of any part of Sandy Hook would be unthinkable, and to avoid it Representative Howard and Senators Case and Williams have introduced bills to establish a national park on Sandy Hook, presumably to include all the area not to be retained by the military as a missile base. Mr. Howard has explained that the measure does not necessarily mean that the present state park will be converted into a national park. Possibly the federal authorities would accept an arrangement under which New Jersey would operate the track as a nature preserve and recreational center.

But the purpose of the bill, and the principal objective, is to retain Sandy Hook for public purposes rather than transfer it to private hands for exploitation. Whether it remains a state park or becomes a national park is of secondary importance. New Jersey has done well in operating its Sandy Hook Park and the National Park Service has also demonstrated competence in operating parks on tracts it is preserving for people and wild life. As we said 30 years ago, New Jersey deserves a national park and Sandy Hook is a ideal site.

[From the Asbury Park Sunday Press, Feb. 5, 1967]

Future of Sandy Hook Will Be Assured if Granted Status of a National Park

Opportunity exists to convert the entire Sandy Hook peninsula to public use. The desirability of such a project has never been questioned in the 30-odd years since The Press and far-seeing New Jersey residents first made the proposal. Army refusal to give up the "Hook" has been the only stumbling block.

The state was successful in 1962 in leasing, on a temporary basis, 475 acres of Sandy Hook for recreational purposes. And the turnaway weekend crowds at the marine park testify to the popularity and the need for the larger facility now proposed.

The method put forward for securing permanently all of this once strategic military reservation is to make it a national park, thus preventing this desirable acreage from being claimed by another federal agency or being sold at public auction to a private bidder. Thus the federal legislation being sponsored by Congressman Howard and Senators Case and Williams, to have the 1,200 acre peninsula designated as a national park, is vital if New Jersey is to secure its first federal recreation area.

In addition to the popularity of the state park facility, there is much else to recommend the conversion of the entire sand spit into a national park. New Jersey is the most densely populated state in the nation with a relatively small area dedicated to the recreation needs of its own citizens. And the state's open beaches policy plus the myriad salt water recreation activities yearly draw millions of persons from neighboring states.

Historically, Sandy Hook is first remembered for the landing of Henry Hudson and his crew of the *Half Moon*. Later it was important during the Revolution and, finally, it became a military fortification protecting New York harbor. Happily, the "Hook's" limited use has resulted in its remaining as a major wildlife sanctuary and a favorite striped bass haven. This feature must be preserved.

Sandy Hook should be permanently set aside for public use. We urge passage of the legislation designating it as a national park.

John E. Fogarty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, our late colleague, Congressman John Fogarty, of Rhode Island, won an important position in the scientific community of this Nation through his energy and advocacy of the type of public policy which encourages and supports vigorous research for solutions to national and international problems.

His tragic and untimely death just a few weeks ago has saddened the intellectual and educational world, which had known him and recognized him as a stout fighter for progress. The magazine Science, which is published by the American Association for the Advancement of Science, carries an editorial this week which I believe should be called to the attention of the Members and which I offer for the Record:

[From Science Magazine, Feb. 3, 1967]

John Edward Fogarty

When John Fogarty entered Congress in 1941, at the age of 27, his background included a high school education and 10 years as a bricklayer and union official. At his death, on 10 January, he was highly respected for his knowledge of many aspects of public health and his effectiveness in fostering medical research. He had received more than 100 awards, including many honorary degrees.

Representative Fogarty began service on the Labor and Federal Security Agency Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee in 1947 and became subcommittee chairman in 1949. In the first year of his service on the subcommittee, the total budget of the National Institutes of Health was about $3 million. In the current year the NIH budget approximates $1.4 billion. Accomplishing this great expansion was not easy. Traditionally the Appropriations Committee seeks to hold down expenditures. Often Fogarty placed his career in jeopardy by clashing with the committee chairman, then Clarence Cannon.

Fogarty never wavered in his belief in the value of medical research, and he fostered its expansion with single-minded zeal. His resources included great energy and unusual political sagacity. Reports of the hearings of his subcommittee reveal a master craftsman at work patiently building an extraordinarily good case for expanded support of medical research. In his efforts Fogarty had an effective partner in Senator Lister Hill. On occasions when House leadership succeeded in thwarting Fogarty, Senator Hill obtained support for increased appropriations in the Senate. Other important allies were James Shannon (director of NIH), Mary Lasker, and the medical research community. Possessing a combination of charm, brains, energy, and money, Mrs. Lasker has had access to all recent Presidents and can mobilize important support for medical research. From the medical community Fogarty could depend on such well-known expert witnesses as Paul Dudley White, Karl Menninger, Sidney Farber, and Michael De Bakey.

Fogarty built skillfully and well. He understood the vital relationship between the support of fundamental science and practical objectives. He built for permanence. His methodical care year after year won for him and the programs he fostered broad support in Congress. The *Congressional Record* for 19 January 1967 provides an indication of the respect he enjoyed. Tributes to him by more than 100 of his colleagues are recorded there. Many of the words of praise are devoted to the enduring value of his efforts in expanding medical research.

There is considerable sentiment in Congress to implement an idea that Fogarty advanced in September 1963:

". . . I should like to see a plan to bring into being at Bethesda a great international center for research in biology and medicine dedicated to international cooperation and collaboration in the interests of the health of mankind as so boldly envisaged by the President. This center would encompass conference facilities, laboratory and study space, and living quarters to permit the assembly for discussion, study and research of the outstanding health scientists of the world. I visualize this center associated with the great facilities of the National Institutes of Health and the National Library of Medicine as representing the visible and tangible embodiment of this Nation's devotion to the use of science for peaceful purposes and the good of mankind."

Congressman Laird (R–Wis.), on 18 January 1967, spoke for many Congressmen (and scientists) when he stated, "I can think of no more fitting and lasting tribute to this great humanitarian than the establishment by this Congress of such a center—the John E. Fogarty International Center for Advanced Study in the Health Sciences. Not only will such an institution be a living embodiment of the spirit and aspirations of John Fogarty, but it will serve a needed and valuable role in securing the progress of science in the cause of the well being of all mankind."

—Philip H. Abelson.

Asians Find United States the Most Baffling Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the Congressional Record an article by the columnist Mr. Crosby S. Noyes as it appeared in the Washington Evening Star of February 2, 1967.

The article follows:

Asians Find United States the Most Baffling Nation

(By Crosby S. Noyes)

Bangkok.—Americans schooled in the Kiplingesque tradition of the inscrutable Oriental may be surprised to discover that for a good many Asians we are the most baffling, illogical and generally exasperating people on earth.

They will tell you very frankly and a little sadly that we just don't make much sense. They have suspected it for some time. But if final proof were called for, the current American hand-wringing and soul-searching over Vietnam is providing it.

Here you are, they say, the most powerful nation in the world. For years now you have been telling us that American power is dedicated to the principle that people have a right to choose the kind of government they want. You have encouraged us to believe that the power of the United States supported those countries large and small who chose to defend their freedom. In Vietnam, they criticize, we have always known that the future of Southeast Asia was at stake. We have always hoped and expected that the United States would live up to its promises to prevent the success of Communist aggression in the south. We have been impressed by your determination and your restraint. And we have helped you as much as we could.

We have always been sure that if you wished to, you would succeed in Vietnam. We have known that when you did succeed your prestige, not only in Asia but around the world, would be unrivaled.

And this is what we do not understand about Americans. Today, you have done what you said you would do and you are succeeding. And the more you succeed the more Americans there are who say you should never have made your commitment in Vietnam and some even who say that what happens in Asia is of no interest to the United States.

The people in Asia who talk this way are by no means simple-minded or naive.

Thanat Khoman, Thailand's brilliant foreign minister who speaks five languages and rates as one of the most effective operators on the diplomatic scene, returned recently from the United States alarmed and depressed by what he heard there.

To Thanat and many others like him, it is utterly mystifying that Americans with pretentions to intellectual integrity and political awareness should be working actively at this point to frustrate the American effort in Vietnam and turn success into a disaster of incalculable proportions.

He is frankly dismayed by ponderous editorials in supposedly responsible newspapers advocating what amounts to a barely concealed surrender in Vietnam. He is disturbed by the spectacle of an administration besieged and bedeviled by members of its own party.

It is also hard to exaggerate the sheer offensiveness of some of the propositions advanced by this dissenting group.

Intelligent Asians are shocked by the sophistries of American intellectuals who argue that the defeat of free Asian nations is inevitable and that elementary human rights taken for granted in the West somehow do not apply in this part of the world. If the decisive sabotage of Western interests in Asia is the goal, this kind of perverse inverted racism is ideally adapted to the objective.

Nor is it very easy to convince our friends in Asia that this kind of thinking is limited to a small vociferous minority who do not speak for the American people and wield limited influence on the government. The currency given to the ideas of this minority rivals that of the administration itself. And even the continuing demonstration of American determination in Vietnam does not relieve a mounting anxiety over the state of mind in the United States.

At the very least we are suspected of a severe schizophrenia over the war in which moral and political values which most people believed to be firmly rooted in the American character have come badly unstuck. Given the existing realities, there is for Asians no other reasonable explanation for a loss of confidence at a time when success seems inevitable.

For Americans there may be some reassurance in the fact that this loss of confidence does not seem to be catching. Asia at this point is very definitely making book on an American victory in Vietnam. The events taking place there are transforming the politics and the calculations in an area where two-thirds of the human race lives. And perhaps it is only in the United States—and possibly in Peking and Hanoi—that a real question still persists over what the future holds.

The Jewish Birchites

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, in the RECORD of September 12, 1966, I placed an editorial from the September 1, 1966, edition of the American Examiner exposing a front organization of the John Birch Society called the "Jewish Society of Americanists."

In spite of the disdain for this group evidenced by the American Jewish community they still seem to exist. As I said then its members are not preaching Americanism and such of them who may have been born Jews certainly are not practicing the precepts of Judaism—assuming, of course, that they ever learned them.

The following editorial from the American Examiner of January 12, 1967, further exposes this group for what it really is. I commend the editorial to the attention of our colleagues:

THE JEWISH BIRCHITES

Editors know they must beware of the sophomore who suddenly discovers that he has a flare for putting words together on paper. The sophomore's intoxication with the sound of his own words tends to grow in direct ratio to his newly-inflated ego, usually at the expense of the basic rules of logic and in shameful disregard of the responsibility to think honestly. Often he falls victim to a disease known as logorrhea. This apparently is what happened in the case of the editors of a brochure issued by the so-called "Jewish Society of Americanists". The 12-page publication devotes two of its verbose pages to an attack on the Examiner because in our Sept. 1, 1966 issue we labeled the "Jewish Americanists" a front for the John Birch Society. The editors of the "Americanist" group deny our charge even while they confirm that (and we quote): "We, Jewish members of the John Birch Society, have formed the Jewish Society of Americanists . . ."

We have no desire to enter into a polemic with people whose attempt to justify their own position is so ridiculously feeble. But we cannot help being amused by their excited response to our question "what in thunderation is an Americanist"? Angered by our suggestion that they go back to school to learn the meaning of the verb "front" they gleefully charge back with the advice that we go to Webster's Dictionary for the meaning of "Americanist." Well, we hate to disillusion our undear "Americanist Jews", but sooner or later they will have to learn that even Webster is not infallible and a dry-as-dust, technical, unimaginative definition by Webster does not ipso facto infuse a word with charm, fittingness, or dignity. To us "Americanist" remains an uncharming, stuffy, undemocratic word—one which no real American should wish to be labelled with.

But, as we said in our Sept. 1 editorial, "Americanist" may well be an appropriate name for the kind of insecure Jew who strives to out-Birch the Birchites' and the fruit of whose efforts must end by introducing into the Jewish community those secret, sneaky, sinister practices which aim to set one group of Americans against another and by aping Communist methods must lead to a defilement of the best traditions of American democracy.

Illinois-Indiana Air Pollution Control Compact

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, a major provision of the Clean Air Act encourages the negotiation of compacts between States for the control and abatement of air pollution. Such an air-pollution-control agreement has been negotiated by the States of Illinois and Indiana and has been approved by their respective legislative bodies. Further, by the enactment of a pertinent law by both States, an Interstate Air Pollution Control Commission has already been created.

However, the Clean Air Act provides that any such interstate agreement must have the approval and the consent of the U.S. Congress. Bills have been introduced and are now pending before the House and the Senate Judiciary Committees, providing for congressional consent to the Illinois-Indiana Air Pollution Control Compact. I urge that these committees give early attention and approval to these bills, so that Illinois and Indiana can fully implement their program for regional air-pollution control and abatement. Each day the rate of air pollution increases—each day the risk to health and property becomes greater. A prompt and complete attack on the problem is urgently needed.

An editorial in a December issue of Paddock Publications, which serve the northwest suburban area of Chicago, presents the urgent need for regional air-pollution-control systems. The editorial follows:

POLLUTED AIR IS GROWING DANGER

In a recent report to city council, Chicago's director of air pollution control complained that the city is receiving "very little cooperation" from surrounding suburbs in the fight against air pollution. He accused suburban communities of virtually ignoring the problem.

His charge was well-founded.

Air pollution, like the weather, knows no boundary. It is one of our most important public health problems and represents a growing threat to every individual who lives in the metropolitan area.

Polluted air has been known to kill, to sicken, and to destroy.

It dissolves clothing, corrodes metal, disintegrates stone, rots wood, discolors paint, stunts and blackens vegetation.

It causes airplane crashes and auto accidents.

Doctors have traced polluted air to cases of heart trouble, chronic bronchitis, asthma, emphysema, lung cancer, and eye, nose, and throat irritations.

Smoke and chemicals pouring forth from heating systems, industry, and transport threaten to change the air we breathe until it is unsuited for life.

The problem is becoming especially acute in suburbs, which previously contained little industry. But since 1953, more manufacturing has developed outside of Chicago than has been built within the city in the past 25 years. Between 1957 and 1962 alone, a thousand industrial plants moved from city to suburb.

Unfortunately, local ordinances have not kept pace with suburban industrial growth. Too many local officials placed higher values upon specious arguments that air pollution can't be controlled or costs too much to control.

Chicago's strong anti-pollution ordinance applies only to city limits; Cook County's regulation is limited to unincorporated area. Of 145 suburbs, only six have anti-pollution ordinances and only one has a full-time air pollution inspector.

Although most northwest suburbs have some kind of "smoke" code, there is no technical staff to carry out a program of inspection and enforcement, scant provision for penalty, and little, if any, uniformity and cooperation between communities.

This is a problem no municipality can solve by itself. Corrective measures cannot be taken piecemeal.

When Congress and the state legislature reconvene next month, suburban representatives should give high priority to the problem of pollution. The most effective solution would be establishment of a regional control system equipped with adequate provision for inspection and enforcement as well as stringent penalties for violation.

Such a metropolitan authority must embrace the entire area—Chicago, six Illinois counties, two Indiana counties, and all 1,000 of their independent political jurisdictions.

Self pollution of his environment has been one of man's biggest unabated headaches, continually growing in magnitude. For too long, he has regarded the basic elements, air and water, as his personal garbage cans. We cannot afford further delays in conserving the only atmosphere we have; the health and welfare of more than seven million people are at stake.

Out-of-Control Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, one of the more thoughtful and piercing analyses of the President's budget appeared in the Wednesday, January 25, 1967, issue of the Chicago Daily News. It carries an especially appropriate label and I feel its commentary is worthy of review by Members of the House.

The article follows:

OUT-OF-CONTROL BUDGET

Improbable as it now seems, it was only two years ago this month that President Johnson brought in a budget of $99.7 billion because he didn't quite dare to crack the magic $100 billion mark. Before the year was out, of course, deficit spending had caused that barrier to vanish, never to be seen again.

Just two years later, the budget has grown by more than one-third, to $135 billion, and by Mr. Johnson's own admission more than $100 billion of it is "uncontrollable."

Defense alone accounts for $75.5 billion, of which $21.9 billion will go to support the war in Vietnam. Looking back for another comparison, the defense portion of the new budget alone comes within $2 billion of the entire federal budget at the peak of the Korean War in 1953.

Obviously Mr. Johnson is not looking back. Perhaps, like the legendary Satchel Paige, he prefers not to, for fear that something may be gaining on him—inflation, for one thing. Instead, he forges ahead on two fronts, war and social revolution.

Never before has the nation tried to fight a war abroad while pretending at home that all is normal. The only real concession to the enormous cost of a big war in a small country is the proposed 6 per cent surtax on individual and corporate incomes. This would produce an estimated $4.5 billion—not enough to prevent a deficit forecast to be $8.1 billion in fiscal 1968.

On the home front, the President proposes to step up the war on poverty, set aside funds for a supersonic airliner, look beyond the moon in the space program, and proceed with a multitude of costly projects. He forecasts a new revolution in the countryside (price tag still unknown) by directing the secretary of agriculture to "take the lead in helping rural people achieve a quality of living comparable to other segments of our population."

Mr. Johnson evidently regards the defense points further to $29.4 billion in expenditures portion of the budget as unassailable. He points further to $29.4 billion in expenditures as "fixed by law or otherwise uncontrollable"—such things as interest on the public debt, public assistance, veterans pensions, and the like.

By so doing he allows Congress a preserve of only $14.9 billion, or 11 per cent of the budget, to play in. And even here, he warns, the congressmen would be dealing with "indispensable" items such as law enforcement and the collection of taxes.

Last year, an overwhelmingly Democratic Congress not only failed to trim the budget, but upped the ante by about $3 billion. This year may be different, since November brought an infusion of presumably economy-minded Republicans. But the hard reality of the continuing war in Vietnam plus the political imperatives at home offer little real hope that Congress will do more than haggle over small change.

The fearsome $100 billion budget is now but a memory. And having climbed a third of the way into the second $100 billion, can the cracking of the $200 billion mark be far away?

As Honorary Mayor of Molokai Mitchell Pauole Exudes Aloha

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I take pleasure in bringing to the attention of my colleagues an article which appeared in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin about a gentleman who personifies the friendly spirit of Hawaii—Mitchell Pauole, the honorary mayor of Molokai.

This delightful 78-year-old "exporter of hospitality" is known to thousands of visitors to the island who have been warmly welcomed and aided by "Papa Pauole." I know I speak for all the mayor's friends in wishing the kindly lay minister many more years of health and service on the beautiful, friendly island of Molokai.

The interesting article by Kay Lund, which appeared in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin on Wednesday, February 1, 1967, follows:

FRIENDLY MOLOKAI MAYOR

(By Kay Lund)

KAUNAKAKAI.—Mitchell Pauole doesn't mind future tourist development on Molokai just as long as new hotels are only half the height of the tallest coconut tree.

"We must keep Molokai natural," said the 78-year-old Pauole who is as much a part of Island life as pineapple production.

Pauole is the honorary Mayor of Molokai—elected at the Island's annual fair last August—and the Island's greatest exporter of hospitality.

"I can recognize all of the strangers on Molokai, so I always go up to greet and welcome them to Molokai," he said.

"And I encourage others on Molokai to do the same. After all, we are the Friendly Island, you know."

Pauole, wearing his traditional lauhala hat and mayor's badge, takes his unofficial welcoming duties with all seriousness.

During a conversation at Molokai Airport, he excused himself when an Aloha Airlines plane arrived at the gate from Honolulu.

Off he went to greet the oldtimers, welcome the newcomers, help with baggage and offer a ride into Kaunakakai in his old car to anyone lacking transportation.

"Molokai has been good to me. My coming to Molokai with my family in 1923 was the plan of God," Pauole said.

His manner is gentle and genuine. He exudes the warmth for which people of Molokai are known.

Visitors always ask him if he is Molokai's most famous citizen—the "cockeyed mayor"—and this tickles Pauole.

MAYOR OF ISLAND

"I tell them I am not the cockeyed mayor of Kaunakakai . . . but the mayor of all Molokai," he said.

Over a breakfast of papaya juice, hot cakes, eggs and coffee, Pauole reminisced about his 42 years on Molokai.

Born on Kauai, he brought his family to Molokai to homestead on five acres of land at Hoolehua.

"We lived in a tent on our land for the first three months. Our first planting was pumpkin. We made poi from that," he said.

With help from fellow homesteaders, he constructed his own house and others in the Hoolehua area on land opened up to the Hawaiians through efforts of Prince Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole.

A lay minister, Pauole conducted church services in his home for three years until Hoolehua Church, of the United Church of Christ, was constructed.

KALAUPAPA HIKES

For years he hiked down the 2,000-foot switchback trail into Kalaupapa to conduct services for the patients and residents.

Pauole—often affectionately called Papa Pauole—is still going strong. Interestingly enough, he gives his age as "almost 79."

Today he is not only honorary mayor but also a deputy high sheriff, a member of the board of trustees of the hospital, a member of the Hawaiian Civic Club and other groups.

The Molokai Jaycees sponsored the contest for honorary mayor last August at the fair. He was nominated by the Hawaiian Civic Club and campaigned for three years.

"Maybe I'll run again as long as I'm in good health," he said when asked if he had any future "political" aspirations.

The Jaycees provide him with a small expense account.

Pauole still lives in his Hoolehua house. He has nine children, three of whom still live on Molokai. His wife died two years ago.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

Code of Laws of the United States

Title 44, Section 181. Congressional Record; arrangement, style, contents, and indexes.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congressional Record, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional Record semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

Title 44, Section 182b. Same; illustrations, maps, diagrams.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the Record without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily Record as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the Record shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the Record shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the Record issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the Record for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the Record of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the Record shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the Record style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the Record.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent Record is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the Congressional Record.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the Congressional Record shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the Congressional Record, nor to Records printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of theHouse or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional Record which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided,* That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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Appendix

The Teachers Corps—A Boon to New York City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the Congress will this year have an opportunity to consider legislation renewing the authority of the National Teachers Corps, created by the Higher Education Act of 1965. More important, Congress will this year have an opportunity to appropriate the needed funds which are the lifeblood of the program. Without these funds, the Teachers Corps program will expire.

The National Teachers Corps, in its brief span of existence, has already earned the support of the communities in which it functions. The mayor of New York City, Hon. John Lindsay, indicated in a recent letter to HEW Secretary John Gardner that "the Teachers Corps has brought a much needed infusion of genuine commitment and imaginative talent to the schools of New York City." The mayor added that he "would count it a serious setback to the cause of quality education for every American if the Teachers Corps were not to be allowed to continue and expand its work in New York and across the country." With this sentiment, I agree.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mayor Lindsay's letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE TEACHERS CORPS—A BOON TO NEW YORK CITY

THE CITY OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE MAYOR,
New York, N.Y., January 23, 1967.

Hon. JOHN W. GARDNER
Secretary, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: In looking ahead to a year which promises to bring a review of many federal programs which intimately affect the cities, I would like to express my personal admiration and the strong support of my entire Administration for the work of the National Teachers Corps in New York City. Since the idea of the Teachers Corps was first introduced while I was in Congress, I have watched with interest its growth and development in its first year in New York.

Far too often, imaginative innovation is at a premium in government. Yet few qualities are more seriously needed at all levels of government. The National Teachers Corps represents the kind of innovation which is imperative to urban public education if it is to respond to the immense challenges facing our schools today.

The 93 teacher corpsmen who are now working in 16 of our public schools in the Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens, and Manhattan have brought a great spirit of open-minded change to a system which sometimes seems to have built-in rigidities. I have become familiar with the constructive role played by the city's teacher corpsmen through reading reports of their activities. Members of my own staff and the Human Resources Administration have also been greatly impressed with the corpsmen with whom they have had the opportunity to discuss the work of the National Teachers Corps. At New York University, Hofstra, Hunter, and Queens College, working in neighborhood storefronts, voter registration drives, clean-up campaigns, after-school music classes, and extra language training. The interns have refused to accept the bounds of a textbook definition of teaching. They have helped their students by helping the community, and they have brought new hope to children who too often give up in school because they believe the school has given up on them.

The Teachers Corps has brought a much-needed infusion of genuine commitment and imaginative talent to the schools of New York City. I would count it a serious setback to the cause of quality education for every American if the Teachers Corps were not to be allowed to continue and expand its work in New York and across the country. We need more such young men and women who believe in the right of every child in every American school to broaden their world beyond the invisible prisons of poverty.

With best regards,

JOHN V. LINDSAY,
Mayor.

An Embargo on Rhodesia but Not on North Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "With Embargo on a Friend, Why None on the Enemy?" published in the Nashville Banner on Saturday, February 4, 1967. The editorial seeks to put in focus an important question facing our Nation.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOOD QUESTION, SENATOR BYRD—WITH EMBARGO ON A FRIEND, WHY NONE ON THE ENEMY?

Senator Harry Byrd, Jr. (Dem.–Va.) took the Senate floor the other day to pose a series of questions on the minds of a lot of thinking Americans.

Specifically, the senator from the Old Dominion wanted to know how come administration policy makers, through their spokesman Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, do not insist that the U.N. impose economic sanctions against North Vietnam similar to those it has clamped on Rhodesia.

Mr. Goldberg, at the behest of Great Britain, has been very vocal in U.N. forums promoting an all-embracing trade embargo on goods flowing to this tiny country whose only "crime" is a declaration of independence similar to America's own of 1776.

But not one peep has he uttered about applying a trade squeeze on belligerent, aggressive North Vietnam—the puppet state now threatening the peace of all Southeast Asia as a spearhead for the Communist International Liberation Front.

The glaring inconsistency of U.N. action (and Mr. Goldberg's acquiescence) is inexplicable since that body was created for the purpose of promoting an enduring world peace.

Its proposed intervention in Rhodesia can be summed up in a single word—"meddling." Its refusal to take action in the Vietnam crisis by falling back on the lame excuse that an embargo or military assistance "is unrealistic" in view of the fact that U.N. member nations "have sharply divided opinions" on the issue, is as phoney as Ichabod Crane's "headless horseman."

The United States, as principal U.N. banker, has pumped $150 billion into that organization on the assumption that it would exert its power and influence (and even armed intervention) against aggressor nations violating the basic tenets of the international non-aggression pact under which it was organized.

It deserves at least token support in its fight to prevent a Communist sweep through defenseless free nations in the Far East. Instead it has been slapped in the face by the U.N. assertion that the U.S. military action in Vietnam is an unwarranted breach of world peace.

Meanwhile, the burning question remains unanswered. Why hasn't our representative in the U.N. stood up in the General Assembly to plead our cause with the same vigor exhibited in his plea for U.N. intervention in Rhodesia by starving that non-aggressive little nation into submission?

Mr. Goldberg's timidity and reluctance, as an administration policy spokesman, to cross verbal swords with U.N. delegates on these issues prompted the Virginia Senator to ask:

"Is it logical to demand sanctions against a country at peace [Rhodesia] while being unwilling to demand the same sanctions against a country at whose hands the American people have suffered more than 44,000 casualties?

"Perhaps this makes sense, but I am finding it difficult to reach that conclusion."

The constituent U.S. majority has that same difficulty. The American people, in conscience and full awareness of what is going on, entertain the same objection. As Senator Byrd clearly stated it, the U.N. policy—Britain's policy—which Ambassador Goldberg has sanctioned as U.S. policy, makes no sence whatever, and should be flatly repudiated.

The Federal Reclamation Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, the Interior and Insular Affairs

Committee has been conducting a series of briefings by Secretary Udall and the heads of agencies in his Department. One of the fine presentations which we received was by Commissioner of Reclamation Floyd E. Dominy. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include extracts from Commissioner Dominy's statement.

I am informed by the Public Printer that this statement will exceed 2 pages in the RECORD and will cost approximately $550. While I am mindful of this fact, I believe that this statement is of such interest and importance that it should be made available to all Members. Therefore, I have asked that it be printed notwithstanding the additional cost.

The statement referred to follows:

REMARKS BY COMMISSIONER OF RECLAMATION FLOYD E. DOMINY, BEFORE THE HOUSE INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, JANUARY 31, 1967

It is an honor and a pleasure to meet with this committee at the opening of the Ninetieth Congress. These orientation sessions are an excellent idea and should prove most useful, not only to the new members of the committee, but to all of you and us in shaping our ideas as to what will come before you in the next two years.

As Secretary Udall discussed with you in your opening orientation session last week, water is one of the most critical domestic problems we face. The Bureau of Reclamation has been in the water supply business, where shortages are the rule rather than the exception, for a long, long time.

THE WORTH OF RECLAMATION

There are many values represented in Reclamation such as widened recreational opportunities, flood and pollution control, hydro-electric power generation and fisheries enhancement, salinity repulsion and others, but in the final analysis, it is the hard cash contribution to the national economy from an enlarged and regulated water supply that is the strength and primary purpose of Reclamation.

Economic growth has been expressed many times as a National objective. President Johnson in his message of March 25, 1965, on Area and Regional Economic Development said, "The experience of the last 30 years has shown conclusively that the increasing prosperity of any region of this country increases the prosperity of the Nation. . . . We have the resources and the skill to extend American abundance to every region of this land." The Congress, in passing the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, declared "that the maintenance of the economy at a high level is vital to the best interests of the United States . . ."

Our Federal Reclamation program, through development and stabilization of the basic economy of the West, plays a very effective and significant role in achieving this national objective. Economic development from our water resources projects is generative and long lasting as opposed to one-shot or aid type programs.

The Bureau of Reclamation has made numerous studies to measure the impact of Federal Reclamation projects on the economy of a project area, a State, and the Nation. Our most recent study was completed this past year in cooperation with Washington State University on the Economic Significance of the Columbia Basin Project Development in Washington. An Extension Circular summarizing this study was published in January 1966 and the full technical bulletin was published in September 1966, both by Washington State University. We have copies of the summary publication available for your reference and use.

We currently have a study in process under contract with the Bureau of Business Research, University of Nebraska, to measure the impact of irrigated agriculture upon the economy of the State of Nebraska. This study is scheduled for completion next fall. We also have an economic inventory nearing completion by Montana State University on the East Bench Unit and on a comparison area in Montana. Irrigation is just getting under way on the East Bench Unit and our objective is to make another economic inventory some years hence to compare with the current one. This will give us a measurement of the difference in economic development between the project area under irrigation and a comparison dryland area and thus identify in quantitative terms the economic impact of this project.

There are other studies on various projects throughout the West. All have consistently shown vast contributions to the economic development of the area, the State, and the Nation.

The Columbia Basin Study is our most recent. Irrigation water first became available through the Federally constructed system in 1948. The system for the presently contemplated 1,029,000 irrigable acre project is now about 50 percent complete.

Growth has been evident in every major economic indicator even though the project is still far from mature development. In contrast, an adjacent comparison area similar in every particular with the area now irrigated, showed only nominal growth, or in some instances, an actual decline.

The project area grew from 608 farms in 1949 to 2,500 farms in 1963. Gross farm income from crops and livestock in the project area totaled $76.2 million and net farm income was $29.8 million in 1963. The project area produced six times as much gross farm income and almost four times as much net farm income per acre of cropland as did the comparison dryland area.

The trends we found in some of the major economic indicators for the two areas are shown in the following ratios based on an equivalent land area basis:

Population and business establishment growth in the project area exceeded the comparison area by a ratio of 17 to 1.

Employment and wages grew by a ratio of 20 to 1.

Property tax base increased by a ratio of 6 to 1.

Postal receipts and retail sales tax collections increased by a ratio of 17 to 1.

Business and occupation taxes showed a 19 to 1 ratio.

Electrical usage was significantly higher.

Federal income tax payments were 17 times greater in the project area.

The increased demand for manufacturer goods produced in other areas of the Nation caused by project development is apparent from an analysis of rail and truck shipments to the two study areas. Inbound carload shipments to the project areas were 23 times those of the comparison area in 1962 on an equivalent land area basis. Shipments came from practically every state of the Nation in substantially larger amounts than to the comparison area.

Outbound carload shipments from the project area were 8 times greater than from an equivalent amount of land in the comparison area. Substantial shipments from the project area went to virtually every state. Outbound shipments from the comparison area, on the other hand, were relatively small and went to only a few states.

The number of carloads and wholesale value of freight resulting from the movement of goods to and from the total Project area of 412,300 acres and total comparison area of 1,511,000 acres with corresponding amounts per 10,000 acres of cropland is shown in the following tabulation:

TABLE 1

Item	Total		Per 10,000 irrigated acres—project area	Per 10,000 cropland acres—comparison area
	Project area	Comparison area		
Number of carloads:				
Inbound	8,228	1,496	231	10
Outbound	13,047	7,174	367	47
Wholesale value:				
Inbound	$86,440,000	$12,788,000	$2,430,800	$84,600
Outbound	$63,937,000	$21,509,000	$1,798,000	$142,300

The magnitude of freight shipments to and from the Project area and the comparison area for a selected group of states is shown in the following tabulation:

TABLE 2.—*Wholesale value of inbound and outbound shipments by selected States to the total project area and the total comparison area, 1962*

[Thousands of dollars]

State	Inbound		Outbound	
	To project area	To comparison area	From project area	From comparison area
California	15,185	2,162	3,534	12
Florida	1,881	491	696	0
Illinois	6,760	1,193	10,556	8
Indiana	1,321	119	1,094	0
Michigan	4,362	396	882	24
New York	4,139	286	1,852	0
Ohio	3,002	260	647	3
Pennsylvania	2,963	230	864	3
Texas	4,482	1,265	2,897	1
Wisconsin	1,770	263	904	5

These tables readily show that the diversified agriculture in the Columbia Basin project area generates much more business with other sectors of the national economy than does the comparison area. The total wholesale value of inbound shipments in 1962 was

$86.4 million for the project area but only $12.8 million for the comparison area, despite the latter being some three times as large.

This same story may be repeated over and over again as arid lands are diversified as one element of multipurpose water resources development under the Federal Reclamation program.

RECREATION ON RECLAMATION PROJECTS

Any discussion of the worth of Reclamation, however, would be incomplete without more than a passing reference to recreation and public use enjoyment.

Recreation use of Reclamation projects has increased from 6.6 million visitor days in 1950 to 36.6 million in 1965. This use measurement is confined principally to managed recreation on storage reservoirs. It does not include substantial incidental recreation principally in the form of hunting and fishing which takes place along canals and wasteways or within the irrigated project land area such as the very popular pheasant hunting within the Columbia Basin project or the downstream fishery benefits in regulated flow throughout the years and clean cold water in flowing rivers.

Reclamation development includes built-in attractions to the public for recreation over and above the recreation values that exist in many specific recreation areas. Of major importance is the creation of stored water that can be utilized for virtually all water-oriented recreation activities. The other principal inducement is the construction of impressive engineering features, principally dams and powerplants. A dam, particularly if it is a large one, attracts sightseers from the time construction begins. From the time the reservoir begins to impound water, visitors to the dam and total recreation use of the area increases.

For example, in spite of a remote location 5-hours removed from the Nation's center of population total recreation use reported for Lake Powell in 1965 was 960,000 visitor days. About two-thirds of this was made up by sightseers in the immediate Glen Canyon Dam area. Comparatively, Lake Mead National Recreation Area reported over 4 million visitor days in 1965 of which only about 573,000 were sightseers at Hoover Dam. We can expect total recreation use of Lake Powell and visits to Glen Canyon Dam to increase substantially in future years.

Recreation use of most reservoir areas prior to construction has been insignificant. Often important natural features become of more value to the public through better accessibility by construction of a dam and creation of a reservoir.

A good example is Rainbow Bridge at Lake Powell. Prior to 1960 only 13,000 visitors in 50 years had visited the Rainbow Bridge National Monument. The National Park Service reported visitation in 1966 by means of the Lake Powell waterway was in excess of 20,000 people.

In calendar year 1965, the 10 Reclamation reservoirs with greatest public use exceeded the 10 most-used national parks in the Western States. Totals as shown on this chart exceeded 17 million visitor days for the 10 Reclamation reservoirs compared with 16 million for the national parks. Table No. 3 shows comparative figures.

TABLE 3.—*10 national parks in Western States with highest visitor use (visits) in 1965*

Grand Teton, Wyo	2,507,000
Yellowstone, Idaho-Mont.-Wyo	2,062,500
Olympic, Wash	2,058,000
Grand Canyon, Ariz	1,689,200
Mount Rainer, Wash	1,643,100
Yosemite, Calif	1,635,400
Rocky Mountain, Colo	1,619,800
Platt, Okla	1,460,500
Wind Cave, S. Dak	885,600
Sequoia, Calif	877,300
Total	16,438,400

10 reclamation reservoirs with highest visitor use (visitor days) in 1965

Lake Mead (including Hoover Dam)	4,167,100
Folsom Reservoir	3,852,600
Jackson Lake	2,316,900
Shasta Lake	1,213,800
Lake Berryessa	1,200,000
FDR Reservoir (including Coulee Dam)	1,065,600
Lake Powell	960,400
Flaming Gorge Reservoir	803,700
Lakes Granby and Shadow Mountains (combined)	757,000
Altus Reservoir	714,300
Total	17,051,400

Recreational significance of Reclamation reservoirs has developed to a large extent without advance appreciation of recreational values. Past projections of recreation use made prior to project construction consistently underestimated the use that has actually taken place. Part of this conservatism is attributable to the great expansion of recreation that occurred in recent years as leisure time has increased. To a large extent, however, it resulted from lack of true appreciation for the recreation resources potential involved. The fact is that every reservoir built by the Bureau of Reclamation automatically becomes a public recreation center.

FEDERAL WATER PROJECTS RECREATION ACT

Based on recent experience, it is clear that the recreation potential of Reclamation reservoirs is only just beginning to be realized. Many of our older reservoirs are without adequate public use facilities, and the use which occurs utilizes only small parts of the shorelines and water areas. The Federal Water Project Recreation Act of July 9, 1965, Public Law 89–72 sponsored by this committee, makes it possible to correct this situation on many of the older projects. We can anticipate many-fold increases for some of these reservoirs in future years as adequate facilities are provided to accommodate the public.

The recreation potential of Reclamation development was recognized and enhanced by passage of the Federal Water Projects Recreation Act, Public Law 89–72. This measure has provided a sound policy framework by which fish and wildlife enhancement and recreation purposes can be considered uniformly by the Bureau of Reclamation and the Corps of Engineers in formulation and evaluation of multiple-purpose projects. Of course, it also provides for an appropriate level of local or non-Federal participation.

Our experience in the administration of the Act has shown it to be, for the most part, quite acceptable by non-Federal interests. However, some unusual situations have been found where rigid adherence to the letter and spirit of the Act pose administrative problems. An example is the situation where capacity is needed in a reservoir for the specific purpose of enhancing fishery flows downstream from a reservoir, perhaps some distance removed geographically from the site of the storage.

Under the terms of the Act, the cost of such storage is defined as separable and thus must be borne in part by a non-Federal public body. In this situation the benefits accrue to fishermen who may be many miles removed from the reservoir, perhaps even in another state. We have not yet figured out a practical way to contract for the administration and repayment of a project of this type in such a way as to collect from the actual beneficiaries, particularly if user fees are to be the source of income through which payback is assured.

We have also encountered a few situations in which Section 9 of the Act limiting us to projects where the sum of the allocations to recreation and fish and wildlife enhancement are less than the sum of the allocations to other purposes poses a constraint on otherwise excellent projects. We suggest that the Congress should be afforded the opportunity to consider such developments and further suggest the possbility that future experience under the Act may show that some amendment and clarification of Section 9 is desirable.

It is fully appreciated that this Section 9 is intended to prevent the Federal Reclamation program from being used for projects wholly or largely for fish and wildlife and recreation. It is our present thinking, however, that the procedure requiring us to secure specific prior approval for feasibility investigations affords the Congress with an opportunity to exercise control over this situation and to keep it within acceptable limits.

In summary, however, we would like to emphasize that Public Law 89–72 is a highly desirable and constructive Act and one which well serves the purposes for which it was intended.

RECLAMATION'S FISCAL SITUATION

As the Secretary informed you, the F. Y. 1967 appropriations made to the Bureau of Reclamation have been reduced by $10.2 million in conformance with the administration's policy to reduce the total obligations schedule for that fiscal year.

To meet the amount established for the Bureau, it was necessary that any reductions be confined to deferral of work yet to be contracted and to avoid deferrals of supporting contracts for work already underway. It was also assumed that the fund cutback would become available in fiscal year 1968 and the President's Budget so provides.

In arriving at the required reduction in the total face value of contracts to be awarded in F. Y. 1967, we concentrated on contracts scheduled for award late in the fiscal year to the maxiumm extent possible.

In summary, these reductions were applied to the Bureau's appropriation as follows:

Fiscal year 1967 appropriation	Fiscal year 1967 appropriation	Cash reduction
Construction and rehabilitation	$192,375,000	$4,454,000
Upper Colorado river storage project	50,198,000	4,911,000
Loan program	12,995,000	835,000
Emergency fund	1,000,000	
General investigations	15,075,000	
Operation and maintenance	41,000,000	
General administrative expense	11,300,000	
Total annual appropriation	323,943,000	10,200,000

You will note none of the reduction was applied to the program of General Investigations since this activity represents the future of Western water development and, in my opinion, is the least susceptible to annual reductions without serious detriment. The Operation and Maintenance, General Administrative Expense, and Emergency funds are required for the day-to-day functioning of the Bureau and also are not subject to stop-

and-go financing. The remainder of the appropriations were subjected to the analysis I have described. With your approval, I will submit a table showing the specific application of these reductions. (Table 4)

TABLE 4.—*Fiscal year 1967 cash reductions and deferral of contract awards study*

BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

Appropriation and project	Cash reduction	Face value of deferred contracts
Construction and rehabilitation:		
Advance planning:		
Southern Nevada water supply, Nevada	$425,000	
Teton Basin, Lower Teton, Idaho	125,000	
Central Valley, Calif	1,777,000	$33,932,000
Chief Joseph Dam, Whitestone Coulee Unit, Wash	182,000	2,367,000
Columbia Basin, Wash	176,000	13,613,000
Missouri River Basin:		
Garrison diversion unit, North Dakota-South Dakota	24,000	7,140,000
Glen Elder unit, Kansas	260,000	
Transmission division	310,000	
D. & M.C.—Bostwick unit, Nebraska-Kansas	125,000	
Investigations	200,000	
Pacific Northwest-Pacific Southwest intertie	300,000	
Parker-Davis, Arizona-California-Nevada	150,000	
Pecos River Basin water salvage, New Mexico-Texas	60,000	
Weber Basin, Utah	150,000	
Drainage and minor construction:		
Eden, Wyo	50,000	
Recreation facilities at existing reservoirs	100,000	
Rehabilitation and betterment—Yakima, Outlook Irrigation District, Washington	40,000	
Total, construction and rehabilitation	4,454,000	57,052,000
Upper Colorado River storage project:		
Curecanti unit		11,704,000
Transmission division	66,000	858,000
Central Utah, Bonneville unit, Utah	2,845,000	7,232,000
San Juan-Chama, Col.-N. Mex		7,950,000
D. & M.C.—Navajo unit, New Mexico	500,000	500,000
Recreation and fish and wildlife facilities:		
National Park Service	750,000	
Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife	750,000	500,000
Total, Upper Colorado River storage project	4,911,000	28,744,000
Loan program:		
Byron-Bethany Irrigation District, California	150,000	
Nevada Irrigation District, California	185,000	
Roosevelt Water Conservation District, Arizona	500,000	
Total, loan program	835,000	
Grand total	10,200,000	85,796,000

PROJECT AUTHORIZATIONS—RELATION TO CONSTRUCTION PROGRAM

The Reclamation West was gratified with the new projects authorized by the 89th Congress. These were the Garrison Diversion Unit in North and South Dakota, the Auburn-Folsom South Unit in California, the Southern Nevada Water Supply Project, the Third Powerplant at Grand Coulee Dam in Washington, the Manson Unit in Washington, and the Tualatin Project in Oregon.

The total estimated cost of the new developments is $1,137,000,000. Without them Western water development would be facing a rapid future decline in construction activity. With them the basis for progress on an orderly construction program at an efficient level of use of manpower and dollars is assured for the next three years.

Continuation of an orderly construction program beyond that time will require the authorization of new Reclamation projects by the 90th Congress as Reclamation does not have a backlog of authorized projects to draw upon. Provision is made in our fiscal year 1968 budget request for either the start of construction or advance planning activity preparatory to start of construction for every authorized Reclamation project not now underway.

There is a backlog of new project proposals for authorization now pending before your Committee and the Congress. Reports on 11 such proposals have been transmitted to the Congress. Of these the Colorado River Basin Project is by far the largest and most important. The other 10, of which the Nebraska Mid-State, North Loup, and San Felipe projects are the largest, total some $340,000,000 in estimated cost.

Additionally, we have a number of reports which are essentially complete. These include reports on the Oahe Unit in South Dakota, the Southwest Idaho Water Development Project, the East Side Division and Kellogg Unit of the Central Valley Project in California, the O'Neill Unit of the Missouri River Basin Project in Nebraska, the Closed Basin Division of the San Luis Project in Colorado, and several smaller ones.

CONTINUING RECLAMATION INVESTIGATION

Our regular planning and investigative work is scheduled at about the same dollar level as the past several years. Within the program, however, there recently have been two significant changes in emphasis.

One change relates to the interdepartmental comprehensive surveys which are taking a larger share of our planning time and dollars. These surveys, which are being conducted under the auspices of the President's Water Resources Council, are directed toward formulating framework plans of land and water resource development for each of the major river basins of the United States.

As far as the West is concerned, the survey of the Red River Basin below Denison Dam is being completed this fiscal year; surveys of the Missouri, Columbia, Puget Sound, and Williamette River Basins are underway; similar surveys are starting this fiscal year of the Upper and Lower Colorado River Basins and the State of California; and the Souris-Red River Basin Survey is scheduled to get underway in fiscal year 1968. In fiscal year 1968, about 23 percent of our planinng dollars will be required for those surveys.

Another change in emphasis is an increase in our reconnaissance, or preliminary study, activity. Part of this stems from the need to have firm reconnaissance information to support requests for feasibility study authorization. The most important factor, however, is an increasing awareness on the part of the public of the growing shortage of water in many areas and the need for prompt action to establish priorities and rights for developing local resources.

As a result of the increased activity on reconnaissance and basin survey work, we are having to significantly curtail our feasibility study program. In fiscal year 1968 we will be working on 21 percent fewer feasibility studies than this year. These are the studies that culminate in reports to be submitted to the Congress for authorization for construction.

There also have been significant changes in the character of our planning work as projects become more complex and more widely encompassing in their scope. In recent years, legislation has broadened considerations related to fish and wildlife, recreation and water pollution control. More emphasis also is being placed on municipal and industrial water.

Technological advances in desalting, weather modification, evaporation suppression, and water salvage are opening up potential new sources of water supply to be considered in planning. The potentials of interbasin, interregional and even international water transfers are receiving increasing attention.

Another significant change is the increasing participation of the States in resource planning. One of the leaders is the State of California, which already has adopted a State water plan and is actively engaged in developing its land and water resources. Texas also is very active in the field and is in the final stages of developing a State-wide plan. A general increase in State planning activity is anticipated as planning funds available under the Water Resource Planning Act of 1965 are utilized. In the Midwest, we have State-wide reconnaissance studies underway in Oklahoma and Kansas to assist those States in developing similar overall plans and hope to start another study in Nebraska next fiscal year.

In connection with the feasibility studies I mentioned earlier, Congress last year passed legislation to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to engage in a substantial list of feasibility studies. Most of those studies already were underway but several were being considered for new starts in fiscal year 1968. Because of limited planning funds in the budget, we will not be able to schedule most of those new starts in fiscal year 1968 as expected. As a result, we expect to request feasibility study authorization for only four projects this session looking to the 1969 budget.

One final aspect of Reclamation planning of which you should be aware is the lack of a unified policy under the Federal Water Pollution Control Act for the sharing of costs associated with water quality control. While Corps of Engineers' projects have been authorized which provided for allocation of costs related to water quality control obtained through reservoir storage and release on a nonreimbursable basis, application of this principle to Reclamation project proposals has been denied. This problem was highlighted last year in consideration of legislation to authorize the Tualatin Project in Oregon.

The whole problem is now under review by the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, Hopefully from this review will come guideline policies that can be applied to all Federal water resources programs and receive the sanction of the Congress. Water quality control is an important function now under study in a number of Reclamation investigations. Until a policy on cost sharing is approved, our entire analyses of project repayment will remain uncertain and confused where water quality control is a significant project function.

WATER POLLUTION CONTROL

In cooperation with our new sister agency, the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, we have taken positive steps to implement pollution control measures through water delivery contract provisions.

An example of this is in contracts executed on October 26, 1966, between the United States and the Colorado River Commission of Nevada, and between the Commission and the Southern California Edison Company for furnishing the Company not to exceed 30,000 acre-feet of Colorado River water annually from the Colorado River below Davis Dam. This water is for use in the proposed Mohave thermal-electric generation plant in southern Nevada.

The United States contracted to deliver water to the Commission and the Commission in turn contracted to deliver water to the Company. Water pollution control provisions are contained in these contracts. The Commission—Company contract, provides the principle water pollution control measures. That contract requires the Company to install and diligently operate such waste water, waste material, and sewage effluent and disposal facilities as may be necessary to prevent any significant and measurable pollution of the water of the Colorado River, intermittent tributary streams or underground water, and/or any measurable return of waste water thereto unless agreed to by the Secretary of the Interior.

The water user's designs and plans for water pollution control facilities are to be submitted to the Secretary for approval in advance of construction. In the event agreement cannot be reached between the water user and the Secretary on any matter relating to the designs, plans or facilities, the matter shall be submitted to arbitration in accordance with arrangements provided in the contract. The contract further provides that the water users must comply with all valid applicable water pollution control laws and regulations under Federal, State, or County jurisdiction now or hereafter in force.

The water user contract provides that the water pollution control measures therein are for the benefit of the United States as well as the Commission and that any breach thereof by the water user constitutes grounds for the United States to refuse to deliver water or to terminate its contract with the Commission.

ATMOSPHERIC WATER RESOURCES PROGRAM

President Johnson recently said of weather modification that "substantial progress has been made . . . but the pace has been slow. To advance the rate of progress, an effort of larger scope and direction is needed both in direct basic research and in developing means to put the knowledge to work." The Department has recommended a vastly increased Atmospheric Water Resources Program by the Bureau of Reclamation as a first step to meet the President's challenge.

In other respects, the Atmospheric Water Resources Program is an essential part of the Interior Department's total effort to get more fresh water, distribute it more efficiently, and to manage and use it more wisely. Tapping the rivers of the sky, cleaning up our rivers and lakes, and desalination of sea water, are the three promising new alternatives that this Department has for adding to man's useful water supplies.

The time has come for accelerating the Atmospheric Water Resources Program commensurate with the research and development activities that are now underway in the desalination and pollution abatement program. Secretary Udall on January 9, 1967, sent to the Congress a report providing for vastly increased engineering and scientific research in atmospheric water resources on a nationwide basis to be carried out by the Bureau of Reclamation. Funds in excess of $50 million a year will be required when the research program reaches full throttle. Reports just prepared by the Interdepartmental Committee for the Atmospheric Sciences (for the President's Office of Science and Technology) recommend an Interior Program in precipitation augmentation and redistribution of approximately $45 million by F.Y. 1970.

The estimate of $5 million contained in our proposed program for F.Y. 1968, while far less than that contemplated in the ICAS report, nevertheless, would provide a logical step in supporting the existing program, and for planning a nationwide program to develop operational systems for integrating atmospheric sources with all our other sources of clean water. Thus we will be prepared to expand the nationwide program of scientific and engineering research when the national budgetary situation and commitments abroad permit.

EXCESS LANDS

The term excess acreage refers to that irrigable acreage by which any single ownership on a Federal Reclamation project exceeds the basic nonexcess acreage to which water may be delivered under law. With but few exceptions, that basic nonexcess entitlement has been the traditional 160 acres or double that amount for a husband-wife ownership. Such excess lands amount to about 11 percent of the nearly 10 million irrigable acres under Federal Reclamation projects.

In recent years however, only about 50,000 acres randomly distributed throughout our 113 projects, are reported to have received water contrary to the provisions of law. Most of the remaining excess lands either do not receive water or have established eligibility by recordable contract or under special statutes to receive water. Lands on (1) the Kings River and Kern River projects; and (2) Imperial Irrigation District under the Boulder Canyon Project are exceptions. Water users on these two projects have challenged the interpretation of law, but delivery of water is continuing pending decision of the courts.

The basic concept of the 160-acre limitation is that a farm should produce sufficient income to support a farm family and pay all operating costs, including water charges. We believe this basic concept is sound; however, the amount of land to accomplish this purpose may, under today's conditions, be greater than 160 acres.

Nevertheless, the basic concept makes it possible for Federal Reclamation projects to provide benefits for a greater number of people than if no restrictions were imposed on the size of ownerships. The type of farming operations that existed about 60 years ago or near the time the basic law was passed, have changed considerably.

We have studied this problem further in response to a request of the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. This resulted in the Department's Acreage Limitation Policy Study which was transmitted to that Committee nearly 3 years ago. An attempt was made in this study to present both the legislative and administrative aspects of this complex subject. The principal recommendation in that study was a proposal that would provide a modified basis for defining the acreage limitation of Reclamation law by authorizing general use of the Class 1 equivalency concept in determining nonexcess and excess acres on Reclamation projects. This concept would permit a single landowner to receive project water for an acreage up to the equivalent of 160 acres of Class 1 land where that acreage would be sufficient to provide a satisfactory level of living. This would permit an owner with less productive land to receive water for more than 160 acres. This concept has been legislatively adopted on a few projects in the authorizing acts.

Such a legislative proposal for general application is now being considered in the Department and we hope it will be presented to this session of Congress.

REIMBURSABILITY OF RECLAMATION INVESTMENTS

I would like to reiterate at this time one of the basic, but too little understood, considerations which make financing of the Bureau of Reclamation's activities somewhat unique in Government fiscal operations. Under the basic laws controlling the Bureau of Reclamation, the great majority of the funds appropriated for these purposes are returned to the Treasury from revenues collected from water and power users and other project beneficiaries.

Please remember that I am speaking in terms of hard cash over and above the local and national benefits arising from the construction of Reclamation projects. We currently estimate that all projects authorized to the Bureau of Reclamation to date will cost, when completed, some $8.2 billion.

Of this amount, approximately $7.3 billion of the Government's investment or almost 90 percent will be returned in cash to the Treasury from the sources I have identified. Of the $7.3 billion to be returned to the Treasury, $2.9 billion is interest bearing and this interest will also be deposited in the Treasury. No other natural resource development program, to my knowledge, has such a hard cash-on-the-barrel-head return to the Treasury of its investment.

Let me briefly review the background of this situation. The Reclamation Act of 1902, which is the basic legislative authority for the Bureau of Reclamation, established a Reclamation Fund.

One, which we call indirect collections, comes from the sale of public lands and timber, royalties from lands leased for oil, royalties and rentals of land with potassium deposits, and water power licenses issued by the Federal Power Commission. The second source identified as direct collections includes construction repayments, and project revenues arising from the sale of water and power. As of June 30, 1966, indirect collections had contributed some $971,000,000 to the Fund and direct collections had totaled $1,330,000,000.

Expenditures from the Reclamation Fund may, of course, be made only on the authority of appropriations made by the Congress. In making such appropriations the Congress traditionally appropriates the equivalent of approximately one year's revenue to the Fund, and to the extent the requirements of the program are greater than this amount, appropriates the remainder from the General Fund. Appropriations from the Reclamation Fund have increased in recent years reflecting the increase in direct and indirect collections. For example, in 1966 more than $160,000,000 was deposited into the Fund. Since many of the Bureau's major powerplants, which are heavy revenue producers, are just coming on the line or are still under construction, it is very evident that the deposits to the Fund will increase in future years.

In summary, let me state that we feel in the Bureau of Reclamation that this financial situation should be recognized and considered in making decisions for further work by the Bureau. In fiscal year 1967, almost half the amount appropriated to the Bureau came from the Reclamation Fund; that is, from sums deposited in the Treasury in advance of its appropriation. This percentage will increase as our revenues also increase. This situation, plus the fact that of the total appropriated, over 90 percent will be returned, is a strong contributor to my enthusiastic support of the Reclamation program.

IRRIGATION ASSISTANCE FROM POWER REVENUES

The basic Reclamation Act of 1902 was amended in 1906 authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to use surplus Federal project power as a source of revenue to be credited in the Reclamation Fund. Federal power was first generated at Roosevelt Dam, Arizona, in 1906 for construction use. The first Reclamation investment will come from from a small plant on the Strawberry Power Canal near Spanish Fork, Utah, in 1908. Since that time, power has become the "paying partner" in Reclamation's many multipurpose projects throughout the Western States.

In considering the feasibility of a multipurpose project, power revenues must first be able to repay, with interest, all costs associated with the installation, operation and upkeep of power facilities.

Power revenues after repayment of power costs are then used to repay that portion of the irrigation costs which is beyond the ability of the water user to pay. In effect, irrigation is subsidized by power which encourages greater use of farm land, thereby increasing productivity and enhancing national wealth.

The Bureau now operates 49 powerplants with a total capacity of 6,953,000 kilowatts. It markets the power from six plants of the Corps of Engineers and from Falcon Powerplant in Texas. These plants produce annually more than 40 billion kilowatt hours of electrical energy. Gross power revenues have exceeded $120 million a year. About 60 percent of the revenue needed to repay reimbursable costs of the $8 billion ultimate Reclamation power for commercial use came power revenues.

RELATION OF HYDRO TO THERMAL GENERATION

Your committee has heard a lot of discussion and arguments that hydropower is outmoded and giving way to the low cost energy which is becoming available from thermal plants with generators of extra-ordinary capacity, some as high as a million kilowatts.

It is true that the capital cost of thermal plants per kilowatt of installed capacity has decreased substantially in recent years as a result of cost savings through construction of larger units, increased automation, and greater production. However, one of the penalties of using larger thermal units is that they must run near full load most of the time to attain high efficiency and to earn sufficient revenue to repay the investment. Another disadvantage of large thermal units is that they are not suitable for fast starting or to meet rapid load changes.

Normal system load patterns do not match this requirement but vary appreciably from hour to hour, day to day, and week to week in accordance with the seasons and the living habits of man. An average system power load throughout the year is usually not over 60 percent of the peak load. This means that the total generation required to handle system load is idle about 40 percent of the time. Thus, if large thermal units are to be kept running at full load, say 80 percent of the time, then other generation must be idle more than its normal share of the total idle time. This generation which is needed only a small percent of the time furnishes what is called peaking power.

Hydroelectric generation is ideally suited to supply peaking power because of its fast starting and rapid loading characteristics. It has no fuel costs, nor does it pollute the air or water. Maintenance and down-time are minimal and hydro can be used for spinning reserve and voltage control. Peaking power is most valuable and hydropower used in this manner complements rather than competes with thermal generation.

The increasing use of large steam units, both fossil-fuel and nuclear-powered, means greater demand for low-cost peaking. This demand can be met by adding hydro installations at existing or new sites, or from new hydro pumped storage plants. This is why we are planning to install generation of maximum capacity for peaking use in all future hydro construction, such as the third powerhouse at Grand Coulee Dam and the powerplant at the proposed Hualapai Dam on the Colorado River.

THIRD POWERPLANT, GRAND COULEE DAM

Public Law 89–448 dated June 14, 1966, authorized the Secretary of the Interior to "construct, operate, and maintain a third powerplant with a rated capacity of approximately 3.6 million kilowatts" at Grand Coulee Dam. The Act stated that "Construction of the third powerplant may be undertaken in such stages as in the determination of the Secretary will effectuate the fullest, most beneficial, and most economic utilization of the waters of the Columbia River." The Act provided for an authorization ceiling of $390 million "plus or minus such amounts, if any, as may be justified by reason of ordinary fluctuations in construction costs as indicated by engineering cost indexes applicable to the type of construction involved herein."

At the time of authorization, we asked and received from Congress flexibility to adjust the number and size of units and the schedule of installation. Senate Report No. 314 dated June 10, 1965, accompanying S. 1761, which with House amendments became Public Law 89–448, also stated: "The committee further recognizes that the third powerplant will be designed so that, subject to further congressional authorization, more generating capacity . . . can be added to Grand Coulee Dam when economically justified."

Additional studies of engineering, hydrology, marketing, and economic aspects of the third powerplant lead to the conclusion that it not only is feasible but essential to full utilization of the resource potential of this site to plan now for eventually doubling the authorized capacity of the third powerplant. Further, domestic turbine and generator manufacturers have been canvassed and assure us that by using on-site construction methods they can produce 600-megawatt units in time to meet the September 1973 on-line date for the first unit and guarantee their performance.

In view of these facts it is now planned to:

1. Install the authorized 3600 megawatts of capacity in the third powerplant in the form of six 600-megawatt generating units, rather than the twelve 300-megawatt units originally planned, and
2. Design and construct the forebay with sufficient width and depth to permit ultimate installation of 7200 megawatts by the addition, subject to future Congressional authorization of six more 600-megawatt units.

Market for power

All power produced by the six 600-megawatt units to be installed at the third powerplant will be needed by 1983–84, when the final units would be installed, to serve Northwest peak loads and fully utilize the Intertie. Loads will continue to grow, however, doubling approximately every 10 years, and installation of the six additional 600-megawatt units between 1985 and 1992 will be necessary, not only to meet peak loads, but to help make the region's thermal operations more efficient and economical. By then all the hydro peaking potential of the region will probably have been developed, and the alternative to this additional Grand Coulee peaking would be steam plants or pumped storage at costs several times as great. Operation of the ultimate plant will be at an average annual load factor of 30 percent, dropping to 23 percent in low-water years.

Costs

Studies show that the authorized 3600-megawatt installation can be accomplished for about $20 million less with 600-mw units than with 300-mw units. To provide an initial forebay adequate for eventual doubling of the capacity of the third powerplant it is estimated will cost $21 million. Taking into account the savings in the larger generating units as well as contingency funds included in the presently authorized ceiling of $390 million, it is our judgment that this modest additional cost can reasonably be expected to fall within that ceiling. To delay enlargement of the forebay would mean a shutdown of the third powerhouse at the time of a future enlargement at a power loss of approximately $48 million.

The additional capacity that can be installed in the third powerplant is the cheapest hydroelectric capacity that can be installed anywhere in the United States. Annual costs for a 7200-megawatt third powerplant should be less even than the estimated $3.69 per kilowatt year for a 3600-megawatt plant.

Transmission

It is planned to bring the extra output of Grand Coulee Dam to load centers by means of 750-kv lines carrying two million kilowatts each or 1000-kv lines carrying four million kilowatts each, depending on which is found to be the most technically and economically feasible. These big lines, whether 750-kv or 1000-kv, will replace smaller existing lines and utilize the same rights-of-way, thus minimizing the impact of this transmission requirement on the landscape.

EXTRA HIGH VOLTAGE (EHV) INTERTIES

To further enhance the value and efficiency of not only the Federal hydro installations but of public and private utility systems alike, interconnected transmission systems with extra high voltage are necessary. Bonneville Power Administration and Reclamation have continued work on the Pacific Northwest-Pacific Southwest Intertie, a $700 million join venture of Federal, public, and private power entities. The four major and two minor transmission lines of the 4400-megawatt Intertie, when completed in January 1972, will interconnect the power systems of the Columbia River Basin, the Central Valley Project of northern California, the Los Angeles area and the Phoenix area by way of Hoover Dam.

Reclamation's overall Intertie program is about 20 percent complete. Intertie contracts are now under review by Congress. Reclamation is building a 555-mile section of 750-kv d-c line from Mead to the Nevada-Oregon border; the terminal facilities at Mead Substation near Hoover Dam; a 94-mile section of 500-kv a-c line from the Oregon-California border to Round Mountain Substation; a 34-mile 230-kv line from Round Mountain to connect with the Central Valley Project system at Cottonwood Substation; and 238 miles of 345-kv c-c line from Mead to Liberty Substation near Phoenix.

General Electric-ASEA is furnishing the d-c terminal at Mead Acquisition of right-of-way and engineering work is underway on the 555-mile 750-kv d-c line and over one million feet of conductor for it has been purchased and delivered. The California border to Round Mountain 500-kv line is about one-third completed and should be in service by April 1968. Work has not been initiated on the 230-kv line from Round Mountain to Cottonwood. The 345-kv Mead-Liberty line in Arizona is over 15 percent complete.

We have scheduled a test closure on February 7 of an East-West intertie using the existing Missouri River Basin project transmission system, principally 230-volt a.c. lines. Plans for this intertie have been worked out with a task force of electrical engineers from our system and public and private utilities alike. It will interconnect utility systems from coast to coast including Canada, representing approximately 40 percent of the total world generating capacity.

Two additional EHV interties are under study, one between the Pacific Northwest and the Missouri River Basin systems and the other between the Missouri River Basin and Southwestern Power Administration systems. Preconstruction work has started on a 345-kv line between Fort Thompson, South Dakota, and Grand Island, Nebraska.

SAFETY OF DAMS

We would like to emphasize that our safety of dams program is being carried forward primarily as the result of our desire to prevent disasters which involve great loss of life and property damage. While our older structures, constructed 25 years or more ago, were entirely adequate to contain or pass the anticipated potential flood at that time, advanced practices of modern meteorological and hydrological sciences have proven conclusively that modification of some of those dams is absolutely necessary. This is further substantiated by storms of record intensities which have occurred during the past several years in parts of the Western States.

Of approximately 220 structures under jurisdiction of Reclamation, we have found that about 56 require a critical examination of their capability to pass or contain the maximum potential flood. Some of the modifications found necessary include only an updating of operation instructions while in other cases the spillway requires enlarging or the dam must be raised to assure sufficient freeboard against overtopping. We have found cases where dams constructed by others upstream from ours were unsafe, thus constituting a hazard to the downstream structure. We alerted the Governors of the 17 Western States to this situation, and they have assured us of their full support in a joint program to seek out and correct deficiencies.

About six months ago, Secretary Udall directed that Reclamation take leadership in examining all dams under jurisdiction of Department of the Interior agencies. That program is now underway in cooperation with Bureau of Indian Affairs, Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, Bureau of Land Management, and the National Park Service.

We are now drafting legislation to be presented to the 90th Congress to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to modify dams if and when necessary to assure their safety. As a part of that legislation we are proposing that the Secretary of the Interior be authorized to develop in cooperation with representatives of other Federal agencies, the States and other persons and organizations, a code of standards for investigation, construction, operation and inspection of dams. At the present time, no such standard exists for dams constructed within the United States. Through the proposed legislation, the Federal Government would take the lead in developing such standards.

ADDITIONAL MISSOURI RIVER BASIN PROJECT APPROPRIATION AUTHORIZATION

The Flood Control Act of 1944 (58 Stat. 887) authorized the Secretary of the Interior to undertake a portion of the comprehensive plan for development of the Missouri River Basin, and section 9(e) of that act authorized the appropriation of $200 million for partial accomplishment of the works to be undertaken by the Secretary. Subsequent authorizations from time to time increased this appropriation limitation as needed, without time limitation. The act of August 14, 1964, (P.L. 88–442), however, confined the appropriations limitation to fiscal years 1965 and 1966, which expired on June 30, 1966, and the act of July 19, 1966, (P.L. 89–515), authorized an additional $60,000,000 to be appropriated for continuing planning and construction work during fiscal years 1967 and 1968.

It is now apparent that this current authorization providing for appropriations for the Missouri River Basin Project will not be sufficient due to the development of additional work not contemplated at the time the legislation was enacted. The current approved program for fiscal year 1967 is $28,131,778, and the proposed fiscal year 1968 program is $40,879,000, which totals to $69,010,778 for both fiscal years. This will exceed the authorized limitation by $9,010,778.

It is recommended that the authorization act of July 19, 1966, for the Missouri River Basin Project for fiscal years 1967 and 1968 be amended to provide an increase of $10,000,000 for the current estimated additional program need.

Project Concern Brings Medical Care to the Ill in Hong Kong and South Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, as a friend and admirer of Dr. James Turpin, founder and president of Project Concern, I was pleased to see Bob Considine's recent column which describes the achievements of Project Concern in bringing medical care to the ill in Hong Kong and South Vietnam.

I ask, under unanimous consent, to include this column in the RECORD at this point:

PROJECT CONCERN

NEW YORK.—Jim Turpin is probably the only medical missionary ever launched on his mission by a race track. His zeal and achievement have improved the breed. Of missionaries and doctors, if not horses.

John Alessio, who operates Agua Caliente, cranked up Turpin with a roundtrip airline ticket to Hong Kong. Dr. Turpin had become interested in needy Mexicans.

He didn't come in contact with very many of them in his $50,000 a year practice in Coronado so he spent a day a week working in Tijuana.

HUMAN NEED

It gave him a yearning to see and attend the even graver human need. And so his friend Alessio sent him on his way. That was 1961.

It resulted in a pure chain reaction. Suffice it to say that now his organization, Project Concern, operates two floating clinics among the teeming and sorely neglected Chinese inhabitants of the Aberdeen section of Hong Kong, has clinics elsewhere in the Crown Colony, including the notorious walled city of Kowloon, and has moved on to Vietnam to perform unique tasks in that tortured land.

Project Concern's work in Vietnam is characterized by daring innovations. Its doctors, nurses and technicians are from a dozen nations. It moves into regions in Vietnam where not only angels by heavily armed troops fear to tread. It gets along without the firepower of armed security. It treats wounded Viet Cong as readily as it treats the friendlies. It is giving the enemy, and families of the enemy, a totally new view of the Free World's great heart and honorable intentions.

NO DO-GOODER

The good-looking founder of Project Concern, and author of an arresting account of his adventure, "Vietnam Doctor," published by McGraw-Hill, gave me a fill-in today on the forces that drove him from plushy Coronado to rugged Montagnard country in Vietnam.

"I'm no do-gooder," he said. "I was restless, ill at ease, all the time. I was doing so well in Coronado. I need the people we now help. They need me. I don't think of this work as an obligation. It's more opportunity than obligation.

"It hasn't anything to do with charity, as we've understood charity through the ages. It is more a case of communication. We show them that we have something to give to them and we make them understand that they have something mighty important to give to us.

"Sure, we've patched up VC, delivered the children of VC men. We work among all peoples. You could shoot a 105-millimeter cannon in any direction from our clinic in Dampao, an abandoned Green Beret camp, and not come within 20 miles of any other humanitarian effort.

"We fly our own flag—it looks a little like UN's flag. We share life with the people we serve. The VC don't bother us. Neither does the Saigon government nor the U.S. and its Allies. I guess it must be because we've made it clear that we're just in this thing to help human beings, not to kill or take sides."

INCREDIBLE DREAM

Hard to believe, but the man is making the incredible dream come true. His attractive wife, mother of their four children, is now studying medicine in Philadelphia and will join the crusade as soon as she has finished her training.

Jim's good friend Frank McCulloch, Time-Life correspondent in Asia, writes of him, "Jim Turpin and Project Concern ultimately may have far more to do with stemming Communist aggression in South Vietnam than whole regiments of combat troops."

Could be. There's no cease-fire on miracles.

Textiles in the War Effort

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, as the war in Vietnam has been progressively intensified, the demands made on American industry to supply our troops have likewise increased. In time of war, we have always looked to our textile industry for the clothing and shelter which traditionally have made the American soldier the best equipped fighting man in the world. During World War II, the Quartermaster General of the Army stated that textiles were second in importance only to steel in support of the war effort. The Vietnam conflict has been no exception. When called upon, the textile industry was equal to the challenge.

I was most gratified to note that on January 27 the Defense Personnel Support Center in Philadelphia recognized the tremendous contribution being made to the war effort by the textile industry when it awarded it a special certificate of appreciation. The award was received by Mr. J. Burton Frierson, the immediate past president of the American Textile Manufacturers Institute and chairman of the board of Dixie Yarns, Inc., of Chattanooga. We all are indebted to Mr. Frierson and his associates in the textile industry for the fine job they are doing. I ask under unanimous consent that the text of the certificate be printed in Appendix of the RECORD. Here is a text of the certificate of appreciation received by Mr. Frierson on behalf of the textile industry:

In recognition of maximum support of the Defense Personnel Support Center's heavy textile requirements by the American Textile Manufacturers' Institute from 1 October 1956 to 1 October 1966 to supply the requirements of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, this certificate of appreciation is presented to Mr. J. Burton Frierson who served so ably and effectively as its President during this period.

John M. Kenderdine,
Brigadier General, U.S. Army, Philadelphia, Pa., Defense Personnel Support Center.

State of the President and the Great Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the President's great state of the Union message inspired confidence in all of us—confidence in the future and confidence in the man who is leading our Government.

Revealing comment on the President and the state of the Union message appeared in a column by Joseph Alsop published in the January 13, 1967, edition of the New York World Journal Tribune.

I am pleased to commend that column to the attention of our colleagues:

STATE OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE GREAT SOCIETY

(By Joseph Alsop)

WASHINGTON.—The President's message on the state of the Union was very good news, for two quite different though linked reasons.

It was good news, first of all, because of the indications the speech so clearly gave of the state of the President himself. Here is a man who has gone, in less than two years, from a daily diet of intoxicating and excessive adulation to a daily diet of shrill and excessive vilification. Most men would be a bit rattled, to put it mildly, by this kind of change of surface-fortune.

This speech showed that the President is anything but rattled. No doubt he is more withdrawn and, more likely to behave like a bear with a sore paw about minor matters. But this speech, the most candid and least phoney-pious he has ever delivered, was the utterance of a man with the calmness and courage needed to follow through on all those courses he holds to be wise and needful.

It is reassuring that the President has not let himself be rattled. And it is reassuring, too, that he has refused to be pressured into changing his course, either on Viet Nam or the Great Society. He had to resist very powerful pressures indeed.

On Vietnam, an immense campaign was mounted to persuade the President to announce another bombing pause. The United Nations lobby inside the Administration, the U.N. secretary general, U Thant, various foreign governments, and the whole silly-solemn segment of American intellectual life, joined together in this effort.

It was conducted on many levels, in public and in private. It was aided by this Administration's ludicrous image-consciousness, currently much inflamed by the strange decision of a great newspaper to allow a reporter to visit an enemy capital, when the enemy's invitation was proffered with the sole purpose of using the reporter to transmit enemy propaganda.

None the less, this effort to get the President to do a foolish thing for public relations purposes was firmly resisted. With equal firmness, the President also resisted the even more formidable pressure, mainly from key Democratic members of the House and Senate, to bring his Great Society programs to a screeching halt by deep cuts in their appropriations.

The motive for the proposed 6 per cent surtax on incomes and corporate profits was not to pay for the war in Viet Nam; it was, rather, to conserve the Great Society programs. Because of the existing slow-down in the economy, there are plenty of presidential advisers who hold that we can safely afford the kind of budget deficit that will result if taxes are not increased. Their opinions, beyond doubt, were sweet to hear, and the President, beyond doubt, was to refrain from asking for higher taxes.

The contrary opinions that did most to carry the day for higher taxes came from the White House corps of legislative liaison men. They pointed out that a projected budget deficit above 10 billion dollars would touch off a national spasm of insensate howling about "spending" and "fiscal irresponsibility."

They predicted further that in such an atmosphere, no power on earth could prevent the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition from cutting the President's social programs to the very bone. Thus the tax rise was decided upon, not only as desirable in itself, as the Treasury insisted, but also to give the social programs a better chance in a difficult Congress.

If this were a less self-indulgent country, of course, we should be thinking about something much bigger than a mere temporary surtax of 6 percent. By any rational test, this country is rich enough to go further than paying for the Vietnamese war and funding the President's existing programs at a reasonable level. We should clearly be expanding the more worthwhile existing programs, such as aid to elementary and primary education; and we should be making a titanic effort to deal with the cancer in the cities before it is too late.

If the word is properly understood, this is in fact the "conservative" thing to do. And it would still be conservative, if doing it required striking down the tax exemptions of every millionaire who falsely claims the honorable title of conservative.

But as anyone can see from the first House vote on the rules, the new Congress is in no mood for bold new departures, however urgently they may be needed. The President is wise, therefore, to have refrained from breaking much new ground; for it will be hard enough for him to defend what he already has from congressional attack.

Correction, Please

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, on January 18, 1967, I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a report from the Washington Daily News stating that General Motors does not have a woman designer. General Motors says they have been wronged. They hired a woman designer in 1943.

Design is divided into separate interior and exterior design studios for each of the five car divisions.

Each of the interior studies has a female designer on its staff. In the home appliance area, a woman is Director of Home Economics for GM's Fridgidaire Division at Dayton, Ohio.

In their assignments, the lady designers share responsibility for all aspects of interior design, such as shaping the hardware, laying out the controls and instrument panel, selecting fabrics for seats and door panels, and evaluating and making recommendations for comfortable and efficient seating positions. Their jobs involve elements of automotive engineering, human factors engineering, and designing for safety as well as the esthetics of the car's appearance.

I am happy to note that General Motors does have some women designers. I trust that they hire more women executives in the future.

Charting a Course

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER L. WOLFF
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I believe that Capt. Harry Guggenheim, editor and publisher of Newsday—Garden City, N.Y.—should be congratulated for his continued efforts in bringing to the attention of the public the serious plight of this Nation's merchant marine program.

Under unanimous consent I place the editorial "Charting a Course" from the February 6 edition of Newsday in the RECORD:

CHARTING A COURSE

A ship's captain who didn't know his destination would find it impossible to chart a course to get there. Currently the administration is proposing expenditures of $372,967,000 for a Merchant Marine subsidy policy that has neither direction nor goals.

The subsidy program is a continuation of a national policy dating back to the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. Its purpose, in general, is to assure the nation of a strong Merchant Marine. It has not been a success. In 1935, a year before the Congress enacted its well-intended Merchant Marine legislation, 31.7 per cent of the nation's waterborne foreign trade moved in American ships. Last year, the U.S. Merchant Marine carried only eight per cent of that trade.

Some rethinking of basic policy is clearly demanded. A year ago, in his State of the Union Message, President Johnson promised to develop a strong, new policy toward the Merchant Marine. Last month, in his message to the 90th Congress, the President did not mention the Merchant Marine. That promised new policy has yet to be enunciated.

The delay is easy to understand. The development of a strong, effective policy involves a strenuous course of decisions; some of them are money decisions of large dimension. The cost of creating a competitive Merchant Marine could run into the billions of dollars.

The first decision, therefore, is a basic one. Is it in the nation's interest to spend the money to make our merchant fleet competitive? We think it is. The Russians now have a fleet of 1,422 large merchant ships, and they are planning to spend $1 billion this year to construct more. The U.S. has an active fleet of 1,040, and 160 of them are so-called "rust buckets" reactivated from the reserve fleet to meet the needs of the Vietnam sealift. We will spend $143,000,000 to subsidize the construction of 13 ships this year; the Russians have 395 on order or under construction.

Adm. Emory S. Land, who guided the crash shipbuilding program during World War II, has estimated that the approximately $4.2 billion that will be spent to build a supersonic jet airliner would be enough to "largely rejuvenate" our merchant fleet. Therefore, if it is decided that the maintenance of a competitive Merchant Marine is a wise national goal, the President is going to have to set some carefully developed spending guidelines. To do that he is going to have to have a clear idea of the sort of fleet we wish to develop.

Today's maritime technology offers many alternatives. It is possible to build nuclear-powered ships and so-called containerships, which transport sealed metal containers of cargo that are easily handled and transferred to truck or train. There are also sea barge freighters, which carry smaller vessels within them. In addition, there are automated devices that reduce the manpower needed to run a ship or to load and unload its cargo. In any shipbuilding program costs will be cut if a series of similar ships are built because the shipyards will be able to apply the techniques of mass production.

An important element in a strong, new maritime policy, therefore, will be deciding the type and number of ships needed to produce a competitive fleet. It will take some study to arrive at wise decisions. But present research and development appropriations have been described by Adm. Land as "pitifully small, almost negligible."

The present national policy toward the Merchant Marine is a failure. Its goals never have been clearly defined; its methods are, at best, catch-as-catch-can. It is time, past time, for a new policy. Developing it involves a problem in navigation—deciding where we want to go and how we are to get there.

A Blow for Decency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, in a television commentary last Saturday, Carl T. Rowan, one of the Nation's most respected journalists, made some concise and penetrating observations about last weekend's visit of the U.S. aircraft carrier *Franklin D. Roosevelt* to Cape Town, South Africa. I ask that these comments be printed in full:

Some war-weary sailors must go without shore leave in Capetown. That's too bad. But it is important that Americans understand why.

Our leaders have asked for months why more countries don't support us in Viet Nam. Part of the answer lies in the controversy over the South African stop by the aircraft carrier Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Millions of people—not just black Africans, but white Europeans as well—have doubted the morality of our cause in Southeast Asia. By subjecting American sailors to a compromise with racism in Capetown, we were about to convince a lot of people of the weakness of our morality.

A visit to South Africa by the carrier Independence was canceled a year ago when South Africa insisted that its customs of rigid racial separation be observed. The Navy wanted this visit because South Africans had agreed that white, colored and black South Africans could stand in the same line while waiting to visit the flattop. The U.S. sailors going ashore would still have been taken to segregated parties.

Worst of all, the Navy argued that the refueling stop in Capetown was crucial because it would save $250,000. What irony. We are spending 25 billion dollars a year to defend a moral principle in Viet Nam. The Navy was willing to sacrifice another moral principle to save $250,000.

There is another irony, of course. Those Negroes aboard the carrier may not have met any more racism in Capetown than they will face when they get to Mayport, Florida, the home port.

But two wrongs never made a right, and credit is due those Congressmen who pressured the Navy to change its plans.

One hates to see war-tired sailors miss some fun. But foregoing leave may be as big a blow for decency as any battle these airmen fought in Viet Nam.

Israel's Moment of Truth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I have long supported the nation of Israel in its continuing struggle for survival in an almost unbelievably hostile environment. I have pointed out that it is the sole bastion of true democracy in the troubled Near East and have called upon our State Department to provide this nation with arms so that the delicate balance of power between Israel and its Arab neighbors might be maintained.

Unfortunately, my pleas in Israel's behalf have fallen upon deaf ears. In its support of Israel, the United States has been fainthearted at best.

Perhaps no other article which I have seen points up the injustice with which Israel has been treated over the past 18 years as one which appeared in the Omaha Jewish Press, Friday, January, 20, 1967. It is bold and shocking, calling attention to the failure of both the United Nations and the United States to support Israel's right to survive as a strong and independent democratic nation.

I believe my colleagues will be vitally interested in the remarks of Rabbi David Polish and insert the aforementioned article in the RECORD:

ISRAEL'S MOMENT OF TRUTH

(By Rabbi David Polish, spiritual leader, Beth Emet Synagogue, Evanston, Ill.; reprinted from the December 8, 1966, issue of the Chicago Sentinel)

The action of the Security Council represents a threat against the United Nations. On five separate occasions the Security Council has issued statements of censure against Israel. During this time, open warfare was conducted by the Arab states in an effort to destroy the newborn nation. Openly flaunting the United Nations decision favoring the creation of a Jewish State, these sovereign members of that very body invaded the borders of Israel.

The Security Council was silent.

A truce was effected by the United Nations and it was broken by the Arab states in a second and futile round against Israel.

The Security Council was silent.

For eighteen years, the Arab world has declared its open hostility and determination to destroy a fellow member of the United Nations.

The Security Council has been silent.

For eighteen years the State of Israel has pleaded with the United Nations to undertake such measures as might lead to a permanent settlement, not merely an uneasy truce, in the Middle East.

The Security Council has been silent.

BANDS OF SABOTEURS

More than ten years ago, Egypt unleashed bands of saboteurs and murderers across Isreal's borders, despite the mounting series of complaints to the United Nations. And the Security Council remained silent. During the past year, the harassment of Israel was again launched by organized ambush, sabotage, land mines, artillery fire, with sporadic loss of life and property. This harassment has not been sporadic but it has persisted and mounted with military thoroughness.

But the Security Council chose to remain silent.

Not once has a judgment been issued against an offending Arab nation. When the State of Israel found it could not gain redress from the United Nations, it sent its forces into Arab territory and drove its adversaries back from their bases. This galvanized the Security Council into action. In 1956, when the terrorists were expelled from the Gaza area and Egyptian forces were sent reeling back to the Sinai Peninsula, the United Nations could equivocate no longer and issued a warning to Israel to withdraw to its new borders on pain of penalties.

Israel has been caught in a cross-fire of mounting United Nations displeasure. In 1953, Israel was censured for retaliatory action against Jordan.

But Jordan's terrorism was overlooked.

In 1955, Israel suffered rebuke because it reacted against Egyptian fedayeen from Gaza.

But Egypt's terrorism was overlooked.

Early in 1956 Israel was admonished for an operation against Syrian aggression.

But Syria's terrorism was overlooked.

In 1962, Israel was censured for striking back against Syrian attacks from the privileged sanctuary of Syrian mountains.

But Syria's terrorism was overlooked.

Where else, is the history of the United Nations has there appeared such a consistent pattern of appeasement of one litigant and opposition to another in a dispute? Where else has the precept "you shall not side with the multitude to do wrong" been so cynically ignored? While the Soviet veto is invoked when Israel registers a complaint in the Security Council, the Soviet Union is not wanting for allies from both sides of the cold war when Israel is indicted.

Throughout this time, not only the Security Council but the United States, could not bring itself to issue an unequivocal condemnation or a warning against offending Arab nations. There have been muted chidings, but always certain to include Israel, even when it was the victim.

Throughout twenty years of its life, the Security Council has singled out Israel for repeated censure. Greeks and Turks have been locked in deadly combat in Cyprus and the peace of the Middle East has hung in jeopardy, but the Security Council did not condemn either party and was silent.

Indonesia became belligerent toward Malaysia, but the Security Council was silent.

China appropriated or reappropriated Tibet, but the Security Council was silent.

China hurled its forces against India but the Security Council was silent.

India and Pakistan lunged at one another in deadly combat, but the Security Council was silent.

In not one of these instances was a word of censure uttered. Can it be that of all the nations in the world, Israel alone is a repeated mischief maker? Can it be that of all powers engaged in conflict since the end of the Second World War, the equities are clear, the issues are black and white, only as they apply to Israel? The mere citing of these facts is enough to expose the grotesqueness of the Security Council's most recent action.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The mere citing of these facts is enough to raise the most serious doubts about the moral conditions of the United Nations. To single out one state, and it is not coincidental that it is the only state in the world without even a single ally, is to pass a judgment less upon the state than upon the judge. The United Nations is discrediting itself at a time when it can least afford to do so. This was the beginning of the downfall of the League of Nations. It permitted Great Britain, the League-authorized mandate power for Palestine, to undertake one appeasement after another of Arabs at the expense of Jews in Palestine.

In 1922, Arabs rioted, and Palestine was partitioned by Great Britain.

The League was silent.

In 1929, Arabs rioted and Jewish immigration was severely curtailed by Great Britain.

The League was silent.

In 1936, Arabs rioted and an edict banning all future immigration was issued by Great Britain.

The League was silent.

Silently it went to its doom when Italy invaded Ethiopia and not a word of protest was issued. The League died and the Emperior of Ethiopia delivered the eulogy.

U.N. CANNOT ENDURE

The United Nations cannot long endure if it will continue to pretend to discharge obligations and prove its virility at the expense of the weakest of its members. If it will insist upon assuming the role of a kangaroo court, then increasingly it will be judged in that light, discredited and finally abandoned. God help mankind then.

I want to stress that I do not seek to defend Israel's most recent incursion into Jordan. There are misgivings about this action in Israel itself. I submit only that to have acted so severely against Israel while ignoring the ongoing encroachments by Arab nations is to make a mockery and a sham of international justice. It is like the action of the police in the South who jail Negroes when they are attacked by whites. Thus the action of the Security Council represents a threat against the United Nations.

The action of the Security Council represents yet another threat against the moral leadership and credibility of our nation, the United States. When Israel, in 1948, drove the invading Arabs to the Sinai Peninsula, our government demanded that Israel withdraw or else face a re-examination of our nation's relations with the new State. Then in 1956, Israeli forces drove Egypt's troops toward Cairo. Our government again assumed a highly moral pose chiding Israel and threatening ominous consequences. Yet, except for traffic in the sale of armaments in the Middle East in order to maintain a balance of terror, what evidence is there of an earnest peace effort on our part in that sector of the world? But even more, our righteous posture in the Middle East is hardly consistent with our own nation's position when it considers its own interests to be involved in other places.

One would think that there were two separate nations, each called the United States. The United States which shared in the repeated condemnations of Israel and commanded it to withdraw from the Sinai Peninsula is the same United States which invaded the sovereign territory of the Dominican Republic.

It is the same United States which has mounted an aerial assault for well over a year upon North Viet Nam which, incidentally, has not encroached upon a square inch of American territory.

It is the same United States which has pursued its enemies into the sovereign territory of Cambodia and exacted destruction upon that free and independent nation.

It is the same United States which now finds itself as a military presence in Thailand under conditions ominously similar to our first days in Viet Nam.

Truly, we might direct Abraham's challenge of God to our own government, "Will the judge of all the earth not do justly?" No nation pursuing such a course of double morality can expect to retain the following of the free world except by force of arms and economic assistance. But when the moral credibility is lost, the force of arms becomes more and more coercive; the economic assistance is diverted to shore up puppet governments which steal and defraud and grow rich, while the people perish.

THREAT AGAINST ISRAEL

The action of the Security Council represents a threat against the State of Israel. Let no one be deceived. Repeated resolutions of censure are not a mere reprimand. They represent a withdrawal of the moral support which a nation, especially one as beleagued as Israel, cannot do without. For a state to live under the threat and isolation is too great a burden to bear. Even Communist China cannot endure this, and this accounts in no small measure for its paranoid relationship to the rest of the world.

Above all, censure by the United Nations, under the leadership of our own government, is a cue to the enemies of Israel. It releases them from restraint. It says in effect that they may continue their harassment and worse while Israel stands alone, with hands tied behind its back.

Is this the United Nation's definition of morality, that half a loaf is better than none; that when two nations cannot be compelled to observe the rules, at least one should be forced to obey?

Is this the morality of our world, that it is Israel's historic role to submit even if no one else does?

This interpretation of morality enabled Western civilization to watch the annihilation of six million Jews. This version of morality allowed the West to see Jews drown within view of harbors that would not let them in. This view of Western sportsmanship permitted Arab nations to invade Israel while a spectator world watched from the sidelines. This version of morality can plunge the world into a holocaust, because the State of Israel will not place its neck on the block this time. It could be the undoing of Israel, but it could also be the undoing of the nations, not because Israel would bring this about, but because if the nations cannot establish peace there, they cannot establish it anywhere.

THREAT TO JEWISH PEOPLE

The action of the Security Council represents a threat to the Jewish people. Let no one think that Israel's crisis leaves us immune. We are bound to each other, we to Israel and Israel to use, by the same cords that join Siamese twins. We are one spiritually. We are one physically. And even if we are not one politically, we are a people, one people. We are too depleted, we are too embattled to hope to escape the injury that befalls any one segment of our people. How many more losses can we sustain? We wage a war for survival on multiple fronts. Russian Jewry is gasping for its life. Israeli Jewry is besieged by enemies, and belabored by those who call themselves its friends.

If, for the past twenty years, American Jews have believed that they were sustaining Israel by their charities and their benefactions, let them wake up. Let them realize that Israel has also helped them, that the whole world has come to look upon the Jew with new eyes and new regard because of Israel. Let them pause from their smug condescension towards Israel and from their traffic in plaques, and learn that a major pillar of our strength and our very survival is the State of Israel. And let those Jews who are liberals when Judaism is not at stake, who fight the good fight in every freedom-cause, learn three things. First, a cause is no less a freedom-cause because it is Jewish. Second, the test of your freedom-consciousness is your readiness or lack of readiness to identify with your own people, when it is in trouble. Third, as Mordecai said to Esther, "Think not you alone shall escape."

These are the issues. They affect Israel. They affect America. They affect Jews. They affect the world.

What is to be done?

My suggestions fall into two categories.

MORAL DECISION

In the first, we must come to a moral and rational decision. It is that if Jews and others in the United States believe that an injustice against Israel is being enacted, they should speak out. If, on the one hand, we should conclude that Israel has acted unjustly, as members of this people, one people, we should not hesitate to say so. If, at the same time, we conclude that Israel is being singled out for punishment in a double standard of morality we should say so vehemently. We should say so as Jews. We should say so as Americans.

Americans as well as Jews may ask why a policy of appeasing Arabs, proven bankrupt in both war and in peace, continues to be pursued.

Americans as well as Jews may ask why, after having given Nasser a victory in 1956, a victory which has proven disastrous to the fortunes of the West, we are opening the doors for similar debacles.

Americans as well as Jews may ask why the State Department, long before a Jewish state came into being, was intent upon blocking Jewish inspirations. Is oil thicker than blood?

REASSEMBLE ITS FORCES

Second, the American Jewish community must reassemble its forces. It is in sad disarray. A backward glance at the unity of American Jewry from 1942 to 1947 will dramatize the disunity and fragmentation into which we have fallen. Our success and our prosperity have blinded us. They have given us a euphoric sense of our situation, unwarranted by world and Jewish conditions. Our stress upon the centrality of the synagogue has unfortunately been accompanied by a down-grading of secular agencies which are indispensable to the well-being of American Jewry. The synagogues alone cannot perform the task which crisis after crisis in Jewish life puts upon us.

As a result, we have dismantled and weakened some of the most effective agencies contributing toward authentic Jewish existence in this country. In addition, we have adamantly refused to listen to any call for united action within American Jewry. We have rejected appeals for collective consultation and action. The closest we have come to a measure of unity is through the heads of national bodies who act in concert with one another but not in concert with the Jews of the United States. They are good people, but the very structure of their council precludes the democratic process by which not hundreds but hundreds of thousands of Jews should be involved. It vitiates the strength that could well up from American Jewry if we were adequately informed and effectively motivated.

What else must happen before American Jews are emboldened and electrified to acting as a community, not as a straggling rabble, relinquishing its latent passion, its wisdom, its strivings to a conscientious group of men who do not speak for American Jewry even though they do speak for their respective agencies. Nor is their collective wisdom a substitute for collective consultation and collective action.

PROPOSES NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

I propose that an assembly of national selected representatives from as many groups as will send them, be convened to consider the problems of Israel and American Jewry in the light of the most recent events.

Questions must be asked.

Issues must be defined.

Actions must be taken, all within the light of day. If American Jewry is to play the part which history places upon us, if we are not to rebuff history, then the interaction of men, organizations and ideas must be stimulated. Without this, future leaders will be aborted. Without this, knowledge and deliberation will be stifled. Without this, there can be no Jewish people in the sense in which we understand it.

Let us then put aside our parochial differences. Let us span the distances between the many islands of Jewish existence in a sea of storm and trouble. Let us live our conviction that we are a people, one people. "O you afflicted, tempest tossed and not comforted . . . in righteousness shall you be established . . . No weapon that is formed against you shall prosper, and every tone that shall arise against you in judgment shall you reject.

U.S. Dairy Industry Needs Protection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, our domestic dairy industry is currently threatened by foreign imports, especially those of the butterfat type used in the manufacture of ice cream. It is hardly necessary to mention the importance of protecting an industry as vital as this, and one which operates at or near marginal profit levels. Moreover, in spite of quotas established in 1953 and intended to limit entry of dairy products into the United States, the whole history of the importation of these items has been marked by circumvention, evasion, and an almost total disregard for the legal quantitative limits.

In 1966, imports of butterfat-sugar mixtures displaced a market for U.S. dairy farmers equal to 10 percent of total ice cream production. Imports of dairy products are increasing, and the Department of Agriculture predicts that total imports in 1967 will approach 3.5 billion pounds of milk—calculated on a butterfat basis. This amount equals 12 times the total authorized by import quotas.

I am today introducing a bill known as the Dairy Import Act of 1967, which uses as a base for quotas the average annual quantities of butterfat and nonfat milk solids imported during the 5 calendar years, 1961–65. This average would constitute an automatic control and would not require lengthy and often unsatisfactory Tariff Commission proceedings as under the present law. My bill is flexible in regard to countries and products, and thus allows recognition of any legitimate new dairy products. Such products would, of course, be subject to the overall limitation that total imports not exceed the 5-year average.

Under this act, the President may authorize additional imports when called for in the national interest, with appropriate adjustments being made to aid the dairy farmers in achieving a parity price in the marketplace. My bill also provides that the import total could increase in the same ratio as the domestic market expands. This would make it possible for foreign countries to share in the growth of the U.S. market, but their exports could not prosper at the expense of displaced domestic production.

Enactment of this legislation will prevent harm to the dairy industry which is so essential to our national economy. In addition, it will insure that the established quotas are observed, rather than made a mockery as they are today.

Fumbling at Cape Town

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, there has been much comment in the foreign press about the clumsy handling of the visit of the U.S. aircraft carrier *Franklin D. Roosevelt* to Cape Town, South Africa. I think editorials from two London newspapers, the Times and the Daily Telegraph, will be of particular interest to the Members.

The articles follow:

[From the London Times, Feb. 6, 1967]

Fumbling at Cape Town

The cancellation of shore leave for the crew of the American aircraft carrier visiting Cape Town reveals a curious state of muddle in the Administration's policy towards South Africa. Many arrangements had been made between the South African authorities and the American embassy for the 3,800 seamen in the U.S.S. Franklin D. Roosevelt to be entertained and fêted on a segregated basis. There are several hundred Negro members of the crew. At the last minute the arrangements were cancelled because, according to the State Department, the crew could take part only in organized mixed activities.

There are anomalies in the situation. It is absolutely clear, for a start, that the aircraft carrier's visit had a political motive. It was not just on its way home from Vietnam. No captain since Vasco da Gama would sail from Saigon to North America by way of the Cape of Good Hope. In planning the visit, Washington was presumably well aware that there would be segregation, since American warships have visited Cape Town in the past.

Why has there been no protest about this before, when other Negro crewmen of American ships have been subjected to the daily humiliations to coloured people which is the South African way of life? Why was planning between the American embassy and the South African authorities allowed to reach such an advanced, almost conclusive, stage before shore leave was called off? In Cape Town itself the Americans appear to have made it clear that all arrangements were going ahead until Washington's sudden cancellation. The right thing was done in the wrong way and at the wrong time—far too late.

The significance of the incident is that it shows that American policy towards South Africa at present is hardly predictable. This could be unfortunate for the British Government, who are themselves walking a diplomatic tightrope in southern Africa. The apparent contradictions in Britain's attempts to bring down the Smith regime by economic strangulation while protecting her other economic interests in southern Africa might be overcome, given patient diplomacy. But the ambivalence in Washington's policy towards southern Africa could bedevil this approach.

The strains and shifts of the civil rights struggle in the United States too often cause the same volatility in American foreign policy. There is mounting congressional opposition to the use of sanctions against Rhodesia; yet British Ministers confess privately that at times the Administration seems keen to hasten a possible confrontation with the whole of southern Africa. The main hope must be that the Cape Town episode forces the Administration into clarifying American policy.

[From the Daily Telegraph, Feb. 6, 1967]

Cape Wrath

In the aircraft-carrier Franklin D. Roosevelt, which has 400 Negroes, Puerto Ricans and Filipinos among its 3,700 officers and men, it is rank, not colour, which counts. In Cape Town by contrast it is colour which is all-important—which decides rank, indeed. Bring the ship to the town, therefore, and you have assembled the ingredients of a rumpus. The rumpus, indeed, could take various forms. Let the men ashore and, if all goes smoothly, you have condoned apartheid and are thus exposed to furious attacks from Congressmen and civil rights leaders at home in America. The prospects of all going smoothly, however, are not great. The regulations and conventions which govern South Africa's stratified life are not readily comprehensible even to the most sympathetic visitors. Nor are the baffling niceties of what one can do in Cape Town and what one cannot likely to be appreciated by 3,000-odd sailors who, after eight months' enforced abstinence, are ready for a spree. For fear of one sort of trouble or the other, the Americans have embraced a third sort, with all shore leave cancelled, the ship sailing early, the sailors disappointed and Mr. Vorster fuming at the implied insult.

Instead of getting angry, he ought to ponder what has happened. South Africa's laws and way of life, he may argue, are her own business. So they might be if she were, or could be or wished to be, utterly isolated. As it is, they affect other people without number: whoever visits her, plays games with her, trades with her or has diplomatic or any other sort of relations with her bumps into them painfully sooner or later. Unchanged, they will leave her friendless. Can she afford to be so?

Report of Seafarers' President, Paul Hall, on the Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the AFL–CIO Maritime Trades Department has commenced publication of a new magazine entitled "Maritime." The first issue was published in January 1967.

A regular feature of the magazine will be a report by the president of the AFL–CIO Maritime Trades Department, Paul Hall. Mr. Hall is also president of the Seafarers International Union, a member of the AFL–CIO Executive Council, and a vice president of the AFL–CIO.

The following report by Mr. Hall emphasizes the disastrous situation facing the American merchant marine industry and points out that one of the most important goals for 1967 is the establishment of an independent Federal maritime administration. I and many of our colleagues support this proposal and I have introduced a bill to create such an agency. My bill is H.R. 931, which is currently pending before the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee.

President Hall's report follows:

To the American merchant marine—management and labor alike—1967 is a year of decision.

This is the year that, as a nation, we must make a fateful choice between two clear alternatives:

We can develop a reasonable national program, and invest reasonable sums, to rebuild and revitalize our merchant marine—thus taking a long-delayed step toward regaining our position as a major maritime power.

Or we can continue to follow the road of neglect and indifference—thus dooming our merchant marine to a certain death.

There is no question but that we have been on a downhill course for the past two decades. These statistics tell the sorry story of the steady decline of our merchant shipping:

At the end of World War II, the United States had a merchant fleet of some 5,000 ships; today we have 900.

At the end of World War II, American flag shipping carried 40 percent of our seaborne export-import cargoes; today our ships carry only 8 percent of that cargo.

At the end of World War II, our merchant fleet provided jobs for 80,000 sailors; today, these jobs have shrunk to less than 50,000.

At the end of World War II, we were first among the nations of the world in merchant shipping; today, we are sixth, and the Russians may soon push us back to seventh place.

At the end of World War II, we were first in the great craft of shipbuilding; today, we are fourteenth among the fifteen major shipbuilding nations of the world.

What has happened to cause this continued strangulation of so vital an industry as our merchant marine?

In 1936, Congress passed a Merchant Marine Act which set forth our national policy—a policy that we should have an American-built, American-owned and American-manned merchant fleet capable of carrying a substantial portion of our waterborne commerce and capable, too, of serving as a naval or military auxiliary in time of war.

But having a policy is one thing; carrying it out is something else.

The American flag has declined over the years because the Executive departments and agencies have failed to implement the Congressional mandate of 1936. Budgetary expediencies, rather than national need, have been allowed to dominate our maritime programs.

Administration of maritime policy—which once rested in the hands of an independent and autonomous agency—has been downgraded over the years by the incorporation of the Maritime Administration in the sprawling Department of Commerce.

And in 1966 it was necessary for maritime labor, joined by various segments of maritime management, to mount a major operation to keep maritime out of the newly created Department of Transportation. Had we not been successful in keeping maritime out of this catch-all department, our industry most surely would have been overshadowed, both in budget and in emphasis, by other modes of transportation.

The battle we waged, and won, in 1966 was a defensive fight It had to be fought in order to protect the ground we stood on, and in order to focus national attention on the plight of our industry.

But it was only one battle, and the war is far from won. Now in 1967 we intent to move onto the offensive.

The first step will be to win prompt passage, in the 90th Congress, of bipartisan legislation reconstituting the Maritime Administration as an independent agency. Only in this way can this essential industry be restored to its proper position of size, strength and prestige.

The next step—and one of equal importance—is to win approval of the kind of realistic national budget that will make it possible for us to increase significantly the amount of U.S. waterborne foreign commerce carried by American-flag vessels, and to support the building in U.S. yards of an adequate number of vessels to achieve this purpose.

Maritime labor, which provided the impetus for the successful fight to keep our industry out of the Department of Transportation in 1966, intends again to serve as the focal point for this crucial battle in 1967.

To this end, the AFO–CIO Maritime Trades Department convened a day-long legislative conference in Washington to assess the prospects and lay the groundwork for coordinated action in the 90th Congress.

Much of this, the maiden issue of "Maritime," is devoted to an in-depth report on that conference These articles summarize the outlook for our industry as seen from the vantage points of Congressional leaders, industry officials and labor spokesmen. They make it crystal clear that the views we hold are not those of maritime labor alone—nor even of a united front of labor and management in our industry. Our view is shared by thoughtful, concerned members of the Legislative branch.

All this speaks well for the prospects of the American merchant marine.

Much is at stake in the forthcoming battle, for America's future—its military security, its economy and its international prestige—is dependent on a virile merchant fleet.

The days ahead will be busy ones. We have a program that we intend to put into action. In the process, we will be writing a new chapter in our struggle to build a better industry. At the same time, we will be making our contribution to a stronger, more productive, America.

Mr. Speaker, the position taken by the maritime unions for an independent maritime administration is supported by all of organized labor. The following statement reflects the views of the AFL–CIO as expressed in a resolution adopted at their Sixth Constitutional Convention in 1965:

WHERE THE AFL-CIO STANDS

Speaking for the 13.5 million men and women of organized labor, delegates to the Sixth Constitutional Convention of the AFL–CIO, meeting in San Francisco, California in December 1965, unanimously endorsed a resolution firmly supporting the American merchant marine and calling specifically for creation of an independent Maritime Administration.

This policy was reaffirmed by the AFL-CIO Executive Council in Chicago, Illinois on August 24, 1966. Here's how the Executive Council underscored the problem and the solution that it requires:

"Today the American merchant marine is being called upon to meet a war situation for the third time in 25 years. Owing to the neglect of this industry by the government since the end of World War II and the failure of the Defense Department to foresee and admit need for merchant ships to transport troops and supplies across the seas, the condition of the merchant fleet, its supporting shipyards and available skilled manpower have reached the point of crisis.

"Merchant shipping has played a vital part in American history. Today as the result of short-sighted policies on the part of government officials with no understanding and sympathy with the significance of commercial seapower we have fallen to third-rate status among the maritime nations.

"This neglect, which gravely threatens the security of the nation and the maintenance of our overseas commitments, would continue if the Maritime Administration is permitted to be buried in another government department, with conflicting and competing interests, whether Transportation or Commerce. To prevent the essential need of this vital industry from being continually ignored and submerged, and to make possible the steps necessary to its revival, the responsibility must be placed in an agency which has the status and authority necessary for the performance of its duties. We therefore strongly support the effort to establish an independent maritime agency."

Crime Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I am certain that all of the House Members have made a desperate effort during the past 6 years to be of assistance in solving the crime problem in the Nation's Capital.

During the past year, there have been a great number of bank robberies and also a great number of robberies have been committed in connection with chain groceries and chain drugstores.

The bankers of the District of Columbia have written a strong letter to the President and the Congress on this subject. I take great pleasure in having a copy of my answer to the bankers' letter inserted into the RECORD. I hope every Member of the House will take a few minutes' time to read my answer to the bankers' letter as we members of the District Committee have spent thousands of hours during the past 6 years in an effort to have legislation enacted into law that would take handcuffs off the police to a certain extent and make some suggestions to the courts of the District of Columbia.

We hope to have another crime bill ready for the House to consider at an early date.

The letter follows:

FEBRUARY 1, 1967.

Mr. ROBERT C. BAKER,
Chairman, the Washington, D.C., Clearing House Association, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BAKER: This is to acknowledge the letter of January 25 signed by you and other members of the Washington, D.C., Clearing House Association. After six years of concerted effort by this Committee to attack the crime problem, it is encouraging now to know of your earnest concern. I am glad to have your suggestions and your expression of interest and support for additional action to provide better law enforcement in the District of Columbia.

I believe that it is in point for me to review some of the objectives of and efforts made by the House Committee on the District of Columbia and indicate the sincere attention and constructive work performed by the Members of the Committee.

From 1952, following an investigation and reorganization of the Police Department, until 1958 the year of decision in the *Mallory* case, the number of crimes in the District of Columbia decreased from about 24,000 offenses and reached a low point of about 15,000 in 1957. Elsewhere in comparable major cities of the nation, crime was increasing.

Beginning in 1958, the trends in crime in the District of Columbia reversed. From that date to the present, the volume of crime has increased nearly 30%, a far greater increase than in any other comparable city in the nation.

I do not attribute this increase in crime solely to the *Durham* decision of 1954 and the *Mallory* case of 1957. I do point out, however, that the rules in these cases applied only in the District and that the criminal mind is alert to court decisions which provided means of escape from conviction. Some experts insist that *Durham* and *Mallory* had nothing to do with the increase of crime in the District of Columbia. None explains why crime in the District accelerated at a rate far in excess of any other comparable city following those decisions.

In the 87th Congress, this Committee began its study of juvenile crime and delinquency and problems in the Juvenile Court. This study was continued in the 88th Congress. Instead of recommending legislation merely increasing the number of judges from 1 to 3 for that court, the House Committee on the District of Columbia reported legislation to reorganize the court administratively, to provide 2 full-time Juvenile Court judges, with availability of four additional experienced judges to assist in reducing the large backlog of cases and to improve court procedures.

When the Juvenile Court bill, reported by the House District Committee, came to the House for consideration, a deluge of telegrams from downtown Washington urged the substitution of legislation providing only 2 additional judges for the court. The House Committee bill was rejected. Since then, the case backlog at the Juvenile Court has doubled.

At the same time this Committee initiated general crime legislation to improve law enforcement in the District of Columbia. In addition to that legislation, the Committee supported the enlargement of the police force, the establishment of the K-9 Corps, and provided salaries and fringe benefits designed to encourage recruitment and retention of officers. This Committee has consistently supported any proposed improvement as to manpower or facilities for the Police Department and the courts.

The recently vetoed crime bill is essentially the product of the interest and efforts of this Committee. It represented thousands of hours of time during six years, given by Members of this Committee in hearings, studies, and conferences, to achieve the draft of effective legislation which was approved by a 2 to 1 majority in the House of Representatives in three successive Congresses.

Last year, for the first time, the legislation reached the point of conferences between the House and the Senate. House Members participated in 9 conference sessions, between March and October. A very comprehensive and fair anti-crime bill was approved by the conferees and passed by both the Senate and the House.

Contrary to your expressed view, the District has restrictions on the sale of hand guns. No one may purchase and no dealer may sell a hand gun in the District of Columbia without filing an application with the Police Department. An investigation is conducted concerning the purchaser and clearance of that application by the Police Department to the dealer must be made before any sale. There is no significant difference whether controls are exercised by law or regulations, when the experience of other jurisdictions is examined.

Congress has enacted provisions in the District of Columbia Code providing special additional penalties for criminals using hand guns. The courts have never used these provisions of the Code. Members of this Committee felt that it was time that the courts imposed these additional heavy penalties as a further deterrent.

Your suggestion in reference to the Federal Bureau of Investigation may be helpful. When crimes are committed against financial institutions, the FBI has original and concurrent jurisdiction, along with the Police Department. The impression of the Committee is that the Police Department enjoys the fullest cooperation from the FBI, not only as to crimes involving banks, but otherwise since this is a Federal jurisdiction.

Nationwide, it appears that we may have been concentrating on the wrong answers to crime for many years. Forty years ago, we had more poverty, more slums, poorer schools, lower educational achievement, but a crime rate which was significantly lower than today. In the meantime, we have tried to reduce crime through expenditures for education, housing programs and slum clearance, counselors and phychiatrists for our juveniles, indeterminate sentences, probation, parole, and rehabilitation for criminals, only to find a rapid acceleration in the crime rate. A recent national study indicated that 85% of those persons apprehended for crimes were repeat offenders. When the crime clearance rate is only 25% or 30%, it becomes obvious that a very large number of criminals are at large in our communities. Alarming as this fact may be, the future is genuinely frightening unles we find more effective remedies than have been used for the past generation.

Operating expenses per pupil in District schools is probably the highest of any comparable city. Within recent years the District has doubled its welfare and public health expenditures. Vast sums have been spent for slum clearance and public housing. The District has one of the lowest unemployment rates of any city in the nation. The per capita income levels are among the most favorable.

Despite these facts, the crime rate has increased almost 300% in 10 years, about double the national average rate, and crime clearance here has dropped from 57% to 25%. During the same time the D.C. prison population at Lorton has dropped from approximately 2200 to about 1100. Such results are not primarily because of any basic defect in organization, inefficiency, or inadequacy of facilities of the Metropolitan Police Department.

I am sure that the Members of this Committee, who have been diligent and who have devoted themselves to this problem, agree with the sense of urgency stated in your letter "that you attack this problem . . . immediately . . .". I might observe that for this Committee "immediately" began six years ago. I am sure that the Committee will continue its effort to provide the best possible solutions to the crime problem.

For myself and on behalf of the Members of the House Committee on the District of Columbia, I want to express thanks and appreciation to each member of the Association for the letter.

With kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

JOHN L. MCMILLAN,
Chairman.

Joe L. Evins, Champion of Small Business

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of the passage by the House of the resolution re-creating the Select Committee on Small Business, many kind and glowing tributes to the work of the committee were voiced by Members of the House.

In my opinion all of these were deserved. Chairman JOE L. EVINS has done an outstanding job. As a result of his leadership and the cooperation of our distinguished ranking minority member ARCH A. MOORE, JR., the committee is a model of bipartisan harmony. Speaker MCCORMACK has continued to appoint Members of outstanding ability to the committee. The chairman has assembled a staff whose diligence and competence mirror his own concern for the complex problems confronting today's small businessman.

The service aspects of the committee are well known. Hundreds of Members each year secure valuable assistance for their small business constitutents by referring problems to the committee for investigation.

Perhaps the aspect of the committee's work which is not sufficiently known is the extreme scope of its operations. Small business problems occur in virtually every sector of our Nation's economy. It is hard to imagine an aspect of business or industry, finance or international trade, which does not include small businessmen as a vital force. Consequently the committee's activities extend to an impressive number of areas.

Illustrative of the scope of the committee's activities are the almost 10,000 pages of printed hearings and reports resulting from the committee's work during the 89th Congress. The subject matter covered within these pages ranges from small business problems resulting from urban renewal in the Nation's largest metropolitan areas to small business problems arising from the marketing and storage of corn, vital to so many midwestern towns and farming communities. Also included are small business problems of the tool and die industry—the wellspring of the Nation's industrial might—together with small business problems in communications, transportation, and distribution. The committee has updated a most comprehensive compilation of antitrust legislation important to small business as well as the most comprehensive study of petroleum marketing and its effect on small business ever published.

Certain of the activities of the Small Business Administration, the Antitrust Division of the Department of Jutice, the Federal Trade Commission, the Federal Communications Commission, the Department of Justice, the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Labor, the General Services Administration, the Veterans' Administration, the Bureau of the Budget, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Department of the Interior, the Treasury Department, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Department of Commerce, including its Bureau of Public Roads, have all been studied by the committee for their effect upon small businesses.

Nor were these merely superficial expeditions. As a result of the hearings of the committee and its subcommittees a number of industries have changed their policies and Federal agencies have undertaken new programs, adopted new policies helpful to small business, and corrected activities detrimental to smaller firms.

Measured by any yardstick the work of the committee under the chairmanship of JOE EVINS was outstanding. I am proud to be a member of the Select Committee on Small Business. I look forward to participating in what, I am sure, will be a continuation of its enormous assistance to the Nation's small businessmen.

Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967, as proposed by the President, is a blueprint for putting our efforts against crime in high gear. The enormity of the crime problem demands that substantial Federal resources be channeled in an effective and meaningful manner into the fight. The President's proposal will accomplish this end without in any way changing our traditional concepts that law and order are essentially functions which belong to local government.

The proposed act is a plan for helping State and local authorities improve their law enforcement and criminal justice efforts. Grants will be made to enable these local governments to make comprehensive plans for incorporating the latest equipment and techniques in crime detection and prevention. These coordinated plans will be translated into programs of action and these programs, partly financed by the Federal Government and partly by the local government, will, we hope, at last stem the rising tide of crime.

The President's proposal merits prompt study by the Congress and I am confident that it will produce a bold and dramatic new effort to reverse the trends toward lawlessness.

However, adequate and effective control of crime in this country requires more than additional money, new laws, and new techniques. We must remember that an aroused and determined public opinion is the Nation's most powerful deterrent of crime. By working more closely together, Congress and the law-abiding citizen can, and must, make our streets safe.

Worth the Risk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BYRON G. ROGERS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, three valiant Americans, three young heroes who committed their lives to the exploration of space, have given their lives in that cause.

America pauses now to ask itself: Is it worth taking such lives and the spending of such wealth to fulfill man's ancient vision of setting foot upon the moon?

We can justify our Nation's venture into space for many reasons. It is yielding great technological benefits. It is an important element of the stature of our Nation in the eyes of the world. But man's quest to know needs no such rationalization. When we cease to seek into the unknown, we cease to grow—as individuals or as a people.

To all those who wonder and question if we should now go on, we can only cite the words of one of these men, Virgil Grissom. He said it all when he prophetically said:

> If we die, we want people to accept it. The conquest of space is worth the risk of life.

This Congress faces the decision of whether we shall press on. As we consider this matter in the weeks ahead, let none of us forget Gus Grissom's words.

I recommend the inclusion in the RECORD of the editorial from the Denver Post, of January 29, and the thoughtful commentary by Max Lerner as it appeared in the New York Post on February 1 on this subject:

[From the Denver Post, Jan. 29, 1967]

LOSS OF ASTRONAUTS MUST INSPIRE US

We suppose most Americans were prepared to accept the logic that—someday—Americans would lose their lives in trying to fly to the moon and the other planets. But this doesn't prepare one for the actual shock of the event.

The bulletins that Virgil (Gus) Grissom, Ed White and Roger Chaffee had died in a flash fire aboard their moonship at Cape Kennedy were, for most Americans, death notices of personal friends.

The marvels of communications had made their faces and voices, particularly those of Grissom and White, as familiar as those of a next-door neighbor. Their adventures in space not only made them appealing figures; it enabled them to escape the dissimulation which masks so many public figures. There is no sham in space.

Coloradans have had a particular affinity for the space program. One of the real pioneers in space was Boulder's Scott Carpenter; the mother of another, Gordon Cooper, lived at Carbondale. And Grissom, himself, had an interest in a ski lodge at Crested Butte.

Grissom loved Colorado and often said "someday" he might settle here permanently. When in 1965 he made his historic two-man Gemini flight, with Astronaut John Young, it was in a capsule named "Molly Brown" after Colorado's famous "unsinkable" silver queen.

Inevitably, it will be asked if science's thrust into space is worth hazards which can, in a flash, destroy men such as Grissom, White and Chaffee.

We must say "yes." We think these three men, by their participation, gave an affirmative answer that removes all doubt. They knew there was danger. But it is in the nature of man at his best to chance dangers to answer questions about himself and his environment—to progress. And these astronauts were men at their best.

So the program must be pushed forward. There will be a new appreciation of the hazards. But there will, also, be a spirit of dedication which will abide deeply in all of us. Grissom, White and Chaffee, made their lives milestones in the pursuit of knowledge about space. We cannot deprive them the meaning of their sacrifice.

[From the New York Post, Feb. 1, 1967]

THE SPACE DEATHS

(By Max Lerner)

Of all the ways of dying, the most absurd for an astronaut was to die on the ground, trapped in a rehearsal, without even the chance to face the rigors and perils of the long stab through space. After a fantastic record of immunity from casualties, the American space program has finally claimed its inevitable first victims.

Ever since the beginning of the Apollo venture, we have half-dreaded, half-awaited a catastrophe on a mission into space or on reentry. But we had scarcely expected the catastrophe to take the form it did.

The American people have given the three young men a military burial, and mourned them as national heroes. Yet no amount of stress on them as symbols of the national purpose can hide the horror of how they died, caught in the Nessus-shirt of their flaming space suits, unable to rip them off.

In one sense, I suppose, they were lucky. A hundred young men a week, sometimes more, have been dying for their country with the American forces in Vietnam, yet how many of them felt that they were also dying for an idea? The three astronauts died in the service of their country, yet clearly they died for an idea as well. It goes beyond national interests and power—the idea that man can reach beyond his own planet to the others, and make his way around the cosmos, organizing his transit to some meaningful human use.

It is in that sense that we must take Virgil Grissom's prophetic warning about space deaths: "If we die, we want people to accept it. The conquest of space is worth the risk of life." There are bound to be more deaths to come. Some critics of the American space enterprise will use them to underscore how expensive it is, how lavishly we pour out wealth and risk life for a purpose which may capture the imagination but is barren of immediate and tangible result.

Is it worth what it costs? The question must be faced. There is a brain drain in the various space sciences, using scientific talent which is all too scarce and could be used concretely within the American society. There is a technology drain. There is a drain in money and materials. Again, is it worth what it costs?

My own impulse is to say yes. We must go on, not because it makes any great sense technologically or economically, or (despite the dreams of a military space station) militarily. We must go on simply because we can not afford *not* to go on. It is part of a built-in drive within man himself to explore and organize his environment as far as he can go. The voyages of discovery and exploration, starting in the 15th Century, did not justify themselves by opening profitable commerce or by building empires which have since crumbled. They were justified because men had to roam the seas in order to express themselves as men. Similarly they must now roam the skies.

Man must take his full part in tracing the bounds of his universe if he is ever to have any inward peace as part of it.

I add one qualification. There is no reason why a venture that belongs to humanity should be organized as part of a costly national rivalry. The Soviet scientists seem to believe that the Americans, in their haste, are pushing their astronauts too hard, with flimsy materials and inadequate safeguards. The Americans, in turn, feel that the Russians are hiding their space blunders and casualties behind a curtain of secrecy. Both charges may well be true.

It doesn't make much sense to waste so much in duplication and endanger so much in haste. Surely this is one kind of venture that the two nations can pursue in partnership. John Kennedy said to Khrushchev at their Vienna meeting, "Let us go to the moon together." It would be the best possible memorial to him finally to carry this out.

It might also, in time, establish a principle which would carry over into the military-political relations between the two prime world powers. There are many evidences, not least of them the current civil war in China, that the hour may soon be striking when America and the Soviet Union could achieve a fruitful meeting of minds and concert of action. These could apply both in ending the Vietnam war and in mastering the senseless and suicidal weapons race. More than anything else, the two powers need a ground to stand on where neither of them could be seen—or see itself—as betraying its posture of national interests.

The venture of going to the moon together may well represent such a neutral common ground. If it worked, and if, as a result, the agony of the Vietnam war could come to an end, the use of intelligence in space would be translated into the use of intelligence here on earth. That would give added meaning to the heroes' funeral for the three astronauts.

Iowa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, in my continuing efforts to have serious consideration given to the proposed truth-in-trading-stamp legislation, I find more and grassroots support coming from State legislative bodies across the land.

Under leave to extend my remarks, therefore, I wish to include the following article from Drug Market News, Monday, February 6, 1967, which once again fully bears out my contention:

IOWA

DES MOINES.—A bill has been introduced in the Iowa Senate requiring trading stamp companies doing business in Iowa to buy an annual license at a fee of 10 per cent of their net earnings or a minimum of $5,000; requiring that trading stamps show their cash value and be redeemable for cash; requiring trading stamp companies to post bond with the State to guarantee stamp redemption, and providing for a fine of up to $10,000 for companies violating the measure.

Ethics Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, there is a great deal of support for establishing a permanent House Ethics Committee from Members of this body and from the public in general. The integrity of Congress must be above reproach if there is to be confidence in the National Legislature. With this in mind I introduce House Resolution 145 which would create an Ethics Committee in the House of Representatives.

In the Chattanooga Post of January 20, 1967, Mr. Norman Bradley writes favorably on the need of such a committee. I ask under unanimous consent to have this article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

[From the Chattanooga Post, Jan. 20, 1967]

A CODE OF ETHICS TO BE OBSERVED

(By Norman Bradley)

Rep. Bill Brock touched the sensitive spot in the public's concern over evidence of official negligence or worse in such cases as those involving Bobby Baker, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell and Sen. Thomas Dodd when he said in Washington this week:

"It is essential in our form of government that the people respect the honesty and integrity of their elected representatives."

That is as true on the local or state levels, of course, as it is on the national. The congressman, however, was speaking of what goes on in Washington, and he had a suggested remedy, insofar as the House of Representatives is concerned.

There should be a select committee on "standards and conduct," he said, of 12 members equally divided between the two parties, as a constantly available means for checking "all charges and allegations made gainst House members and their employes."

The Senate has such a committee. It has been in the spotlight most recently in its investigation of charges against Sen. Dodd in his handling of campaign funds. A weakness is indicated in the committee's tardiness in disposing of the case; a similar aversion to drastic action might well be an inherent element in any congressional group named to investigate colleagues' conduct.

Actually, members of Congress have before them an officially written and enacted Code of Ethics—passed in 1958—which if followed would obliterate the need for any sort of investigative or disciplinary body. The code states, among other things, that any person in government service should:

"Put loyalty to the highest moral principles and country above loyalty to persons, party or government department.

"Uphold the Constitution, laws and legal regulations of the United States and of the government therein and never be a party to their evasion.

"Give a full day's labor for a full day's pay. . . .

"Seek to find and employ more efficient and economical ways of getting tasks accomplished.

"Never discriminate unfairly by the dispensing of special favors or privileges to anyone . . .; and never accept, for himself or his family, favors or benefits . . . which might be construed as influencing his governmental duties.

"Make no private promises of any kind binding upon the duties of office. . . .

"Never use any information coming to him confidentially in the performance of governmental duties as a means of making private profit.

"Expose corruption wherever discovered.

"Uphold these principles, ever conscious that public office is a public trust."

None of these standards is too high to expect of a public servant, and as Rep. Brock says, "The American people deserve a renewed demonstration of good faith from the entire House membership."

His resolution ought to be adopted and the committee named. At least it would be a step in the direction of enforcing a decent level of moral conduct.

Implications of Educational TV Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, the 90th Congress will be asked to plant a seed for the growth of a vast educational television network financed largely by the Federal Government. The Government would pay for this ETV program just like it does for everything else—with tax money taken from the people.

The Carnegie Commission on Educational Television—a prime mover in the project—has recommended that a Corporation for Public Television be set up, a federally chartered nongovernmental, nonprofit organization. The commission urges the Congress to provide $40 million annually to get the program underway, financing this move with the imposition of a 2-percent excise tax on all TV sets manufactured in the United States—this tax on top of the sales taxes already imposed on these sets in various areas.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare would have its budget adjusted so it could spend $68 million a year, working to set up a national system of 380 educational stations in 10 years. It is not made clear how far the program might be expanded beyond the 380 stations.

Costs are estimated to average $178 million annually for the first 4 years, rising to $270 million a year by 1980, when it is estimated there would be 380 stations. And as these costs rise, so would the excise taxes, rising from the start of 2 percent annually up to 5 percent per year.

The tax receipts would be placed in a trust fund, administered by the U.S. Treasury and turned over to the Corporation. This would—it should be noted—permit an avoidance of the regular appropriation procedure, eliminating the surveileance of the appropriate congressional committees and, thereby, taking control of expenditures out of the hands of the Congress.

Supposedly, such an ETV system would be free of political interference; however, David Lawrence had some interesting observations on this matter in an editorial appearing in the January

31, 1967, issue of the Evening Star, and I commend these observations to the attention of my colleagues.

The article follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star, Jan. 31, 1967]

Implications of Education TV Plan

(By David Lawrence)

The administration in power in Washington soon may have its own television network of about 380 stations across the country to carry on a so-called "educational" campaign, but it could convey to the people whatever political propaganda it wishes.

This is the first time the federal government would be obtaining, in return for financial support, a voice in what information a section of the press gives to the people.

The theory is that, because stations do not sell advertising time, they are "noncommercial" and are, therefore, entitled to governmental help. While it is true that the big television networks at present aim at mass audiences with news and entertainment of the widest possible interest, this does not mean that the American people are being deprived of any information by all the other media of expression which use the printed or spoken word. The plan to be considered by Congress at the present session calls for a federal outlay of many millions of dollars to build and equip so-called "noncommercial" stations. The initial appropriations that are going to be requested are estimated at $68 million a year at first, rising to $91 million a year in another decade. This would be authorized through the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which, of course, could issue its own "guidelines."

In addition, a manufacturers' excise tax, starting at 2 percent and increasing to 5 percent on TV sets bought by the public, also would be expected to help finance the operation. The whole plan involves an outlay of about $178 million a year during the first four years and could reach $270 million in a few years more.

The Carnegie Commission of Educational Television has recommended the project, which would supply programs on cultural and educational subjects, as well as on news and public affairs. There is no reason, of course, why private foundations should not by themselves furnish all the support for this kind of venture. But when the government of the United States enters with a controlling power, such a project is bound to become political.

Some of the state governments have been furnishing television with classroom instruction on academic subjects. More and more, the schools themselves are getting lectures or speeches by long-distance telephone and then loundspeakers. But the schools control these programs.

There also have been some grants to "educational" television by private businesses, which get credit on the air for their donations. Still, this isn't being called "commercial."

The new governmental project would be operated by 12 directors—six to be appointed by the President of the United States and confirmed by the Senate, and the other six to be selected by the first group of federal appointees. Their terms of office would be for six years. The government would retain its control even though donations from foundations and other sources might be made available to the new television network.

Never has it been provided by law that the American government should actually get into the business of distributing information or news to the people. If the federal government can have a television network of its own to distribute its propaganda, there is no reason why it could not some day also have a network of newspapers throughout the country to take care of local political problems, too.

Under the new scheme, there presumably would be no competition between the government-supported stations and the private networks, but there would, of course, be competition for the attention of audiences. Even if there were substantial numbers of people who would like the new programs, the question arises whether the government of the United States should set up its own medium to disseminate news and opinion on political subjects.

Draft Sit-In Decision Protects Vital Freedoms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Detroit Free Press of February 1, 1967, speaks most eloquently for itself:

[From the Detroit Free Press, Feb. 1, 1967]

As We See It—Draft Sit-In Decision Protects Vital Freedoms

The decision by the distinguished United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit holding that draft officials cannot use military service as punishment for public protests against the war in Vietnam is important for the precedent it sets and for the freedom it protects.

The case was brought in New York courts by two University of Michigan students from New York who had participated in a sit-in at an Ann Arbor draft board office back on October 15, 1965. These two students, along with others from Michigan and elsewhere, subsequently were reclassified from 2–S, and deferred as students, to 1–A, and eligible for immediate induction.

From the start, this newspaper considered this reclassification a wholly wrong use of the draft laws. If the students were guilty of trespass, we said they should be punished under ordinary trespass statutes. The nation's draft laws, designed to raise military forces, should not be used to punish trespass or to stifle dissent.

But Lieut. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, director of the draft, took a different position. He said that students who misbehaved ought to be spanked and he considered induction equivalent to spanking, and suitable treatment for war protesters. Marching shoulder to shoulder with Gen. Hershey has been Col. Arthur A. Holmes, director of the Michigan selective service, who insists even now that the court's ruling won't affect this state. In our view, he continues to be wrong.

In the New York case neither student had exhausted administrative appeals available within the Selective Service System. A group of reclassified students has filed a similar case in Detroit's federal district court and these students did exhaust all administrative remedies. Thus, their case is a stronger case and the courts will doubtless be guided by the Second Circuit Court's ruling.

The ruling reinforces fundamental American freedoms. Judge Harold R. Medina, writing for a unanimous court, expressed the judicial branch's traditional reluctance to interfere with the Selective Service System. Then he said:

"Only the most weighty consideration could induce us to depart from this long standing policy. But of all constitutional rights, the freedoms of speech and assembly are the most perishable, yet the most vital to the preservation of American democracy.

"Historically, these preferred and paramount rights have continually come under attack from the best-intentioned sources. And once the erosion of these rights is permitted to begin it is exceedingly difficult to halt and the intervening damage may be irreparable.

"Here it is the free expression of views on issues of critical, current national importance that is jeopardized. On such topics perhaps more than any other, it is imperative that the public debate be full and that each segment of our society be permitted freely to express its views. Thus the allegations of the complaint . . . that the draft boards have unlawfully suppressed criticism must take precedence over the policy of non-intervention in the affairs of the selective service."

In reinforcing fundamental freedoms the Second Circuit Court takes a bolder stand than other American courts have taken in other times of national stress. Usually they have waited until the fighting ended.

The Second Circuit Court has acted swiftly and hasn't waited for an end to hostilities to defend civil freedoms. That it hasn't is a credit to the court. Its forthright action represents a maturing and strengthening of our democratic society.

Sheboygan Should Be Proud

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, today marks the beginning of Boy Scout Week to be observed throughout the Nation. I would like to join my colleagues in saluting the young men who participate in this worthwhile activity.

The commemoration of that week holds a special place with citizens of Sheboygan, Wis. It is in that city where the first Wisconsin Boy Scout troop was organized. Troop No. 1 is still in existence after serving Sheboygan for 56 years.

A recent editorial in the Sheboygan Press expresses well the sentiments of Sheboygan area residents on this 57th anniversary of Scouting. At this time I include that editorial as part of my remarks:

Sheboygan Should Be Proud

Starting Feb. 7 and concluding on the thirteenth day of this month, Boy Scout Week will be observed throughout the nation. The city of Sheboygan and surrounding area will readily acclaim and be proud of the commemoration of the week that marks this 57th year of scouting in America because it was here that Troop No. 1, the first in the State of Wisconsin, was organized.

While the late Rev. A. Parker Curtiss, pastor of Grace Episcopal Church, was the founder of Troop No. 1—the success of which no doubt proved an inspiration for the organization of similar troops throughout the state and the Middle West—the people of Sheboygan are also due for their share of credit in their wholehearted support of the movement. At the outset of the local troop back in 1911, it was believed to be exclusively a church project, but as soon as the word got around that youths of all faiths were welcomed, the program developed by leaps and bounds until today this entire area is graced by the magnitude of the present Kettle Moraine Boy Scout Council.

In addition to being the first in the state, Troop No. 1 also was responsible for the creation of the first Boy Scout Drum and Bugle Corps, which served as a pattern for similar groups in later years throughout Wisconsin and the Middle West.

In proclaiming Boy Scout Week, President Johnson praised the week for calling the nation's attention "to the wholesome influence of scouting on the lives of millions of Americans—and thus on our progress as a nation."

Now, seven years more than a half century later—it had its start in the East in 1910—the Boy Scouts substantially have proved that they are one of the greatest factors in character building for future citizens in America today. Sheboygan can be justly proud of the role played here in the organization's development.

Without Warning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, on January 24, eastern Iowa was struck by high winds and a tornado. The life of a young boy was taken. Others were seriously injured. Many people were fortunate to escape unharmed.

There was severe property damage. Homes, businesses, and farm buildings were destroyed.

What distresses me and the people in eastern Iowa was the lack of warning before the storm. The only weather bureau in southeastern Iowa was closed at Burlington in 1965.

The lack of warning for the storm on January 24 demonstrates the need for a weather bureau facility in southeast Iowa.

An editorial in the Muscatine Journal on January 26, 1967, calls for such a facility.

The editorial referred to follows:

WITHOUT WARNING

There was no advance warning Tuesday before the tornado funnels ripped their destructive paths across Southeastern Iowa. It seems like a miracle that only one life was lost.

This part of the state has been without a Weather Bureau station since the one at the Burlington municipal airport was discontinued in 1965. The Des Moines Weather Bureau was apparently caught flat-footed. No warnings of possible tornadoes or severe weather conditions were issued to Iowa newspaper and broadcast press services or to law and safety authorities.

Because there was no warning of possible impending danger, residents of this area went about their daily activities without taking particular heed of the skies.

A Louisa county woman and her four-year-old granddaughter were extremely fortunate in escaping death when her trailer home was picked up and dropped in a smashed heap 20 feet away. The woman was hospitalized with a back injury after being pulled from the debris. Her granddaughter was only bruised.

No one knows for sure, of course, but the woman might have left the trailer and taken shelter in her son's nearby farm home if she had been warned of approaching tornadoes. Other persons may have needlessly exposed themselves to danger on the highway or in flimsy buildings because there were no warnings.

The chief meterologist at the Des Moines Weather Bureau said the only warning issued Tuesday covered central Missouri and did not include southeastern Iowa. The Associated Press bureau in Des Moines was given no warning to issue through its newspaper, television and radio member outlets.

Tornadoes are difficult to predict, but it appears that the centralized Iowa warning system did not function in time when the danger did begin to develop. There may be more serious injuries or deaths the next time unless sufficient warnings can be given.

Paul A. Raushenbush

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, January 28, 1967, one of Wisconsin's outstanding public servants, Paul A. Raushenbush, retired as the State director of unemployment compensation.

Long a leader in the field of social legislation, Wisconsin enacted its pioneer unemployment compensation law in January 1932—3 years before either the Federal Government or other States passed such legislation. The Federal plan was largely modeled after the Wisconsin program.

Not only did Paul Raushenbush help create Wisconsin's unemployment compensation program, but for 35 years, he also served as its director. Because of his creative role in the area of social legislation, Paul Raushenbush deserves the praise and gratitude not only from the State of Wisconsin but also from the Nation.

I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial which appeared in the January 30, 1967 Milwaukee Journal which comments on the distinguished career of Paul Raushenbush.

The editorial follows:

[From the Milwaukee Journal, Jan. 30, 1967]

RAUSHENBUSH RETIRES

Wisconsin can have pride, and regret, in Saturday's ceremonies in Madison. They marked the 35th anniversary of the signing of the state's pioneer unemployment compensation law and the official retirement of Paul A. Raushenbush, state director of unemployment compensation.

Raushenbush was one of that band of enlightened individuals—in its ranks John R. Commons and Edwin E. Witte—who helped write one of the most exciting chapters in this state's history. From their labors flowed a wealth of social legislation which has significantly influenced the nation for the last three decades.

Gov. Philip F. La Follette signed the unemployment compensation bill on Jan. 28, 1932. It was the nation's first. Three years later the federal government adopted a national plan patterned after Wisconsin's.

Unemployment compensation has come to be one of the country's principal bulwarks against serious recession—an automotic stabilizer that partially helps maintain incomes when production slips and workers are laid off. More than this, it is an essentially human device that helps maintain dignity and avert suffering.

But for all the theoretical and practical value of unemployment compensation, it has taken honest, efficient, dedicated administrators to make the law work. Paul Raushenbush belongs in this category. Wisconsin, and the nation, owes him gratitude.

Reuss Begins Ombudsman Tests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Reuss], had previously suggested the creation of a post of congressional ombudsman. Although the suggestion failed to materialize in the Congress during the last session, Congressman Reuss has now decided to establish such an office within his own staff, to serve the people of his congressional district in Wisconsin.

This innovation is, in my judgment, a most laudatory step in assisting citizens in their contacts with the Federal Government. The question of protecting citizens against the mistakes or negligence of the Government, and the necessity for providing legal guarantees for the lawful conduct of the governmental structure, have long been of primary importance to those of use who have political responsibilities.

Congressman Reuss is to be congratulated on his progressive move, and I am convinced such an official can be most helpful to the ordinary citizen in his everyday contacts with the Federal Government.

The New York Times of February 5, 1967, carried an article about the establishment of the post of ombudsman on his staff, and I would like to insert it at this point in the Congressional Record.

The experiment is a most provocative one, and I shall be most anxious to see the results of the reports which are to be made.

The article follows:

REPRESENTATIVE REUSS BEGINS OMBUDSMAN TEST—WISCONSIN DEMOCRAT NAMES A SEEKER OF COMPLAINTS

MILWAUKEE, February 4.—A Milwaukee Representative has appointed an ombudsman to handle complaints from his district in an attempt to prove that the system can work nationally.

Henry S. Reuss, a Democrat, was unsuccessful in the last Congress in gaining support for a Congressional ombudsman, modeled after the 150-year-old office in Sweden. So he decided to experiment with it in his own Fifth Congressional District.

Under the system, which has been receiving growing international attention, the ombudsman acts as a sort of one-man complaint bureau, attempting to help citizens who have grievances against the government.

Mr. Reuss this week appointed James P. Buckley as his ombudsman. Mr. Buckley was chief clerk of the state Assembly in the 1965 legislative session and ran unsuccessfully for Congress in 1964 and 1966 in the neighboring Ninth District.

WILL SEEK OUT PROBLEMS

Although Mr. Buckley will be on the Representative's payroll, receiving $708 a month, he will be more than just another staff member, Mr. Reuss said.

"Unlike a home secretary," Mr. Reuss said, the ombudsman "will go out into the district, hold office hours at postal stations and make himself available at plant gates and offices. Later, when it gets warm, he'll be at shopping centers."

Mr. Reuss said Mr. Buckley would actively seek out problems of citizens. He will handle those that he can, referring other problems to state and local officials.

One of the major points of the program, Mr. Reuss said, is that Mr. Buckley will criticize the Representative's handling of his constituents' problems when necessary.

"I've told him: 'Look, let the chips fall where they may. If I'm not serving my constituents, let me know where I can improve,' " Mr. Reuss said.

Mr. Reuss has appointed an advisory committee of four Milwaukee political scientists, two from Marquette University and two from the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee.

CONSULTING BOARD

Three authorities on the ombudsman system have also agreed to act as consultants. They are Walter Gellhorn, professor of law at Columbia University; Donald C. Rowat, chairman of the political science department at Carleton University, Ottawa, Ont., and Stanley V. Anderson, political science professor at the University of California at Berkeley.

Mr. Buckley will make weekly reports to the advisory committee and when the project ends, in four or five months, the results will be published.

Noting that he received 70 per cent of the vote in the last election, Mr. Reuss said the project was not a campaign device but rather an effort to make government more responsible to citizens' needs.

If it works, he said, he will have a good argument when he renews his campaign for a national ombudsman.

Mr. Buckley will start work next week, holding office hours in postal stations on Wednesdays and Thursdays in the district that includes the downtown and Negro core areas.

Interest in the program has already been shown here. The office hours were prematurely announced for last week and 30 persons were on hand to voice their complaints last Wednesday.

The Students Who Know Everything Except How To End the War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege recently to place in the RECORD a letter from the Secretary of State to so-called student leaders in answer to a letter they had written to the President protesting the war in Vietnam.

An interesting commentary on that letter to the President has been written by Bob Considine. It was published in the January 3, 1967, edition of the New York World Journal Tribune, and I commend it to the attention of our colleagues:

HOW SHOULD WE EASE THE CONFLICT IN VIETNAM?

(By Bob Considine)

There was one flaw in the letter the 100 student leaders sent to President Johnson.

It neglected to tell him how to end the war in Viet Nam. He'd give his right arm to know the answer.

The President has a way of confronting visitors to his office with the enormity of his dilemma. He gives them the heavy-lidded stare and asks, "All right, now what would you do? Would you run out of there like a scared rabbit in the field, or are you going to bomb Hanoi, Haiphong and everything else they got? Let me have your answer right now."

I was relieved he didn't hit me with the question the night he gave three hours of his time to Marianne Means, Frank Conniff and myself. He was looking at Frank.

"I don't see those two extremes as the only alternatives," Frank said.

The President wheezed, leaned forward in his rocking chair and patted Frank on the knee.

"You said it," he said fervently.

He has sent every peacemaker he knows to every chancellory where he thinks a key to peace may be hidden. He has been in touch repeatedly, directly or indirectly, with Ho, Mao and the Russians. He has begged U.N. to take the matter under its hesitant wing. He has virtually asked U Thant to write out a peace settlement with or without the man's rose-colored glasses. We recently dropped 13,000,000 leaflets on North and South Viet Nam solemnly pledging that American forces would be out of there six months after the last shot is fired.

The determined young men who signed the letter to the President warned him as follows:

"Unless this conflict can be eased, the United States will find some of her most loyal and couageous young people choosing to go to jail rather than to bear their country's arms."

One prays that those loyal and courageous young people, enroute to Duranceville put their minds to the task of defining what "easing the conflict" means.

It could be eased in two strikingly different ways, as suggested by the President's blunt questions. We could quit in the next hour. Or we could blow them to hell in the next hour. The war, as such, would be eased either way. But would our conscience?

If the President bowed to the 100 collegians, shouted "about face," and marched ever American serviceman out of Viet Nam he would be spitting on the graves of every man who died there in the cause of living up to a solemn pact to protect a weak friend from a strong foe.

Such a move would say to the wives and parents of the dead that those men died in vain, victims of a fraudulent friendship, prey to a paltry posture that was phony from the start.

Such an order would tell dozens of allies that we'll happily be their friends until such time when they count desperately upon us to prove that friendship, live up to those pledges. We'd spend a thousand years trying to explain that streak of rot in us.

Or we could win it with one shocking, terrible show of strength. Any great power in history would have exerted that strength, would have drooled over having at its command a fraction of our almighty punch. There is a tacit admiration for Khrushchev still left in Washington for the way he moved his tanks into Budapest, ruthlessly killed about 30,000, and never had any more trouble with Hungary.

In Washington, too, there must be thoughts of the brutal finality of our wars against Germany and Japan. We "eased" both those wars. We killed 200,000 Japanese—children, old women, intellectuals, priests—with just two bombs. But it ended the war, made unnecessary the invasion of Japan which most of our planners conceded would cost 600,000 American casualties and maybe 10 times that many Japanese.

Somewhere in between is a field of honor whereon we keep a restrained pressure on the stubborn foe, show him days and night that he cannot possibly win, spare him the full brunt of our muscle in the hope that he'll come to his senses in time.

One hopes the college leaders will, too.

War on Poverty Merits Not Attack But Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, in a recent column Roscoe Drummond has made a judicious assessment of the considerable progress in the war on poverty and of the outstanding performance of Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

I ask under unanimous consent that this significant column be included in the RECORD at this point:

POVERTY DISPUTES UNFAIR

(By Roscoe Drummond)

It is unfair to attack the war on poverty just because it gets into recurring controversy. It is breaking new ground and is bound to stir controversy.

Controversy arises not because poverty programs are doing badly but because they deal with painful social conditions which are themselves surrounded by controversy in nearly every community.

The bitter dispute which for months stymied one slim slice of the Head Start program in Mississippi—because of the loose management by one local agency and because the agency was drifting into a for-Negroes-only program—is an example of how one limited controversy can so dominate the headlines as to make it appear as though nothing worthwhile is going on at all.

The truth is that program money is going where the poverty is greatest. Proportionate to population, more assistance is being given to the poverty programs in Mississippi, when by nearly every test is the poorest state in the Nation, than to any other state.

Despite the fact that Head Start requires integration of both pupils and faculty, the program is being widely utilized in Mississippi. In most instances the programs are being carried out by whites and Negroes working together. Almost 10 per cent of the Federal dollars for Head Start programs are going into Mississippi. Helping to break the cycle of poverty by training the very young, they are operating in 31 counties for 15,660 children.

There is no question that the war on poverty is having a considerable impact on the people of Mississippi. It is affecting the lives of its children—and its adults. It is helping them get more education and better job training.

The central fact is that Mississippi—the state most reluctant to break racial barriers, the state with 55 per cent of its housing substandard, with more than half its population below the poverty line and with an education expenditure-per-pupil of the lowest in the Nation—is being helped into a new era with large financial assistance through the war on poverty, combined with the leadership of Gov. Paul Johnson and local initiative.

I know of no administrator in Washington who is more courageously hewing to the workable center than Sargent Shriver. The soundness of most of what he is doing is best illustrated by the kind of critics who are incessantly firing at him.

He is condemned by the radical left and the radical right, blamed by some mayors for not doing enough and by some Congressmen for doing too much, criticized by the radical activists and by the racial segregationists, harried by the social welfare professionals as being too innovative and by the innovators for not being innovative enough.

And, of course, smeared by Adam Clayton Powell, who was always demanding his resignation as a price for something or other.

The war on poverty needs a man like Sargent Shriver. More important, it needs the support of the President—and is now getting it.

Bowie-Belair Outstanding Young Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, the Bowie-Belair Jaycees recently honored one of its members, Mr. Leo Green, as the outstanding young man of the past year. Mr. Green, who is an attorney with the Federal Government, has set an excellent example of leadership and participation in his growing community.

I insert the following article from the Belair News Express of February 2, 1967, at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

JAYCEES NAME GREEN OUTSTANDING YOUNG MAN—AWARD MADE AT ANNUAL BANQUET

The Bowie-Belair Jaycees presented Bowie's Outstanding Young Man award to Leo Green. The presentation was made at the Jaycees' annual Bosses Night Banquet held at the Pigeon House Inn on January 26. Mr. Green was cited for his varied and substantial contributions to the betterment of Bowie.

Each year the Jaycees, in their local communities, their states and their nation, recognize the outstanding accomplishments of young men. David Houlihan, chairman of Bowie's Outstanding Young Man program, noted with some pride that both winners of the new Bowie chapter's annual award—Robert Herring in 1965 and Leo Green in 1966—are Jaycees.

Mr. Houlihan's partial listing of the activities and organizations through which Green has made his contributions to the community underscored the basis for the judges' decision. Mr. Green was involved in the full gamut of community life as President of the Bowie Citizens Association. He is chairman of the Bowie Youth Employment Service, organizer of the Student Organization for Action and Recreation, one of three Directors and legislative representative of the Prince Georges County Civic Associations, a teacher in St. Pius X Church CCD program and a participant in the Bowie Adult Sports Program. Mr. Green, an attorney for the Post Office Department, is a member of the Friends of Bowie Library, Knights of Columbus, Holy Name Society, Young Democrats, Volunteer Fire Department and Law Day Committee of the D.C. Bar Association.

To those who "don't have time for community affairs" it was pointed out that Mr. Green does not allow his commitments to interfere with his first joy, his family. He and his lovely and also community-conscious wife Alhen live with their six children at 2814 Keystone Lane in Bowie.

In accepting the award, Mr. Green said it only made him more keenly aware of his own limitations. He said the stature and character of the judges—Councilman William Wildman, Rev. Alan Hogle and Thomas Johnson, Supervisor of the County's elementary education—enhanced the honor, and, while disagreeing with their judgment, thanked them for their generosity. His activities, he stated, spring from his feeling of responsibility to the community in which he lives. He genuinely enjoys working with people and especially youth to make Bowie a better community, he said.

"Any contributions I have made," he said, "are attributable to the example, influence and efforts of those I have had the pleasure of associating with in Bowie. It is on their behalf, he concluded, that I accept this award.

County Commissioner Frank Francois summed up the feelings of those in attendance very simply by saying, "It's about time Leo was recognized for all the things he has done for Bowie."

Treasury Under Secretary Joseph W. Barr Speaks on Financing College Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a highly perceptive address by the Honorable Joseph W. Barr, the distinguished Under Secretary of the Treasury, delivered on February 4, 1967, before the New York chapter of the American Institute of Banking.

Secretary Barr's address on financing college education is marked by the same high quality that characterized his service as a Member of Congress from Indiana. I ask under unanimous consent that this address be included in the RECORD at this point.

FINANCING A COLLEGE EDUCATION

(Remarks by the Honorable Joseph W. Barr, Under Secretary of the Treasury, at the annual banquet of the New York chapter, American Institute of Banking, Americana Hotel, New York, N.Y., Saturday, February 4, 1967)

Most Treasury officials, when they come to New York, address their remarks to the subjects of balance of payments, the economic outlook, taxation, or monetary policy. Tonight, it is my intention to abandon these lofty themes and address myself to a very simple fact of life which is of concern to millions of Americans—how to finance a college education for their children.

This gathering may be a peculiarly appropriate occasion for a discussion of this issue. Quite often when we in the Treasury comment on some of the more esoteric themes that I mentioned a minute ago, we are addressing ourselves to your bosses—the Moores, the Rockefellers, the Champions—who may very well have an intellectual interest in this area, but scarcely the personal, practical interest that this subject arouses in you and me.

I am quite well aware of the fact that the gentlemen I have just mentioned will have a significant part to play in deciding whether to allocate some of the resources of your banks to the programs that I will describe. But I have a strong feeling that perhaps you can help me persuade them that this allocation makes good sense—not just to you and to me as individuals, but also from the standpoint of national policy.

The grand subjects of the United States' posture in its balance of payments, its economic outlook, its system of taxation, and its monetary policy are inextricably tied up with our level of education. If you compare the United States with the rest of the world, our most significant advantage probably lies in the educational level of the vast majority of our people—the so-called technological and management gap which so disturbs our competitors around the world.

Our education is closely allied with our economic outlook. As the Council of Economic Advisers pointed out in its recent annual report, some studies suggest that over 20 percent of our economic growth over the past 3 or 4 decades can be directly attributed to education, and perhaps another 20 percent can be attributed to the general advance of knowledge.

Education unquestionably will have an impact on the sort of tax policy that we devise in the years ahead. If education lifts us all to a higher level of real income, some of the most basic assumptions of tax policy may have to be re-examined.

Finally, a highly affluent society with a high level of education is surely a society that will use to the fullest the credit resources that are available in this nation.

In emphasizing these economic consequences, I should point out that I am merely sticking to my last as a Treasury official. I am well aware that the most significant end-product of education is a rise in our level of civilization—an increase in our capacities to elevate the quality of our lives.

So tonight, when I speak on a subject that may seem a bit prosaic by the usual Treasury standards, perhaps I am speaking to a really basic issue involving our current and our potential economic power as a nation.

I also am speaking about a subject that directly involves my current responsibilities and yours. As I will explain, we recently have initiated a program of government-backed private loans to college students, and I am chairing a special committee to review this program. Our goal is a big one: by 1972 we are aiming to have some $6.5 billion in loans outstanding to over 2 million student borrowers. We in the government are prepared to recommend to the President that we take whatever steps are necessary to reach this goal. The loans themselves, however, must be made by the banks and other lending institutions of this country, so in a very basic sense it will be up to you whether this program succeeds.

THE NEED WE FACE

We as Americans have traditionally been imbued with a desire to give our children the best education available. My great-great-grandfather Robert, who claimed that he shot his way into the Indian territory of Indiana in 1806, could probably have spoken on this same subject with even more conviction than I. One of the first entries in his diary, in those early days, was a notation indicating that he had transferred two hogs and five gallons of whiskey to the school teacher they had recently persuaded to come out into the wilderness to educate their children.

Our whole history as a nation, from the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 down to the Higher Education Act of 1965, has reflected our continuing determination to educate our children the best way we know how. But the time span from the end of the Second World War to date has marked a dramatic change in our attitudes toward *higher* education.

Just a few figures will illustrate the remarkable change in recent years. In 1930, total expenditures on a higher education in this country were about $630 million. A few years after the Second World War, the figure was more than four times greater—about $2.7 billion. In the current year, 1967, the expenditures are expected to reach a level of approximately $16.8 billion—almost 30 times the 1930 level.

In the decade from 1955 to 1965, the enrollment in our institutions of higher education increased by about 2,800,000 students. In the next decade we are anticipating an even larger increase—3,600,000 students—and this is probably on the conservative side.

This is the problem, and the hard issues that confront us all are starkly simple.

First: How do we, as individual parents, raise the money to meet the expenses of college—expenses that have risen steeply in the recent past and show little or no sign of leveling off in the future.

Second: How do we, as citizens, allocate our resources to pay the professors and to build the classrooms and laboratories and housing needed to accommodate this surge of young Americans into the colleges and universities.

Tonight I will address myself merely to the first question, but with a clear understanding that the two questions cannot be easily divided. The need to finance the required growth of the institutions will almost inevitably be reflected in higher costs to the students and their families. I do not intend by this comment to take sides in the argument over free state tuition; as a financial official I merely regard it as prudent to assume that at least a portion of the cost of enlarging and improving our colleges will be borne by the current crop of students. I might add that if we are to preserve our *private* institutions of higher learning—and I am sure all of us want to—this trend toward higher costs then surely becomes a problem we inevitably must confront.

If we are faced with the problem of ever-higher costs when American families currently are groaning under what they consider to be an extremely heavy burden, then what is the answer? There are several alternative courses of action—one of which is currently on our statute books. Let me list for you some of the proposals that are circulating in the public domain, with my own personal comments on their utility. Then I should like to explain to you the potentials of the legislation that we have recently enacted.

THE TAX CREDIT PROPOSAL

Possibly one of the most politically attractive proposals that is currently being discussed is a plan to give a tax credit to those families who are incurring the costs of higher education.

My imaginative and highly experienced friend, the Senator from Connecticut, Mr. Ribicoff, has advocated just such a proposal. I have noticed that a good friend on the other side of the aisle, Congressman Gerald Ford, has also thrown his support behind this approach.

I must say that most people, when they first look at the idea of taking a tax credit for the expenses of their children in college, become wildly enthusiastic. But let's take a closer look at just what these proposals amount to.

Senator Ribicoff's proposal would allow the parents of a college student a maximum of $325 each year as a credit against taxes. The credit would be less if the student's tuition and books totaled less than $1500. And of course if the family had so little income that they owed no tax, they would get no benefit at all from the credit.

This plan would cost the nation roughly $1.1 billion the first year (according to Treasury estimates) and up to $1.5 billion a year within three years. You can see that we are not dealing with small sums of money. But laying aside the parochial Treasury concern about spending such large sums, Senator Ribicoff's proposal seems to have two basic defects:

First, it operates as a sort of "reverse" scholarship—that is, it gives the highest reward to the families with the highest incomes sending their children to the most expensive schools. I know of no college which would hand out its aid funds in such an upside-down fashion.

Second, in spite of the substantial cost to the Federal Government, even the maximum amount that the proposal would provide—$325 per student—is not nearly enough to meet the current and the prospective burden that faces so many American families.

Senator Ribicoff argues that his plan is designed to provide money for the institutions, through higher tuition, as well as to ease the burden on families. In this dual objective he has my sympathy and my concurrence. However, increased tuition may merely widen the educational opportunity gap between families of moderate means and families of ample means. On balance, I think there are *better* means of using our Federal resources in the area of financing higher education.

THE COMMON STOCK APPROACH

One of the more ingenious plans that I have encountered in recent months was briefly mentioned in the President's Economic Message. Under this proposal, a college student could borrow the funds he needs from a government education bank. He would repay this loan by adding a certain specified percentage to his Federal income tax rate during his productive years (say, to age 55). This plan has the novel "common stock" approach of making all of us partners through our Federal tax system in the economic career of any student who is educated through this device. If he is extremely successful, he would much more than repay the loan. However, if he entered one of the lower-paying walks of life, or if the fates worked against him, he would probably not repay the loan principal and interest during his productive years.

This proposal certainly needs a good deal of careful study. The plan might have to be modified to provide a "buy out" for any extraordinarily successful person. In other words, if you were well on your way to becoming chairman of the board of a bank, you might be given the option of buying out your debt to the government at some appropriate price.

This plan may sound bizarre on first reading, but it should not be dismissed out of hand. It is a serious attempt to meet an important problem, and it certainly is no more fanciful than the far-sighted action of our forefathers in setting aside portions of the howling wilderness to be used to finance our early educational system.

THE LOAN GUARANTEE PLAN

Lastly, we come to a program which, to my mind, currently offers the United States the greatest "bang for a buck" in this particular area—the guaranteed student loan program enacted into law in the Higher Education Act of 1965. The program is relatively new; it is not widely known; it admittedly has many bugs that must still be worked out; but in my opinion it offers great promise to millions of American families.

This program starts from a premise that we have been very slow to accept in this nation—that an investment in education is as sound a financial investment, if not sounder, than an investment in a house or in a car. It now is an accepted fact that, unlike a car or a house, a college education is an income-producing asset. For that reason, our traditional reluctance to go into debt to finance an education seems a bit peculiar and unreasonable. However, as the costs of education continue to spiral, the American people, in their predictably pragmatic way, are finding for themselves that perhaps it does make sense to borrow to finance the education of their children. Perhaps they have begun to borrow for education simply because they have found it impossible to meet these costs out of current income or current savings; but whatever the reason, it is my personal opinion that it is an eminently sensible decision.

How does the guaranteed loan program work? It really is quite simple. It merely extends into this area the concept of a government guarantee to back up a loan made by a private financial institution.

There is nothing new in this concept. It revolutionized the whole approach to financing housing in the days of the Federal Housing Act of 1934. The concept has proved spectacularly successful in the housing field—so successful that most home financing today does not need to rely on a Federal guarantee. I believe that the potential in the area of education is equally promising.

Let me trace through the steps: Any American boy or girl who can get admitted to a college can go to his local commercial bank, savings and loan association, mutual savings banks, or credit union to submit a loan application. The bank processes his application and, after referring it to the State student loan guarantee agency, advances the student up to $1,000 per year (or in some states up to $1500 per year) while he is in school.

Repayment of the loan begins up to 9 months after the student leaves college or graduate school. If his family's "adjusted family income" is $15,000 or less, the loan is interest-free to the student while he is in school—the government pays this interest. When repayment begins, the interest rate to the student runs at 3 percent if his family's income is below the specified level, with the government paying another 3 percent. If the family income is above that level, the student pays the full 6 percent. Repayment can be made over as long as a 10-year period.

I can only admit that this program has had a rough beginning. After it was enacted into law in the fall of 1965, it took the Office of Education about 6 months to really get started. I might say at this juncture that we have had the complete and enthusiastic cooperation of the American Bankers Association, the two savings and loan association leagues, the Association of Mutual Savings Banks, and the credit unions' association (CUNA International).

Our troubles largely can be traced back to the phenomenon known as "tight money", which began to be evident in April of last year. Tight money made life extremely difficult for the savings and loans and the mutual savings banks, and, to a lesser degree, for the credit unions and the commercial banks. It made most financial institutions think twice about committing themselves to new and untried loan programs.

The banks also discovered, somewhat to their dismay, that the costs of getting these loans on the books were more than they had anticipated. When these costs were added to the high cost of money, they seemed to be facing a losing rather than a break-even proposition.

Paperwork was another complicating factor—almost inevitable in any new government program.

Lastly, state legislatures did not rush to appropriate their share of the guarantee funds with the enthusiasm that we might have expected.

All of these difficulties, with the exception of tight money, are almost inevitable with any new program. Despite them, we still succeeded in the Fall semester of 1966 in getting out loans totaling $160 million to 190,000 students. For the full 1966–1967 year, our original target was loans to 963,000 students, totaling $700 million. At the moment, we are guessing that we will actually hit a level of 480,000 loans totaling $400 million. All in all, this is not a bad beginning for a first year effort under adverse conditions.

But it is not good enough. The need is now. Consequently, I have, with the approval of Secretary Gardner and Secretary Fowler, put together a task force composed of the Treasury, the U.S. Office of Education, and the Bureau of the Budget to examine with the commercial bankers, the mutual savings bankers, and the savings and loan association and credit union representatives what we can do to move this program ahead.

We are going to look at the whole question of administrative costs, paperwork, pooling of resources within a region, the possible creation of a secondary market to relieve institutions that are overloaded, and the question of improving Federal-state relationships in this area. It is our intention to report to the President through Secretary Gardner and Secretary Fowler in the next 30 days.

Let me set out the reasons this program is so attractive to me:

(1) Perhaps this is a natural reaction for a Treasury official, but this program unquestionably gives us the greatest *leverage* in the use of the financial resources of the United States. I have mentioned that a tax credit plan providing a maximum benefit of $325 per family would cost us a billion and a half dollars by the third year. This loan program, if it expands on the trend that we think it will follow, could make 6½ million loans totaling $6.7 billion at an annual interest cost to the Federal Government that will reach only about $328 million in 1972, after 5 years.

(2) At $1,000 to $1,500 a student, this program offers some meaningful financial assistance. In fact, if it gets under way as I think it will, and if college costs increase as I predict, these limits may have to be raised.

(3) The program is intimately involved with all sectors of the financial community, the academic community, and state government. To many, this spells chaos, cumbersome operations, and endless argumentation. I do *not* look at it that way. I will admit that there is a lot of arguing and negotiations ahead before we hammer out a completely viable program, but this is precisely the sort of "creative federalism" that President Johnson has continually emphasized. Sometimes it is difficult to start, but in the long run the broad-based support that is generated is well worth the effort.

If history is any indicator, the problem of financing the costs of higher education, both the costs to students and the costs to the institutions, *will* be met—no matter what the costs may be, and no matter what party controls our political destiny. I would recommend to you the study of the alternatives. I would hope that you would agree with me that the guaranteed loan program provides the most promising solution currently available to the problem of financial assistance to the student.

I believe that we are getting much closer to our goal of being able to say to every American boy and girl, "if you can get admitted to a college, the financial resources that you need will be available." Implementation of this program should make this promise a reality. It should make the financial burden of education a tolerable burden for American families. It should provide at least part of the financial basis that American colleges and universities now need and will need. And, finally, it should enable us to reach into the ghettos and the pockets of rural poverty, to draw out and to educate those disadvantaged Americans to whom a higher education a few years ago was literally unthinkable.

This is a town of financial genius and imagination. I ask that you use some of that imagination and some of that creativity in helping us solve a problem that involves one of the fundamental aspirations of millions of American families.

Food-Buying Clubs: A Cooperative Answer to Spiraling Costs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, when we look at the budget for the war against poverty this session, we must keep in mind that the antipoverty programs helps the poor to help themselves in many ways which do not get headlines. One of these ways is the formation of food-buying clubs. On October 2, 1966, a highly informative article by Ray Richard, entitled "Food-Buying Clubs: A Cooperative Answer to Spiraling Costs"—appeared in the Boston Sunday Globe. Since that time, Boston's antipoverty agency, Action for Boston Community Development, has initiated the formation of food-buying clubs in target poverty neighborhoods. As Mr. Richard points out, similar projects are underway in many other cities. In New York alone, there are poverty area cooperative buying groups operating in Brooklyn, Manhattan's Lower East Side, East Harlem, and the Bronx. An editorial appeared on January 3, 1967, in the St. Louis Post Dispatch concerning collective food buying in Baltimore. In that city the food-buying arrangement saves $3 to $5 a month on food bills.

I urge all my colleagues to read the following article from the Boston Sunday Globe and the editorial from the St. Louis Post Dispatch:

[From the Boston (Mass.) Sunday Globe, Oct. 2, 1966]

ORGANIZED BY HUB ANTIPOVERTY AGENCY—FOOD-BUYING CLUBS: A COOPERATIVE ANSWER TO SPIRALING COSTS

(By Ray Richard)

The same spirit of cooperation which enabled the pioneers to fight fires with bucket brigades will help hundreds of Bostonians soon to battle the rising cost of living.

Food-buying clubs will be organized with the aim of cutting the cost of some foods by as much as one third.

Sponsored by a Boston anti-poverty agency, Action for Boston Community Development (A.B.C.D.), the project may eventually be extended to the purchase of medicine, eyeglasses, furniture, women's hairdos, fuel oil, hardware, day nurseries, funerals and many other items.

Plans for the city's first food-buying club will be detailed next Thursday in South Boston by Bill Martin, A.B.C.D. consumer education specialist.

Martin hopes to enlist 15 families in the pilot project, which will be limited to the purchase of eggs. An egg wholesaler has already agreed to deliver a dozen and a half of eggs to each family at reduced cost.

MORE CLUBS PLANNED

If the pilot project succeeds, neighborhood units of the A.B.C.D., called Area Planning-Action Councils, will promote and organize additional clubs. Once the clubs are launched, the A.B.C.D. will continue to provide technical assistance but club members themselves will do the actual buying.

In an allied project, the A.B.C.D. has leased a vacant service station in Roxbury which will be operated as a combined service center-auto repair shop by low income residents of the area.

Two professional auto mechanics will be hired to direct it. The center will be plugged into A.B.C.D.'s job-training program with 24 trainees alternating between working on cars and studying automotive mechanics in some vocational school.

Another auto repair center to be owned by area residents is being considered for the Parker Hill-Fenway area.

Such centers, offering car repairs at reduced costs, are getting a high priority, says Martin, because "high prices being charged for car repairs are among the most frequent complaints from consumers."

LAUNDROMAT PROPOSED

A combined laundromat and dry cleaning center owned by residents of the neighborhood has been proposed for the Columbia Point Housing Project, which presently has no commercial store offering this service.

While these projects are vital in the antipoverty struggle, Martin points out that food purchasing is perhaps the most important area in which persons of low income are in need of aid. He cited figures from the Bureau of Labor Statistics which demonstrate that families of low income pay a higher percentage of income for food than those with higher incomes.

For example, in 1960 families with incomes of $2000 to $3000 spent 30.1 percent of it on food while families in the $10,000 to $15,000 bracket averaged 20.7 percent of their income for food.

Although new to Boston, food buying clubs have been operating successfully for some time in New York, New Haven and many other cities. About 20 now function in New York and more are being organized.

In the Lower East Eide of Manhattan a cooperative food buying club for Spanish speaking residents dispenses 28 items to as many as 53 families each week. The operation of this club is fairly typical.

Its food list includes rice, potatoes, onions, garlic, sugar, fruit juices, soups, eggs, sausages and other foods favored by persons of Spanish descent.

VISTA VOLUNTEER

Orders are taken Thursday afternoons on mimeographed blanks available at the club's quarters, a small anteroom in a step-down office used by an organization which provides social services to people of the area.

Thursday nights a VISTA volunteer from Mobilization for Youth, the anti-poverty agency in the neighborhood, and a non-paid resident-volunteer named Pedro compiles an order and collect money from the residents with their order blanks. Next morning Pedro drives a borrowed truck to the wholesale food markets in the Bronx, picks up the orders and returns them to the club.

Much of the food is purchased in bulk, which accounts for much of the savings. These items, such as potatoes, are weighed and distributed according to the orders from each club member.

In East Harlem, where five buying clubs serve 15 families each, members save up to one-third, according to Richard Berzine of the East Harlem Tenants Council.

An unusual variation of the food club is found in the Hunt's Point section of the Bronx. There, residents of a housing project chipped in and bought a milk truck which makes daily runs to a dairy farm and then returns with milk at a substantial saving for the project residents.

POOR PAY MORE

Many economists in the poverty war insist in the accuracy of the saying that "the poor pay more."

In some cities surveys have uncovered storekeepers who jack up food prices on the 1st and 15th of each month—when area residents receive their welfare checks.

Some food merchants raise prices in order to provide credit for food from one welfare check to the next.

By passing these inflationary factors is a goal of the clubs.

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch, Jan. 3, 1967]

Co-ops for the Poor

A fairly novel effort is being made in Baltimore to stretch the food dollar of the poor by means of applying co-operatism to one of the areas in which it is both most needed and most neglected.

The Community Action Agency, which runs the city's anti-poverty program, has drawn 75 poor families into pooling their food funds and buying collectively, sometimes from wholesalers and sometimes from retailers. Savings of $3 to $5 a month are reported and the agency is now trying to establish neighborhood food co-operatives to be run by the poor themselves.

No one claims the plan solves the whole problem, but it helps and can be made to help more. We would like to see the idea take root widely. It is at least a measurable start in alleviating the plight of the impoverished whose incomes are derived from the lowest market—welfare—but who are obliged to buy in the highest market. What little they have to do with could go farther if they could avoid compulsion to buying on credit after their welfare checks are spent, and still farther if by pooled buying they could take advantage of week-end special prices.

Parity of income and buying is already an established philosophy of this country in behalf of the farmer. Is there anything about the poor that makes them deserve it less?

Professor Ulmer's Thoughts on Tax Sharing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, many of my colleagues have introduced legislation proposing tax-sharing of Federal income tax receipts with the States. There is no question that these proposals have generated quite a deal of discussion because of the problems some States are facing in raising the necessary amounts of money to meet their governmental responsibilities.

I was very pleased to read in the Washington Post recently a letter to the editor from Prof. Melville J. Ulmer, of the University of Maryland. Professor Ulmer's discussion of the whole tax-sharing problem is very intelligent and forceful. I recommended it as "food for thought" to my colleagues as they consider the various proposals now pending in this field. I therefore insert at this point in the Record, Professor Ulmer's letter published January 29, 1967, in the Washington Post:

The Heller-Pechman Plan Challenged

Of all the proposed legislation before the new session of Congress, none seems to have a rosier future than the tax-sharing bill, whereby part of the income tax receipts of the Federal Government would be siphoned off to the states. Based on the so-called Heller-Pechman plan, versions of this bill have been viewed with wondrous admiration by some leading members of both major parties. Republican members of the House Ways and Means Committee have already prepared legislation incorporating its salient features. In time, as things are going, some version of the legislation, with a Democratic stamp of approval, seems a shoo-in.

Why the warm, enthusiastic—and above all, nonpartisan—reception? The answer is that the Heller-Pechman plan seems to have something for everyone. It would turn back to the 50 states about 5 percent of the total personal income tax payments collected by the Federal Government—a percentage that could easily be increased later. It would systematically give a larger share of these refunds to poorer states than to the richer ones. It would tend to reduce the activities of our great, sprawling, and growing Federal Government in favor of the state and local governments, which are presumably "closer to the people." In a spectacular twist, the bill provides support for the "states-rights" biases of many conservatives as well as for the help-the-poor propensities of liberals.

Underlying the bill's provisions is the basic assumption that the 50 states in general have more or less exhausted the sources of tax revenue available to them. Furthermore, by providing a greater than proportional refund to the poorer states, the bill promises to help smooth out the distressing differences in standards of education and social services that now prevail among the states. In addition to its persuasive logic, the plan enjoys distinguished authorship as well as the prestige of having reposed in the J. F. Kennedy pipeline.

Its authors are Walter Heller, former chairman of Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisers, and Joseph A. Pechman, chief economist of the famed Brookings Institution. The glamor of the bill along with its preponderant support make criticism difficult, although, I hope, not impossible. For a closer examination of the plan, I believe, will disclose that criticism is urgently and powerfully warranted.

Unfortunately, and despite some worthy objectives, both the basic assumption of the bill as well as its technique are seriously questionable. For example, it is simply not true that "in general" the 50 states have exhausted the sources of tax revenue available to them. Thus, approximately one out of every three of our 50 states levies no income tax at all upon its citizens. Even among those that do have income taxes, the differences in levies are enormous. The tax rate on individuals for income receipts in excess of $15,000 is 5 percent or less in Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Indiana, Iowa, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, New Hampshire, Utah, Virginia and the District of Columbia; the corresponding rate is as high as 10 percent or more in Wisconsin, North Dakota, New York, New Jersey, Minnesota, Idaho and Hawaii.

Quite clearly, the various states are not making equal efforts to exploit the sources of revenue available to them. And this means, of course, that families in the *same* income bracket are taxed very differently in the various states. Instead of encouraging uniformity, which might appear justifiable morally and economically, the Heller-Pechman plan does the opposite. By returning more funds to those that contribute the least, it tends to freeze, or even accentuate, existing differences. It would penalize those that conscientiously try the hardest (like Wisconsin and New York) and reward those that shirk their social obligations (like Tennessee and Virginia).

Of course, the bill would succeed in getting more revenue into areas that are poorer *on the average* than others. But it does so by discriminating unfairly in favor of some (middle-class taxpayers in the "poor" states) and against others (middle-class taxpayers in the "rich" states). Surely, there must be better ways. The most sensitive tool for redistributing income, if that is our intention, is the progressive income tax; no economist to my knowledge disputes this. The most effective tool for aiding backward states in improving educational and social services is the familar one of grants-in-aid by the Federal Government. Both tools are readily available and can be used as vigorously and as purposefully as we, as a nation, may wish.

It is the crowning failure, on the other hand, of the Heller-Pechman plan that it provides no guarantee, or even assurance, that its avowed objectives would be accomplished. For under this plan, and under the bill now prepared for introduction in the House, the states are free to use their tax refunds as they wish. They may devote the funds to meeting ordinary expenses of government, for building roads, monuments, golf courses, or even, as so often happens in underdeveloped areas, for raising the living standards of local politicians. Although legislative safeguards may be tried, there is no practical way of preventing the state and local government from using the refunds for reducing their own taxes.

There is no doubt whatever that it is desirable and even urgent, as the authors of the bill would hope, to elevate educational and welfare standards in the backward states—and in the backward areas of the rich states too, let us add. But the only way to insure this is for the Federal Government to exercise positive and imaginative leadership. The Heller-Pechman plan provides an attractive loophole for avoiding this obligation.

Melville J. Ulmer,
Professor of Economics, University of Maryland.
College Park, Md.

What's It Like To Be Poor?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, I am submitting for the Appendix of the Record the third of the series "What's It Like To Be Poor?"

When Dad's Ill What of Bills?

(By Margaret Josten)

"You've caught us at a pretty hectic time," announced the flustered but pleasant-faced woman when she opened the door.

That was an understatement.

The baby, a girl just learning to walk, had unfurled a roll of tissue across the bare boards of the living room floor. She was screaming. Several older children were clamoring about whose turn it was to get into the bathroom. Somebody broke a dish in the kitchen.

A 16-year-old girl, a school drop-out, slept beneath her coat on the sofa, impervious to the din surrounding her.

This was a family supported by Aid to Dependent Children.

The father—Ben Jones, we'll call him—had been hospitalized recently at Rollman Psychiatric Institute for treatment of his mental troubles.

Mrs. Jones, 36, had what a physician had diagnosed several months before as a kidney infection. It caused her body, arms and legs to swell to atrocious and uncomfortable proportions. But she had sought no treatment because she was afraid she, too, might be hospitalized.

"What would happen to the kids if I wasn't here?" she asked.

(A foster home would probably be found to care for the children temporarily.)

Illness is one of the major factors in the ADC picture, nationally and locally.

Studies by the American Public Welfare Association show that illness of fathers accounted for 29.5% of the ADC load nationally.

Frederick A. Breyer, Hamilton County welfare director, does not keep a case breakdown by problems. But he says he has no reason to believe local statistics would vary from national ones.

Mr. Jones had been hospitalized for mental problems in Kentucky several years ago. With his intelligence, his athletic ability, his good appearance, he never had difficulty getting jobs, however. The trouble was keeping them.

He lost the last job in June, 1966, at a time when doctor and hospital bills were piled high because Mrs. Jones had undergone a gall-bladder operation a few months before.

Finally they were evicted from their Bond Hill apartment for nonpayment of rent. They found another on a quiet street in Westwood, but had no furniture or appliances. Mrs. Jones cooked in an electric skillet and kept the children's milk in a picnic chest.

Mr. Jones' mother learned of their plight and pleaded with the Hamilton County Welfare Department for help.

The caseworker prevailed upon Mr. Jones to visit Rollman Psychiatric Institute on an outpatient basis. Soon, when he started shoplifting and taking science books from the public library, it became clear he needed full-time hospitalization. The books were returned by his wife.

Now Mrs. Jones makes the trip across town to visit him as often as possible—although she says bus riding is painful with her kidney condition.

One day recently Mrs. Jones rode 11 different buses to get the welfare check cashed (banks didn't want to do it), to visit her husband at the hospital, to buy groceries at a discount-type supermarket several miles away.

"Milk is 79 cents a gallon at the store," she said, "but when I get it from the milkman it costs a dollar and three or four cents."

A major meal for this family is comprised entirely of a tuna fish casserole. "I got the recipe off a box years ago," she explains.

Mrs. Jones is a worrier, but for good reasons.

She tried to keep the oldest girl in school, but the youngster said she couldn't concentrate on studies with all the troubles at home. The four young ones need clothes, shoes, school supplies, that Mrs. Jones cannot buy.

The welfare Department gave her vouchers to buy second-hand kitchen appliances. But she still does the family wash in the bathtub—"and the bending hurts my back something awful."

Mrs. Jones, who has an eighth grade education, has thought about looking into some of the training programs being offered the poor these days.

"But how do I get away from here?" she asks.

"I guess I'm over protective—Is that the word? But I think it's important for one of the parents to be at home."

Sgt. James W. Latham and the People of Sevierville, Tenn., Help Three Vietnamese Villages

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, last December, Sgt. James W. Latham, a 13-year man in the Army and formerly a resident of Sevierville, Tenn., in my district, wrote the members of Pleasant Hill Methodist Church in Sevierville, asking them to help in a project that his unit in Vietnam had begun to help three villages.

Even as the people of Sevierville were beginning to gather the materials Sergeant Latham requested, he was severely wounded and thus withdrawn from Vietnam. But before he left, he told another member of his battalion about the letter he had written to the church, and he asked that the project be continued. The people in Sevierville have not let Sergeant Latham down. The work he helped begin is going forward.

I am inserting here the letter that Sergeant Latham wrote, as well as the letter received from the captain who is helping to carry on the project.

I also take this opportunity to wish Sergeant Latham a speedy and complete recovery.

The letter follows:

PLEASANT HILL METHODIST CHURCH,
Route 5,
Sevierville, Tenn.:

After much thought I have decided to solicit your assistance in a humanitarian cause. Having served with the U.S. Army in the Republic of Vietnam as a member of the 1st Cavalry Division (Airmobile) for six months, I have observed many facets of life among the civilian populace here. The life of the average Vietnamese civilian is, to say the least, far less enjoyable and far less profitable than life in the United States.

The factors which produce these conditions are too numerous to relate here so I will mention only the primary ones. First, of course, the current conflict here directly imposes many hardships upon all persons. Second: the social, economic, and political atmosphere generated by this conflict produces, in a more indirect manner, conditions which unfavorably affect the lives and well being of these people; third, this country is by way of comparison, far behind the United States in most ways.

The military successes of United States and Allied forces have brought us to the point where we can begin to assist the Vietnamese people in material ways. The army has civil affairs units, whose primary mission is to assist in civilian causes. Unfortunately, these units lack the capability to assist all the needy and deserving persons. For this reason, most of the units within the 1st Cav Div have assumed the responsibility of assisting these people as a secondary mission.

Our Battalion has "adopted" three Vietnamese villages and is attempting to help the people of these villages. Many things are needed to assist in this effort. I will attach as inclosure No. 1. particular things which would assist us in the accomplishment of this program and if any of these items can be made available to us, we will utilize them in the best possible way. During the rest of my tour here I will, if possible, periodically relate to you by way of letter and pictures, progress made in these areas.

Any assistance from Pleasant Hill Methodist Church will be deeply appreciated.

Sincerely yours,
JAMES W. LATHAM,
Platoon Sergeant, U.S. Army.

ITEMS NEEDED IN THE CIVIL AFFAIRS PROGRAM

I. School supplies

a. Pads of lined paper
b. Note books
c. Pencils
d. Three Pencil Sharpeners
e. Ball point pens with spare cartridges
f. Crayons
g. Coloring Books
h. Books and magazines with lots of pictures, Vietnamese Children love to look at pictures.
i. Rulers
j. Watercolor paint
k. Paint brushes

II. Farm tools

A. Their tools are very primitive. They could accomplish more if they had better equipment.

1. Hammers
2. Saws
3. Rakes
4. Hoes
5. Shovels

III. Toys

The only toys the children have are what they or their parents make for them. Mechanical toys fascinate even the adults.

IV. Other items that our villagers could use

A. Clothing:

Their clothing is poor in quality and they seldom have enough for their needs. Children's clothing is needed most. The adults are small in stature, averaging about 5 feet in height. The climate is hot during the day and cold at night. It also rains very frequently.

B. Seeds:

Their crops are very poor. If they had better seeds they could get more produce for work expended. They need lettuce,, Pea, Bean, Tomato, and corn seeds. They also love flowers, and could use these seeds to help beautify their simple mud huts.

HEADQUARTERS, 1ST BN.
(AIRBORNE) 12TH CAVALRY
1ST CAV. DIV. (AIRMOBILE)

Subject: Aid
To: Fellow Americans

On December 26, 1966, just a few hours after Christmas, "C" Company was over run by a crack North Vietnamese unit. We suffered heavy casualties. Amongst the severely wounded was PSG James W. Latham.

Before he was evacuated, Sergeant Latham told me of your organization's plan to help our poor villagers. Realizing that he wouldn't be returning to our unit, Sergeant Latham asked me to carry on where he left off before his unfortunate mishap. This truly outstanding NCO will be greatly missed by our battalion.

As Sergeant Latham has probably already told you, our villagers are mostly poor farmers. They have suffered much at the hands of the communists. This was once a Viet Cong stronghold and the inhabitants in this region were held in slavery and forced to grow food for the Red Armies that were training here.

Soon after our arrival, which caused the gradual disappearance of the communist soldiers, one of the first things our villagers did was to start building a school. These parents, having very little education themselves, wanted desperately to improve the lot of their children. Everyday the mothers and fathers would spend ten or more hours working in the rice paddies with primitively crude tools. At night they would congregate at the school site and with the aid of torch lights, work six hours more so that their children might have a number one school.

As you can see, your gifts will be helping a staunch and dedicated people in a most critical period of their history. In a broader sense, you will be helping stop the spread of communism in South East Asia. Give what you can, for even the smallest gift will be greatly appreciated.

Robert J. Hermanutz,
Captain, MSC, S-5: Civil Affairs.

Legal Services for the Poor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, a significant aspect of the war on poverty lies in the effort to bring legal services to the poor —to make the law a friend and justice an ally of the disadvantaged. At the forefront of this effort is the Office of Economic Opportunity's legal services program, which has projects underway in over 160 communities across the Nation.

The legal services program has important allies, including the American Bar Association and several of our most distinguished law schools. Among its most important allies is the Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., which is in the vanguard of many developments in the new field of poverty law.

In this connection I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues a highly illuminating article by Sidney E. Zion, entitled "Lawyers Begin Drive Against Poverty," which appeared in the New York Times on November 20, 1966.

Mr. Speaker, the developments described by Mr. Zion should be of great interest to us all, and I therefore include the article in the Appendix of the Record.

Lawyers Begin Drive Against Poverty

(By Sidney E. Zion)

Chicago, November 19.—A major effort to develop "new and imaginative" legal remedies to combat poverty was started here this weekend by the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

"We are moving into an era of poverty law which in some sense is comparable to the civil rights law of the mid-1930's," Jack Greenberg, director-counsel of the fund, said.

Mr. Greenberg called on the 200 lawyers gathered at the University of Chicago Law School to benefit from the "best thinking" on the legal aspects of slum housing, welfare, consumer fraud, and the farm and migratory workers.

"Those of us who years ago were concerned solely with orthodox issues of civil rights," he said, "have little by little and for a time not fully realizing it been dealing more and more with questions of poverty and issues affecting all Americans."

NEW TECHNIQUES SOUGHT

Virtually all of the lawyers here for the weekend conference on law and poverty are actively engaged in representing poor persons, either through federally funded organizations such as the Office of Economic Opportunity or through legal aid societies, or as private lawyers cooperating with the Legal Defense Fund.

Essentially, the purpose of the conference is to expose the lawyers to new thinking on old subjects, and to explore various novel legal techniques that might be used on behalf of the disadvantaged.

In the opening address yesterday on slum housing, Prof. Julian Levi of the University of Chicago, said:

"In essence our task is as ancient and honorable as the legal profession—the fashioning of legal remedies to achieve human rights through the application of imagination scholarship."

For example, he said that class actions by slum tenants could succeed even in states where there was no legislation providing for this right. The class action, which is a lawsuit brought by a number of persons acting together, is "a descendant of the 17th century," Professor Levi said.

Similarly, he suggested, a tenant could force a landlord to rehabilitate an apartment on the basis of "the ancient doctrine of abatement of a nuisance."

A CHARGE TO LAWYERS

In most states, Professor Levi said, there is no effective legislation to require landlords to repair rundown apartments. But, he said, by the use of traditional legal doctrines, "fashioned with skill," the goal can be accomplished.

"The charge to lawyers in our generation," he concluded, is to throw open the doors of the courtroom where traditionally we have searched for truth and equity, so that rights long recognized can be effectuated."

Mr. Levi is professor of urban studies at Chicago.

This morning a welfare law expert, Edward V. Sparer, warned the lawyers that there was increasing resistance in the country to the "basic premise" that the indigent have a right to assistance.

Mr. Sparer, who is legal director of the Center of Social Welfare and Public Policy at Columbia University, noted that some welfare departments and courts had recently taken the position that persons might be denied aid even though they met the eligibility requirements of the law.

"It all started," he said, "in the Elizabethan days when there were the deserving poor and the undeserving poor."

"As a practical reality," he continued, "we are still living with that today."

He pointed to states that deny aid to dependent children because the mother, whose husband has deserted her, is suspected of having sexual relations with another man.

COMPILATION OF CASES

A 246-page book, prepared by the Legal Defense Fund, was distributed to all the lawyers here. The book, which will be expanded periodically, contains court decisions, legal essays and forms that lawyers can use in preparing cases. The subjects covered are consumer credit, slum housing, problems of farm and migratory workers, and welfare laws.

"If we could mobilize the people here," said Michael Meltsner, a lawyer for the legal defense fund, "there would be a tremendous exposure of the problems of the poor to the Appellate Court and to the people of the country."

He continued: "The trouble now is that there is not a general understanding as to how people live in slums, what happens to the migratory worker, the credit abuses that afflict ghetto people, and the way the poor are treated in the lower criminal courts."

Mr. Greenberg said that the conference here was "the first of its kind in the country" and that he hoped it could be set up on a national and regional basis in the future.

The Legal Defense Fund is not a part of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is an independent, nonprofit corporation with its own board, budget, and a staff of attorneys devoted to providing assistance in legal action.

Where Do We Stand?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH J. GRAY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, our esteemed colleague and father of the water pollution control program, the gentleman from Minnesota, Representative John A. Blatnik, was the lead-off congressional speaker at the National Water Seminar sponsored jointly by the American Water Works Association and the Water Pollution Control Federation at Washington's Sheraton Park Hotel on February 7, 1967. As usual, our warrior for clean water and ranking man on our Public Works Committee makes some stirring remarks that should be shared by all of us. His continuing and constant fight for clean water is truly an inspiration and I hope his distinguished leadership in this field is long lived.

The address follows:

Where Do We Stand?

(By Congressman John Blatnik, address before the American Water Works Association Water Seminar, Sheraton-Park Hotel, Washington, D.C., February 7, 1967)

I salute all of you here today not only for your interest in our mutual awesome task of cleaning up our Nation's waters but also for the strong action that you have taken to see that informative seminars like this are held. In the tough years your association was out front and could be counted on for support. Addressing you this morning, I am reminded a little of the stranger who walked into a church one Sunday just in time to hear those assembled intone the words of the general confession:

"We have left undone those things which we ought to have done; and we have done those things we ought not to have done."

Slipping comfortably into a pew he said to himself, "I've found my crowd at last".

So I am honored to be a part of your crowd. We are not strangers. As you know we have come a long way since my original Federal water pollution bill some ten years ago. It was tough going then, but finally after a veto and many close votes we arrived at the unanimous victories of the Water Quality Act of 1965 and the Clear Waters Act of last year. These victories were hard fought and reflect years of hammering out usable language that would satisfy the States, industries and conservations and yet be effective.

Now that we have the legislation on the books we have to move on from these blueprints or we are never going to get the house built. We have taken all the measurements—we have heard all about the problem—we recognize the need for the structure. The question seems to be where do we stand—is the foundation laid or are we at the first story? Maybe the second?

We can safely say that we have successfully taken the program out of the basement of HEW, given it agency status and transferred it to the Department of Interior—but now what? It seems to me that the work is cut out for all of us and I don't think we're getting the job done. I don't feel that all systems are going. This is not said critically. It is said in hopes that we can get on with the building of a structure for clean water. If we need more carpenters, then let's get them—if we need more material then let's get it—if it has to be air conditioned then let's do it.

We were given a clear mandate by unanimous votes by the House and the Senate. The need has been documented over and over again. Yet, we seem to be at a stand-still. Maybe an ad hoc oversight committee should be appointed to see what the hold-up is.

Surely, the intent and the commitment of the Congress to clean up our Nation's waters couldn't be more clear. Surely, the overwhelming support of the now pollution-control-conscious public couldn't be more clear. Show me another issue that the people of the second largest State in the Union—New York—would so readily vote themselves an over-billion-dollar commitment to water pollution control. Where then are the impediments to the construction of a clean water program?

Unfortunately, I hold one of them right here in my hand—it's the budget. It makes me sick when I think of the work we went to last year to hammer out a dollar agreement between the Republicans and Democrats on our side alone to say nothing of the fight we had in conference with the Senate on a dollar amount. We cut the dollar amounts to absolute minimums and then I picked up the budget and found that our absolute minimum authorization of $450 million for fiscal year 1968 has been cut by more than half—$200 million is requested in the budget for construction grants for FY 1968! Mind you, this is after the House side already cut $150 million from the unanimously passed Senate authorization. Just look at the crying needs of New York City alone and you can readily see the budget grossly underestimates the cost associated with the water pollution control in this country. Under the present law, New York City would get a 30% across-the-board Federal grant and because it matches the Federal grant, the Federal share is raised to 40% and then if they have enforcible standards it would be 50%. But with the President's budget request of $200 million every State's share in 1968 is cut by more than half and New York City instead of getting the 50% the law entitles them to, it will receive little more than 20%. Even more scandalous is the fact that information supplied the committee shows that New York City alone will spend nearly $180 million in 1968 on its pollution backlog. This is just $20 million short of the budget request for the entire Nation.

Not only is this budget cut a blow to States like New York which passed its billion dollar bond issue to clean up its waters by a 4-to-1 margin but the many States where the State legislatures are convening right now are going to say, "it does not look like the Federal Government is all that serious about the war on pollution." And the States is the very area that needs encouragement rather than an excuse to sit back. It is all important to fight to restore the authorized full amount. To appropriate less than this amount at this time is to do a great disservice to years of work in abating water pollution.

In closing, we can summarize by saying, we have a new Federal agency, a new structure. We have given it more money, more authority, and more work. Water pollution control has been pulled out of the subbasement of the administrative hierarchy and pushed into the front line. And if I am any judge of the mood of the American people, this is what they want. I think they are going to be rooting for this new program. But I think they are also going to be looking for the results.

All of this, it seems to me, adds up to some important new responsibilities for everyone concerned.

It puts the responsibility on the Congress to come through with the necessary appropriation for the next fiscal year and the still larger appropriations authorized for the years immediately ahead.

It puts the responsibility on the Department of the Interior and the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration to organize themselves in a way that will make for the best possible use of the resources available to them.

It puts the responsibility on the States to set higher goals for the use and enjoyment of their water resources than most of them have considered feasible—or even worth working for—in the past.

It puts the responsibility on business and industry to double and redouble their own water pollution control efforts in full collaboration with the local communities and the State and Federal governments.

It puts the responsibility on the water and waste water expert to bring greater imagination and daring to the search for new and better ways to control pollution.

And, not least of all, it puts the responsibility on that hypothetical individual, the average citizen, to participate in and support the total effort in every way he can.

This is a rough measure of how I view the future of water pollution control in this country at this point. The time for head-shaking and hand-wringing over what has been happening to our water resources has passed. The time for action—far larger and far more effective action than anything we have known before—is at hand. With the Water Quality Act of 1965 and the clean water restoration act of 1966 on the statute books, this kind of action is now possible.

A general but by no means searching review of the situation gives me a good deal of confidence that the preliminaries for the kind of action I am talking about have been going reasonably well.

It is encouraging, I think, that the States, without a single exception, have chosen to pick up the option provided by the Water Quality Act and are undertaking to develop their own water quality standards.

Now I am not so naive as to take for granted that these good intentions are going to materialize automatically into standards that will be acceptable from the national viewpoint. As you know far better than I, setting standards that are both attainable and that will come somewhere near achieving full use and enjoyment of a heavily polluted stream is hardly an easy job.

Some States, I understand, have not yet held hearings on the matter. Some, in fact, are not able to do so without new legislation. But at least the States are moving in the right direction. The people at the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration tell me that before the year is out, all States probably will have enacted whatever additional legislation is necessary in order to become full-fledged partners in the new program. This is progress.

As a matter of fact, I understand that the formal submission of standards is already beginning, although the deadline for this is still nearly five months away. So June 30 will not be an altogether bleak day for America's waters.

I mentioned earlier the important matter of working relationships. It is my impression that, on the whole, the business of standard setting is proceeding with good will on all sides. Quite a number of States—some 20, in all, I believe—have asked for and have received extensive technical assistance from the experts at FWPCA in developing their standards.

It is encouraging also to note that FWPCA is in the process of assembling a number of expert committees to develop criteria for various water uses that will be most helpful in judging the merits of the standards as they are submitted. I understand that an announcement on this development will be forthcoming very shortly.

In closing I want to point out that we need more tax incentive legislation like we passed last year. As you recall, we were successful last year in exempting water pollution control facilities from the suspension of investment tax credit. This means that if all the required conditions are satisfied, an industry can deduct up to 7% of the cost of new waste treatment construction from its income tax liability. We must do more by way of tax incentives to encourage construction of waste treatment plants.

I appreciate the opportunity of addressing this distinguished group and again, I want to commend you for holding seminars of this nature because through them, everyone gets a good dialogue as to the current challenges in water pollution abatement.

Gregory Galley: A VISTA Volunteer at Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, the Volunteers in Service to America have become very active in this country on behalf of communities and neighborhoods that need help and need dedicated persons to show them how to help themselves.

One such volunteer, Gregory Galley of Laurel, Md., recently was the subject of a feature story in the "Maryland Living" Sunday magazine of December 11, 1966. Formerly a student at the University of Maryland at College Park, Mr. Galley has been working with the Navajo Indians in New Mexico. His work, skills, ingenuity, and contribution to the Navajo community as described in the article should serve as an example for many of our youths.

I insert the article about Gregory Galley at this point in the RECORD:

FOR A LAUREL MAN: NEW VISTAS

When Gregory Galley of Laurel, Md., was a youngster, he never dreamed that some day he would break bread with Navajo Indians in their adobe homes or take part in their ancient ceremonials. Today, Galley, 24, as a VISTA Volunteer, is deeply involved in the lives and problems of the Navajo in the tiny New Mexico town of Manuelito.

Greg Galley worked as a carrier boy for The News American to save money for college. Before joining VISTA (Volunteer in Service to America), he attended the University of Maryland for three years. He then tried his hand at carpentry and was self-employed as an auto mechanic. When he decided that what he really wanted was to teach American Indians, he joined VISTA.

Galley's task is to help Manuelito residents improve their living conditions through community action. His job is difficult. Manuelito is an isolated community. There are no telephones or newspapers. Its 99 residents live on 10 miles of rough land which is divided by two major highways.

The town is one small unit of the 25,000-acre Navajo reservation which has 105,000 members. Most of the Indians are farmers or ranchers who live on annual incomes below $700. Galley immediately became concerned with the Navajo's housing. Although he lives in a cozy trailer, the Navajo *hogans* are made of adobe mud and logs, offering little protection from the strong winds and freezing winters typical of the area.

Working through the tribe's Home Improvement Association, Galley gained acceptance. His experience as a carpenter and an electrician encouraged the Navajo to build more permanent dwelling places. The Indians at first were skeptical about giving up their traditional *hogans*. When assured that the new homes would retain the circular shape and the roof opening which faces the rising sun, they were willing to give it a try.

So far, a crew of Navajo construction workers has completed five new homes and several more are in the making. The homes are constructed of sturdy wood held together by nails, rather than adobe. Each day Galley rounds up the workers in his pick-up truck and brings them to the construction site. He plans to help them raise money to purchase their own truck so they won't be too dependent on him. Galley has also wired some 20 Manuelito homes for electricity and has gotten the local power company to agree to run lines through the entire area.

Besides his construction work, the VISTA man spends spare hours tinkering with the Indians' cars at the Manuelito garage.

He teaches auto mechanics with the idea that the Indians can save money by doing their own repairs.

Galley's *VISTA* work has not been without frustration. Most of the problems he has encountered are brought about by lack of initiative on the part of the people he is trying to help. A grocery cooperative which Galley went to great lengths to organize was vetoed at the chapter meeting because it violated the tradition of shopping at the local trading post. Had the chapter cooperated, an investment of $1,000 would have been all that was needed to stock a small grocery store. It would have brought wholesale goods into the community to be retailed at a small profit margin.

"I had visions of teaching the people how to buy with cash rather than credit," Galley related. "If they could learn to do this, the chapter grocery could save them money. For example—The trader at the post sells a can of corn for 31 cents. The merchants in Gallup, N.M., sell it for 23 cents, and the chapter grocery could sell it for 13 cents.

"My next project was requested by the chapter, but arrangements were left up to me. I arranged with a San Francisco film company to give 35 percent discounts on films ordered in quantities of eight or more. I also had arranged with the local pop bottler to buy pop for our 'theater' at wholesale price. We were also able to get candy wholesale."

The community leaders blamed poor movie attendance on the great distances the people have to travel and the lack of transportation, but according to Galley this was a poor excuse. "I showed films in other Indian villages and had turnouts that not only covered the costs, but also yielded profits," he says.

The reason most apparent to Galley was that the people expected him to run these ventures for them. They did not want to do anything for themselves.

"I am here to show them how to get started and help them get organized. After they are over the first hurdles, it is up to them to carry on, not me."

Despite the hard work and a few disappointments, Galley has found life in Manuelito interesting. He first had to adjust to new foods. The Navajo's favorite foods consist of mutton, either roasted or stewed, fried bread, which is like a Mexican tortilla, and coffee. He has helped prepare for three squaw dances and has attended many more.

"The squaw dance,' explains Galley, "is nothing like the Saturday night dance. It is primarily a gathering together of neighbors and relatives of a person who is ill or was recently ill, and a 'sing' is held for them. The 'sing' lasts three nights and is held in three different places. The last night is held near the home of the person who is ill. While the people have their sing, the medicine man goes through his chants.

"In short, the squaw dance is a summertime healing ceremony which has been performed by the Navajo for generations. The winter healing ceremony is called the Yei-Be-Chee and is performed indoors with a limited number of people."

Galley had been helpful in the Manuelito *Head Start Program*. Not only does he instruct in the everyday practices of brushing teeth and combing hair but he also hauls wood and water to the *Head Start* quarters.

Galley is the son of Mrs. G. Lambert Galley, 504 Kenny Rd., Laurel. He plans to re-enroll in *VISTA* for a year of service in Alaska. After that, he plans to return to college.

As a VISTA Volunteer, Galley lives for one year in the Navajo community that he serves. He received a living allowance, money for housing and health benefits. At the end of service, he will receive a lump sum of $50 for each month in *VISTA*.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided,* That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and condtions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective departments or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

The Kee Report: Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include this week's public service television and radio newscast, "The Kee Report." The subject discussed is "Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation."

The report follows:

THE KEE REPORT: FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION

This is Jim Kee, bringing you the Kee Report. The virtual collapse of the banking system was one of the most distressing features of the great depression which swept over this country in early 1930's. In fact, many economists believe that the failure of the banking system to function properly was a major cause of the depression.

The loss of savings was a dreadful blow for the family wage-earner who was already out of work—or the farmer who found that market prices for food products were less than the cost of production. Even while Congress was passing emergency measures to get the economy moving once again, it was realized that the whole effort might be in vain unless something was done to restore public confidence in the banking system.

The insurance of bank deposits had been urged in Congress without success ever since the hard times of the 1880's. But then in 1933 Congress did something about the problem. The banking act of that year established the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation for the purpose of protecting depositors against loss from bank failures. In the years since then, this has developed into one of the most useful and efficient organizations in the Federal Government.

Today, there are more than 170 million bank accounts insured against loss up to a maximum of $15,000. The great majority of banks in the United States belong to the system. Most of those outside are mutual banks ineligible to participate, but whose depositors are protected by state law. Before this system was established, the unlucky depositors of insolvent banks had to wait for years until liquidation of the bank's assets returned to them a small part of their savings. Today, depositors are paid within ten days—and sometimes, when it is possible to merge the closed bank with a sound bank, the depositors are paid immediately if that is what they wish.

The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, as the agency is called, has performed a splendid service for the nation's bank depositors. It has also performed a great service for the entire banking system. Because of its inspection system, which shows up danger spots in time for corrective action, the incidence of bank failures has been reduced to a fraction of what it was in pre-depression years. In other words, banking practices and banking habits have improved to the point where failures seldom occur.

What this means to the general economy may be realized by taking a look at what happened before this system became operative. During the 1920's, bank failures averaged more than 80 each year. During the depression, the number climbed until there were more than 4,000 failures in the year 1933. You can imagine the suffering and distress caused to millions of depositors. But the injury went beyond that. In some Mid-Western states, where farming was the only occupation, almost all the banks crashed. The result was that business everywhere was at a standstill. In some regions, the normal system of exchange had to be replaced by barter.

Three decades ago, many sincere men predicted that losses from bank insurance would be severe enough to endanger the Federal credit. Time has disproved that theory. The insurance of bank deposits has proven to be one of the wisest measures ever adopted.

Thank you for listening.

New York State Traffic Safety Council

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, recently at a New York luncheon meeting of the State traffic safety council, which was held at the Chemical Bank New York Trust Co., Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller praised the work of the council and its leadership for promoting traffic safety throughout the State of New York. This is an outstanding example, I feel, for other State plans.

I share the Governor's feeling about the need for more constructive action to make our highways safer and would like to commend the council, its leadership and membership for the fine job they are doing in traffic safety. I would like to congratulate all those present for taking time to attend this meeting and to support this important work.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from Governor Rockefeller's remarks to those assembled there and also the list of those who participated in this meeting and who are contributing so much to the successful direction of the council's affairs.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the speech and the list were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER'S REMARKS

First and foremost, I want to take this occasion to say some words of much-deserved praise to William S. Renchard, Chairman of the Board for the Chemical Bank New York Trust Co. I want to express for myself and the people of New York State our deep gratitude for a job magnificently well done.

Bill is stepping out as President of the State Traffic Safety Council today after three years of truly outstanding service. And Nathan H. Wentworth, Vice Chairman of the Boards, The Continental Insurance Companies, is stepping into a big pair of shoes (as President of the State Traffic Safety Council). I know, however, that Nathan will carry this vital job forward in the great tradition that Clifton W. Phalen, President of the New York Telephone Company, and Bill Renchard have established. My warm thanks for taking on these very important responsibilities.

The progress achieved by the Council in the struggle for increased highway safety has been substantial and gratifying. This is true whether you measure that progress in terms of safety legislation enacted, drivers educated, public officials trained in accident prevention, civic cooperation with our safety program, or expanded financial support of the Council.

Then add to all these elements our mutual success in obtaining Legislative approval of a State Police Academy. This has been a Safety Council project for the last five years. For the Academy will offer a complete program of courses in the traffic sciences along with other phases of police work. Nothing comparable exists on the Atlantic Seaboard. Looking at this record, I can only say to Bill: Well done; very well done indeed.

In addition, my deep gratitude goes to Frank Elliott for the great job he has been doing as chairman of the Council's finance committee. Financial support of the Council by the business community has quadrupled in recent years. There isn't an individual in this room who doesn't share in the credit—and my warm thanks to all of you.

The Traffic Safety Council's work is tremendously important. Traffic accidents cost the people of this State about $1,000,000,000 a year. They kill 2,500 men, women and children annually—while injuring several hundred thousand more. The Council acts directly on many fronts against this staggering "slaughter of the innocents."

Even greater support of the Council's work is highly desirable—and needed. Next month, I shall ask the Legislature to create a State Department of Transportation. If approved, the new Department will provide a focal point in State Government for the development and implementation of a balanced state transportation policy. And it will be a safety development of very substantial significance.

For example, the existing Motor Vehicle and Public Works Departments have various highway safety responsibilities which can be attacked more effectively through a single department. This is emphasized by current traffic engineering studies of the State's Interdepartmental Highway Safety Committee. These studies point up the need for the closest possible coordination and cooperation between those who design and build our highways and those charged with safe use of our roads. And Public Works and Motor Vehicles would be among the agencies combined in the new Transportation Department.

Others are the State Traffic Commission, the State Office of Transportation, and the Bureau of Aviation in the State Department of Commerce. This proposal will implement at State level a step I have urged the Federal government to take for more than five years—and which the Congress has now taken. I have every confidence the new state department will lead to better and safer transportation for the people of New York State.

Now, in conclusion, it is my pleasure to present plaques for outstanding service in traffic safety to three men who have served the Council well and wisely for the past six years. They have devoted their energies and their leadership to the Council since it was first organized, and the time is here to acknowledge with gratitude the depth of their dedication and contributions. I refer to G. Wallace Bates, Vice President and General Counsel, New York Telephone Company; Huntington M. Turner, former Vice President of the Chemical Bank and now associated with H. S. Koster and Company; and, Mercer C. Macpherson, Vice President of the Chemical Bank.

The List of Guests Attending the Meeting

Gerald F. Beal, Chairman of the Board, J. Henry Schroder Banking Corp.; Joseph M. Bell, Jr., Chairman of the Board, New York State Electric & Gas Corp.; R. Burdell Bixby, Chairman of the Board and Secretary, New York State Thruway Authority; Kenneth E. Black, President, The Home Insurance Company; Thomas N. Boate, Associate Manager. American Insurance Association; Charles C. Bonin, President, Chemical Construction Corporation; John Carter, Chairman of the Board, Fairchild Camera & Instrument Corp.; Kenneth P. Colby, Chairman and President, National Grange Mutual Insurance Co.; Robert L. Cushing, Vice President, Chemical Bank New York Trust Company.

Dr. Walter A. Cutter, Director, Center for Safety Education, New York University; Charles E. Eble, Chairman of the Board, Consolidated Edison Company of New York; Donald M. Elliman, Executive Vice President, Marine Midland Grace Trust Company of New York; Charles W. Ferguson, Senior Editor, Reader's Digest; Gilbert W. Fitzhugh, Chairman of the Board, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company; Arthur Freed, Traffic Engineer, Westchester County Department of Public Works.

John L. Gibbons, Chairman, Trust Committee, Chemical Bank New York Trust Co.; R. O. Goodykoontz, Vice President and General Manager, Northeastern Esso Region, Humble Oil & Refining Company; William D. Hall, Vice President, Crouse-Hinds Company; E. Roland Harriman, Brown Brothers Harriman & Co.; G. Howard Hatfield, Chairman of the Board, Peoples National Bank of Long Island; Harold H. Helm, Chairman, Executive Committee, Chemical Bank New York Trust Co.; Henry H. Henley, Jr., President, McKesson & Robbins, Inc.; John Holbrook, Chairman, Executive Committee, Marsh & McLennan, Inc.; H. Clay Johnson, President, Royal-Globe Insurance Company; Robert C. Kirkwood, Chairman of the Board, F. W. Woolworth Company; Joseph Kusaila, Executive Director, State Traffic Safety Council; Samuel J. Lefrak, President, Lefrak Organization, Inc.; Oscar A. Lundin, President, General Motors Acceptance Corporation.

Baldwin Maull, Chairman of the Board, Marine Midland Corporation; William E. Newcomb, Chairman of the Board, The Great American Insurance Company; Edward Nugent, Assistant to the Director, State Assistance Programs, Insurance Institute for Highway Safety; Cornelius W. Owens, President, New York Telephone Company; Emil J. Pattberg, Jr., Chairman of the Board, The First Boston Corporation; Alan O. Robinson, Vice President, The Continental Insurance Companies; George A. Roeder, Jr., Executive Vice President, Chase Manhattan Bank; J. Fred Schoellkopf IV, President, Marine Midland Corporation; James S. Schoff, Chairman of the Board, Bloomingdale Brothers; Leslie Slote, Press Secretary, Governor's Staff; E. L. Steiniger, Chairman of the Board, Sinclair Oil Corporation; John S. Tennant II, General Counsel, United States Steel Corporation.

Austin J. Tobin, Executive Director, The Port of New York Authority, C. D. Vannoy, Vice President and Treasurer, REA Express, Inc., Kenneth B. Wackman, President, James Talcott, Incorporated; William H. Walters, Chairman of the Board, Diamond International Corporation; Stuart Wershub, Assistant Manager, Chemical Bank New York Trust Company; William L. Wilson, Vice President, C.I.T. Financial Corporation; David H. Winton, Vice President, Johnson & Higgins; Miles F. York, Chairman of the Board, Atlantic Mutual Insurance Company; John M. Young, Morgan Stanley & Company.

National Welfare Rights Movement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, this week delegates at the National Welfare Rights Movement meeting in Washington proposed a four-point program to improve the lot of those among us who directly suffer from poverty.

This group composed of persons who experience the impact of our various welfare programs has long demonstrated commendable ingenuity, dignity, and self-respect.

Included in the movement's membership is one long identified with community leadership in my own congressional district, Mrs. Johnnie Tillmon, of Los Angeles, State president of the California Welfare Rights Organization, who was elected national chairman of the movement. I am proud to claim Mrs. Tillmon and the mothers identified with her in the Los Angeles area as my friends and constitutents; and in commendation of their efforts, I include the following recommendations of the national welfare rights meeting in the Congressional Record with the hope that we in this session of Congress move diligently to implement them.

The recommendations follow:

National Welfare Rights Meeting, February 4 to 6, Washington, D.C.

1. NATIONWIDE MINIMUM WELFARE GRANT

The reason there is a welfare program is because in 1935 Congress passed a law called the Social Security Act, which says that money from the federal income tax will go to the states to give to people who meet the state's eligibility requirements. The states run the welfare programs, but in order to get federal money to pay part of the cost, they have to obey the federal law. The state may also have its own welfare program, using its own money, which means they do not have to obey federal rules. We are proposing that a nationwide minimum for welfare grants be set up. We propose that the Federal Government require all states to raise all welfare grants at least to the Federal "low-income line."

2. UNEMPLOYED PARENT PROGRAM

Most welfare recipients get their checks from a program called Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). In most cases, you can only get welfare under this program when there is no man in the house.

But in 1961, Congress changed the social security law to say that any state that wanted to could give welfare to families when the father was present, but did not have a job and could not get one. This is the AFDC-UP program.

Only 21 of the 51 states (including D.C.) actually passed state laws putting this program into operation. This is because the federal government did not *require* the states to adopt the program. Even for the 21 states that have the program, it will expire June 30, 1967, unless Congress passes a law extending it this year. The Federal Law only allows a recipient to get this welfare if they are unemployed, but they do not say what they mean by unemployment. The recipient must also be willing to take any job which is offered, but they say very little about how good the job has to be.

Welfare recipients should ask their senators and Congressmen to vote for three basic things:

(1) *Make the AFDC–UP a permanent* part of the Social Security Act.

2. *Require all of the states to participate* in the *AFDC–UP* program.

3. *Set federal standards* for what is meant by unemployment and for the kind of work a recipient must accept. (These standards could be like those used in the unemployment insurance program.

3. WORK INCENTIVES

At present the federal Social Security Act lets blind and aged welfare recipients keep part of any money they may earn. But it discriminates against AFDC recipients by not letting them keep any money from a part-time job. Millionaires only get taxed 90% of their earnings. Welfare recipients are taxed 100% of their earnings. President Johnson says he will soon make a proposal to Congress to let AFDC recipients keep *part* of what they might earn. As yet he has not said how much.

We propose that recipients be allowed to keep everything they earn until their income reaches the Federal "low-income" line for their family size.

We also propose that recipients be allowed to keep half of anything more they earn until their total income reaches the "modest but adequate" level (not shown on chart).

4. FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

The food stamp program expires on June 30th of this year. That means that unless Congress passes a law extending this program, it will simply stop on June 30th. We propose that the Federal Government continue the food programs with improvements.

A. Give cash bonus rather than food stamps.

B. Allow States to have both cash bonus program and surplus food.

We want changes in the program to remove the many problems in the present program. Some of these problems are: recipients cannot use the stamps to buy soap, toilet paper, etc.; recipients have to put so much of the money from their welfare check into food stamps that little is left for rent, clothing, etc.

Refusal of Permission for Crew of Aircraft Carrier "Franklin D. Roosevelt" To Go Ashore at Capetown, South Africa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "We Slap a Friend," published in the Richmond Times-Dispatch of February 7, 1967. The editorial relates to the refusal of permission by the U.S. Government to permit the crew of the aircraft carrier *Franklin D. Roosevelt* to go ashore at Capetown, South Africa.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

We Slap a Friend

One can only imagine the rage and frustration of the 4,000 officers and men of the U.S. aircraft carrier Franklin D. Roosevelt, when they were refused permission to go ashore at Capetown, South Africa, after having been bottled up at sea in combat off Vietnam for three torrid months. Both white and colored members of the crew were reportedly equally irate over refusal of their superiors to let them have shore leave while the carrier was refueling.

The decision not to let them accept the hospitality of the South Africans of all races—which had been eagerly tendered—was made at "the highest level in Washington," according to a U.S. embassy spokesman in Capetown. This can only mean the White House, which obviously is still playing up to elements in this country which are determined to slap friendly South Africa in the face at every opportunity, because of its racial policies.

But there was no unanimity as to just who issued the order which kept the fuming men on board. "Spokesmen" in Washington said the decision was made by military and diplomatic officials in Capetown—which is in the highest degree improbable.

Does an embassy decide "on its own" to offend the government to which it is accredited?

A decision of this magnitude is undoubtedly made either by the White House or by the Defense Department, at the direction or with the acquiescence of the White House. Irrespective of who made it, the ruling was nonsensical, and not in the best interests of the United States.

True, if the 4,000 officers and men had gone ashore, some of them would have fallen into the toils of the law. That often happens when sailors are turned loose in a port, after months at sea. But such probabilities do not normally cause U.S. authorities to wreck sailor morale by keeping them locked on board ship for days.

South Africa's policy of racial separation admittedly is a complicating factor which could have caused clashes of one sort or another. But special hospitality and entertainment had been arranged for the Negro officers and men of the carrier, which, it is understood, the latter were anxious to accept.

Yet, in order for the Johnson administration to maintain its stance of hostility to South Africa's "apartheid" policies, it refused these fighting men permission to relax in Capetown from the rigors of three months in the steaming Indian Ocean.

Prior to arrival at Capetown, no stipulations had been made by the American authorities concerning conditions on which the men of the Roosevelt would be allowed to go ashore, according to South Africa's Prime Minister Vorster. Hence elaborate arrangements had been made for their entertainment, and thousands of offers of hospitality were forthcoming from members of all races. At the last minute, permission to accept was refused.

So once again we have antagonized one of the best friends we have in the world because of that country's internal racial policies. One wonders how Washington would receive a similar slap in the face from some country which doesn't feel particularly enthusiastic concerning its internal policies.

On top of all else is the great strategic importance of South Africa's refueling bases to our naval and air forces, in the event of global war. There is also the country's vital gold supply and its large trade with the United States. All this we are putting in jeopardy with our shortsighted stupidity.

Representative Cramer Calls for Full Partnership Approach to Water Pollution Control Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT C. McEWEN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday at noon, the distinguished ranking Republican member of the Committee on Public Works, Representative William C. Cramer, of Florida, addressed the water and waste water seminar here in the Nation's Capital. The seminar was jointly sponsored by the American Water Works Association, Inc., and the Water Pollution Control Federation, two outstanding organizations in the field of water pollution control programing.

Representative Cramer's timely remarks present a philosophy of the national effort toward adequate water quality and toward adequate water supply which is generally consistent with the views of most Republican Members of this body. He has made a strong case for a long-held position of many, if not most, Members that the real way to control the pollution of this Nation's waters is to approach it on a full partnership basis with all levels of government cooperating.

Representative Cramer has accurately detailed the water pollution control activities of the Federal Government and has outlined some very important measures that the State and local governments can undertake during the next 2 years to adequately meet the immense problems of water pollution control.

His remarks on the needed effort in the future to control and to abate pollution of our rivers and waterways are timely indeed. He has offered a substantial challenge to the several hundreds seminar participants, representing the leadership in this field, to take up the task of water pollution control on a State and local level and to proceed ahead to undertake effective water pollution control measures in the States.

Representative Cramer has called for the creation of Cabinet-level departments with full responsibility for air and water pollution control in each of the States. He has called for Federal and State tax incentives to aid industry in the control of its pollution. He has called for the cessation of pollution from Federal installations on a timetable enacted into law. He has called for additional requirements for water pollution control which developers of industrial parks and housing developments of specified size would have to meet under State law. He has called upon the State legislatures to authorize and appropriate adequate sums of money to carry out water pollution control programs on State levels. He has called for additional requirements on county, metropolitan area, and regional planning agencies for water pollution control.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the full text of Representative Cramer's remarks today. I commend them to the attention of all Members and all Americans who want to adequately control water pollution.

The remarks follow:

Toward Adequate Water Quality and Water Supply: A Philosophy of the National Water Resources Programs

(Remarks of the Honorable William C. Cramer, Member of Congress from Florida, before the Water and Wastewater Seminar of the American Water Works Association, Inc., and the Water Pollution Control Federation, Sheraton-Park Hotel, Washington, D.C., February 7, 1967)

Ladies and Gentlemen, if there are members of any two groups in America with whom it is unnecessary to speak at length on the magnitude of our Nation's water resources problems, it is you. You are active members in either of or both of the two outstanding organizations which are sponsoring this important seminar today. Those two organizations are highly dedicated to the cleaning up of America's waters. I know that you are too.

As professionals in this complex subject of water resources management, you know there just is not enough water of adequate quality at all the places where it is needed. Poor quality water and insufficient water supplies menace public health and reduce property values. They raise taxes and water consumer charges and destroy natural beauty and fish and wildlife. They drive away existing industry and discourage the location of prospective industries and residents. Poor quality water and inadequate water supply adversely affects the lives of every living American. Providing enough good water at all the places where it is needed must be a high priority task of all levels of government, not just tomorrow but also today.

WATER POLLUTION CONTROL ACTIVITIES OF GOVERNMENTS

Since the enactment of the historic Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1956, our Nation's increasing awareness of its water quality and water supply problems has been reflected in the activities of all levels of government to control and abate water pollution. It also has been reflected in their efforts to provide our citizens with adequate supplies of good water.

Federal, State, interstate, municipal, and intermunicipal agencies have devoted millions of man-hours and have authorized millions of dollars trying to solve water quality and water supply problems. These legislative bodies have expanded the authorities of agencies and have broadened the provisions of statutes and ordinances. Hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent on research and development, on demonstration projects, on water quality control, and on the construction of sewage treatment plants, water purification works, and collector and distributor systems. Greater strides have been made to strengthen Federal water pollution control programs during the past few years than ever before. The government in Washington and the State and local governments throughout America have addressed themselves to the needs for more adequate water supply systems. But the manifold problems of water pollution and inadequate water supply are still very much with us.

FEDERAL LEGISLATION AND PROGRAMS

Congress has proclaimed that our water resources problems cannot be ignored. But just because they are national problems, we cannot and should not rely upon the Federal Government alone to correct them. Only by concerted action on all levels of government—in the spirit of true partnership—can we insure that there will be an adequate supply of clean water.

Effective water pollution control cannot be fully achieved without sincere cooperation between all levels of government. It cannot be achieved without earnest anti-pollution efforts by all present and future pollutors. It cannot be achieved without support from all public, semi-public, and private organizations, private enterprise, and aroused citizens.

I sincerely feel that the Congress has been most responsive to the needs for controlling and abating water pollution and for enhancing our water supplies.

Enactment of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1956, better known as Public Law 660, was the first really significant step taken by the Congress towards eliminating water pollution. I cosponsored and strongly supported the enactment of Public Law 660, and I have always taken great pride in the program.

As you know, that Act established a Federal grant program for the construction of waste treatment works and provided for some enforcement procedures for abatement of pollution.

Amendments to Public Law 660 were enacted in 1961, 1965, and 1966.

THE WATER QUALITY ACT OF 1965

The Water Quality Act of 1965 provided for the creation of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, which has since been transferred from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to the Department of the Interior. It increased authorizations for appropriations for the last two years of the then-authorized program, 1966 and 1967, to $150 million per annum, with all amounts appropriated in excess of $100 million to be allocated on the basis of population alone.

The 1965 Act also waived the dollar ceiling limitations for 30 percent project grants from the allocations in excess of $100 million, if the State matched the full Federal contribution made to all projects from such allotments. It doubled the dollar ceiling limitation on grants for construction of waste treatment works for individual and joint projects. It further permitted the Secretary to increase the basic grant by an additional ten percent of the amount of the grant, if the project conformed to the comprehensive plan for a metropolitan area.

Needless to say, the most controversial aspect of the 1965 Act pertained to enforcement provisions. After extended debate, a change in enforcement provisions was finally arrived at. That change was acceptable to most and was the best compromise obtainable. Thankfully, the House position on enforcement provisions was generally upheld in conference committee.

WATER QUALITY STANDARDS OF THE 1965 ACT

The intent of the House, which by prevailing in conference committee became the intent of Congress, was clearly that the States would be the ones who formulated water quality standards.

The law specifically provides that if the Governor of a State or a State water pollution control agency filed by October 2, 1966, a letter of intent that such State, after public hearings, would before June 30, 1967, adopt water quality criteria applicable to interstate waters or portions thereof within such State, together with a plan to implement and enforce such criteria, then such criteria and plan would thereafter be the water quality standards applicable to those interstate waters and portions thereof in that State. The Secretary would have to make a determination that such criteria and plan were consistent with the provisions of the Act before such criteria and plan were to become applicable.

The law does not say, however, that the Secretary, if he were displeased with the State criteria and plan, could then abruptly throw out the State criteria and plan and then establish his own criteria and plan for that State and make them the applicable ones. It is clearly not the intent of Congress that he should be permitted to do that kind of thing. It is clearly not the intent of Congress that it should have said or that it should be interpreted to mean that he should do that kind of thing.

As a Member of Congress and as the Ranking Minority Member on the House Committee responsible for this legislation, I have no intention of sitting back and permitting the Secretary to act with any disregard for the carefully thought out and arrived at plans of the States.

I hope that such a situation will not arise. But if it should arise, there are many Members of Congress who will not be sitting back seeing clear Congressional intent violated, and, perhaps even the letter of the law violated.

If the State criteria and plan are economically viable, if they are practicable, and if they can be achieved, they should be approved by the Secretary.

I personally attended several meetings of State leaders which were held to discuss ways of arriving at a sound, comprehensive State program. I think the enthusiasm shown at these meetings for getting effective water pollution control programs underway in the States is a clear indication that the States will effectively meet their water pollution control problems. I think the States will do the job and do it well.

CLEAN WATER RESTORATION ACT OF 1966

Last year, the Congress enacted the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966, which further amended Public Law 660. Last year's Act authorized the Secretary of the Interior to make grants to pay up to 50 percent of the administrative expenses of a basin planning agency for a period of not to exceed three years, if such agency and the request for the creation of such conform to certain provisions spelled out in the Act. Those provisions are primarily to protect State and local interests. This is a major step toward basin-wide attacks on the problems of pollution.

The Act broadened the research and development provisions of the basic law and increased authorizations for appropriations for research and development in many fields where research and development are badly needed. Of great importance, grants are now available for research and development projects for prevention of pollution of water by industry, including the treating of industrial wastes. This is a direct move toward greater technological research and the application of existing and future research and development in this area.

The Act provides for a comprehensive study of the effects of pollution, including sedimentation, in the estuaries and estuarine zones of the Nation.

The Act substantially increases authorizations for appropriations for the construction of sewage treatment works and requires the Secretary to submit a report to the Congress by January 10, 1968, on the reasonable estimated cost of needed waste treatment facilities. This should reveal to what extent these new monetary authorizations may need to be adjusted. The Act authorized additional appropriations totaling $3.4 billion over the next four fiscal years, 1968 through 1971. The President's recommended budget for fiscal year 1968 requests $203 million for construction grant funds. $3 million of that $203 million request is for construction grants under the provisions of the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965.

Dollar ceiling limitations on project grants have been stricken from the existing law. If the State agrees to pay not less than 30 percent of the cost of all projects for which Federal grants are to be made from an annual allocation for the construction of projects in that State, the Federal share can be increased to a maximum of 40 percent of the total cost.

If a State agrees to pay not less than 25 percent of the total cost of all projects for which Federal grants are made in the State from an annual allocation for project construction therein, and if enforceable water quality standards have been established for the waters into which the project discharges in accordance with the water quality enforcement provisions of P.L. 660, as amended, in the case of interstate waters, and under State law in the case of intrastate waters, the Federal maximum share can be increased to 50 percent of the total project cost.

The Act makes provision for reimbursements in varying degrees to State and local entities, under certain conditions set forth in the Act, for the Federal share of the costs of construction of sewage treatment works undertaken in advance of the availability of Federal funds. This is done without committing or obligating the United States to provide funds or to make or to pay grants for such projects for obvious reasons.

The Act slightly changed enforcement provisions and amended the Oil Pollution Control Act of 1924.

Last year's Act also authorized the Secretary of the Interior to make a full and complete investigation and study of the methods to provide incentives for the construction of facilities and works by industry to reduce or abate water pollution, including possible use of tax incentives. The Secretary's report of such an investigation is to be submitted to the Congress in January 1968. It is to include any recommendations for legislation.

The recognition by Congress of the need for industry to control its pollution was reflected last year in the suspension of the 7 percent investment credit under the Federal tax code. The legislation, as enacted, specifically exempts from this suspension those capital expenditures for facilities, installations, machinery, and equipment which contribute to the elimination, control, or prevention of air and water pollution. I think from my brief discussion of last year's Act and its increased emphasis on control of pollution by industry that everyone can see the importance of such a study.

THE EXTENT OF THE FEDERAL EFFORT

I have directed my remarks up to this point today to the Federal effort to control or abate water pollution and to maintain sufficient water supplies. But I am not trying to make you think that the Federal Government has done, is doing, or will do everything that needs to be done in this field. That is not and should not be the role of the Federal Government in this program. The Federal Government's efforts have been enormous, but, in my opinion, we are probably very close to the maximum extent of the Federal effort.

There are several philosophies on the Federal role in controlling water pollution and in insuring adequate water supplies. There are those who say the Federal Government should do everything. There are those who say it should do nothing. There are those, like myself, who say that the Federal Government does have a responsibility in this area. But I also say the programs will be a success only if all levels of government assume and reserve unto themselves their proper responsibilities.

In my opinion, the Federal Government is largely meeting its responsibilities in the construction of sewage treatment works and pollution abatement enforcement. You have seen in the Water Quality Act of 1965 and in the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966 several distinct trends which, I am sure, are obvious to you. They are trends toward greater State participation. They are trends toward full cooperation among all levels of government. They are trends toward bringing the largest single source of pollution—industry—into the picture in a full sense. They are trends toward greater reliance upon the States to enforce water quality standards.

The recent increase in the Federal effort is not a sign that the Congress is permitting the Federal Government to take over responsibility for the entire effort. Rather the intent runs, in my opinion, in the opposite direction. As one of the drafters and principal supporters of workable Federal water pollution control legislation, I say to you that the non-Federal interests must now assume their rightful responsibilities and fully implement effective programs.

The Federal Government cannot do the job alone. It cannot control pollution "by remote control." No Federal administrator in Washington can properly and accurately enforce water quality standards in Horse Shoe Bend, Idaho, for example. The States cannot do the job alone. The expense would be too exhorbitant. Local governments cannot do the job alone. The expense would not only be too exhorbitant but many of them are restricted by State statutes in this field. Industry and other polluters cannot do the job alone. The additional expense would bankrupt many, if not most, of them. The effort must be made together—and cooperatively.

Inasmuch as Public Law 660 has been substantially amended twice in the past two years, and inasmuch as the many reports which last year's Act requires of the Secretary of the Interior will not be submitted to Congress until January 1968, I do not foresee any further amendments during this year.

After the Congress receives the reports of the Secretary, and after the Members and the professional staffs have had sufficient time to thoroughly digest the findings of and the recommendations embodied in those reports, then further amendments to Public Law 660 may be made.

But until that time, what should we be doing to insure the enhancement of efforts to control water pollution and to insure adequate supplies of clean water at all the places where it is needed?

Quite obviously, we should move ahead in implementing, as effectively as possible, the basic Act, as amended by the 1965 and 1966 Acts. As you know, the amendments during the past two years offer a substantial challenge to all Americans to clean up our waters. While the ultimate success of our efforts will rest with the people, the immediate success of the expanded effort to control water pollution will depend upon people like yourselves who are intimately associated with the work which must be undertaken to provide adequate supplies of clean water to meet all the demands of our citizens for clean water.

THE NEEDED EFFORT IN THE FUTURE

To adequately meet the challenge of our critical water resources problems, I offered several proposals last October for consideration by the 17th Annual Joint Conference of the Florida Pollution Control Federation and the Florida Section of the American Water Works Association.

Revised to meet national needs and to include an additional proposal, I offer them to you today for your consideration. They are not as farreaching as some which might be put before you by some of my distinguished colleagues, but, in my opinion, they are within the realm of possible enactment by the Congress, the State legislatures, and the local governments. They are needed.

Forty-seven State legislatures, many of which meet only every other year, will meet this year. This is the year to act. This is the year to leave a seminar, such as this one, fired up with the determination to go back to your respective States and communities and push forward with an adequate water pollution control program. You should push forward with a program of such magnitude that, combined with the efforts of other States and other communities, it will be unnecessary for the Federal Government to restore the infringements in the future upon State and local prerogatives in this area. You should push forward with such a successful and adequate program that the Congress would not stand for any request by the Federal Government for additional authority because such authority would not be needed for the overall effort.

Let us face the facts: Only where we have tended to be lax in meeting our responsibilities to the people in this field have the Administrations found it necessary to ask Congress for, and for Congress to subsequently grant, additional authority. I say if the State and local governments assume their full and rightful responsibilities in this field, Federal encroachments will be repelled.

Toward a realization of State and local assumptions of responsibilities in this field, I offer the following proposals for your consideration in the course of today's seminar and in the course of your discussions with other concerned Americans once you return home:

1. *I propose the creation by the State legislatures of State departments, or their equivalents, headed by a person with Cabinet rank, with full responsibility for air and water pollution control and natural resources development programs.* It is time to elevate what we consider to be essential air and water pollution control programs from the bureaucratic jungles of our State governments to a proper level of Cabinet rank. It is time to give air and water pollution control programs a direct vote in the Governors' Cabinets of our States.

2. *I propose Federal and State tax incentives* for any industrial facilities, installations, machinery, or equipment, which contribute to pollution treatment and provide for the elimination, control, or prevention of air and water pollution, provided those units meet certain standards established by the appropriate Federal and State agencies. Last Congress about thirty-five Representatives introduced and twenty-five Senators cosponsored bills to provide for such Federal incentives. I am pleased to report to you that over fifty-five tax incentive bills have already been introduced this Session. I have introduced H.R. 2781 this Congress to accomplish this.

3. *I propose the enactment of Federal legislation at the earliest possible date to bring a halt to the pollution of our waters from one of the largest sources of pollution in the Nation—Federal installations.* Insofar as it is practicable and consistent with the interests of the United States, the Federal Government must set a clear example to the other pollutors by stopping its own pollution. It should place the construction of facilities necessary to abate pollution of our waters from Federal installations on a high priority basis. The establishment of a time table whereby pollution from any new Federal installation would have to be ceased by July 1, 1969, and whereby pollution from any Federal installation would have to be ceased by July 1, 1971, is one method of meeting this problem. Expenditures necessary to control pollution from Federal installations would be far wiser than Federal expenditures for many things I have found in this year's budget.

4. *I propose the enactment by the State legislatures or the local governments, whichever is appropriate in the individual State, of laws that all developers of industrial parks and housing developments of specified size to be constructed in the future be required to construct adequate waste treatment works to treat the discharge from such industrial facilities and development.* This is one method of helping to eliminate the ever-increasing amount of wastewater which must be treated by municipal treatment works. The developers would be required to operate the facilities and to meet standards consistent with statutes and regulations applicable to government owned and operated treatment works.

5. *I propose the appropriation by all State legislatures of adequate funds* to permit the States to meet their responsibilities under Federal law and to take maximum advantage of the Federal grant program to abate water and air pollution and also to permit the State to take such other action as may be needed to attack air and water pollution. These should include, but not be limited to, the training of additional State technical personnel, provided such trainees agree to remain in the State's employment for at least a minimum specified period of time.

6. *I propose the requirement of State statutes that all county, metropolitan area, or regional planning agencies must provide for minimal air and water pollution control and abatement requirements.*

I know that some of the States already have statutes and measures which provide for some, most, or all of the measures which I have just enumerated. But I think that these six proposals are the minimum measures which should be enacted during the next 2 years to adequately assume our responsibilities and to adequately contribute to the further abatement of water pollution.

There are, of course, other proposals which could be made. But I consider the ones which I have enumerated to be the most important ones, although their relative importance is not necessarily in the order in which I presented them.

Unfortunately, I cannot be with you for the duration of your seminar. However, your consideration of these and other proposals should be a worthwhile effort. Although the realization of my proposals will require a substantial expenditure by the State and local governments, in some instances, I am confident that the benefits which would accrue to the States, if these proposals are carried out, would more than offset the expenditures. Furthermore, I think these programs should have a much higher priority than some of the items w*e* now find in some State budgets.

IN CONCLUSION

I have attempted to point out to you today that while the Federal Government has done much to control and abate water pollution and to provide measures to insure against inadequate water supplies, the responsibility lies now, more than ever before, on the State and local governments, public and private organizations, industries, and concerned citizens.

It will be groups like the American Water Works Association and the Water Pollution Control Federation, and authorities in the field, like yourselves, on whom will rest the success of this most important effort.

Thank you.

Failure of Present National Policy Toward U.S. Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Charting a Course," published in Newsday of Monday, February 6, 1967.

The editor and publisher of Newsday is Capt. Harry F. Guggenheim. The editorial invites attention to the deterioration of our Nation's merchant marine.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHARTING A COURSE

A ship's captain who didn't know his destination would find it impossible to chart a course to get there. Currently the administration is proposing expenditures of $372,967,000 for a Merchant Marine subsidy policy that has neither direction nor goals.

The subsidy program is a continuation of a national policy dating back to the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. Its purpose, in general, is to assure the nation of a strong Merchant Marine. It has not been a success. In 1935, a year before the Congress enacted its well-intended Merchant Marine legislation, 31.7 per cent of the nation's waterborne foreign trade moved in American ships. Last year, the U.S. Merchant Marine carried only eight per cent of that trade.

Some rethinking of basic policy is clearly demanded. A year ago, in his State of the Union Message, President Johnson promised to develop a strong, new policy toward the Merchant Marine. Last month, in his message to the 90th Congress, the President did not mention the Merchant Marine. That promised new policy has yet to be enunciated.

The delay is easy to understand. The development of a strong, effective policy involves a strenuous course of decisions; some of them are money decisions of large dimension. The cost of creating a competitive Merchant Marine could run into the billions of dollars.

The first decision, therefore, is a basic one. Is it in the nation's interest to spend the money to make our merchant fleet competitive? We think it is. The Russians now have a fleet of 1,422 large merchant ships, and they are planning to spend $1 billion this year to construct more. The U.S. has an active fleet of 1,040, and 160 of them are so-called "rust buckets" reactivated from the reserve fleet to meet the needs of the Vietnam sealift. We will spend $143,000,000 to subsidize the construction of 13 ships this year; the Russians have 395 on order or under construction.

Adm. Emory S. Land, who guided the crash shipbuilding program during World War II, has estimated that the approximately $4.2 billion that will be spent to build a supersonic jet airliner would be enough to "largely rejuvenate" our merchant fleet. Therefore, if it is decided that the maintenance of a competitive Merchant Marine is a wise national goal, the President is going to have to set some carefully developed spending guidelines. To do that he is going to have to have a clear idea of the sort of fleet we wish to develop.

Today's maritime technology offers many alternatives. It is possible to build nuclear-powered ships and so-called containerships, which transport sealed metal containers of cargo that are easily handled and transferred to truck or train. There are also sea barge freighters, which carry smaller vessels within them. In addition, there are automated devices that reduce the manpower needed to run a ship or to load and unload its cargo. In any shipbuilding program costs will be cut if a series of similar ships are built because the shipyards will be able to apply the techniques of mass production.

An important element in a strong, new maritime policy, therefore, will be deciding the type and number of ships needed to produce a competitive fleet. It will take some study to arrive at wise decisions. But present research and development appropriations have been described by Adm. Land as "pitifully small, almost negligible."

The present national policy toward the Merchant Marine is a failure. Its goals never have been clearly defined; its methods are, at best, catch-as-catch-can. It is time, past time, for a new policy. Developing it involves a problem in navigation—deciding where we want to go and how we are to get there.

The State of the U.S. Steel Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address:

THE STATE OF THE U.S. STEEL INDUSTRY

(Address by L. B. Worthington, chairman, American Iron and Steel Institute, and president, United States Steel Corp., at the congressional breakfast, 1967 Public Affairs Conference, Washington, D.C.)

In the short month since the 90th Congress convened, you members of this most important body have already received enough legislative challenges to overburden the hardiest among you.

You've learned of the state of the union, the state of the budget and the state of the economy.

I wish that I could, this morning, report in equal detail upon the state of the steel industry and discuss some of the pending legislative proposals that are of importance both to you and to us.

Particularly, I wish that we could explore together this pressing question of air and water quality which concerns all of us so deeply; and that I could review the nearly thirty years of research that has been carried out by American Iron and Steel Institute in this field . . . . that I could tell you about the more than half-billion dollars that the steel companies have spent in the past 15 years on the installation of pollution abatement facilities, and about the additional 150 millions or so that they are now in the process of spending for this purpose. I wish I could discuss the role that the 7 percent tax credit has played in helping to finance these heavy capital outlays which add nothing to our production; and that I could explain the advantages which might be gained by substantially enlarging this credit as it applies to pollution control facilities.

But in view of the heavy demands upon your time, and in keeping with my promise to make this short, I must confine myself this morning to a single topic; and because of its importance, that topic has got to be the steady and relentless increase in the imports of foreign steel, and the effect of these imports upon the companies, their employees and the people of this nation.

By way of background, let us look for a moment at what has been happening to the world steel picture over a span of just fifteen years:

In 1950 there were 32 steel producing nations in the world; but in 1965 there were more than double that number. That means that more than 30 countries which had formerly depended entirely upon imported steel, now have steel-making resources of their own; and that the nations which formerly supplied those countries have had to scramble for new markets for their exports.

At the same time, world production of raw steel has increased from 207 million tons to 501 million tons. Moreover, it appears that at least 75 million additional tons could have been produced had there been a market for this steel.

The world exports of steel have more than doubled in the past decade. In 1955, 23 million tons went into the export market; but in 1965, 51 million tons were exported. And no longer does this steel flow principally from the industrialized nations to the less-developed countries. Twenty percent of it comes into the United States, so that this nation—which is the world's largest producer of steel—has become paradoxically the world's largest importer of steel.

Furthermore, major facility additions are projected for both Western Europe and Japan, even though the evidence is that neither in their own home markets nor in the less-developed countries will demand for steel increase sufficiently to absorb this additional production. Thus it is clear that more and more of this foreign steel will be knocking at the door of our American domestic markets.

Today, then, the American steel industry is confronted by the cold hard facts that the shifting patterns of world trade over the past nine years, are now costing us more than 13 million tons of finished steel products annually.

Our exports have plummeted from 5½ million tons in 1957 to less than 2 million tons last year while imports during this period have rocketed from a little more than 1 million tons to an all-time record of 11 million tons in 1966. And these imports now account for about 11 percent of our total domestic steel market.

In the Southwest, and out on the Pacific Coast, imports have taken more than 20 percent of the market and for certain products —such as wire rods, barbed wire, nails and staples—foreign imports represent from a third to a half of the sales in this country.

No one, I think, should try to minimize the impact of 11 million tons of imported steel on the American market. It represents more than 70,000 steelworker jobs alone, and many thousands of additional jobs in supporting industries—all at a time when this nation is striving to achieve maximum employment.

It represents a negative trade balance of nearly a billion dollars at a time when our nation is striving mightily to reverse or contain our balance of payments deficit.

It represents the output of a company larger than Armco and Jones & Laughlin combined, and all the federal, state and local taxes which that company—its employees, its suppliers, and their employees, in turn—would be contributing to the welfare of our nation.

And, finally, it represents a threat to the growth and strength of our own steel industry when America is called upon to defend world peace and the integrity of smaller nations in many parts of the globe. In this situation, gentlemen, I am sure you believe as I do that American security requires a steel industry strong enough to meet whatever demands may be made upon it; and that this nation can never afford to look to other countries for the vital steel supplies that are a major ingredient of its military power, and of its peace-time economic strength.

Now I don't have to tell you, I'm sure, that the American steel companies have not been taking all this lying down. We've been doing everything in the book to make this industry as efficient and as competitive as it is possible for any industry to be.

To enhance our position of technological leadership, and to develop new steel products that could not be obtained anywhere else in the world, we are now spending considerably in excess of 100 million dollars a year on research. And you may be interested to know that in the case of my own company about 15 percent of its shipments last year were of products that we have been selling for less than five years.

But transplanting technological advances from the laboratories to the mills themselves is a costly business; and during the past ten years the American steel companies have spent more than 13 billion dollars on new, more efficient production facilities—designed not only to reduce costs, but to establish new high standards of quality for our competition to shoot at.

Last year, these capital expenditures exceeded 2 billion dollars; and we expect that they may be as great or greater in the current year. Yet even these enormous outlays are inadequate now to take full advantage of existing technology, and they show little promise of growing at anything like the pace of the increase in our knowledge of steel products and production methods.

Retarding this growth, of course, is the recent suspension of the 7 percent investment credit and of the provisions for accelerated depreciation; and needless to say, the proposed surtax on corporate and personal incomes will, if enacted, impair further our ability to generate the funds needed to finance these capital expenditures. Not only will it intensify the profit squeeze which the industry has suffered in the past decade, but by biting more heavily into the take-home pay of the steelworkers at a time when they are already disturbed by the rising cost of living, it might well build up increasing pressure behind the wage demands that will be made upon us next year.

So our competitive position will be directly affected by the actions of Congress in these important fields of taxation. But meanwhile, we are pressing forward with this program of capital spending as rapidly as we can; because this race for technological advancement is one race that we cannot afford to lose, and neither, I think, can America.

Yet in spite of all we have done and are doing, foreign imports continued to increase last year, even though there was no labor negotiation to be faced, no threat of a work stoppage, and no reason for steel users to protect their supply by turning to offshore sources since domestic producers could fully meet the demand.

Now what are the root causes of this problem?

Well, whether we are talking about steel or any other industry, American production costs are inescapably related to the American standard of living; and are based upon the world's highest wage structure. Even the minimum hourly wage in this country—as fixed by our federal wage-hour laws—is substantially higher than the average wage in most foreign countries. And when you remember that, in the economy as a whole, employment costs represent more than 75 percent of all production costs, you realize why—in industries like steel—foreign-made products can often undersell ours in world markets.

I wish that some of our Congressional guests, this morning, could have been with me on my trip to Japan last month, and could have seen as I did the spectacular advances which the steel industry in that country has made since the end of World War II. Stating almost from scratch, it has become the third largest steel producer in the world, and last year it exported about 11 million tons of which nearly 5 million tons were sold in the United States.

Moreover, the Japanese have vast plans for expansion in the very near future, with the likelihood that most of this new tonnage would go into exports. So a few points of comparison between the two industries might be worthy of attention.

There is little to choose between the two as to technology, productivity, labor supply, skills and climate. The United States may have some advantage in the availability of raw materials although this is shrinking as new high-grade ore and coal sources open up around the world and as highly-efficient ocean bulk carriers go into service. The United States has the most modern and diversified transportation system in the world—a real advantage—but the location of all major Japanese plants on the Coast is a partially balancing factor. Therefore—as to these factors—our steel industry would seem to have some edge on Japan's. The only identifiable major difference among the economic factors affecting the two industries is in employment costs.

Employment costs in the Japanese steel mills are less than one-third as much as they are in the United States. And when I speak of employment costs, I am not talking about wage rates alone. I am including the whole range of benefits which the Japanese steelworkers receive.

The net result is that the Japanese mills have an advantage of from $30 to $35 a ton in employment costs alone. And beyond that their capital costs in the construction of new facilities are only about half as much as ours.

Faced by that kind of cost disadvantage, American producers have little chance of competing on a basis of price and must rely on quality, service and innovation as the primary areas of competition.

But these cost advantages which foreign producers enjoy in varying degrees in Europe and the Far East are not the only explanation of the flood of steel imports which washes up on our American shores. A basic cause lies in the excess steelmaking capacity which exists abroad and continues to increase; so that steelmarkers in these countries are compelled to maintain their exports at the highest practical level. If this means that they must ship their excess tons across the seas at whatever price is necessary to get the business, then they do so—and eventually their governments or their home-market customers must subsidize these exports in one way or another.

Foreign governments use their steel industries as instruments of national policy resulting in protection of those industries. The measures they have adopted take many forms but they are designed to protect domestic markets and stimulate exports. These include tax rebates, subsidies, special shipping rates, and special depreciation allowances.

And America is a prime target for these exports because the steel market in the United States is not only the largest and most diversified in the world—it is also the most open and easily accessible in the world. Here a low tariff, averaging less than 6 percent of the value of the product, is the only barrier this country places in front of steel imports.

But in other countries it is different. When American steel goes abroad, for example, it must absorb tariffs that can be more than double the American duty and then be required to hurdle a battery of non-tariff barriers which may include border taxes, surcharges, import licenses, penalties, fees and so-called equalization taxes that—in various countries—are levied on imports and rebated on exports. So the United States market is thus being used by foreign mills as a kind of "bargain basement" in which to dispose of the surplus production.

Gentlemen, there is a point—and I believe that point has been reached—where there is a limit to what we can do and still maintain the financial soundness that steel or any other industry cannot and must not jeopardize. There is a point—and I believe that point has arrived—when the import-export problem of the steel industry must be recognized in the offices of government and appropriate steps taken to solve those portions of the problem which only government can solve.

You all know what has been happening in Geneva. After years of debate, the GATT negotiations are at a virtual standstill and we in the steel industry feel certain that nothing can result which will prevent the steady deterioration of our international trade in steel.

The Trade Expansion Act expires in June and we feel it would be a tragic mistake if the Congress were merely to pass a perfunctory extension of that Act. And I gather that we are not alone in that opinion.

The Chairman of the Finance Committee, Senator Russell Long, was quoted the other day as saying: "Our trade policies need a thorough new look; and some hard-headed American businessmen are needed to devote a great deal of independent thought and study to the over-all program."

And at the annual meeting of the Trade Relations Council, Senator Everett Dirksen, the Minority Leader, expressed his "deep conviction that it is time that the Congress restore some semblance of fairness and balance to our foreign trade policy and procedures.

"We must be a zealous," he said, "in our concern for the welfare of American workers and their employers as we are for those living in distant lands . . . we as a people—and especially your Representatives in the Congress—must be farsighted enough to strengthen the American system by our wise adoption of laws calculated to foster America's strength and economic growth, rather than submissively to accept policies whose chief contribution is strengthening other nations at our expense."

Statements like these—coming as they do from both sides of the aisle—are encouraging indeed and certainly we are grateful for the efforts of many of you Members of Congress in seeking a solution to this problem. Two examples come to mind—the study of the steel import situation which is presently being conducted by the staff of the Finance Committee as the result of a resolution introduced during the last session by Senator Vance Hartke; and the hearings concerning the impact of imports on labor which were held by Congressman John Dent and his General Labor Subcommittee this past summer.

Studies and hearings of this kind are important in the determination of long-range trade policy. However, the welfare of this industry, the maintenance of the high standard of living of the American steelworkers, and—I believe it is fair to say—the security of this nation require that the Congress take steps at this Session to enact a temporary levy on imports of foreign made steel and pig iron, so as to narrow the price differential and create a climate of more equitable competition between domestic and foreign producers who seek a share of the United States market.

What the exact terms of such a law would be, and how it should be drafted, are matters, of course, which rest with you, and we will be communicating with you individually to gain the benefit of your counsel as well—we hope—as your support.

But meanwhile if you are looking for any of those "hard-headed businessmen" that Senator Long was talking about, I must say that seated in this room today are some of the hardest-headed men that you could find anywhere. I know, because I have been competing against them and their companies for more than forty years. And every one of us wants to be helpful to you in finding a fair and workable solution to this vital problem.

I hope that, together, we can.

Space Technology and Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the bold space exploits of the entire NASA team have been so spectacular as to overshadow the more earthly applications resulting from this important technological advance.

Dr. Wernher von Braun, director of NASA's Marshall Space Flight Center at Huntsville, Ala., comments on the contributions our space program could make in solving one of the great problems facing this planet—the population explosion—in the magazine Technology Week of January 23.

Dr. von Braun's essay is a splendid example of the valuable contributions of the personnel at Marshall Space Flight Center to technology which can improve human welfare. These efforts are very commendable even if overshadowed by more spectacular aspects of our space program.

I include Dr. von Braun's essay at this point in my remarks:

SPACE TECHNOLOGY AND PROGRESS

(By Wernher von Braun)

Twentieth-century man moves inexorably though at times with faltering and uncertain steps, toward the realization of a universal human goal: a better life on this planet both for himself and for his children. In the United States, we express this goal in terms of national objectives, each addressed to the soltuion of a major problem of present-day America, such as mass transportation, urban decay, rural poverty or lingering pockets of sub-standard health and education.

The problem orientation of our society reflects the traditional characteristic of the American citizen as an unabashed optimist. He has moved through his brief history with the absolute conviction that no problem is insurmountable and that no obstacle will long deter his forward march into a better tomorrow. Technology, that age-long accretion of know-how which applies the largesse of science to the purposes of man, undergirds our efforts to build a better nation and a better world.

Flowing from the twin founts of man's innate curiosity and his constant desire to improve himself and the world about him, technology is the driving force in these rapidly changing times. It is true that technology has caused many of the problems of upheaval we are experiencing today, but it is also true that technology must provide the answers to these problems.

Our experiences with the applications of technology, especially since World War II, have taught us that these applications defy precise compartmentation. For example, the know-how developed and applied in World War II has been applied in countless instances since then to improve our homes, domestic services and products, industrial processes and commercial activities.

The space program, too, is producing technological fall-out with a vast potential for application to current national and world problems. Already we have used our weather satellites to detect dust storms in the Middle East, forest fires in California and water pollution at various places in the United States. Our surveys indicate that gains up to $83 billion a year can soon be available to humanity through knowledge spawned from space research. Potential fields include medicine, communication, food, mineral and water resources, map-making, geodesy, weather prediction and control, air pollution, air and sea traffic control, and a host of industrial and management applications.

I find it rather incredible that, despite this enormous potential for improving human welfare, the space program is occasionally labeled as a diverter of funds and effort from the high-priority social and economic problems confronting us. I believe a fairer representation of the space program is that it is providing our country with a powerful means—advanced technology—for combatting many of the problems plaguing our planet.

THE PROBLEM OF POPULATION

In this essay, I would like to discuss the contribution our space program could make to solve the greatest problem facing this planet. Barring nuclear holocaust, that problem is the population explosion, and its corollary of finding the ways and means to close the ever-widening gap between the needs of a growing world population and the resources to sustain it. Although much work remains to be done before we are ready to deploy fully operational systems, I am firmly convinced that one of the great future contributions of our space program will be in helping to manage more effectively the utilization of our world resources.

Between the birth of Christ and the year 1700, mankind doubled. Between 1700 and 1900, it doubled again. According to the latest statistics of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, the world population, presently estimated to slightly above three bililon people, will be well over six billion by the end of the century. Assuming the rate of growth does not accelerate—an unlikely assumption—by the year 2033, only 66 years fom now, the Earth will have to feed 12 to 13 billion people, four times as many as today. Unless we find an effective remedy to this situation, our own children and grandchildren will live in a world in which the vast majority of mankind will be engaged in a struggle for sheer survival.

Whether the Earth could support four times as many people is not the problem. It can. The problem is the rate of growth of populations today, particularly in areas already poor. High rate of population growth make it very difficult to provide decent conditions for the living generation, as all possible gains in efficiency or output are promptly absorbed by the additional consumers. Moreover, wherever the population growth rate is high, the proportion of children is very high. In some of the under developed countires, up to 50% of the people are under 15 years of age. These children, of course, produce a heavy dependency burden on the adults who have to provide for their livelihood, with the result that less of their income is available for application to economic growth. The disparity between demand and supply thus keeps growing, particularly in those countries which even now do not have enough for all to eat.

Nevertheless, the Earth could feed many more people. Of the approximately 36 billion acres comprising dry land surface of the Earth, only 9% is currently cultivated or used for grazing of cattle. Seventy percent is too cold, too arid, too mountainous or has inadequate soil. The remaining 21% is potentially usable, but a very large initial investment would be required for improvements such as roads, buildings, electrical power and irrigation. Thus our first objective from the standpoint of both lowest cost and earliest effectiveness would be to increase the productivity of the 9% already under cultivation. A gross comparison shows that for three types of staple food—wheat, rice and corn—the yields actually attained in highly developed countries exceed those of developing countries by a factor of four.

CHALLENGE OF THE CITIES

Food is not the sole problem for the world's rapidly growing population. People need jobs and homes, too, but it is doubtful that the next two generations will find them in the open countryside. The trends bear this out. In 1800, about 10% of the population of the United States lived in cities; today that figure is over 70%. It has been estimated that by the year 2000, no less than 260 million of the 320 million U.S. citizens, or four out of five, will live in cities. The trends in other countries are similar.

All these people living in the cities will depend for their livelihood on city-based enterprise and services—factories, offices, homes, stores, schools, hospitals, churches, roads, cars, railroads, etc. And these activities will present vast resource requirements which will eat into the Earth's supply of minerals, coal, oil, timber and fresh water. Each of these resources presents its own challenge. Although the Earth's supply of metal ores, coal and oil is probably adequate to supply a much larger and highly industrialized world population for at least several more centuries, our present methods for prospecting new deposits are inadequate even for the near future. The world's timber reserves must be protected from contagious tree diseases. Replenishment is mandatory so there must be strictly enforced rules about reforestation. As to the world's fresh water supply, river and lake pollution control, while vitally necessary, will not be enough. Future megalopolises will need water supply lines from far-away sources or underground streams, unless they can be supplied with desalinated sea water produced with the help of nuclear breeder reactors.

We have all seen the beautiful color photos of the Earth taken by our *Gemini* astronauts. These pictures were shot with simple hand-held cameras of modest resolution. It does not take much imagination to see that sophisticated photographic and remote sensing equipment can reveal a wealth of new information about our home planet.

Even the simple *Gemini* pictures show details such as airfields, new roads, causeways and those unmistakable signs of urban development. A comparison between a few on-site surveys with photos of this kind would enable us to determine the local population growth pattern in any area on Earth from pictures taken from orbit repetitively over a number of years. Thus, regular orbital surveys would furnish us with the first ingredient of a meaningful worldwide resources management system: continuous survey of the "consumer pattern."

The second piece of information, of course, is the "pattern of supplies." This is a far more elusive thing to pin down. Nevertheless, the basic techniques are now within our reach. Aerial color photographs using special infrared-sensitive emulsions designed for maximum color contrast have clearly demonstrated the feasibility of distinguishing different types of crop—lettuce, cabbage, oats, rye, wheat, carrots, broccoli, soy beans, rice—each with a different shade of color. Any remaining ambiguity in the interpretation of these color pictures can be readily resolved with the use of so-called multispectral remote sensors: a battery of telescopes, mounted on the same plate and bore-sighted so that each telescope views the identical spot on the Earth beneath.

Each telescope is equipped with a filter that permits only a narrow spectral band of the received reflected sunlight to pass. A photomultiplier then records the intensity of the radiation received in that particular band and transforms it into an electrical signal. The signals recorded by such a bank of multispectral sensors can be compared with the output of an electrocardiograph. The ripples on the recorder strip are meaningful only to a man trained to properly interpret them. Just as the doctor correlates the electrocardiograph's trace with actually observed heart disorders, the analyst of the multi-spectral sensor will employ "ground truth" data to make his interpretations. Before a worldwide crop survey program can be established, a major effort will have to be launched to calibrate the sensor traces by over-flying pre-selected areas where crop conditions can be examined in detail by inspectors on the ground.

Infrared color photography, in conjunction with multi-spectral sensors, also tells us about the health of the crop and the soil. Features such as the degree of soil moisture, salinity resulting from prolonged irrigation, inadequate fertilization and presence of certain crop diseases can be easily recognized. There is no reason why these techniques, whose potential has been amply demonstrated in airplane tests, cannot be used just as effectively from orbit.

The same battery of cameras and remote sensors can furnish all the information needed for a cyclic updating of all the world's maps, a program for which mankind spends well over a billion dollars every year. These cameras and sensors offer us a most powerful tool for prospecting for minerals and oil. They have already detected and nailed down large areas afflicted by tree diseases long before local forest rangers walking through the same area knew the extent of their problem. They are ideally suited for the study of hydrologic processes including stream-flow estimates and flood predictions. They can be used for surveys of snowfalls and subsequent availability of melt water, information of great practical importance for the management of water levels in hydroelectric storage lake systems. Ice movement, wildlife migration, beach erosion, lake and river pollution by cities and factories, are other examples of the practical services such an orbital survey system can render.

BETTER MILEAGE THAN A VW

Even the habits of fish may not escape the watchful eyes from the sky! Plankton content, in conjunction with salinity and water temperature, have a known effect on the migration of fish. Plankton (which attracts small fish, which in turn attract big fish) is easily recognized by a greenish hue; salinity can be determined with a polarimeter, and water temperature is readily measured with a thermocouple. Thus, an orbital resources survey station will soon be able to tell the world's commercial fishing fleets where to catch the big ones.

Why can't all of this be done with airplanes? Airplanes can do the job, but a space system is much cheaper. The initial fuel bill for a satellite's launch vehicle is high. But once in orbit, it can stay there forever without further fuel consumption. A satellite will derive from the Sun whatever electric power it needs for its equipment while in orbit. Keep a satellite in orbit for a year, and for miles to the gallon to puts a Volkswagen to shame. Moreover, a survey satellite in a highly inclined low orbit views every point on Earth at least once within twenty-four hours. It does not glean global resources information in bits and pieces, but gets the whole story in one sweep. It is in the nature of most of the surveys I have been describing that they must be conducted continuously to be useful. The appearance of a crop, for instance, undergoes great changes between the planting and harvesting seasons, either as a result of normal growth or due to adverse circumstances such as hail, drought, rainfall or sandstorms.

Earth resources survey satellites will produce an incredible amount of data. Large computerized data-handling centers will be needed to digest the torrent of information incessantly radioed to the ground. Much of the information will be completely worthless for a variety of reasons. For example, vast areas of the Earth may be covered by overcast, or the same information is already available from an overflight a few hours earlier. The computers will therefore have to do a lot of sorting. And because the orbital scanning system is capable of serving several different areas of interest at the same time—crop surveys, oil prospecting, map updating, etc.—the processed data must again be sorted for dissemination to a number of different customer agencies.

WORLDWIDE CHALLENGE

To be meaningful, a worldwide resources management system requires support on a worldwide basis. All nations that wish to benefit from its enormous potential must participate in its operation. I think the international airlines have set a fine example for the practical feasibility of an effective globecircling public service system, even though the world strains under tensions and conflict.

The Earth resources system I have described here is, of course, not yet a reality. Many tasks remain to be done before we shall be ready to orbit an operational system. Not only must we meet the huge challenge of data collection and sorting I mentioned earlier, but the full range of possibilities for the use of remote sensors and cameras from orbit remains to be demonstrated.

After the technical feasibility of the program has been fully established, it will then be necessary to call in the statesman, the program administrator, the economist, the lawyer, the political and social scientist, and the educator to work on vexing questions ranging from the sovereignty of nations to the proprietary rights of individuals.

But an Earth resources management system is a very promising possibility for applying here at home what we have learned in space. The potential of this and other applications staggers the imagination. And a wise Administration and an imaginative Congress will bring it to fruition.

Georgia Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, Sunday, February 12, is Georgia Day, commemorating the founding of the 13th English colony in the New World at Savannah by Gen. James Edward Oglethorpe on February 12, 1733.

For several days during that period, Georgia Day is celebrated with much fervor in the State of Georgia and particularly in Savannah, the mother city.

On Georgia Day I will have the honor of presenting to the city of Savannah a bronze plaque from the National Park Service, Department of the Interior, designating the downtown area of Savannah a national historic landmark.

This recognition for the largest city in the First District is one of many that have been accorded since its founding. Savannah's famous "firsts" include being the first planned city in North America, laid out by General Oglethorpe in 1733; site of the first agriculture experiment station in America and the first lighthouse on the South Atlantic coast. The first practical cotton gin was invented by Eli Whitney near Savannah in 1793. The first Negro Baptist congregation in the United States founded there in 1788 as well as the first hospital for Negroes in the Nation in 1832. The first Girl Scout troop was founded in Savannah by Juliette Gordon Low, one of the city's most illustrious daughters. And in marking Savannah as one of the greatest seaports in the Nation, it must be noted that the first steamship to cross any ocean, the SS *Savannah*, sailed from Savannah to Liverpool in 1819, the first commercially successful iron steamship, SS *John Randolph*, was launched there in 1834 and the first nuclear-powered merchant ship in the world, the NS *Savannah*, made Savannah her first home port call in 1962.

Palatka, Fla., Receives Clean City Recognition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON FUQUA

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, I share the pride of the citizens of Palatka, Fla., in being recognized for the fourth year in the national cleanest city achievement contest.

A distinguished achievement award has been presented to Palatka in recognition of its real progress in clean-up, paint-up, and fix-up.

I am proud that this fine community has shown such interest and this is a well-deserved tribute. In extending my congratulations, I would like to submit the following editorial from the January 31, 1967, Palatka Daily News.

I hope that this program, and the record made by Palatka, will encourage more of our cities and communities to follow this excellent example of civic pride.

PALATKA WINS AWARD

For the fourth year Palatka has gained recognition in the National Cleanest City achievement contest. It has been singled out for a Distinguished Achievement Award. This is an honor that should not be taken lightly, because many cities in the United States participate in the contest, and only those that show real progress in clean-up, paint-up and fix-up are selected for the awards.

The Civic Beautification Committee, made up of representatives from the City of Palatka and various agencies and organizations in the community, have carried on a continuing program to beautify and improve the community for over four years. The cooperative spirit of many individuals has helped produce the improvements that have been made. To all of them, go credit for helping to bring Palatka national recognition.

Members of the Civic Beautification Committee and others working for a more attractive Palatka would be among the first to say that this community has only scratched the surface in such a program; that much remains to be done, but they also would add that the widespread public effort in the past few years has been rewarding, both in improved appearance of the city and more pride in the community.

Thinking Palatkans know that this city has not won recognition as a "cleanest city in this country," but for its "achievement" in the national cleanest city contest. Steady progress from year to year will eventually produce the really beautiful city that many Palatkans desire. The recognition which Palatka has received again indicates that this community has acquired the habit of improvement. This is a valuable trait and if it continues, before many years Palatka should be really clean and beautiful, a city of which all can be proud.

Charting a Course

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, this is the second of a series of very fine editorials, spelling out the problem of our merchant marine, which I am pleased to submit for the RECORD and for the interest of all of our Members:

[From Newsday, Feb. 6, 1967]

CHARTING A COURSE

A ship's captain who didn't know his destination would find it impossible to chart a course to get there. Currently the administration is proposing expenditures of $372,967,000 for a Merchant Marine subsidy policy that has neither direction nor goals.

The subsidy program is a continuation of a national policy dating back to the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. Its purpose, in general, is to assure the nation of a strong Merchant Marine. It has not been a success. In 1935, a year before the Congress enacted its well-intended Merchant Marine legislation, 31.7 per cent of the nation's waterborne foreign trade moved in American ships. Last year, the U.S. Merchant Marine carried only eight per cent of that trade.

Some rethinking of basic policy is clearly demanded. A year ago, in his State of the Union Message, President Johnson promised to develop a strong, new policy toward the Merchant Marine. Last month, in his message to the 90th Congress, the President did not mention the Merchant Marine. That promised new policy has yet to be enunciated.

The delay is easy to understand. The development of a strong, effective policy involves a strenuous course of decisions; some of them are money decisions of large dimension. The cost of creating a competitive Merchant Marine could run into the billions of dollars.

The first decision, therefore, is a basic one. Is it in the nation's interest to spend the money to make our merchant fleet competitive? We think it is. The Russians now have a fleet of 1,422 large merchant ships, and they are planning to spend $1 billion this year to construct more. The U.S. has an active fleet of 1,040, and 160 of them are so-called "rust buckets" reactivated from the reserve fleet to meet the needs of the Vietnam sealift. We will spend $143,000,000 to subsidize the construction of 13 ships this year; the Russians have 395 on order or under construction.

Adm. Emory S. Land, who guided the crash shipbuilding program during World War II, has estimated that the approximately $4.2 billion that will be spent to build a supersonic jet airliner would be enough to "largely rejuvenate" our merchant fleet. Therefore, if it is decided that the maintenance of a competitive Merchant Marine is a wise national goal, the President is going to have to set some carefully developed spending guidelines. To do that he is going to have to have a clear idea of the sort of fleet we wish to develop.

Today's maritime technology offers many alternatives. It is possible to build nuclear-powered ships and so-called containerships, which transport sealed metal containers of cargo that are easily handled and transferred to truck or train. There are also sea barge freighters, which carry smaller vessels within them. In addition, there are automated devices that reduce the manpower needed to run a ship or to load and unload its cargo. In any shipbuilding program costs will be cut if a series of similar ships are built because the shipyards will be able to apply the techniques of mass production.

An important element in a strong, new maritime policy, therefore, will be deciding the type and number of ships needed to produce a competitive fleet. It will take some study to arrive at wise decisions. But present research and development appropriations have been described by Adm. Land as "pitifully small, almost negligible."

The present national policy toward the Merchant Marine is a failure. Its goals never have been clearly defined; its methods are, at best, catch-as-catch-can. It is time, past time, for a new policy. Developing it involves a problem in navigation—deciding where we want to go and how we are to get there.

The Legion of Valor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, Columbus, Ohio, will be honored July 23–26, 1967, as the community hosts the national reunion of the Legion of Valor.

Columbus has always been in the forefront of steadfast adherence to the ideals of the United States and the inspiration of those attributes which are so basically American.

The members who make up the Legion of Valor, each of which holds a Valor Medal awarded by the United States, these medals being the Medal of Honor, Distinguished Service Cross, Navy Cross, or Air Force Cross, will find warm hospitality accorded them as they assemble in Columbus, for their fraternal and annual reunion.

The accolades of the community will be manifested in many ways, tangible and intangible, as the Columbus area goes all out to make members of the Legion of Valor welcome in a most hospitable and considerate way.

I urge my colleagues in the U.S. House of Representatives, who are members of the Legion of Valor to participate in the inspirational and enjoyable aspects of the forthcoming reunion and I wish to urge members of the Legion of Valor from all over the United States to visit and see the All America City at the zenith of hospitality throughout the Legion of Valor reunion.

Words of Wisdom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, in the last few days we have heard and read much about our Nation's proposed budget, as presented by the administration for fiscal year 1968. Of the many excellent statements made about the budget—both for and against—I want to include a recent editorial from the Port Huron Times Herald, one of the leading newspapers in the State of Michigan.

In asking that my colleagues take a few minutes to read this timely editorial, I would point out that a newspaper generally reflects quite well the current public attitude. I would also say that I have been informed that this editorial has received many good comments and very little criticism. I suspect that this is the case simply because it makes a good deal of sense.

The editorial follows:

WE CAN'T AFFORD BUSINESS AS USUAL

Weird is the word for the new federal budget as proposed by President Johnson.

It has an unreal quality, as if ordinary mortals in the form of government "experts" have acquired some fourth dimensional skill to see through an impenetrable thicket. They have struck a delicate balance where there is no visible fulcrum.

The total budget ranges from $135 billion to $172 billion, depending on which of three available scales is used to measure it. It spends more in the rigors of war, and yet more in the quest for comfort. And it is contingent upon deficit spending which ranges from $8.1 billion to $2.1 billion, again depending upon how you look at it.

The man in the street, if he is not struck speechless by the jumble of figures, is justified in calling the whole business doubletalk.

One part of the budget message gets through, however. That is the mass of it. By any measure, it's a backbreaker.

Yet it is not too much, not enough really, if it would do the things that must be done. But it will not do those things. It will not do them because it tries to wage war with one hand while attending to business as usual with the other.

We are in a war. By official definition it is a limited war. But families of GI's see nothing limited about a son's blood mixed with mud of the Mekong Delta.

War demands sacrifice, not only by soldiers in the field, or even by their families. It demands sacrifice of all the people whose battles the soldiers are fighting. Yet this budget contains no significant call to sacrifice at home. It is not keeping faith with America's fighting men if all is demanded of them and little is asked of those they protect.

The hard fact is that this Nation cannot justify, cannot honorably continue a full-steam-ahead domestic program while expecting its young men to fight its battles in a fetid jungle on the other side of the world.

We cannot reasonably run ourselves deeper into debt with questionable handouts on the home front while giving less than full support to the war front. We can't put frills on a "Great Society" while using our substance to defend the concepts on which it might be based.

If we are not willing to turn our full attention to winning the war in Vietnam, we should get out of it! Anything less drastic is a crime against our own fighting forces!

We believe America's commitments in Southeast Asia are justified. We have backed President Johnson's moves in Vietnam, and we back them still. But the one-hand-only effort as proposed in the President's budget we cannot back.

If it is allowed to stand, the people of the United States should demand, as we will demand, that our soldiers be brought home to share in the bonanza. If we are going to spend for non-essentials, we should all share in it—while there is something to share and time to enjoy it. Soon there would be neither.

We find it amazing, incredible really, that a man of President Johnson's supposed stature should propose such an unrealistic, please-everybody budget. It is unworthy of the American image.

We trust that Congress will set it right by cutting out the domestic fat. There should be no token cuts, but realistic figures which fit the home-bound effort to the sacrifices of the times, and to the labors of our brothers in the field.

We urge Congress to live up to its responsibilities as keepers of the purse strings to reshape the whole budget so that it makes some sense. In the shaping, they will be molding the destiny of this Nation.

Hon. Christian A. Herter

SPEECH

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply grieved to learn of the untimely passing of my dear and admired friend, Gov. Christian A. Herter. He was a great, dedicated national and world leader and his demise is a truly irreparable loss to our State and Nation.

Chris Herter had one of the outstanding public careers of our time, which began in his early youth, and included conspicuous service at virtually every level of government—able, distinguished leader of the general court, the Congress, Governor of the Commonwealth, Secretary of State—extremely crucial assignments in our foreign policy world leadership.

His contributions ranged over a broad field of government and extended into international relations. He was highly qualified for the many difficult tasks he undertook and his ready response to every call of country and his unalterable devotion to duty knew no bounds.

In his personal relations, he was considerate, generous and warmhearted, an amiable helpful colleague and a loyal and beloved friend, esteemed, respected, admired and loved by all who were associated with him.

I feel a deep, poignant sense of loss in his passing. He was a great American and dear friend and leaves an irreplaceable void in our midst.

His notable service to our State and country will long be gratefully remembered.

With a heavy heart, I extend my deepest sympathy to his gracious wife and helpmate, Mrs. Herter, and his sorely bereaved family in their sorrow, and pray that this esteemed friend and outstanding statesman will find peace and rest in his heavenly home.

Lodge Asked To Seek Remedy for Saigon Port Congestion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I call the attention of the House to the very splendid article published in the Baltimore Sun on January 29, which was written by the able maritime editor, Mrs. Helen Delich Bentley.

The situation at the port of Saigon is one that needs immediate attention and corrective action. The article reads:

LODGE ASKED TO SEEK REMEDY FOR SAIGON PORT CONGESTION

(By Helen Delich Bentley)

SAIGON, January 28.—The largest steamship company in the United States today asked Henry Cabot Lodge, American Ambassador to Vietnam, to intervene in the entangled conditions in the port of Saigon.

Solon B. Turman, chairman of the board of Lykes Bros. Steamship Corporation, today cabled Lykes's local representative, Capt. Frank James, to call on Lodge for assistance in what is threatening to be an increasingly critical economic situation in this country.

Lodge advised Captain James that he first would like the economic section of the embassy to look into the problem and report to him. A meeting has been scheduled for Monday afternoon.

SERVICE SUSPENDED

Yesterday Lykes announced suspension of its commercial service to this port—the first time since World War II. Lykes, based in New Orleans, thus becomes the third major American subsidized steamship company to quit this clogged port.

Out of 108,000 tons of commercial cargo transported into Saigon aboard Lykes ships last year, 75,000 tons remain in barges scattered around the Saigon River and its estuaries.

It is estimated that more than 1,000 barges plus hundreds of junks and sampans are loaded with imports which the consignees either refuse to take now or are financially unable to accept.

Lykes is more fortunate than many companies or consignees in that its officials do know on which barges the cargo is located and are able to get to them.

FINANCES THREATENED

However, that does no good as far as the merchandise is concerned unless the purchasers pay what is due and accept delivery of the vast stores blocking this port and threatening the financial structure of many local firms as well as some in the United States.

Consignees who say they want their cargoes and have the funds to pay for them claim they are unable to locate the freight even though they have appealed to the port authorities for assistance.

The only group making money in this unfortunate situation are the barge owners, and they are reaping in collectively an estimated minimum of $42,000 American dollars daily. Some claim that barge charges are running as high as $60,000 American dollars a day in addition to the costs mounting in the warehouses.

RESPONSIBILITY UNCERTAIN

One of the notes of uncertainty here is where the responsibility for the unclaimed cargo rests—on the steamship company, on the consignee, on the stevedore, or whom.

Under the Brussels Convention, it is said that the ship is responsible for all freight until it is delivered to the consignee. However, there was a report today that a local court has ruled otherwise. This has not been corroborated.

Last week the Saigon Chamber of Commerce and several business men's associations appealed to the Government of Prime Minister Nguyen Cao Ky to take steps to relieve the over-all port situation.

SIX MONTHS DELAY SEEN

Although new port officials have been appointed, they have little hope of getting an even flow of commercial cargo through this port in less than six months.

People in the United States were lulled to sleep over the growing cancerous situation in this port because of statements issued by the Defense Department that ships no longer were backed up and congestion had been eliminated. However, little effort was made to specify that this improvement was limited to military cargoes and that one of the reasons there no longer were military ships waiting was because they were being held in other areas away from Vietnam.

At that time no reference was made to the congestion then existing and continuing to mount as far as commercial cargoes were concerned.

Conservation Pioneer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, the President's far-reaching message recognizing the threat of air pollution deserves to win for him a place among the great pioneers of conservation. Men like Theodore Roosevelt, Gifford Pinchot, and Franklin Roosevelt served our Nation well by their efforts to leave us something of the legacy with which nature so richly endowed our continent.

Now our President seeks to lead the Nation in another aspect of conservation too long ignored. Only vigorous, farsighted and dedicated action by the Congress can insure that the very air we breathe will be safe for our posterity.

The New York Times, in an editorial on Tuesday, January 31, supported this pioneering action by the President. I recommend that the text of the editorial be included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

TO CLEAN THE NATION'S AIR

The United States is in serious danger of running out of its most important natural resource—the air that supports life. President Johnson indicated his recognition of this critical fact by devoting more than half of his message on "protecting our national heritage" to the problem of air pollution.

If the President's program is readily adopted by Congress and effectively administered, it will diminish but not do away with the danger. Lethal air inversions such as New Yorkers experienced on Thanksgiving weekend and again last week threaten everyone, and so do the pollutants that slowly poison the air, day in and day out, in cities large and small and even in rural areas. Yet many corporations and private individuals can be expected to resist the imposition of strict antipollution standards, and to refuse to make the costly innovations that would bring complete protection.

Mr. Johnson delicately referred to this opposition when he observed, "We must recognize that in dealing with fuels for industry and motor vehicles, we are dealing with matters of enormous importance to every section of the nation and to many economic interests. . . . Great investments have been made on given assumptions about those fuels and uses. These considerations require that we approach the pollution problem with respect for its complexity and its economic implications."

The nation's health, however, has to come first, Sheer human self-protection commands the attitude of "urgency and tenacity" that the President also recommended. Mr. Johnson is right in the specifics of his program. The nation has long needed uniform national standards for what constitutes a dangerous level of noxious emissions in each of the major polluting industries.

Equally necessary are air quality commissions to enforce standards in regional airsheds which cut across state and local boundaries. It is a disgrace that nearly four years after Congress passed the Clean Air Act of 1963 containing financial incentives for metropolis-wide antipollution programs, there is still not an effective interstate program in the New York-New Jersey area or anywhere else in the nation.

Mr. Johnson's message zeroes in on the research problems that need attention, notably the emissions from automobiles and diesel engines, as well as the sulfur compounds created by the burning of coal and oil. His recommendation of a 50 per cent increase in research funds is welcome. The only weakness in the air pollution section of the message was the failure to recommend more than just a study of the long delays that now exist between hearings, findings and actual enforcement. This leisurely two-to-three year process requires immediate acceleration.

Fino Introduces Flood Insurance Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, I introduced legislation to provide for a national program of flood insurance. The legislation is virtually identical with that introduced recently by Majority Whip Hale Boggs, and others.

I introduced this bill in the hope that Congress will see fit to help our river, lake, and maritime communities by making it possible for them to enjoy adequate insurance protection against the ravages of wind and waters.

In my own Bronx district, New York's maritime center of City Island will benefit greatly from any such insurance coverage Congress might choose to make available.

Last year, City Island was lashed by Long Island storm waters several times, and it may be a few years before the Corps of Engineers gets a breakwater built.

I hope Congress will take prompt action of the question of a national flood and storm insurance system.

Address Delivered by the Honorable William M. Colmer at the Launching of "Oregon II"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, our prestige as a great nation is as much on the line on the high seas as it is in space or in southeast Asia.

We are locked in a conflict with the U.S.S.R.—a conflict between ideologies that makes us competitors in outer space and inner space.

It is imperative that the United States develop its capacity to benefit from the ocean's resources. Every American is aware of our Polaris fleet's importance but relatively few of our citizens are aware of the importance of our commercial fishing fleet. Our people's future food needs and the projected needs of future world populations make it imperative that we develop the nutritional resources of the seas.

One of our colleagues, the gentleman from Mississippi, Congressman William M. Colmer, discussed the importance of our domestic fishing industry when he delivered an address at the launching of the *Oregon II* at Pascagoula, Miss. Congressman Colmer has taken a personal interest in the commercial fishing industry in the United States for 16 years and I believe my colleagues would appreciate an opportunity to read his remarks on our Nation's fisheries resources.

I would appreciate, Mr. Speaker, an opportunity to insert Congressman Colmer's *Oregon II* address in the the Record.

Congressman Colmer's address follows:

ADDRESS TO BE DELIVERED BY CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM M. COLMER AT THE LAUNCHING OF "OREGON II," PASCAGOULA, MISS., FEBRUARY 4, 1967

This is a day of great pride for me. I am indeed pleased to be here today and to participate in the launching ceremony of this modern exploratory fishing and gear research vessel. In that regard, I thank Mr. Gardner and Mr. Bullis for their kind invitation.

Oregon II will be a vital link in the chain of events needed to bring our fishery resource potential into commercial utilization. A quick look at the state of our domestic fisheries and the changes that have taken place in world fisheries over the past few years shows some very disturbing trends . . . with the result that the United States has slipped from second place in ranking among major fish producers, to a very poor fifth.

While virtually every other nation with a fisheries tradition has recorded a great production increase during the past decade, our catch declined 200 million pounds. Since we pride ourselves on our technology and know-how, it must be concluded that our diminishing position in fisheries production has come about for the simple reason that we have not given the problem sufficient attention.

The reality of the demands which the expanding world population will place on available food supply must be recognized. Good quality proteins are not universally available in sufficient quantities in the form of agricultural products. Furthermore, land resources for crops and animal grazing are not inexhaustible; only one-fifth of the total available crop land is left unutilized and this, at best, could only supply enough food (predominantly vegetable) for presently underfed people—and this only if the most modern agricultural methods could be applied world-wide. But even if this could be achieved, there would still be a serious deficit in the supply of animal proteins to supplement adequately the diets of today's population, let alone that of tomorrow's millions.

The seas offer a wealth of nutritional resources. They already are a principal source of protein. They can provide many times the current food supply if we but learn how to garner and husband this self-renewing larder. To meet the vast needs of expanding population the bounty of the sea must be made more available. Within two decades our own Nation will require over a million more tons of seafood than we now harvest.

But there is still another reason—a very vital reason—why the United States must move ahead in our programs of studying the seas. This reason is communism. Soviet leaders are convinced that the way to world communism, among others, is by leadership in oceanography, dominance among fishing nations, and the superiority of the Russian merchant marine.

A report on the Soviets and the seas was made recently by my colleagues, Congressmen Hastings Keith and Paul Rogers, members of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, who were delegated to visit Russia and Poland in the face of a growing Soviet buildup in marine sciences and technology.

The report noted that the Soviet Union is finely tuned to world political revolution; and its people are but a generation away from internal upheaval. They are also deeply concerned over the possibility of having their own political philosophy replaced by some foreign and repugnant ideology. They sense change, dissatisfaction and turmoil in the plight of what by the end of this century may be billions of under-fed human beings. In this potential instability the Soviets may well be able to achieve political ideals which have so far proved unattainable through nuclear backmail and overt military conflict. To seize firmly upon these exclusive objectives, the Soviet Union is using technology and building its capability rapidly.

The Soviet Union is said to have marked the paths it must follow to achieve world communism. Three of these paths will be through the ocean as they build and exploit their merchant marine, fisheries and ocean sciences. All of these will help to fill the empty stomachs in underdeveloped nations all over the world. The seas, covering 71 per cent of the earth's surface will have to provide much of the long-range answer to the population. The United States cannot afford to let the Soviets be the only ones with the answers. Happily there are those in Congress who recognize the importance of increasing our efforts to control the waters of the world. I assure you that we will continue these efforts to win the race for mastery of the seas.

As for the situation in our immediate area, and I am referring particularly to the Gulf of Mexico, it is far from discouraging in spite of the overall decline of the United States fisheries. The gulf alone has shown an upward trend over the past 20 years and now accounts for about 25 per cent of the total United States fish production.

For years, however, the importance of the fishing industry in the gulf was not realized. In fact, the exploration of the possibilities in the gulf lay dormant until the late 1940's. Although the government maintained exploratory vessels and other implements for the development of the fishing industry in both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, there were none in the gulf.

An act of Congress, which I had the honor of sponsoring, resulted in the transfer of the original Oregon to Pascagoula and the Alaska to Galveston, Texas.

A number of people in the industry, both locally and on the higher government level, were interested and helpful in accomplishing this transfer. However, I should like to acknowledge particularly the efforts of my good friend and outstanding Jackson Countian Hermes Gautier, who was convinced that the Gulf of Mexico offered vast fishery potential. In this connection, I should like to pay tribute among others to Harvey Bullis of the Bureau of Wildlife and Fisheries, under whose dedicated management the splendid and vast results and accomplishments have been made possible, both in research in the local laboratory and the valuable discoveries of new supplies of sea food throughout the gulf and adjacent waters.

It is indeed gratifying to me, as I am sure it is to all, to realize the considerable economic growth and benefit which has come from the transfer of the *Oregon* and the establishment of this base. These benefits are not confined to Pascagoula and the Mississippi coast, but are for the entire gulf fishing industry.

I have watched the program closely during the past 16 years and have seen many important contributions to our fisheries emerge.

The old *Oregon's* early shrimp explorations were instrumental in defining the extent of the industrial bottom-fish potential in the Gulf of Mexico and were to a large extent responsible for the decision of a pet food manufacturer to erect a canning plant in our area. The vessel also discovered the presence of yellow-fin tuna in commercial numbers in the gulf in 1954 and two small canneries opened to process fish caught by five vessels, but a combination of events forced them to stop operating in 1959.

At the request of industry the old *Oregon* in 1957 initiated trawling experiments for the capture of red snapper and developed trawling gear suitable for operation on rocky bottom that was more productive and commercial.

These are only a few of the projects that resulted in considerable monetary gain to industry. Equally important, though less tangible benefits, also have been received.

Since the start from scratch in 1950, the annual contribution of exploratory fishing efforts in this program alone has become more valuable until the dollar value of this research to our fishermen today approaches $25 million, almost a ratio of 50 to 1 on our dollars invested.

For the past several years, there has been considerable expansion in ocean research and much has been done in measuring the physical features and determining the basic biology of many marine species.

However, this new *Oregon* has been designed for a program totally committed to solving the practical problems of fisheries development. This vessel, therefore, profiting by the rewarding results of its predecessor, will surely play an important role in restoring the United States world ranking in the production of fish.

I am likewise gratified that this Pascagoula-based ship, the last word in exploratory vessels, in which all Mississippians take pride, was built by Ingalls craftsmen. Moreover, additional color is added by the fact that this vessel was designed by Mr. Robert Macy, an outstanding naval architect of this city. Likewise, the expenditure of more than $2 million for its construction has contributed to their local economy.

It is truly appropriate that the *Oregon II* is being launched here on the Mississippi coast, which now ranks as one of the largest fishing areas of the United States. In fact, I believe the records will reveal that we lead in pounds of fish landed in the whole country.

Because this modern new vessel was specially designed to take care of many needs that became apparent during the period of operation of the original *Oregon*, I feel the *Oregon II* will not be long in equalling or exceeding the reputation of its predecessor . . . one which achieved respect throughout the U.S. fishing industry and earned well-deserved international recognition in fishery survey and development.

The need for this vessel is clear-cut if we have the potential fishery resources referred to by Mr. Thompson, and, I have every reason to believe that we have. If, indeed, we are presently harvesting no more than a small percentage of the potential yield of this region . . . If these resources can make a major contribution to the long-range nutritional well-being of our country, and, if our fishermen and fleets can profit and thrive by their harvest, then we cannot afford to lose them either by default or by letting our burgeoning foreign competition develope and exploit them before our very eyes.

We shall expect much from *Oregon II*. Not only will she advance our domestic fishing industry, but she will exemplify our interest in developing and utilizing the oceans for the well-being of all mankind. And, lastly, she will represent our pride in the accomplishment and technological capabilities of our own community here on the Mississippi coast.

In a few moments the *Oregon II* will slide into the fabled water of Pascagoula River. The same waters where majestic, ocean-going liners, sleek and powerful nuclear submarines, swift cargo vessels and naval defense ships have been launched before her. From here she will for many fruitful years search the mysteries of the sea for new sources of the sea's wealth for the benefit of mankind in an ever-growing population.

May she serve us well.

Space Cabin Oxygen Fire Kills Indianapolis Airman and Pal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, overlooked to a degree in the aftermath of the recent tragedy at Cape Kennedy, was the death of an Indianapolis airman who died in an accident similar to that which took the lives of Astronauts Grissom, White, and Chaffee.

William F. Bartley, Jr., the son of Mr. and Mrs. William F. Bartley, of Indianapolis, is no less a hero than the astronauts, and deserves recognition by Members of Congress for his devotion to duty and sacrifice for America's space program.

Bartley, a graduate of Southport High School and a former Purdue University student like two of the astronauts, died in a pure oxygen fire in a simulated spaceship cabin at Brooks Air Force Base just a few days after the fatal accident at Cape Kennedy.

The 20-year-old airman had only recently visited his family in Indianapolis and described some of the dangers involved in his experimental work.

Another airman, Richard C. Harmon, 21, of Auburn, N.Y., also perished in the accident which claimed the life of Bartley.

It has been my privilege to serve more than 6 years as a member of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, and its Subcommittee on Manned Space Flight, and during these years of work with the space program I have repeatedly been impressed by the high degree of dedication and courage exhibited by all of our servicemen associated with this effort.

While Hoosiers grieve the deaths of Astronaut Grissom, a native of Indiana, and his colleagues, we are also equally saddened and at the same time proud of the contribution and sacrifice of William Bartley, Jr., and his colleagues.

The Indianapolis News published an excellent feature article concerning the career of Airman Bartley and I offer for the RECORD this article together with the news story from San Antonio concerning the second space cabin accident.

The articles follow:

[From the Indianapolis (Ind.) News]

SPACE CABIN OXYGEN FIRE KILLS INDIANAPOLIS AIRMAN AND PAL

SAN ANTONIO, TEX. (UPI).—As in the cockpit of Apollo I, a simulated spaceship cabin at Brooks Air Force Base was filled with pure oxygen yesterday.

Like the events at Cape Kennedy last Friday, something caused the cabin to burst into flames.

And like the first three Apollo I astronauts, two enlisted men were burned to death inside the cabin before they could scramble out of the hatch.

The inside of the cabin got so hot that the charred remains of experimental animals, furniture and other equipment smoldered for hours, then burst into flames four hours after the flash fire first erupted, according to Col. James B. Nuttall, commander of the School of Aerospace Medicine.

Airman 2C William F. Bartley Jr., 20, of 912 E. Epler, Indianapolis and Airman 3C Richard G. Harmon, 21, of Auburn, N.Y., died in the fire.

Bartley was dead when rescuers got into the cabin. Harmon died several hours later.

The enlisted men were experimenting on the effects of pure oxygen on the red-blood cell-producing organs of the 16 rabbits in the chamber.

"Both men apparently lunged for the door," said Lt. Col. T. A. Glasgow, base information director.

"But they could not reach the hatch. It was already red hot."

Using pure oxygen for manned spaceflights was already under scrutiny because of Friday's fire at Cape Kennedy which killed Virgil I. (Gus) Grissom of Mitchell, Ind., Edward H. White II, Roger Chaffee.

"It took rescuers four minutes to get the men out of the chamber," Nuttall said. "First it was necessary to cut the pressure from the simulated 18,000 feet to ground level. This was done by flooding the chamber with air. The operator of the chamber first noticed something was wrong when he heard at ruffling sound," Nuttall said.

"It was apparently the men groping for the escape hatch," he said.

The Air Force said the men were not volunteers but were assigned to the laboratory work, part of a 67-day experiment of which they were in the second day. Volunteers are used only in tests involving reaction on the human body.

Glasgow said a panel of experts was making an "intensive" investigation as to the cause of the fire. He emphasized there was no explosion. Nuttall said there were no plans to change the research methods.

He Died at Work He Loved

William F. Bartley Jr. wanted to be an Air Force pilot, but he couldn't because he wore glasses.

So he became a technician at the School of Aerospace at Brooks Air Force Base, Tex.

Yesterday, the 20-year-old airman 2C, son of Mr. and Mrs. William F. Bartley, 912 E. Epler, died doing "the work he loved" when fire fed by pure oxygen engulfed a simulator in which he was working.

He was home a week ago, his father said today. "He told us of some of the dangers involved in the work," but they didn't bother him, the father continued.

After graduation from Southport High School, the young airman attended the Purdue University extension center here for one semester before entering the Air Force last April.

MOTHER HAD MAILED A LETTER

Yesterday, only two hours before she was notified of his death, his mother, Opal Bartley, mailed a letter to him expressing her concern about him because of the flash fire at Cape Kennedy that killed the three Apollo 1 astronauts.

While at work, the elder Bartley heard reports of the tragedy, but no identification was released. "I knew it was my son," he said.

Young Bartley, who celebrated his 20th birthday Sunday, returned to the base from a leave last Tuesday.

He had a love for airplanes, and spent much of his time building models and flying them, the father said.

Services are pending at the G. H. Herrmann Madison Avenue Funeral Home with burial to be in the Forest Lawn Cemetery.

Other survivors—sister Darlene; grandfather Fayette Metz, South Point, Ohio.

Wrong Place To Cut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the cutback in Federal-aid highway funds is arousing a good deal of protest in Iowa where substantial progress has been made on completing the interstate highway program.

In Iowa, people have a hard time understanding the rationale behind cuts in highway construction when the President is asking more money for the poverty program, the model cities program and the space program.

These are items in the budget which can be reduced in the Nation's best interest, but the highway construction program is not one of those items.

On January 31, 1967, the Muscatine Journal expressed editorially the sentiments of Iowans on the highway fund cutback.

The editorial follows:

[From the Muscatine Journal, Jan. 31, 1967]

Wrong Place To Cut

U.S. Representative Fred Schwengel was back in Muscatine and other cities of Iowa's First District for a series of visits over the weekend and Monday. He also conferred with Gov. Harold Hughes on ways to restore the temporary cuts in federal highway funds ordered by President Johnson.

The president's order sliced between $24 and $28 million off the amount Iowa can expect to receive in federal road-building money during the next two years.

Schwengel isn't making optimistic promises, but he said in Muscatine Monday there is a possibility of restoring the highway funds. He serves as a member of the important Public Works committee in the House, and the minority members have been assured that hearings will be held on the federal highway fund cutback which effects all states.

The Iowa congressman is of the opinion that reductions should be made in the funds for the nation's space program or the antipoverty war instead of in the highway program. "We must have modern highways if we're going to have a Great Society," he says.

All studies in Iowa and other states have proved conclusively the automotive and human safety advantages of the interstate highway system. With the continuing tragic rate of accidents and deaths on the highways of this nation, there should be no slowup in the construction of the modern freeways built to modern safety standards.

The Inevitable Tragedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE D. WAGGONNER, JR.
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, of all that has been written concerning the tragic deaths of Astronauts Grissom, White, and Chaffee, I believe the editorial, "The Inevitable Tragedy" which appeared in the Shreveport Times on January 31, best capsules this terrible event. Those of us who serve on the Science and Astronautics Committee of the House perhaps better than others have known the sureness of this tragedy's inevitability.

These wonderful young men gave their lives, not just for this Nation's space program, but for progress itself. We have all benefited from their lives and we are all the less now that they are gone. I do not believe the world will soon forget these three men and I would like to add my own humble salute by offering this editorial here for every Member to read.

The editorial follows:

[From the Shreveport Times, Jan. 31, 1967]

The Inevitable Tragedy

From the first orbiting of the earth it has been inevitable that American astronauts would lose their lives as they endlessly sought conquest of space—either through accidents in space or in such things as the fiery death of the three who were approaching an entirely new type of exploration prior to an effort to land on the moon.

In a field so vast, so raw, so new and so complex as space exploration, human catastrophe was sure to come sooner or later. Our spacemen live with this knowledge and it is the measure of their courage.

But the inevitablity of disaster in this program does not soften the tragedy of what happened at Cape Kennedy Saturday and the profound grief it has caused all over the nation. Millions of Americans followed the space exploits of Virgil I. (Gus) Grissom and Edward H. White and were just getting acquainted with rookie Roger B. Chaffee, the third man of the first Apollo crew.

Lt. Col. Grissom was a veteran in a new field, the second American into space, and a favorite of the watching public. Lt. Col. White was the first American to walk in space, his life secured by a thin cord. Lt. Comdr. Chaffee was a tested Navy pilot with more than 2,100 flying hours in his logbook.

All three men were perfectly aware of the omnipresent danger of their jobs—as are all those connected with the space program or any regular air activity—and freely admitted some apprehension. Yet they were willing, even eager to serve the country in pushing forward the frontiers of space.

Perhaps the greatest fear of these astronauts and their colleagues was that the inevitable calamity, when it came, would shock the nation into a slowdown on space exploration. Lt. Col. Grissom and others have voiced this concern.

Previous efforts at space exploration have been so smooth and so remarkably free of mishap that it was feared that public and officialdom alike would forget the risk that asserts itself every time the hatch-doors slam shut—that the nation was thus unprepared for the trauma of accidental tragedy.

The tragedy has come, and the shock, but it is evident that the push into space, though delayed, will continue unabated. A back-up team for the first Apollo is ready to go, though it will take time to replace the spacecraft itself.

The moon eventually will be reached. Outer space will be explored. If anything can be learned from the tragedy at Cape Kennedy, it will benefit those following up on the effort to which three men gave their lives last Saturday. This is how they would have wanted it.

Grissom, White and Chaffee will be long remembered as great and brave Americans, in the vanguard of a rare breed of men pioneering the widest and wildest frontier of all, that of space.

What's It Like To Be Poor?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, I am submitting for the Appendix of the Record the fourth of the series "What's It Like To Be Poor?"

What's It Like To Be Poor?—Battle of Bean Soup and Babies

(By Margaret Josten)

The young woman collapsed across her ironing board in gales of laughter when she heard the question: Do mothers on welfare keep having babies just to get bigger checks?

"That's the funniest thing I ever heard," she giggled.

"Nobody'd go through nine months getting a baby just to have that piddlin' bit from welfare."

The good-natured young woman was the mother of an illegitimate child, now a freshman at Taft High School and doing well at all of his studies but modern math.

And the "piddlin' bit" of which she spoke is about $22 a month. That is the amount allowed each child and mother in the program known as Aid to Dependent Children (ADC).

ADC came into being August 14, 1935, with the signing of the Social Security Act. Title IV of that act stated simply that its purpose was to enable each state to furnish financial assistance to children deprived of parental support by reasons of death, continued absence from the home or disability.

The program has come under increasing attack in recent years because illegitimate children—their numbers are mounting here and in cities across the nation—also are eligible for help.

A frequently-heard charge from the general public is that promiscuous unmarried women ("prostitutes," some call them) have one child after another simply to get bigger checks with which to buy better brands of wine.

Welfare authorities laugh at this charge too, although not as heartily as did the young woman.

"I guess I've been asked a minimum of 300 times if these women are having children deliberately," says Frederick A. Breyer, director of the Hamilton County Welfare Department.

"I have always told them that I just cannot accept the suggestion that any woman would go through nine months of pregnancy, then confinement, just to get $22 or $23 a month."

Mr. Breyer certainly is not condoning illegitimacy.

But he points out, "It seems to me that if we determine a minimum below which nobody should live in health and decency, then we open the door to women who may indulge in socially unacceptable practices in order to get enough money for the family to live on."

A study made by the American Public Welfare Association shows that over 81% of all ADC children surveyed were born to legally married parents.

And he asks, too, if illegitimate children should be permitted to suffer for their parents' misdeeds.

Mr. Breyer's office does not keep statistics on illegitimate children since all children, under the law, are eligible for ADC. But he figures the number of cases here would be approximately the same percentage as they are in the national picture.

Mary Adams (not her real name) is 30 years old now. She was in the eighth grade when her son was born. "I was young and dumb and bad then," she admitted, then added, "but I learned the lesson."

At 17, she married a man who was not the boy's father. But he specialized in extramarital affairs and inhuman treatment of his family. Now he is a man of the past.

Until recently, she supported the boy by working as a domestic, a chicken plucker, a laundress. Now she has a fibroid tumor for which General Hospital doctors are planning an operation.

It may be difficult for some to believe that an unwed mother can be a good mother, but Mary Adams is raising her son in a fashion that might be envied by some of her so-called "betters."

She screens his companions carefully. She makes sure he does his lessons daily. She is washing and ironing constantly to give him a fresh change of clothing each day. This is made more difficult because her washing machine is broken and she must wring out the clothing by hand.

With their $44 monthly (exclusive of rent and utilities for their housing project apartment), she tries to give him decent food.

While she talks of food budgeting, she walks to the bean soup bubbling on the kitchen range. "I hate to do this," she says, pouring a glass of water into the pot.

"But it's getting along towards the end of the month and I guess we'll be running out of food stamps—as usual. I borrow stamps from Mother when that happens."

The big thing about Mary Adams is that she seems totally isolated from the world around her. She never goes out because she has nowhere to go. She lives just for her son and wonders what will happen to her when he is grown and gone.

Toward Disengagement From South Africa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, recent worldwide attention has been devoted to the U.S. aircraft carrier *Franklin D. Roosevelt* which made an operational port call at Capetown, South Africa, in a manner which again tested the validity of our claims of opposition to the racial policies of that country.

Some Americans, while claiming support of high ideals, find it inconvenient to back their principles with practical action. Involvement of American interests in opposition to our enlightened self-interests as a nation was the subject of a recent article appearing in the November 28, 1966, edition of Christianity and Crisis which I request permission to have printed in the RECORD.

The article, entitled "Toward Disengagement From South Africa," follows:

TOWARD DISENGAGEMENT FROM SOUTH AFRICA

Many Americans, aware of the evils of apartheid and the tyrannical practices that accompany it, have long been concerned about American economic involvement in South Africa. But they have been less sure how to act. Currently a Committee of Conscience Against Apartheid, initiated by the American Committee on Africa and the University Christian Movement, and chaired by A. Philip Randolph, is calling for a protest in one way that seems practical—withdrawal of accounts from those American banks most involved in South Africa.

Journals of opinion must also act, even though their financial resources may be small. They cannot simply endorse the decision of others to act when their own banking practices are at issue too. Hence the Board of Directors of Christianity and Crisis after long study and consultation has decided to move our account.

We need not here elaborate the evils of apartheid. This journal has frequently attacked South Africa's virulent racism, its oppression of a majority by a privileged minority, its suppression of protest, its policy of arrest and detention of citizens of all colors.

Furthermore, these tyrannies and cruelties are not those of an impetuous revolutionary government that may be expected to moderate its policies as it grows more mature. They are the practices of a desperate minority, seeking by coercion to maintain power in the face of one of the major forces of modern history—the drive toward freedom and human dignity.

Economic success has sustained the Government of South Africa and has vindicated its policies to its own people. When censured by the United Nations and others it dismisses the criticisms as verbalisms in view of the financial support it gets from many parts of the world, including this country.

Writing from Johannesburg in 1963, Henry P. Van Dusen said: "Let there be no underestimate of the importance which the ruling minority . . . attaches to American financial support. I know from firsthand testimony that it is their strongest single encouragement to pursuit of their present policies. . . . One of the foremost statesmen of South Africa remarked to me in personal conversation: 'So long as United States banks and business back us, we can go ahead.' "

Not only has American financial involvement increased in recent years; it has also rescued the racist Government from specific embarrassments and troubles. For example, in the period following the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, a financial crisis shook the nation, and the Government might well have fallen without a heavy infusion of foreign credit, including American.

It is sometimes said that if Americans should stop investing in South Africa, other people would quickly take up the slack. Given the immense profits available, that judgment is probably right. But it does not provide us with a moral excuse. Furthermore, it ignores the important strategic effect of American involvement.

All the evidence points to a coming struggle in South Africa. It is unrealistic to suppose that 3 million Europeans can continue indefinitely to suppress 11 million black Africans, a million and a half Coloured, and half a million Asians. Revolution in one form or another is on the way.

At some point our Government will have to use its influence, both in the UN and in its own actions, either to promote or to stifle change. To the extent that American financial interests are at stake, the pressure will be to preserve the status quo.

Only recently has the US, through Ambassador Goldberg, taken an initiative in the UN discussions of South-West Africa. But the possibility that the US will use its weight to change the African situation remains remote so long as American industrial and financial groups stand to lose in the process. Economic disengagement—or at least de-escalation—is the prerequisite to resolute policies by this nation.

We recognize that this is a complicated issue on which many individuals and organizations have not made their decisions. Some wonder whether the disengagement of US economic interests will not do more harm than good. We have given serious attention to the issues they are considering.

First, we are told that prosperity will undermine apartheid and that economic pressures on South Africa will hurt the very people we want to help. To this we say that the booming economy has thus far only entrenched the privileged class and color. And from sources inside that nation we learn that the victims of the system are quite willing the accept the costs of efforts to weaken the oppressors.

Second, we hear—in fact, we have often said—that it is harmful to isolate governments we dislike. It is better to draw such governments more fully into the community of nations. We have favored this policy toward Communist China, Cuba and other nations. Furthermore, we have argued that American policy errs in doing too much rather than too little to tidy up the world. It is better to tolerate some evils than to become moralistic and pretentious in eradicating wrongs. But such considerations do not justify our active support of a system committed to racism and portentous of war. And the past examples of Germany, Italy and Japan in the 1930's and 1940's show that our nation can be as mistaken in neglecting to use its power as in overreacting to policies we disapprove.

Third, some argue that it is the business of the government, not of economic interests, to make foreign policy. We see the force of the point. In general we doubt that the world would be better or safer if industries and banks gave a larger place to moral and ideological judgment in their policies toward other countries. At this point there is some value in the moral neutrality of business. But the trouble is that American investments are already making foreign policy. High governmental officials, although not free to speak out publicly, have told us privately of the harmful consequences.

Therefore, after taking into account these arguments we are convinced that, on balance, we should work toward economic disengagement from South Africa—especially disengagement of American finance from the present Government.

We are not prepared to say yet how radical this disengagement should be. Unlike some of our allies in this cause we are not ready to insist, for example, that American banks should get entirely out of South Africa. Our real objection is to loans and investments that strengthen the existing government and bring new capital into the economy.

We do not ascribe evil intentions to American industrial and financial interests in South Africa. They are simply doing business as usual, in a situation that is far from usual. We think the consequences have already been harmful and are potentially disastrous.

We are neither able nor eager to apportion the relative responsibility of various agencies. Plainly US industrial investments (roughly $500 million) are a bigger factor in the situation than bank loans. Banks handle the financial transactions that follow from trade and industry. But most Americans are more directly related to the South African economy through their banks, with which they deal day in and day out, than through the automobile or diamond industries, with which they deal more rarely.

Furthermore, banking, more than industry, has specifically shored up the Government in its time of difficulties—particularly through the revolving loan involving ten American banks: the First National City Bank of New York, the Chase Manhattan Bank, the Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co., the Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., the Irving Trust Co., the Chemical Bank New York Trust Co., the Bankers Trust Co., the National Trust and Savings Association, the Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust and the First National Bank of Chicago.

Therefore, we join the movement to withdraw accounts from these banks. We regret breaking a relationship with persons and an institution that have served us well. We make no claim to purity in this operation; all banks (like all churches and journals of opinion) are involved in the moral dilemmas of the world. But we see here an opportunity to make a meaningful gesture and perhaps strike a blow against the vicious institution of apartheid.

Accordingly Christianity and Crisis is withdrawing its account from the First National City Bank of New York. We hope that our action will contribute to the more widespread movement, sparked by the Committee of Conscience, toward industrial and financial disengagement from South Africa.

THE EDITORIAL BOARD.

Mr. Lincoln's 10 "Cannots"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I am grateful to my good friend, Mr. J. D. Cruce of Swainsboro, Ga., for sending me a copy of Abraham Lincoln's 10 "cannots," which I believe are just as apropos in this period of our Nation's history as they were in Mr. Lincoln's day.

The 10 negatively stated gems of political wisdom from the immortal speeches and writings of Abraham Lincoln are as follows:

You cannot bring about prosperity by discouraging thrift.

You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong.

You cannot help small men by tearing down big men.

You cannot help the poor by destroying the rich.

You cannot lift the wage-earner by pulling down the wage-payer.

You cannot keep out of trouble by spending more than your income.

You cannot further brotherhood of men by inciting class hatred.

You cannot establish sound security on borrowed money.

You cannot build character and courage by taking away a man's initiative.

You cannot really help men by having the Government tax them to do for them what they can and should do for themselves.

Building a Stronger America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT E. JONES
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the wisdom of providing funds for a start on several important waterways projects was pointed out in a recent editorial in the Florence, Ala., Times.

The article has its basis in the philosophy of our distinguished and knowledgeable colleague, Representative MIKE KIRWAN, who, without a doubt, must be this country's greatest advocate of building for a stronger nation.

His untiring efforts in behalf of the Lake Erie-Ohio River Canal, the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, and the Cross-Florida Barge Canal, and other projects vital to the proper growth and development of all of the United States have earned Congressman KIRWAN the deep affection of citizens far beyond the boundaries of his home district.

Because I agree with the urgency to proceed with these investments, I include the editorial in my remarks at this point:

CONGRESSMAN KIRWAN PLUGS CANALS

Congressman Mike Kirwan, chairman of the House Public Works Committee, has been successful in persuading President Johnson to request $2,000,000 for advance engineering and design on the proposed Lake Erie-Ohio River Canal in the U.S. budget for the 1968 fiscal year beginning July 1, 1967.

Inasmuch as Congressman Kirwan considers the Tennessee-Tombigbee Canal and the Cross Florida Barge Canal as comparison projects to his own; inasmuch as his committee holds $500,000 in readiness with which to begin advance engineering and design on the Tennessee-Tombigbee as soon as the Army Chief of Engineers sends his final report of approval to the committee; and inasmuch as construction on the Florida project is already well underway, it would seem that prospects for all three of these great waterways are unusually bright at this time, in spite of the demands of the Vietnam war on the American economy.

These projects should be gotten underway now, even if on a limited scale, in order to be ready to provide employment for returning veterans from the Southeast Asian conflict.

If anyone, with the help of our own Senators and Congressmen, can see these canal projects through, it is Congressman Kirwan, of Youngstown, Ohio, who is far more interested in developing things down here on earth instead of rushing our trip to the moon.

In a recent conversation with us, he told us his philosophy regarding canals. It seems on one occasion, a railroad president was testifying against a canal project some time ago, when the Congressman asked him:

"Have you ever known of a canal that hurt the railroads?

"Have you ever known of a canal that didn't benefit the railroads?"

And neither will Tennessee-Tombigbee Canal, the Cross Florida Barge Canal, or the Lake Erie-Ohio River Canal.

In fact, they will help the railroads and strengthen the nation—in peace and war. They are needed and they are economically and engineeringly feasible.

What else can one ask?

The Wars That Nobody Seems To Notice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Ray Vicker's article from Nairobi, Kenya, published in the Wall Street Journal of Friday, February 3, is quite interesting in light of what is being done to Rhodesia by the U.N. with the consent and help of the U.S. Government. His article follows:

THE WARS THAT NOBODY SEEMS TO NOTICE

(By Ray Vicker)

NAIROBI, KENYA.—Somali raiders sweep across the thorn-tree dotted plains of northern Kenya, looting and killing. They are backed by the Somali government, which is openly supporting formation of a Greater Somaliland carved from Ethiopia and Kenya.

In Yemen, an Egyptian army that may amount to 75,000 men occupies key sections of the country. Bombing and poison gas are being used by United Arab Republic troops to intimidate the population, or so the Yemeni charge.

In fact, across Africa in the last few years there have been so many tribal wars that counting is difficult. And the aftermath of these troubles is still visible in Nigeria, Burundi, Rwanda, the Sudan and other places.

It might be expected that such situations would attract the scrutiny of the United Nations, since that organization has a peacekeeping function clearly expounded in its charter. At the very least, concerned pacifists around the globe might be expected to be propagandizing vigorously against such blood-letting and the conditions that make it possible.

NO PICKETS

But neither the Somali affair nor the Yemen war has ever been brought to the floor of the UN, nor are they likely to be. Only minor protests are voiced in the world's press. There are no protest committees picketing embassies in the Western world or pamphleteering on street-corners.

That this is the case can be seen by merely looking. And something else seems similarly clear: The reason for this double standard concerns race. World opinion has become so sensitive to racial differences that when colored people fight each other (be they tan, yellow, brown or black) nobody seems to notice but when white and colored fight it is a major moral event.

By this standard, it is not a matter for international concern should the Arabic UAR invade Arabic Yemen to establish a government more pleasing to the UAR. Nor should the UN or anybody else concern itself when black nationalist Kenya faces an undeclared war launched by Afro-Arabic Somalia.

But the American presence in Vietnam is a matter for protests by leftists around the globe, whether of the homegrown variety on U.S. campuses, or Britain's Lord Russell. An American intervention in Santo Domingo is viewed with far more horror than might have been the results if America had kept troops at home. More than 100,000 African civilian dead have been counted the last few years in wars in the Congo, Burundi, Nigeria, the Sudan and Rwanda. Yet the only major UN action affecting that part of the world recently has been a boycott of white supremacist Rhodesia.

Rhodesia is viewed as a "threat to peace" by most UN diplomats, including those of the U.S. delegation, on the basis of possible future racial troubles. In Salisbury one Rhodesian government spokesman says: "The UN is more concerned about what it claims might happen in the future than it is about the actual blood-letting already under way further north."

One does not have to sympathize with Rhodesia to wonder why. But, of course, when the double standard is applied the reason becomes clear: Rhodesia is indeed white supremacist with tinges of the colonial mentality too.

The situation here in Kenya is certainly one that should be occupying the attention of a world body such as the UN if it really were concerned with all types of wars. Somalia is a dirt-poor country at the horn of Africa, its easternmost point, with a population of about 2.5 million. It raises bananas and little else. Most of its population is nomadic, wandering freely across the Kenya border into that country or across the Ethiopian border into the desert areas of that nation.

ENTER THE SOVIET UNION

In July 1960 Somalia obtained its independence. Ever since it has been agitating for creation of a Greater Somalia through annexation of those territories in Kenya and Ethiopia where Somalian nomads wander. The Soviet Union, sensing an opportunity for trouble, has been pumping arms into Somalia, helping that little nation to create a 20,000-man army.

Mungai Njoroge, Kenya's minister for defense, charges that Soviet arms are being funnelled to guerrillas, who then stage raids in Kenya. Says he, "We are confronted with armed aggression on the part of our neighbor." He reports that over 500 men, women and children in northern Kenya have already been murdered by "these Somalia bandits." Other sources put the casualty list at over 1,500.

According to Kenyan estimates, the Soviets have sold about $35 million of arms and ammunition to Somalia. That is a sizable figure for a country that can't even carry its regular budget without foreign aid.

Moreover, hundreds of Somalia military officers are in the Soviet Union undergoing military training.

Last year the war cost Kenya about $8.5 million. This year costs probably will be well over $10 million. Kenya has more productive uses for that money, but seems faced with a long-drawn guerrilla war that could continue as long as the Soviets are willing to support Somalia.

When the Organization of African Unity held a summit meeting in Addis Ababa last fall, the principal item on the agenda concerned not the Somalian war but Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence from Britain. Delegates strongly endorsed military action to bring Rhodesia to heel. Somalia was too touchy a problem for handling, partly because the OAU has no power to do anything about it.

It isn't popular among nationalist Africans, either, for any nation, African or not, to bring charges in the UN against a non-white African country. So the Somalia-Kenya trouble drags along, with people getting killed, and nothing being done to focus world opinion on the problem.

In Yemen, President Nasser of the UAR has found himself bogged in a futile war that has no end in sight. The UAR moved in, ostensibly to support a republican government against a reactionary Imam, the hereditary ruler. UAR assistance developed into an occupation force when Yemenites became disillusioned with the type of "aid" President Nasser was offering. It soon became apparent that the UAR is more interested in using Yeman as a base for seeking control of the Arabian Peninsula than in trying to establish a stable, domocratic government in that country.

There are indications now that far from petering out, the Yemen war could flare anew before long. The enmity between Saudi Arabia's King Faisal and Egypt's Nasser seems to promise this.

PARTIAL U.S. ENDORSEMENT

Few people outside Yemen, though, seem willing to admit that the war there is what it is—an occupation of an independent nation by an outside army. The U.S., in fact, has given partial endorsement to that occupation, through its recognition of a republican government that now has more connections with the UAR than with its own people.

"Nobody from the American UN team in New York is making any speeches against the UAR's occupation. Why should we?" asks one British diplomat when asked to comment about a recent letter to the London Times.

The letter writer had said: "If, as is so frequently boasted, the British government's actions are prompted by morality, then Lord Caradon (Britain's UN representative) should be instructed forthwith to raise the question of Egyptain gas attacks on the Yemeni civilian population at the United Nations Security Council."

Britain is unlikely to do that, for like most of the Western world, it no longer speaks out against the double standard. Parliament recently tabled a motion to raise in the Security Council "the threat to peace presented by the United Arab Republic extension of the Yemen was to Saudi Arabia and the use of poison gas. . . ." One government official says bluntly that the motion is unlikely to get far, that the question isn't "pressing."

However, Britain can say that it is not endorsing that Yemeni occupation. Unlike the U.S., it did not recognize the Yemeni republican government, seeing the situation for what it is.

One could be sure, though, that if Yemen were being occupied by a West European power, the anguish would be evident form one end of the Afro-Asian bloc to the other. Moreover, some American delegate to the UN would most likely have already voiced a justifiable condemnation of the occupation. In today's world, however, morality is one-sided.

Food Aid for India

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MORRIS K. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, this year India has been the victim of a serious drought for the second year in a row.

Last year, my colleagues will recall, the Congress endorsed the President's proposal to provide for the relief of the Indian people in cooperation with the people of a great many other countries. During 1966 the United States shipped almost 8½ million tons of foodgrains to India. To put this quantity in perspective, it amounts to about 23,000 tons of grain a day—that is, two ships laden with grain leaving a port of the United States every day of the year.

Other countries also helped. Our neighbor Canada made a gift of more than a million tons of wheat. The people of Italy and the Netherlands responded to the need of people half way around the world. And there were others—many others who stretched a helping hand to the people of India.

President Johnson said last year that our tradition and our history demand that we help those in need, when we are able to do so. But food aid, he pointed out, is just a stop gap; the race between food and population is worldwide and of critical importance to the entire world. The future peace of the world may depend on food production being raised within these affected countries to bring food supply and population needs into balance.

Fortunately, India has initiated strong new programs to improve agricultural production. That nation has wisely used the development aid provided by the United States and other countries to expand its domestic production of fertilizer, pesticides, and improved seeds, and to raise imports of fertilizer, seed, and other agricultural materials until its own production picks up speed. Also, India has raised prices paid to farmers so they can buy fertilizer and use modern technology, and it has taken steps to increase irrigation, credit, and transportation. Today about a quarter of all the money India is spending for development goes to support agricultural expansion.

These new efforts are now threatened by a new disaster which prevents India from reaping any benefits this year. And the frightening prospect is that millions of people will endure starvation and crippling disease because of this national calamity.

President Johnson is asking us to support his efforts to mobilize worldwide help in this emergency. Our own ability to help is more limited than it was in the past when we had large surpluses of grain and, clearly, we cannot carry the burden alone. But help we must.

A moment ago I spoke about the need to bring food supply and population into balance. I cannot overemphasize the importance of working toward that goal. But for the longer range, I think the Indian Government and the American people are fully aware that increases in food production are not going to remove the spectre of famine unless there is a concurrent effort to limit births. In this battle against too rapid population increases the people of India deserve this Nation's full support.

I believe India is meeting the test of self-help. Therefore, I am pleased to see President Johnson taking initiative in helping to organize an international war on hunger to help the people of India. Other countries, I understand, are willing to contribute to India's immediate food needs and to continue to support India's development program, which is the food of tomorrow. I think it is in the best interest of our country that we take the lead in this "war."

Mr. Speaker, I am confident the Congress will endorse the President's proposal to help India in her present crisis and to lay the foundation for more rapid economic development in the future.

It's Time for Commonsense in Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. ZWACH
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, the people of Minnesota's Sixth Congressional District want the Federal Government to bring spending into line with income. They do not believe that it is wise to continue deficit financing indefinitely—and they are concerned and distressed over the inflationary spiral that has hit this Nation. They do not favor a tax increase this year.

The people have made these views clear through a number of public opinion polls which I have studied, and through meetings I have had with them during the past 10 months. These were important issues during the last campaign for the Congress, and I promised the people that if elected I would carry their views to Washington.

Mr. Speaker, the Sixth Congressional District is just 4 years old, having its present boundaries drawn in 1962. During those 4 short years the preceding Congresses voted to increase the national debt limit by $23 million. When I came to Congress last month, the national debt was being underwritten by every man, woman, and child in this Nation by almost $2,000.

By the end of the current fiscal year, Federal Government expenditures will have increased about 50 percent over 1960, and will have gone up 20 percent just in the last 2 years. At the present time the Federal Government takes $1 of every $5 that we earn.

This trend must be speedily reevaluated. Until this Government reviews spending and brings it back into line with revenues, I intend to represent the people of the Sixth District by refusing to support additional taxes and unbalanced budgets.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to have inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following editorial which appeared in the Upsala News-Tribune on January 26, 1967. This editorial well expresses the deficit financing issue:

[From the Upsala News-Tribune, Jan. 26, 1967]

GIMMICKS RUNNING OUT

Many people have begun to lose faith in official estimates of government spending and deficits. A new word has entered the vocabulary of government financial operations. That word is "gimmicks." (Sen. Dirksen used it in commenting on the President's budget message this week.) Some of the gimmicks that are being used to prevent people from seeing the true picture of government spending are "seigniorage" (the profit the government makes from minting coins), sale of "federal assets" to private investors to raise money for government's current bills, tax payment speedups, etc.

Here are federal spending estimates as stated in U.S. News and World Report: For the year ending June 30, outgo may be 124 billions, income 117 billions, deficit 7 billions. For the year to start July 1, outgo 131 billions' income 119 billions, deficit $12 billions. As U.S. News comments, "Gimmicks for doctoring the budget are running out."

There is one certain way for the layman to put his finger on the trend in government spending and deficits. Periodically, Congress stages a one-act comedy called, "raising the debt limit." For some reason, there is a legal ceiling on the federal debt. Every year or so this ceiling is "temporarily" raised. The legal limit at present is $330 billion. Late news reports tell of plans to increase this legal limit by at least $2 billion this year. It is a fairly safe rule of thumb that as the debt ceiling is raised the value of the dollar declines—gimmicks notwithstanding.

The Preprocurement License Approach

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. MORRIS of New Mexico. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an article which appeared in the October 1966 issue of the Notre Dame Lawyer. This review of proposed reform is submitted in conjunction with my bill on patent infringement in Government procurement, H.R. 2898.

The article referred to follows:

THE "PREPROCUREMENT LICENSE" APPROACH

Concerned with its present procurement practices involving patented items and realizing that the significant objections raised to the Williams Bill made early passage of remedial legislation unlikely, NASA has proposed an administrative change to alleviate the problems created by the *Herbert Cooper* line of decisions. It should be emphasized that NASA's suggestion falls short of a full solution, which the authors are convinced can come only through legislation.

Inherent in the Comptroller General's decisions since 1958 seems to be the feeling that potential patent infringement liability is too speculative a matter to become a factor in evaluating bids or proposals. But where the Government is a licensee under the patent in question, obligated to pay a predetermined royalty for procurements from an unlicensed source, the cost of such procurements could be readily and precisely determined. Thus, NASA has concluded that a significant part of the Comptroller General's concern over consideration of patent infringement liability in evaluating bids or proposals could be alleviated in cases where the Government was already a licensee. The integrity of the governmental procurement processes could be maintained if potential contractors were notified that royalty charges under licenses existing at the time of selection of a contractor might be a factor in such selection.

With these facts in mind, a procedure for entering into "Preprocurement Licenses" has been suggested by NASA.[1] Under the proposed policy, NASA would exercise its existing statutory authority [2] to become a licensee under a privately owned patent in appropriate instances *prior* to the award of a contract for the procurement of patented items. A definite royalty would be established, which NASA would be obligated to pay to the patent owner if the patented items were procured from someone other than the patent owner or his licensees. This would put NASA in a position to determine with certainty which bid or proposal would be "most advantageous to the United States, price and other factors considered." [3]

Under this policy, if the price offered by an unlicensed supplier plus the fixed amount of royalty due under a preprocurement license were less than the bid of the patent owner or one of his licensees, the contract would be awarded to the unlicensed supplier and the royalty would be paid to the patent owner under the license agreement. On the other hand, if accepting the lowest bid of an unlicensed supplier would cost the Government more than accepting the lowest bid of the patent owner or one of his licensees, the contract would be awarded to whichever of the latter submitted the lowest bid. In either case—and this is an important advantage of the proposal—there could be no subsequent claim or suit for patent infringement since the contract would be awarded either to the patent owner or to one of his licensees or, if to an unlicensed supplier, under a preprocurement license with NASA [4]

The conditions under which NASA would enter into a preprocurement license have been specified in detail in a proposed regulation.[5] A standard form would be used to enter into a license whenever:

1. a patent owner calls a patent to NASA's attention and identifies a proposed procurement which will infringe his patent;
2. NASA patent counsel determines that this patent will be infringed by the proposed procurement;
3. the statutory presumption of validity of the patent [6] is strengthened by a court decision holding the patent valid, or by the fact that the patent is respected commercially as evidenced by one or more royalty-bearing commercial license agreements under the patent; and
4. the patent owner is willing to enter into the standard form license agreement prior to the award of the contract and thereby license NASA at a reasonable rate which in no event would exceed the lowest rate at which he has licensed a private concern.

As an overriding consideration, the proposed licensing procedure would not be applicable in any case where its use would unduly delay a procurement. Whenever the procedure would not be applicable, competing bids or proposals would be evaluated without regard to patent infringement liability, and the patent owner would be left

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Footnotes at end of speech.

to file an administrative claim for patent infringement or to sue in the Court of Claims.

The proposed policy would not curtail competition in NASA procurements of patented items, however; it would merely reduce an uncertain or speculative factor under current practice to an established royalty, which may be considered in determining realistically which bid or proposal is most advantageous. In every instance, NASA would determine (1) the legal right of the patent owner to license NASA, (2) whether the Government had a royalty-free license to use the patent, (3) whether the patent had ever formed the basis for an administrative claim or an infringement action, and (4) whether the patent had been involved in litigation casting doubt upon its validity.

In order to notify prospective bidders or offerors of this policy, the regulations would require each invitation for bids and request for proposals to include the following clause:

"In the event of a determination by NASA that this procurement will infringe private patent rights, NASA may enter into a patent license agreement with the owner of the patent prior to an award of a contract pursuant to this Invitation for Bids [or Request for Proposals, as the case may be]. In such a case royalties which will be payable under such a license agreement to the patent owner should the contract be awarded to an unlicensed supplier will be considered by NASA in determining which bid is most advantageous to the United States. Before any royalty payments are considered for evaluation purposes, each bidder will be given an opportunity to show that he is a licensee under the patent determined by NASA to be infringed by the procurement."[7]

It should be emphasized that, in implementing the proposed licensing policy, where doubt exists as to a patent's validity or its applicability to a procurement, the policy would not be applied and the procurement would proceed under the present practice as outlined above.

Realistically, it is anticipated that the proposed licensing procedure would be applicable only in a limited number of cases in view of the conditions which must be satisfied under the proposed regulations. In instances where it would be used, however, it would remove the bias that presently favors an unlicensed supplier of patented items over a patent owner and his licensees, and it would obviate the need for a costly and time-consuming administrative claims procedure or Court of Claims suit.

At the date of this article's preparation, NASA had initiated discussions with the Comptroller General to ascertain his views on its proposal, and actual implementation had not yet occurred.[8]

FOOTNOTES

[1] Address by Paul G. Dembling, Deputy General Counsel, NASA, before the Federal Bar Association, Los Angeles, Calif., October 13, 1965; Address by Robert F. Allnutt, *supra* note 42; Address by Gerald J. Mossinghoff, Briefing Conference on the Patent System in Transition, sponsored by the Federal Bar Association, Washington, D.C., May 6, 1966. McCusker, *A Break for Patent Holders*, WESTERN ELECTRONICS NEWS, March, 1966, at 9.

[2] 72 Stat. 429; as amended, 42 U.S.C. § 2473 (b)(3) (1964).

[3] 10 U.S.C. § 2305(c) (1964).

[4] By its terms the preprocurement license would be applicable only to a single proposed procurement, so that the substantial administrative burden of submitting periodic royalty reports required under standard running-royalty license agreements would be avoided altogether.

[5] The regulations will appear as NASA Procurement Regulation § 9.102, to be codified as 41 C.F.R. § 18–9.102.

[6] 35 U.S.C. § 282 (1964).

[7] See note 81 *supra*.

[8] Just recently the Comptroller General indicated his general approval of the preprocurement license approach, B-131916 (Sept. 12, 1966). As an alternative approach it has been suggested that the objectives sought to be achieved by the preprocurement license policy could be attained if the Government were to limit its authorization and consent for patent infringement in supply contracts, and in appropriate cases, expressly withhold its authorization or consent for patent infringement. Address by Leonard Rawicz, Patent Counsel, Goddard Space Flight Center, NASA, to the Patent, Copyright and Trademark Committee at the Annual Convention of the Federal Bar Association, Chicago, Ill., September 17, 1965. If this approach were adopted and if it were held that a "nonauthorization and nonconsent" clause were effective even if the Government accepted the supplies (*but cf.*, Bereslavsky v. Esso Standard Oil Co., 175 F. 2d 148 (4th Cir. 1949)), then the infringing contractor would presumably be liable for infringement under 35 U.S.C. §§ 283, 284 (1964). This, of course, would place the patent owner in the same advantageous position he enjoys in the commercial sphere. Whether the Comptroller General would object to the Rawicz proposal is uncertain; however, he would undoubtedly continue to require that the contract be awarded the lowest bidder. See Davis Aircraft Prods., Inc., B-147536 (March 22, 1962); Moore & Hanks Co., B-158790 (April 15, 1966).

The State of Our World Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech:

ADDRESS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY TO THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE

WASHINGTON, D.C., Tuesday, February 7, 1967.—"The greatest single threat to the Viet Cong and to North Vietnam today is a freely-elected, representative government in South Vietnam," Vice President Hubert Humphrey told the International Development Conference meeting in Washington Tuesday night.

Humphrey predicted that the stable political leadership and responsive political institutions needed for such a government will soon become realities.

The Vice President said, "In Vietnam . . . we are resisting Communist military force with force, and succeeding militarily. We are aiding the South Vietnamese in economic development, and succeeding economically. But the corner will not be fully turned there until *political* progress matches military and economic progress."

Humphrey warned that, "We, as a great power, must beware the impulse to try to impose on nations with far different traditions and histories our own political institutions in carbon copy."

But, he said, "We must not hesitate to help them—when they ask for help—to develop their own institutions, tailored to their own experience, which will meet the need of their people."

Humphrey said that the probability of a freely-elected, representative government in South Vietnam "is causing Hanoi and the NLF to have second thoughts."

He added, "The barrage of threats, intimidation, and propaganda launched by North Vietnam and the Viet Cong against the election for a constituent assembly last fall was a miserable failure. The people of South Vietnam *did* vote in overwhelming numbers.

"A constituent assembly was elected. It is at work.

"A constitution is today being written.

"Village and district elections will be held this spring.

"National elections are scheduled for this fall.

"These are solid steps toward peace and victory over Communist intimidation.

"And, in combination with our military and economic efforts, these are the steps which can in time innoculate a nation against terror, subversion and political agitation waged by a disciplined minority."

I remember a Hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1961. The subject was cooperatives.

Senator Hubert Humphrey asked how many foreign aid agency people were in the field organizing credit unions. After a pause and hurried consultations, the witness answered "None."

How many people did we have helping to organize savings and loan associations in the countries of Latin America and Africa? "None."

How many were employed to organize marketing or consumer cooperatives? The answer was the same—"None."

We did something about it.

Since the autumn of 1961, AID has carried out the mandate of the Humphrey Amendment working with the organizations represented here tonight.

On this fifth anniversary observance of the Humphrey Amendment, AID has contractual arrangements with 10 major cooperative organizations. It has 97 cooperative personnel. It has involved 286 consultants. It reports 123 projects in 39 countries and 40 thousand cooperatives with 16 million members. During the past five years, it has committed 50 million dollars to cooperatives.

The underlying objectives of the Humphrey Amendment are as valid today as five years ago. I would single out four:

First, to help people who most need it. Regardless of good intentions, government-to-government assistance always seems to trickle down slowly, if at all, to the poor people of developing nations—even where their governments honestly seek to help them.

Second, to help in modernization of *rural* areas. In the assistance programs of the 1950's and the early 1960's there was too much emphasis on industrial development—on steel mills, factories, and airports. The new emphasis on cooperatives has opened a channel of technical and financial assistance to the rural masses.

The continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America, we must not forget, are basically rural continents. And, as desperate as poverty may be in the many of the cities of these continents, it is far more desperate in the countryside.

Third, to promote "pluralism"—that is, the development of a multiplicity of private institutions, as well as governmental, which involve varying elements in a society in the business of that society. The cooperative encourages decentralization in decision-making and helps provide the mechanics for making economics, social and political decisions at the grassroots level.

Fourth, to foster economic and social development within a specific democratic political framework.

During the past year the Congress has taken an additional step to encourage popular participation in the development process. Thanks to Congressman Don Fraser's Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act, AID is encouraged to make a more conscious and direct effort to promote the development of democratic institutions at all levels—national, regional and local.

One year ago, Pope Paul, in addressing a United Nations group in Rome, rightly stated that in today's world "development is the new name for peace."

Poverty breeds disorder. Poverty breeds hate. Poverty breeds war.

No fewer than 164 outbreaks of violence—outbreaks carrying *international* danger—have taken place in the last eight years, in the "have-not" nations of the world.

Using the World Bank classification of nations as "middle-income" poor;" and "very poor;" since 1958 serious violence has visited 48 per cent of the middle-income nations . . . 69 per cent of the poor nations . . . and 87 per cent of the very poor nations.

I do not contend that development efforts will in the short run end disorder—in fact, some disorder usually comes with economic and social transition. But we know that, in the long run, far greater disorder will follow if people are denied a share in the better life they see around them.

Just what are the facts of world poverty? The overwhelming and inescapable fact is that the gap between the rich nations and the poor continues to widen. Today, 20 per cent of the world's population disposes of 75 per cent of the world's income.

Last year, the rich nations of the West added 106 billion dollars to their total production—more than the *total* GNP of the Near East and South Asia, or of Latin America.

In 1966, we in the United States, with 190 million people, *increased* our GNP by 58 billion dollars. The less developed nations of Africa, with a population of 250 million, have a *total* GNP of only 30 billion dollars.

Yes, the gap continues to widen. But there is another fact we must face: Many nations have not yet begun to climb the curve of growth.

In most less developed countries, the population explosion and the debt explosion threaten to eat up all potential gains. The population of the poor nations increases each year by 2.5 per cent compared with nine-tenths of one per cent in Europe or 1.5 per cent in the United States and Canada.

Schools cannot keep up.

Since 1960, despite enormous investments in education, world illiteracy has grown by some 200 million people. Of 373 million children in developing nations, about 115 million—30 per cent—are in school and about 258 million—or about 70 per cent—are *not* in school.

World food production is well behind demand. It has barely risen over the past two years, while population in the less developed countries has increased by 40 million.

World per-capita production of food has not gained significantly in the past *10* years and in some years bad crops have threatened acute and widespread famine.

In addition to the growing burden of supporting their populations, these countries have the growing burden of their foreign debt. Since 1956 the average annual rate of increase in foreign debt has been about 15 per cent. Foreign debt has grown three times faster than the United Nations *target* of 5 per cent for annual economic growth, and that economic growth target has not generally been achieved.

The debt burden to foreign governments and international agencies is only part of the story.

Private producers in every developed country—usually under the protection of government guarantees—extend short-term credit for a wide variety of items which have no relation whatsoever to priorities and development plans in the developing nation.

The temptation to consume now and pay later is seldom resisted.

No certain statistics are available on the volume of these private credits, but the Development Assistance Committee of OECD estimates that developing countries paid back in 1965 for these private credits *twice* as much as the repayment on aid loans. This would mean that the two reverse flows together ate up *three-fifths* of all aid.

All this adds up to a dismal picture. But it is a far from hopeless picture.

The rich nations have greater resources for foreign assistance than ever before.

And both the rich and poor nations have learned some lessons in these past few years about the business of peaceful nation-building.

Let me mention some of the lessons I believe we Americans have learned.

As I have already pointed out, one lesson is that governments cannot do the job alone. Just as progress in our own nation requires a working partnership among *all* elements of society, so is this true in other places.

Another lesson we have learned is that one country—the United States—cannot do the job of nation-building alone. All nations must participate.

In his War on Hunger Message last week, President Johnson expressed it clearly:

"If we are to succeed, *all* nations—rich and poor alike—must join together . . . with the same spirit, and same energy, and the same sense of urgency that they apply to their own national defense. Nothing less is consistent with the human values at stake."

It is gratifying to observe that as the other industrialized nations have arisen from the ashes of World War II, the *have* picked up this burden along with us.

In the last nine years they have increased their flow of aid to the less developed countries from 1.3 billion dollars to more than 2.5 billion dollars—an increase much higher than the rate of increase in their incomes.

Today, five industrialized countries spend a larger percentage of their national incomes on foreign aid than we do.

There is another lesson: That regional development is far more effective than isolated national programs.

In Latin America what started as an experiment in cooperation has become a way of life. Regional cooperation has become institutionalized in the Organization of American States . . . in the Inter-American Development Bank . . . and in the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress, which reviews the development plans and policies of each of its members. Progress toward economic integration is encouraging.

Obviously, such things as transportation, river valley development and communications do not stop at the edge of political boundaries.

With the perfection of satellite systems, a regional educational television network, which would reach vast millions in Latin America is now a realistic probability.

In Africa, the United States—in cooperation with international agencies and with other bilateral donors—is seeking to concentrate its assistance on region-wide projects, particularly in fields such as agricultural research, transportation and communications. And African nations themselves are increasingly cooperating on a regional basis.

In Asia, the doors of the one billion dollar Asian Development Bank have just been opened with the majority of its capital provided by donors other than the United States.

Another lesson learned is that outside help does little good in the absence of sound policies and diligent self-help actions by the developing nations. To be effective, foreign aid must be used to support forces for reform which are at work in the developing nations.

We have also learned that development cannot be achieved by technicians alone.

The indispensable prerequisties for development are *political* leadership and responsive political institutions.

John Adams once observed that "Power always thinks it has a great soul."

We, as a great power, must beware the impulse to try to impose on nations with far different traditions and histories our own political institutions in carbon copy.

But, at the same time, we must not hesitate to help them—when they ask for help—to develop their own institutions, tailored to their own experience, which will meet the need of their people.

Nowhere is this more clear than in Vietnam today.

In Vietnam, a developing country, we are resisting Communist military force with force, and succeeding militarily. We are aiding the South Vietnamese in economic development, and succeeding economically.

But the corner will not be fully turned there until *political* progress matches military and economic progress.

The greatest single threat to the Viet Cong and to North Vietnam today is a freely-elected, representative government in South Vietnam.

It is the ever-growing probability that such a government will soon come into being. And that probability, I believe, is causing Hanoi and the National Liberation Front to have some second thoughts.

The barrage of threats, intimidation, and propaganda launched by North Vietnam and the Viet Cong against the election for a constituent assembly last fall was a miserable failure.

The people of South Vietnam *did* vote in overwhelming numbers.

A constituent assembly was elected. It is at work.

A constitution is today being written.

Village and district elections will be held this spring.

National elections are scheduled for this fall.

These are solid steps toward peace and victory over Communist intimidation.

And, in combination with our military and economic efforts, these are the steps which can in time inoculate a nation against terror, subversion and political agitation waged by a disciplined minority.

And here, may I add a few words concerning the many press reports you have seen recently concerning the possibilities of peace in Vietnam.

This is an extremely delicate and sensitive time. The Tet truce period, immediately ahead, offers opportunity for rethinking by all combatants in Vietnam.

I do not believe the cause of peace would be served today by publicly speculating about the events of the next few weeks and months.

I do believe the cause of peace can be served if we keep steady and level heads . . . If we show no signs of weakness, impatience or petulance.

I believe the cause of peace can be served if we patiently and perseveringly continue the course we have set for ourselves in Vietnam—the course to which I have just alluded.

We must continue, as the President has said, to "fight a war of limited objectives" to thwart aggression before it can spread.

We must continue, with our allies, to mobilize manpower and resources for economic and social development.

We must continue to press forward with pacification in the countryside. We must continue to help the South Vietnamese people build representative and responsive political institutions.

And, at the same time, we must continue patiently and diligently to seek a just and lasting peace.

The world knows that we have the courage to resist aggression . . . that we keep our commitments.

The world should also know that we have the even greater courage required to walk the extra mile which could bring peace to a long-tortured nation.

Yes, now is a time for self-discipline and for statesmanship. We Americans, in this time of testing, must prove equal to the exercise of those qualities.

We have, I think, learned another painful lesson: That development is a long-run process. We delude ourselves if we expect quick or easy returns or instant tranquility. The most important changes are often those which take longest.

Development assistance has been regarded primarily as a weapon in the cold war.

In that context, show-piece projects often as not diverted resources from such important investments in nation-building as education, rural development and public health.

Today, agriculture, education and health are the basic cornerstones of our development efforts.

And they will continue to be—even though they may not bring quick or flashy or dramatic results.

Today, as we face the challenge of a world of poverty and need, we increasingly realize that three elements, above all, are necessary if nations are to survive and grow.

These three elements—participation, progress, and peace—often conflict with one another, and even in the best of circumstances their reconciliation is difficult.

Peace—in the sense of domestic order—can temporarily be achieved by military dictatorship.

Progress—the more abundant and equitable provision of material goods and services to the citizens—can be achieved through technocracy.

But participation—full participation of the citizens—is the vital ingredient which, in the long run, not only insures the social stability which makes possible peace and progress, but also unleashes the full talents and energies of people who seek a better life.

Finally, may I say this: Our critics always tell us that we Americans win the 100-yard dashes but lose the marathons.

I think we realize today that the business of nation-building *is* a marathon.

What is more, it is a never-ending marathon. For the building of peace and of peaceful progress will be with us throughout our lifetimes, and the lifetimes of our children as well.

If we abdicate our responsibility . . . if we drop out of the race, who will there be to lead?

Our nation produces more than half the Gross National Product of the world. We, among all nations, are rich.

Our nation has interests which touch every corner of the globe. We, among all nations, have world-wide concerns.

But—far more important— our nation, among all nations, is one which professes belief in the equality and brotherhood of man.

Ours is a nation which seeks the Common Good, not only within our own borders, but in the world.

We must last out this marathon because it is in our own interest. We must last it out because of the perils involved if we do not. But we must, above all, last it out because it is right that we do.

I believe that we can, and shall.

Is the Department of Labor Fair to Labor?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, the Seafarers International Union of North America, AFL–CIO, has requested a congressional investigation into what it terms the "Trojan Horse" activities by the U.S. Department of Labor. This term describes the practices of the Department of Labor in using its powers under the Landrum-Griffin Act to investigate and explore matters within the trade-union movement on behalf of other Federal agencies which lack lawful authority to do so on their own.

The example cited by the union concerns a case in October 1962 when a Labor Department investigator in Minneapolis read an article in a Duluth newspaper about a disorder involving several men at the SIU hall in that city. Although the Labor Department was not involved, no complaint was filed, and the local police in Duluth had been duly informed of the incident by the SIU port agent, the Labor Department investigator succeeded in instigating criminal proceedings that ultimately provided the basis for a 1963 Federal grand jury indictment of four SIU men on more than 20 counts. A jury trial in May–June 1964 resulted in the acquittal of two and appeals on behalf of the others won reversal of their convictions and an order for a new trial. The case was subsequently withdrawn, and the trial judge dismissed the indictments.

Mr. Paul Hall, president of the Seafarers International Union, in calling for an investigation of the Labor Department's actions stated that the dismissal of the indictments reflected the fact that the Government had never actually had a case in the matter. He cites further evidence that similar activities by the Department of Labor had been publicly aired by the AFL–CIO executive council.

Mr. Speaker, so that everyone may have the complete story of this issue, I insert the text of the union's statement, as printed in the January 20, 1967, issue of the Seafarers Log at this point in the RECORD:

THE U.S. LABOR DEPARTMENT—GOVERNMENT'S TROJAN HORSE IN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

America today is approaching a major dilemma, one which requires the attention and awareness of all segments of our society.

At what point does a strong, central government—which in large measure is essential to uniform social progress for all of its citizenry—get carried away by its might, and begin to assume the character of a superstate with unlimited power?

Right now, the proposed merged of the Departments of Commerce and Labor into a super-department—the Department of Business and Labor—as announced by the President in his State of the Union message on January 10, 1967, raises some serious questions.

Since its inception in 1913, the Department of Labor has supposedly had as its purpose the protection of the interests of the working people of this country. The proposed development of a Department of Business and Labor, the details of which have not been made public, certainly points to the elimination of the existing apparatus to protect the interests of American workers.

Even at best, the Department of Labor did not fully serve the purpose for which it was established, so the rise of a new super-department in which the specialized role of the Labor Department would be submerged is loaded with dangers.

Does the super-department mean increased power for the Federal government and its agencies to interfere and meddle in the affairs of those within its jurisdiction for whatever objectives they may have?

Does the trend toward bigness in government signify a corresponding diminution of the rights and safeguards for the individual citizen under our existing form of government?

These and similar questions readily pose themselves as matters requiring careful consideration at all levels of our society.

There is in our nation, today a growing concern over the increasing abuse of due process and the callous disregard for fundamental rights and fair play toward individuals on the part of the Federal government.

There are definite signs that the obligation to uphold our traditional concept of democratic government is in many areas being replaced by a determination to use the broad powers of the Federal government in punitive expeditions that ignore basic safeguards against the invasion of privacy, against entrapment, double jeopardy and other once-inviolable rights.

Restraints on the abuse of power by Federal agencies in pursuing and harassing individual citizens are getting fuzzy indeed, and no section of our society seems to be immune.

Certainly the American labor movement has not been spared the pain of this Federal addiction to the uncurbed use of its power.

There are many cases in point.

Some have been openly discussed; others, for many reasons, are only the subject of sub rosa comments and complaints.

The National Maritime Union has recently pointed to its experience with Federal agencies. The NMU has just been named a defendant in a Department of Labor proceeding.

The NMU has publicly charged that this proceeding is the result of its criticism of other agencies of the Federal government and key government officers, including members of the Cabinet.

Significantly, the American labor movement called public attention to its rising concern over super-sleuthing and meddling in internal union affairs by Federal agencies, especially by the Labor Department, nearly two years ago.

On May 20, 1965, a special subcommittee of the AFL–CIO Executive Council, which was named to study the administration of the Landrum-Griffin Act, reported its findings.

The following day, on May 21, 1965, "The New York Times" reported that AFL–CIO President George Meany "said that the Council believed the investigatory policies of the Labor Department went 'far beyond' the requirements of the law.

" 'In some cases, they amount to witch-hunting and harassment of unions and the way they do their business', he declared."

The "Times" story continued: "The practices to which he objected, Mr. Meany said, are these:

"Investigations of unions against which no complaints have been filed.

"Investigations of complaints have not been confined to the subject of the complaints, but 'go fishing through the entire union structure' to try to uncover union violations . . ."

The Landrum-Griffin Act is in itself bad. What is worse is the cover it provides for the Labor Department to walk into unions on fishing expeditions, to fabricate cases against unions in behalf of other agencies which lack lawful authority to do so on their own.

It is this condition that makes of the Labor Department a Trojan Horse which the Federal government can at will roll into the union movement.

Perhaps a classic example of this type of government harassment and unwarranted use of Federal power is the experience of the SIU and several of its members in a recent case. This particular case, inspired and directed by the Labor Department, extended over a four-year period, and was finally abandoned by the Federal government because its punitive expedition was frustrated in the courts.

In light of the trend toward super-government and the unbridled harassment of men and organizations by Federal agencies, we think the story of this experience of the SIU and its members is worth telling.

We believe it merits telling because it details the types of harassment and flagrant abuse of Federal power than can affect not only the labor movement, but all Americans, everywhere:

DULUTHIAN HURT IN SIU SCUFFLE

"A Duluth man was injured Monday night when he and a friend were assaulted by two men during a meeting at the Seafarers International Union headquarters, 312 W. 2nd St.

"Edward K. Jameros, 34, of 1125 W. 2nd St., was taken to St. Mary's Hospital by Wilcol Ambulance where he was treated for a lacerated lip and released.

"His companion, Charles Corlett, 38, of 719 E. 4th St., was not injured.

"Duluth detectives said the pair, both SIU members, said they didn't know their assailants. The incident happened about 8 p.m. during a citywide SIU membership meeting.

"Police stated that neither Jameros nor Corlett wanted to press charges, and no arrests had been made."

This is how it all began.

This is the story from a Duluth newspaper in 1962 which was read several days later by a Labor Department investigator at his office in Minneapolis, and led to four years of persecution as described on the following pages.

THE LABOR DEPARTMENT FABRICATES A CASE

The case inspired and directed by the Labor Department had its beginnings in an article which appeared in a Duluth, Minnesota newspaper on October 2, 1962, a few days after Under Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz was sworn in as Secretary of the Department.

The article which described an incident at the SIU hall in Duluth on October 1, 1962, was seen several days later by Chris Pederson, a Labor Department investigator whose office was located in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

The incident at the SIU hall in Duluth involved a fight between several SIU members, which had been reported to the local police by the SIU Port Agent.

Although the Labor Department was not involved and no complaint had been filed with the Department, Pederson thereupon went to Duluth, and began a series of meetings and discussions with Charles Corlett and Edward Jameros, two of the men involved in the incident at the SIU hall which had been reported in the newspaper.

The result of his visit was that four SIU men were indicted by a Federal grand jury in Minneapolis on July 17, 1963. The four men were Donald Bensman, Walter Chipman, Lawrence Rice and Kevin Ryan.

The indictments, involving more than 20 counts, charged the men with various violations of the Landrum-Griffin Act, alleging a conspiracy to deprive union members of their rights and also alleging coercion and intimidation.

After months of investigations and interrogations of large numbers of SIU representatives, and the issuance of subpoenas to SIU representatives and members all over the country, a trial was set for Federal District Court in Duluth on May 20, 1964.

THE TRIAL IN DULUTH

The trial in Duluth on the indictments charging Landrum-Griffin violations began on May 20, 1964, and was concluded on June 7, 1964.

During the course of the trial, Government witnesses frequently changed testimony they had given before the Federal grand jury. Witnesses said they had been "buffed" by Government attorneys and charged that they had been "intimidated" and threatened unless they testified against the SIU defendants.

On various occasions, efforts were made by the U.S. attorneys to introduce a completely unrelated labor dispute on the Great Lakes, which had involved the Seafarers International Union of Canada.

Significant was a comment by U.S. Attorney Patrick J. Foley during the trial (Transcript, Page 1536), when he said: ". . . We seek not compassion, not forgiveness and not mercy . . ."

Later, Foley also stated (Transcript, Page 1545): "Well, I don't know much about this business except the Department of Justice drew up the indictment and they seemed to think it was a pretty good idea."

By the time the trial neared its conclusion, only 20 counts of the original indictment remained, several having been withdrawn in pre-trial conferences and also during the trial itself.

On Friday, June 5, 1964, the case went to the jury.

The jurors returned with their verdict on Sunday afternoon, June 7.

Two of the four men were acquitted by the jury on all counts, while the other two, Chipman and Rice, were convicted on one count each out of the more than 20 counts in the original 1963 indictment.

Attorneys for the defendants immediately filed an appeal.

LABOR DEPARTMENT INVESTIGATOR DESCRIBES HIS ROLE

How Labor Department investigator Chris Pederson instigated the indictments is best told in his own words. This is Pederson's complete testimony on June 3, 1964, in which he described his activities in Duluth during the trial in Federal District Court. It is reprinted verbatim from the trial transcript on Pages 1487 through 1498:

Chris Pederson, having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

Direct examination

Mr. FOLEY: May I have a moment, your Honor?

The COURT: Yes.

By Mr. ABRAMSON:

Q. Your name is Chis Pederson, is that right?

A. That's right.

Q. And, Mr. Pederson, what is your occupation?

A. I am a compliance officer with——

Q. Speak up, please.

A. Compliance officer with the office of Labor Management, Welfare, Pension Reports of the United States Department of Labor.

Q. How long have you been so employed?

A. Four and a half years.

Q. And, generally, what are your duties, Mr. Pederson?

A. Well, we investigate violations of the Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act.

Q. Is that commonly known as the Landrum-Griffin Bill?

A. Yes.

Q. Or Act?

A. Yes, it is.

Q. What else?

A. In addition to that we provide assistance to unions in the preparation of the reports that are required.

Q. Now, what's your education?

A. I completed four years of college.

Q. Where was that?

A. Concordia College, Moorhead, Minnesota.

Q. Where had you been assigned during the course of your duties with the Department of Labor?

A. Well, I've been with—I was previously employed by Wage and Hour also of the Department of Labor for three and a half years, but since going with this organization I was in Minneapolis from November, 1959, until April of 1963, at which time I was transferred to Washington, D.C., and I was in Washington until I was reassigned to Minneapolis approximately three weeks ago.

Q. And have your duties been consistent or have they been the same in the four and a half years you have been connected with the Department of Labor in this capacity?

A. Well, my duties were different when I was in Washington.

Q. I understand.

A. Than they have been in the field.

Q. But in Minneapolis while you have been assigned to the Minneapolis office, your duties have generally been investigative in relation to the Landrum-Griffin Bill, is that right?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, directing your attention to October of 1962, I think you have indicated that in that course of time you were assigned to the Minneapolis office, is that right?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you have occasion to investigate an incident which took place October 1, 1962, here in Duluth in the SIU hall?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. And would you describe how that investigation got under way?

A. Well, I saw a copy of the Duluth paper for October 2, 1962. I think I saw it about October 4th, and in that newspaper was a short article which mentioned that there had been—

Mr. WEINBERG: Just a minute. I object to any reference to the substance of a newspaper article. I assume the question called, it being initiated by some formal act.

Mr. ABRAMSON: Your Honor, we withdraw that question.

By Mr. ABRAMSON:

Q. How was it you happened to see a newspaper report of an incident up here, is that common practice for the Department of Labor to survey the newspapers?

A. We subscribe to the Duluth paper, yes, for information which would pertain to the law that we administer.

Q. Is that what initiated this investigation of October 1 event?

Mr. WEINBERG: Just a minute, if the Court please, unless counsel is attempting to bring out that a newspaper article can instigate, and using the word instigate in the legal sense of the owrd, an investigation by government agencies, this would be entirely hearsay and incompetent, irrelevant, immaterial.

The COURT: Sustained. I suppose he can tell how he happened to come up here to check into this matter.

By Mr. ABRAMSON:

Q. Well, what course was your investigation? What course did it take then subsequent to what you have indicated?

Mr. MILLER: Your Honor, I am going to object to that question because it is so indefinite. There is no time, what he is investigating, no subject here that he is pointing out. I object to it.

Mr. ABRAMSON: Perhaps, your Honor, if the reporter will read back your remarks and he can take that as the question and answer that question.

(The Court's statement was read as follows:

"I suppose he can tell how he happened to come up here to check into this matter.")

By Mr. ABRAMSON:

Q. Can you answer that, Mr. Pederson?

A. Well, I have to mention—

Mr. MILLER: Well, your Honor, I believe the record, would you direct the court stenographer to continue the reading of the question?

The COURT: Read the rest, Mr. Reporter.

The REPORTER: After the court's statement was the following:

"By Mr. ABRAMSON:

"Question: Well, what course was your investigation? What course did it take then subsequent to what you have indicated?

The COURT: We don't want you reciting anything from the press, the newspaper. We gather you came up here in connection with some duties of your office, that's what we are searching for.

The WITNESS: Yes.

Mr. FOLEY: One moment, sir.

The COURT: Then after that Mr. Miller made an objection. Now, we won't have him reciting anything from the press, Mr. Miller, it's just whatever he came up to perform, his duties in connection with the United States Government by whom he is employed.

Mr. MILLER: All right, your Honor.

The COURT: Do you have that in mind; have you?

The WITNESS: Well, in the performance of my duties I came to Duluth on October 9, 1962.

By Mr. ABRAMSON:

Q. What did you then do when you got to Duluth in relation to this event on October 9?

A. I called Ed Jameros on the telephone, and I said I was from the Department of Labor and I would like to come over and talk to him.

Q. What next happened?

A. Then I called at his home and asked him about——

Q. Well, here, you went to the home of Mr. Jameros, did you?

A. Yes.

Q. You can answer that yes or no. Did you have a discussion with him about the events of October 1, 1962?

A. Yes.

Q. And after your discussion with him, what did you next do?

A. Then I went over to see Mr. Corlett.

Q. Now, what day was this you talked to Mr. Corlett?

A. This was the next day. This was October 10.

Q. Where did you go see him?

A. At his home.

Q. And were you admitted in the home, I take it?

A. Yes.

Q. Who else was there when you got there?

A. His wife was also there.

Q. About what time of day was it?

A. Probably between eleven a.m. and one p.m., somewhere in there.

Q. Did you identify yourself to him and his wife as an invesigator for the Department of Labor?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. And did you show to them any credentials that you had?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Did you then have a discussion with Mr. Corlett relative to the events of October 1, 1962?

A. Yes, I did. Yes.

Q. And as best you can recall, would you relate what you said to him and what he said to you?

Mr. HANSON: Your Honor, I object to that question, it's hearsay, no proper foundation for impeachment in examination of Mr. Corlett. Mr. Corlett has testified his best recollection and he has said that there was a lot of leading questions presented to him at various times, and I submit that just like Mrs. Corlett, there was a lot of the matters that Mr. Corlett may have stated on various occasions that were done on the basis of hearsay, not his own knowledge.

The COURT: This man may testify to what he said in connection with the matters referred to as an employee or officer of the Department of Labor of the United States. So the objection to that extent will be overruled.

By Mr. ABRAMSON:

Q. Go right ahead.

A. Well, I asked Mr. Corlett about what had occurred at the union hall on October 1, 1962, and he told—

Q. Would you speak up, please, Mr. Pederson?

A. This conversation took approximately one hour and a number of things were discussed. He mentioned that he and Mr. Jameros had gone to the union hall, and while there a fight had resulted. He told me that the trouble stemmed from the questioning of the activities of some of the union officials, and he also mentioned that there was a problem because he had filed a complaint with the National Labor Relations Board.

By Mr. ABRAMSON:

Q. Keep going. What next? And keep your voice up, please, so we can hear you.

A. Well, is there any particular phase?

Q. Well, did you ask him who he had been involved in a fight with?

A. Yes.

Q. What did he tell you?

A. He told me that he had been in a fight with a person he did not identify. He said that Mr. Jameros had also been assaulted, and he described this man as being six foot four, 280 pounds, but he did not give the man's name. He also indicated that a friend of his, Mr. Chipman, was present, but he stated that Mr. Chipman did not engage in any fight.

Q. Did you have any further conversation with him?

A. He said that after the fight he had talked with Mr. Bensman and Mr. Bensman had suggested that he withdraw his complaint with the National Labor Relations Board. He said that he planned on doing so. And his wife was present and she indicated that she was opposed to his withdrawing this complaint. She said that he should act like a man, something to that effect, and should not back down.

Mr. WEINBERG: Now, if the Court please, we are now getting hearsay on top of hearsay, and it is objected to.

The COURT: What's the motion now?

Mr. WEINBERG: Move the answer be stricken.

The COURT: That part may be stricken.

By Mr. ABRAMSON:

Q. Did Mr. Corlett say anything further that you recall?

A. Well, Mr. Corlett said that, to his wife, that—

Mr. WEINBERG: I object to the discussion between a third person who happens to be the wife and an interview that this man has been having with the witness which we still claim is hearsay as far as the defendents are concerned.

The COURT: Sustained.

By Mr. ABRAMSON:

Q. What did he say to you, not to the wife now, what did he say to you relative to anything further?

A. He said to me that he did not want to say anything because he was afraid. However, if I could obtain a permit for him to carry a gun so that he could feel that he would have protection, then he would be willing to tell me in detail the occurrences that took place on October 1.

Q. What did you next do then?

A. Then I contacted Tom Naylor, the County Attorney, to see if he had the authority to grant permission to carry a gun, and he referred me to the municipal authorities, and I contacted Inspector Barber of the Police Department, and he said that he had——

Mr. WEINBERG: Just a moment. I object to any conversation as hearsay.

The COURT: Sustained.

By Mr. ABRAMSON:

Q. Did you get a permit to have him carry a gun?

A. No.

Q. Did you later advise Mr. Corlett of this?

A. Yes.

Q. On what date was it, do you recall what date it was you advised Mr. Corlett you couldn't get him permission to carry a gun?

Mr. WEINBERG: That last part of the question assumes a fact that hasn't been testified. The answer was no permit——

The COURT: Divide your question, Mr. Abramson.

Mr. FOLEY: May we withdraw that question, your Honor?

By Mr. ABRAMSON:

Q. When did you advise Mr. Corlett that you could not obtain permission——

Mr. WEINBERG: Objection, that last part——

By Mr. ABRAMSON:

Q. Or did not obtain permission for this, to have him carry a gun, that is?

A. I talked to him on October 10, as I said, in the late morning or early afternoon, and then I went and contacted these other officials, and I am not certain if I re-contacted him late that afternoon or early the next morning, which would be October 11.

Q. But the latest would be the next morning, the 11th?

A. Yes. Yes.

Mr. ABRAMSON: That's it. Thank you. Your witness, Counsel.

Mr. COURTNEY: May we have a moment for a huddle?

The COURT: Yes.

Mr. WEINBERG: As a result of the huddle, the signal is that there will be no cross examination.

Mr. FOLEY: I might point out for the record, your Honor, that I later gave to counsel a report made as a result of Mr. Pederson's investigation if they desire to look at that before this witness is released.

Mr. WEINBERG: We have no interest in it.

Mr. ABRAMSON: Thank you very much.

(Witness excused.)

UNION FILES PROTEST WITH WIRTZ

Shortly after the trial and conviction of the two SIU men, SIUNA President Paul Hall formally complained to Labor Secretary Wirtz regarding the role of Labor Department investigator Pederson in the entire Duluth matter.

In his letter on June 19, 1964, Hall called for censure of Pederson and disavowal by the Department of Pederson's role in the case.

Several weeks later, on July 31, 1964, Secretary Wirtz answered Hall's letter, saying that Pederson had "acted appropriately" and that his censure was "unwarranted."

Excerpts from Hall's letter, to Labor Secretary Wirtz:

". . . Mr. Pederson testified during the course of this proceeding as a government witness (copies of which testimony are appended hereto) . . . Mr. Pederson testified that after having read this article, he proceeded on October 9, 1962 to Duluth, Minnesota and arranged a meeting with two individuals alleged to have been parties to that incident. . . . It should be noted that both of these individuals subsequently became complainants in the criminal proceeding referred to above.

"According to Mr. Pederson, Mr. Corlett advised him that he was having difficulties because of his having filed unfair labor practice charges involving the Union with the National Labor Relations Board. That a fight had occurred at the Duluth hall, as a result of his filing, in which both he and

Jameros were involved. Mr. Corlett, he testified, at some point during the discussion, told him that he was afraid to discuss the matter any further. Mr. Corlett indicated that if he, Mr. Pederson, could obtain a gun permit for him he would be willing to give Mr. Pederson further details with respect to the October 1, 1962 occurrence. In this connection it is most strange that Mr. Corlett, himself, unequivocally denied having made such a request of Mr. Pederson (See. FN below). . . . This International Union's complaint with respect to Mr. Pederson's conduct is obvious. To begin with, contrary to the express provisions of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959, Mr. Pederson took it upon himself to conduct an investigation, without complaint, of a matter obviously arising under Title I of that Act. Title VI, Section 601(a), provides that the Secretary of Labor shall have the power, when he believes it is necessary, to determine whether persons have violated or are about to violate any provisions of said Act but specifically excepts violations of Title I and amendments thereto. As noted, Mr. Penderson's investigation was occasioned not by any written complaint under those titles of the Act under which you and your Department have authority (i.e., Titles II, III, IV, etc.) and it is apparent that the matter in which he involved himself in could not in any way be connected with such sections of the Act. His intervention in this matter can only be described as officious meddling, unrelated to his statutory duties, and we are sure, contrary to the rules and regulations of your Department.

"Further, in the course of this unwarranted, improper and illegal investigation, Mr. Pederson placed himself beyond the pale of his investigatory function by volunteering his services to Mr. Corlett in trying to obtain a gun permit for the latter. This activity certainly was not in connection with his duties, was uncalled for, and designed only to insure Mr. Corlett's cooperation in the investigation. This misconduct compounded itself when Mr. Pederson was requested to testify with respect to these activities in connection with the above criminal indictment. . . . Mr. Pederson's testimony had a substantial effect in coloring and weighting the evidence therein and in part resulted in a guilty verdict with respect to two of the defendants on one count.

"It should be noted that of twenty counts of criminal activity in the indictment, the four involved defendants were found innocent on eighteen of the counts. Two of the individuals were found guilty of the formation of a conspiracy to obstruct these complainants, but were not found guilty of any act arising from such conspiracy. In that connection, Mr. Pederson's testimony as to his activities relating to the state of mind of the complainants added a necessary link in the chain of circumstantial evidence relating to the conviction. Regardless of the substance of Mr. Pederson's testimony, the very authority of the position with which your Department has clothed him created a false impression in the minds of the jury and his testimony was given substantial coverage in the Duluth newspapers. . . .

". . . Mr. Pederson exercised extreme bad judgment in connection with this entire affair and deserves ultimate censure.

"It is my belief that your Department will not condone or be party to this activity and will take those steps necessary to remedy such practices by its agents and representatives."

WIRTZ REPLIES

Dear Mr. Hall: Your letter of June 19, 1964, calling for censure of Mr. Chris Pederson, a Compliance Officer with the Office of Labor-Management and Welfare-Pension Reports of this Department, has been carefully reviewed. We appreciate your bringing this matter to our attention and have investigated it fully. We believe that this investigation makes it clear that Mr. Pederson acted appropriately in discharging his duties in connection with the event referred to in your letter.

Let me assure you that this Department is most concerned when allegations of misconduct on the part of employees are made, but I am convinced from the information available to me that censure of Mr. Pederson is unwarranted.

COURT APPEALS WIN NEW TRIAL

Meanwhile, attorneys for the two men who had been convicted, filed motions for new trials on August 11, 1964. Judge Donovan deferred sentence pending a hearing on the requests.

On October 5, 1964, motions for new trials were denied, and on December 16, 1964, sentence was passed, with Chipman given an 18-month sentence and Rice a year and a day. Appeals were thereupon filed on behalf of the two men.

Fourteen months later, on February 28, 1966, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 8th Circuit, in St. Louis, Missouri, reversed the decision of the District Court. The Court of Appeals ordered a new trial for the two men.

U.S. ATTORNEY WARNS OF LONG TRIAL

U.S. Attorney Patrick J. Foley, the prosecutor in the 1964 Duluth trial, reacted to the U.S. Court of Appeals' reversal of the District Court conviction on April 8, 1966, in a letter to the attorney representing the two SIU men for whom a new trial had been ordered. The text of his letter is as follows:

"Re Lawrence Rice and Walter Chipman v. United States

"Dear Mr. Courtney: You are to be commended for your temporary victory in the Court of Appeals. Mr. Abramson and I both agree that the Court erred in some small respects but that we would not file a petition for certiorari, although we are satisfied that it would undoubtedly be granted.

"I wish to underscore the fact that I think your victory is temporary for the reason that we are preparing to try Mr. Rice and Mr. Chipman at the May calendar in Duluth. I believe that the gravity of the offense and the weight of the evidence warrants a retrial. The Court implicitly agreed that the evidence was sufficient to support a conviction. Accordingly, I look forward to seeing you and Al Weinberg and our eastern counterparts over a period of several weeks beginning late in May. As you know, I am in no hurry when I try a lawsuit and because of some additional information which has come to my attention, the next trial could last longer than the last one.

"Except for the fact that I am disappointed, I realize that you gentlemen should be commended for an excellent trial and an excellent appeal. You made your record during the trial for your appeal victory and I congratulate you. Unquestionably the great care and pains that you took during the trial to protect your record and to establish your predicate for the successful appeal bore fruit—so far.

"Very truly yours,

Miles W. Lord,
U.S. Attorney.
"By Patrick J. Foley,
"Assistant U.S. Attorney."

GOVERNMENT WITHDRAWS CASE

But the new trial never took place.

Despite his letter warning that a new trial "could last longer than the last one" and his statement that he now had "some additional information" for the new trial "beginning late in May," Foley withdrew his case and moved for dismissal.

Foley's withdrawal of the case obviously reflected the fact that he had never had a case in the first place.

On May 17, 1966, Judge Donovan issued an order dismissing the indictments.

Thus, the end was written to these four years of unwarranted, painful and costly trial and tribulation—this was the end after four long years of hardship, suffering, public humiliation and expense for four union men, their wives, children and families.

Only the highlights in this case have been touched in this presentation. There are many other important aspects and factors involved in this matter, not only the perversion of the Labor Department's function—which allows it to serve as a Trojan Horse in the trade union movement on behalf of other agencies of the Federal Government.

To fully understand the significance of this case and its implications an examination in depth is required.

We believe such an examination is essential, in the interests of safeguarding the rights of individuals against the abuses of governmental power.

We believe that matters of this nature can only be explored properly by the Congress of the United States.

For this reason, we are immediately submitting the facts of this case and other pertinent information to the appropriate committees of the Congress.

A New Police Chief for Los Angeles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED REINECKE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of this Chamber the appointment of Thomas Reddin as the new chief of police for the city of Los Angeles. By competitive examination Chief Reddin was selected for one of the most difficult law-enforcement administration jobs in the country. I join with the citizens of Los Angeles in pledging support to the new chief in his awesome responsibility.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I insert in the Record the transcript of a radio editorial by station KNX in Los Angeles, broadcast February 3, concerning Chief Reddin's appointment:

A New Police Chief for Los Angeles

Los Angeles has a new Chief of Police. He is Thomas Reddin, 50, who has been on the Los Angeles Police force for 26 years. Last July he replaced Acting Chief Thad Brown as Chief of Detectives. Now, he replaces Thad Brown once more. As the new Chief of Police, Thomas Reddin is assuming an awesome responsibility.

However, if Chief Reddin now has a great responsibility, the citizens of Los Angeles—all the citizens of Los Angeles—have an even greater one.

KNX knows that a city without law and order is doomed to destroy itself. The police are guardians of that law and order. Even so, the police are not here to do everything.

The police deal with lawlessness and crime. It is not their job to solve the social, economic, and human problems that breed lawlessness and crime. The police deal with the effects of evil. They do not deal with the causes of evil.

It is the job of the home, the school, the church, and every citizen to deal with the causes of evil. It is only when these institutions fail to do their job that the police must step in.

Chief Reddin takes command of the best professional police force in America. It is a body of men instilled with discipline and pride. It is also the smallest police force per capita anywhere in this country. Chief Reddin and his men cannot do it all alone.

Each citizen of Los Angeles must assume his share of the job in the fight to make this a better place to live. Color, religion, and position in life make no difference. Each one of us must do his duty as a citizen.

We must insist that our leaders and our institutions strike at the causes of social injustice, of unrest, and crime. We must conduct ourselves as law-abiding citizens. We must help prevent crime. We must care what happens to our city and the people in it.

Edmund Burke said it long ago, but it applies to Los Angeles today:

"All that is necessary for the forces of evil to win in the world is for enough good men to do nothing."

Minnesota's Ukrainians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the Minnesota branch of the Ukrainian Congress of America met on Sunday, January 22, in Minneapolis, to commemorate the 49th anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence.

The Minnesotans at this meeting adopted two resolutions in which they eloquently voiced their "deep concern and indignation because of the new wave of persecution of the people of the Ukraine and of Ukrainian culture by the Soviet Russian authorities and their puppet—the regime of the so-called Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic."

Michael J. Kozak, M.D., the president of the Minnesota branch of the Ukrainian Congress, has sent me a copy of the resolutions. I include them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE OBSERVANCE OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., JANUARY 22, 1967

We, Ukrainian-Americans of Minnesota, gathered for the observance of the 49th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of Ukraine, hereby adopt the following resolutions:

"Whereas the free and independent Ukrainian National Republic of January 22, 1918, the anniversary of the proclamation of which we are today commemorating, existed for only a short period of time, and then fell under the aggression of Communist Russian military forces which occupied and still occupy Ukraine; and

"Whereas the so-called Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic set up as a puppet regime by the Russian occupation forces and maintained by them until now is not in reality a Ukrainian State but merely a facade behind which the Moscow government is carrying out a determined policy of liquidation of Ukrainian national, religious and cultural identity, and is forcefully promoting the idea of one homogeneous nation-state—Russia; and

Whereas this policy of consistent and systematic russification is being implemented by many measures designed to annihilate the independence and authenticity of Ukrainian culture; the news of some of these measures having penetrated the Iron Curtain has reached us, such as:

(1) The arson of the library and manuscript archives of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev;

(2) The elimination of the Ukrainian language as the language of instruction, and in some cases its complete elimination from the curriculum, of elementary and secondary schools and universities in Ukraine, as well as its elimination as a language for the transaction of offcial governmental matters.

(3) The tearing down of historic monuments and of priceless examples of Ukrainian architecture, and the willful destruction of works and objects of Ukrainian art, and, finally

(4) The recently reported secret trials and imprisonment of a number of prominent Ukrainian writers, poets, historians and literary critics; and

Whereas we, as American citizens who cherish freedom and dignity of the individual, feel it to be our duty to exercise our liberties and to speak up on behalf of our kinsmen in Ukraine who are deprived of the freedom to speak for themselves: Now therefore, be it

Resolved by Ukrainian-Americans assembled for the observance of Ukrainian Independence day, 1967, That we voice our deep concern and indignation because of the new wave of persecution of the people of Ukraine and of Ukrainian culture by the Soviet Russian authorities and their puppet—the regime of the so-called Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic; be it further

Resolved, That we urge the Government of the United States and our Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States to instruct our representatives in the United Nations, which body has recently shown its concern for human rights in Africa and Asia, to take all appropriate measures in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations in order to ensure the preservation of human rights and the cultural heritage of Ukrainians in Ukraine.

Just Waiting for Strikes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson receives a steady stream of constructive criticism, much of which obviously falls like water off a duck's back. An editorial in the Monday, January 16, 1967, edition of the Chicago Daily News, which has just come to my attention, makes a most constructive suggestion for the President which I trust has been called to his attention by his staff. However, in view of its great public significance I insert it into the RECORD at this point:

JUST WAITING FOR STRIKES

"I intend to ask Congress," the President said in his State of the Union message, "to consider measures . . . which will enable us effectively to deal with strikes which threaten irreparable damage to the national interest." The idea is not from Lyndon Johnson's address of last week but of last year—and it has not been seen or heard of since.

The notion failed to surface even briefly in the President's almost encyclopedic message this year. The only late word of it is that Nicholas Katzenbach, undersecretary of state, is going to head a task force to study it.

We hope the President has consigned this good idea to the bureaucratic deep in order to let it mature rather than rot.

Study without action isn't good enough, in the kind of year that 1967 promises to be. As J. A. Livingston forecast in the business section earlier this month: "Rising prices will inflate labor's demands, and higher taxes will deflate workers' takehome. Either way, there'll be more pressure for more pay." The pressure could explode into strikes in industries crucial to the nation's economy, strikes that can be delayed but not prevented by the current provisions of the Taft-Hartley and Railway Labor acts.

In the past, Congress has had to tackle the problem piecemeal and has found itself confronted by hastily drawn, emergency legislation applicable only to the strike that was tying up the country at the moment. The President's old suggestion is still a good one. He should act on it.

First Class in Medical School Selected As Hawaii Plays Role of Growing Importance in Pacific Medicine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the dean of the University of Hawaii's School of Medicine, Dr. Windsor C. Cutting, revealed in a talk before the Waikiki Rotary Club last week that selections had been made for the school's first class, which will enter in September of this year.

I salute this initial medical school class, numbering 22 selected students from Hawaii, the mainland, and the Orient, and I wish them well as they pursue their studies at this greatly expanding center of learning in our 50th State.

Dr. Cutting pointed out in his talk to the Rotarians that the medical school was exceedingly fortunate in obtaining a top level faculty with the pioneering spirit. The dean emphasized that the school provided the same opportunity for youngsters in Hawaii to begin medical training as those on the mainland; the opportunity for research, particularly in areas relative to Hawaii; and for the strengthening of the medical community and medical care. He also stressed how essential the medical school was in enabling Hawaii "to play the role as the intellectual center of the Pacific."

In this last respect, I would like to call attention to a bill which I have introduced in the Congress which I believe is closely allied with this goal.

My bill, H.R. 2645, introduced on January 17, 1967, is designed to promote the acquisition and dissemination of medical knowledge and skills throughout the countries of the Pacific Ocean area by establishing in Hawaii a Pacific Medical Center for research and training in the field of medicine.

The Pacific Medical Center would be the medical counterpart of the Research Center for Tropical and Subtropical Agriculture, which I have proposed for some time, and the establishment of which is now provided under the Food for Peace Act of 1966—Public Law 89-808.

I am convinced that such a Medical Center as I have proposed, with its medical sharing, would be immediately embraced by the countries of Asia and the Pacific, and Hawaii is the logical site from which to launch this cooperative effort in the medical arts.

Because of the growing importance of the Asian nations as they relate to our international affairs, I believe that America's position in that important area of the world would be strengthened by the enhancement of Hawaii's role as the center of learning in the Pacific area which would result from the establishment of the Pacific Medical Center in Hawaii.

I hope I can obtain action on H.R. 2645 during the 90th Congress, and I am exerting continuing efforts toward that end.

I am pleased to submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the news report of Dr. Cutting's talk in which he comments on the noteworthy event of the selection of the University of Hawaii's first medical school class, which appeared in the Honolulu Star Bulletin on Thursday, February 2, 1967:

UH SELECTS 22 FOR 1ST CLASS OF MED SCHOOL

Twenty-two students, most of them Islanders, have been selected to be in the first class of the University of Hawaii's School of Medicine that will start next September.

Dr. Windsor C. Cutting, dean of the medical school, said the 22 were selected from about 400 applications.

He said 16 or 17 are from Hawaii, one student is from the Orient and the rest are from the Mainland. The group includes one or two girls.

Dr. Cutting said the class size will remain at about 25 until the school's building is completed in about three years. Then, admissions may be doubled.

Dr. Cutting presented a battery of information about the new two-year school in a talk to the Waikiki Rotary Club yesterday in the Reef Hotel.

He had just returned from funeral services for his father, Theodore Abijah Cutting, 85, a writer and teacher who died Sunday following surgery in Oakland.

The senior Cutting, who resided here with his wife, went to California recently for an operation.

In his talk to Rotarians, Dr. Cutting answered the often-asked question—Will the medical school be expanded to a full four-year school?—in this way:

"If the Governor and the Legislature want the school to be a four-year school, then, we would go four years. But the agreement now is for a two-year school."

He said he is "more pleased about the school's faculty than anything else. We have been exceedingly fortunate" to get top-level men with a "pioneering spirit."

The faculty now numbers 113.

While the first class of students won't start until next fall, he noted that 50 graduate students are already in the program and that the graduate student count will probably rise to 75 or 100 later.

Cost of the medical school building, he said, will run a little less than $7 million, of which $4 million will come from the Federal Government and the rest from the State and private sources.

The school's annual budget will be around $700,000, of which $500,000 will be State appropriated and the rest will come from "outside sources."

Until the medical school building is up, he said the school will be spread around in various buildings on the university campus, with off-campus tie-ins with Honolulu hospitals.

He said the clinical phase of the Hawaii curriculum will be a bigger dose than under a traditional program.

Dr. Cutting stressed that the school will be for students working toward a medical degree as well as for those wanting to enter the investigative fields and wish to work for doctor of philosophy degrees.

Special projects now under the School of Medicine are a regional heart, cancer and stroke medical program here and an intern education program in Okinawa.

The dean emphasized that research at the school is "as important, if not more important" than the teaching end.

He presented four reasons why the medicine school is essential:

1—It provides youngsters in Hawaii the same opportunity to begin medical training as those on the Mainland.

2—It provides the opportunity for research, particularly in areas relative to Hawaii.

3—It strengthens the medical community and, hence, medical care.

4—It enables Hawaii "to play the role as the intellectual center of the Pacific."

Labor's Role in a Free Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the following explanation of the role of the trade union movement in a free society. This statement by George Meany, president of the AFL–CIO, was published in the December 23, 1966, edition of the Seafarers Log, an official publication of the Seafarers International Union.

The article follows:

LABOR'S ROLE IN A FREE SOCIETY

(By George Meany)

In recent weeks and months, some of the basic precepts of free trade unionism have been challenged. Let us look briefly at the nature of the American labor movement.

The one word that best describes its day-to-day operation is "practical." We deal with one problem or one set of problems at a time. We avoid preconceived notions and we do not try to fit our program into some theoretical, all-embracing structure.

This down-to-earth, one thing at a time approach is uniquely American. And it can be said, I think, that this same pragmatic approach is a unique feature of the American legislative system.

But this does not mean—as our friends overseas sometimes say—that the United States or the American labor movement has no basic principles, no fundamental beliefs or no philosophical perspective.

All of us who are Americans know, almost instinctively, what our country stands for. We may disagree on specific issues, but we were raised in a free society and we have no need for a handbook to define it for us.

The same is true of us who are in the labor movement. We also know, almost instinctively, what the labor movement is and why. But this is not true, unfortunately, among many Americans who are not trade unionists. So a few lines of history may be useful.

From the early years of the republic it was apparent to wage-earners that there was a need for collective bargaining. Maybe they didn't use those words, but they realized that workers had to stand together in order to win fair terms of employment and to protect themselves against arbitrary and capricious decisions by management.

By now, an overwhelming majority of the American people also realize this fact. But it was not until 1935 that the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively was written into federal law—a law that was unanimously upheld by the Supreme Court two years later.

For more than a century before that time, workers had been trying to organize—sometimes successfully, but more often unsuccessfully—without any legal protection and often in the face of government hostility. They persevered because they knew collective bargaining was both necessary and right. They knew it was necessary simply by their experience as workers. They knew it was right because their instincts as free Americans told them so.

So eventually, what was necessary and right became, by law, the policy of the United States. There are still some who seek to evade or frustrate that policy, but in general it is accepted. Now let's see what is involved in collective bargaining.

There is nothing complicated about the basic idea. The workers get together and decide what they want and what they need in the way of wages and working conditions. They elect representatives to discuss these proposals with the employer, who may have other ideas. Then the two parties bargain until they come to an agreement which is reasonably satisfactory to both sides.

This may sound too simple to be true. But in actual fact, something very much like this is what actually happens. This is how the overwhelming majority of the 150,000 labor-management contracts now in force are negotiated.

In other words, the prevailing conditions in union-management relations is labor peace, based upon agreements reached through collective bargaining.

This is due in part to the commonsense of the employers. There was a time when some trade union leaders failed to acknowledge this fact. They painted every employer as a symbol of total selfishness. While it is true that there are still many employers who fit that description, it is also true that there are many others who genuinely want to be fair and many more who recognize that fair wages and working conditions are the best way to build a productive workforce.

Bargains can be reached because each side has the same general objective—a fair share from a prospering enterprise. The union has no desire to take over the enterprise from management. The union does not want to abolish profits or dividends. The union is seeking only what the workers believe is their fair share, just as management is seeking a fair share for those who have invested in the enterprise. Obviously, then, a bargain is always possible, even when there are great initial differences over what these shares should be.

However, there is another factor that helps to bring about the peaceful negotiation of good contracts. That factor is the right of workers to strike—to refuse to work under conditions that are not acceptable to them.

It is the right to strike that gives meaning to collective bargaining. It is the right to strike that gives a union's spokesman some measure of equality at the bargaining table. The word "strike" may never be mentioned, and usually isn't, but both sides know the right is there.

Let me emphasize a point I have made many times. The right to strike is almost universally accepted, in theory, as a fundamental right of free workers. But it is not just a theoretical right. It is an operating right. Anyone who says he believes in the right to strike must accept the fact that strikes will sometimes occur.

I have pointed out that the vast majority of union-management contracts are negotiated peacefully. But there are times when the differences—and they may be honest differences—are too great to be overcome by ordinary means. That is when strikes take place.

Every strike, of course, is a form of economic warfare; like all wars, it is wasteful, and some people suffer from it. No one is happy about a strike—least of all the strikers who bear the brunt of the battle. And when a strike affects the lives of persons who are not directly involved, there is often an outcry about the supposed damage that is being done to the public interest.

Because they are conflicts, strikes make headlines while peaceful settlements often pass unmentioned. It is not surprising that many Americans think that strikes are far more frequent, far bigger and far longer than they are. Actually, in the last 20 years, there have been about 3,500 strikes each year, as against the 150,000 labor-management contracts in force. They have involved about a million and a half workers each year—against a total non-farm workforce of some 63 million—and have lasted an average of about 12 days.

The time lost by strikes, all added together, amounts to far less than two-tenths of one percent of the total time worked. It is only about half as great as the time lost by on-the-job accidents.

Moreover, every American who is inconvenienced by a strike—even those few nonparticipants who suffer from one—should remember that, annoying as a strike may be, there is no alternative to the right to strike which is consistent with a free society.

That is by far the most important basis for preserving a free labor movement strong enough to strike if necessary, but it is not the only one.

Without the right to strike, there would be no strong labor movement in America.

Without a strong labor movement, wages would be lower, consumer purchasing power would be lower and another economic collapse like that of the Great Depression would be inevitable.

Without a strong labor movement, much of the social progress of the last generation would not have been made.

It is as simple as that.

It seems to me that the right to strike—a right that is so seldom exercised that it consumes far less time than coffee breaks—is a small price to pay for a prosperous, progressive and, above all, a free society.

Let me conclude with a few words about the other role of the labor movement—the AFL–CIO's functions as the "people's lobby."

Trade unionists do not function solely to raise the wages and improve the working conditions of their members. True, that is their primary function. That is what they were created to do. But many years ago, the labor movement recognized that it had much broader responsibilities. It recognized—as the AFL–CIO has said for its foundation—that the best interests of union members can be served only to the extent that the best interests of all the American people are served.

We fight for a better minimum wage law not because union members stand to gain by it (hardly any union member is paid only the minimum wage), but because it is a basic weapon in the war on poverty—a war we have been fighting for generations.

We fight for civil rights, not just for ourselves but for everyone.

We fight for ever-wider educational opportunities freely available to all Americans, not just to our children.

We want a better society in America. We are committed to the endless pursuit of perfection. This is our philosophy.

To be sure, there are those who disagree with us. There are those who believe that the measures we support, the proposals we advance, will not produce the benefits we seek. They have every right to disagree. And the disagreements should be brought, in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson, to the free marketplace of ideas where the American people will make a decision.

For nearly 200 years, trade unions have contributed to this marketplace of ideas. We believe our contributions have been greater as our movement has grown stronger. And we believe that the life of every American, and the hopes of every child, are brighter as a result.

Views of a Thoughtful Young Woman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, on January 30, 1967, I introduced a resolution (H.J. Res. 232) which proposes an amendment to the Constitution to provide that the right to vote shall be granted to persons 18 years of age and over. I have since then received a number of letters, many of them from young people, endorsing this proposal.

One of these letters struck me as being particularly logical. It was written by a young woman of West Hartford, Conn., who aspires to become a nurse. I believe that her letter, which touches on several issues, more nearly represents the thoughtful attitude and the sincere devotion to the United States and the well-being of the American people of the great majority of our youth than the picketing and the demonstrations of certain youth groups on our campuses.

In these times when anxiety has been expressed concerning the behavior and the far-out views of some of your young people, it is reassuring to receive a down-to-earth and intelligent letter such as this. I am happy to share it with my colleagues and it is a real pleasure for me to insert it in the Record. It reads as follows:

January 30, 1967.

Representative William St. Onge,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Representative St. Onge: In this morning's issue of the Hartford Courant, there was a small article regarding the bill you are going to presently introduce into the House of Representatives regarding the voting age being lowered to 18.

I would just like to express to you how glad I am that someone is trying to pass this amendment to the Constitution. People have to remember that the Constitution was written almost 250 years ago, and that new laws have to be made in order to update what we originally set down as our principles many years ago. This world is moving quite rapidly, and people have to learn to progress with new ideas and concepts.

When I was in high school, we had many discussions in our Government class regarding the lowering of the voting age to 18, but that was 2 years ago, and surprisingly enough, many of the students argued that the age should remain 21. But that was before we really got so involved in Vietnam. Young people today should have more of a say with regards to what involves them.

Although I am still far away from my 21st birthday, I don't base my ideas on the fact that young people should just have the right to vote merely because they are well aware of what is going on and should have some say so in it. But I do feel quite strongly that our young boys are old enough to fight and die for our country at the age of 18, and they should also have the right to their say in government. Granted, there are quite a few off-beat characters, with the long hair and weird clothes, that shouldn't be allowed to roam the streets, but these creeps compose only a small fraction of youth today, and people just shouldn't judge all teenagers by these degenerates. Why, even high school students have a better knowledge of what is happening nowadays than most adults.

I just returned from Israel a few months ago, and it is surprising just how mature the teenagers over there are. It is compulsory for everyone, boys and girls alike, to go into the army at the age of 18. I think it's not a bad idea to have compulsory military service as soon as one's finished their high school education. I didn't go on to college immediately after I graduated high school, mainly because I wasn't sure exactly what I wanted to study and become.

I disapprove greatly of these pseudo-intellectuals in colleges today who have nothing better to do than burn draft cards, picket, and in general oppose everything that our lawmakers try to pass. I know now what I want to do with my life, and I've had plenty of time in which to make the right decision about it. I hope to be going to nursing school in September, and really make something worthwhile of my life. When I first came home to the States from Europe, I really appreciated everything that we have here. I was proud of being an American, but I was at the same time, ashamed of the spectacles that American youth is making of itself.

I hope that the voting age is lowered to 18. I am sure that our young people will mature much faster, and learn to take an active part in the world around them. All that teenagers really want is to prove to everyone that they are grown-up, and deserve some responsibility. That's really all.

I just want to wish you good luck, and I hope that now the bill will be passed. People will be amazed at how bright and responsible this younger generation really is.

Thank you for listening to what I have been trying to express, to some adults for ages.

Sincerely,
Miss Harriet B. Greenberg.
West Hartford, Conn.

The Braden Story—Another Poverty Scandal?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to bring to the attention of the House a news story broadcast on August 30, 1966, by Fulton Lewis 3d, which would indicate that certain Federal tax moneys being used in the war on poverty are finding their way into organizations whose leaders are not above suspicion.

I might say, from personal observation, that everything Mr. Lewis reported is accurate. Mr. Lewis' broadcast is as follows:

The Braden Story—Another Poverty Scandal?

From time to time over this microphone, ladies and gentlemen, I have reported various stories dealing with federal programs such as the War on Poverty, disclosing how your tax dollars are used, or in some cases abused, as they are expended in specific projects. The reasoning behind these reports is not just to be critical, but to hopefully be constructive, to point out errors in hopes that they will be corrected, so that your tax dollars will not be squandered, mis-directed or mis-spent. Those dollars, after all, are the results of expended energy and labor. They represent your work and your time.

I mention this as a prelude to still another story about the Poverty Program—one that I have been working on for nearly a year.

I might well begin that story by reading to you an article in the August 20th issue of the People's World—the official West Coast weekly organ of the Communist party, U.S.A. The article is entitled "A Gateway to the South," and is written by People's World correspondent Steve Murdock.

It reads in part, as follows: "Kentucky is a border state, and Louisville, lying directly across the Ohio River from Indiana, is certainly a border city, but this is a good place to come to gain an understanding of what is happening in the South.

"A two-story white frame house at 3210 West Broadway in Louisville is the center of a great deal of activity that spreads down into the heart of the cruel, troubled, beautiful land to the south.

"This is the headquarters of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, recently moved here from New Orleans following the retirement earlier this year of James A. Dombrowski as executive director.

"Here is published The Southern Patriot, a lively, informed monthly 'dedicated to ending discrimination based on race, creed, color, national origin, or economic condition.' It's in its 24th year.

"The phone never stops ringing. The call can be from Nashville, from Atlanta, from Gulfport, from the Mississippi Delta, from somewhere in Appalachia, or even from the lower Rio Grande valley in far-off Texas. Or it could be from down the street about some problem involving Louisville's West End Community Council.

"'In this busy little house one finds a fusion of the new and the old in the long, bloody, dangerous, tragic struggle to change the South.

"There are photos on the wall that go back to New Deal days—pictures of Eleanor Roosevelt, a framed letter from Franklin D. Roosevelt and pictures of heroes of another day such as Aubrey Williams.

"But the real link is the living link.

"It is in the persons of Carl and Anne Braden, who together are replacing Dombrowski. Mrs. Braden already was the editor of The Southern Patriot, and she continues in that capacity.

"The story of the Bradens is quite a saga all by itself, filling, among other things, a substantial section of bookshelf in the record of American jurisprudence.

"They are responsible for knocking out Kentucky's so-called sedition law, and Carl was one of the last persons to go to jail for contempt of the House Un-American Activities Committee. And he's still feeling the harrassing hand of the Establishment. Back on July 6 he was arrested by Tennessee state troopers in Sevierville for alleged violation of the state's auto registration law.

"He was in Sevier County because [the Southern Conference Educational Fund] has what it calls its Southern Mountain Project there—an effort to organize poor whites and Negroes in what has been called 'a prison of poverty, frustration and helplessness' amid the 'natural beauty and splendor of the Appalachian mountains.' "

The People's World article then concludes by giving a glowing description of the work Carl and Anne Braden have been doing in fighting poverty and in overcoming racism in Louisville, Kentucky.

The history of Carl and Anne Braden: The story of both Anne and Carl Braden dates back many years. In the spring of 1954, they purchased a ranch-style house in a quiet, all-white suburban section outside Louisville, and then transferred the title to Andrew Wade, a Negro electrical contractor. The results were to be expected. First a flaming cross was burned on a lot adjoining Wade's property; then a volley of shots was fired near the house; and finally a bomb exploded, destroying one wing of the house. Carl Braden at the time was a copyreader for the Louisville Courier-Journal.

Before a grand jury hearing, Braden refused to discuss any questions about his activities—political or otherwise—but he was nevertheless indicted on charges of sedition against the state. The charges specifically alleged that Braden himself had participated in a conspiracy to blow up the Wade house in an attempt to arouse Negroes to mass violence.

Police, searching Braden's home, seized more than a hundred Communist pamphlets and books, including one entitled "How to Be a Good Communist."

Both identified as Communists: At the trial, the prosecution produced a surprise witness—Mrs. Alberta Ahearn, a Communist party member serving as an informant for the FBI, who testified that both Carl and Anne Braden were known by her to be members of the Communist party, that she had attended cell meetings of the party in the Braden home, and that she even paid her Communist party dues to Carl Braden.

On the basis of this testimony, and other evidence presented, Carl Braden was convicted of the sedition charge, sentenced to 15 years in prison and a $5,000 fine—that conviction taking place on December 13, 1954. After he served six months in prison, the Kentucky Court of Appeals ordered the charge dismissed, explaining that it was compelled to follow a United States Supreme Court decision which ruled state sedition laws unconstitutional.

Mrs. Ahearn testifies further: On October 28th and 29th, Mrs. Ahearn again gave testimony about her relationship with the Bradens, this time before a hearing of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. I am now reading from that testimony an exchange between committee counsel Robert Morris and the witness: "Mr. Morris: Did you operate within the framework of the Louisville Peace Crusade? Mrs. Ahearn: I was chairman of the Louisville Peace Crusade for several years. Mr. Morris: Who put you in charge of that. Mrs. Ahearn: Mr. and Mrs. Carl Braden. Mr. Morris: I see. Mr. and Mrs. Carl Braden put you in charge of that. Mrs. Ahearn: Yes, sir; they recruited me into the party. Mr. Morris: They what? Mrs. Ahearn: They recruited me into the Communist party. Mr. Morris: So they recruited you into the Communist Party. Were they members of any of your cells? Mrs. Ahearn: Yes, they were. Mr. Morris: They were? Mrs. Ahearn: Most of them. Mr. Morris: Both Carl Braden and his wife? Mrs. Ahearn: Yes, sir. Mr. Morris: What is her first name? Mrs. Ahearn: Anne." That is the end of the quotation.

In 1961, Carl Braden spent almost another full year of his life in jail, this time as a result of a contempt of Congress citation handed down because of his refusal to answer questions about Communist party membership and activities during a hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Both Carl and Anne Braden remain active in the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which is the successor to the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare—the latter cited as a Communist front on page 81 of the Guide to Subversive organizations and Publications, put out by the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Anne Braden's community council gets poverty grant: The September 11, 1965, issue of the Louisville Times has another item which relates to this story. It describes an organization known as the West End Community Council which has received a $28,000 grant of poverty funds from the Louisville Community Action Commission to help fight poverty in an area of the city known as the DuValle area.

I have before me a photostat of the Articles of Incorporation of the West End Community Councils, Inc., dated October 4th, 1963, and on page three it lists the names of the incorporators—ten in all—and among those names is none other than Anne Braden, 4403 Virginia Avenue, Louisville, Kentucky. That address is the same as the one carried in the current issue of the Louisville telephone directory for Carl Braden, Anne Braden and the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

I spoke today, by phone, with an official of the Community Action Commission in Louisville—the group which approved the allocation of funds to the West End Community Council—and she explained that the Council is under contract with the Commission to work with existing groups in the DuValle area, to find out their problems and help come up with advice for solutions. Another purpose, she explained, is for the Council to organize residents who are not at present a member of any organization.

I asked about the $28,000 grant, given to Anne Braden's West End Community Council, and was told that approximately 90% of this money comes from federal poverty funds, about 10% from the city of Louisville. All in all, the official explained, the Community Action Commission was given a one-year poverty grant of $3.4 million from the federal government to help fight poverty in the Louisville area. Part of this grant has gone to Anne Braden's West End Community Council.

My final question to the commission official was this: "Do you know whether Mrs. Anne Braden is active at the present time with the West End Community Council?" The answer: "Yes, I do know. She is active . . . very active."

The obvious question: That is the story of Carl and Anne Braden, the West End Community Council of Louisville, Kentucky—and the fact that it has been given a $28,000 grant, mostly federal poverty funds, to combat poverty in the DuValle area of that city. The question, ladies and gentlemen, is obvious. On the basis of Mrs. Anne Braden's record, including the fact that she has been identified under oath as a member of the Communist party, is she or her organization where you want your tax dollars directed as part of a campaign to eliminate poverty from this Nation? Your answer, I imagine, should be directed to Poverty Director Sargent Shriver.

The George E. Stringfellow Cancer Editorial Awards for 1966

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, in 1966 an estimated 300,000 Americans died of cancer. This year about 305,000 will die of the disease; that is 835 persons a day, more than one every 2 minutes. Of every six deaths from all causes in the United States, one is from cancer. This is a tragic toll in human suffering that touches all of us. I need hardly remind you of the toll it has taken among our friends and associates in Government—Sam Rayburn, Albert Thomas, John Foster Dulles, Robert A. Taft, and Edward R. Murrow, to mention a few. Cancer strikes without regard to sex, age, color, or station in life. All of us are vulnerable.

In spite of these grim statistics, there is today great hope in the fight against cancer. In the early 1900's few cancer patients had any hope of cure. In the late 1930's fewer than 1-in-5 was being saved—that is, alive 5 years after first being treated. Ten years later, 1-in-4 was being saved. Today the ratio is 1-in-3. About 193,000 Americans will be saved from cancer this year. There are now 1,400,000 Americans, alive today, who have been cured of cancer. By "cured" it is meant they are without evidence of the disease at least 5 years after diagnosis and treatment. This heartening statistic attests to the great progress we are making in cancer research, in public and professional education, and in service to the cancer patient and his family. Yet, much remains to be done.

Today, the American Cancer Society is working to promote the Nation's welfare with its three-fold program of research, education, and service. Among its 59 divisions, one of the most outstanding is the New Jersey division. Indeed, this past year the National Office of the American Cancer Society presented to its New Jersey division an honors citation for the excellence of its George E. Stringfellow Cancer Editorial Contest during the past 20 years. Mr. Stringfellow, who was the division's first president and who is still very active in the society's work, established the contest to enlist the cooperation of the State's newspapers in acquainting the public with the facts about cancer. The newspapers have played an important role in telling New Jersey residents about vital cancer research, the recognition of cancer's seven warning signals, the importance of early detection and prompt treatment, and many other aspects of the cancer control movement.

It is my pleasure to announce the winners of the 1966 George E. Stringfellow Cancer Editorial Contest and to ask their inclusion in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The winning editorial among the daily papers was written by William A. Caldwell of the Record in Hackensack, entitled "The 600 Doomed In a Blackout." The winning editorial among the weekly papers was written by Edward J. Mack of the Hunterdon County Democrat, in Flemington, entitled "A Numbers Game." The editorials follow:

[The George E. Stringfellow Cancer Control Editorial Contest 1966 Winning Editorials]

THE 600 DOOMED IN A BLACKOUT

(By William A. Caldwell)

Before the midnight bells ring out old 1966, ring in the glad new year, some 570,000 people in this country will have developed cancer. Of these in the class of '66 some 23,000 will live—or maybe "will have lived" is the tense—in New Jersey. If the probabilities are still doing their ruthless work, 2,300 of them will be or will have been residents of Bergen County.

One out of every three of them will be saved—by the surgery that cuts out or the radiation that annihilates a cancer, some 600 will be cured.

We should be saving at least half of them, at least 1,200 of them—as many people as live in the handsome Borough of Alpine, three times as many as live in Rockleigh. We should be saving them. We have in our hands the drug that would effect the cures. Its name is communication.

Every woman should know—and not every woman does—that death by reason of cancer of the uterus is absolutely preventable. That cancer killed 14,000 last year. Every one should know that three out of four cases of cancer in the colon and rectum can be cured if caught in time by proctological examination. Some 43,000 people died of it last year. So goes the melancholy litany.

Communication is a mere matter of carrying the word. But word carrying can be done only by carriers of the word. Some one has to do the work. The word unspoken, the word not heard in time: this is a tragic added dimension of the news that the Bergen County Chapter of the American Cancer Society has joined the company of great causes which are having trouble reaching their campaign quotas.

THE SKILLS OF GIVING

There is abundant evidence that, despite the multiplicity of appeals at their doorstep and in their fourth-class mail, people at large are as willing as they ever were to give their money to established and efficient charities, and this may be as apt a time as any to say that you can mail your check against Cancer to the Bergen County Chapter, American Cancer Society, 200 Passaic Street, Hackensack or just Cancer, c/o your post office.

Willingness to give has not deteriorated, nor has the range or quality of the A.C.S. program of research, education, and prompt service, on the spot, in the sickroom, to the cancer patient and his family.

But the experience of recent years suggests a growing unwillingness among the young or middle-aged women who have classically constituted the causes' manpower to involve themselves in the hard, drudging, usually thankless, sometimes humiliating labor of work as district captains and canvassers from door to door.

THE CARGO IS SHIFTING

Strong and hence strongly to be resisted is the temptation to meditate sulphurously on the erosion of prized old values. For one thing, the hospitals and ambulance corps and school systems and libraries that depend on volunteer womanpower can produce sierras of evidence that nobody's backing away from hard work. For another, the disengagement of active, alert, intelligent middle-class women from their calling in the charities traces on the charts a curve parallel to their involvement in paid employment. A girl who has spent a day doing a man's work in a tense office or shop can't be expected or reasonably asked to go from dinner to dishwashing to leaping through the neighborhood reminding folks of cancer's seven danger signals and explaining the ratio between federal outlay on cancer research and the A.C.S. investment.

Moreover, a generation of observant young people has been taught that if a problem really matters and isn't being solved at a lower level, Washington will soon or late come in, but big. The disposition to leave it to Uncle Sam is as much a reality as is pollution or urban decay or the plight of the elderly.

A way of life is changing. That's not going to help the 600 who could be saved in Bergen County this year but won't be. If they could only know now who they are—if they could only help to carry the word!

A NUMBERS GAME

(By Edward J. Mack)

We ask our readers this week to guess what projects should be matched to these numbers:

12,162 ____________________________
18 ____________________________
26 ____________________________
10 ____________________________
3 ____________________________
3 ____________________________
99 ____________________________
18 ____________________________
18,882 ____________________________
22,000 ____________________________

The right answers are included in this paragraph:

Dressings given patients, patients using loan items, drug bills paid, family nursing service paid, nursing home bills paid, practical nursing bills paid, X-ray treatments given, blood counts made, pieces of literature distributed, Hunterdon County goal.

To match the correct numbers with the correct services just keep everything in order and you'll be on the right track.

Our objective isn't to play games with you. It's to impress you with the tragic numbers the Hunterdon County Chapter of the American Cancer Society deals with each year in serving cancer patients in the county.

Incidentally, we've listed only a very few of the services rendered by the county chapter.

That last figure 22,000, is the most important one right now. It's the number of dollars the Cancer Crusade hopes to raise in Hunterdon County by the time the drive ends this month.

This is one part of a very serious game which you can play. It could help to get rid of all the rest of them.

New Trustees Join Board of Lowell Tech

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, recently the Governor of Massachusetts, John A. Volpe, swore in three new members of the board of trustees of Lowell Technological Institute in Lowell, Mass. All three of the new trustees have made outstanding contributions that make them highly deserving of this honor.

Martin Silva, Joseph Pellegrino, and Daniel A. Cronin, Jr., will bring new vigor and experience to the board. Under unanimous consent I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article by Melvin Hayden and Carlton L. Smith, which appeared in the Lowell Sun on February 1, 1967, outlining the careers of the new trustees:

NEW TRUSTEES JOIN BOARD OF LOWELL TECH

(By Melvin Hayden and Carlton L. Smith)

STATE HOUSE.—Gov. John A. Volpe last week swore in two new members of the board of Trustees of Lowell Technological Institute, and two members who have been reappointed.

Samuel Pinanski of Brookline, long-time board member and present chairman, and Atty. James T. Curtis of Lowell, present vice-chairman, were both administered the oath of office in the Governor's chamber.

The two new appointees, Martin Silva of Lowell and Daniel Cronin of Concord, were also sworn in.

The third new appointee, Joseph Pellegrino of Andover, was sworn in Jan. 18.

The trustees of the rapidly-expanding Lowell college represent the equivalent of a business corporation's board of directors. The fifteen-member board, meeting once each month, has complete responsibility for setting rules to policy relating to the faculty, buildings and equipment, students and curriculum.

The trustees are appointed by the governor to represent a cross-section of business and professional leaders. Because of their autonomous responsibility for setting all policy, an appointment is to be considered a high honor.

Martin Silva, who has lived in Lowell all his life is typical of the individuals so honored.

Silva has lived in the same house at 610 Andover St. for the past 21 years. He describes himself as "a quiet man" whose principal interest is his family. He and his vivacious wife, the former Madeline Silva of Lowell, have three children: Eleanor, Laura Lee and Martin Jr.

The two girls are school teachers. Eleanor, now Mrs. Herbert Becker of New York City, is a graduate of Regis College and teaches a 5th grade class in the city. Laura Lee, who is a graduate of St. Mary's College, is a teacher of home economics at Immaculata High School in Manchester, N.H.

Martin Jr., 16, is a student at Lowell High School.

Silva is a real estate broker, heading his own business which specializes in the management of rental property. He has been in business on his own for the past 25 years. He is presently a trustee of the Washington Savings Bank.

He can truly be labeled "a self-made man."

A native of Lowell, he attended Lowell schools and, following graduation from Lowell High, attended Lowell Textile nights while working days as a loom fixer in many of the city's then-prosperous textile mills.

He and his wife have long been active in local Republican circles and he is now Secretary of the Lowell City Republican Committee and chairman in Ward I.

Along with his family, boating is an activity of enthusiastic interest. The family spend their summer weekends in East Gloucester, living aboard their modest 28-foot cruiser.

Martin Silva's interest in boating is typically unselfish. Aside from being an activity he can share with his family, he is Safety Officer of the Merrimack Division of the United States Power Squadron. Here he shares his interest and knowledge teaching others the life-saving principles of piloting, seamanship and safety on the water.

Joseph Pellegrino, president of the Prince Macaroni Manufacturing Co. of Lowell can also be considered "a self-made man."

Pellegrino's early business ventures were shoe shining and frozen custards. He later became a salesman for the Roman Macaroni Company of Brooklyn, N.Y. As he states, his boss Peter Realmuto was a strict man to work for. However, Joseph Pellegrino worked himself up to Sales Manager and eventually purchased an interest in the company.

His association with Roman Macaroni was successful twofold. He became top man of the organization in sales and won the heart of Lena Realmuto, eldest daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Peter Realmuto. He was married to Lena on Sept. 21, 1933. They have one son, Joseph P. Pellegrino, who is a graduate of Phillips Academy and of Harvard College. Joseph is presently Executive Vice President of the Prince Macaroni Mfg. Co.

In 1940 the Roman Macaroni Company was completely destroyed by fire. In order to keep his business running, Pellegrino began to purchase his requirements from Prince and soon purchased controlling interest in said company.

Joseph Pellegrino is now President of the Prince and since his connection with it, the company has made great strides:

Prince has four Macaroni Plants: Lowell; Detroit, Mich.; Chicago, Illinois and Montreal, Canada.

The secret of Joseph Pellegrino's success seems to lie in his tremendous energy, all of which seems to revolve somehow around his business. He is Director of the Union National Bank of Lowell; Seaboard Life Insurance Co., Miami, Fla.; and the Don Orione Home for the Aged, East Boston. He is a member of the Lowell Chamber of Commerce; Vesper Country Club, and the Sons of Italy, Andover Division.

Pellegrino was born Feb. 22, 1907, in Mistretta, Sicily, Italy. His mother died at his birth. His father came to the United States and he was left in Italy to live with an uncle until he was 12 years old, at which time he joined his father in America.

When talking with Daniel A. Cronin Jr., the third of the new appointees, one is at once struck by the youthful appearance and vigor of this 37-year-old business executive.

A native of Lexington, Cronin attended the local high school and was president of his senior class. In 1950, he graduated cum laude from Harvard with a degree in economics.

After retailing experience with a Boston department store, he joined the medical supply firm of MacAlaster Bicknell in Cambridge and later became sales manager of its subsidiary, Macbick Co. of Wilmington. The firm specializes in disposable plastic products for hospitals. Cronin became president in 1959.

When the owner of Macbick retired in 1961, he sold the business to his employees, with Cronin managing the financial transaction. Under Cronin's leadership, the value of the company's share went from $1 in 1961 to $14 in 1966.

He was appointed by President Johnson as a member of the Alliance for Progress Committee which funnels U.S. foreign aid to South American countries for education, medical care and economic assistance.

In December, 1964, Cronin and Dr. Martin Lydon, Lowell Tech President, and Congressman F. Bradford Morse of Lowell, together with other members of the Alliance for Progress Committee, spent nearly three weeks touring Colombia. Most of this time was spent in the state of Antioquia, which is Massachusetts' sister state under the alliance, an outgrowth of former President Eisenhower's people-to-people program.

Cronin was also instrumental in establishing similar relations between his hometown of Concord with Rionegro, an historic community in Antioquia. Cronin now serves as a committee member on all three levels, federal, state and town.

Now as a trustee of Lowell Tech, Cronin points to the progressive development of the school from textile training to the broader based technological institute, which trains young men in areas critical to Greater Lowell's economy, namely electronics and plastics.

Cronin said that some new business has been attracted to the area because of the good supply of engineers. He agrees Gov. Volpe was right when he said "Youth should be provided a good education and kept here by furnishing them with good jobs instead of forcing them to run off to California and Ohio for employment."

"New England's only competitive weapon against other states economically is skilled labor and technical competence in management and engineering," he said. "This is our greatest asset and the only way we can survive in the long run," he warned.

"The key to the economy is technology and that is where Lowell Tech can make a great contribution," he added.

Cronin, in addition to his business and people-to-people committee affiliations, is also a director of the Small Business Association of New England, a captain in the Air Force Reserve, a member of the American Management Association, Parental Association, The Concord Minute Men, The Nye's Neck Yacht Club and is permanent treasurer of his Harvard class committee.

He and his wife, the former Jane Welch of West Roxbury, have 3 children; Geoff, 12, Ellen, 11, and Susan, 7. Jane's father Dr. Normare A. Welch, was president of the American Medical Association, and Chief of Staff at Carney Hospital in Boston at the time of his death.

The other members of the Lowell Tech Board of Trustees are, in addition to ex-officio members Lowell Mayor Edward J. Early Jr. and Mass. Commissioner of Education Owen B. Kiernan, as follows:

Samuel Pinanski of Brooklin, James T. Curtis of Lowell; Martin J. Lydon, John J. Delmore of Lowell, Joseph A. DeMambro of Boston, Joseph P. Donahue Jr. of Lowell, Lawrence R. Laughlin of Chelmsford, Harold W. Leitch of Andover, Timothy F. Meehan of Lowell, Anne D. Minahan of Lawrence, Richard H. Olney of Dunstable and Mrs. S. Lewis Ottey of Lowell.

Tribute to Christian Archibald Herter

SPEECH
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, we mourn the passing on December 30 of Christian Archibald Herter Mr. Herter was one of our Nation's leading public servants. He was a man whose long and distinguished career showed deep concern with both domestic and foreign policies. His lifetime of service ranged from the Foreign Service, to the speakership of the lower house of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts Legislature, to five terms in Congress, to the governorship of Massachusetts, to executive branch service as Secretary of State under President Eisenhower, and ultimately to service as Special Representative for Trade Negotiations under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

As chairman of the House Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy, of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, I had the distinct pleasure to work with Christian Herter, this past summer, as we conducted hearings related to the very important Kennedy Trade Round. Mr. Herter's last position, that of Special Representative for Trade, was one of great significance and symbolic meaning, for the outcome of international trade negotiations will effect both domestic and foreign policies. This position was truly symbolic of Christian Herter's broad personal commitment. In this post he achieved much, and in the midst of his selfless labors he passed away, still universally respected.

In every aspect of his long career he showed personal integrity, professional competence, and devotion to the interests of his Nation. We think of him as a diplomat and statesman, but it should not be overlooked that he was a very successful practitioner of the art of politics, too. In fact, he never lost an election. He was one of the great achievers of his generation. One who possessed the admirable ability to combine electoral success with scrupulous honesty in service to his fellow man.

The grieving members of his family have much, indeed, to be proud of in Christian Herter's record of public service. To them we extend our deepest sympathies.

Alewife Population Explosion in Lakes Erie and Ontario

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, last week I introduced legislation designed to combat the population explosion of the alewife, a species of fish which exists by the billions in the Great Lakes.

The bill, H.R. 4793, currently is pending before the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee.

In describing the problems caused by the tremendous numbers of this fish, I relied heavily on a report prepared by the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries following a survey of Lake Michigan.

Surveys have now been completed in Lakes Erie and Ontario as well. They reveal that, like Lake Michigan, those waters have large stocks of the alewife.

According to surveys, the fish population of Lake Ontario may now be more than 95 percent alewife. In Lake Erie the alewife is between 25 and 40 percent of the fish population. A similar survey in 1962 put the alewife population at only 4 percent in Lake Erie.

It is apparent that all the Great Lakes are being affected ecologically by the phenomenal growth of this cousin of the herring.

The problems caused by the billions of alewife which die annually, littering beaches, clogging water intakes, causing a stench, polluting further the Lakes' waters—those problems will grow more acute in the days ahead.

We must begin now to take effective steps to control this species and eliminate the unwelcome results of its teaming population. The situation requires a "sustained and massive effort" according to Secretary of Interior Udall.

H.R. 4793 would provide $5 million in Federal funds, on a matching basis with the States, for both research and action programs designed to bring the alewife under control.

It is my hope that the Congress will act on this problem during the current session. In order to provide further information on the Lakes Erie and Ontario situations, I am inserting at this point an excerpt from the current issue of the Great Lakes Newsletter, published by the Great Lakes Commission:

[From the Great Lakes Newsletter, November–December 1966]

ALEWIFE FOUND ABUNDANT IN SURVEY OF LAKES ERIE AND ONTARIO

Exploratory fishing surveys conducted in the U.S. sections of lakes Erie and Ontario during the late fall revealed that, like Lake Michigan, these waters have large stocks of alewife. On the cruises made by the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries' research vessel *Kaho*, a Gulf-of-Mexico type fish trawl was used for bottom drags.

In Lake Erie, a total of 47 drags each of 30 minutes duration produced about 11,800 pounds of fish. The alewife was particularly dominant in the central section of the lake where it accounted for 69 percent of the total catch. For the western and eastern areas the proportions of alewives to total catch were about 40 percent and 25 percent, respectively. Smelt was the leading species taken in eastern Lake Erie. During an October 1962 cruise of the *Kaho* in Lake Erie only 4 percent of the catch was alewife.

The preliminary survey in Lake Ontario resulted in catch rates of alewife as good or better than those experienced in Lake Michigan for the same time of year. Many of the 20 drags made during the first half of November produced this species almost exclusively. The total catch for the Lake Ontario cruise was about 8,500 pounds and was composed of 97.6 percent alewife. Echo-sounder recordings made between sample areas revealed extensive and widely distributed schools of fish in all U.S. sections of the lake.

The thin, silvery alewife, averaging 6–8 inches in length, is a nuisance to commercial fishermen unless special fishing gear and vessels are used in order to permit large catches to be made within relatively short periods of time. Presently, no trawlers are operating in lakes Erie and Ontario.

To Aid High School Students—Elizabeth Burnham Establishes Loan Fund

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to salute a most remarkable American, Miss Elizabeth Burnham. Miss Burnham's long life of inspiring service includes worldwide YWCA work, a Peace Corps assignment in the Peruvian Andes, and dedicated antipoverty work as a VISTA volunteer in my hometown of Gilroy, Calif. At the conclusion of her VISTA service, her Gilroy friends gave Miss Burnham a testimonial banquet and a farewell gift composed of nickles and dimes donated by the people to whom she had come to mean so much. Miss Burnham has used her gift to start a loan fund to be used by Gilroy High School students who find themselves in temporary financial difficulty.

Miss Burnham's inspiring story appeared in an article in the Gilroy Dispatch on January 11. The Dispatch noted that "although she has officially retired from VISTA, Miss Burnham is still a frequent visitor to Gilroy, where she continues to spark new ideas, and elicit community action on many longstanding problems."

Mr. Speaker, I know my distinguished colleagues join me in saluting Elizabeth Burnham, for her dedicated services to humanity. I insert her story, as it appeared in the Dispatch, at this point in the RECORD.

The article follows:

TO AID HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS—ELIZABETH BURNHAM ESTABLISHES LOAN FUND

Elizabeth Burnham, one of the first VISTA volunteers on the Gilroy scene, continues to exert her spontaneous enthusiasm and desire to help others through regular visits to the area, and by the newly established Elizabeth Burnham Loan Fund.

After spending most of her life working with young people throughout the world through the YWCA, Miss Burnham went into "active retirement" by joining the Peace Corps at the age of 68, when many dream only of a rocker by a cozy fire.

After serving for two years in an Indian Village high in the Peruvian Andes, she returned to the United States, still fired with a desire to be useful. She plunged into the VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) program, and signed up for a year of service among the needy people of our own country.

During the short year she spent in our midst she managed to touch the lives of many, never sparing herself once she had glimpsed her goal.

She helped launch the Head Start program by trekking from door to door, explaining the program to mothers of preschool children, rounding up clothing for them to wear to class, and organizing transportation wherever possible.

After the opening wedge, she found it easy to interest the families she had contacted in attending classes in sewing, cooking, canning, nutrition, child care, and English. Having interested the entire family in self help she helped organize the PREP classes in English, one of the most fruitful of her endeavors.

Besides organizing classes and soliciting supplies, she inspired others to volunteer their help, taught many of the classes, and interested a large segment of the community in the program.

As a token of their friendship, admiration, and affection for the devotion and interest she applied to every task set in her path, her friends gave her a testimonial banquet at the close of her service year.

Dimes and nickels, pooled into a farewell gift, were presented to her at the dinner, which Miss Burnham graciously accepted. Then she generously decided to place the money into a loan fund to be used by high school students who find themselves in temporary financial difficulty.

Her proposal met with enthusiastic support, and an advisory committee representing the high school and community was formed. The committee in turn chose Roger Anderson, a counselor at Gilroy High School to serve as chairman of the Loan Committee. Natasha Silberstein was named secretary treasurer, and other members include: Vance Baldwin, high school vice-principal, LaVerne Soegaard of the Gilroy Area Service Center, and Elizabeth Burnham.

The advisory committee with Mrs. Helen Ordway presiding, will meet with the Loan Committee twice a year to review the types of loans made and to explore means of expanding the fund. Other members include: Dr. Edmond Richard, associate superintendent of schools, Frank Aldridge, Rick Bremmer, Eugene Miller, Bertie Vekander, Mrs. George Self, Maria Skoczylas, Carmen Sanchez, Gordon Leper, and Martha Wirz.

The money ($260)) is currently on deposit at the Salinas Valley Savings and Loan Assn.

Contributions by individuals or organizations may be mailed directly to the Elizabeth Burnham fund at the savings and loan; and they are tax deductible.

Although she has officially retired from VISTA, Miss Burnham is still a frequent visitor to Gilroy, where she continues to spark new ideas, and elicit community action on many long-standing problems.

Sharing Federal Tax Revenues

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the amount of public interest in some form of legislation that would provide for a sharing of Federal tax revenues with the State and local governments has grown markedly in recent months. The introduction of legislation last week by a number of Republican Members has provided a number of alternative proposals to relieve the heavy burden of services and population expansion that now falls on the States. I was pleased to note that the Boston Herald has added its voice to those who urge such legislation.

I ask under unanimous consent to include in the Record the editorial on "Tax Sharing" which appeared in the Herald yesterday, February 7:

TAX SHARING

Governors across the country, faced with growing financial problems, are looking with renewed interest at federal-state revenue sharing plans. Some members of Congress are also reported to be enthusiastic about redistributing to the states a percentage of tax revenues without the strings which are now attached to federal grants-in-aid. Exactly how much and under what formula such sharing should be done will have to be worked out, but the basic idea is sound and support for it is growing daily as the cost of education, pollution control and mental and physical health goes steadily upward.

The fact is that the states need more money. Gov. Volpe's first budget, just six years ago, was $486 million; this year's is $837 million; and a billion dollar budget for Massachusetts is not too many years away. Since World War II the federal debt has gone up 20 per cent; while the state and local debt has increased 600 per cent. The squeeze continues despite massive transfusions of federal grants-in-aid. In 1953 these totaled $2.9 billion, or 8.6 per cent of combined state and local revenues. Ten years later this jumped to $8.7 billion, or 11.6 per cent with the Interstate Highway Program alone accounting for $3 billion in 1963.

Compounding the fiscal woes of many state and local governments is the fact that they have already tapped virtually every source of tax revenue. Massachusetts did pass a sales tax in 1966, but too many state legislatures, fearful of voter resentment, have been reluctant to pass needed revenue measures.

Sen. Joseph D. Tydings (D-Md.) has proposed a tax sharing plan he believes would strengthen state and local governments without weakening the federal government. He would distribute one per cent of income tax revenues to the states. This would amount to about $1 billion from 1966 returns. To discourage a decline in local taxing, he proposes giving a larger share of the money to those states that make "a strong revenue-raising effort."

We urge Congress to consider seriously some form of tax sharing. When Walter Heller, the former chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, proposed a sharing plan in 1960 there were predictions of a surplus in the U.S. Treasury. These hopes have been shattered by the rising costs of the Defense Department and the domestic programs of the 89th Congress. Cutbacks in these programs will be necessary to provide the money for tax sharing in the near future.

Careful study will be necessary before these proposals are translated into legislation, but the states' financial difficulties make such study necessary.

Committee on Alcoholism Presents Facts About Disease and Its Early Warning Signs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Community Council of Greater New York now has a committee on alcoholism whose chairman, R. Brinkley Smithers, has been in the forefront of the fight for control of the problems caused from excessive use of alcohol. Those of my colleagues who share my concern with the problem and recognize the need for a comprehensive program for the control of alcoholism will be interested in the new leaflet published by the Community Council of Greater New York which, in concise form, points out the information about the disease of alcoholism and its early warning signs.

My bill, H.R. 14197 in the 89th Congress on this subject, which I shall shortly introduce, was discussed at page 6973 of the Congressionl Record of March 31, 1966. Since March 31, 1966, I have made reference to the problem and to the organization in my district with the aim of doing something about the problem, like ACCEPT of Alcoholism Center Coordinating Education, Prevention, and Treatment, Appendix, page A3173, Congressional Record of June 13, 1966; and New York City Medical Society on Alcoholism, Inc., and the Physician's Alcohol Newsletter, Appendix page A3262, Congressional Record of June 16, 1966; and Herald-Counseling Center: "To Save Families Disintegrating Under the Effects of Alcohol," Appendix, page A3939, Congressional Record of July 26, 1966; and Christian Herald Bowery Mission: "Your Man on the Bowery," Appendix, page A4166, Congressional Record of August 8, 1966; and National Alcoholic Beverage Control Association of Washington, D.C., which supports my bill, Appendix A4437, Congressional Record of August 22, 1966; and an interesting article datelined Madrid where the Fourth World Psychiatry Congress took note of the alcohol problem: "Seven Criteria Offered for Detection and Study of Problem Drinker," Appendix, page 5115 of Congressional Record of October 4, 1966.

The contents of the community council leaflet follow:

Do you know that:

1. Alcoholism is recognized as a disease by the American Medical Association, the U.S. Public Health Service and the World Health Organization.

2. Alcoholism is one of the four major national health threats along with cancer, mental illness and heart disease.

3. An alcoholic is a person whose drinking frequently interferes with his business life, his social life or his health.

4. Alcoholics are sick people, the victims of a disease calling for the assistance of medical, psychiatric and other helping professions.

5. Alcoholics can be helped and are worth helping.

6. Alcoholism is a progressive disease and it's treatable! The earlier an alcoholic gets treatment, the more chance for recovery, rehabilitation and return to a normal and happy life.

7. 97% of all alcoholics in America are to be found in the homes, factories, offices and communities; they still have families and are still employable; often they have exceptional skills. Contrary to general belief, the visible "skid-row" alcoholic makes up only 3% of the total alcoholic population.

8. Some 80,000,000 people in this country drink. An estimated 5,000,000 of these are alcoholics.

9. There are an estimated 300,000 alcoholics in New York City.

10. For each alcoholic, four other persons are directly affected. This gives a total of over 1,500,000 persons in New York City affected by the disease of alcoholism.

11. Aside from its social consequences excessive use of alcohol causes the following physical conditions:

Liver damage.
Brain damage.
Heart condition.
And a host of nutritional deficiencies.

Some early warning signs of alcoholism:

Drinking to escape from problems.
Having a "hollow leg" and the compulsion to drink more than your friends.
Sneaking drinks.
Increasing dependence on alcohol.
Urgency of first drinks.
Feelings of guilt about drinking.
Preoccupation with drinking.
Gulping drinks.
Unwilling to discuss drinking.
Minimizing amount consumed.
Having blackouts—not remembering what happened the night before.

The Late Honorable John Fogarty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I would like to submit the following article which my good friend, John Cauley, chief of the Washington bureau of the Kansas City Star, has written about Congressman John Fogarty. How grateful we all are for this fitting tribute that has been paid to our former colleague.

The article referred to follows:

HIS LIFE DEDICATED TO THE ILL AND THE POOR

By John R. Cauley

WASHINGTON.—It has taken the harsh reality of death to bring to the attention of the country the truly monumental achievements of a self-effacing member of Congress whose life on Capitol Hill was devoted to helping the ill, the aged and the poor.

The name of Rep. John Fogarty was known well in his home state of Rhode Island and among his colleagues in Congress, but hardly anywhere else. Yet millions of Americans have been the beneficiaries of the dedicated service and compassion of Representative Fogarty, who for the last 16 years has been chairman of the House appropriations subcommittee on labor, health, education and welfare.

When Fogarty first came to Congress in 1941, the investment of the government in medical research was about 3 million dollars a year. His efforts as a committee chairman were a major factor in raising this investment to a figure exceeding a billion dollars. The budget of the Public Health service alone is 2.5 billion dollars a year, 40 times more than it was 20 years ago.

One of Fogarty's favorite causes was more federal funds for research into heart diseases. Ironically, just before he was to start his thirteenth terms in the House recently, Fogarty died of a massive heart attack at the age of 53.

The record of Representative Fogarty has been most eloquently stated by Dr. Howard Rusk, physician and medical writer for the New York Times. He wrote:

"If hospitals, research laboratories and institutes for the aged, infirm and retarded had flagpoles, every flag would have flown at half staff last week to mourn the loss of John E. Fogarty."

On the House floor last week Democrats and Republicans alike rose to pay tribute to the memory of Fogarty in one of the greatest outpourings of eulogies ever heard there.

The subcommittee headed by Fogarty held hearings at which witnesses were questioned on their requests for appropriations for public health activities. Unlike some chairmen who relish berating witnesses for asking too much money, Fogarty often berated them for asking too little to carry on medical research and the war on poverty.

Two years ago Fogarty castigated Dr. Luther L. Terry, then surgeon general of the Public Health service, for coming to Capitol Hill with "one of the worst budget I have ever seen." Dr. Terry conceded that the budget was conservative.

"I do not think it ought to be conservative," Fogarty said. "I do not think we ought to be a third or fourth rate country as far as health is concerned."

Medicare, more nursing home beds; federal aid for the training of physicians and other health workers; the massive injection of funds—1.5 billion dollars for this fiscal year alone—into the National Institutes of Health; workshops and classrooms for the mentally retarded, and many other great advances in health and rehabilitation stand as monuments to John Fogarty.

Fogarty was sharp with those who argued that not enough progress was being made for all the funds spent in medical research.

"I do not know how much we have expended on cancer research," Fogarty once said in reply to critics on the House floor. "I do not care. I do not know whether it is 100 million or 3 billion dollars. But if any part of that was a help in finding this new technique in diagnosing cancer in a state early enough to cure 100 per cent of cancer in the cervix in women, every dime that we have expended has been well expended."

Fogarty once asked a young man whom he had met why he needed canes to aid him in walking.

"He told me he had multiple sclerosis." Fogarty recalled later. "I had never heard of it, so I called up the surgeon general. He told me that almost nothing was known about the disease and that we were doing little to study it. So I got $500,000 as a starter to go to work on."

The formal education of Fogarty ended with high school. Following the lead of his father and older brother, he became a bricklayer.

At 27 he was elected to Congress. Late in his second term he enlisted, incognito, in the Navy Seabees because, as a member on the committee on naval affairs he wanted to observe the problems of enlisted men first hand.

As an enlisted man, he worked on Guam. Returning to Washington in 1945, he announced his intention to make himself "the enlisted men's leg-man."

Several years ago Fogarty had an opportunity to run for the Senate in Rhode Island, and no doubt he would have been elected easily. He turned it down because he wanted to stay in the House to continue his fight for health.

The Legend of Martin Keenan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, last month, death took from us a leading citizen of New Hampshire's Second Congressional District, Martin J. Keenan, of Peterborough.

Known as Peterborough's most learned citizen in local affairs, and eulogized as "50 years ahead of his time," Mr. Keenan's contributions, both official and unofficial, will long be remembered. Indeed, when death took him from his community one day after his 74th birthday, all businesses in Peterborough closed for the funeral; flags flew at half-staff; and several hundred persons, all the church could accommodate, were present for the farewell to a leading citizen.

Martin Keenan's official accomplishments would fill several pages in the RECORD. For 26 years, he was his town's postmaster, until he retired and was succeeded by his son, Martin J. Keenan, Jr., in 1963. He served on dozens of committees and unpaid commissions. An active and ardent Democrat, he served as State representative, one of only three of his party elected to that post from Peterborough in more than 100 years. He chaired his local selective service board in World War II and served loyally his State, town, church, and family.

A wonderful friend and tireless and conscientious worker, Martin Keenan leaves behind a legend of challenge to the newer generations, to live up to his standards. As I join his family and bereaved friends in sympathy and with respect, I thought it fitting to call to the attention of my colleagues an excellent editorial which the Peterborough Transcript, edited by Paul C. Cummings, Jr., carried following Mr. Keenan's death:

THE LEGEND OF MARTIN KEENAN

We lost our No. 1 critic—and respected friend—with the death of Martin Keenan this week.

Martin was a dissenter, particularly as far as a journalist was concerned. His voice was powerful; his views on issues and questions of the day were forceful and commanded attention; his criticism was biting.

Never was his motive other than what he thought was best for his community.

Martin invariably held the upper hand when it came to open debate. His views were reinforced with more than a half-century of experience as a "doer," which made him close to unbeatable in such forums as Town Meeting.

Martin was not a compromiser. He never took a stand solely to be on the "right" side of an issue. His vigorous approach caused him to "lose" on many occasions. "Winning," however, meant nothing to him; he fought only on a round-the-clock basis to keep Peterborough "a good town to live in."

Martin's office was Grove St., where he was as much a part of the village landscape as the Town House. Meeting him on the sidewalk was an exciting experience; he was seldom at loss for interesting conversation, and not infrequently his first remark to us was, "So what are you up to now?"

Martin was a storehouse of information; he made a career of knowing more about his town than any other citizen, and he was fondly nicknamed the "fourth selectman". He was a watchdog who kept public officials on their toes; he was a willing helpmate who devoted countless hours in researching and studying the problems of the community. He excelled in pleading the cause of those less capable of speaking for themselves.

In the area of partisan politics, Martin was 100% all the way. There never was a more loyal Democrat.

Martin's manner often seemed brusk, while beneath his exterior there was graciousness and humility. More individuals and families than anyone will ever know have depended upon him for counsel and advice. His smile had a way of bolstering one's spirit, and as Monsignor Kenney so eloquently mentioned in his eulogy, Martin was as genuine as New Hampshire granite.

If the lifetime of this fine man can be summarized in a few words, it would be that he never lost interest. He had an intense desire to work today for a better tomorrow. He stood for better schools, better town services, and better citizenship. The legend of Martin Keenan is clearly a challenge to Our Town that his ideals are carried on by future generations.

Editor of Science Pays Tribute to the Late John E. Fogarty and His Contributions to Medical Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, in the February 3 issue of Science, the Journal of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Dr. Philip H. Abelson wrote an impressive tribute to our late colleague, John E. Fogarty.

Written from the viewpoint of the scientist, Dr. Abelson's editorial sets forth the many contributions made by Mr. Fogarty in behalf of scientific and medical research and indicates the high esteem in which he was held by the medical world.

The editorial follows:

JOHN EDWARD FOGARTY

When John Fogarty entered Congress in 1941, at the age of 27, his background included a high school education and 10 years as a bricklayer and union official. At his death, on 10 January, he was highly respected for his knowledge of many aspects of public health and his effectiveness in fostering medical research. He had received more than 100 awards, including many honorary degrees.

Representative Fogarty began service on the Labor and Federal Security Agency Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee in 1947 and became subcommittee chairman in 1949. In the first year of his service on the subcommittee, the total budget of the National Institutes of Health was about $3 million. In the current year the NIH budget approximates $1.4 billion. Accomplishing this great expansion was not easy. Traditionally the Appropriations Committee seeks to hold down expenditures. Often Fogarty placed his career in jeopardy by clashing with the committee chairman, then Clarence Cannon.

Fogarty never wavered in his belief in the value of medical research, and he fostered its expansion with single-minded zeal. His resources included great energy and unusual political sagacity. Reports of the hearings of his subcommittee reveal a master craftsman at work patiently building an extraordinarily good case for expanded support of medical research. In his efforts Fogarty had an effective partner in Senator Lister Hill. On occasions when House leadership succeeded in thwarting Fogarty, Senator Hill obtained support for increased appropriations in the Senate. Other important allies were James Shannon (director of NIH), Mary Lasker, and the medical research community. Possessing a combination of charm, brains, energy, and money, Mrs. Lasker has had access to all recent Presidents and can mobilize important support for medical research. From the medical community Fogarty could depend on such well-known expert witnesses as Paul Dudley White, Karl Menninger, Sidney Farber, and Michael De Bakey.

Fogarty built skillfully and well. He understood the vital relationship between the support of fundamental science and practical objectives. He built for permanence. His methodical care year after year won for him and the programs he fostered broad support in Congress. The *Congressional Record* for 19 January 1967 provides an indication of the respect he enjoyed. Tributes to him by more than 100 of his colleagues are recorded there. Many of the words of praise are devoted to the enduring value of his efforts in expanding medical research.

There is considerable sentiment in Congress to implement an idea that Fogarty advanced in September 1963:

". . . I should like to see a plan to bring into being at Bethesda a great international center for research in biology and medicine dedicated to international cooperation and collaboration in the interests of the health of mankind as so boldly envisaged by the President. This center would encompass conference facilities, laboratory and study space, and living quarters to permit the assembly for discussion, study, and research of the outstanding health scientists of the world. I visualize this center associated with the great facilities of the National Institutes of Health and the National Library of Medicine as representing the visible and tangible embodiment of this Nation's devotion to the use of science for peaceful purposes and the good of mankind."

Congressman Laird (R–Wis.), on 18 January 1967, spoke for many Congressmen (and scientists) when he stated, "I can think of no more fitting and lasting tribute to this great humanitarian than the establishment by this Congress of such a center—the John E. Fogarty International Center for Advanced Study in the Health Sciences. Not only will such an institution be a living embodiment of the spirit and aspirations of John Fogarty, but it will serve a needed and valuable role in securing the progress of science in the cause of the well being of all mankind."—PHILIP H. ABELSON.

Adam Clayton Powell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the special committee which has been entrusted, pursuant to resolution, with the responsibility of reviewing the record of Representative POWELL, of New York, will, I am sure, meet its responsibility. In the meantime controversy sweeps across the country and the most repeated charge we hear is that the House vote to have Representative POWELL step aside was an anti-Negro move.

Therefore, I believe that an editorial in the January 21, 1967, edition of the Suburban Eagle, of Robbins, Ill., an independent publication primarily serving Negro residents of south suburban Cook County, precisely expresses their view on the Powell case. I believe it merits objective review and, therefore, I include it in the RECORD at this point:

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL

How many times has the congregation of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in New York's Harlem heard about the wrath of the Lord? How God will punish those who disobey His commandments, and how sinners will dwell in the eternal depths of hell?

Adam Clayton Powell is well known for the huge helping of fire and brimstone he dishes up on Sunday mornings and serve from the pulpit of Abyssinian.

The resolution to take away the Harlem Congressman's seat and to deprive him of his vote, carried 364 to 64, gave extremists an opportunity to attack what they call racism. Would we have Congress to ignore Mr. Powell's action because he is a Negro?

As chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, surely Mr. Powell was aware of the responsibility he had, not only to the voters in Harlem, but to Negroes across the nation.

There is no justification for Mr. Powell's action. It is wrong to encourage a man or a people in evil doing. It is wrong to aid and abet crime because of status quo.

If there are other chairmen of Congressional committees guilty of the same offense as Mr. Powell, then it is the duty of Congress to act post haste.

Mr. Powell has done a great disservice to all Negroes.

For 22 years the Negroes of Harlem has seen it fit to elect Powell as their leader and for 6 of these years, Powell has served as chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, a position of immense authority. A position which made Mr. Powell one of the most powerful member of Congress and now the trust has been betrayed.

It seems that Mr. Powell's concern for self and for personal gain took priority over the trust that the voters placed in him.

It has been said in certain circles in Washintgon NAACP means Never Antagonize Adam Clayton Powell. It appears that Congress has antagonized Mr. Powell and there has been no blood shed, no riots, no mass picketing.

Young Negro leaders in Harlem add new meaning to NAACP—

"Not
Another
Adam
Clayton
Powell"

Loans to Poland Tighten Hold of Communist Bosses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. GRUNEY. Mr. Speaker, the fine research work of my colleague, PAUL FINDLEY, of Illinois, and his dedication to seeking out the truth about happenings behind the Iron Curtain, has once again been recognized publicly. I would like to share with my colleagues the recent column by Edgar Ansel Mowrer, in which Congressman FINDLEY's findings are discussed:

LOANS TO POLAND TIGHTEN HOLD OF COMMUNIST BOSSES

(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

Little by little, the carefully spun web of illusions about a liberal "evolution" in the Soviet satellites—used by the Administration to justify its drive for increased U.S. trade with them—is disintegrating. What is revealed is anything but reassuring.

Take Poland. "Poland is more dependent upon the Soviet Union and the Polish people have less individual freedom today than was true a decade ago."

This is the conclusion of a painstaking investigation of the Polish situation recently sent to President Johnson by Republican Congressman Paul Findley of Illinois.

In 1956, warned by the Poznan uprising, the Polish communist "apparat" felt obliged to loosen its strangle hold on the Polish people. It released Cardinal Wyszynski from jail, amnestied other political prisoners, sent home Soviet Marshal Rokossovsky, the Defense Minister, decollectivized farms into private holdings, granted a measure of intellectual freedom—and announced a willingness to "accept" U.S., economic aid.

"Believing that communism based on national aspirations would move First Secretary Gomulka closer to the West without threatening basic American policies, we undertook a series of steps to help Poland from its serious economic, cumulative failures of the past," Congressman Findley comments.

POLISH FREEDOM IN RETREAT

In vain. After about a year and a half of partial freedom of the press and of assembly First Secretary Gomulka turned back to "democratic centralism," meaning a tight tyranny. Today Polish freedom is in retreat, and Gomulka more secure in power than ever. Poland is "veering off from the West." It is engaged "in a war by proxy" against the United States in North Vietnam which it supplies with essential goods and credits. In fact, as former American Ambassador to Warsaw, Jacob Beam, said when he left Poland in 1964, "The American policy of helping the Gomulka regime surmount its economic difficulties has not led to the more liberalizing evolution in Poland which could have been expected."

Expected by whom? By New Frontiersmen and peaceniks? The sober truth is, the half billion dollars so far given Poland by American taxpayers has tightened the hold of the Red bosses upon the unhappy Polish people. Intolerance is back and widened communist party control. Dependence upon the Soviet Union is almost total. As Gomulka announced in 1962, "Never in history have relations between Poland and the USSR been as close as now." Poland plays a leading role in communist espionage. (Five State Department officials and U.S. marine embassy guards have been "compromised"—nice word!—by women agents of the Polish secret police.) The regime has closed down church-operated schools. Rebellious communist writers have been consored and punished.

WOULD RELIEVE $18 MILLION DEBT

Yet, believe it or not, the Johnson Administration now proposes that the United States relieve Poland of the obligation to repay eighteen million dollars by offering zlotys which would then be used in Poland for mutually agreed upon economic projects.

Congressman Findley believes such an American gift to Gomulka and his bully boys would not only further strengthen the Red bloc but is probably illegal at home under:

The amended Foreign Assistance Act of 1961;

The Battle Act;

Public Law 480, as amended;

The "Findley Amendment" to the Agricultural Appropriation Act of 1957;

The Foreign Assistance Appropriation Act of 1966.

Therefore he opposes the Johnson proposal. So, I hope, will those millions of American weary of building bridges across which our sworn enemies regularly attack us.

A Founding Father Returns

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER S. BARING
OF NEVADA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article which appeared in the New Age magazine, February 1967 issue, written by Mr. Walter M. Callaway, Jr., of Atlanta, Ga. I am impressed with this article and urge everyone to read it for it makes you stop and think. It should make everyone stop to think today for in my opinion the Constitution is a sacred document. "The torch of American liberty and American honor is yours to carry."

The article follows:

A FOUNDING FATHER RETURNS

(By Walter M. Callaway, Jr.)

Fear not, my young American of 1967, I am not an apparition here to frighten or startle you. Do not let my attire disturb you; it was rather fashionable in 1776 and 1787 and I am loath to change it. I am, indeed, one of your American grandsires, one who has been called a Founding Father of the Republic. My name? It matters not, I may be known as Franklin, Jefferson, Washington, Madison, Hancock, Adams, Lee, Henry, Carroll, Revere, or Warren, or one of the many others who once pledged our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor to the cause of American liberty and independence. In that struggle some of our members did, indeed, lose their lives and many lost their fortunes, but none lost his sacred honor.

We, from our Celestial Assembly, after due deliberation, have concluded that the time has come to communicate with 1967 America and to warn it of approaching danger. You may have read of the time in Philadelphia when we had just concluded our Constitutional Convention and my friend, Ben Franklin, was asked by a citizen what we had done. Brother Franklin answered "We have given you a Republic if you can keep it."

In that Constitution we framed the structure of your government; we delineated the powers between legislative, executive, and judicial departments. We clearly defined the lines of demarcation between National and State Governments, the powers and rights of each. We thought our language was clear and unmistakeable but apparently we were wrong.

We sharply defined the rights of your person against any governmental tyranny; we assumed that you would instinctively know your duties as a citizen. Resolving to forever protect this Republic against Old World evils we erected a wall of separation between state and church, a wall that we felt could never be breached; that no American could ever be compelled to adopt any form of religion, or any religion at all, against his will; that he could never be taxed to support any creed; that his religious freedom could never be abridged by government or man.

We tried to frame a document which would become the cornerstone of individual liberty and local sovereignty within the well-defined framework of a National Government whose powers were spelled out and limited to such powers as were enumerated. This Constitution, great as it was, cannot be stronger than the respect with which each generation of Americans treat it. That our labors were not in vain was attested by the great British statesman, the Honorable William E. Gladstone, who declared, "The American Constitution is, so far as I can see, the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

Now, my 1967 American friend and descendant, we, your Founding Fathers, in celestial and solemn assembly, have sadly concluded that our Constitution is being eroded and plays little part in the deliberations of your modern Nation. My distinguished colleagues have assigned to me the duty of asking YOU what part you have played in the decay of the Constitution and in what we conceive to be the decline of American honor?

You say you have done nothing? Then I have not come a day too soon! By doing "nothing" you have done everything to contribute to this national erosion of honor and integrity. You say you didn't have time to register and vote? Ah, yes, so you did have a fishing trip planned on election day. You say that you were incensed at the passage of a certain law last year. Did you write a letter of protest to your representative or a letter to the newspaper expressing your displeasure? Did you call your alderman or county commissioner about that unreasonable ordinance he helped pass? Did you take time to discuss these things with your neighbors and business associates and friends and resolve to get rid of "these politicians" who are more devoted to political profit than they are to principles? Ah, you didn't want to get involved? But, yet, you are indignant about the low state of affairs of your community and Nation. Afraid of economic or social reprisal; of getting a "bad image"; being considered a "square" or a chronic griper, or opposed to "progress"? Suppose, My Young Friend, that your Founding Fathers in 1776 and 1787 had been concerned about our "image" with the Mother Country or had feared to get involved?

We have developed grave concern over what you, our heir, have done, or failed to do, to keep the faith with us. We have observed that you, through inaction and apathy, have permitted the almost entire dissolution of constitutional state sovereignty as prescribed by us, by an ever-increasing Federal power. We did not intend to throw off a foreign yoke in order to make way for a domestic yoke of despotism.

Listen to the warning of a great American named Albert Pike and what he said less than one hundred years ago: "For as free States advance in power, there is a strong tendency towards centralization, not from deliberate evil intention, but from the course of events and the indolence of human nature. The executive powers swell and enlarge to inordinate dimensions; and the Executive is always aggressive with respect to the nation. Offices of all kinds are multiplied to reward partisans; the brute force of the sewerage and lower strata of the mob obtains large representation, first in the lower offices, and at last in Senates; and Bureaucracy raises its bold head . . . the thirst for power is never satisfied. It is insatiable. Neither men nor nations ever have power enough. . . . When the central government feeds part of the people it prepares all to be slaves. When it directs parish and county affairs, they are slaves already. . . ."

Think on what Pike had to say, Young American. We have seen you stand idly by while your National Government levies taxes upon you to pour them into the treasuries of churches and their schools. Think you that where "Federal Funds" go that Federal controls do not inexorably follow? This rule is as immutable as the laws of the Persians and the Medes. Do you consider it beyond the realm of possibility that soon a bureaucrat may be outlining the text of the sermons by your minister? We have seen with sorrow how you have permitted a monolithic central government to seize control of nearly all your traditionally local functions. We have observed you to meekly submit to Government regulations over your private and local rights that far surpass anything that King George III ever dreamed of in our day. Permit me to remind you of one of the grievances which Thomas Jefferson enumerated in the Declaration: "He (George III) has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance." If you value your birthright, I urge you to get a copy of that Declaration and the Constitution and study both of them.

Today, in 1967, you have more laws on your books than at any time since the dawn of civilization; you have an abundance of laws but very little order. We see the streets of great American cities torn with senseless riots, vandalism, hooliganism, murder rampant, and your police rendered almost helpless in their duty to protect society. Your police are almost impotent because of judicial edicts for the protection of criminals; mobs, by inference, are condoned and sometimes encouraged, by inference, by speeches, by persons in high office in America who seek their vote.

We have watched you adopt a new concept of war and defense where victory is forbidden because it might offend the enemy and hurt your image. You have permitted the desecration of Old Glory not only in foreign lands but in the interior. Your officials and your embassies have been attacked with impunity. We watched in anguish while you betrayed a brave people whom you had promised to support in their fight against tyranny at the Bay of Pigs. You failed to keep faith with the Hungarian freedom-fighters who depended upon your support. You stood by while the Berlin Wall went up. Your Government has given the mark of respectability to the most insidious and deadly enemy in our history, the Communist Party. You have submitted, with little protest, to a new absolutism by intrenched bureaucracy, where "guidelines" supplant law.

You have stood on the sidelines while highly organized minority groups have frightened your representatives into passing laws which are repugnant to the majority of citizens and offensive to the American Dream. Remember the saying that "every time a law is passed a little bit of liberty dies." Have you, without thought or protest, traded your liberty for what politicians call "Security"?

Remember, My Son, there are only two places where real "Security" may be obtained: a prison or a grave. Never forget that great nations, principalities, republics, and empires rise and fall; their days are always numbered by the caliber of the citizens who make them up. Examine the causes of the rise and fall of Rome, Spain, France, Venice, Turkey, Germany, Japan, Britain, and others more ancient. The causes are there for you to learn. Must America fall for not heeding the lessons of history? Consult history, My Son, if you care for the future of this Nation. We, the Founding Fathers as we have been called, can no longer counsel and aid you physically; our days is over except as our spirit is still with you, if you care. The torch of American liberty and American honor is yours to carry.

How say you, My Son? I must hurry and return whence I came. What answer do you have that I may report to my Celestial Colleagues?

Begging the Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the recent incident involving the visit of the carrier *Franklin D. Roosevelt* at Capetown was most unfortunate form every point of view. The crew was understandably disappointed at being denied shore leave at the last moment, and apparently even the opponents of the Vorster government of south Africa were upset.

But the fault was not with those who decided to limit shore leave to integrated activities, which decision the ship's captain felt could not be carried out. The fault lay with those who decided to schedule the carrier's stop at Capetown in the first place. They should have foreseen, among other things, that this would appear to the world as a softening of our opposition to apartheid, particularly since the South Africans would go to great lengths to make it appear so.

Almost as disturbing as the incident itself is the failure of the State and Defense Departments to reaffirm the policy enunciated by Assistant Secretary Williams last year when he told the House Foreign Affairs Committee at formal hearings:

> We have cancelled operational port calls in South Africa of U.S. naval vessels and aircraft rather than accept the application of racial conditions to our personnel.

It is claimed that some U.S. ships must visit south African ports from time to time. I can accept the fact that occasional emergencies may make this necessary, but it is regrettable that we have installations in south Africa, such as tracking stations, which are said to make other ship calls necessary.

The time is coming soon, probably in a matter of months, when we are going to have to choose between asking any favors of the south Africans and our obligations as members of the international community. The State Department should be preparing for this day, but there is no indication that they are doing so. A first step would be to arrange for placing our tracking stations and other installations in other countries or on floating stations.

Pending the time when we can eliminate all ship visits to South Africa, such visits should be kept to an absolute minimum, where operations make them essential. So far as carriers are concerned, they should continue to be refueled from tankers, as they have been for the last 2 years. This will obviate the kind of embarrassment which was caused by the recent incident.

While it might be convenient for the Navy, and enjoyable for some crewmenbers to make the Capetown stop, such considerations must give way to the larger considerations of principle and of overall foreign policy. For the sake of our relations with the rest of Africa and indeed with all those countries whose citizens are not of white skin, we simply must prevent the spectacle of thousands of American crewmembers being entertained in Capetown, in a largely segregated fashion, by communities which are themselves subject to the intolerable laws of apartheid. The very fact that Capetown, and South Africa as a whole, was obviously intending to make so much of the visit is a sufficient reason why such visits must be avoided in the future.

Today's Washington Post contained an excellent editorial on this subject, which I include herewith:

BEGGING THE ISSUE

Only the Government, and ultimately the President, can decide whether the Navy's convenience and the needs of the Vietnam war make it imperative for American warships to call at Capetown at a time when a consistent, uniform disapproval of South African apartheid is a pillar of our African policy. It is difficult to believe the Navy is not sufficiently resourceful to find a way to avoid even operational (fueling or repair) calls at the South African port, if necessary at the added expense of refueling at sea.

But a more basic point in this—as in some far larger questions involving potentially explosive clashes of military and foreign policy interests—is that one way or the other a firm decision should be made. The root-cause of the recent ruckus over the landing of the carrier Franklin D. Roosevelt at Capetown is that the Navy and the State Department papered over their differences to produce the illusion of a policy.

As so often happens, there was a certain inevitability to each successive step. When the South Africans refused to permit racially-mixed crews to fly aircraft to South African airfields from the carrier Independence two years ago, refueling was performed at sea. A year later, former Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, G. Mennen Williams, in a reference to that incident, gave Congress to believe that all operational calls on Capetown had been canceled.

At least, that's what a good many Congressmen, and others, thought he meant. But the Navy had by no means abandoned its use of Capetown. Lesser vessels than the Independence, numbering twenty or more, paid calls on Capetown, before the Franklin D. Roosevelt's arrival last week, with the only proviso being that no operational activities be subject to segregation; shore leave was made a voluntary matter.

The trouble with the FDR was that it was too big to hide. When civil rights leaders and Congressmen got wind of her impending visit and protested, orders were quickly issued to the ship's Captain to make certain that any leave granted should not involve activities tainted by apartheid policy. To be on the safe side, the Captain canceled all leave.

The result left nobody happy—neither the ship's crew, nor the South Africans, who had come to accept a relaxation of the original Williams policy and welcomed it, nor the civil rights leaders and Congressmen who also sensed an easing of policy, and deeply resented it. Such are the inevitable results, sooner or later of most efforts to resolve disputes within the Government by pretending that they don't exist. We think the original Williams policy was the right one. At the very least we think the best way to avoid undercutting our principles in the case of apartheid is to have a consistent policy.

An Exciting Experiment in Living

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, a remarkable new approach for dealing with the increasing urbanization of the United States is described in an article in Monday's New York Times. The University of Minnesota is going to build a completely new city with a population of a quarter million persons.

The article states, "The project is based on the assumption that the Nation cannot now comfortably accommodate the 3 million more persons who must be housed each year—the equivalent of 12 cities with 250,000 persons living in each—simply by cramming them into existing metropolitan areas."

Every week the Members of Congress demonstrate their concern for the Nation's urban problems. The new city, which has been spurred by Vice President HUMPHREY, Dr. Walter N. Vivrett, and many other outstanding Minnesotans, represents a bold, pioneering attack on these problems.

I insert the article to be reprinted in the RECORD and hope that all the Members will read it:

A NEW EXPERIMENTAL CITY MAY RISE IN THE MIDWEST

(By Robert B. Semple, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, February 5.—The Federal Government and the University of Minnesota are about to embark on an experimental project that could lead to the construction—in the Minnesota farmlands—of a new city with a population of a quarter of a million persons.

High officials here confirmed today that only a few minor details remained before final approval was given for total grants of $248,000 from three different Government agencies. The money will help to finance the planning phase of the project.

The project, which has the strong backing of Vice President Humphrey, the Cowles publishing interests in Minneapolis and some elements of big business in Minnesota, is unusual in that it does not contemplate the construction of another suburban community, or even a satellite "new town" such as Reston, Va., or Columbia, Md.

Rather, the project's planners are seeking a self-contained urban center that would be built at least 100 miles from any existing center.

The project is based on the assumption that the nation cannot now comfortably accommodate the three million more persons who must be housed each year—the equivalent of 12 cities with 250,000 persons living in each—simply by cramming them into existing metropolitan areas.

AIM CALLED EXPERIMENTAL

Its purpose, however, is frankly experimental. It does not seek to solve the urban problem overnight. Its aim is to test the proposition that by judicious planning and experimentation the nation can preserve the advantages of high-density living and yet avoid its disadvantages—ugliness, pollution, noise and congestion.

The staff director of the project is Walter N. Vivrett, professor of architecture and planning at the University of Minnesota. Dr. Vivrett, interviewed by telephone today, told a reporter that the university's applications for Federal funds "had been generally agreed on." He said he expected final approval before March 1.

Officials here, conceding that final Federal approval is imminent, are not at all certain what will come of the project but are willing to make a bet of $248,000 on it.

The three Government agencies contributing to the project are the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Department of Commerce. The man who is said to have put the whole "Federal package" together is Neil Peterson, one of Mr. Humphrey's top aides.

The cost of the first phase of the investigation—known as the "project definition phase"—is estimated at $330,000. The difference between the Federal share and the total cost will be made up by the University of Minnesota and local companies.

Although formal staff work cannot begin until the grant application is approved, much thought has gone into the project. In addition, the university has named a top-level steering committee to oversee the project and to lend guidance.

Among its members are:

Walter W. Heller, former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers and now professor of economics at the University of Minnesota.

Dr. James C. Gain, a Mayo Clinic surgeon, who is President Johnson's personal physician.

Gen. Bernard Schriever, former chief, systems command, United States Air Force.

R. Buckminster Fuller, designer and engineer from the University of Southern Illinois.

William L. C. Wheaton, director of the Institute of Urban and Regional Development at the University of California at Berkeley.

Paul N. Ylvisakr, director of Public Affairs for the Ford Foundation.

TOTAL COST UNKNOWN

No one has tried to estimate the cost of constructing a new city. Nor has a site been chosen, although given the Minnesota cast of the project's directors and backers, there will doubtless be strong preferences for building the city in that state. But Dr. Vivrett emphasizes that the question of investment is "the sort of thing we will by trying to answer in the early stages," and the question of precise site is "a long way off."

The origins of the idea are obscure, but much credit is given to Dr. Athelstan Spilhaus, Professor in the School of Physics at the University of Minnesota. In a recent interview here, Dr. Spilhaus said he had first become interested in the notion of an experimental city while working on a pollution study for the National Academy of Sciences.

"If the 100 million people that represent half the population of the United States today lived in the same high density as they do now but were distributed in 400 dispersed small concentrations of 250,000 apiece, there would probably be no serious pollution problems," he says. "What we need is urban dispersal—not urban renewal."

Dr. Spilhaus's conception of the things that might be tried in an experimental city is tentative but energetic. Among other components, he visualizes:

An urban environment with a transportation system eliminating or reducing the need for automobiles, new communications systems, industries that either re-use waste products through processes of "industrial symbiosis" or bury them in "fume sewers," and a system of land management in which schools, homes, shopping centers and the like would be grouped so as to lessen the impact of the cost of commuting. The objective, he says, is to bring about "a full mating of the city and current technologies."

These and other ideas will be considered during Phase One of the project.

According to Dr. Vivrett, the basic objectives of the first phase are to identify city problems, examine the possible components of an experimental city, analyze its social implications, assess the role of the private sector and how to mobilize its interest and support and discuss the fundamental values—"in a humanist sense"—that should govern the design of the city.

The second stage would involve further and more concentrated study leading to eventual construction of test models, a design for the city and construction.

Dr. Vivrett's staff will consist initially of himself and six colleagues from the University of Minnesota but he plans to draw as much as possible on the talent and insights of other experts here and abroad.

William A. Fio Rito

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may insert in the RECORD at this point a letter from Mr. William A. Fio Rito, president of Military Purchase System, Inc.

Mr. Fio Rito has written to me recommending that Lt. Col. Edward H. White II, be awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor. As the Members are no doubt aware, I have introduced a bill recommending that the three astronauts killed in the unfortunate accident be awarded that honor. However, I am glad to direct the attention of the House to this added tribute by one who knew Lieutenant Colonel White well.

The letter follows:

MILITARY PURCHASE SYSTEM, INC.,
New York, N.Y., January 31, 1967.

Congressman LESTER WOLFF,
Room 1525, Longworth Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WOLFF: I have just returned from the funeral of my very dear friend and squadron mate Lt. Colonel Edward H. White II.

Ed was laid to rest mid hundreds of gallant heroes, who died in the service of our country. Unlike the heroes that preceded him, he performed his duty courageously before the eyes of the entire world, and thus brought a feeling of national pride to the heart of every American.

His wife Pat, and their lovely children, Edward and Bonnie, have endured an untold amount of loneliness, and anxiety even before this dreadful tragedy. The strength of character exhibited by them today stands as a tribute to Ed, and service families throughout the world. Therefore, as a token of this nation's gratitude, which can only be expressed to them, I urge you to bring a motion before the House of Representatives to award the Congressional Medal of Honor to Lt. Colonel Edward Higgins White II, for heroism and conspicuous gallantry above and beyond the call of duty. Such a tribute will stand as an inspiration to the American people, and the men that will ultimately conquer space.

If by virtue the technicalities inherent in such an award, this medal cannot be granted, may I suggest a joint resolution of both Houses, to be presented to Mrs. White, hopefully, by the President of the United States.

Respectfully,

WILLIAM A. FIO RITO,
President.

College Bound Corp. Will Groom 2,000 Poor Youths for College in New York City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, Sunday's New York Times carried a front-page story by Leonard Buder describing a very important breakthrough in the encouragement of disadvantaged high school students to go on to college. Announced Saturday in New York is a new corporation called College Bound which will provide the special attention, smaller classes, and the intensified academic work young people from poor neighborhoods will need to gain admission to colleges in the New York area. The corporation is to be established by the board of education, the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York and the diocese of Brooklyn, the National Scholarship Service Fund for Negro Students, and 39 colleges and universities in the New York metropolitan area.

Far too few Americans from poverty backgrounds have gone on to college even though many have the talent to succeed there. Since 1965, the Federal war against poverty has had a special program designed to do something about this waste of talent. Upward Bound is like a Headstart for teenagers. There are now over 20,000 young high school Americans attending special programs carried on by 220 colleges and universities from coast to coast. The results of this effort so far have been spectacular. Over three-quarters of these Upward Bound students are going on to college.

But, the office of economic opportunity has always known that the school systems of the Nation would have to find new and more effective ways to propel its students into college. OEO could hardly attempt the whole job. Now, we have just such a breakthrough in New York City, where 675 high school students from poverty backgrounds are presently enrolled in Upward Bound. From 2,000 to 3,000 additional students each year, students who would not ordinarily go to college, will receive the educational impact they need to join other, more fortunate Americans under the College Bound Corp. program.

Mr. Speaker, needless to say this ambitious plan will involve a great deal of money. Mr. Buder does not make clear exactly where the necessary financial support would come from, although he reports that the Carnegie Foundation has an initial grant of $40,000, and that additional funding will be sought from Federal, State, and city sources. Mr. Jacob Landers, assistant superintendent of schools and a major figure in developing the plan, has said that the city board of education will request $1.5 million for the College Bound Corp. in its 1967–68 budget. This would seem to be an entirely reasonable figure, and I sincerely hope that this enormously worthwhile investment in the future of New York City and the Nation will be approved.

I congratulate both the Federal Upward Bound program, which has shown so clearly that our most precious national resource can be saved, both in New York and nationally, and the schools and colleges of the New York area which are now undertaking a large-scale program to do their part in bringing the fruits of a Great Society to thousands of deserving students.

Mr. Speaker, the developments in New York are highly significant for two reasons: First, they demonstrate the "ripple effect" of Upward Bound on State and local services; and second, they emphasize the vital role for local imagination and courage, as exemplified by the New York metropolitan area educators who are working in unison to launch the "college bound" consortium.

Mr. Speaker, I insert Mr. Buder's extremely illuminating report on the College Bound Corp. at this point in the RECORD:

[From the New York Times, Feb. 5, 1967]

SCHOOLS TO GROOM 2,000 POOR YOUTHS FOR COLLEGE HERE—SMALL CLASSES PLANNED FOR A SELECTION OF STUDENTS WITH STRONG POTENTIAL—ADMISSION IS ASSURED—39 INSTITUTIONS COOPERATING IN MASSIVE PROGRAM TO AID THE DISADVANTAGED

(By Leonard Buder)

Poor youngsters who have strong potential despite lagging grades will be given a chance to go to college under a sweeping program that will bring together the Board of Education, two Roman Catholic school systems and 39 colleges and universities in the metropolitan area.

The plan, to go into effect next fall, will affect 2,000 to 3,000 ninth and tenth-grade students who would not ordinarily go to college.

Each year that number will be placed in small classes, where they will receive more courses than usual and greater individual attention than is normal. In some cases, the youngsters may be paid about $5 a week as a stimulus.

High school students who emerge from the program with grades as low even as 70 or 75 will be guaranteed admission to the 39 higher institutions, which include Columbia, City University, Fordham, Sarah Lawrence, Pace, Bard, Barnard, St. John's and Long Island University.

A MASSIVE PROGRAM

"We are not talking about a project," Jacob Landers, assistant superintendent of schools, said yesterday. "This is a massive program that will ultimately include all disadvantaged children with college potential."

Although the bulk of the affected students will probably be Negro and Puerto Rican, poor youngsters of all ethnic categories will be sought out and encouraged.

The Rev. Timothy S. Healy, executive vice president of Fordham, said the school systems, colleges and the Negro Student Fund were setting up an organization called the College-Bound Corporation to help carry out the program.

"The reason the school system is willing to put so much time and money into the program," said Richard L. Plaut, president of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, "is that the kids will have some place to go.

"In the past, there seemed to be little point in placing a high school youngster on a college preparatory track when he would not have the grades or the money to go to college."

The school systems of both the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York and the Diocese of Brooklyn are also expected to participate in the plan.

Announcement of the cooperative program was made yesterday by Mr. Landers in behalf of Superintendent of Schools Bernard E. Donovan; the Rev. Timothy Healy, executive vice president of Fordham University, and Mr. Plaut.

An initial grant of $40,000 has been made by the Carnegie Corporation of New York to Fordham University, which is acting as fiscal agent for the new organization pending its incorporation.

Father Healy, who is chairman of the steering committee of the College-Bound Corporation, said additional funds would be sought from Federal, state and city sources.

Mr. Landers, a vice chairman of the steering committee, said the Board of Education had allocated $1.5-million in its 1967–68 budget estimate for the program.

He said the system was prepared to spend $600 to $750 a year extra on each student in the program. The city now spends about $1,200 a year on the education of each high school student.

"This program is not intended for those youngsters who could make college on their own," Mr. Landers said. "We're not creaming the top—but dipping down to reach students who may be as much as two years retarded in reading."

He noted that while most of the students were expected to be Negroes and Puerto Ricans, the program would also take in other disadvantaged children.

TWENTY-FIVE SCHOOLS INVOLVED

Present plans call for the program to start next September in about 25 academic high schools that have large concentrations of disadvantaged students.

Students selected for the program would be those with academic potential who would ordinarily seek the noncollege or general high school diploma. Mr. Landers noted that last year there were almost as many high school students being graduated with general diplomas as with academic or college praparatory diplomas.

College-bound students then will be placed on the academic track, assigned to special "schools within their schools." Instead of attending classes of 25 to 30 students, the special students will be in classes of 10 or 12.

The students will be given an enriched academic program—probably six major subjects, instead of the usual four—during an extended school day. There will be emphasis on English, mathematics and science, intensive guidance and counseling, cultural subjects and remedial help as needed.

Some of the colleges have also said they would "adopt" college-bound students as early as the ninth-grade and give them tutorial help and pre-college counseling.

The City University will take up to 1,000 graduates of the program each year, and the other institutions will take varying numbers, depending on their size.

COLLEGES TO GIVE AID

Mr. Plaut said the colleges and universities would also provide special services to enable the students to overcome any academic weaknesses they still might have. Financial aid, in the form of scholarships, loans and work-study grants, would also be given.

Mr. Landers said the new program would go beyond other efforts undertaken to help disadvantaged students—such as "Upward Bound" programs offered during the summer months and the continuing "College Discovery" program sponsored by the city public school system and the City University.

Henry T. Hillson, principal of James Madison High School in Brooklyn, has been selected by Superintendent Donovan to organize the college-bound program for the system. Mr. Hillson, while principal of George Washington High School some years ago, supervised a successful pilot project that prepared many disadvantaged students for college.

By coincidence, Brooklyn College reported yesterday that its Academic Talent Search Project, begun in 1964 with 42 students, had shown that high school graduates from economically disadvantaged areas who failed to qualify for college admission could—with special help—master college work. Thirty-five of the original students are now working toward baccalaureate degrees.

OTHER ACTIVE FIGURES

In addition to Father Healy, Mr. Plaut and Mr. Landers, the other officers of the College-Bound Corporation's steering committee are Harry L. Levy of City University, vice chairman; Elwood C. Kastner of New York University, treasurer; and Miss Helen McCann of Barnard College, secretary.

The institutions of higher education that will be members of the College-Bound Corporation include:

Adelphi University, Bard College, Barnard College, City University (four senior colleges and six community colleges), the College of Mount St. Vincent, the College of New Rochelle, Columbia University, Columbia College of Pharmacy, Columbia School of Engineering, C. W. Post College, Fordham University, Hofstra University and Iona College.

Also Long Island University, Manhattan College, Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart, Marymount College, Marymount Manhattan College, Mills College of Education, New York State Maritime College, New York University, Notre Dame College of Staten Island, Pace College, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, Pratt Institute, St. John's University, St. Joseph's College for Women, Sarah Lawrence College, Southampton College and Wagner College.

Vietnam Serviceman and Veterans' Act of 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, my sponsorship of President Johnson's proposed Vietnam Servicemen and Veterans' Act of 1967 became even more meaningful to me this week, with the reception of a letter from a former GI in my district.

> I am truly grateful to my country for financing my education.

Wrote George Todaro, a resident of Eden, N.Y., who was eligible for the GI bill after the Korean war.

> Since graduating from Fredonia State in 1961, over 125 children have been in my classroom.

Continued Mr. Todaro.

Possibly you can think of this as being the interest with the principal on loan.

It is letters like these that emphasize to me the importance of the Federal Government's providing the same educational benefits for veterans of today's war as it did for World War II and Korean war veterans. As my constituent pointed out, the Government is royally repaid in "interest" for offering education moneys to these men.

They are, as we all know, spending an important part of their lives fighting for our country. They deserve as much as we can give them.

God Bless America and Our Way of Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I received the following article, "God Bless America and Our Way of Life" from Terry E. Dolson, who is serving his country in Vietnam. I consider it a privilege to represent such a fine individual in Congress.

The article follows:

GOD BLESS AMERICA AND OUR WAY OF LIFE

Our country is a great and wonderful country with a heritage every American can be proud of. Since the birth of our nation, Americans have fought with great valor and courage around the world in the cause of peace and freedom. Indeed, many thousands of Americans gave that last full measure of devotion—their lives—for the freedom of mankind! Our country has a glorious history of loyalty and valor that has never been tarnished by cowardice. Today, our country and all the free countries of the world are in grave danger from tyranny of communism. Our country, our way of life and perhaps even our lives are threatened by this malignant disease. The spread of communist aggression and tyranny must be stopped. So long as any country is threatened by aggression, no country in the world is safe.

The brave people of South Viet Nam are fighting a life and death struggle for freedom and the right to govern themselves. These things most Americans take for granted at home.

I am an American serving my God and my country here in Viet Nam. Like so many others over here, I have a wife and a family that I miss and love dearly. I don't want to be here living in danger and separated from my family. However, if our families and our country is to continue to be free and live without fear, then it is necessary for us to be here. I pray that this conflict will end soon so that we can all return to our families. I don't want to die, but if it be God's will, then I can think of no greater purpose for which one can give his life than the cause of freedom.

In the November 1st 1966 edition of the Pacific Stars and Stripes I read an article which shocked me as I'm sure it would all loyal Americans. It was titled "To Hell With The Draft." The article said that a man named Stokely Carmichael addressed a crowd at the University of California at Berkeley, California. In Carmichael's address, he speaks out against our efforts to stop aggression here in Viet Nam. Carmichael advocated that Americans should practice disgraceful disloyalty to their country by refusing to serve it in this hour of great peril. He tells them to say when called, "To hell with the draft." To me, that would be the same as saying, "To hell with my country!" There are other Carmichaels—that is to say, men who think like him—and I am ashamed to admit that they are my fellow countrymen!

If you want your families to be property of the state, then listen to the Carmichaels!

If you want the state to tell you how many children you will have, then listen to the Carmichaels!

If you want the state to tell you what god and how you will worship it, then listen, to the Carmichaels!

But to you loyal Americans, who love our country and our way of life and freedom—I appeal to you—*Do not listen to* such perverted and cowardly advocates of disloyalty, but answer willingly to your country's call in this time of great need. To steal a quote from a great American—"Ask not what your country can do for you, but ask what you can do for your country."

God bless America and our way of life!

In the service of my country,

AN AMERICAN.

Blunder at Capetown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. FRASER. In recent days, Mr. Speaker, many of the world's newspapers have editorialized on last weekend's visit of the U.S. aircraft carrier *Franklin D. Roosevelt* to Capetown, South Africa. Today's Washington Star called the visit "one of the most monumental bloopers in U.S. diplomatic history." Following is the Star editorial:

BLUNDER AT CAPETOWN

The visit of the carrier Franklin D. Roosevelt to Capetown must go into the book as one of the monumental bloopers of United States diplomatic history. Everyone concerned came off a loser.

First came the decision to stop at the South African port to refuel and give the crew a chance to stretch their legs after months of sea duty off Vietnam. Then came the protests from civil rights leaders and liberal congressmen over subjecting the racially mixed crew to the racist laws of that nation. The Navy, after some red-faced sputtering, cancelled all shore leave. The South Africans, having made elaborate plans to welcome the 3,700 man crew with open, segregated arms, were furious. The officers and men of the F.D.R., for their part, displayed no great enthusiasm over the Navy's about-face. Some 100 of them went AWOL.

Someone, as the saying goes, had blundered. And in retrospect it's clear who that blunderer was: The one who made the original decision to put in to Cape Town.

The United States had been singed by South African racial policies before. In 1965 a scheduled call by the carrier Independence was cancelled when then Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd announced that no Negro pilots from the carrier would be permitted to land at South African airfields. Today, South Africa has a new prime minister, Balthazar J. Vorster. But that is about the only change on the national scene since 1965.

Racial discrimination is still the law and the practice of the land, and so long as that condition persists, United States warships have no business in that nation's ports. Quite apart from the sensibilities of the liberals at home, shore leave for a racially mixed crew could produce incidents that would rupture the strained relations between the two nations.

The F.D.R. took on $70,000 worth of fuel. it is said that it would have cost a quarter-million dollars to refuel the carrier at sea.

That would have been $180,000 well spent.

The Real Reason for Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, William S. White has written a column describing the real reason why we are fighting a war in Vietnam.

His column appeared in the January 27, 1967, edition of the New York World Journal Tribune and I commend it to the attention of our colleagues:

WHY DON'T WE TELL REAL REASON FOR VIET WAR?

(By William S. White)

WASHINGTON.—The United States government is exercising far more than simply military restraint in Viet Nam, and a delicate but insistent question arises as to how much longer Washington should forego the most powerful and conclusive of all justifications for our posture there.

For the United States is not merely restiricing military action against the Communist invaders of South Viet Nam in the face of unbroken attacks and provocations from the North and ceaseless howls from foreign and home-grown peacenicks who would withdraw from our troops even the adequate bombing support with which they are now making do.

What is not generally known is that the United States is with unexampled patience accepting uninformed criticism of our position in Viet Nam, notably from some European allies, which could be quite destroyed to logical minds if this government opened a real propaganda of truth as to why we must stay there.

In truth, the rock-bottom obligation laid upon us by history is incomparably bigger than the immediate obligation to rescue a small and tortured part of the free world's lodgement in Asia. It is the supreme necessity not to allow the Chinese version of Communist expansionism to prevail and so overturn all Southeast Asia.

And it is this supreme and overriding argument for our policy that this government is deliberately playing down abroad in a spirit of self-sacrificing responsibility that has few parallels in warfare. Washington speaks only softly of the giant, ultimate reason for our position in Viet Nam lest a wide trumpeting of that reason should inflame the Communist Chinese to join far more than they have yet done the assault of their North Vietnamese stooges upon South Viet Nam.

But, ironically, this comparative silence causes the United States to take a beating from critics that it need not take. For these critics—that is, the kinds of minds abroad that are still open to some reason—could hardly continue to bite at us in the face of the whole and true story.

In the absence of a drumming out of that story, they are able to believe that the war in Viet Nam is essentially local and not in fact a transcendant test of the whole doctrine of collective security against Communist aggression. They are able to see it, in short, rather as the neutralists and isolationists of half a lifetime ago saw Hitler's early moves upon little dots of land like Danzig as only parochial threats without general peril.

It required years of agony and thousands of lives needlessly lost for many to see how silly was the slogan-question of the isolationists: "Who wants to die for Danzig?" Similarly, years of agony have not shown to some of our critics, and again notably in Europe, the puerility of today's equivalent slogan-question: "Who wants to die for Saigon?"

In a word, it is an extraordinary fact that many sophisticated men, not excluding some allied diplomats here of basic goodwill toward the United States, simply have not grasped the real name of the game in Viet Nam.

Put the hard kernel of the reality before thoughtful Europeans and few could continue to give room to the facile notion that, after all, the war in Viet Nam isn't really necessary—and anyhow so preoccupies the United States that perhaps it might drop its guard toward its duty to help Western Europe defend itself should danger come there.

For this country's persistent gallantry—and gallant is truly the word for it—and its high sense of responsibility in its deep national sacrifice is unique in all the long story of the fight against totalitarianism.

To be sure, there are strong reasons why the United States should hesitate to make its overwhelming defense in Viet Nam. But, again, in common fairness, the question must arise: How long should the United States have to carry this frightful burden without help or even understanding from some of its European associates?

Congressman Dulski Featured on Magazine Cover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to bring to your attention the fact that my colleague and friend, Congressman THADDEUS J. DULSKI, is featured on the cover of the February 4 issue of the National Rural Letter Carrier.

Mr. DULSKI is the new chairman of the House Post Office and Service Committee—and I can speak for the people of Buffalo in saying that we are proud to have a native Buffalonian and former Buffalo councilman at large follow in the footsteps of the late Representative James M. Meade, of Buffalo, who was chairman of the committee before going to the U.S. Senate.

The people of Buffalo are also proud to have a former Canisius College student and graduate of the State University of Buffalo representing them in Congress.

TED DULSKI, a hard-working Democrat-Liberal, represents New York's 41st District. Beloved by all in Buffalo, he has been reelected four times. Formerly an accountant and tax consultant, Mr. DULSKI served for a time with the Bureau of Internal Revenue, Treasury Department. He is a Navy veteran of World War II, and also has several years as a special agent with the Price Stabilization Administration to his credit.

First elected a district councilman of the city of Buffalo, Mr. DULSKI became a councilman at large in 1957. The following year he ran for Congress—and has been here ever since. The Post Office and Civil Service Committee is indeed fortunate to have such a competent and likeable chairman.

The Future in Oceanography

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. WYDLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 11, 1967

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, recently the newsletter of the Long Island Trust Co. called Comment dealt with the subject of the future of oceanography. This excellent article should be brought to the attention of my colleagues.

It follows:

THE FUTURE IN OCEANOGRAPHY

In the summer of 1968, if all goes well, Dr. Jacques Piccard, Swiss oceanographer, will board the PX–15, a deep submergence vessel designed and built under a contract between Grumman Aircraft Engineering Corporation and the doctor. Long Island money and enterprise will thus make an historic contribution to conquering the earth's last frontier—the seething, swirling, gigantic oceans that have awed and fascinated man since his earliest days.

The under-water adventure upon which Dr. Piccard and three other scientists will embark consists of a 1,500 mile, six-week journey beneath the Gulf Stream. The PX–15 will submerge to a depth of about 300 feet off the Miami coast and drift silently with the current north and east to Nova Scotia. Hovering at varying depths from 300 to 2,000 feet, the scientists will record data photographically and evaluate relationships in a vast volume of sea.

"It will be man's first opportunity to observe marine life in its environment from a silent, undersea vantage point for a prolonged period of time," Dr. Piccard said this month. For the first time, in other words, man will experience what it is like to be as a creature of the sea, living and working day after day, night after night, in the "inner space" of a mighty ocean.

The PX-15, nearing completion in Switzerland, is a vessel of 120 tons, 10 feet in diameter and 46.8 feet long. It is equipped with 25 portholes, five directed toward the surface, and 20 searchlights. Its advent will mark Grumman's entry into the rapidly expanding market for vehicles that engage in scientific exploration and commercial exploitation of the world's oceans.

And it marks anew the importance of oceanography to the future of this area. Not today nor tomorrow, but at some future date, conquest of the oceans may well yield untold wealth that will bring forth new industries and jobs. Preoccupied as man is with vital forays into the world of outer space, he can never forget the food and other demands brought by ever-rising birth rates in most areas of the world. The waters that lap at our own and other coasts are rich in supplies of food, oil, minerals and products essential to man's well-being.

That the oceans will be exploited is certain, but *when, how fast and by whom?* Across the United States, and indeed across the world, men are pondering, evaluating and testing the application of science and technology to harvesting and conserving the wealth of oceans. The size of our area's share will depend in large part upon the size of our reservoir of scientific and engineering brainpower; upon willingness to fund research not immediately profitable, and upon teamwork between business and local, state and Federal governments. In our lifetime the world of outer space has been translated from theory into highly competitive reality, and the same may well be true of oceanography.

MOUNTING PRESSURES

It is understandable that wars and strife in widely separated areas of the world dominate the thinking of the American government and people. Yet it can never be forgotten that day-in and day-out, another war is being fought—against hunger and starvation in many nations of five continents. In North and South America, in Europe, Asia and Africa, the problem of keeping human beings fed must be met if any marked degree of world peace and stability is to be achieved. The pressures of coming years will be greater, not less, and the science of oceanography may well become a powerful weapon in itself. Thus, governments will budget heavily for its development.

James Reston wrote in *The New York Times* the other day: "Even at the present ratio of population to food production, the economic and political problems are almost unmanageable. . . . The current estimates are that our own population will rise by 145 million people by the end of this century to a total of 340 million. Meanwhile, world population is expected to go up in this same period from 3.3 billion to 7.3 billion, but the programs and even the thinking on this stupendous problem are lagging far behind."

It is true that the Federal Government has shown but modest interest in oceanography thus far, but if food should become a decisive weapon in the battle for peace and stability among nations it is possible that the picture could change in a single decade, or sooner. One has only to look at the space program to realize how powerful a stimulus is Communist competition. And Russia, of course, is constantly active in its investigation of mysteries inherent in the sea.

WILL LONG ISLAND BENEFIT?

The potential business activity that could be generated by the active development of oceanography is realized by communities and area development leaders from coast to coast and beyond. Each of them hopes to lure the Federal Government into establishing an oceanography research center in their particular area and to use this to attract brainpower and extensive commercial facilities. They see, ultimately the establishment of a "wet NASA" in their particular location.

Thus, six local groups in Southern California have organized an Oceanographic Coordinating Committee to establish San Diego as the "Oceanic Capitol of the World," with plans for an Oceanic Industrial Park, Seattle, Long Beach and Hawaii also have heavy promotions under way. In the East, Boston notes that while an initial Federal facility will only contribute about $2 million in new payrolls, "The ultimate prize could be the major part of an annual $600 million in Federal budget funds sometime around 1970." Rhode Island offers a free site and Maine at least four possible sites. Indeed, up to 350 letters suggesting possible locations are received each day by the Federal Interagency Committee on Oceanography.

In the face of such massive and extensive competition, a great deal of effort and sound planning will be required if Long Island is to emerge as a principal center of oceanography. Valuable work has been done in the past few months by industrial groups and a wide variety of individuals. Our island has much "going for it" in terms of resources and potential.

THREE VITAL FACTORS

How valuable oceanography becomes to Long Island may depend principally upon three factors:

1. *A Master Plan.* The willingness of all interested groups to work together in harmony and close colloboration is the first requirement. A single master plan and long-range adherence to it by all concerned would prove an asset of first magnitude.

2. *A Realistic Approach.* The second requirement is a down-to-earth realization that by no means will all be lost if the Federal oceanic research facility is located elsewhere. Location of the actual experimental laboratory is only one aspect of a much larger picture. Long Island technology and industry can be brought to play a very important role in the project in years to come regardless of the site.

3. *Capital Investment.* While there are clearly limits to the amount of "risk" capital local businesses can put forward, a willingness to make such an investment wherever feasible is the third requirement. Grumman's PX-15, for example, is a vessel important to oceanography, yet the company hopes to find customers for similar vehicles to be used in ocean-drilling for oil, salvage operations and other sea-going activities. The "fall-out" from oceanography operations will be impressive.

Although "the last frontier" will not be easily explored, nor will the wealth to be derived from it come easily or quickly, its silent depths hold much for the future of mankind and for Long Island.

Tribute to Christian A. Herter

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, I feel a deep sense of personal loss at the death of Christian A. Herter, a distinguished former Member of the House of Representatives, a brilliant Governor of Massachusetts, and a dedicated Secretary of State.

I knew him personally and I admired him very much indeed. I knew him and his family long ago in East Hampton, N.Y., and I had the pleasure of serving with him on the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives.

During the administration of President Truman, Christian Herter was a key figure in Congress in laying the basis for approval of the Marshall plan for European recovery. In so doing he served his country well, just as he did later as Under Secretary of State, as Secretary of State, and as a special Presidential representative for international trade negotiations.

His career of public service began shortly after he was graduated from college. In 1916 he was posted to Berlin as a member of the Foreign Service; he then served in Belgium, at the Versailles Peace Conference, and as assistant to War Relief Administrator Herbert Hoover. Later he served as Mr. Hoover's assistant in the Department of Commerce.

His public career was long, it was distinguished, and it was brought to a close only by death. His widow, his sons and daughter, his many grandchildren, all have much to be proud of. To them we extend our most profound sympathies.

Legislation to Curtail the Practice of Nongermane Amendments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, on February 2, 1967, I introduced a resolution to amend the rules of the House to curtail in the future the practice of attaching nongermane amendments to bills, and a bill to correct one example of this practice in the 89th Congress by repeal of the Presidential Election Campaign Act of 1966. Under the Celler proposed resolution, any amendment of the Senate to a House or Senate bill which was not germane to the subject matter of the legislation would be referred to the House committee having jurisdiction over the subject matter of the amendment before its consideration by the House.

Mr. Speaker, under the rules of the House a nongermane amendment is subject to a point of order, but there is no such rule in the Senate. Thus, the practice is often utilized in the Senate of attaching riders to legislation in the form of an amendment which would not normally receive favorable consideration. This practice is dangerous. It eliminates thorough consideration and the expertise and experience that standing committees have over subject matters which they normally consider. My proposal would at least provide for the appropriate and proper consideration by those Members who are acquainted with the subject matter of the amendments.

The 89th Congress provided a number of examples of the problem presented by the present practice of attaching nongermane riders to House-passed bills. Many have referred to this practice as an "end run," and it is my intention under this resolution to block any such move in the future. It will keep future proposals from riding through Congress on the back of nonrelated legislation.

My second bill will give Congress an opportunity to correct one instance of mischief that results from the attachment of nongermane riders to bills that have already passed the House. This bill is to repeal the Presidential Election Campaign Act of 1966, which was appended to H.R. 13103, the Foreign Investors Tax Act of 1966, in the 89th Congress, although it had no relevancy at all to the subject matter of that bill.

The Presidential Election Campaign Act of 1966 introduced a new and unprecedented concept in the financing of presidential campaigns in this country. Congress has enacted into law, for the first time, the concept that the Federal Government should subsidize the major parties in a presidential election. The subsidy even extends to a third party if it has more than 5 million votes.

No committee of either House studied the proposal that led to this legislation. No one can say with any degree of assurance what the effect of this bill will be on campaign spending. As passed, the act authorizes the individual taxpayer to designate that $1 should be paid into the presidential election campaign fund. If a political party receives more than 15 million votes in a presidential election, it shares equally with all other parties in the distribution of this Federal fund. If a political party receives more than 5 million, but less than 15 million votes, it will receive $1 for each vote in excess of 5 million.

What if George Wallace, or Stokeley Carmichael, or any other leader of a splinter group, would run for President and receive 10 million votes? It is right that the Federal taxpayer should then be bound to provide $10 million to that party? On the other hand, is it right that the Federal Government, if it is going to subsidize the presidential campaigns, should refuse to provide money to a political party that receives only 4,999,000 votes?

One thing is sure. Every splinter party will press to get their candidates on the ballot in every State, and thus assure that they attract the 5 million vote minimum needed for participation in Federal fund moneys.

A host of questions arise that could have been resolved through normal committee procedures. Should the law provide for financing the campaigns of Members of Congress? Does the Federal Government have the right to decide which of the political parties deserve Federal funds and which do not? It seems to me that there may be weighty constitutional problems. Under the law, tax revenues are distributed automatically for political purposes by Government employees. The taxpayer is deprived of any opportunity to earmark his political contribution to a named party of his choice.

The 89th Congress gave us two additional cases where House conferees were faced with nonrelevant and unfamiliar Senate riders. The act to suspend the investment credit and allowance of accelerated depreciation in the case of certain real property was amended in the Senate to incorporate provisions to grant exemption from the antitrust laws for a merger of professional football leagues. This amendment was made to a bill from the Ways and Means Committee at the very time the Committee on the Judiciary was in the process of conducting hearing on similar professional football league merger bills. The Senate held no hearings on these bills, and the Senate action short-circuited the hearings in the House. As a result, Congress has granted an antitrust exemption of unknown scope to professional football.

The third example in the 89th Congress of Senate action without hearings was the rider to H.R. 13935, a bill to consent to the entry of Massachusetts into an interstate compact providing for bus taxation proration and reciprocity. The rider was an amendment to the War Claims Act, and had no relevancy whatsoever to the Massachusetts compact. The rider, if enacted, would have depleted the funds of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission by providing the payment of interest to preferred claimants even before the payment of principal was made to other claimants. Fortunately, the Senate receded from its rider during the closing days of the session.

Aid to Cities and States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill to modernize and improve the Federal Government's system of aid to cities and States.

It is identical to a bill introduced in the other body by a Senator from Maine, Mr. MUSKIE, on June 15, 1966, and again on January 25, 1967.

I am proposing this bill to help alleviate confusion in the administration and coordination of Federal-aid funds and programs and to promote understanding and cooperation among our various levels of government.

The bill, as originally sponsored by Mr. MUSKIE, would provide for a national council close to the President, specifically to carry out this work and would thereby result in a major reorganization of the executive branch of the Federal Government.

It would require, first of all, an Intergovernmental Cooperation Act to furnish a policy of coordinating the Federal programs. The policy would consider the plans and objectives of localities concerned. Chief responsibility for carrying out this policymaking will fall upon the President, who will have the authority to present plans to combine Federal programs under fewer agencies.

An Intergovernmental Personnel Act—also proposed by Mr. MUSKIE—would be established under the bill, to center on merit systems, personnel management, in-service training and the interchange of Federal, State, and local employees.

These present problems are considerable threats to the future administration of Federal programs and deserve immediate reorganizational attention.

Local governments have always had problems in knowing just what Federal aid is available to them for such important projects as urban renewal, economic development, development of resources, construction of sewerage, and manpower training. As the country grows larger, these problems increase. Because there is now no truly effective policy for sorting out the overlapping funds for Federal-aid programs this responsibility often falls to city mayors and city councilmen.

Today we must cope with 86 new programs for local assistance—all passed by the 89th Congress, and 84 previous programs. These 170 Federal-aid programs are currently financed by more than 400 separate appropriations and are administered by 21 Federal departments and agencies assisted by 150 Washington bureaus and more than 400 regional offices—all of which can gather applications and dispense Federal funds.

Subsequently, many of these programs move slowly if at all, and prompt inefficiency at all levels of government. Towns, cities, and small villages—who often come to consider the Federal Government a great ogre with interest only in large urban areas—have no real clearing place where they can know immediately what aid is there for them, how they can become eligible for the aid, and how they may apply for it.

Many of these difficulties would be cleared up with the enactment of the bill I am proposing today—and smaller governments for both urban and rural areas would know—according to a more flexible, simpler policy, what funds are available to them for education, pollution, civil rights, law enforcement, housing, education, transportation, and public facilities.

A National Intergovernmental Affair Council (NIAC), operating close to the President, would work to counteract what Mr. MUSKIE has called the bigger threats to our Federal system "program fragmentation and the tunnel vision of Federal administrators."

We cannot go on establishing more and more Federal programs only to add to the top of an already unwieldy pile of existing programs. We must give more thought to speed, and simplicity. We must introduce legislation to help the Chief Executive carry out this mission.

We must look into programs that provide too much money for purposes requiring less than this amount. We must bolster up programs that give too little money for their needs.

Auditing and bookkeeping problems are far too complicated in many areas—preventing complete administration of many of the funds available. There is no consistent pattern that exists from one program to another; in many of the programs there are no equalization factors to insure that poorer States and localities are receiving more funds than more fortunate areas. Sometimes the mere cost of planning for the administration of some Federal funds has proved too much for a locality—which has to forego available moneys.

In addition, it is difficult for localities to find qualified persons to carry out the planning of programs available to them, thus further confusing the efficiency of the Federal aid issues.

Delays and uncertainty have resulted in many unused funds and have often proved costly because they have involved much research, budgeting and documentary work.

What goes for the Federal Government in Washington—needless to say—would never go for the government of a small Western town, or even a large city in the East. The key word is "implementation." For even if the entire structure of the Federal aid program is revamped to a satisfactorily workable condition, it will do no good unless the structure is carried out fully in its proper manner.

What the council I am proposing today—the NIAC—will do is this: It will stand in the offices of the President, determine the importance of all existing Federal-aid programs, and bring about policies of simplicity, flexibility and coordination.

Mr. Jack Webb

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States and each of the Members of this House are acutely aware of the difficult and complex problems of law enforcement in a free society. We are also aware that to whatever degree there is a breakdown in enforcement, each member of society suffers.

The rapid and continuing increase in the crime rate in the United States is a matter of great concern to us all. I suggest a part of the solution to this problem lies in a greater understanding on the part of the public of the challenge which faces the individual policeman in the performance of his duties.

I call the attention of the House to the efforts of the man who, for the past two decades, has worked quietly and effectively to further this understanding. He is Mr. Jack Webb—a fine actor and a capable and effective director and producer. Through the "Dragnet" series, he has used the media of television to let the American people see the danger and drudgery, the accomplishments and satisfactions of the policeman on the beat. In the finest sense, Jack Webb has educated as well as entertained.

On February 9, in an episode of "Dragnet," he will show us the reflection a policeman sees when he stands before a mirror—it is how the policeman sees himself, and it is in large part, I hope, how we too see him. This program is worthy of our attention.

The material referred to follows:

WHAT IS A COP?

(By Richard L. Breen and Jack Webb)

It's awkward having a policeman around the house. Friends drop in. A man with a badge answers the door. The temperature drops twenty degrees. Throw a party and that badge gets in the way. All of a sudden there isn't a straight man in the crowd. Everybody's a comedian. "Don't drink too much," somebody says, "or the man with the badge will run you in." . . . Or, "How's it goin', Dick Tracy? How many jaywalkers did you pinch today?" . . . And there's always the one who wants to know how many apples you stole. All at once you've lost your first name. You're a "cop," a "flatfoot," a "bull," a "dick," "John Law." You're "the fuzz," "the heat," . . . you're poison, you're trouble . . . you're bad news. They call you everything, but never a policeman. It's not much of a life . . . unless you don't mind missing a Dodger game because the hotshot phone rings . . . unless you like working Saturdays, Sundays, holidays . . . at a job that doesn't pay overtime. Oh, the pay is adequate. If you count your pennies, you can put your kid through college. But you'd better plan on seeing Europe on your television set. Then there's your first night on the beat. When you try to arrest a drunken prostitute in a Main Street bar and she rips your new uniform to shreds. You'll buy another one . . . out of your own pocket.

You'll rub elbows with all the elite: pimps, addicts, thieves, bums, winos, girls who can't keep an address and men who don't care. Liars, cheats, con men, the class of Skid Row. And the heartbreak: underfed kids, beaten kids, molested kids, lost kids, crying kids, homeless kids, hit-and-run kids, broken-arm kids, broken-leg kids, broken-head kids, sick kids, dying kids, dead kids. The old people that nobody wants, the reliefers, the pensioners, the ones who walk the street cold and those who tried to keep warm and died in a three-dollar room with an unvented gas heater. You'll walk the beat and pick up the pieces. Do you have real adventure in your soul? You'd better have. You'll do time in a prowl car. It'll be a thrill-a-minute when you get an "unknown trouble" call and hit a back yard at two in the morning, never knowing who you'll met . . . a kid with a knife . . . a pill-head with a gun, or two ex-cons with nothing to lose. And you'll have plenty of time to think. You'll draw duty in a "lonely car" . . . with nobody to talk to but your radio. Four years in uniform and you'll have the ability, the experience and maybe the desire to be a detective. If you like to fly by the seat of your pants, this is where you belong. For every crime that's committed, you've got three million suspects to choose from. Most of the time you'll have few facts and a lot of hunches. You'll run down leads that dead-end on you. You'll work all-night stakeouts that could last a week. You'll do leg work until you're sure you've talked to everybody in California . . . people who saw it happen, but really didn't. People who insist they did it, but really didn't. People who don't remember, those who try to forget. Those who tell the truth, those who lie. You'll run the files until your eyes ache.

And paperwork . . . you'll fill out a report when you're right, you'll fill out a report when you're wrong, you'll fill one out when you're not sure, you'll fill one out listing your leads, you'll fill one out when you have no leads, you'll make out a report on the reports you've made. You'll write enough words in your lifetime to stock a library. You'll learn to live with doubt, anxiety, frustration, court decisions that tend to hinder rather than help you: Dorado, Morse, Escobedo, Cahan. You'll learn to live with the District Attorney, testifying in court, defense attorneys, prosecuting attorneys, judges, juries, witnesses. And sometimes you won't be happy with the outcome. But there's also this: There are over five thousand men in this city who know that being a policeman is an endless, glamorless, thankless job that must be done. I know it, too. And I'm damned glad to be one of them.

Johnson Loveth a Cheerful Giver

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE SKUBITZ

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, the incongruities in the President's state of the Union message are vivid upon reflection. At one point the President said:

> Let us do all that we can with what we have.

But then as to say that what we have is not enough, he proposed the 6-percent surcharge on individual and corporate income taxes. Many of our Nation's citizens were "tuned in" to hear the President's message but it seems clear from the letters I have received that they are "tuning out" on his plans to spend more of their money. I think the following editorial exemplifies the thinking of many Kansans. In the tradition of excellent journalism for which the Emporia Gazette is known, Ray Call presents his thoughts in the January 26, 1967 issue.

I commend his editorial to the attention of my colleagues:

JOHNSON LOVETH A CHEERFUL GIVER

Somewhere in the back of our mind is a phase from the Bible that goes like this: "The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away." After digesting a report of Lyndon Johnson's Budget Message we are inclined to paraphrase the Bible passage thus: "The President giveth and the President taketh away."

In our opinion, Mr. Johnson's State of the Union message on Jan. 10th offered some good things, but the effects of these benefits would be erased by the proposals in his Budget Message Tuesday.

One of the key points in Mr. Johnson's Budget Message was the need for giving. Mr. Johnson asked Americans to tighten their belts, calling on the nation for "a measure of sacrifice" in higher taxes, higher postal rates and higher paycheck deductions to help finance the biggest budget in the nation's history. In other words, the President wants the people to give more money for the costs of government, war and welfare.

Most taxpayers know that federal programs cost money and they are willing to pay their fair shares. They do not mind giving up money for things that are needed to keep the nation safe and healthy. Yet Mr. Johnson's plan for spending money will not help the nation's economic health.

Probably the biggest threat to the U.S. now is inflation. Unless the government stops inflation soon, another serious depression seems certain. There are two ways Mr. Johnson can stop inflation—less spending or higher taxes. In his State of the Union Message a couple of weeks ago, the President asked for higher taxes. Many of us thought he was going to ask for enough money to pay for the government expenses and thereby balance the budget. This certainly would have slowed inflation.

But this week Mr. Johnson asked for more spending—enough, in fact, to offset the benefits of higher taxes. "Deep budget cuts could cause a recession . . ." Mr. Johnson says. He is wrong. The real threat of a depression is caused by the shrinking value of the dollar, which is headed for deep troubles unless inflation is stopped.

The President blamed the war in Vietnam for most of his budget increase. Yet he also demanded more money for his pet projects in the "Great Society," including another $135 million for "Project Head Start," $160 million to create jobs for slum youths, and $150 million for so-called "slum clearance."

Mr. Johnson was right when he said the American people must make a sacrifice. If we are to stop Communism in Vietnam, then everyone must chip in something extra until the war is won. But sacrifices also must be made on other fronts too. Some of the nation's do-good projects here at home should be cut back enough to balance the budget.

True, it is more blessed to give than to receive, as Mr. Johnson asks; but that does not necessarily stop inflation.—R. C.

Congressional Representation for the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, there are two aspects to the problem of extending democracy to the citizens of the District of Columbia. One is giving residents of the Nation's Capital a voice in their National Legislature; the other is giving them a voice in their own city's government.

During the last Congress, the long and inconclusive debates over home rule obscured the equally important question of District of Columbia representation on Capitol Hill. This year, it appears that perspective will be restored, and that the 90th Congress will hear far more discussion about congressional representation for Washington.

Last Sunday, in an extremely thoughtful and compelling lead editorial, the Washington Star set forth the case for full congressional representation for the people of Washington. Such representation, the Star editorial summarized, "is an inherent right of citizens—the citizens of the District of Columbia no less than other American citizens. In purely practical terms, however, it is an even more precious right in the District than in other, normal areas. For whatever the form of local government in Washington, Congress will retain the ultimate authority over this city."

The Star thus recommended a realistic course of action for the 90th Congress, a program which featured passage and submission to the States of a constitutional amendment to grant residents of the District of Columbia popularly elected, voting representation in Congress. Under the form of amendment backed by the Star, the Congress would be authorized to fix by statute the precise form of District representation in the House and

Senate. Such an amendment would be flexible and workable, and would preclude the difficulties often caused by locking into the Constitution specific provisions which might later have to be changed through another amendment.

Mr. Speaker, congressional representation for the District of Columbia is not a substitute for home rule, but it becomes especially important in the absence of home rule. As long as the Congress legislates for, appropriates funds for, and polices the government of the District it is our obligation to gain as much insight into local affairs as possible. Elected representatives of Washington could make tremendous contributions both to the general education of the Congress in District of Columbia problems and to the work of congressional committees.

As the second half of its program for the 90th Congress, the Star also recommended creation of a "high-level commission" to review the entire question of government in Washington, including home rule, and make comprehensive recommendations to Congress. This suggestion, too, merits serious consideration this year.

I include this constructive editorial in the RECORD:

AN ATTAINABLE GOAL FOR DISTRICT SUFFRAGE

In an eloquent speech the other night, Vice President Humphrey cited governmental reform as one of the desirable means of attacking the District of Columbia's problems this year. In a general sense, he was right.

Moving from the general to the specific, however, Mr. Humphrey departed from solid ground. The specific goal he referred to was a home rule bill. And the fact is that such a goal this year, or next, is unattainable.

Home rule is not dead. For the Vice President and for the President—as he did in his budget message—to emphasize this fact is thoroughly consistent with their commitment to an ultimate objective. But the political reality is that home rule is not going anywhere in the 90th Congress. For the time being, the issue is on the shelf. This fact of life is frankly conceded by every knowledgeable advocate of self-government for the District. It would be tragic if statements such as Mr. Humphrey's should raise false hopes or lead community energies in the direction of futility.

It would be tragic, especially, because another course of action is currently available which is not only attainable, but which can be supported enthusiastically by every element of the local community and by every member of Congress.

We propose, as the top-priority District legislative goal this year, a two-fold package.

The first part is a constitutional amendment which, after ratification by the states, would enable Congress to grant District residents direct voting representation in Congress.

The second part of the package is the creation of a high-level commission, with representation from the administration, Congress, the local community and outside experts in the urban field to conduct an in-depth study of the entire question of government in Washington—home rule included.

The case for voting representation in Congress needs no detailed defense here. It is an inherent right of citizens—the citizens of the District of Columbia no less than those of other American citizens. In purely practical terms, however, it is an even more precious right in the District than in other, normal areas. For whatever the form of local government in Washington, Congress will retain the ultimate authority over this city. From Congress' selfish point of view, District representation could be immeasurably helpful in discharging that obligation. From the viewpoint of local citizens, such a direct voice in Congress would be the most meaningful of all possible forms of suffrage.

Voting representation is controversial, in Congress, only as to the degree of representation which should be granted. We suggest, therefore, that this question be temporarily put aside, and that Congress approve this year, for ratification by the states, a simple constitutional amendment affirming the right of District residents to voting representation "in such measure as the Congress may direct." Such an amendment was co-sponsored last year in the Senate by Majority Leader MANSFIELD and Minority Leader DIRKSEN. There is broad bipartisan support for such a move in Congress today.

In the community, such congressional representation is not opposed by anyone—the most ardent advocates of home rule included. The campaign to achieve it has lagged in the past for a single reason: The effort to achieve home rule first has commanded a greater degree of attention. And the crucial point in that connection is this: Now, in the 90th Congress, for the first time in many years, this element of legislative competition is missing. Representation is not an alternative to home rule. It is a vital civil right which at last can be pursued, in this Congress, on its own merits.

The bipartisan commission study proposed here as a compatible companion measure, on the other hand, is related directly to home rule. It would keep alive, during the next couple of years, an aspect of home rule which otherwise is apt to lie dormant. The proposed commission should start with no preconceived notions as to the best form of local government for the District. Its goal should be plainly and simply to find the best possible form. It should analyze the defects in the present government. It should recognize the fact that the District has become the center of a vast, booming metropolis, and consider its proper relationship to the surrounding suburban counties. It should advance proposals to assure that the paramount interests of the federal government are fully and adequately protected in any new form of local government—as they have not been in previous proposals.

The thought that such a study is overdue is not original with us. The fact is, as home rule leaders recognize, that the most recent of the ill-fated home rule proposals vary little in their substance from those advanced 20 years ago. These proposals urgently need restudy. It is the hope and belief of many home rule leaders that a study, conducted by a commission with broad local representation, would produce an improved and more politically palatable home rule bill.

Let us make our own position on this subject perfectly clear. We have been fearful that any real "home rule" here will mean abandonment of the special relationship between the federal government and this federal city which has given Washington its reason for being. We remain fearful on that score. It seems equally clear to us, however, that the adoption of some form of home rule, whether two years from now or five, is in the political cards. And it is our concern that, when home rule comes, the new form of government should be as right as we all can possibly make it. A comprehensive study, begun this year, would be a solid step in this direction.

The de-emphasis of home rule as an active goal this year is already producing a myriad of other proposals—for a non-voting District delegate, for instance, for an elected District Commissioner and for an elected school board. It is widely anticipated that President Johnson will shortly submit several ideas of his own for improvements in the District, including, through his reorganization powers, a shakeup of the present city government. There is ample room for improvement, and the president's reorganization proposals will be welcome as an interim step. They can hardly substitute, however, for a comprehensive and overdue study of the entire structure of government in Washington.

Perhaps the greatest danger in the immediate future is the possibility that community and congressional efforts may become so divided among a variety of approaches that the District will wind up with nothing. It would be a tragic error if this happened.

The time, as never before, is ripe for Washingtonians to present a united front in support of the representation amendment on the one hand, and the commission study on the other. We urge every responsible group in the city to seize this opportunity, and we trust that the President will encourage them in doing so.

Trading Stamp Bill Introduced in Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD at this point an article which appeared in Women's Wear Daily on February 1, 1967, indicating that a trading stamp bill was introduced in the Texas Legislature recently. As I pointed out last week, a similar bill has been introduced and is under consideration in Arkansas. There is, throughout the country, a genuine concern regarding the use of trading stamps, and general agreement that their use ought to be regulated.

I wish to impress upon the Members here again that the House must act in this matter, since it is one which lends itself to uniform regulation.

TRADING STAMP BILLS INTRODUCED IN TEXAS

AUSTIN, TEX.—A bill to provide for cash redemption of trading stamps has been introduced in the Texas legislature.

The bill's sponsor, Sen. V. E. Berry, San Antonio, also introduced a bill that would require trading stamp companies to pay the State the value of any stamps not redeemed after four years.

The first bill (SB 52) would require all trading stamp companies operating in Texas to print a redeemable monetary value on the stamp amounting to 90 percent of the price charged by the company to retailers and other users of the stamps.

The second bill (SB 53) would have trading stamp companies pay an annual fee to the Secretary of State, and make annual reports on amounts of any unredeemed stamps.

Appendix

The 143d Anniversary of the Birth of Stonewall Jackson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, Saturday, January 21, was the 143d anniversary of the birth of Gen. Thomas Jonathan (Stonewall) Jackson, one of America's most distinguished sons, who was born in the western region of Virginia in what is now the city of Clarksburg, W. Va.

Much has been written of Stonewall Jackson's numerous military feats during the Civil War, and, of course, particular emphasis has been placed on his famous "Valley campaign." The movements of Jackson and his dedicated troops during the period of the "Valley campaign" have furnished the teachers of military history with lessons on successful strategy and tactics, which are still being studied throughout the world. The valley campaign truly exemplifies the favorite Jackson maxims, "Celerity is the secret of success," and "To move swiftly, strike vigorously, and secure the fruits of victory."

Stonewall Jackson's military accomplishments prompted this comment from the great Victorian military leader, Field Marshal Viscount Wolseley, "The fame of Stonewall Jackson is no longer the exclusive property of Virginia and the South; it has become the birthright of every man privileged to call himself an American."

The strong character of Jackson prompted the following remarks in the Daily Chronicle of Washington, D.C., on the general's death:

> He has one great and overmastering trait of character—a fanatical enthusiasm which overleaped all obstacles and sharpened prematurely all other qualities of his mind. Stonewall Jackson was a great general, a brave soldier, a noble Christian, and a pure man.

Mr. President, annually the city of Clarksburg, W. Va., honors the anniversary of Jackson's birth with appropriate public ceremonies, and I ask unanimous consent that an article in the Clarksburg Exponent of January 21 on this year's ceremony be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Clarksburg Exponent, Jan. 21, 1967]

WREATHS REMIND OF 143D BIRTHDAY OF GENERAL JACKSON

Today marks the 143rd anniversary of the birth of General Thomas Jonathan (Stonewall) Jackson born in Clarksburg, Jan. 21, 1824.

S. J. Birshtein, chairman of the Stonewall Jackson Historical Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, informed the press that two local organizations are honoring the occasion with appropriate wreaths.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy have placed a wreath on both the Stonewall equestrian statue and on the bronze plaque erected on the site in the 300 block of West Main Street where the famous general was born.

The Stonewall Jackson Civic Club has remembered today's 143rd anniversary by placing a wreath on the equestrian statue located on the plaza of the Harrison County Court House.

The Clarksburg Chapter of the U.D.C. erected the bronze plaque in August, 1911 to commemorate the general's birthplace. On May 10, 1953, the famous equestrian statue was dedicated.

The Honorable Frank C. Haymond of the Supreme Court of West Va. was the principal speaker at the ceremony and was introduced by the late Dr. Roy Bird Cook, noted historian.

Judge Haymond is the guest speaker tonight in Huntington at the annual banquet of the New Stonewall Jackson Brigade, Birshtein is a Colonel in the Brigade.

Stonewall Jackson's sister Laura died in Buckhannon one month following the erection of the bronze plaque in August, 1911.

The equestrian statue was made by the late Charles Keck of New York, and the base of the statue was designed by William Grant, Clarksburg architect.

Birshtein, who has been a Stonewall enthusiast since attending the Stonewall Jackson Public School in Norfolk, Va., furnished the press with the following information regarding Clarkburg's great native-born general.

Jackson, a brilliant Confederate officer during the War Between the States, acquired the sobriquet or nickname of "Stonewall" with his stubborn defense of a position in the first battle of Manassas (Bull Run) July 21, 1861.

He deprecated Secession but was a strong believer in states' rights, and when Virginia withdrew from the Union, he maintained his allegiance to the State.

Stonewall Jackson was one of the most able of the Confederate officers and was probably the greatest corps commander on either side during the War. He had a deep religious nature and has often been compared with the Cromwellian leaders in England, historians contend.

The military tactics of Stonewall Jackson are studied in the military academies at West Point, Va., Military Institute, in St. Cyr, France; and at Sandhurst, England. It is said to be the consensus of military experts that his genius has seldom been equalled and never surpassed.

One of the finest tributes to Jackson was sent in a telegram by the late great general of World War II, Douglas MacArthur, at the unveiling of the bronze bust of Stonewall in the Colonnade of the Hall of Fame at New York University, May 19, 1957.

"Perhaps the most prized message I ever received came from the famous historian, Douglas Southall Freeman, who wrote me at the close of my campaign in the Southwest Pacific area of World War II. "The mantle of Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson has now fallen on your shoulders."

Two of Stonewall's most favorite maxims are "You May Be Whatever You Resolve to Be" and "Never Take Counsel of Your Fears."

Birshtein said that few persons in West Virginia realize that the Clarksburg Public Library has a prized original letter by Stonewall. This letter is on exhibit together with a miniature replica of the polaris submarine, Stonewall Jackson, and other diversified mementos dealing with Jackson.

Miss Charlotte Bailey, librarian, has extended an invitation to the public to visit the library and examine the many Jackson items being displayed in connection with the 143rd Birthday Anniversary.

Also on display is an excellent sketch by Bruce Haymond of Stonewall Jackson's birthplace (324–328 West Main Street) now occupied by a merchantile store. The sketch graphically reveals "a neat three-room brick cottage with semi-attic and inset porch, of a type now fast disappearing."

A large oil painting of Stonewall was presented several years ago to the Library by David Van Pelt, a Friend of the Library. The portrait was made by Edwin F. Draughman and is a fine copy of the famous original by John A. Elder in the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.

A ladder-back rocker which belonged to Jackson's Mother is also on exhibit in the Library.

The original letter by Stonewall was presented to the Clarksburg Public Library by the late D. H. Hill Arnold of Elkins, grandnephew of Jackson.

The letter, postmarked West Point, is addressed to Jackson's sister, Mrs. L. (Laura) A. Arnold of Beverly, Randolph County.

Stonewall wrote his sister of his preparations for the annual examinations at West Point and reported that his health was "very good at the present." He requested that his sister inform him as to the subscription rates of "the Democratic paper published in Clarksburg."

The Clarksburg Post Office features two large Zip Code cutout standing figures in the lobby—bearing the name of Clarksburg's native general and his birthplace address.

Jackson's paternal grandparents, his father Jonathan, and sister Elizabeth, are buried in the Historical Cemetery in Jackson Park, located on East Pike Street in Clarksburg.

The General's Mother is buried in Ansted, West Va. His sister Laura is buried in Buckhannon and his brother Warren lies at rest near that city.

Stonewall Jackson died May 10, 1863 at the age of 39 near Guinea Station, Va., and is buried in Lexington, Va.

Birshtein is desirous of having all persons born on January 21st to write to the Stonewall Jackson Birthday Committee, Post Office Drawer 551, Clarksburg, West Va. 26301, listing the birthday, year and place of birth, and present address.

Three Brave Men

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial in the Washington

Post reviews the tragic deaths of Astronauts Grissom, White, and Chaffee. In decisions which surround our continued manned exploration of space, as the editorial so aptly points out, it is important to examine not only the immediate tragedy but also to recognize the inherent dangers involved in exploration with a view to minimizing these hazards for those who will continue to venture into the new world of space.

The editorial follows:

Three Brave Men

Three brave men died in the Apollo holocaust, three men who—like their fellow astronauts and the cosmonauts, too—had come to accept as normal and routine a degree of personal danger that numbs the average man in the mere contemplation of it. It would have been, after all, entirely understandable, only "human," had they allowed an awareness of risk or a sense of fate to impinge upon their work. But they did not.

To the incredible adventure that is the exploration of space, they gave their marvelous talents, their loyalty and finally their lives. Before the Nation moves on to a preoccupation with the consequences of the disaster, the daring and duty of Virgil Grissom, Edward White and Roger Chaffee ought to be humbly and gratefully remarked.

A full evaluation of the flash fire inside the Apollo spacecraft will, of course, have to await the report of the official board of inquiry. It is already evident, however, that the margin of safety in space exploration is extremely, perhaps unavoidably, low and that success depends on the proper coordinated functioning of a great array of men and machines.

One can have confidence that the officials charged with putting an American on the moon are doing their utmost to make the mission safe. But their success until last Friday may have given many Americans the impression that science and safety were synonymous. This is hardly so. Risks can be reduced, but let no one think they can be erased.

The tragedy inevitably rekindles doubts about the need or desirability of the American manned-flight program. In our view, the three deaths do not discredit the national and scientific purposes of the program; these are unchanged. It is not a question of whether a moon flight is "worth" three men. Manned flight is "worth" the Nation's continued striving.

Americans will want to be assured, however, that the pace of the program does not itself constitute an element of danger. A deadline is helpful for an organization bracing for a big job, but there is nothing magical or unchangeable in the 1969 deadline for landing a man on the moon. The Space Agency should not content itself with an inquiry that touches only the immediate disaster. It should address the larger and more troubling question of the Apollo timetable.

Two Goals for National Transportation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, next month the new Transportation Department will begin operations. The creation of this Department recognizes the growing importance of the transportation industry to the efficient functioning of the economy. Among its many duties, the Department will serve as a focus for new thinking on national transport policy.

Government has a vital role to play in the development of a transport system adequate to meet the ever-growing needs of the economy. We should always remember, however, that in the last analysis, new and improved barge, rail, truck and airline capacity is the result of private investment.

Charles E. Walker, president of Union Barge Line Corp., a subsidiary of the Dravo Corp., of Pittsburgh, Pa., and a leader of the inland water transport industry, calls attention to two areas of government policy with which the Department concerns itself in the public interest.

First is the encouragement of larger private investment in transport capacity. Mr. Walker points out that no amount of regulation or Government rearrangement of existing capacity will make up for failure of private capital to enter the transport field in adequate volume.

Second is the stimulation of intermodal coordination so that the most efficient use is made of the new investment. Mr. Walker says that more water-rail coordination, particularly, could significantly reduce transportation costs to the consumer.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the remarks made by Mr. Walker in Chicago on February 1 at the National Transportation Institute of the Transportation Association of America.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Two Goals for National Transportation—Stimulate Private Investment and Encourage Inter-Modal Coordination

(Remarks of Charles E. Walker, President, Union Barge Line Corp., National Transportation Institute, Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago, Ill., February 1, 1967)

The establishment of a cabinet-level Department of Transportation provides an occasion to take a new look at one of the nation's largest, most ocmplex and most competitive industries. At least for the present, it is an industry showing healthy prospects, including improvement in net income and a large volume of new investment in equipment and facilities.

This year is a favorable time to encourage larger private investment to meet the rapidly growing transport needs of the economy and, at the same time, to stimulate inter-modal coordination so that the most efficient use is made of the new investment.

A key characteristic common to all branches of the industry today is rapid growth. And this growth seems to be no temporary upsurge. As the economy continues to grow in complexity and size, more and more transport service is needed per capita. In 1941, for example, 5,800 ton-miles of service was required annually to supply each of us with our food, fuel and other necessities. In 1966, it took 60 percent more service to satisfy our needs, or 8,900 ton-miles for every man, woman and child in the country. If trends of the past five years continue, each of us will need 10,600 ton-miles of service a year by 1970 and 16,000 by 1980.

Rapidly increasing demand does not mean simply the accumulation of more standard barges, box cars, or trucks. Increasingly, it means the development of specialized equipment. In our business, the shipper wants not only the $50,000 standard hopper barge, but often also a $750,000 barge capable of carrying 2,500 tons of chemicals at —28° F. The demand is both for much more capacity and more capacity of a specialized and expensive kind.

As the new Department of Transportation surveys the field, it will find a basically sound system. There are, to be sure, complaints about the way the system works. Some are justified and some are not. But compared to the transport system of any other country, the U.S. domestic system works extremely well. Shippers have wide choices in types and grade service. An expert traffic manager, putting together the varied offerings of the different modes of transportation, is today able to develop more efficient systems of production and distribution than was ever the case before. A large part of the cutting edge of the efficiency of American manufacturing can, I believe, be attributed to the availability and skillful employment of our complex system of transportation.

All this is accomplished under private ownership of transportation capacity. Vigorous expansion and technological advance have been the rule in recent years for all modes. Funds for new investment have been obtained both from reinvested earnings and from the capital markets where transportation companies must compete with all other segments of a rapidly growing economy.

The Department of Transportation comes into being at a time of general confidence in the future. Today, transportation cannot qualify as a sick industry, nor one that is failing to provide a high quality of service to the public.

Each mode of transportation has worked out its particular place in the system. Domestic water transportation is one result of a multi-purpose water resource development program having a variety of public interest objectives. The role of the water carriers is to translate a major national resource into an important national economic asset by producing the lowest cost transportation avialable to the public. It is their responsibility to make effective use of the physical fact that a ton of freight on board a vessel requires the least effort to move of any form of transportation, as anyone can deduce who has watched a small boy push a heavy speedboat away from a dock.

For commodities adapted to water transport, barge lines can carry goods thousands of miles for a price that would pay for only a fraction of that distance by the cheapest land means. All available evidence shows that water transportation, where it is effective, greatly stimulates intensive industrial development. This means increased demands for service on the part of all modes of transportation, particularly railroads, an across-the-board benefit of development of an essential natural resource.

Technological advance has dramatically improved efficiency of inland water transportation. A single movement on the river 15 years ago had the approximate capacity of one Liberty ship or 10,000 tons. Today, a boat may push the equivalent of four Liberty ship loads or 40,000 tons. Further advances are expected. As depth of river channels are improved from nine to twelve feet, a corresponding increase in capacity will take place. Opportunities for further expansion will continue to open up as a result of the long term national program for increasing the water supply for all purposes. In 1900, the nation consumed only 40 billion gallons of water a day compared to over 370 billion today. By 1980, the government estimates that nearly 500 billion gallons will be needed daily. In many cases, an important by-product of water resource development is navigation.

Growth trends in transport demand may now be developing a new situation. With rapid expansion and technological improvement having priority, emphasis on ability to invest in new capacity becomes all-important. No amount of regulation or government re-arrangement of existing capacity will make up for failure of private capital to enter the transport field in adequate volume.

As the needs increase for even larger amounts of capital to finance improved and often highly specialized equipment, it is appropriate to explore new ways in which the different modes may work together efficiently. The rapidly increasing demands of the economy suggest that new attention be paid to achieving inter-modal coordination. Water-rail coordination, particularly, makes sense for many long distance freight movements. With the use of new technology, water-rail combinations in many markets could significantly reduce many all-rail rates, and increase the productivity of expensive freight cars. The new department may be able to help break down long standing resistance to such cooperative arrangements.

Some have argued that coordination can only be successfully brought about through single ownership of different means of transportation. The risk of such common ownership, however, is the destruction of healthy competition. Since the economic advantages cited for common ownership can be obtained through coordination of services without risk to the competitive process, it seems sensible to favor the coordination approach.

One of the outstanding advantages of such coordination is that it permits more effective utilization of existing equipment, and facilities, rail and water, and thus both reduces requirements for new capital and makes the investment of such capital more attractive.

The willingness of transportation companies to invest in new and improved capacity is a demonstration of general confidence in the future and a deep recognition that private investment for profit is an essential part of our transportation system in the United States. Therefore, all of us in TAA as well as our government representatives, should bend every effort to maintain this climate of confidence. At the same time, coordination of service should be encouraged so that new investment finds its way into the most economically productive channels and thus strengthen the entire transport system on which the nation's economy depends.

Congressman John E. Fogarty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, the very untimely passing of my beloved and valued friend, Congressman John E. Fogarty, was a very great shock to all of us who knew him, to his admiring colleagues in the House and innumerable people in his great district, his State, the Nation, and the world.

This great American was called to his Maker at a time when truly he had had not even reached the crest of his powers, and ordinarily could look forward to many more years of constructive achievement for the people, and happiness with his family and friends. He seemed to be as vigorous as ever and there was no sign of his impending passing.

John Fogarty was outstanding in every sense of the word. His brilliant career in the public service was one of the most fruitful, colorful and illustrious ever recorded in the Congress of the United States.

He started from humble beginnings. He worked hard for everything he got; he overcame all obstacles. By virtue of great, natural ability, strength of character the force of his dynamic personality and his resolute spirit, he steadily moved forward with confidence, vigor and speed.

At a very early age, he was elected to the Congress of the United States. His record in this body has been one of paramount distinction, marked by highest honors and one triumph after another.

Congressman Fogarty did not come to this body to serve any special privilege. He came here ably, faithfully, and honorably to serve the people of his district and Nation and he made it clear from the start that he meant business.

Early in life he had noted the struggles, the disadvantages, the adversities, the handicaps of ordinary members of the rank and file. He knew and understood their problems and was interested in promoting their welfare and betterment.

Early he realized that ordinary working people needed higher standards of living, better opportunities for education and improvements in the leadership, agencies and instrumentalities devoted to promoting the public health and wellbeing.

Like some others with a mission, he found in the panel of the great House Appropriations Committee, to which he was assigned, colleagues and kindred spirits who, like himself, had noticed certain, well-defined health needs of the people, and were willing to exert every effort to meet them.

John Fogarty was an untiring worker and never spared himself for a moment. He had high goals, lofty principles, noble aims, and was admirably equipped to advance them. He had the ability, courage, unflagging energy, and unswerving dedication to tackle social problems that few dared to touch at the time.

It was not long, however, that under his inspiring leadership, his dreams and his humane practical conceptions and ideas for promoting the health of the American people started to take concrete shape, and before long, the ofttime slowly moving legislative mills of the Congress were sparked into concrete, effective action.

It is said by the celebrated expert and commentator, Dr. Howard A. Rusk, in the New York Times:

> No one in the history of this country has done more to promote more and better health services, more and better health facilities, and more and better health research than Representative Fogarty.

And that puts it in accurate terms.

Some years ago John suffered a serious heart attack which slowed him down for a while, but did not deter him for long from the most energetic pursuit of his established goals.

A man of profound religious faith and devotion, he was content to leave his own destiny in the hands of his Creator, and he stanchly drew on all his resources, physical, intellectual, political, spiritual, and inspirational, almost as an evangelist with a holy cause, hammering out one measure after another to set up, strengthen, and perfect the institutes of health, the basic research institutions, and related agencies, for attacking the killer diseases, like cancer, heart trouble, vascular, circulatory and stroke-producing diseases, muscular dystrophy, mental retardation, fibrosis, and a host of spastic and congenital afflictions which have plagued humanity for centuries and have been getting worse in recent years, and which this great, brave son of Rhode Island rightly believed should be banished from the earth.

How well he did this overall job is written in golden letters in the permanent records of this House and the other body, and in the prayers and gratitude of the American people.

It is doubtful whether so many people in this country suffering from killer and other diseases now or in the foreseeable future, and who have been or will be cured or relieved will ever owe so much to one individual as the very many victims of previously incurable diseases now owe, and will continue to owe, to John Fogarty of Rhode Island for the merciful aid and deliverance which his inspired leadership assured for them.

When he entered Congress the appropriation for medical research was $2 million a year, and now thanks to the influence and impetus of his truly blessed work and idealism, it is now over a billion a year and will continue to grow in the future, until science will at last be able to unlock the many more secrets that will permit millions of human beings, heretofore doomed to early death, or to lives of helplessness, need, and pain, to enjoy normal spans of life and escape from excruciating suffering.

Is it any wonder that John Fogarty should be referred to as "Mr. Public Health" by Dr. Rusk and other experts too numerous to mention in the best position of all to appraise his tremendously historic and effective contributions to suffering mankind. It can be said without fear of contradiction, and unquestionably, that John Fogarty is the greatest, political, health leader in our history, and his colleagues, his able, devoted staff, and those who worked with him in the committee and the House, and the other body, can be proud of his great work and proud of the support and invaluable aid they gave him.

This is also true of his coworkers in the other body, Senator LISTER HILL and his colleagues, all very able, distinguished leaders, and the wonderful thing about this memorable achievement was that these dedicated collaborators and assistants, and all who worked with the great John Fogarty, recognized the epochal nature, import and effects of his carefully selected, fixed goals and the miracles they would work for the American people and the human race.

John Fogarty was the driving force that translated into speedy, administrative action the research and application in our hospital, clinical and medical systems of the great, scientific and medical discoveries, techniques, equipment, appliances, therapies and methods that have worked such wonders in free, modern medicine and that have brought truly immeasurable blessings to so many people.

I would like to touch upon the personal side of John Fogarty, because to those of us who knew him well, he was a remarkable person, who at once inspired respect, admiration, and affection.

To know him well as to love him.

There were many unusual, impressive, and attractive facets to his character and makeup.

He was strong, powerful and rugged physically, and did not know the meaning of the word fear.

He had a natural, quick, alert mind that enabled him to make sharp, accurate, speedy appraisals.

He was articulate and forceful in his speech, capable of decisions, and persuasive in his advocacy.

When aroused by an allegiance to a cause, he was militant and unswerving.

He was straightforward, direct and fairminded, and never struck a low blow.

He was shrewd and canny in negotiations, artful and clever in gaining his ends, resourceful in putting his ideas and his measures through his committee, the House, and the Congress.

He was profoundly religious minded, and he proudly wore for everyone to see the badge and the stamp of his Irish ancestry, from which he felt he drew much of his strength, his power, his courage, his zeal for good, humane causes, his humor, sympathetic nature and his strong sense of loyalty, which was one of the dominating qualities he possessed.

Rigorously honest, outspoken and forthright, candid and resolute—he was a man whose friendship meant something more than lipservice.

He could always be counted on to stand up and fight for his friends or for any cause to which he was attached.

John was firm in his principles and fiercely intent upon his goals, but he was kindly and considerate of others—strong of will, but gentle of heart, and generous of impulse, a man who dealt in warm, personal values, rather than in the cold, unfeeling absolutes of the computer, a man who commanded respect for his integrity and greatness, admiration for his faith and his courage, and love for his loyalty and his essential goodness as a human being.

An unfaltering patriot and lover of his country and its free institutions. John could not be excelled in his eagerness to sacrifice of himself to defend, strengthen, and enrich this Nation.

In war and peace, he served, far beyond the call of duty, to protect our country and make it a better place in which to live.

Deep in his conviction that this is truly the government of the people, he won the plaudits and the hearts of his countrymen for his untiring, determined efforts and labors to improve the health and lengthen the lifespan of the people through vigorous, intelligent development and application of the wonders and miracles of modern science and the genius of humane statesmanship.

John Fogarty saw the light and followed the star of his dream to the lofty pinnacles of constructive fulfillment and noble achievement for suffering humanity.

And if we could but ask him today, what inspired him, I know he would say in his characteristically direct way that his dream was in part an Irish dream, touched and colored by the sufferings, aspirations, and glories of Erin, a dream that sprung up from the soil and the travails of that once ravaged land, through indomitable God-fearing ancestors, who found in this country the blessings of freedom and opportunity denied them in their own cherished homeland, and who implanted into the breast of John Fogarty the undying love and loyalty to the United States, and its people, and this great Government, that prompted him, in such a real sense, to devote his life, and in the end to give his life, for the benefit and betterment of his fellow Americans and his fellow man. And he gave his life for the greater security, strength, and glory of his beloved country, just as a fighting man stricken in battle.

Yes, it was in truth, in the merciful work of human betterment and alleviation from suffering that John Fogarty throughout his long, distinguished service gave his all, and finally his life.

As the poet said:

> In the world of time and space among the bulk of actual things,
> A dream was dreamed in his heart
> And he asked himself again and again, like the poet, Can that dream come true?

Can millions and millions of people, many yet unborn, dwell in the house that John Fogarty shaped in his heart, the noble house of his thoughts and his dreams?

Thank God, he got his answer, and he lived to see his dream written into law, and become a part of this great Government of ours to bring many blessings and promises of help to countless, afflicted, distressed and helpless human beings, heretofore condemned to lifetimes of suffering.

I could ask: "What greater love hath any man than that he should lay down his life for his friends?"

This House, this generation hails and acclaims John Fogarty, and mankind will long continue to sing his praises and utter prayers of gratitude to the one who, more than others, although he enjoyed the encouragement, support and effective help of others, opened the door that has liberated millions of human beings from the darkness and anguish of pain and suffering into the bright sunlight of restored health and well-being.

Who knows indeed what the future will bring in the furtherance of his work, what miracles and wonders may yet be worked in the battle of man against disease, disability, handicap, retardation, pain, and suffering that has been launched by this great American, whom we so deeply and so sorrowfully mourn.

It is with very heavy hearts that we bid our sad farewells to this great, illustrious leader, who was our dear, beloved friend, and the stalwart worker and fighter for truth, progress, and justice for the inarticulate and the helpless.

As was his way in life, he has gone from us, smiling, fearless, and unafraid, to "that land from whose bourne no traveler ever returns."

His passing leaves an irreplaceable void in this great House and in the hearts of his friends.

In these historic Halls and in this Nation, and in the world of humanity, John Fogarty will never be forgotten.

He will always be remembered for his dream and the rich blessings which its fulfillment has brought to the world.

We will continue his unfinished work; the great aims he had in mind. We will take up the torch he lighted.

Our prayers and our tears attend him now, as we bid him farewell; our good comrade and devoted friend, called all too soon in the prime of his life to his heavenly reward. But we must reconcile ourselves to the divine will.

To his gracious, loving wife and helpmate, Luise, and his lovely, young daughter, Mary, of whom he was so proud, and his wonderful family, his beloved brothers and sisters, his dear ones, and the dedicated colleagues and staff members who worked so devotedly with him, all so sorrowfully bereaved, I extend the most heartfelt sympathy and prayers of myself and family.

And in behalf of the people of my great congressional district, which touches on the great district represented by Congressman Fogarty in this House, and where he was so well known, so highly esteemed and loved, I also express deepest sympathy and condolence to his bereaved family.

May our dearly beloved friend, John, find rest and peace in his eternal home. His blessed memory will always remain with us to guide and inspire us in our work.

Some words of the Irish poet, Padraic Pearse come to mind:

> I have vision and prophecy and the gift of fiery speech,
> I that have spoken with God on the top of His holy hill—
> And because I am of the people, I understand the people.
> My heart has been heavy with the grief of mothers.
> My eyes have been wet with the tears of children.
> What if the dream comes true, and if millions unborn shall dwell.
> In the house that I shaped in my heart, the noble house of my thought?

John Fogarty's dream, now coming true, will brighten and bless humankind for many years to come.

God love him.

As part of my remarks I ask unanimous consent to include in the Record an article captioned "Mr. Public Health," by the distinguished commentator and expert, Dr. Howard A. Rusk, recently appearing in the New York Times which touched very significantly upon Congressman Fogarty's magnificent achievements.

Mr. Public Health—Death Ends Long Fight by Representative Fogarty To Give America Freedom From Disease

(By Howard A. Rusk, M.D.)

If hospitals, research laboratories and institutes for the aged, infirm and retarded had flagpoles, every flag would have flown at half-staff this past week to mourn the loss of John E. Fogarty.

Representative Fogarty of Rhode Island died of a heart attack last Tuesday at the age of 53.

Flags at half-staff would not, however, been limited to institutions. They would also have been in evidence in thousands of homes throughout Rhode Island and the nation.

Mr. Fogarty was not just interested in institutions and dollars. He was interested in people, and no appeal for help that went to his office was ever left unanswered. He would go to inordinate ends to try to find the solution to problems that were all too often insoluble.

No one in the history of this country has done more to promote more and better health services, more and better health facilities and more and better health research than Representative Fogarty.

PLANNED NEW CRUSADE

Ironically, his death came just before he was to be sworn in for his 14th term—a time when he was mobilizing his forces for another all-out crusade against disease, disability and death.

Also ironically, his death was caused by a heart attack, his own personal public enemy number one as the primary killer of others.

The contribution of John Fogarty to improving health and rehabilitation services for the American people are legend.

When he entered Congress our Federal investment in medical research was but $3 million. It is now well over $1 billion.

During his freshman year in the House of Representatives, the number of disabled persons rehabilitated into employment under the public program was but 12,000. Last year it was more than 154,000.

Medicare, Medicaid, more nursing home beds, Federal aid for the training of physicians and other health workers, the clinical center of the National Institutes of Health, workshops and classrooms for the mentally retarded and all of the other tremendous advances in health and rehabilitation in the last quarter century stand as monuments to this late "Mr. Public Health."

He and his co-worker in the Senate, Senator Lister Hill from Alabama, were recognized as the great health leaders of all time. They complemented and supplemented each other in their continuing fight for the fifth freedom—freedom from disease.

STARTED AS BRICKLAYER

Mr. Fogarty's formal education ended when he received his high school diploma. He immediately followed in the footsteps of his father and older brother and became an apprentice bricklayer.

He was only 27 when he was first elected to Congress from Rhode Island. During World War II he served as an enlisted man in the Navy construction corps. After the war he returned to Congress to carry the torch for the enlisted men in the armed forces.

Having been denied a formal education and a college degree, he made possible through his untiring efforts the education of literally thousands of others as physicians, scientists and technicians because he cared.

Some years ago, Mr. Fogarty was challenged with the opportunity to run for the Senate from Rhode Island. After a great deal of discussion with his friends and colleagues he decided his destiny was in the House of Representatives where he could continue his fight for health as chairman of the Subcommittee on Appropriations for Labor and Health, Education and Welfare.

This was a decision that for suffering humanity was a blessed one.

John Fogarty, who started as a bricklayer, ended his career by placing countless bricks in a solid foundation of modern laboratories, medical schools, hospitals, institutions for the mentally ill and the retarded, and research laboratories that extend from the halls of science to the community itself.

With his bright green tie and his Irish accent, he was a circuit rider for health, a teacher, a preacher, a fearless foe to any challenger who stood in the way of his crusade.

He died on the field of battle. His friends from the scientist to the sick mourn his loss and call him blessed.

When Men Are Free

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, early last year, Robert Hyman of Nutter Fort, W. Va., won first prize in our State in the creative writing project of the West Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs. In the local club level, the competition was sponsored by the Stonewall Jackson Civic Club of Clarksburg which then submitted the story during State competition. When this article, "When Men Are Free," was written, Robert was a senior student at Roosevelt-Wilson High School.

This is a sensitive and moving story of an incident in the life of young Tom Jackson, when he was a 17-year-old constable in Lewis County.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the short story "When Men Are Free," by Robert Hyman, also be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the story was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHEN MEN ARE FREE

(By Robert Hyman, senior class 1966, Roosevelt-Wilson High School, Clarksburg, W. Va.)

The flickering kerosene lamp cast a warm glow over the kitchen table while across the room, shadows danced playfully around the open fireplace, Tom stared disgustedly at the figures before him. Work for a constable was scarce in the winter, especially when the constable was only a seventeen year old boy. A careful check of his records assured him that his receipts for the month totaled only eight dollars. He rose from the table and slowly closed his ledger, being sure not to blur his freshly made ciphers, and placed it in the china cupboard with a solemn reverence.

"Now, now, Tom," comforted Aunt Elizabeth, looking up from her mending. "Something will work out, I'm sure."

Tom walked over and stood before the firey coals of the fireplace. "It's not that I'm worried about the money," he replied. "It's just that, well, maybe William is right about my being too young for the job."

"Your cousin is a born trouble maker, pay no mind to what he thinks. If the judge had thought you too young, he would have appointed someone else," she added sympathetically.

"William says that Judge Stevens was indebted to my father for his office," he argued. "That is why I was appointed."

"Nonsense," cried Aunt Beth. "Your father was a fine lawyer and the judge is simply trying to give you a chance like he had. The Jackson name is a proud one and the judge wants you to carry on the tradition."

"I'm doing my best," he replied. "I just wonder if it's good enough."

"Of course it is, Tom. What papers do you have for tomorrow?" she inquired, changing the subject.

"Oh, he wants me to look for Mr. Todd's slave if I get a chance. There is a one hundred dollar bounty posted for him, "admitted Tom, his eyes glowing with the very thought of capturing a runaway slave.

"Do you mean to tell me that Aaron has run off again?" she asked unbelievingly. She could not remember a slave ever running away from the Jackson farm. "He will probably turn up in a few days when he gets hungry enough, just like the last time he left."

"No, not this time," remarked Tom. "I figure he plans on staying away for good if he can. Mr. Todd thinks he has run away on the railroad to Canada, but I doubt if he has left yet. I would bet that he is still right here in Lewis County."

"What leads you to believe that?" she asked, wondering how he could draw such assured conclusion.

"Well, for one thing, Aaron worked all summer at Mr. Todd's sawmill. He must have learned all the trails through the woods and along the river. Besides, Aaron is one of the smartest Negros I have ever seen," he replied, now more certain than ever he could bring him back.

"You can take the dogs and go after him in the morning," she granted. "Right now I'm going to bed and I'd advise you to do the same after you bring in a load of wood for the morning fire. Good-night, Tom."

"Yes, ma'am, I will," he answered, "Good-night, Aunt Beth." That one hundred dollars seemed closer than ever to him. "I guess it would convince William," he thought to himself.

A few flakes of snow drifted lazily earthward as Tom opened the kitchen door. The sting of the night air reminded him quickly that he was without a coat as he hurried to the woodbin. The only sound that broke the silence of the winter night was the crunch of his footsteps in the frozen snow. Gathering an armload of dry hickory, he had only started back toward the open door when the stillness was shattered by the distinct crack of an icy door being forced open. Tom dropped his load, and after picking up a wrist sized club, ran toward the storehouse. "I bet it's Isaac stealing potatoes again," he speculated to himself." The door of the building stood open as Tom rounded the corner. He stopped at the doorway and peered into the musty building. As his eyes became accustomed to the darkness inside, he noticed the small boy bent over an open sack, carefully stuffing potatoes into his shirt.

"Isaac," Tom said sternly, "What have I told you about stealing?"

Upon hearing his name the boy dropped beggingly to his knees amid an avalanche of potatoes. Turning slowly he said in a trembling voice, "Massa Tom, I'm sorry. I wasn't gonna steal no potatoes. Honest I wasn't."

"Now Isaac," said Tom, laughing to himself as he walked toward the frightened figure, "you wouldn't lie to me, would you?"

"They weren't for me, honest they weren't. Please don't hit me, Tom," he pleaded.

"Just who were they for then," asked Tom standing over him.

"They were for me," boomed a voice from the darkness.

Tom whirled and found himself staring face to face with Aaron. As the slave threw off his blanket Tom could see the glint of a knife in his belt. "What difference does it make, anyway?" he asked. "My people planted, tended, and gathered them."

"But my people own them", Tom stated bravely.

"Well, I reckon I'm gonna take some and you're not in much position to stop me," he stated, patting his belt.

"They'll catch you, Aaron, no matter where you go. Some one will find you and bring you back," Tom countered.

"I'll take my chances," he argued. "I guess I'll take a horse from you to make sure."

"Not one of our horses!" protested Tom.

"Just watch me," he said. "Get me some potatoes, boy," he ordered, throwing a small bag to Isaac. The confused boy looked first at Aaron and then at Tom, not knowing whom to obey. "Do as I say. Hear me, boy?" shouted Aaron with sarcasm in his voice. "I'm telling you what to do now."

Tom looked hard at the tall fugitive and said with a calm voice, "Do what he says, Isaac." The boy began picking potatoes from the floor and putting them in the bag. Tom studied the man carefully. Beads of sweat stood out on his forehead and his eyes glowed with anger. His torn shirt hung open baring his massive, heaving chest to the cold. His ragged trousers hardly reached below his knees and his feet were swollen and cut from walking barefoot in the snow.

"Why don't you turn yourself in?" asked Tom with a touch of pity in his voice. "Go back to Mr. Todd."

"You don't understand, boy. I can't go back again," he said sadly.

"Why can't you go back?" inquired Tom.

"I can't, that's why. No one, no where, can ever make me go back again," came the reply. "If they catch me, they better kill me cause I'm not going back". Aaron started toward Isaac to get the bag of potatoes and Tom realized his chance. Bringing his club down hard, he caught the big Negro across the face, and toppled him backwards to the floor. Blood spurted from his nose as he lay unconscious.

"You've killed him!" screamed Isaac. "You murderer."

"Be quiet, you fool," cried Tom. "Get me a handful of snow." Isaac hurried to the door, all the while keeping his eyes on the still figure. Tom removed the knife from the belt and tossed it out of the reach of Aaron's arms, making sure that Isaac was not watching. Isaac returned with the snow and Tom motioned to a piece of cloth on the floor. "Put the snow on the cloth," he ordered. Isaac did as he was told and stepped back quickly, still afraid.

Pressing the makeshift ice pack against Aaron's face, Tom looked up at the boy. "Don't worry, Isaac, he'll be all right."

"Is he dead," the frightened boy asked.

"No, of course he's not dead. He might have a broken nose though. Here, come and hold this for a while."

"Like this?" Isaac asked.

"Yes, just hard enough to stop the bleeding," Tom instructed. He rose and walked over to the doorway. For some reason he didn't feel proud like he imagined he would when he caught Aaron. It wasn't the sight of the blood that made him unhappy. Instead of pride he felt a pain of guilt for his action.

"It's what he deserved for trying to run away," Tom tried to convince himself. He knew it was a false statement even as he thought it and that made him feel even worse than before. He remembered how hard Mr. Todd had worked Aaron at the mill. Somewhere in his mind he knew Aaron had every right to run away.

"He's waking up," cried Isaac joyfully.

As Tom turned, the big man was struggling to his feet. "Aaron," he began.

"It's all right, Tom. I know the potatoes and the horse belong to you and that I was wrong in trying to steal them. I'll leave but I won't go back to Mr. Todd," admitted Aaron, holding the stained cloth against his nose. He moved towards the door and Tom stepped silently out of his way. Stepping out into the night air he said, "I know you took my knife, Tom, but I'm walking away from here a free man. You can either let me go or kill me here, because I won't go back again 'less you carry me back dead. I've prayed and waited for this kind of chance all my life. If I can get away tonight, I can make it all the way to Canada and live my own life. Good-bye, Tom."

Tom walked over to the place he had thrown the knife and began searching for it. Picking it up, along with the bag of potatoes, he said, "Isaac, take these to Aaron and get to bed."

"Yes, sir, massa Tom," replied the boy with a smile on his face. Tom could tell he had won back the admiration of Isaac. Stopping in the doorway, the boy turned and said, "Massa Tom—"

"Yes Isaac," asked Tom.

"You're a good man," he answered, and disappeared into the night.

Tom wanted to thank him but the words stuck in his throat. "A good man," he thought to himself as he walked toward the house. The words echoed throughout his mind. Setting his load of wood inside the kitchen, Tom turned to shut the door against the cold night. Taking a final look outside, he noticed that the light from within the house cast a tall shadow on the snow—the shadow of a man.

More Information for Draft Registrants Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of my colleagues to an excellent editorial written by Mr. Eli Isenberg, the editor and publisher of the Monterey Park, Calif., Progress. Mr. Isenberg has performed a valuable public service for our community by pointing out that the press shares with the Selective Service System the responsibility of providing young men and their families with information on the draft.

It is understandable that Mr. Isenberg is concerned over the lack of information currently available to our young men faced with the draft. I fully agree with his contention that potential draftees and their families have the right to know by what standards they are being drafted, the names and addresses of those to be inducted, the number to be called in any month, and how this number compares with calls in other districts. I would carry this suggested public-information policy one step further by making it mandatory upon the National Selective Service System to publish and desseminate, preferably through the schools, the communication media and the local draft boards, complete information and facts on the obligation of military service and the various options available to our young men.

Under the present Selective Service System, a registrant can choose some 60 different alternatives to satisfy his military obligation—each accompanied by complicated procedures and processes. There is also a myriad of methods whereby a young man can be excused from military service entirely. Yet no comprehensive counseling as to his rights and responsibilities under the law is offered the registrant by his draft board.

Neglect on the part of the Selective Service System to inform and enlighten our young men as to exactly what their military obligation and service is contributes to the uncertainties and doubts that cloud their future. General Hershey, the National Selective Service Director, in testimony before the House Committee on Armed Services, expressed his opinion that an element of uncertainty is a necessary and desirable ingredient in human lives. I do not subscribe to this way of thinking, and I am sure the great majority of American youths, who find it difficult to plan for their futures because of the vagaries in the present draft, would also heartily disagree with this philosophy.

Within the next few months Congress will again consider legislation to extend the life of the current system of the draft. I am confident we will also have the opportunity to consider ways in which the system can be improved. I earnestly hope our consideration will not end with an automatic extension of the draft as it now stands. I feel there are valid alternatives to the present system of compulsory military service that deserve to be thoroughly explored and considered before any final vote is taken to extend the draft. Mr. Isenberg, as a concerned American, has indicated areas within the system which he feels merit attention. I share his concern as do a great number of my colleagues. I hope we shall act accordingly when the question of extending the draft is brought before us.

Mr. Isenberg's editorial follows:

IT SEEMS TO ME . . .

(By Eli Isenberg, publisher)

In 1942, as a reporter on the Lynn (Mass) Telegram-News, one of my assignments was to cover Selective Service.

This was World War II. The number and names of the men called to service was news. We published names and addresses, kept score on the draft calls.

The coordinator of my draft board had a "personal" thing going about when my number was to come up. At the time, I was 29, married and with a son. Had tried to enlist as an officer. Had flat feet, poor vision. So I waited to be drafted.

Remember: I was close to the draft board covering it everyday. So I expected a month's warning. The "greetings" came unexpectedly on my day off, took my physical one week later and 14 days after that was doing my boot training in the Navy.

This anecdote does not reflect my relationship with Selective Service. I was able to get and publish all of the news about the draft: quotas, who was called, what the standards were, etc cetera.

The Progress has not done a good job in handling Selective Service news. Some of the fault lies with us; some of it with the Selective Service authorities.

Monterey Park is covered by at least two draft boards: No. 112 and 113 located at 1448 So. San Gabriel Blvd., San Gabriel. Office phone is 280-1521. Coordinator is Miss Carm Vertimiglia. I talked this morning to latter's clerk who was helpful and cooperative.

Members of the Draft Board serve without pay. They are responsible citizens doing a hard and thankless task.

As far as I can determine, no Monterey Park citizen serves on either of the two boards (No. 12 and 113 A) covering this community.

It seems to me that young men and their families have a right to know the standards by which they are to be drafted; the names and addresses of the persons called; the number to be called in any month; how this number compares with calls in other districts.

I am confident we will be able to get this information. No portion of this column is intended to reflect critically on draft boards. The responsibility for digging out this information is ours.

In the February issue of Playboy, Congressman Thomas B. Curtis (R), an authority on conscription and a critic on the present selective service program, has an article that will interest every family with draft age youth. Curtis writes:

"The National Selective Service headquarters has attempted to promulgate some vaguely defined standards for classification and deferment, but these standards are merely advisory, and the local boards can ignore them, modify them or interpret them as they see fit.

"As a result, deferments are granted not on the basis of equity but on the degree of pressure placed on the boards by the Defense Department demands for manpower.

"Today with calls near Korean war level—42,600 last October—standards for deferment have been reduced until the squeeze has been felt by the student, the father and the less-educated who were previously placed low on the priority list. Many who thought they were free from the draft's reach now find their lives disrupted.

"Loosely drawn (National) standards and local autonomy produce widely varying interpretations of Selective Service regulations. One worker at a St. Louis plant is drafted, while his working partner, registered with a New Jersey board receives an occupational deferment. A farmer whose father is totally blind and whose mother supports a family of five on $350 a month is drafted while a Hollywood actor receives a 'hardship' deferment on his $200,000 annual income. The cases are legion."

The present draft legislation (Universal Military Training Act) expires in June. Congressman Curtis wants a wholesale revision with emphasis on a volunteer professional military organization. What he has to say makes sense. It deserves the consideration of all the people—and especially the Congress.

Nasser's Poison Gas Attacks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, in an excellent editorial published on February 1, the Philadelphia Inquirer called attention to the dastardly employment of poison gas by military forces of the United Arab Republic in Yemen and Saudi Arabia.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

NASSER'S POISON GAS ATTACKS

Gamal Abdel Nasser, the president of the United Arab Republic whose aim is one-man leadership of the Arab world, is going about it in a singular fashion—by killing other Arabs with poison gas.

It has been confirmed by the International Red Cross and given added confirmation by Prime Minister Harold Wilson in a statement to the House of Commons, that villages in Yemen and Saudi Arabia have been bombed by United Arab Republic planes, which have dropped poison gas on civilians.

The International Red Cross Committee in Geneva has asked the United Arab Republic to stop the air raids and the gas attacks.

Nasser has invested a considerable military force in Yemen, where he is in conflict with Saudi Arabia, and his use of poison gas indicates a new measure of desperation. Apparently, he is trying to win by terrorism and atrocities what he has not been able to win by conventional military means.

All that the International Red Cross can expect to receive from their protests is a Nasser denial and brush-off. This is something, nevertheless, that should attract the attention of the United Nations, and of those elsewhere who are only concerned about civilian deaths when it meets their own propaganda purposes.

Address of Lawrence Lachman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, January 14, 1967, I attended the New York Consumer Assembly in Manhattan. In a letter inviting me to attend the assembly, Mr. Harold Ostroff, chairman of the New York Consumer Assembly, stated that the assembly had a wide sponsorship of trade unions, cooperatives, fraternal, neighborhood, and consumer organizations. He also noted that its inspiration came from the National Consumer Assembly, which took place in Washington, D.C., last April.

I was pleased to note that Mayor Lindsay, in giving the keynote address, stated that he was reorganizing city departments to protect the consumers' rights, in cooperation with President Johnson's plan. The problems of our consumers have been of deep concern to me since my very first election to the Congress in 1949. I was one of the first to introduce legislation providing for the creation of a Joint Committee on Consumers in the Federal Government and I will continue to press for its enactment.

Again in line with my deep interest in the consumer, I attended a luncheon for the New York City congressional delegation at the Hotel Biltmore in Manhattan on Friday, February 3, 1967, which was cosponsored by the Metropolitan New York Retail Merchants Association and the New York State Council of Retail Merchants. In an address to the Members of Congress from the city of New York, Mr. Lawrence Lachman, president of Bloomingdale Bros. and past president of the Metropolitan New York Retail Merchants Association, noted that this was the first such luncheon for Members of Congress and added that previously they had left to national organizations the task of liaison with Members of Congress. In his address, Mr. Lachman discussed the problems of the consumer from the angle they know best—retailing. Because this was a first, I would like to place the address given by Mr. Lachman in the Record for the benefit of all Members of Congress and in turn the American public:

ADDRESS BY LAWRENCE LACHMAN, PRESIDENT OF BLOOMINGDALE BROS., AND PAST PRESIDENT OF METROPOLITAN NEW YORK RETAIL MERCHANTS ASSOCIATION, AT A LUNCHEON FOR THE NEW YORK CITY CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION, HOTEL BILTMORE, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1967

Distinguished Members of Congress from the city of New York, this is the first time, to my knowledge, that we of retailing, the largest industry of both the City and State of New York, meet as a group with you who represent us in Congress. Us—and I hasten to add—some other eight million New Yorkers.

The fault is ours. This year and in times past we have broken bread and exchanged greetings—and ideas—with the members of the State Legislature; but we have left to national organizations the task of liaison with you members of Congress. I am pleased and I know my colleagues—and competitors are likewise pleased—that we are correcting this error of omission.

I take pleasure in welcoming you here today in behalf of the Metropolitan New York Retail Merchants Association and its member stores. I welcome you also on behalf of the co-sponsor of this luncheon, the New York State Council of Retail Merchants.

To identify ourselves further, my name is Lawrence Lachman. I am President of Bloomingdale's and a past president of the Metropolitan association. Eleven stores comprise its membership. They are known to all of you. In alphabetical order, these stores are:

Abercrombie & Fitch Co.
Abraham & Straus
B. Altman & Co.
B. Gertz Inc.
Gimbel Brothers
Lord & Taylor
Macy's—New York
Martin's
Saks Fifth Avenue
Stern Brothers

All of these stores are well represented at this luncheon. All of us also work with the great number of the city's retail trade organizations, chambers of commerce and other trade and civil groups on matters of mutual concern. I should add that our eleven stores are also represented on the Board of quite a number of these organizations.

The New York State Council of Retail Merchants represents more than two thousand department stores and other retail establishments. It is most ably represented here today by its dynamic and tireless Executive Director, Cliff Allanson, who I am sure needs no introduction to the members of Congress from the Empire State. You will be hearing from Cliff today—here—in a matter of minutes.

I propose to spend my allotted ten minutes to talk with you not about such subjects as Vietnam or the Defense Budget, or even taxes. There are two subjects that I will mention. I think we're on your side in respect of both subjects. I hope you're on our side.

The first subject is jobs. The second subject is your darling and ours—the consumer.

We in retailing are for creating more jobs. In New York City, there are some 432 thousand employees in retail trade. The department stores employ 52 thousand of this number—not counting seasonal help—and the eleven member stores of our Association account for 33 thousand of the 52 thousand.

More jobs are the Number One priority in this city. We want to manufacture more jobs. We manufacture jobs when we succeed in making a sale at a profit—jobs not only in our own stores, but extending also to the factories which manufacture the products we sell; to the producers of raw and intermediate materials which go into these products; to the transportation industries that, through us, carry the products to the marketplace; to the banking and insurance people, the advertising people, the media of communications and the host of others who have a hand in facilitating the manufacture and distribution of the products we sell.

And now to the consumer. We think we know something about her—and him. After all, we've been dealing with him and with her for a long time. Six of our eleven stores have welcomed the consumer and served her—and him—for a century or more, the other five have been in business for more than half a century each. In other words, the eleven stores have an aggregate experience of more than 1,000 years of service to the consumer. I couldn't begin to estimate the billions upon billions of customer transactions which these eleven stores have recorded over the years . . . the billions upon billions of times that consumers have given these stores their custom and their confidence—their vote, if you please!

Associate Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes defined good will as the inclination to return to the place where you have been well treated. On the basis of this definition—and who can question its validity—the stores in whose behalf I speak to you today have customer good will. And they've earned it.

They've earned it by a policy which you have heard expressed, or seen in print, hundreds of times. It's simple: The customer is always right. We've earned customer good will by living up to the promise of that policy. We've earned customer good will by treating the customer fairly. We've earned good will by giving value. We've earned good will by making retailing an exciting adventure, by bringing to our customers the best that the United States and the world have to offer—bringing the best to them at prices which the customers thought fair. We've earned customer good will by tough and everlasting competition—as fine an example of competition as there is in our competitive system.

We would not be in business today if we failed the customer in any of these respects.

And when I say "we" I mean the overwhelming majority of retailers in the City, the State, and the Nation.

Now, friends, don't get me wrong. We're human beings, not angels. We have our charlatans as what calling does not? We can, and we have, overstepped the line that divides right from wrong. The very competition that protects the consumer also results, from time to time, in practices that are detrimental to the consumer's best interests. We're all for guidelines, we're for rules of conduct, rules of fair play as between competitors, as well as between retailing and the consumer. We have laws on the statute books—city, state and Federal—that are useful in protecting the consumer.

On the other hand, I can assure you from a considerable experience, and my colleagues here can likewise assure you, that the American Consumer is far from the helpless individual which some in our contemporary life are picturing her—and him.

The consumer is no more helpless than the voter. And you know how helpless the voters are *not!*

We in retailing need the consumer's vote—not once a year, or every two years, four years or six years, or even fourteen years as in the case of State Supreme Court judges. We need votes—recorded on a cash register, or in a charge account—every minute of every day our doors are open for business. With us, it's a continuous election process.

We did not invite you here to urge you to vote for this or that measure, or to vote against this or that legislative proposal. But I do ask your leave to make a few observations which may be appropriate for your consideration of legislative proposals in the months ahead.

The New York Times carried a quote a few weeks ago which ran like this: God Bless the Consumer. He never had more defenders and suffered more. The author of that quote is Edward P. Larkin, of the Public Service Commission.

I think you of the 90th Congress can serve the consumer and retailing very well by examining in that spirit legislative proposals affecting the consumer.

There are areas of need for action by the Federal government that affect the welfare of our nation's cities and particularly of our own city. We have our social problems in New York City, as who knows better than you who represent us in Congress. We have our cultural problems. But they are not *our* problems alone. They are also problems of the Federal government. Why? Money is one reason.

The Federal Government annually receives billions in tax revenues from the people who live and/or work in the city and from the business enterprises located here.

If we are to contribute even more to the Federal and State and City tax revenues, we need to reverse the process of deterioration of our great city. And we require the help of the Federal government. We need urban renewal. We need better, and more, mass transit. We need help in carrying the great welfare load. We need assistance in creating the new and more sparkling and greater New York—this great city whose well-being is vital to the national interest.

In preparation for this luncheon I did a bit of homework by way of reading your biographies in the Congressional Directory, 1966. I find that most of the members of our Congressional delegation are lawyers. This is, of course, understandable. There are a few others. One has a master's degree in economics, in addition to his LL.B. Another majored in economics in college. A third received a B.S. in engineering at West Point. A fourth was a special correspondent for a New York newspaper. But none, so far as I could see, has made a career in retailing.

You are going to be asked to consider numerous legislative proposals affecting consumers and therefore, retailing. Some proposals considered in previous Congresses are apt to be revived in one form or another.

New ones will surely be a part of the fifteen thousand or so bills that will be dropped into the Congressional hopper in 1967 and 1968.

Your hosts here today have made retailing their lifework. We think we know something about the business and how it can be made to work well. We think we know something about the consumer. Since our interests must be mutual, we offer our services, and those of our specialists, to consult with you on matters within our special experience and competence. Please do not hestitate to call on us. We'll give you the facts as we understand them, and our best judgment.

Thank you very much, distinguished members of the New York City Congressional delegation. We have gotten to meet you personally. I hope this luncheon advances mutual understanding, each of the other.

Business Schools Train Vitally Needed Personnel for Office Employment—Federal Government and Private Industry Benefit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, an informative article portraying the important role of the independent business school in the postsecondary education complex of our Nation appears in the January 1967, issue of Business Education Forum, the official publication of the National Business Education Association, a department of the National Education Association. It is titled "Postsecondary Business Education in the Independent Business School" by Richard A. Fulton, executive director of United Business Schools Association.

Mr. Fulton points out, with facts and statistics, the vital role of our country's 1,300 independent business schools in training hundreds of thousands of people for office occupations. He emphasizes that "some 400,000 new workers are needed annually" in the field of business office employment.

As a member of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee I am aware of the problems confronting the Federal Government in recruiting dedicated and competent office workers. The U.S. Civil Service Commission has announced the junior Federal assistant examination which will permit graduates of 2-year postsecondary programs of education to enter the Federal civil service at the GS-4 entry rating. I am confident that this new program will afford many business school graduates the opportunity to embark on satisfying careers in government.

I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POSTSECONDARY BUSINESS EDUCATION—IN THE INDEPENDENT BUSINESS SCHOOL

(By Richard A. Fulton, United Business Schools Association, Washington, D.C.)

Business education in postsecondary schools has been recognized by many persons as an important step in the education of the qualified and efficient office worker. The United States Civil Service Commission recognizes the value of a business school education in its revised standards in Announcement No. 352–B for Accounting Technician and Accounting Clerk, which states, ". . . successful completion of appropriate college, university, junior college, commercial or business school study for two academic years is qualifying for the GS–4 level without additional experience."

To qualify as a Typist GS–3 or a Stenographer GS–4, the Commission states in Announcement No. 78 Local, "You must have successfully completed one academic year of substantially full-time study in a resident school above the high school level." Thus a business school graduate may enter the federal service one grade level higher than a secondary school graduate. And in private industry the graduate usually receives both a higher salary and a higher position than the employee without this training.

The Civil Service Commission is not alone in recognizing the value of a business school education. The United States Senate stated in a report from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare (No. 1275) in 1964, "Approximately 20 percent of the students in accredited business schools have enrolled after having one or more semesters of study in four-year colleges or universities." These students, then, who sought a college education are now seeking quality business education training to prepare them for a marketable occupation.

Still another government source of recognition for business schools is the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965 (P.L. 89–287). In its definition of "eligible institutions" covered by the Act as stated in Section 17(a)(2) the Law requires that the school offer "a program of postsecondary vocational or technical education designed to fit individuals for useful employment in recognized occupations. This is the Law's definition of a recognized business education intitution.

Who are the students taking advantage of this business school education? Surveys indicate they come from various backgrounds and all seek the specialized skills that will make them productive office employees. Approximately half of the students in private business schools are high school graduates who have had some business training in high school; even more have completed at least a course in typewriting. However, recent high school graduates are only a part of the total student enrollment.

In his book, *The Independent Business School in American Education,* Jay W. Miller reports, "One business school with a day enrollment of over 800 reported that 33 percent of its students had been graduated from the high school business department; 49 percent, from the college preparatory or academic department; and 18 percent, from other departments."

Other figures supplied by the same school indicated that 2 percent had graduated from high school from six to twenty-seven years ago; 13 percent graduated within three to five years, and the remaining 85 percent within the past two years. Furthermore, 20 percent of the students had attended college and had transferred to the business school.

These college transfers and high school graduates attend business school to learn practical, job-oriented business skills that are not taught in liberal arts colleges. This lack of knowledge of business skills was pointed out in an article in the *Wall Street Journal* of November 16, 1965, entitled, "Take a Letter." The article notes:

> Many girls who are well versed in the arts and sciences, however, find they are eminently unqualified to be a secretary. The main problem: They can't type or take shorthand. In such cases, the girls often turn for help to secretarial schools such as Katherine Gibbs and the Speedwriting Institute. Both of these chains, in fact, say the number of college graduates enrolling is up sharply in recent years.

An increasing number of mature women are enrolling in business schools each year. They are seeking to acquire a skill that will enable them to supplement their own or their family's incomes. These women are widowed, divorced, or married; and all have the same goal: an increase in skills for an increase in income.

GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED PROGRAMS

"Under contract training" programs of the federal government provide additional business school students. In this program, through cooperation between the federal and state governments, students are trained in private business schools under contract from the government. There are fourteen federally supported educational programs which include students in independent business schools. Seven of these programs provide for "under contract training":

1. Indian Adult Vocational Education Act
2. Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1920 (as amended)
3. Manpower Act of 1965
4. Economic Development Administration
5. Economic Opportunity Act of 1964
6. Government Employee's Training Program
7. Vocational Education Act of 1963.

One form of "under contract training" within the Manpower Development and Training Act helps to retrain unemployed workers in order to provide them with marketable skills.

Following graduation from a two-year business school or junior college of business, many students enter senior colleges which accept their business school credits for transfer credits. A 1962 survey by William Polishook, assistant dean of the College of Education, Temple University, Philadelphia, revealed that, according to reports of 36 independent business schools, their credits are accepted completely by one or more colleges or universities.[1]

A survey made by the United Business Schools Association has resulted in a list of 67 colleges accepting transfer of credits from business schools. The association also has compiled a list of 72 business schools who have indicated that their students have been accepted by colleges granting bachelor's degrees listed in Part 3 of the U.S. Office of Education Directory with credit hour recognition for courses completed in a private business school.

In numerous instances business school transfers experience success in college more often than those students accepted directly from high school. Their skills not only help them to earn higher grades, but also may be used on jobs to defray part of their college expenses.

As privately owned institutions, business schools have tuition and fees which must be paid by the students. To help offset some of these costs, students may receive direct assistance through several federal and state programs, including:

1. War Orphans Education Assistance
2. Veterans Readjustment Benefits Act of 1966
3. Social Security Amendments of 1965
4. Federal Employees Compensation Act
5. Income Tax Deduction for Student Dependents
6. National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act
7. Survivorship Annuities under the Civil Service Retirement Program

Pennsylvania sets an example as a state providing financial assistance in the form of scholarships to students attending trade, technical, business, and nursing schools. Pennsylvania's scholarship provisions read: "The course of study must offer at least 1800 clock hours of instruction on a full-time basis, require a high school diploma for admission, and be a course of study approved by the Higher Education Assistance Agency under the State Scholarship Program."

PROMOTION OF ETHICS AND STANDARDS

Business schools are continually working to promote higher standards of ethics and practices among themselves to insure a quality eduaction for students. One organization helping to promote this cause is the United Business Schools Association, which is made up of 500 member business schools and junior colleges of business in the United States and Canada. Schools must meet certain minimum standards of practice to become members of the Association, which helps to secure federal legislation to insure quality education in the American independent business schools.

UBSA created the Accrediting Commission for Business Schools, which has been recognized by the U.S. Office of Education as the accrediting agency for independent business schools. For accreditation by ACBS, business schools must meet stringent standards of education and practice. Schools are inspected by teams of educators who know and understand the intricacies of an educational system. The chairman of each team comes from outside the business school field and members are college presidents, deans, professors, and department heads from related fields. Accredited schools now number 285 and they train over 100,000 students annually.

The U.S. Civil Service Commission recognizes ACBS accreditation by accepting typewriting and shorthand proficiency score from teachers in accredited schools for students who want to enter federal service. Normally the applicant must complete a typewriting or short-hand test administered by the Commission in order to receive a GS rating.

NEED FOR BUSINESS TRAINING

Grant Venn, associate commissioner, Bureau of Adult and Vocational Education, recognized the need for additional business office employees when he wrote: "During this decade the number of employment opportunities in this field is expected to increase by 27 percent, or nearly three million jobs. In addition, 400,000 new workers are needed annually as replacements in this high turnover field."[2]

Today there are approximately 1,300 independent business schools in the United States attempting to fill this need. About 600,000 people are enrolled in private business schools, 200,000 of whom receive diplomas or certificates each year.

In an article entitled "The Role of the Business School," which appeared in the New York *Journal-American* on November 1, 1964, syndicated columnist Benjamin Fine wrote: "The independent business school is the most important single agency for postsecondary vocational business training in America."

Thus, the independent business school is filling a growing need for highly skilled and efficient business office employees, as well as office workers for federal, state, and local governments. The business school offers the specialized training made necessary by increased use of electronic equipment in today's office and by America's growing dependence upon science and technology.

In the final analysis, the job of the postsecondary independent business school is not to displace, but to complement and supplement, the business education offered in the nation's secondary schools.

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[1] Miller, Jay W. *The Independent Business School in American Education.* New York: Gregg Publishing Division, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1964, p. 166.

[2] Venn, Grant. *Man, Education and Work,* Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1966. Pp. 80–81.

Hon. Douglas H. MacArthur II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, as I am sure you know and those in this body who were Members during the 89th Congress, I was appointed by the President of the United States to serve on a Presidential panel dealing with Philippine veterans benefits. This was one of my first experiences with international negotiations.

I have been a Member of Congress for some 21 years and have had numerous occasions over that timespan to deal with the various agencies and departments of our Government; both directly with the heads of the agencies and departments and also through their respective congressional liaison officers. Because of the international aspect of the aforementioned Presidential panel, I dealt directly with Ambassador Douglas H. MacArthur II, Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations and I would like you to know, Mr. Speaker and the other Members of this body, that so far as I am concerned, Ambassador MacArthur is one of the finest and ablest liaison officers with whom I have had the pleasure of working. Not only in the instance of the Presidential panel, but on all other occasions I have had to call on the Department of State, I have received the finest service and most courteous attention accorded to my requests.

Big Brother and TV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial "Big Brother and TV," which appeared in the Chicago Tribune on February 7, 1967, appear at this point in the RECORD:

BIG BROTHER AND TV

A trial balloon concerning the future development of educational television has been launched by the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, an ad hoc group of 15 funded by a grant from the Carnegie corporation. The principal suggestion is the creation of a new Corporation for Public Television, financed to the extent of many millions a year by a combination of excise taxes on TV sets, grants from the department of health, education, and welfare, and contributions from private sources and other than federal governments. Doubling the number of present educational TV stations is envisaged, and many-sided financial support to the needs in program, personnel, and transmission of educational TV stations.

Tho the federal government publishes a huge volume of printed matter, issues innumerable press releases, and maintains an elaborate system of military communications, to date it has not directly embarked on government newspapers, domestic government radio stations, or government television. The range and impact of the mass media are such that the public interest requires that they should neither be monopolized by any private hands nor wielded by so uniquely powerful an organization as the government of the United States. Big Brother, with his singular power to tax and spend, subject to no higher authority, is not to be trusted with the mass media of communication.

The Carnegie commission tries to camouflage the governmental nature of the educational TV system it proposes. Its suggested Corporation for Public Television, it says, "will be neither an agency nor an establishment of the United States government." But it says this unconvincingly. Half the corporation's directors would be appointed by the President, and these would choose the other half. Most of the corporation's money would be raised by taxation. As the commission also says, in effect correcting itself, "For its support, the corporation must inevitably look primarily toward the federal government."

Surely no one can plausibly contend that a corporation so constituted and financed is going to be really independent of the federal government, or free from inordinate influence from the President.

The other proposals from the commission all lean on this one of a tax-supported corporation; so one inevitable, necessary shot brings down the whole trial balloon. That is the shot that must be fired against government television—whether open, or thinly disguised as in this proposal, or more cleverly disguised.

Educational television is fine; it deserves support, and very likely additional support from state governments. But government television created, financed, and directed from Washington must and will be fiercely resisted. However prominently government television might be labeled "educational," in reality it would certainly be a dangerous vehicle for official propaganda.

Truth-in-Lending Drive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced in this Congress a truth-in-lending measure, similar to the one offered by me in the 89th Congress, that provides for full disclosure to consumers of the cost of credit. This is surely no more than a matter of simple right and justice, and the strong opposition to the legislation by certain segments of the business community is highly regrettable and most disturbing in its implications.

It is too often a painful, expensive education for consumers to learn by bitter experience how much they are charged for credit. As President Johnson said in his 1964 consumer message:

> An antiquated legal doctrine "let the buyer beware" should be superseded by the doctrine "let the seller make full disclosure."

The need for consumers' protection in the all-important field of consumer credit is discussed in a recent article by Sidney Margolius. . I am inserting it in full below:

[From the Machinist, Jan. 12, 1967]

TRUTH-IN-LENDING DRIVE

(By Sidney Margolius)

U.S. Sen. William Proxmire of Wisconsin has announced that he will reintroduce the "truth-in-lending" bill which Paul Douglas of Illinois sought for six years before he was defeated for re-election last November.

This proposed law has become more urgent than ever now that banks as well as retailers are actively promoting revolving credit plans that charge unknowing users 1½ per cent a month on the declining balance. This really is a true annual interest rate of 18 per cent a year.

The new bank credit card plans let you charge anything at participating stores, even small items you ordinarily pay cash for, or wait to buy until you do have the cash. If you don't realize how much the "service charge" amounts to, you will take on a permanent new expense, as well as being led into impulse buying. That already is happening in Chicago and other cities where banks and retailers are pushing such "charge" plans.

The chief feature of the truth-in-lending bill, which retailers and lenders have been resisting to the death, is the proposed requirement that they tell you the true annual interest rate they charge on installment plans and loans. If they did, you would know what rate you are paying.

BACKWARD FIGURING

The main defense of lenders against disclosing annual rates is that this would be "cumbersome", and for revolving charge accounts, even impossible. But at the original hearings, Edward Gudeman, a former Commerce Department official and a long-time Sears executive, pointed out that credit extenders first determine on an annual basis what they want to charge. From there they work backwards to break down their annual rate, and tell it to consumers in the form of a monthly percentage or dollar charge on the original balance. Thus, they should be able to use predetermined charts providing a reasonable estimate of the annual rate for specific transactions.

They can do it in Canada. The province of Alberta enacted a law requiring that all credit transactions state the annual interest rate. Officials then discussed with mathematicians and financial publishers which math formula should be used by all creditors so that rates would be comparable, and retail and loan clerks would not be required to make difficult computations.

Recently, J. E. Mason, Alberta Supervisor of Consumer Credit, wrote, "We find the actuarial formula as recommended by mathematicians is most accurate, and publishers assure us that this can be applied to produce rate charts in much the same format as those presently in use by creditor employers."

In fact, Mason reports that credit associations and grantors have cooperated in working out this method.

But the antagonisms of U.S. businessmen to "truth in lending" startled even Mr. Douglas. Before he retired from the Senate in 1966, he told us that almost all elements of the finance industry except credit unions and mutual savings banks joined in resistance; that while there had been some self-improvement in industries where other consumer-protection bills have been proposed, the only reaction of the finance industry was intensified opposition.

J. Gordon Dakins, Executive Vice President of the National Retail Merchants Association, called the proposal "unrealistic, misleading and dangerous." He declared that at best it would be meaningless to the average credit customer, at worst it would exaggerate his idea of the cost of credit and tend to discourage its "informed use."

"Few laymen can accept the fact that interest rates in excess of 6 per cent per year are the rule rather than the exception," he advised his fellow merchants. "It would seem unwise to educate them at the cost of a serious set-back to the economy."

Another bitter opponent is the National Consumer Finance Association, a loan-company organization. Its Executive Vice-President, Carl Hawver, has declared that the public needs no help from the Government in handling its money. "The average American is a solid, God-fearing, bill-paying citizen who handles his financial affairs much better than most state governments and certainly better than the Federal Government." (God-fearing and bill-paying he may be. But since the national debt increased 10 per cent in the first half of this decade, while total consumer debts increased 40 per cent, a better manager he is not.)

AMOUNTS, NOT RATES

Dr. Hawver denies that consumers want credit costs stated in percentages: "Lots of Americans haven't figured 'simple annual interest' since they were in high school. They deal in hard cash. They want to know how many dollars it's going to cost them to borrow dollars, that's what they get paid in."

According to him, the reason why some lenders state their interest fees as a monthly rather than annual rate, is that families handle their finances on a monthly basis; "they get paid once or twice a month and their bills come in on a monthly basis."

The way to help consumers is by more education, not more legislation, argues Dr. Hawver, pointing out that his association of loan companies has an "education program for developing better adult and student understanding of sound money management and the wise use of credit."

Until we get a "truth in lending" law, your best policy is to reserve the use of credit for major purchases for what you can't pay cash. When you do need financing, borrow the cash yourself from low-cost sources such as credit unions or local banks. Finally, borrow as little as you really need, and pay back as soon as you can.

Rail Rapid Transit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, the necessity of rail rapid transit to match America's future transportation needs and requirements was emphasized to me this week in a letter from the majority leader of the Buffalo, N.Y., Common Council.

I found the remarks of Councilman Stanley M. Makowski so telling that I have forwarded them to Hon. Alan S. Boyd, Secretary of Transportation, along with a letter asking Secretary Boyd what plans he has for the future in this regard.

Buffalo was the location recently of a model city conference, and Councilman Makowski was quick to recognize that before any city can effectively become a model city—mass rapid transit must be installed to serve its needs.

In addition, Councilman Makowski saw the importance of such a transit system in fighting air pollution. His letter, my reply to him, and my letter to Secretary Boyd, follow:

A MODEL CITY NEEDS MASS RAPID TRANSIT

(By Councilman Stanley M. Makowski, majority leader of the Buffalo Common Council)

Are we ready to accept a balanced, mass rapid-transit system in western New York, or should we continue constructing the ever-encompassing tentacles of concrete that stem from our city's core and will strangle our very existence if we allow it to continue? We must accept the challenge to control this developing menace to our society.

The recent model city conference held in Buffalo's city hall unfortunately did not emphasize this vital element of what I consider must be part and parcel of the model city program.

The model city sessions were most valuable to all of western New York in so far as they represented a most stimulating conference. Now must come the time for careful evaluation of problems discussed, ideas proposed, and issues omitted.

Unfortunately, no one spoke a word about either public rapid transportation or highway congestion. We are all aware what the combustible engine contributes toward the creation of frightful and destructive air pollution. Just who would benefit by the rapid transit system? And who would benefit by the elimination of much of the air pollution? The answer: *all* citizens would benefit, especially those core area residents who live nearest the highway interchanges where traffic is most congested. Panel after panel at the conference addressed itself to the socio-economic problems facing deprived areas that exist in the heart of our great metropolitan complex.

Can the use of mass rapid transportation aid the core area's unemployed to gain meaningful employment? The answer must be an emphatic yes! The poor and indigent must have ready and economical access to the outer communities. This is where many of the employment opportunities these people seek are located.

The model city sessions were devoted primarily to the conditions within our core areas. Through a common effort, many of the problems faced by the forgotten, unskilled and deprived groups, could be solved.

In addition, certain areas outside of our present city limits are also plagued by poverty. These neighboring residents could be helped by the opening of job opportunities which were previously limited because of the lack of good public transportation.

Gone are the days when urban highways could be regarded simply as facilities for the movement of vehicles from one place to another. Here to stay is the recognition that transportation is a basic force in shaping the course of urban development. The intelligent approach now being recognized by most planners seems to depend on the balanced transit system, with the rail rapid transit as the backbone.

Most planners agree that building new streets, widening existing streets, and constructing new expressways, in order to move the 1.3 million people of our metropolitan community, are not the best answers. These same planners must take into consideration the fact that excessive rates for present bus transportation to places of employment outside the core area constitute a handicap for those who lack sufficient funds for transportation. If they are employed, autos may be required to reach their respective places of employment. We know that it would be far less costly to provide rapid transit, rather than try to finance a car for every potential worker.

By denying our citizens a choice of transit, by ignoring this mode of travel, aren't we denying our less fortunate their right to a choice of work? Imagine, if you will, the day when more employment will lessen the welfare load and give to these socio economically disinherited people the chance this country promises everyone: the right to work. Considering these factors, what would the effect be on the overall tax structure locally and nationally? It would be decisively encouraging.

Returning to the idea of expressways, I realize that we can move vehicles, but 1¼ passengers per car requires (as Walter Reuthers acknowledged) acres of highways to move acres of oversize cars, to park on acres of parking lots.

Western New York requires mass transportation of the most modern, most efficient kind. If we are to move people quickly, safely, cheaply and efficiently, we must consider the use of rail rapid transit as a nucleus for our coordinated overall transportation system.

If the model city conferees had reviewed national publications such as the November 1966 issue of Nation's Cities, they would have found such commonplace statements to planners as:

"Mobility and accessibility are fundamental to the very existence of the city and its metropolitan area—indeed they made the growth and development of the city and the area possible . . . The sinuous pattern of country freeways is not appropriate to cities. It cuts across the existing grid; disrupts neighborhood patterns, and leaves odd, difficult-to-integrate pieces. The wide right-of-way is inappropriate in cities. It wreaks havoc with existing structures; takes too much off the tax rolls, and cuts great swaths through the neighborhoods." (Patrick Healy, executive director, National League of Cities.)

Again, there was the Williamsburg Conference, where Detroit's Mayor Cavanaugh, President of the National League of Cities, said: "We must keep in mind the necessity of including a strong component of rapid transit if we are to end up with a balanced transportation system in the comprehensive plan because huge sums for urban highways will never by themselves solve urban transportation needs.

This statement also came from Mayor of Auto-Making Detroit:

"We would have liked to hear more remarks at the model city session concerning air pollution. A major contributor to this pollution is our automobile with one exhaust pipe for each 1¼ passengers. In California, the $60 devices required on new cars haven't proved efficient. To my knowledge, there is no way to cancel out the air pollution factor in internal combustion engine vehicles. However, much to our chagrin, medical experts state that these vehicles in congested areas are helping to cancel out the human factor—life."

Some would say: "We'll have electric autos by 1980." I hope we do; but it is unlikely that the electric car will appeal to the masses. Its range still seems too short for American families. We dare not wait for the necessary technological advancement to solve today's air pollution by autos.

Let us examine another possible benefit related to mass rapid transit. The underground facilities which would be required, due to the complex composition of the central business district, could serve as civil defense shelters in times of emergency. This type of use for underground facilities was utilized during World War II, in London, England, where millions of people found protection.

Another aspect of urban society that would benefit from the use of a rapid transit system would be the economic and efficient use of land. This factor is becoming more and more important to us as urbanites each day.

I feel that the conference has added much to our general knowledge of what is involved when we consider a model city program for Buffalo. We must also add to the files what others have learned in dealing with urban problems. Cities such as Toronto, Montreal, Philadelphia, and Cleveland—just to mention a few—should be contacted in order to learn their approaches to their problems. We are all urban areas with similar problems.

To do the total job of aiding the socially and ecomonically depressed, and at the same time assist the entire citizenry, we must implement the balanced transit system. Buffalo cannot afford to delay any longer.

The local region has benefited through the efforts of a handful of civic-minded area residents who formed a non-profit organization called START (Suburban Town's Area Rapid Transit.) They pressed forward with an idea which has been carried throughout the western New York area. I am confident that more people will join their ranks in bringing this balanced transit plan to light. This idea could lead the entire region to a better and more productive way of life.

The model city program and the balanced mass transportation system must work hand in hand. Both can be the vehicles to help re-vitalize and save our cities. Let us move forward, *now*, on the wheels of progress that both of these programs can provide.

FEBRUARY 6, 1967.

Mr. STANLEY M. MAKOWSKI,
Councilman at Large,
The Council,
Buffalo, N.Y.

DEAR STAN: Many thanks for your February 1 letter and a copy of your excellent statement of January 30: "A Model City Needs Mass Rapid Transit." I couldn't agree more with the emphatic statement embraced in the title of your speech.

As a matter of fact, I think so highly of your remarks that I am having them inserted in the Congressional Record for all my colleagues to read.

The very concept of a Model City must, I believe, include plans for an integrated transportation network—the backbone of which should be modern, clean, inexpensive rail transit. Indeed, I do not think that any application by a large city for designation as a Model City should be approved unless it contained provisions for planning for rapid transit.

The current, urgent attention being given to air pollution adds potent weight to the already weighty arguments in favor of mass transit. The Public Health Service recently estimated that 85 million of the 130 million tons of pollutants released into the nation's atmosphere annually come from internal combustion engines.

I am sponsoring legislation to speed up research on modern, low-cost, high energy electric propulsion systems for cars and buses, but as you say, the adoption by Americans of this alternate source of energy seems visionary and far off in time to most.

With the completion of the 41,000-mile interstate highway network now in sight, I believe the time has come to begin to rethink America's future transportation needs and requirements. And it is my firmly held view that rail rapid transit, today a mere stepchild in our transportation picture, must become a mature and dominant factor in the new era beginning with the completion of the interstate network in 1973.

I congratulate you on your foresight, wisdom and courage and I hope you will be successful in using your very influential position to persuade the City of Buffalo to include provisions for rail rapid transit in the Model City plans it's now undertaking.

With warm personal regards, I am,

Your sincerely,

RICHARD D. MCCARTHY,
Member of Congress.

FEBRUARY 8, 1967.

Hon. ALAN S. BOYD,
Secretary of Transportation,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BOYD: Several weeks ago, a Model City Conference was held in Buffalo, N.Y. Since its conclusion, I have received many letters about the possibility of Buffalo's becoming a model city.

One of these letters—from the city's Common Council majority leader—came to me in the form of a statement, "A Model City Needs Mass Rapid Transit." Its author, Councilman Stanley M. Makowski, had recognized the need for rail rapid transit to cope with the country's future transportation requirements.

I am enclosing Councilman Makowski's letter, as well as my reply to him. I believe the councilman's observations cast a great deal of light on our transportation problems of the future.

Would you advise me as to what the current thinking is in the Department of Commerce, regarding the role of rapid transit—and any future plans you may have for promoting it throughout the country?

Thank you very much.

Yours truly,

RICHARD D. MCCARTHY,
Member of Congress.

One-Way Passage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the February issue of the Progressive magazine contains some interesting statistics and comments on the movement of bright and educated young people from the underdeveloped countries to the United States. This problem is popularly known as the brain drain.

The Progressive states:

> Difficult as the problem is, it should be thoroughly explored by Congress, the Administration, and educators.

I agree with this statement. The hearings of the Subcommittee on Research and Technical Programs of the House Government Operations Committee are a good beginning for this session. I hope that other congressional committees with a jurisdiction in this problem will take a similar interest so that needed reforms can be enacted by this Congress.

I place the full text of the Progressive comments in the RECORD for the benefit of the Members:

ONE-WAY PASSAGE

Year after year the underdeveloped countries send their bright young men and women to the United States for advanced study. Their native lands hope they will return home later to employ the skills and learning acquired in American universities, technical institutes, and hospitals. But in too many cases the foreign student does not return and his country is the loser. Whether he paid for his education himself or his homeland contributed, whether he was aided under U.S. Federal programs or by private foundations, if he takes up permanent residence here he becomes one more example of "the brain drain" suffered by nations in desperate need of talent.

The extent of the drain is illustrated by these facts and figures:

There are 100,000 foreign students now in the United States, two-thirds of whom are from underdeveloped countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America—a figure that speaks eloquently of the huge "knowledge gap" these nations seek to overcome. Eleven thousand of 94,000 surveyed last year by the Institute for International Education, a private body, said they intend to remain here after they complete their studies. The proportion that *actually* stays may be much higher, as some other surveys indicate. Thus:

Iranian officials say that about sixty per cent of students from Iran decide to stay in the United States; there are now some 4,000 Iranian students on U.S. campuses.

Figures prepared by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service indicate that thirty per cent of Asians who come here on temporary student visas later apply for permanent visas. A study at the University of Iowa disclosed that of 905 foreign students on the campus there in the 1950–60 decade, 490 remained in the United States.

Among interns and residents now training in U.S. hospitals, more than 11,000 are from foreign medical schools, the Educational Council for Foreign Medical Graduates reports. The Council estimates that twenty to twenty-five per cent of these foreign doctors will remain here after completing their training. Jose Camacho, a minister at Colombia's embassy in Washington, claimed that his country's serious shortage of doctors, dentists, and nurses results in part from the failure of many Colombians to return home after they receive advanced training here.

These losses of educated young people, said James A. Perkins, the president of Cornell University and chairman of President Johnson's advisory committee on foreign assistance programs, "may be quietly making hash of our best efforts abroad" to assist have-not countries to develop their economies and institutions to provide their people with a better life. Senator Walter Mondale of Minnesota has suggested incentives to foreign students to return home after their training is over, combined with possible U.S. immigration restrictions. Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts has proposed that the United States call an international conference to explore the whole problem of "brain drain" which includes not only students but the siphoning off to America of European scientists, engineers, doctors, and other professional talent.

It will be extremely difficult to check these losses to the Old World, and the poorer nations elsewhere, because of the powerful attraction that the American standard of living has for foreign students and professional personnel. Sometimes the lack of freedom at home (Iran and Taiwan are two examples of countries whose students sometimes fail to return for political reasons) is an important factor in the brain drain.

But difficult as the problem is, it should be thoroughly explored by Congress, the Administration, and educators. Ways must be found for the countries of origin to recoup some of their talent losses. A more equitable distribution of skills among the nations, with special attention paid to the needs of have-not countries, would be a major contribution to world-wide economic progress and international amity.

Of Mice and Men: Betrayal in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 10, 1967

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, some weeks ago the Hearst publications sent a task force to Vietnam. Subsequently William Randolph Hearst, Jr., wrote an editorial concerning our general posture toward the war in Vietnam. Mr. Hearst's comments were made after interviewing our officers and men on the ground—those who are bearing the brunt of the battle. In my opinion, this editorial deserves the attention of all the Members of Congress, and under leave previously granted, Mr. Hearst's observations are included herein. The editorial follows:

EDITOR'S REPORT: OF MICE AND MEN: BETRAYAL IN VIETNAM

(By William Randolph Hearst, Jr., editor in chief, the Hearst Newspapers)

SAN SIMEON, CALIF., January 7.—As a direct result of Communist-inspired propaganda and the bugaboo of world opinion, this nation is not doing all it can and should do to win the war in Vietnam.

Because of timidity in Washington the heroic American men who are fighting and dying over there are being betrayed.

These are strong words, but I have considered them well.

They are angry words, but they are made in behalf of the battle veterans who to date have seen more than 6,500 of their buddies killed while fighting—in effect—with one hand tied behind them.

What I am talking about is the deadly handicap imposed on our war effort by the pussyfoot policy limiting our bombing in North Vietnam. This policy is worse than foolish; it is potentially self-defeating.

It is no accident that for the past several weeks we have been under a concentrated propaganda attack by the enemy and its sympathizers whose single aim is summed up in three words: Stop the bombing.

The fact is that our bombing, even the limited bombing our airmen have been permitted to do, has been seriously damaging to the Communists.

They seek to have us halt our most effective force to victory because it is hurting them. Their campaign has nothing to do with humanitarianism and nothing to do with the peace we have so earnestly sought.

The Communists know they could end the bombings instantly merely by promising to sit down and talk peace. They won't do it Instead, they mount a world-wide drive to portrary our bombings as heartless and indiscriminate in the hope that so-called world opinion will force us to stop the attacks.

Unfortunately, the continuing propaganda continues to have a definite effect on our national leadership. As of now, that leadership continues to dissipate its energy chasing the delusion of possible Communist interest in a just peace rather than ordering all-out support of our own fighting men.

This policy, I submit, constitutes a betrayal of those men.

When I was in Vietnam a few weeks ago with other members of the Hearst Task Force, I talked with many of those men and I know how they feel.

They would never say they feel betrayed and their morale is high. But they are bewildered and angry because we are not giving our war effort all we have. This surely is understandable among men prepared to give their lives.

Angriest of all were the men and officers of the U.S. Seventh Air Force. A number of them were friends from World War II days and we speak the same language. It is a tremendous understatement to say they feel frustrated because Washington won't let them hit more military targets, and especially the air fields where the Russian-built MIG's sit in undisturbed menace to their lives.

Contrary to the impression given by Communist-inspired propaganda, our targets have been limited almost entirely to those whose destruction would halt the enemy movement of men and materiel, or at least delay it.

There has been little if any bombing of industrial complexes, hydro-electric plants, shipyards and similar legitimate military targets. Instead we have been sending our costly bombers out to blow up railroad yards, jerry-built bridges and supply routes—all quickly replaceable by the plentiful North Vietnamese labor.

What I saw and heard from these airmen, in fact, was almost unbelievable to one who has a lot of first-hand experience with our air efforts in World War II.

If we had then limited our air forces to the kind of timid and discouraging way of fighting we are using against North Vietnam, the allies would never have been able to land in France. Of this you can be absolutely sure.

And who are these leaders of ours who are more afraid of being denounced in the United Nations or elsewhere for escalation than they are afraid of losing their own men? I could name some of them, but I won't.

For the record, I do not blame President Johnson. Any president must rely on the counsel of his advisers. Among these are a certain fearful group who are in such positions of authority that he undoubtedly has been listening to them and been swayed by their over-emphasis on the importance of "world opinion."

From what I know personally of the President, it is not his nature to pussyfoot indefinitely. He must be weighing the problem right now and I have a hunch a fresh approach is in the making.

In making this decision I hope he will consider just what this nation had gained so far through its policy of attempting to win favorable world opinion.

No nation has sought it more avidly than we have in the Vietnam mess, and what we have got out of our efforts is worse than nothing. Thanks to the cunning of Communist propagandists—aided and abetted by some American newsmen who disapprove of our national policy—we have been made to appear as villains and aggressors whose credibility is zero.

What President Johnson should do in making his decision is to think of the 6,500 Americans who have died in what he knows is a just and honorable war to halt a monstrous attempt at the enslavement of not only South Vietnam but all of free Asia.

Then he should announce that we are in this war to win, that is, to compel the enemy to negotiate, and that from now on we are going all-out to do it—including the bombing of all strategic targets in the North necessary to do the job, starting with enemy air fields.

We all want to end this tragic mess. Let's go ahead and end it!

A Better Society

SPEECH
OF
HON. SAM GIBBONS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, the President, in his message on children and youth, has presented a comprehensive program of action to deal with one of our most urgent national problems—the problems affecting young Americans. We know, of course, that these problems also have tremendous effect on virtually every element in our society.

In his message, the President emphasized the importance of early and intensive preventive measures instead of costly patchup efforts after conditions have gotten out of hand. He advocated programs to provide new starts or good starts as well as follow through. By starting early, we can eliminate the handicaps that prevent the development of the full potential of our people.

I have been deeply interested in early prevention programs and I think the President's proposals are sound. We know from experience in the Job Corps and Neighborhood Youth Corps and from testimony from rehabilitation experts that it is extremely costly to correct mistakes that could have been preventer earlier. We also know that the chances of success are greatly diminished after personal disasters take place and people end up in jails or other corrective institutions.

I think it is essential that we develop a sound plan to implement the President's recommendations, none of which will require vast sums of money. We must insure that we allow sufficient lead-time to plan and fully implement successful programs. We must train and deploy our forces carefully to insure that our new starts do not become false starts.

I believe that all of us in Congress and throughout the Nation want to build a "better society." The President's message should be the beginning of a bipartisan effort toward fulfilling that goal.

I urge all Americans to join in this effort.

U.S. Birth Control Advocacy—How It Causes Hard Feelings in Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, during the national meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science held here in December, Dr. J. Mayone Stycos, director of the international population program at Cornell University, presented a paper which requires some sober second thoughts from persons both inside and outside the Government who advocate a strong American "push" to propagandize birth control worldwide.

Dr. Stycos documents some of the political problems which have arisen in the countries of Latin America because the United States has become so closely, identified with family planning.

While believing that the United States has a role to play in "defusing the population bomb," Dr. Stycos indicates that our policy statements and approaches have been heavyhanded, inept, and self-defeating.

He concludes that:

> It takes a long time to get our government to move, but once it moves it is hard to slow it down or get it to deal with a light touch. Ideas such as "community development" or "development of the infra-structure," when they fail to achieve the impossible results expected of them, get changed for new brands of magic. But birth control is no more magical than the others. In the short run it will do very little and in the long run its effectiveness will be proportional to investments in other aspects of social and economic development. This makes it no less important and should not cause us to falter in continuing to discuss the question with our Latin American colleagues. But the discussion had better be a special blend of sicence and ethics aimed at the needs, aspira-

tions and ground rules of Latin Americans rather than at the economic calculus of international circuit developmental economists.

Because so much is being written and said about the problem of population worldwide, I believe that Dr. Stycos' statement deserves wide attention.

Unlike so many today, Dr. Stycos is aware that population control is not a panacea nor an unmixed blessing to the United States or the developing countries. His concern that the individual's right to choose not be violated is an essential one which all too often seems to go unnoticed these days.

In order to acquaint my colleagues further on this expert's ideas, I insert his paper in the RECORD at this point and urge the attention of my colleagues to it.

The article follows:

DEFUSING THE POPULATION BOMB IN LATIN AMERICA

(By J. Mayone Stycos, director, International Population Program, Cornell University)

The remarkable change in the national attitude toward family planning was symbolized this October by President Johnson's acceptance of the Margaret Sanger Award for his "vigorous and farsighted leadership in bringing the United States Government to enunciate and implement an affirmative, effective population policy at home and abroad." [1] Only a decade ago, when the very mention of Margaret Sanger's name in official circles was risqué, President Eisenhower made it clear that family planning was not the business of the U.S. government. Few could have predicted that in 1966 the President of the United States would say, "It is essential that all families have access to information and services that will allow freedom to choose the number and spacing of their children within the dictates of individual conscience." [2]

The change has been long in coming, is without doubt in the right direction, and is being welcomed by a number of countries. But there are a number of warning signals from Latin America, where North American promotional activity in the population sphere has been quite active over the past three years.

When, for example, the news was announced in Brazil last August that the Brazilian government was planning to seek U.S. assistance in dealing with population problems, it provoked a torrent of generally unfavorable comment in Brazilian newspapers. One Brazilian Chamber Deputy charged that the overpopulated United States wished to keep Brazilian population down so that North Americans could occupy their territory; another that U.S. pharmaceutical companies were behind the plot, and stil another that the U.S. fears being outnumbered by the developing countries.

Another recent example is provided by the statement of the Peruvian delegate to UNICEF, made in leading the defeat earlier this year of a proposal that this organization give assistance in the family planning area:

"The delegate of Peru, voicing the views of other Latin American delegates, agreed that countries like India and Pakistan have overwhelming population growth. He explained that Latin America, however, has 'empty lands and untapped resources' and if UNICEF gets itself involved in population control, rich nations might be tempted to reduce economic aid and concentrate on birth control assistance instead." [3]

A similar fear was expressed by the Ambassador of Chile last May. In a speech to the U.S. National Conference on Family Planning, Rademiro Tomic noted that family planning ". . . is a problem which cannot be used as a lever for the international egotism of the rich nations, in allowing them to evade their duties of assistance and solidarity with the developing nations." [4]

These are serious charges made by serious, sincere and important Latin Americans. They are not uncharacteristic of the tenor of criticism voiced by intellectuals as part of the intense public debate now going on in Latin America. They are typical both in their omission of the religious issue and in the inclusion of deep suspicions concerning U.S. motives in encouraging family planning. Now that the Church itself is reconsidering the morality of family planning, Latin American leaders can no longer ignore the question. The combination of pressure from the U.S. and the removal of earlier Church tabus on public discussion has compelled Latin's leadership to take the matter seriously—and seriously in Latin America means politically.

Nationalism. Often fueled by anti-American sentiments, nationalism is a powerful force cutting across political identifications in Latin America. With reference to population, however, its manifestations on the right are somewhat different from those of the left. In large countries such as Brazil and Argentina for example, nationalists of the right argue that a larger population is needed to develop the vast interior and make the nation strong. For example, during the August debate in Brazil over the possibility of U.S. aid on population problems, Dr. Fabio Fonseca, President of the Belo Horizonte Regional Council of Medicine, stated that Brazil needs a population twice its present size in order to settle the vast empty spaces of the country. He warned that "the yellow race which is becoming more and more numerous, needs space to live and will not hesitate to seek uninhabited places like the immense Brazilian regions if this settlement is not promoted." [5]

A representative of the Brazilian Chamber charged that population control was being "imposed on us by a country with the dimensions of Brazil but with 300 million people, giving the impression that the American people with their land already overpopulated is concerning itself with our empty spaces and intends to occupy our territory." [6]

A feature article in *O Povo* claimed that the key to Brazilian prosperity lies in her beds and hammocks. It asked for more population so that her lands will cease to figure in the schemes of Western or Eastern imperialists as reserves of natural resources or vital space. "Brazilians," the article concludes, "let us continue loving and proliferating. God did not give us all this greatness for the installation of abortion or sterilization industries. Onward! To the children!" [7]

On the issue of family planning nationalism causes the rightists to reject American cultural and moral values while gladly accepting its dollars. As stated by the Archbishop of Brazilia, Dom José Newton de Almeida Batista, "Give us dollars and we shall be powerful, provided that we also grow in number so that we can take possession of the immense territory God gave us." [8] Even more pointed was the headline in the conservative Catholic Peruvian monthly ERPA: *"Latin America Needs Dollars, Not Pills."* Under a photograph of President Johnson mounted on a horse it notes "From his Texas ranch, Johnson directs the control of births in Latin America. What about nonintervention, Mr. President?" [9] The invasion of foreign morality disturbs both religious and secular rightists, for it is a form of "psychic imperialism" which imperils spiritual and cultural values viewed as close to the heart and soul of the nation. The abortion of national growth along with the substitution of alien values is a combination especially unsavory to nationalists of the right.

While nationalists of the right want dollars instead of pills, nationalists of the left feel Latin America can afford neither. Both dollars and pills are regarded as ameliorative measures to shore up a crumbling society whose demise had much better be brought about by revolution. Three Colombian university professors expressed the idea this way: [10]

"Birth control is dangerous because it can become a distraction, or a justification for the bourgeoisie to reject change. . . . It might prevent the agrarian reform from ever taking place."

"With our system of production we can support about 10 million. Since we have 17 million we are overpopulated, but if our pattern of production were altered we could support 50 million or more. The reason why they want birth control is that they don't want a technical revolution. Birth control is a palliative measure which cannot lead to anything."

"Birth control is being proposed as a panacea, which is utopic, false and treacherous."

The following citation from the Brazilian newspaper *Correio de Manha* of August 10 illustrates the mix of nationalist and reformist sentiments:

"Neo-malthusianism is manipulated by the big laboratories . . . and pharmaceutical houses. . . . The reactionary attitude is not that of the Catholic Church but of the family planners . . . for commercial reasons, out of North American geopolitical interests (so there will not be a prevalence of underdeveloped populations, or Asiatics, or U.S. Communists) and out of fear of structural reforms. . . . Brazil, lacking in mechanical resources, depends for her economic progress on her working force. It should not be with birth control financed by the National Development Bank and the Alliance for Progress or foreign enterprises that our country will succeed in developing herself, but through drastic modification of the social and economic structures." [11]

Marxism. In addition to the generalized suspicions of U.S. motives which cuts across political boundaries in Latin America, there is a deep ideological basis for opposition to controls on population growth. Marxian economics and social philosophy have had a profound effect on Latin American intellectuals, whether or not they can be considered "Marxists." In order to understand Latin American thought, therefore, it is necessary to understand something of the Malthusian-Marxist controversy.

Both Malthus and Marx were centrally concerned with the explanation and cure of human misery and poverty. For Marx the cause was social and institutional, and the cure, accordingly, was the revolutionary introduction of a new institutional framework—socialism. While he saw overpopulation as possible, indeed often encouraged, in a capitalistic society, he did not view it as a problem of any consequence in a socialist state. Malthus saw the cause of poverty as essentially biological and physical, rooted in man's instincts toward laziness and sexuality on the one hand, and in the finite nature of food and resources on the other. His solution was accordingly individual—the curbing of the sexual drives and the stimulation of individual effort by competition—a distinctly counterrevolutionary prescription. The Malthusian approach was a damper to Socialist optimism concerning man's ability to abolish misery by abolishing his social and economic systems. In Europe Malthusian and Marxist organizations competed bitterly, with the Socialists convinced that birth control was capitalism's last remaining hope for a preservation of the status quo. Pro-natalist fuel was added to the anti-Malthusian arguments, as a consequence of the Soviet

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Footnotes at end of speech.

Union's huge losses of manpower in the World Wars. Violent verbal attacks such as the following were not infrequent in the Stalinist period:

"Masquerading as scientists and philanthropists, these lackeys of American monopolies openly advocate cannibalism and try to justify the demoniacal plans for the mass extermination of peoples. . . . Bloody wars, the atom bomb and other means of mass extermination of peoples, the devouring of nations by nations—such are the concepts of the blood thirsty ravings of present day Malthusians." [12]

Throughout the fifties and early sixties, the Soviet bloc in the United Nations consistently argued that the West was blaming the failures of Colonialism on population increase, and that birth control was a tactic to divert attention from the needs for basic reforms. Typical excerpts from discussions held at the United Nations Population Commission only three or four years ago are given below:

"The theories of Malthus and their modern variants had been used as a pretext to distract attention from the abject poverty of the under-developed countries. The economic backwardness of those countries could not be explained away by such theories; it was the result of colonialist domination and exploitation. Malthusian and neo-Malthusian theories were unscientific, reactionary and unworthy of United Nations support. The best way of solving demographic problems was to accelerate economic development and to promote international trade on a just and equal basis. Disarmament too could play its part. The population problem did not arise in the Ukraine for there socialist planning ensured that economic development far outstripped demographic growth." [13]

"Demographic growth was therefore not the real problem and there was no justification for blaming it for the difficulties encountered by the developing countries in their economic advancement. Those difficulties were mainly due to economic backwardness, to the exploitation from which those countries had suffered at the hands of the capitalist countries and to the ineffectiveness of their policy of accelerated development. The problem could be solved only through resolute effort and radical economic and social reforms." [14]

"There had been references to a population explosion presenting a threat even more serious than nuclear weapons. Some Western circles were making use of those neo-Malthusian ideas to distract world public opinion from the real causes of the poverty of the under-developed countries, by attributing economic backwardness to excessively rapid population growth, rather than to long years of exploitation in the colonial era. Efforts were being made to use the United Nations to spread propaganda on that subject and to disseminate theories which were at variance with reality." [15]

In the late 40's so keenly opposed was the Soviet Union to the very concept of birth control that they fought against the inclusion of "such abominable words" as "prevention of births" and "malthusianism" in the United Nations *Demographic Dictionary*.[16]

By the 60's however, there were major public programs of abortion and contraception in virtually all Communist nations. Although these are justified, probably quite sincerely, as maternal welfare and anti-illegal abortion measures rather than as population control, they doubtless caused some strains on the ideology. For whatever reason, that lowered birth rates might not be undesirable in the developing countries has been increasingly admitted in the 60's, but only if these occur as a result of prior changes in the economic and social structure. So intent have some writers been to demonstrate that low birth rates are an effect rather than a cause of development that they sometimes seem to believe that fertility declines magically; at the very least without artificial birth control:

"In Europe, various artifical means of lowering the birthrate had been applied, in keeping with the pseudoscientific views of Malthus; but the actual reasons for the decline had had no connection whatsoever with Malthusian philosophy. Three main factors tended to reduce birth rates: industrialization, rising material and cultural levels of living, and increased participation by women in national economic, cultural and political life. The operation of those factors would cause the birth rate in underdeveloped countries to decline in coming years; a decline was in fact already noticeable in some countries, including India. His country had been accused of paying no heed to the threat to the world economy posed by present rates of population growth and of taking no steps to meet it; but that criticism was unwarranted. The USSR had never ignored the facts of population growth; but it felt that the artificial ways of limiting population growth advocated by the neo-Malthusians were inhuman and that in time, through the operation of the factors he had mentioned, the birth rate would drop of its own accord." [17]

The most recent indications are that Soviet ideologists are not so far from their Western counterparts. In the illustrations below, an influential Soviet writer suggests that fertility control can accelerate the developmental process:

"The basic difference between the neo-Malthusians and the Marxists is not that the former propose various measures for limiting the birth rate while the latter unconditionally reject them all. The whole point is the relative importance both attach to these measures. The neo-Malthusians impose measures to limit the birth rate in order to avoid progressive social change in society. As for the Marxists, they feel there can be no demographic solution to the vital problems facing mankind. Their solution assumes first and foremost rapid economic development and profound social change. Demographic measures are no panacea for economic difficulties and social evils. A scientific population policy which encourages both an increase in birth control and in some cases a substantial reduction in others may serve as an important secondary means for markedly accelerating social progress." [18]

Marxist Influence on Latin American Thought. Whether through the writings of Marx himself or through his present-day exponents in Europe and China, Marxist ideology on population continues to have a powerful influence on intellectuals of all persuasions but the far right. Consequently the initial reaction of the typical intellectual to the question of population growth is that the real problems are social and economic, and that any other view must be concealing ulterior motives. The need for basic social and economic reform, moreover, is obvious to virtually all persons of influence in Latin America. The right talks about it, the center means it, and the left means it right now. Mass education, industrialization, agrarian reform, more equitable distribution of wealth, health and happiness are the ingredients which vary in priority, timing and means of accomplishment; but nearly everyone is concerned that somehow and sometime they be realized. These needs are so crushing, so obvious and so imminent that to talk of anything else appears to many only a diversionary tactic.

Nevertheless, there are some stark facts of population growth facing Latin America, rates of growth never experienced by Europe before or after Malthus and Marx. Increasingly intellectuals are admitting that population growth is a problem, but for some it is just the kind of irritant needed to precipitate basic reforms in the economic and social structure.[19] As phrased by Chile's Ambassador to the U.S.:

"Probably the single most important factor promoting the process of modernization in the underdeveloped societies is *precisely* the social pressure created by population growth? . . . What would the effect be of reducing the social tensions due to population growth, in the semi-feudal and oligarchical societies of so many nations of the Third World? Could it not be that a successful birth control program carries with it the seeds of self-destruction for its principal objective of modernization?" [20]

Or as phrased by a Colombian University Professor:

"Population growth can have a very positive role because it can break the vicious circle. If the pressures are very large, the society has to feed many people and this need can create something new . . . like the great intellectual advance during the population explosion in classical Athens . . . it can force new ideas and can bring about the transformation of the status quo."

While few socialists admit that population growth could be a problem in a socialist state, in the light of the pattern of recent political developments in Latin America, some socialist thinkers are becoming less optimistic about the imminence of revolution. What if the socialist state is a long time in coming? Is population increase really going to accelerate its occurrence? May population control be employed to assuage the misery of the pre-revolutionary period?

"Given our political system and the small likelihood of change, the conservative theory that you must control fertility because the economic systems can't take care of people's needs makes more sense . . . but if we had a good revolutionary government then we should push for another alternative, as was done by Stalin who gave prizes for mothers of large families."

"The revolution is not brought about by the increase in numbers but by the consciousness of the people. To try to increase population would be falling in the absurdity of trying to increase misery in order to try to solve it."

"Some say that birth control will delay the revolution. This is a simplification of Marxist theory. . . . The more poverty and misery exists, the greater the probability of revolutions. But it doesn't take into account that the masses of the poor are totally lacking in revolutionary conscience, and that things are not likely to change."

The dilemma is an agonizing one for the leftist thinker, for while he basically disapproves of the birth control solution, he must consider it in some indefinite short run, if only to slow the pace of accelerating misery.

". . . So we have two arguments working: one of them is that we should be working toward the revolution and the more people want to join the revolution the better. The other is that since the revolution is going to fail then we should have birth control to avoid the vain suffering of the people."

"If all this misery is necessarily going to continue, then it is necessary to opt for birth control to at least avoid more people born only to end in misery and starvation. . . . While the revolution is brewing it would be just decent to supply the population with the means they need if they want to practice birth control."

"I am lecturing to physicians about birth control and I cannot make up my mind on whether we can make policy for everybody or whether this is mainly a problem of the individual and the solution lies in the individual's mind. . . . Can we sacrifice the well-being of a generation or two in order to increase our dubious expectations of the fu-

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Footnotes at end of speech.

ture? We often say 'Let the population grow fast so that pressures of the status quo are increased and change comes about." But do we have the right to make such judgments on the entire population or should we instead concentrate on curing the problems of the family as an institution itself."

While the politicians, social scientists and clergy are concerned about the population question, the medical profession is doing something about it. In Colombia, the Association of Medical Faculties has been given $300,000 to train the nation's physicians in family planning techniques. In Chile, the major hospitals in the major cities supply modern birth control methods, and even in Brazil a private family planning association is gaining momentum under high level medical leadership. Indeed, such activities in combination with a relatively permissive stance on the part of Church spokesmen have led various experts and enthusiasts to conclude that the "birth control battle is more or less over in Latin America."

It is quite true that many members of the medical profession in a number of Latin American countries have accepted the principle that the public deserves contraceptive services as a means of preventing illegal abortions, and that the Church has not reacted aggressively to such principles or programs. This is a remarkable story in itself, and represents a revolutionary change in medical opinion. The change, however, has been much less profound among non-medical groups, who figure more prominently in policy making circles in Latin America. It should be pointed out, that while medical men in Latin America may generally be to the left of the American Medical Association, they are generally considered to be politically conservative. Accordingly, the kind of concerns expressed by intellectuals in this paper are more rarely articulated by physicians, and are almost never expressed to American birth control enthusiasts. On the other hand, in those areas where leftist physicians are a powerful force, they can become a particularly potent influence against population control. Thus the executive committee of the Guanabara Medical Association (Brazil) described by a New York Times writer as a group of "left-wing and anti-American physicians," announced in December that they are preparing draft legislation to prohibit the production and sale of contraceptive pills and devices in Brazil.[21]

Further, a positive stance on the part of the Church should be a mixed blessing. Basic agreement with the Church on population problems and family planning has always been a mild embarrassment to the left. Should the Church move to a pro-birth control policy it would help to consolidate leftist opposition to birth control, since such a policy would make consistent the socialist views of the reactionary character of the Church and the reactionary character of population control. In short, the battle is not yet over.

The United States and Population Control. Even when widespread birth control services are accepted there will be serious questions about their role in the society and the role of the United States assistance should play. Few of the Colombians interviewed objected to U.S. aid for research or for purely technical assistance. As one respondent put it:

"At the level of research it is very good . . . but the policy to be followed should not be determined by them, the foreigners. They always suggest and that should not be because their suggestions are often taken too seriously, and they are very often bad."

Or another, who had termed birth control "utopian, false and treacherous" said with respect to aid on family planning:

"We have to learn how to receive gracefully all that is knowledge or the product of culture, all that is science and technology, all that can help us."

It might appear that in reality there is little danger of the U.S. determining what policy Latin American nations should follow, but there is evidence that the U.S. line on population control is not only becoming clearer but harder.

"There can no longer be any doubt in the administration or the country that this Congress was determined to defuse the population bomb," announced Senator Tydings recently.[22] Explosive as such an activity might appear, there were signs that indelicate approaches were on the horizon. As early as mid 1965, Senator Clark told the U.S. Senate that "A.I.D. should be advocating the institution of voluntary family programs *as a necessary condition* to meeting the rising tide of unfed mouths and unfulfilled aspirations in these countries . . . and thus preventing American aid from being poured down a rat-hole. A.I.D. should move on from its attitude of limited response to initiatives made by aided governments, to an attitude of *active proselytizing of the cause of voluntary family planning*, in the many countries where that would be appropriate."[23]

Was the U.S. going to enforce birth control by holding up assistance on food, health and economic development? What did President Johnson mean, many wondered, when he announced on January 20, 1966 that "the hungry world cannot be fed *until* and *unless* the growth in its resources and the growth in its population come into balance."[24] Was it true, as stated in a recent discussion of the Food for Peace Bill that "Population control . . . by implication at least is mentioned as one of the elements to be considered in continuing U.S. aid."[25] Was there any special significance in Orville Freeman's echoing the President's view of the superior value of investments in birth control?[26]

Latin American officials who had seen a withdrawal of North American support for health programs began to wonder if they were being told to stem life rather than to heal it. As the then Minister of Health of Peru put it in what the journal *Caretas* termed a "sensational revelation": "The U.S. is willing to help in a campaign for the control of births but not in one to reduce the rates of death."[27] If health has been cut back, what next? Is this not what lurks behind UNCTAD Secretary General Paul Prebisch's statement that lowering birth rates is not "an alternative to a broad policy of economic development?"[28]

Perhaps the burdens of the space race, hot and cold wars and the development of nuclear facilities were causing the U.S. to look to solutions cheaper than economic development. "Heavy investments (for space research, etc.)" pointed out the Peruvian Minister of Health in explaining the "pessimistic" or Malthusian position of the developed nations, "are part of the struggle for world supremacy . . . (the developed countries) are concerned about the competing demands for investments involved in this struggle."[29]

Government economists had for some time been developing elaborate economic rationalizations for the transfer of funds from the "rat-hole" of economic aid to the halo of family planning for increased per capita product. Thus, a former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Systems Analysis, told the World Population Conference in 1965 that "If national economic resources were devoted to retarding population growth *rather than accelerating production growth*, these resources could be one hundred or so times more effective in raising some less developed countries outputs per head."[30] In case such a handsome margin of profit did not seem adequate to justify the risks, the bomb defusion experts soon produced an even more compelling argument. As stated (unofficially) by a social scientist in the Post-attack Division of the Office of Civil Defense:

"Rapid population growth rates have made economic growth and political stability increasingly difficult to maintain in some parts of the world, thereby adding to the need for programs and forces *to help maintain internal order and to defend against guerrilla* warfare."[31]

The culmination of the utilitarian school of thought was reached in President Johnson's San Francisco speech on the occasions of the Twentieth Anniversary of the United Nations, on June 25, 1965. Confirming many Latin's worst fears in an admirably clear and succinct sentence, he stated: "Let us act on the fact that less than five dollars invested in population growth is worth a hundred dollars invested in economic growth." Many believe that Pope Paul the Sixth's U.N. message was a direct reply to this new kind of economic calculus. In a statement which, perhaps mercifully, achieved much more space in the Latin American press than did the President's he suggested the need to increase the bread rather than decrease the number of guests at the banquet of life.

The Chilean Ambassador to the U.S. answered the argument on its own terms, "Are we looking for a cheap solution or the best solution?" he asked. ". . . it could be that the optimum return would result from our choosing the 90 dollars for economic development than the five for birth control."[32]

Other Latins asked themselves, if birth control programs were such a good investment, how was the Yankee capitalist, usually so astute in such matters, able to resist such an obvious bargain in the United States? That the United States has only been able to point proudly to Puerto Rico as its birth control showcase has not exactly been its strongest selling point in Latin America. However, the charge that the U.S. does not practice what it preaches was triumphantly removed in mid 1965 when, in the editorial words of the *New York Times*, "American Indians, Eskimos and natives of the islands the U.S. holds in trust in the Pacific have just been made beneficiaries of the first Federal program offering direct help in family planning and birth control."[33] (Little noted was the unappreciative reaction of the *Navajo Times*. "We have had Washington's stock reduction program forced on us. Now it would seem they are trying to sell us a people reduction program.")[34]

Conclusions. In Latin America, a region deeply dedicated in spirit to freedom and liberty, but often bound in fact to political tyranny and economic dependence, intellectuals are especially concerned about the freedom of choice for family matters. Indeed, even socialist opposition to population control often melts away if we speak of family planning for increasing the scope of rational decision making in the family:

"Birth control should represent an increase in the free will of the people. It should add one dimension to their possibility of choice. It should be free and available to everybody. . . . The Malthusian thesis that population growth increases misery is nothing but a comfortable way to justify the existing structures."

"The government should not interfere directly with family affairs. The only thing it should do is have intensive educational campaigns on family affairs, but not to reduce the size of the family . . . but to give parents an opportunity to have the children with responsibility, to space them adequately."

"It is not necessary to control population in Colombia to reduce the growth rate since the people are not even in possession of their own land. Birth control can be applied only as an increase in the free will of the Colombian people."

It takes a long time to get our government to move, but once it moves it is hard to slow it down or get it to deal with a light touch. Ideas such as "community development" or "development of the infra-structure", when they fail to achieve the impossible results ex-

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Footnotes at end of speech.

pected of them, get changed for new brands of magic. But birth control is no more magical than the others. In the short run it will do very little and in the long run its effectiveness will be proportional to investments in other aspects of social and economic development. This makes it no less important, and should not cause us to falter in continuing to discuss the question with our Latin American colleagues. But the discussion had better be a special blend of science and ethics aimed at the needs, aspirations, and ground rules of Latin Americans, rather than at the economic calculus of the international circuit developmental economists. So let us hear less of how many dollars a non-birth is worth, and more how (in the words of one of the Colombians) "whatever is done (will) be part of a wider program that would seek the ends of humanitarianism and above all, of economic justice." And for every reference to the President's San Francisco speech, let there also be one to his Foreign Aid Message to Congress this year, when he cautioned that "It is first a matter of individual and national conscience, in which we should not interfere." (February 1, 1966.)

While I favor the deep involvement of the United States, at home and abroad, in the field of family planning, I feel it must do so with discretion, with wisdom, and above all, with a human and humanitarian spirit. Discretion, wisdom and humanity are not among our most abundant resources, but they can be marshalled, and they can and should be marshalled by our government.

By having given unsolicited advice to our own government, let me give some to the nationalists and the reformists of Latin America. To the former I would suggest that they be less concerned with North American self interest and more concerned about their own. Or to quote a Colombian intellectual:

"I would think the Imperialist countries have easier ways to assure their dominance . . . even if it were part of an Imperialist plot it is good for the country if and when properly accompanied by some serious development plans."

And to the socialists, let me merely note the eloquent and humanitarian *prediction* of the Marxist Sociologist Jean Fréville:

". . . the people of the future . . . will be able to control the size of the population according to their potentials and needs. Far from reducing the birth rate in order to preserve the old hierarchy and to implement a reactionary Imperialist policy, they will be able to control the birth rate as a factor for balance, planning and progress." [35]

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[1] President Johnson's Special Message to Congress on Health and Education. March 1, 1966.

[2] *Planned Parenthood News,* November, 1966.

[3] Reported in *Survey of International Development,* Vol. III, No. 6, June 15, 1966.

[4] "Observaciones del Exemo. Sr. R. Tomic", May 5, 1966, Embajada de Chile, (mimeographed).

[5] *Diario de Minas,* August 8, 1966.

[6] *Diario de Minas,* August 17, 1966.

[7] *O Povo,* August 19, 1966.

[8] *Correio Braziliense,* August 6, 1966.

[9] *ERPA* (Peru) January, 1966.

[10] In the summer of 1966, as part of a project on Colombia conducted by Cornell's International Population Program, Sergio Sismondo conducted intensive interviews with 51 Colombia university professors of social science on the topic of economic development and population problems. Translated extracts from these interviews have been employed throughout the paper. Other quotations from Latin American periodicals and newspapers have also been translated by the International Population Program.

[11] *Correio de Manha,* August 10, 1966.

[12] A. Y. Popov, 1953. Cited in W. Petersen, *The Politics of Population* (N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor, 1964.)

[13] Mr. Kochubei (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) Population Commission, A/C. 2/Sr. 867, December 11, 1962.

[14] Mr. Serafimov (Bulgaria) Population Commission, A/C, 2/SR.875, December 18, 1962.

[15] Mr. Solodovnikov (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) Population Commission, E/SR.1246, April 9, 1963.

[16] A. Sauvy, *Fertility and Survival* (New York: Criterion Books, 1961) p. 204.

[17] Mr. Podyachikh (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), Population Commission, E/CN. 9/SR. 170, February 11, 1963.

[18] E. Arab-Ogly, *Literaturnaya Gazeta,* cited in *Atlas,* December, 1966.

[19] For elaboration see J. Mayone Stycos' "Opinions of Latin American Intellectuals on Population and Birth Control", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. 360, July, 1965.

[20] Tomic, *op. cit.*

[21] Juan de Onis, *New York Times,* December 5, 1966. In Chile prominent leftist physicans are among the top leadership of the family planning movement. Nationalism takes a much milder form in Chile, and a more detailed comparison with Brazil might be rewarding.

[22] Joseph D. Tydings, Speech to U.S. Senate, October 22, 1966.

[23] Joseph S. Clarke, Speech to U.S. Senate, June 14, 1965.

[24] *Population Crisis,* November, 1966.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] O. Freeman, Speech to Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Development Assistance Committee, July 21, 1966.

[27] "La Encuesta Hall", *Caretas,* August 28, 1964.

[28] Cited in *Alliance for Progress Weekly Newsletter,* February 7, 1966.

[29] Speech by Dr. Javier Arias Stella on the inauguration of the Peruvian Center of Population and Development Studies, Lima, January 14, 1965.

[30] Stephen Enke, World Population Conference, September, 1965. (Italics mine.)

[31] R. Lamson, "Needed Research for Population Policy", *American Behavioral Scientist,* Vol. IX, No. 6, 1966. It is stated that the article represents the views of the author, and not those of the Office of Civil Defense or the Department of the Army. (Italics mine.)

[32] R. Tomic, *op. cit.*

[33] "More Headway on Birth Control", *New York Times,* June 21, 1965.

[34] Cited in *Indian Voices,* October, 1965.

[35] E. Arab-Ogly, *op. cit.*

What's It Like To Be Poor?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, I am submitting for the Appendix of the RECORD the fifth of the series "What's It Like To Be Poor?"

The article follows:

WHAT'S IT LIKE TO BE POOR—PROBLEMS VARY FOR WELFARE WORKERS

(By Margaret Josten)

Some of the worst types in the human race get welfare checks—i.e., your money.

You read about them on the court pages.

They abuse and abandon their children. They get drunk. They brawl. They steal. They cheat to get welfare. They have five or six children by as many different men.

Ann Smith, one of the mothers interviewed for these articles, groans, "They make it bad for the rest of us."

What can be done about them?

Frederick A. Breyer, director of the Hamilton County Welfare Department, answers, "In some cases a lot can be done about them, in some cases very little can be done about them.

"In every case we can try to rescue the children from bad surroundings and do all in our power to keep them from repeating their parents' pattern of living."

State Rep. Robert E. Netzley (R., Miami County) is sponsoring in the Ohio Legislature a bill which would permit a woman on welfare to have only one illegitimate child.

All illegitimate children after the first one would be taken away from her and placed with relatives, in a foster home or with an agency.

Mr. Breyer takes a dim view of this proposal.

"Mr. Netzley's bill assumes that there is 'profit' in welfare for the recipient, that all illegitimate children are neglected by their mothers, that tax money could be saved by removing illegitimate children from their mothers and that the ADC rolls are constantly increasing.

"Based upon experience in Hamilton County, I disagree with all of these assumptions."

Mr. Breyer says children seriously neglected by their parents, whether the parents are on welfare or are self-supporting should be protected by protective case work and, if necessary, removal from the home by order of Juvenile Court.

"While protective removal is at times necessary for the safeguarding of children this is expensive and costs more than the Aid to Dependent Children family allowance," he warns.

Mr. Breyer says it is important to remember that in every city a small percentage of families—the so-called "hard core" families—give endless concern to the schools, the health department, the police, their landlords and the welfare department.

"It is simple justice to shout from the housetops that the overwhelming majority of people who receive help from the welfare department are honest, have never been arrested and are willing but unable to work," he emphasizes.

In 1966 the Hamilton County Welfare Department prosecuted 32 cases for fraud and took action resulting in the arrest of 331 persons for child neglect and non-support.

"These two groups involve less than 1% of those assisted by the Hamilton County Welfare Department," Mr. Breyer notes.

The Legal Services office is a major division of the Hamilton County Welfare Department.

It tracks down men who have abandoned their families to public assistance. This is not always easy since the men sometimes leave the state—as in the case of one mother interviewed for these articles.

Legal services also has an investigative unit which is called into action whenever a caseworker has reason to suspect a woman is not being honest about her sources of support.

The investigators are called "night raiders" or "night crawlers" by some of their more rabid critics.

Actually, says Mr. Breyer, the two investigators on the staff visit homes fairly early in the evening. They have orders to knock on doors and identify themselves. Never are they permitted to force their way into a client's home.

An average of 15 such night visits is made each week.

"In well over 90% of the investigators' cases they do not find any evidence (a man)," says Mr. Breyer.

Pollution: L.B.J. Takes a Half Step

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, the President has proposed that we stop pollution by launching an assault on our "smoke-stack industries." The Washington Evening Star, February 5, 1967, reports that the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, John W. Gardner, has proposed new standards aimed at the evaporating fumes from fuel tanks and carburetors. He pointed to the fact that an estimated 1 billion gallons of gasoline annually pollute the atmosphere as a result of evaporation from the gas tanks and carburetors of motor vehicles. The President and the Secretary have so far failed to attack the main problem which is primarily exhaust fumes from our automobiles. The greatest damage is being done by carbon monoxide and we must find a solution to this problem.

A recent editorial in the Peoria Journal Star, February 1, 1967, points out the political hazards of making pollution decisions. It states that we must put first things first: it is the exhaust from tens of thousands of automobiles that is largely responsible for causing the killing air pollution.

I ask that the Peoria Journal Star editorial be put in the RECORD at this point:

POLLUTION: LBJ TAKES A HALF STEP

The President's long awaited attack on air pollution has landed right where we said it would. No credit to us. It wasn't any trick to guess what his approach would be.

He has leveled the federal assault chiefly at "industries" contributing to "pollution" from their smoke stacks.

In fact, of course, this is the lesser part of the problem.

He has also put the federal government into the act on studying "diesel" exhaust.

The billowing smoke from a smokestack looks ominous. The exhaust of a passing diesel smells nasty.

Carbon monoxide on the other hand is odorless and invisible. All it does is fasten on the hemoglobin in the blood and poison you so that the oxygen can't get through.

We pour this blood-poisoner straight into the air, raw, from our automobiles. It is auto exhaust from tens of thousands of autos that have produced the killing "air pollution."

But that involves all of us . . . so who gets that part of the pollution problem? The President says that is up to the states!

Lyndon is no fool.

It's a lot more fun for a politician to attack "big business" than mess with a problem in which all the voters are participating themselves.

But, regardless of how tricky he is in approaching the problem, it seems clear that the "planners" are sneaking up on a multiangle attack against the "automobile society" which we have become.

What worries us is that they seem more concerned with what actions can avoid offending the public than with what actions can bring remedies without completely upsetting what has also become an "automobile economy."

That's going to be tricky enough without playing political games as a first priority.

One suspects that the real plan now is simply by "safety" and "antipollution" and other controls on production to make cars so blamed expensive that there will be fewer of these troublesome beasts for the government to worry about.

Thus, we'd reduce those problems, the highway problem, and the mass transport problem to boot.

But they obviously know, they have to be tricky. Taking our cars away from us is a touchy business, and that's what it boils down to.

We will doubtless attack everyone but the "drinking driver" who, in fact, is responsible for the biggest national problem of all connected with autos—more than half the staggering death and injury rate which not only dwarfs "pollution" but dwarfs the war!

Put first things first!

And, politically, that means industrial smoke stacks.

The Late Frederick B. Durkee, Mayor of North Tonawanda, N.Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY P. SMITH III

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, on December 19, 1966, a longtime friend of mine, Frederick B. Durkee, my successor as mayor of the city of North Tonawanda, N.Y., died unexpectedly at the comparatively young age of 55 years.

Fred Durkee was a good friend, a good mayor, a good leader, and a man of courtesy, of tact, and of integrity. His community was a better place because Fred Durkee was concerned about it and acted on that concern. A host of his friends and fellow citizens, in both of which categories I am proud to be, miss Fred but are privileged to have had the opportunity of knowing him.

An editorial about Fred Durkee, appearing in the Tonawanda News of December 21, 1966, expresses well the universal feelings of Fred Durkee's fellow citizens. I quote it as follows:

MAYOR DURKEE BROUGHT DIGNITY, SOUND LEADERSHIP TO CITY AFFAIRS

In a city noted for the turbulence of its politics, Frederick B. Durkee brought dignity to city government, and was ever the gentleman.

This is not the total summation of the career of this man who died unexpectedly Monday at the age of 55. But certainly it should figure prominently in history's assessment of his impact on North Tonawanda.

Friend or political foe, associate or critic, Mayor Durkee treated them all with courtesy and consideration that isn't always found in government. If he leaves this imprint on North Tonawanda politics, then his trip through the era will have been worthwhile.

Again, however, Mayor Durkee had more to offer his city. As alderman and council president as well as mayor, he was diligent in informing himself about city affairs and careful in arriving at conclusions. Once he did so, however, he left no doubt about where he stood. And his convictions dictated his actions.

It is to his everlasting credit that he made a serious effort to have North Tonawanda's antiquated municipal government overhauled. He appointed civic leaders to a committee to study the best course for the city to take in revamping its government. Then he named the charter revision commission which recently proposed an admirable solution to the ineffective charter under which the city now attempts to operate.

The voters' rejection of this charter last November certainly must not be blamed on Mayor Durkee. We know now that failing health reduced his strength and undoubtedly diminished the campaigning he normally would have done for the new charter.

Despite these health problems, Mayor Durkee continued to give the city his devotion, long hours of time and energy that a less dedicated person might have tried to conserve.

As a mayor, Frederick Durkee was a genuine asset to the people of North Tonawanda. As a man, he was a respected friend to thousands.

We join with the community in extending deep sympathy to his family.

Veterans Organizations React Favorably to the President's Message on Veterans' Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the reaction of the several veterans' organizations to the President's message of January 31, 1967, setting forth a positive program in behalf of the veterans of this country has been unusually strong.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the text of several telegrams and communications which have been sent to the President on this subject:

JANUARY 31, 1967.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.:

The 1,350,000 members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States welcome your message to the Congress today outlining the steps you consider necessary if the Nation is to honor its commitment to Americans who have borne and today bear arms in defense of our liberty and for the cause of peace to which you are so personally dedicated. It is timely. It focuses attention on the unique sacrifice that a relative few Americans are making today in fulfilling their military obligation. You may count on the full support of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States in your efforts to fulfill the Nation's obligation to those who have borne the cost of conflict.

LESLIE M. FRY,
Commander-in-Chief, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

JANUARY 31, 1967.

JOHN SMITH,
Editor, V.F.W. Magazine,
Kansas City, Mo.:

Following is statement made by me:

I commend the President for his fine message to the Congress outlining the changes and improvements he sees as necessary to give substance to the Nation's desire to honor every man who wears the uniform of his country. The President has wisely directed the attention of every American to the diverse needs of our veterans in today's world.

He has focused the Nation's attention to the fact that it has not fully discharged its responsibility to those of our young men who have already placed us in their debt but whose lives and major contribution to our Nation fortunately still lie ahead of them. And for those who have perished in Vietnam and other battlefronts the President's message reminds us that we must look to their families and loved ones and serve their needs.

The President has outlined also the course we must take if we are to sustain the programs we have laid down as necessary for the veteran of past wars and his survivors—those who have come down the long road together.

We in the V.F.W. are proud to stand together with the President in pursuit of the goals he has outlined in his message just as we in past years have supported the course he has set for the Nation in Vietnam.

The V.F.W. has spoken out forcefully on the needs of the veteran. We are particularly pleased that the President has authorized a continuing study of veterans programs. We offer our full support and cooperation in this venture and commend the President for the wisdom of this action. I have today sent the following wire to President Johnson: "The 1,350,000 members of the V.F.W. of the U.S. welcome your message to the Congress today outlining the steps you consider necessary if the Nation is to honor its commitment to Americans who have borne and today bear arms in defense of our liberty and for the cause of peace to which you are so personally dedicated. It is timely. It focuses attention on the unique sacrifice that a relative few Americans are making today in fulfilling their military obligation. You may count on the full support of the V.F.W. of the U.S. in your efforts to fulfill the Nation's obligation to those who have borne the cost of conflict."

LESLIE M. FRY,
Commander in Chief.

FEBRUARY 1, 1967.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.:

The American Legion commends and applauds your landmark message, to the Congress of the United States, dealing with servicemen and veterans. We endorse your eloquent expression of the principle that war veterans have earned a special place in our society. We are encouraged by your determination to grant our veterans full recognition for their service in Vietnam and in other troubled areas of the world.

Although we await details on some of the specific proposals, I wish to express the appreciation of the American Legion for the program you have recomemnded to the Congress. There are, of course, additional needs that require attention. We note that you have directed the Administrator of Veterans Affairs to conduct a study aimed, in part, at insuring that the government is meeting fully its responsibilities to all those to whom we owe so much. We look forward to early action by the administrator leading, ultimately, to a veterans program as sound and as generous as this Nation can provide.

JOHN E. DAVIS,
National Commander.

JANUARY 31, 1967.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.:

May I, as National Commander of the Disabled American Veterans, express my congratulations and heartfelt appreciation for your unprecedented message communicated today to the Congress recommending prompt and favorable consideration of legislation described as the "Vietnam Conflict Servicemen and Veterans Act of 1967." Indeed you deserve the high praise and sincere thanks of all America's veterans. The wide range of benefits set forth in your message will serve to make the life of the veteran and his family more meaningful, more rich and rewarding. The recommended benefits will also serve to offer visible proof of your deep interest and sense of concern for all former servicemen. I believe approval of your recommendations is a matter of urgent necessity if we are to remove inequities presently existing in veterans programs.

The DAV heartily supports the legislation and we urge its early enactment.

JOHN W. UNGER, Sr.,
National Commander, Disabled American Veterans, Washington, D.C.

JANUARY 31, 1967.

The Honorable LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.:

AMVETS is gratified that you chose to make the important subject of America's servicemen and veterans, a separate "Definite Action" message to the Congress of the United States.

AMVETS commends you for your compassionate and comprehensive proposal on behalf of those who have borne the burden of the Nation's troubled times, both in the past and present.

Your recognition of the importance of these matters, vital to such a large segment of our people, is most reassuring to all those who share the responsibility of representing and furthering the interests of our Nation's servicemen and women.

This clear and detailed program will do much to assure the necessary consideration and favorable action by the 90th Congress on your proposed "Vietnam Conflict Servicemen and Veterans Act of 1967".

A. LEO ANDERSON,
AMVETS National Commander.

JANUARY 31, 1967.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.:

We would like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation for your message to Congress, and your consideration of the Nation's defenders, past and present. Your proposal to grant a 5.4 per cent increase in pensions and your request that the Congress safeguard those pensions so that no veteran will have his pension reduced as a result of increase in social security is indeed heartwarming news, particularly to our elder citizens, the veterans of World War One, living on fixed incomes, who looked to you for surcease.

This action on your part will be backed fully by the Veterans of World War One of the U.S.A., Inc.

WILLIAM H. WALKER,
National Commander, Veterans of World War I, USA, Inc.

The PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.:

Your message to the Congress of January 31, 1967, regarding America's Servicemen and Veterans has the wholehearted support of the officers and members of the Blinded Veterans Association.

The six major objectives of your proposed Vietnam Conflict Servicemen and Veterans Act of 1967 strengthen and help to complete the outstanding advances made in this area during the past two years of your administration.

Please be assured that we always stand ready to support you and the Administrator of Veterans Affairs in the passage of forward-looking legislation on behalf of all veterans.

JAMES F. C. HYDE, JR.,
National President, Blinded Veterans Association.
Washington, D.C.

CONGRESSIONAL MEDAL OF
HONOR SOCIETY,
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
February 1, 1967.

Hon. WILLIAM J. DRIVER,
Administrator of Veterans' Affairs,
Veterans' Administration,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. DRIVER: I read the President's message to Congress entitled "America's Servicemen and Veterans" and I agree wholeheartedly with the entire message.

Specifically, I was pleased to see that the Administration is attempting to elevate the benefits of those serving and who have served from August 5, 1964 to the level enjoyed by veterans of World War II and the Korean Conflict. Should the President's proposals be enacted into law, it will lend added comfort and support to our servicemen. They will certainly realize that the American people are behind them and wish to honor them for a job well done.

While the Society is precluded by its Constitution from supporting legislation, I do want to express my personal feelings and I am quite sure that individually, each Medal of Honor man feels as I do.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS J. KELLY,
President.

JANUARY 31, 1967.

Hon. WILLIAM J. DRIVER,
Administrator, Veterans Administration,
Washington, D.C.:

The Paralyzed Veterans of America was gratified to have received a copy of the President's message to the Congress on the legislation for the servicemen and veterans. A progressive program such as was outlined is just action richly deserved by all of these men. You will receive our full support and cooperation in the fulfillment of these programs.

HOWARD L. BENNETT,
Executive Secretary, Paralyzed Veterans of America, Inc.

The Honorable LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
The President,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.:

The Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America endorses the six major objectives for proposed veterans legislation as outlined in your January 31st message to the Congress. We welcome your recommendations as the basis of a meaningful program calling for necessary adjustments in existing laws that would go a long way towards removing inequities. We are gratified that our own long held concerns coincide with your requests for an increase in pensions for the aging veteran and expanded educational opportunities for the younger veterans, always a sound national investment. Moreover, your sixth recommendation gives voice to just complaints by older veterans who unfortunately have been penalized rather than benefited by social security and Federal retirement benefits increases. We pledge you, Mr. President, our enthusiastic support for your proposals and our diligent cooperation and implementation.

MALCOM A. TARLOV,
National Commander,
Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A.

Hon. WILLIAM J. DRIVER,
Administrator of Veterans' Affairs,
Veterans' Administration:

The following telegram was sent to President Johnson quote: We of the Military Order of the Purple Heart of U.S.A., Inc., are in accord with your forthcoming proposals to Congress concerning veterans' legislation and commend you for your leadership and your concern for veterans. We enthusiastically support your recommendation of a "Vietnam Veterans Act" to increase educational benefits, liberalize the S.G.L.I. program and provide for war time benefits for all Vietnam veterans. Your additional proposal to provide cost of living increases for beneficiaries under the Veterans' Administration pension program and particularly to make provision to prevent overall decreases in retirement income of pensioners who receive increases in social security and other Federal retirement. We also endorse your direction for an overall study of the entire veteran benefits program.

John H. Burgess,
National Commander,
Military Order of the Purple Heart.

Immediate Past National Commander Claude L. Callegary's Statement Re President's Special Message to Congress

February 1, 1967.

Claude L. Callegary, immediate Past National Commander of the Disabled American Veterans, member of the Maryland Veterans Commission and Baltimore attorney, warmly applauded the President's special message to Congress to grant full wartime benefits to Vietnamese veterans. Mr. Callegary said that this was part of the program of the Disabled American Veterans and he noted this was the first time that a president had gone to Congress with a special message dealing only with veterans' benefits.

Mr. Callegary, who returned from Vietnam last week, stated that the fighting men in Vietnam have a deep faith in the President's action in Vietnam and believe this action further shows his deep concern for their welfare.

Teach United Statesism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee I have been concerned at the failure of our State Department to effectively express pro-U.S. positions abroad and with many Members I share the disappointment and frustrations at the failure of America educational institutions to emphasize the virtue of our economic and political structure.

The Lansing, Ill., Journal carried a most impressive editorial on January 19, 1967, entitled "Teach United Statesism," which I insert in the Record at this point:

Teach United Statesism

The greatest beneficiaries of the United States free enterprise, free market economy are the young people, who have to get started in life. They do not realize that without private enterprise and property ownership there would be no real freedom of choice for the individual—he would depend on the state for employment.

Strange as it may seem, in a nation that takes pride in boasting of its academic freedom, little of the bread and butter principles of economics that spell freedom of opportunity, and the right to profit by one's own efforts, are taught in our schools and colleges.

How many high school and college students, for example, realize that representative government cannot continue to exist in this country unless the individual retains the privilege of making his living without regard to political considerations?

How many can see that government ownership and domination of industry must be continuously resisted, not because industry is sacred, it can be controlled, but because the freedom of the individual is inseparable from the future of private enterprise?

How many realize that so long as representative government is the system desired by U.S. citizens, it is imperative that the people be constantly informed of the part private enterprise and private employment play in maintaining that system?

If the basic principles of economics on which our nation was founded were stressed more in our schools, young people would gain greater respect for, and appreciation of the privileges and opportunities they enjoy under our representative form of government. They would acquire love for a country that gives them freedom.

Of the billions of dollars in federal tax funds that are being given our schools and colleges some should be earmarked to teach the principles of economics, which have assured unmatched personal liberty, religious freedom and material prosperity to United States citizens.

Shall We Import Sugar?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ODIN LANGEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of the Congress a Philippine news article that points up one more of the inequities in current U.S. sugar policy. This article, in the respected Weekly Nation of the Philippines, points up a unique situation that is happening in world sugar circles while the U.S. sugarbeet producers are being denied a fair share of our domestic consumption.

The article follows:

Shall We Import Sugar?

(By Miguel O. Villaflor)

President Marcos (of the Philippines) is set to institute drastic measures in order to avert an expected shortage of 249,000 tons in the country's export sugar to the United States next year. A plan seriously studied, it was reported, is to import enough sugar to fill our domestic needs and enable us to export all locally produced sugar to the United States.

Last August the Philippines already gave up an opportunity to earn $14 million by rejecting an additional sugar quota of 100,000 tons allocated to us by the United States because of the failure of Puerto Rico and Virgin Islands to fulfill their sugar commitments. Another additional proration of 25,000 tons arising from increased internal consumption of sugar in the United States was similarly rejected last September. The Philippines did not have much sugar above its domestic requirements and its regular U.S. quota of 1,050,000 tons to export.

The abolition of the sugar quota system was seriously considered then as a sure and fast way of increasing sugar production to enable the Philippines to take advantage of additional U.S. quotas which were expected to recur and be repeated in the coming years. The proposal was hotly disputed by most of those to whom the Philippine sugar industry has been exclusively reserved in accordance with a list of planters and millers drawn up in 1934. It was argued that while scrapping quotas would no doubt jack up sugar production, a greater problem than underproduction might ensue: Overproduction which could lead to the disaster of the whole industry that was being aimed to be fully benefited. Pros and cons to the proposition were profusely offered and both sides presented weighty arguments that could not be disregarded.

The abolition of the quota system cannot be said to have been resolved. It appears nevertheless that the administration is partial to the idea of encouraging and establishing new sugar mill districts specially in Mindanao; this does not seem to be very definite yet. In the meantime, the Philippines already gave up this year the opportunity of earning substantial precious foreign exchange. And next year and in the following years until 1974 (the termination of the Laurel-Langley Agreement), the same course of action—rejecting U.S. sugar quotas—would be done unless some solutions to the deficiency in exportable sugar could be found.

The plan to import sugar from other sugar-producing countries may appear absurd and ridiculous. Here is a country buying uncommitted sugar in the world market for re-export to the United States or, exporting all the sugar it produced and then buying from others what it needs for its own consumption. Why not just accept and fill that portion of the additional sugar quotas which our production could absorb after allowing for local needs?

"The sugar shortage situation, however, cannot be resolved that simply. If the shortage is not made up, the Philippines would lose about $35-million in foreign exchange next year. In addition, the United States might reduce our quota and give it to other sugar-producing countries who could reliably supply the deficiency. If this happens, we would lose not only the $35-million but something like $600-million, from now until 1974.

"The sugar importation plan has very convincing merits. In the words of columnist Teodoro Valencia: 'The plan to import sugar to make up for our sugar lack while at the same time exporting our own sugar production to the USA may appear odd but it is a sensible one. Our sugar production has a preferential market in the United States. On the other hand, the sugar we will be buying will be sugar from countries with no fixed market for their production. We will be buying cheaper than we will be selling. What's wrong with that? That makes a lot of sense.' Our export sugar to the United States gives us an average price of P35 (pesos) per picul (133.33 pounds). On the other hand, the price of sugar in the world market is only about P8 per picul. We thus make a profit of P27 in the buy-and-sell transaction.

"Not a few, however, will challenge the reality of the alleged profit of P27 (about 5¼ cents per pound in U.S. currency). They would claim that while the sugar price in the world market is P8, the tax-paid landed cost in the Philippines would be very much higher. Chapter 17 of the Tariff Code imposes a customs duty of P25 per every 100 kilos, gross weight, of raw sugar imported into the Philippines. (The duty is very stiff to discourage, if not to make unprofitable, importation of sugar since the Philippines is a sugar-producing country.) If taxes are considered, the acquisition cost of imported sugar will be about P30 per picul.

"If the importation will be in replacement of domestic sugar which has been converted into export sugar and shipped to the United States, no private person will undertake the sugar importation. With a cost of P30, the domestic price per picul is only P25. On the other hand, if the private importer can export the imported sugar for his own account, he makes a profit of P5. And still further, if the private importer is somebody who has to meet an export quota in the United States and has also to sell in the local market, he just breaks even in the transaction. It appears that the government should be the party to import sugar if a clear profit of P27 is to be made, without conceding that taxes paid to the government are lost; they may be the loss of one businessman but the country as a whole is richer.

"Even granting that even the government cannot make profit in the sugar importation transaction as it is, it will still be advantageous to import sugar considering the consequences if we do not. If we do not resort to importation we are sure to lose P35 million next year and as a penalty, perhaps, the United States may reduce our quota and share it away to other suppliers. If this happens, we lose a total of $600-million in dollar earnings up to 1974. The fact, however, is, we are going to make money both ways—in the importation phase and in the export phase."

Massachusetts General Hospital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to inform this body that Massachusetts General Hospital, in my district, has been chosen by a panel of experts as the best hospital in the Nation.

This week Massachusetts General celebrates its 156th year of active service to the community. During this entire time the hospital has been known as one filled with dedicated, hard-working, intelligent, compassionate people. Citizens of the Greater Boston area and of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts have always considered themselves fortunate to have an institution of such high caliber serving them.

Some things at this great hospital have not changed for 156 years: the excellent care, the aura of comfort, the fine medical service. But in most fields Massachusetts General has been the leader in change, the first in innovation. In 1846 the first use of ether in hospital surgery was made, at MGH; in 1886 the first accurate diagnosis of appendicitis was made, at Massachusetts General. In 1905 Massachusetts General Hospital was the first hospital in the Nation to institute a social service unit. In 1925 Dr. James Howard Means set up ward IV as a joint research project with Harvard Medical School, and since that time Massachusetts General's progressive medical practice has grown along with its innovative medical research. The research in ward IV brought about an end to serious industrial hazards to workers in paint factories. A way was found to arrest a disabling form of adult rickets. The first successful operation on the heart covering was performed at MGH, an operation which led the way to the great advances in heart surgery. New and radical treatments for burns were begun at Massachusetts General following the disastrous fire at the Cocoanut Grove in 1942.

Today Massachusetts General is known as the finest hospital in the Nation. Its staff is dedicated to the treatment of disease and the end of pain and suffering. I am proud to have this hospital in my district. It stands for the best there is in medicine and hospital care. It has pioneered in the fields of research and social service. Its first 156 years have been fruitful ones; I am sure the next 156 will continue this great tradition.

I salute the doctors and the staff of the hospital and offer my heartiest congratulations to the board of trustees, and to Dr. John Knowles, president of this great institution.

State Department Responds to Editorial Comparing Sanctions of Rhodesia With Red Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the Nashville Banner of Nashville, Tenn., recently published an editorial entitled "Sanctions on Rhodesia—But None on Red Goods"—which drew a contrast between economic sanctions imposed upon Rhodesia by the United Nations and continuing trade with Communist-bloc nations in Eastern Europe.

The editorial was called to the attention of the Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State. Mr. Douglas MacArthur II, Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Affairs, replied in his behalf.

Because the editorial and the State Department response are of interest to my colleagues and the Nation generally, I ask that they be reprinted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The editorial and letter follow:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 24, 1967.

Hon. JOE L. EVINS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN EVINS: Secretary Rusk has asked me to reply to your letter of December 24, in which you expressed the concern of a number of your constituents over U.S. compliance with United Nations sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and the lack of sanctions against Communist countries. I regret that my reply has been delayed.

I wish first to touch on the broader aspects of our policy toward Southern Rhodesia and to explain why the United States supported the Security Council's decision to impose selective mandatory sanctions against that territory. Briefly, we did so because we considered that such action was clearly in the national interest of the United States.

The problem posed by the attempt of a racial minority in Southern Rhodesia to seize power illegally and perpetuate its domination over the vast majority of Rhodesians constitutes a basic threat to stability in Africa. The issues involved are particularly important to Africans, who are understandably aroused at colonial or racial repression. A failure to try to solve this problem would surely sharpen tensions throughout the southern half of the African continent. It might well lead to civil strife which would extend across international boundaries and involve other parties, including extremist elements.

I am sure you recognize the strategic importance of this vast continent, with the serious political and security implications that would be involved for the United States if Africa were to come under the domination of hostile elements. We therefore have a major stake in retaining our political influence in the area, in strengthening the forces of moderation there, in assisting African states to maintain their independence, and in helping to create conditions of reasonable stability that will minimize the risks for subversion and penetration. Our policy regarding Southern Rhodesia supports these ends.

The steps which we have agreed that the United Nations should take to deal with the Rhodesian problem are serious but limited ones. There were many demands in the UN and elsewhere for the use of force to bring down the Smith regime. The action taken by the Security Council with our support is designed, rather, to exercise effective pressures on the Rhodesian regime to bring about a peaceful negotiated solution.

I know there is concern both about the legal and precedental aspects of the Security Council's decision. Let me emphasize first that we are not dealing here with a case of interference in the internal affairs of a state. Southern Rhodesia is not recognized as an independent state by a single country. The sovereign authority over Southern Rhodesia resides with the United Kingdom. It was the UK which recognized in the first instance the threat to the peace inherent in the situation there and which turned to the Security Council for help in securing international assistance that would assure to the population of Southern Rhodesia its fundamental right of self-determination. The Security Council's decision, then, was not an intervention in the affairs of a state, but action taken in response to a request for assistance by the legitimate authority having sovereignty over the territory concerned.

Insofar as the precedental aspect is concerned, I would emphasize that each problem that comes before the Security Council is considered on a case-by-case basis. There are many factors involved in the question of Southern Rhodesia which are unique. Here we have witnessed an illegal seizure of power on racial grounds by a small minority bent on perpetuating a subjugation of the vast majority. Moreover, as I have indicated, the soverign authority for the territory has asked the UN to take measures that will permit the restoration of the full rights of the people of the territory. Finally, I would recall that each of the permanent members of the Security Council has the power to prevent the use of sanctions in any situation where it deems them to be inappropriate. The fact that the Security Council never previously invoked mandatory economic sanctions in the twenty-two year history of the UN demonstrates with what restraint the Organization resorts to such serious measures.

I enclose for your information a statement on the Rhodesian problem made by Ambassador Goldberg on December 29. I hope you will find it useful.

With respect to your concern about sanctions against Communist nations, I wish to point out that it is part of our over-all strategy toward the Soviet Union and the other Communist countries of Eastern Europe to prohibit the export to these nations of goods or technology which would make significant contribtuions to their military or economic potential in a way that would be detrimental to the national security and welfare of the United States. At the same time that we pursue this deterrent aspect of our strategy, however, we believe it is also essential that we do what we can to demonstrate to the Soviet Union and the other countries of Eastern Europe that their true interests do not lie in attempts at aggressive expansion but in seeking the well-being of their peoples through peaceful means. We beileve that holding out the prospect of trading in peaceful goods, and the negotiations and contacts that go with such trade, will help do this. This policy does not apply to Communist China, North Korea, North Viet-Nam and Cuba. Our embargo on trade with these countries is virtually total.

I hope these comments will help to answer your questions. Please feel free to call on me again if I can assist you further.

Sincerely yours,

DOUGLAS MACARTHUR II,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

[From the Nashville Banner, Dec. 15, 1966]

SANCTIONS ON RHODESIA—BUT NONE ON RED GOODS

When occasionally American citizens—wanting no part of commerce with Communist countries—have spoken out against such imports for sale in the United States, they have encountered all kinds of criticism. It is provincial of them, they are told, to object to such transactions with enemies; and down-right narrow-minded, to want to do business exclusively with friendly lands which have no designs of "burying" us. Besides, by that program of enlarged patronage, Washington is building a "bridge" of understanding.

But Great Britain now is proposing heavier "sanctions" on Rhodesia—though short of the total strangulation prescribed by some of the latter's African neighbors; and Washington has signified compliance. In the United Nations, Ambassador Goldberg pledged on Monday full support for those limited sanctions.

They would deprive the American economy of an estimated $8 million annually in Rhodesian exports—particularly pig-iron and chrome. The barred list also includes asbestos, tobacco, and leather.

Rhodesia is not an enemy of the United States. She is not at war with anyone. She has no record of ransacking American libraries, stoning embassies, insulting the Stars and Stripes, nor molesting U.S. nationals. All she has done is to issue a declaration of independence. For that London and the United Nations propose to penalize.

"Bridges" are being built to lands flying the hammer and sickle, that have taken other lands into captivity and kept them there; but bridges are being demolished for a country that has claimed for itself the right to be sovereign.

Uncle Sam is doing business with lands of the Communist bloc, which are catering to the Viet Cong side in the war in Vietnam, where American sons are dying; but at England's insistence blocking imports from Rhodesia, which has never shaken a fist at us.

And never a word of complaint has been howled by the elements of "sophisticated" thinking who cavil loudly when somebody objects to inroads of Communist merchandise.

Isn't that peculiar?

Carrier Diplomacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I know all Members of the House of Representatives share a feeling of deep concern at the unfortunate international incident that occurred in connection with the recent refueling stop of our American aircraft carrier U.S.S. *Franklin D. Roosevelt* at the port of Capetown, South Africa.

In this regard, I would like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a most thoughtful and penetrating editorial comment printed in the February 7, 1967, edition of the Scripps-Howard Washington Daily News.

The Daily News editorial follows:

CARRIER DIPLOMACY

The United States was accused in bygone years of "gunboat diplomacy" in Latin America and China—the use of Navy gunboats to bring political pressure on foreign governments. Well, maybe true, but couldn't have been as clumsy as the "aircraft carrier diplomacy" the U.S. practiced over the weekend in South Africa.

The USS Franklin D. Roosevelt, en route home from Vietnam, was due to make a four-day refueling and shore-liberty stopover in Capetown. That drew a protest from some American civil rights leaders who feared the 400 Negro officers and men aboard might be humiliated by South Africa's race-separation laws.

So the Defense Department announced there would be shore leave only for "organized integrated activities." That was like saying there would be shore leave in some Russian port only if the Soviet authorities gave up communism in favor of capitalism. The South Africans didn't give in, the "FDR" canceled all liberty and all sides were disappointed.

This is the second time in two years that a carrier stopover in Capetown has been thrown off stride at the last minute. We hope the Defense Department will confer with the State Department, and both get together with the South African government, before the Navy tries it again.

Fino Reintroduces Bills To Block Washington Housing Development Corporation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I am reintroducing two bills to keep the Office of Economic Opportunity out of the housing business. The two bills are aimed specifically at the Washington Housing Development Corp., which OEO has just given $300,000 and HUD $100,000 as a downpayment to help HDC's war on the suburbs. HDC wants to go into the real estate business, leasing housing on behalf of alcoholics, pimps, prostitutes, welfare spongers, criminals, and junkies.

My first bill would amend the rent subsidy statute to prevent HUD from subcontracting the selection of rent subsidy tenants to agencies aided by poverty funds. This would keep HDC from climbing on the rent subsidy bandwagon, and using Federal rent subsidy funds for its care and feeding of pimps and junkies.

My second bill would amend the poverty program to prevent the OEO Director from using OEO funds to finance any construction, rehabilitation, or leasing of housing. The bill would also prohibit OEO from giving funds to any organization or program which in any way processes or recommends applicants or applications for any program administered by HUD.

The poverty boondogglers are back at it again. They have just given $300,000 to the Washington, D.C., Housing Development Corp., whose officials have bragged that they want to serve as a real-estate agency for pimps, prostitutes, junkies, alcoholics, and welfare chiselers. HUD has added another $100,000.

This new federally subsidized revolutionary real-estate agency is going to try and put troublemakers in every nook and cranny of residential Washington. I am sure that with a little encouragement, the Housing Development Corp. would turn its talents to running flophouses for the interstate riot crews.

I hope that my bills will convince HUD and OEO that Congress is not asleep, and that they will pay the piper if they give away Federal funds to ad hoc organizations to lease residential properties and turn them into flophouses for social and political troublemakers.

Blunder at Capetown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the original decision to send the carrier U.S.S. *Franklin D. Roosevelt* into Capetown was clearly made without regard to its political implications. The State Department, which concurred in the original decision, should have realized that the South African Government would use the occasion to "extract the last ounce of propaganda value out of the *Roosevelt's* visit."

But more serious, the decision to send in the carrier baldly contradicts what the State Department announced last March to be the U.S. policy on this question. Former Assistant Secretary G. Mennen Williams said then:

> We have cancelled operational port calls in South Africa of U.S. naval vessels and aircraft rather than accept the application of racial conditions to our personnel.

The clumsy, last-minute cancellation of shore leave for the 3,700 men aboard the carrier has served only to heighten the ambiguity of the U.S. position. As the New York Times points out in an editorial today, a firm policy decision is needed.

We cannot afford, nor would it be right, to be equivocal about our policy toward apartheid. We have repeatedly affirmed our abhorrence of South Africa's racial discrimination and minority rule, and all of nonwhite Africa is watching us to see if our deeds match our words. We compromised our integrity when we allowed the U.S.S. *Franklin D. Roosevelt* to visit Capetown.

Editorials in yesterday's Washington Star and Washington Post and today's

New York Times comment on the diplomatic blunder the United States has commited. I include all three for the Record, but particularly commend to my colleagues the New York Times editorial calling for a policy decision:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, Feb. 8, 1967]

BLUNDER AT CAPETOWN

The visit of the carrier Franklin D. Roosevelt to Cape town must go into the book as one of the monumental bloopers of United States diplomatic history. Everyone concerned came off a loser.

First came the decision to stop at the South African port to refuel and give the crew a chance to stretch their legs after months of sea duty off Vietnam. Then came the protests from civil rights leaders and liberal congressmen over subjecting the racially mixed crew to the racist laws of that nation. The Navy, after some red-faced sputtering, cancelled all shore leave. The South Africans, having made elaborate plans to welcome the 3,700 man crew with open segregated arms, were furious. The officers and men of the F.D.R. for their part, displayed no great enthusiasm over the Navy's about-face. Some 100 of them went AWOL.

Someone, as the saying goes had blundered. And in retrospect it's clear who that blunderer was: The one who made the original decision to put in to Cape Town.

The United States had been singed by South African racial policies before. In 1965 a scheduled call by the carrier Independence was cancelled when then Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd announced that no Negro pilots from the carrier would be permitted to land at South African airfields. Today South Africa has a new prime minister. Balthazar J. Vorster. But that is about the only change on the national scene since 1965.

Racial discrimination is still the law and the practice of the land and so long as that condition persists, United States warships have no business in that nation's ports. Quite apart from the sensibilities of the liberals at home, shore leave for a racially mixed crew could produce incidents that would rupture the strained relations between the two nations.

The F.D.R. took on $70,000 worth of fuel. It is said that it would have cost a quarter-million dollars to refuel the carrier at sea.

That would have been $180,000 well spent.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Feb. 8, 1967]

BEGGING THE ISSUE

Only the Government, and ultimately the President, can decide whether the Navy's convenience and the needs of the Vietnam war make it imperative for American warships to call at Capetown at a time when a consistent, uniform disapproval of South African apartheid is a pillar of our African policy. It is difficult to believe the Navy is not sufficiently resourceful to find a way to avoid even operational (fueling or repair) calls at the South African port, if necessary at the added expense of refueling at sea.

But a more basic point in this—as in some far larger questions involving potentially explosive clashes of military and foreign policy interests—is that one way or the other a firm decision should be made. The root-cause of the recent ruckus over the landing of the carrier Franklin D. Roosevelt at Capetown is that the Navy and the State Department papered over their differences to produce the illusion of a policy.

As so often happens, there was a certain inevitability to each successive step. When the South Americans refused to permit racially-mixed crews to fly aircraft to South African airfields from the carrier Independence two years, refueling was performed at sea. A year later, former Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, G. Mennen Williams, in a reference to that incident, gave Congress to believe that all operational calls on Capetown had been canceled. At least, that's what a good many Congressmen, and others, thought he meant. But the Navy had by no means abandoned its use of Capetown. Lesser vessels than the Independence, numbering twenty or more, paid calls on Capetown, before the Franklin D. Roosevelt's arrival last week, with the only proviso being that no operational activities be subject to segregation; shore leave was made a voluntary matter.

The trouble with the FDR was that it was too big to hide. When civil rights leaders and Congressmen got wind of her impending visit and protested, orders were quickly issued to the ship's Captain to make certain that any leave granted should not involve activities tainted by apartheid policy. To be on the safe side, the Captain canceled all leave.

The result left nobody happy—neither the ship's crew, nor the South Africans, who had come to accept a relaxation of the original Williams policy and welcomed it, nor the civil rights leaders and Congressmen who also sensed an easing of policy, and deeply resented it. Such are the inevitable results, sooner or later of most efforts to resolve disputes within the Government by pretending that they don't exist. We think the original Williams policy was the right one. At the very least we think the best way to avoid undercutting our principles in the case of apartheid is to have a consistent policy.

[From the New York Times, Feb. 9, 1967]

NEEDED—A POLICY DECISION

The United States needs a foreign policy decision in order to avoid the multiple embarrassments that accompanied the curtailed refueling stop of the carrier Franklin D. Roosevelt at Capetown, and it is clear what that decision should be. But it is doubtful whether the decision will be forthcoming.

Under Secretary of State Katzenbach has told Congressmen he expects American carriers will not schedule future calls in South Africa, but adds that this is not a hard-and-fast policy.

Why not? A 62,000-ton aircraft carrier cannot make an inconspicuous visit to a foreign port. Such a call inevitably suggests warm relations between the United States and the host country. From the elaborate arrangements it is entirely obvious that the South African Government intended to extract the last ounce of propaganda value out of the Roosevelt's visit. It is equally obvious that the United States cannot afford such a gesture toward Mr. Vorster's Government.

At the United Nations, Ambassador Goldberg has joined representatives of most of the rest of the world in condemning South Africa's racial policies. Mr. Goldberg backed the General Assembly declaration that South Africa had forfeited its mandate over South-West Africa. The United States is serving on a committee seeking to bring that territory under U.N. supervision.

President Johnson told African ambassadors last May: "We will not support policies abroad which are based on the rule of minorities or the discredited notion that men are unequal before the law."

If the United States means what it says, it should avoid any gesture that would be taken as a change of attitude toward South Africa, and especially toward its flouting of the United Nations on South-West Africa. There is no need here for diplomatic pinpricks or for interruption of normal diplomatic relations that do not imply approval of the Pretoria Government.

But there is a vast difference between normal relations and a spectacular gesture bound to be regarded as a symbol of approval or support. The continent of Africa exists, it will not go away, and United States policies might be more effective there if they appeared to be more consistent.

You Could Die Waiting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of my colleagues to two highly informative news stories concerning neighborhood health centers in the war on poverty. The first article appeared in the December 12 issue of Newsweek on the page devoted to weekly medical news. The second article appeared in the January 6 issue of Medical World News.

Mr. Speaker, I think that the neighborhood health centers program has a great potential for helping to win the war on poverty, and I, therefore, ask that these two illuminating articles be included at this point in the Record.

The articles follow:

[From Newsweek, Dec. 12, 1966]

YOU COULD DIE WAITING

Mrs. Dorothy Hightower, a 23-year-old mother of four living in Boston's low-income Columbia Point housing project, didn't need much money to get medical treatment for herself and her four children. She just needed plenty of time. The round trip from the project to the nearest hospital clinic took up to five hours and involved four bus changes, long waits in dingy hallways, endless paper work and a shuttle from clinic to clinic, and doctor to doctor. "You could die in the corridor before you ever got to see a doctor," Mrs. Hightower recalls.

Today, Mrs. Hightower and the other 6,000 Columbia Point residents can see a doctor in fifteen minutes right in the project. A year ago this week, Tufts University School of Medicine and the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity started a neighborhood health center at Columbia Point that may well determine the shape of medical care for the poor. The center provides comprehensive medical care—from gynecology to gerontology around the clock and without cost.

The Columbia Point center, and two similar ones in Denver and on New York's Lower East Side also supported by OEO, not only make care readily available to Mrs. Hightower and others like her. They mark the end of what Dr. Joseph T. English of the OEO's Office for Health Affairs calls the "medieval notion" that medical care is given the poor on a noblesse basis. Usually, English notes, free clinics have been run as much to provide training for young physicians as to provide health care for the indigent. They also are operated at the convenience of the staff. "The daytime hours of the outpatient clinics reflect this," English says. "They are often the worst times for poor families." As a result, many indigent families don't seek medical care until illness drives them to the hospital emergency room.

Survey: The high price of this policy became clear at Columbia Point when doctors H. Jack Geiger and Count D. Gibson Jr., of Tufts surveyed 357 families prior to opening the health center. One out of every four persons had some chronic disease; only a quarter of the residents had ever had a general physical checkup at any time in their lives, and only half the women with children had seen an obstetrician during the first three months of her last pregnancy.

Geiger and Gibson now have a center staff that includes five pediatricians and four internists working full time and three part-time obstetricians. The center has its own pharmacy and lab, and the services of a dietitian and a physical rehabilitation expert. Staff members are organized into "family health groups," each consisting of an internist, pediatrician, social worker and several nurses, and each responsible for the continuous care of about 300 families. In this way patients are reasonably sure of seeing the same doctor each time they visit the clinic, and the doctors are fully familiar with the whole family's medical problems.

Columbia Point residents not only use the center, but help run it—as clerks, practical nurses and lab aides. Some are being trained as family development workers to seek out families who need care; others will help run a community health-education program. "These people," says Geiger, "will talk the same language as the people they're helping."

Past History: More than 5,000 persons have come to the center so far. Part of the reason for the heavy patient load, of course, is the past history of inadequate care. "We're playing catchup," says Geiger.

The center has received $1.6 million from OEO so far, and roughly figures the annual cost of care at about $140 per person. But early detection and treatment of disease made possible at the center, Geiger notes, could save the city of Boston about $45 for each day a resident is kept out of the hospital.

Next year, the 41-year-old Geiger and Gibson, 45, will start a rural center with OEO funds in a Negro enclave in Bolivar County, Miss. Additional centers are planned in the Watts section of Los Angeles, New York's Bronx and in Chicago; the last Congress voted $49 million to help the OEO finance up to 25 more across the U.S. Eventually many of the nation's indigent may receive generally better care than the well-to-do who arrange for their own medical needs. "And that is as it should be," says Geiger. "They need better care."

[From Medical World News, Jan. 6, 1967]

In Low-Income Housing Projects—Community Health Centers Slated for More Cities

A new health center program bringing comprehensive care to the patient in his own neighborhood is narrowing the gap in Boston, New York, and Denver between the need for medical services and their availability to the underprivileged. Promising results have prompted the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) to provide funds enabling five similar centers to open early this year in the Bronx, Chicago, the Watts district of Los Angeles, and Bolivar County, Miss. Up to 25 more may be established elsewhere, U.S. officials say.

The Boston center in the low-income Columbia Point Housing Development, is entering its second year of operation. Sponsored by Tufts University School of Medicine and the Columbia Point Health Association, it has already provided free, comprehensive, family-centered medical care around the clock to some 5,400 of the 6,000 project residents.

When the center opened, fewer than one resident in three had ever had a general medical checkup. Only 8% of the community had seen a dentist during the preceding 12 months, and fewer than half the mothers had consulted a doctor during the first three months of pregnancy.

TENANTS ASSIST STAFF

The residents' overwhelmingly favorable response to the new health center is apparently due primarily to the accessibility and scope of its services. Located within the development rather than miles away, it maintains 14 physicians, nine registered nurses, one practical nurse, six nurses' aides, two lab technicians, and two pharmacists, in addition to a host of subprofessionals recruited from the residents and trained by the center itself.

The staff is organized into a "family health group," consisting of an internist, a pediatrician, a social worker, and several nurses. This unique structure gives the patients reasonable assurance of seeing the same doctor on successive visits, and provides the doctors and social workers with an up-to-date, familiar medical chart and complete background information on the patient and his family.

ONE ROOF, MANY SERVICES

The idea for the health center originated with Dr. H. Jack Geiger, professor of preventive medicine at Tufts University, and his department chairman, Dr. Count D. Gibson Jr. They wanted "to put classic public health and classic medical care, preventive and curative medicine, together with paramedical and other social resources and services, back under the same roof." The OEO provided $1.6 million to help them do so in a model center. A few months later, the Gouverneur Ambulatory Care Unit of the Beth Israel Medical Center in New York City's Lower East Side, which had a prototype community health center in operation, and the Denver Neighborhood Health Center, run by Denver Department of Health and Hospitals, received grants of $661,000 and $1.6 million respectively.

Although all the centers are roughly analogous in structure and type of patients served, each presents separate problems. The center in Bolivar County, for example, must service a 400-square-mile area where 14,000 people, and will rely heavily on mobile units and public health nurses to visit remote areas.

Government officials say the health center programs could have far-reaching consequences on the nature of medical care in the U.S. Doctors could be freed by the corps of subprofessionals from such time-consuming chores as elementary hygiene and paperwork to concentrate on their curative and preventive specialties. City clinics and hospital emergency wards, long the traditional source of medical care for the poor, may have their patient loads reduced.

In addition, the officials say, researchers will be able to gain valuable data from control group studies, and health and social agencies could avoid duplication of time and funds in a highly coordinated campaign. And, finally, the patients themselves may reverse the current trend in which "the poor get sicker, and the sick get poorer."

Important NASA Film on Polymers Was Produced at Notre Dame

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to one of the less well known, but nonetheless highly valuable, contributions of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration: educational films on a wide range of scientific questions that form the basis of NASA-supported research projects.

Such a film is "The Poetry of Polymers—An Adventure in Research." Produced on the campus of the University of Notre Dame under the direction of Wayne State University of Detroit, this film is based on the work of Dr. G. Frank D'Alelio, research professor of Chemistry at Notre Dame. In the film Dr. D'Alelio describes his research on polymers, which he performed with the help of a NASA grant. The film is now being shown in high schools throughout the Nation to stimulate talented young people to consider careers in the aerospace field.

"The Poetry of Polymers" had its debut in South Bend on November 22, 1966, under the sponsorship of the Notre Dame Foundation. I congratulate Dr. D'Alelio and his colleagues from Notre Dame and Wayne State University—and from NASA—for making this useful and important film.

Sidney Zagri

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the entire American labor movement lost a most convincing, and persuasive voice with the tragic death yesterday of Sidney Zagri in the restaurant fire in Montgomery, Ala.

Mr. Zagri was the chief legislative spokesman for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, but in a sense, his abiding dedication to the cause of the American working men and women was felt throughout the entire labor movement.

Sidney Zagri had earned respect from both sides of the aisle here in Congress because of the excellent manner in which he always documented his arguments with unusual facts and statistics.

Mr. Zagri appeared before my subcommittee on many occasions, and I have previously stated that his was one of the most compelling contributions in support of improving minimum wage standards, particularly in the food processing industry.

I recall so well his brilliant testimony, thoroughly documented by facts, figures, and statistics, which left no doubt not only among my subcommittee's members, but also the entire Congress that after many years of effort, people engaged in the food processing industry should come under minimum wage.

But Sidney Zagri did not limit himself only to issues involving the labor movement.

His impact and logic, and deep devotion to human dignity were felt in civil rights legislation; international trade agreement; in school legislation; in medicare; social security improvements, and, yes, Mr. Speaker, even in foreign relations.

Sidney Zagri enjoyed his job. He had a keen mind and a judgment born out of a long compassion for social justice.

He gave the entire Teamster movement a respected voice here in the Halls of Congress. Sidney Zagri never made any improper or unreasonable requests of any Member of Congress. His greatest strength was his analytical mind and his ability to translate into meaning, programs for the unmet needs of America.

The president of Teamsters International, Mr. James Hoffa, and the entire membership of Teamsters locals throughout America have suffered a great loss in the death of Sidney Zagri. But, in a sense, Mr. Speaker, this is a great loss for all of America.

The Congress of the United States would encounter considerably more difficulty in trying to evaluate legislation without the help of capable and dedicated spokesmen for the various segments of our society. Sidney Zagri and his staff helped fill a great void in communications between legislators and spokesmen for the labor movement. He served a noble cause and democracy profited from his wisdom.

To the entire Teamster movement, and to the family of Sidney Zagri, Mrs. Pucinski and I extend our deepest condolence. We will all miss the expert voice of a man like Sidney Zagri, pleading the cause of social justice.

Los Angeles Customs Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD several items which, together, will help to bring up to date the situation regarding present and future service provided by the U.S. Bureau of Customs to the dynamic and fast-growing international business community in the greater Los Angeles area.

I believe these items will support and reaffirm the historic tradition of public service as the primary objective of the Customs Bureau.

In particular, they will demonstrate a renewed pledge by the U.S. Commissioner of Customs to honor his Bureau's longstanding commitment to furnish fully adequate customs service at each of the three major locations in Los Angeles' sprawling 6 million population area where our important foreign commercial trading businesses carry on their essential day-to-day operations.

By maintaining efficient and convenient customs facilities to service the needs of our importing and exporting public at these three sites—downtown Los Angeles, the International Airport, and the harbor area—the Customs Bureau will be doing its part to encourage and promote a continually expanding international trade, so vital to the economic growth and business prosperity of the entire Los Angeles metropolitan area.

On a more personal note, Mr. Speaker, I want to express satisfaction with the firm guarantee I received from Customs Commissioner Lester D. Johnson, both during a recent telephone conversation, and in an exchange of official correspondence, that all customs services currently provided in downtown Los Angeles and at the airport would be continued, that the services provided in the harbor area would be expanded, and, that no curtailment of activities would take place at any of those locations.

The items I would like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD are:

First. An editorial which appeared in the Long Beach Press-Telegram on January 9, 1967.

Second. A letter from Mr. Paul Iverson, president of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, to Mr. Herman Ridder, publisher of the Long Beach Press-Telegram—answering the statements made in the January 9 editorial.

Third. A letter from Mr. Robert Sweany, executive vice president of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, to the Commissioner of Customs—expressing the position of the chamber in support of the Customs Bureau's repeated pledge to provide adequate service at all three locations in the Los Angeles metropolitan area.

Fourth. The letter from Customs Commissioner Lester D. Johnson answering Mr. Sweany's letter—assuring him that the Bureau of Customs has no intention of deviating from "its commitment to provide adequate customs service in downtown Los Angeles and at the Los Angeles International Airport as well as the harbor area."

The items follow:

[From the Long Beach (Calif.) Press-Telegram, Jan. 9, 1967]

THE INTENT OF CONGRESS SUBVERTED

Some 3½ years after a firm decision in Washington to build a customhouse and concentrate its functions in the harbor area, U.S. Customs Service officials apparently are on the point of ignoring at least half of the agreement.

The $6 million customhouse is under construction on Terminal Island, the approved site. It is scheduled for completion in mid-1967. It will provide all the necessary facilities. That part of a settlement under which the Port of Los Angeles gave up the land has been kept.

But after inquiries by Long Beach city officials and others, the regional commissioner of customs, Frank F. Creed, has revealed that customs activities will not actually be centralized. Instead, they will be dispersed and duplicated between the harbor area, where the action is, and downtown Los Angeles, where some of the brokers would like to stay.

A summary of the latest plan, as revealed to City Manager John R. Mansell by Commissioner Creed, points to a proposed duplication in such functions as appraising, classifying and examining merchandise, receiving entries and the handling of export declarations.

This new decision to deviate from the original concept was made administratively—and without notice to harbor-community officials until they asked for information.

The effect will be to retain some 100 customs staff workers in downtown Los Angeles (by Mr. Creed's tentative estimate) as compared with perhaps 150 in the customhouse, the center of the operation.

That is duplication on a large scale. It is a radical departure from the statement by Philip Nichols, Jr., when he was commissioner of customs, that only secondary functions and a staff of 19 would be retained in the distant downtown Los Angeles office.

It is true that the Customs Service has undergone some reorganization—again administratively—since the decision in June, 1963, to centralize the district functions in the harbor area.

But none of these changes affects the validity of a report by the U.S. General Services Administration recommending the harbor site. It concluded: "The consolidation of these activities at a single location in a building specifically designed for customs purposes will provide a more efficient operation and will be in the interest of public convenience and long range economy."

It is pertinent, too, to recall Commissioner Nichols' report to the Secretary of the Treasury that if full-fledged customs activities were retained or reestablished in downtown Los Angeles, "the harbor customhouse would be a shell."

Long Beach city councilmen acted properly in airing the evident attempt by certain downtown brokers and other diehards to bring about exactly that result.

These city officials have the support of harbor area officials and civic leaders, alerted at a meeting called by Assemblyman Vincent Thomas of San Pedro. They will seek the help of the California congressional delegation.

No one enjoys seeing an issue, believed to have been settled in 1963, revived at this late stage. The change in planning, however, is inexcusable. It should not be allowed to become a reality.

LOS ANGELES CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Los Angeles, Calif., January 16, 1967.

Mr. HERMAN RIDDER,
Publisher, Long Beach Press Telegram,
Long Beach, Calif.

DEAR MR. RIDDER: Many of our members engaged in international trade who are conversant with Customs matters, including residents of the Harbor area, have asked me to reply to the Editorial which appeared in the January 9 issue of the Long Beach Press Telegram, entitled "The Intent of Congress Subverted." Because of their concern regarding statements contained therein, and in various articles which have appeared in your newspaper since December 19, 1966, I feel compelled to present to you the facts with respect to United States Customs facilities in our Customs Collection District.

When the Terminal Island Customs House Building was approved by Congress, there was no plan for all Customs facilities to be located in the Harbor area, or at any other single location. Such would be impractical in a sprawling metropolitan area such as the Los Angeles-Orange County complex. It was always the plan of the Bureau of Customs to retain Customs service at *three* locations in the metropolitan area:

1) At our International Airport (which your articles completely overlooked), where an Entry Division was established in 1962 to receive entries, examine, appraise, and classify merchandise, and handle export declarations;

2) At the Harbor, where substantial facilities have been maintained for many years, with the exception of an Entry Division and cashier to receive entries of merchandise; (As you are undoubtedly aware, the entire Marine Division of the Customs Service has been maintained at the harbor since 1911, so that captains of vessels can handle all of their transactions, including the entry and clearance of vessels, in the harbor area.);

3) In the downtown area of Los Angeles, where the majority of those engaged in international trade activities have long been concentrated.

Accordingly, it cannot be said that Customs activities will be duplicated. They are in fact triplicated, and properly so, consistent with the long-established policy of the Bureau of Customs since its establishment in 1789, to afford adequate and efficient service to our international traders wherever required, at the airport, at the harbor, and in the central area of Los Angeles. In fact, we know of no Customs District in the United States in which all personnel are maintained at one location.

This plan for retention of Customs facilities to serve the importing and exporting public in three locations is not the result of any "new decision to deviate from the original concept", as alleged in your editorial, nor a "departure from the statement of Philip Nichols, Jr., when he was Commissioner of Customs, that only secondary functions and a staff of 19 would be retained" in the downtown Los Angeles office. The statement of Philip Nichols, Jr., to which you refer, was contained in his letter to Mayor Yorty dated February 5, 1963, in which he stated, with respect to the offices to be maintained in downtown Los Angeles:

"We have requested from the General Services Administration sufficient space for 10 offices, totalling 3,250 square feet and employing 19 people, to take care of Customs business in the Los Angeles downtown area. This does not include the appraiser's mail division which will employ approximately 29 people and occupy an area of 29,000 square feet. The number of persons employed would, of course, be subject to adjustment in relation to the amount of business handled through the downtown office. In any case, it is our intention to provide facilities adequate to handle all entries and payments presented at this office. It would be folly to open an office and not provide personnel to staff it."

The commitment by former Commissioner of Customs Philip Nichols, Jr., that adequate facilities would be retained in downtown Los Angeles to take care of the business there, has been reiterated on numerous occasions, by former Commissioner Nichols in a letter to F. R. Wilcox, then President of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, on July 8, 1963, and by Hon. Lester D. Johnson, present Commissioner of Customs, in a letter to Congressman Edward R. Roybal dated November 20, 1964, and in a letter to Robert L. Sweany, Executive Vice President of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, on January 3, 1967. The same assurance was also contained in a letter addressed to Mayor Yorty on February 15, 1963, by the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, then Vice-President of the United States.

The statement quoted by you from the report of the General Services Administration dated May 23, 1962, was a part of its prospectus seeking approval of the plan for construction of the Harbor Area building.

As it was not a statement of the agency charged with the administraton of the Customs laws, it cannot be regarded as a valid evaluation of the operation and functions of the Bureau of Customs and its field offices. It was in any event made prior to reorganization of the Customs Service by Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1965, which was approved by Congress, and effected major long-needed changes in out-dated Customs procedures on a national scale with resultant greatly improved service and efficiency in processing import transactions.

Commissioner Nichols' statement, referred to in your editorial, that "the harbor customhouse would be a shell" if full customs activities were retained in downtown Los Angeles, was contained in his Report of June 5, 1961 to the Secretary of the Treasury, and was made in connection with his suggestion that the harbor area customs house should be the center of the Customs District operation *provided* "the users of Customs" agree to move to the harbor *voluntarily*; and in this connection Commissioner Nichols pointed out that if the customs house were moved *arbitrarily* to the harbor area, the Customs Service would be confronted with a demand which would be impossible to resist, that facilities to receive entries be retained downtown, to avoid the hardship which would otherwise be involved, of making a round trip of 44 miles to the harbor to file 9 entries out of 10; that once an Entry Division was established downtown, 90% of all entries would be made there, requiring Customs to move most of the staff back downtown to handle this business. He further stated, in this connection (at page 10):

"I believe the proponents of the Civic Center made an overwhelming case against the harbor site as it would affect the users as now located and operating. Users who favor the harbor are limited to those (under 10% of the whole) who do business there."

Approval of the plan for the harbor area customs house was accordingly conditioned on a general *voluntary* move of the users of customs, or a significant number of them, to the harbor area, into a World Trade Center complex, then contemplated. Commissioner Nichols further pointed out, with respect to the proposed move of the major operation of Customs to the harbor area (at page 12 of his report):

"An indispensable prerequisite that cannot be waived is that the users of Customs actually accept the scheme. A so-called World Trade Center not actually participated in by the World Traders would be a sham. They could not be forced to move. They could only be persuaded to come voluntarily. Customs should not agree to locate in a harbor World Trade Center until it is shown that a respectable portion of the users will move too, if Customs does, and do so voluntarily. By respectable I mean a portion large enough so that if we had Entry Divisions both downtown and at the harbor, at least two-fifths of the entries would be made at the harbor, instead of one-tenth, as would be the case at present. * * * If a respectable portion of the users will move to the World Trade Center, there should be a branch Entry Division in the downtown area to accommodate users who elect to stay behind. The headquarters of Customs enforcement, if moved to the harbor, would likewise require a branch downtown for liaison with state and city enforcement officers, Federal District Attorneys, etc., and for investigations of Customs frauds. Thus it is not proposed that Customs completely desert the Civic Center.

A recent check of the location of the principal users of Customs—the customs house brokers who enter and clear merchandise for importers—reflects that the majority are still located in the downtown area. Of 40 firms listed in the classified directory, 32 have offices in downtown Los Angeles, 12 of which also have airport offices, and 2 of which have airport and harbor offices; 3 firms have offices at the airport only; and 4 firms have offices only in the harbor area.

Inquiry of these firms, many of which have a large number of employees, indicates that only 2 of the firms now downtown plan to move to the harbor area when the Terminal Island building is completed.

At present, about 20% of the formal entries filed in our Customs Collection District are being filed at the airport, and 80% downtown. When the Terminal Island building is completed, it is estimated, on the basis of the volume of business of the customs brokerage firms now located in the harbor area and the two additional firms who intend to move, that from 7% to 10% of the formal entries will be filed at the harbor customs house. As the balance of approximately 70% of the entries will continue to be filed downtown, it is self-evident that Customs *must* maintain facilities and personnel downtown to handle the bulk of the business there, in order to continue the efficient administrative operation of our ports.

It is of interest to note that former Commissioner of Customs Nichols further stated in his report to the Secretary of the Treasury on June 5, 1961, that Customs would *not* be more efficient—regarded as a participant in the total flow of import and export documents, if Customs moved to the harbor area without all the other participants in import transactions; that one proper function of the Customs is to encourage the commerce of the port, consistent with protection of the revenue; and that it does not encourage the commerce of the port to delay and hamper it.

Your editorial acknowledges that 150 Customs staff workers will be housed at the Terminal Island customs house when completed—more than the number of staff workers to be retained downtown or at the airport. I am further informed that there will be a complete Customs complex at the harbor area customs house to afford complete service to the importing and exporting public, including officials to receive entries and accept payment of customs duties on merchandise—facilities not now available to customs house brokers in the harbor area. It would seem therefore, that the harbor area will acquire full facilities to permit its expansion and growth.

In setting forth the foregoing facts, I want to assure you that the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce favors establishment of complete customs facilities in the harbor area as well as retention of complete service at our International Airport and downtown, as we deem this essential to the continued growth of international trade through our twin ports. We have, in fact, expressed this view to the Commissioner of Customs in a letter of December 28, 1966, a copy of which is enclosed.

I am sure you will agree that the continued expansion of international trade in our Southern California area is the major objective involved, and that activities which interfere with that objective should be avoided, lest we drive international traders to other ports. We hope you will join us in devoting our energies to working together for the continued advancement of international trade in this area. I therefore request your publication of this communication, to clarify the facts as we see them, and hope that the harbor area will join in seeking to promote the continued phenomenal growth of our international trade.

Sincerely,

PAUL E. IVERSON,
President.

LOS ANGELES CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Los Angeles, Calif., December 28, 1966.

Hon. LESTER D. JOHNSON,
Commissioner of Customs,
Bureau of Customs,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR COMMISSIONER JOHNSON: We have noted recently from a number of articles published in the Long Beach Press-Telegram, the intention of harbor area interests to renew their efforts to deprive the central area of Los Angeles of the Customs facilities which your office and the office of the Regional Commissioner of Customs at Los Angeles plan to retain there, under commitments given by former Commissioner Philip Nichols, Jr. and yourself, on numerous occasions.

We want to assure you that we, as an area Chamber of Commerce, are interested in full service in all of the locations of our sprawling metropolitan area at which they are required. We are pleased to note that it is your intention to establish full services, including an Entry Division and Cashier, in the Terminal Island Building, when completed, so that complete Customs services will be available in the harbor area to those residing there, who require them.

We are also gratified that it is planned to maintain the services required at our busy International Airport.

As you know, the majority of the users of the Customs facilities in our Los Angeles Customs District remain in the central area, however, where the majority of the entry transactions are made. These users are relying upon maintenance of adequate facilities to carry on their businesses in the central area, as often assured, and as indicated by you and our Regional Commissioner when we last conferred with you in Washington, D.C. in May of this year. We trust, therefore, that notwithstanding the campaign of the small segment of our international traders who reside in the harbor areas, that the sound plans heretofore formulated and reaffirmed by you and our Regional Commissioner and District Director on numerous occasions—to adequately service the public at our International Airport, our Harbor, and in the Central area of our District—will not be disturbed.

Sincerely yours,
Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce,
By: Robert L. Sweany,
Executive Vice President.

Treasury Department,
Bureau of Customs,
Washington.

Mr. Robert L. Sweany,
Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce,
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Mr. Sweany: This is in reply to your letter of December 28, 1966. I wish to assure you that the Bureau of Customs has no intention of deviating from its commitment to provide adequate customs service in downtown Los Angeles and at the Los Angeles International Airport as well as the harbor area.

Sincerely yours,
Lester D. Johnson,
Commissioner of Customs.

Support for Reducing the Oil Depletion Allowance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, on January 25, 1967, I introduced H.R. 3803, a bill to reduce the oil depletion allowance from 27½ to 20 percent at the rate of 2½ percent annually over a 3-year period. The bill is identical to the measure which I sponsored during the 89th Congress as a result of a survey showing that in 1965 the 20 largest oil companies paid only 6.3 percent of their aggregate net income in Federal taxes.

The abuse of this special privilege extended by Congress goes beyond the inequitable tax savings to those companies which can best afford to meet their share of the Federal tax system. As I pointed out in my remarks to the House—Congressional Record, January 26, 1967, A305—companies are able to use these tax savings to purchase unrelated businesses or to finance mergers stifling competition from small business.

I recently received a letter from Mr. Ed Wimmer, director of public relations, National Federation of Independent Business, which presents the case of the small businessman for correction of existing inequities of our income tax laws. I urge my colleagues to read the following letter and to support legislation to reduce the depletion allowance:

National Federation of Independent Business
San Mateo, Calif., February 3, 1967.

Hon. Herbert Tenzer,
House Office Building
Washington, D.C.

My Dear Congressman: I congratulate you on your insert in the January 26 Congressional Record, calling for a gradual reduction in the oil depletion allowance of 2½ per cent a year, over a three-year period.

This is far short of what I have been recommending all across the country for the past ten years, or more, but it would be at least a start; unless, of course, we could use this figure on oil companies with under $10 million in assets and graduate the reduction up to at least a 25 per cent cut on the allowances of the giants of the industry.

When you consider that Standard of New Jersey reported a net profit of $1,628,555,000 in 1964, and paid under two per cent in Federal income taxes; Shell Oil Company, $213,575,000, and paid 1.3 per cent; Texaco, $660,761,000, and paid .8 per cent; Gulf Oil, eight per cent on $607,343,000. Standard of California, 2.1 per cent on income of $393,188,000. Sun Oil, 2.7 per cent on $88,567,000—with Marathon, Atlantic, Richfield, Sinclair and Sunray earning a total of more than $300,000,000 and NO Federal income tax, I say it is the biggest gravy train ever coupled to the engine of special privilege in ANY country.

Now, stop and think for a minute, that despite our anti-monopoly laws, Standard of California bought up Standard of Kentucky, taking the latter off the Federal income tax rolls, and is now spreading out in all directions. Humble Oil Company, a subsidiary of Standard of New Jersey, getting bigger than the parent—and how much of it on depletion allowances?

It would be impossible to even scratch the surface of this depletion allowance issue in one letter, but isn't it reasonable to assume that these billions are being used to buy up countless thousands of the best corners in our towns and cities, to open stations the oil companies admit will be profitless for years? Isn't there something economically insane about the way they continue to close hundreds of stations and at the same time, open hundreds of new operations? While killing off their own independent retailers and jobbers?

In Chillicothe, Ohio, there are three new stations at one intersection: Sohio, Humble and Standard Oil. If this is "competition" American style, give me anything but—if I am in the oil business.

You are also aware, Congressman, that most of the giants forced trading stamps and games and gimmicks upon their independent dealers, destroying their savings and enterprises. That the bigs have taken over insurance companies and are operating catalogue businesses, and despite the recent victory in the famous tire case, prohibiting the giants from telling their dealers what TBA supplies they must handle, that the smalls are either afraid to exercise their new rights or they figure they hadn't better if they want to get along.

All along our Federally-fed super highways the smalls are ploughed under, and the bigs either won the rights to operate the service centers, restaurants, gift shops, etc., or if they had to locate off the expressways, they monopolized the best locations and shot their many $50 and $100,000 signs into the skies higher than any independent would ever be able to reach.

Gulf owns Holiday franchises. Sohio is opening motels and service centers. Shell ties in with Sears Roebuck—two mighty giants in an insurance deal tied to credit cards. The credit cards of the bigs pour into the mails, addressed to babies in some cases, and what do you think the games and lotteries they have operated have cost the dealers, the public and the government?

How much of this slice of the American economic pie is paid out of evaded income taxes? How many smalls have been driven to the wall, and how many businesses and properties taken off the tax rolls by the subsidized competition of these giants? Why should they have been allowed to use depletion allowances, refinery profits, etc., etc., to open huge service centers and unwanted stations? Why aren't they told, and told a long time ago, that retail expansion must come out of retail sales, for how else could an independent compete with a monster whose evaded taxes he was helping to pay?

My friend, you may think that what I am writing is set forth out of bitterness or prejudice. I do not believe this is true, but if it does bear examination, I am sure it will be found that it springs from the feeling that our American Heritage is being BURIED in the graveyard of past civilizations—the graveyard of concentration of economic power in the hands of the few; under the tombstone marked "Special Privilege".

In your attempt to lessen the abuses so evident on the highways and byways of our nation, you will not be alone. I have carried this story into every nook and corner of the nation, and now that you and a few others in the House and Senate have shown new interest in at least reducing the evil, the "corners" will be covered again.

Please keep me informed on any action you make take, and if there are hearings called on this subject, I will ask to appear.

The House and Senate Small Business Committees should have done something about this problem a long time ago, and Congress should have acted in the days when that great anti-monopolist, Senator Joseph O'Mahoney, was pleading for reforms.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,
Ed Wimmer.

The adverse effect of the depletion allowance on small business is clearly illustrated in the foregoing letter, but this special privilege also discriminates against big business.

A comparison of the tax liabilities of the Bell System with that of Standard Oil of New Jersey shows that in 1965 the Bell System paid more than 32.5 percent of its net operating revenue in Federal taxes while Standard Oil of New Jersey paid only 4.9 percent.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to join me in calling for public hearings on revisions of our tax laws to eliminate inequities such as the oil depletion allowance.

Are Negotiations Possible?—Yes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, it seems that we have rejected another effort to move toward peace in southeast Asia today— Thursday, February 9—when statements by Soviet Premier Kosygin indicated that a halt to U.S. bombing attacks against North Vietnam might permit peace talks to get underway.

In short order, the White House and Secretary of State Dean Rusk let it be known that this was an unacceptable condition since Premier Kosygin did not indicate that reciprocal action to halt infiltration from the north would be taken.

Of course, the administration may be taking this approach because they have secret information indicating that North Vietnam is ready to agree to halt troop infiltration. Lacking access to any such information, I can only marvel at the lack of diplomacy in Secretary Rusk's remarks stating that we await a cessation of the invasion from the north before we will begin discussions.

Of course, the real negotiations which must be conducted are those involving the South Vietnamese themselves—both sides. I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues an extremely informative article written by Tran Van Dinh, a former Vietnamese diplomat who fought against the French during the first Indochinese war and was a diplomat for Vietnam to several Asian countries. His last post was Chargé de'Affaires for South Vietnam in Washington. Since his resignation from the Vietnamese Foreign Service in 1964, he has worked as a journalist in Washington. The article appeared in War/Peace Report for January 1967.

ARE NEGOTIATIONS POSSIBLE?—YES

(NOTE.—A former Vietnamese diplomat suggests that there is a way to end the war through negotiations, and he spells out a step-by-step approach beginning with contacts between Saigon and the Vietcong.)

(By Tran Van Dinh)

The first question to ask about negotiations to end the Vietnam War is this: Who is to negotiate with whom?

In theory, the war has been fought at least since December, 1960. It was then that the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (N.L.F.), usually called the Viet Cong, was founded. The war, at that time, was almost entirely between the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam) and the N.L.F. But since the death of President Diem in November, 1963, and with the subsequent escalation of the U.S. military commitment, the belligerents have come to be the U.S. and the Saigon government on one side and the N.L.F. and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (D.R.V., or North Vietnam) on the other. In view of the massive American involvement and the stated U.S. position that the D.R.V. is responsible for the revolt in the South, it is widely assumed in the United States at least that negotiations to end the war should logically take place between Washington and Hanoi. Is this the case?

A HISTORY OF STRUGGLE

I do not think so. Before Feb. 7, 1965, North Vietnam might have been able to begin negotiations. But since that date, when the U.S. began bombing North Vietnamese territory, the leaders have been pushed into a corner. And no Vietnamese, communist or non-communist, will negotiate from that position. This has been demonstrated time and again in the 2,000-year struggle of the Vietnamese people against foreign domination.

North Vietnam would negotiate, however, if the U.S. would accept Premier Pham Van Dong's four points. These include withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam, cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam, recognition of the N.L.F. as the sole representative of the South Vietnamese people, and the reunification of Vietnam. But the acceptance of these conditions by the U.S. would mean to many Americans that the U.S. had admitted committing aggression in Vietnam. Given the present political climate in the U.S., concensus-conscious President Johnson could not do this.

Then could the U.S. negotiate directly with the N.L.F.?

I do not think this is possible either. N.L.F. Chairman Nyugen Huu Tho has repeatedly endorsed Pham Van Dong's four points. Therefore the U.S. would face the same problem in negotiating with the N.L.F. that it would with North Vietnam.

If one stops his reasoning here, then the U.S. is faced with only two alternatives: to withdraw its troops or to fight on until all N.L.F. elements in the South are liquidated, all North Vietnamese troops on both sides of the 17th parallel are annihilated and the whole territory of North Vietnam is bombed "back to the stone age." If the second choice is taken, the Chinese will surely enter the war, and possibly the Russians too. It is beyond the scope of this article to examine this ugly alternative.

The realistic hope for negotiations, I believe, lies in the possibility of creating conditions that would permit the non-Viet Cong and the N.L.F. in South Vietnam to negotiate among themselves.

Who are the non-Viet Cong? As a working definition, let us say simply that they are the Vietnamese who now live under the nominal control of the Saigon government, comprising something over half of the South Vietnamese population of 14 million. (Actually, there are some important Viet Cong leaders among the non-Viet Cong; likewise, among the Viet Cong there are non-Viet Cong and even anti-Viet Cong.)

To get a non-Viet Cong government that could negotiate with the N.L.F., the first step is to hold an election (as fair as possible) for a legislature. Then this legislature would choose a civilian government. The election held last September—even though it was held under the most undemocratic restrictions—has nevertheless produced a Constituent Assembly that opposes military rule and gives indications that it would like to shorten the war. Another and freer election could be expected to create a legislature with even more pronounced peace tendencies than the present Constituent Assembly, particularly since a fair election would bring in a larger number of Buddhist representatives whose stand for peace is well known. In fact, it was the Buddhist struggle that brought about the September election, although the Buddhist leaders in the end boycotted the vote after Premier Ky used force to repress them. The new election for a legislature can be held as soon as the Constituent Assembly completes the constitution, which is due in March. Once a civilian government is formed, its principal task would be to examine the problem of war and peace and in particular the question of the U.S. military commitment.

ROADMAP TO PEACE

Almost surely, this examination of the war in the climate generated by the new legislature would lead to efforts to end the war. Except for a few selfish leaders who for reasons of power and profits would like the war to continue, the Vietnamese people in 1967, after 27 years of cruel war and betrayed revolution, long for peace. The newly-elected civilian government would be able to proceed with steps in approximately this order:

1. It would seek to negotiate a localized ceasefire and exchange of prisoners in one of the four tactical zones into which South Vietnam is divided. Under instructions of the Saigon central government, the military commander of one tactical zone would call upon the opposing forces in the same zone to send a delegation to meet with him at a mutually acceptable site. The safety of both delegations would be guaranteed by the International Control Commission (I.C.C.) still existing in Vietnam.

Would the N.L.F. accept a ceasefire? I believe it would for the following three reasons:

First, the N.L.F. gave an indication it was prepared for a ceasefire shortly after the overthrow of President Diem on Nov. 1, 1963. The N.L.F. on Nov. 11 forwarded a six-point proposal to the Revolutionary Military Committee. The last point called for "interested parties in South Vietnam to agree to a ceasefire and discuss important problems of the country."

Second, the N.L.F. showed that it was willing to deal with the non-Viet Cong in the Buddhist crises of both August, 1963, and May, 1966. In the former when the Buddhists were opposing Diem and in the latter when their struggle was against Ky, the N.L.F. invited the Buddhists to join forces with it "keeping intact their own (the Buddhists') organizations and thier own command." (The fact that in both cases the Buddhists declined the offer and instead let themselves be suppressed by Diem and Ky proved that the accusations the Buddhists are "communist infiltrated or controlled" are false.)

Third, the N.L.F. cannot sit down to negotiate with Premier Ky, whom it has called a puppet of foreigners, especially at the time when Ky is opposed by the Constitutional Assembly. However, with a fairly elected civilian government, it would be politically unwise for the N.L.F. to refuse a proposal for a ceasefire.

2. While the negotiations for the localized ceasefire were taking place, the civilian government would negotiate a "status of forces" treaty with the U.S. Such a treaty is long overdue. The U.S. position is that it sent troops to South Vietnam at the request of the South Vietnamese government. However, except for Diem's government, all Saigon governments so far have been illegal and forced on the Vietnamese people. This treaty would stipulate the maximum number of U.S. troops, the status of American bases, and the conditions under which U.S. troops would leave Vietnam once hostilities end. The treaty is necessary to create a feeling of confidence that the U.S. eventually will withdraw. Not only the North Vietnamese and the N.L.F., but also a great number of Vietnamese in the areas controlled by the Saigon government doubt that the American troops will ever leave. The treaty would have to be ratified by both the South Vietnamese legislature and the U.S. Congress. One important provision would be that following achievement of a peace settlement, the civilian government in Saigon could ask the American troops to depart. This face-saving device would allow the U.S. to leave at the request of a non-communist government instead of being driven out by the Viet Cong.

3. When the ceasefire in one tactical zone was accomplished, the same pattern could be used in the three other zones, thereby creating a ceasefire throughout South Vietnam. The whole process would require from four to six months. As soon as the ceasefire was complete, the South Vietnam legislature would vote to request the U.S. to end the bombing of North and South Vietnam and to stop sending more troops into South Vietnam; the N.L.F. would ask North Vietnam to cease sending men and supplies south. Probably a period of de-escalation would precede these formal requests.

4. During the final phase of negotiations for a ceasefire, delegates of the Saigon government and the N.L.F. would meet for preliminary talks in a neutral capital, say Rangoon, Burma. The U.S.S.R. and the U.K. (co-chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Agreements), the U.S. and North Vietnam would be invited to send observers to this meeting.

5. This meeting would discuss the procedures for reconvening the 1954 Geneva Conference. This should not be difficult; all the main parties in the Vietnam conflict have agreed to negotiate "on the basis of the 1954 Geneva Agreements." The main weakness of the Geneva Agreements lay in the fact that the I.C.C., consisting of India, Canada and Poland, was not strong enough to enforce its decisions. Therefore it must be strengthened generally, and enlarged to include the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. If this were done, the U.S. could then put some of its huge logistic power at the disposal and control of the I.C.C.

6. The Geneva Conference would negotiate the timetable and the conditions for the withdrawal of North Vietnamese and U.S. troops from South Vietnam, the date of the elections for the all South Vietnamese legislature (in which the N.L.F. would participate), and the date for the reunification of Vietnam (say five years after the ceasefire).

7. The future of the Geneva Agreements must be guaranteed by both the United Nations and the I.C.C., since experience has shown that the I.C.C. by itself is inadequate. The presence of the U.N. and the I.C.C. would last as long as Vietnam desires it. The elections both for the all South Vietnam legislature and for the reunification of Vietnam must be supervised by the U.N. and controlled by the I.C.C. Both South and North Vietnam would be invited to send observers to the U.N. until the country was reunified, at which time Vietnam would be admitted as a full member of the world organization.

8. Although the question of reunification of Vietnam might be postponed from five to seven years or even more after the ceasefire, it must be recognized that reunification is essential. One of the main causes—if not *the* main cause—for the present war was the belief that North Vietnam reached by 1958, if not earlier, that President Diem and the U.S. were "determined to create a separate South Vietnam to serve as a base to attack North Vietnam." To avoid a repetition of the events since 1954 and to dispel the climate of suspicion and hostility, immediately after the signing of the new Geneva Agreements the Saigon government must undertake steps to establish postal, cultural, and commercial relations with North Vietnam.

Suppose that all this comes to pass, and more: that within two years after the ceasefire, projects such as the Mekong River Development are in full progress and Peace Corps volunteers have arrived in great number in South Vietnam, and that five to seven years later Vietnam becomes one country again. Will Vietnam then become communist? Truthfully, no one can tell. But one thing seems certain: No mater what kind of government develops for a reunified Vietnam, it cannot afford to be committed solely to either China or the U.S. In other words, Vietnam must be non-aligned. A non-aligned Vietnam, living in peace with a non-aligned Laos and a non-aligned Cambodia, would fully serve the avowed U.S. policy of "containment without isolation" of China. I have no illusion about the difficulties that non-communists would face after the war in their political competition with the communists. But I think that it would be possible within a period of three to five years to establish at least an equilibrium between the communist and non-communist forces in Vietnam.

What has made the N.L.F. attractive to the people of South Vietnam—especially the peasantry—and what has caused the unpopularity of successive anti-communist governments in Vietnam? It is not so much Marxism, or ideology of any kind. Let me suggest some of the problems of the past and present that would be different under the conditions I have proposed:

The Saigon governments have been too dependent on the U.S. It is naive to think that it could be otherwise while the U.S. maintains 400,000 troops in South Vietnam and spends $2 billion a month for the war. This state of dependency, which is inherent in the military escalation of the war, creates resentment and apathy among the non-communists. Once American troops start leaving Vietnam—in fact, even when the "status of forces" agreement is signed—the Saigon government will become more sovereign, and therefore stronger and more respected.

The Saigon governments are and have been corrupt. All the generals of South Vietnam began their careers as poor boys but now, with the exception of a very few, such as Gen. Nguyen Chanh Thi, they have become enormously rich. It is no secret that many buildings and much property in Saigon and other cities belong to members of the ruling military junta. A simple accident like Madame Ky's loss of her handbag containing $1,200 (Vietnamese rumor mills say it was $12,000) in Tokyo on Dec. 13 make most people skeptical of statements by Premier Ky that he is clean. If he were honest, the prime minister on his salary would have just enough to feed his family, and he certainly would not have enough to send his wife shopping with a maid in Hong Kong and Tokyo. But this corruption and graft are mainly due to the war, which has caused a collapse of the social fabric and ethics of the country. With the war over, an elected civilian government could begin to reestablish decent standards and win the respect of the people.

THE BUDDHIST ROLE

The Saigon governments have paid only lip service to social reforms, especially land reforms, The N.L.F., on the other hand, has actually given land to the peasants. A representative Saigon government genuinely interested in the concerns of the peasants would be able to carry out effective reforms, thereby winning popular support.

The Viet Cong leadership has won the allegiance of many peasants because it is generally austere and dedicated. But with conditions of peace and a popularly-elected civilian government in Saigon, the Buddhist leaders could play a major role in returning the country to political and social decency, for they too are austere, dedicated and trusted by the peasants. Of course, the Buddhist monks will not run the country, although the Buddhist laymen will participate in both the legislature and government. The Buddhists can also be of much help in the welfare program and the social reform decreed by the government. Already, the Van Hanh (Buddhist) University in Saigon has set up within the last three years a "School for Youth to Serve the Society," in which faculty and students live humbly on charity and refuse to accept aid from either the Saigon government or the U.S. I do not mean to exclude the contributions of adherents of other faiths, such as Catholicism, Cao Dai or Hoa Hao. Bud Buddhism is the oldest and majority religion of Vietnam, and it has in the past contributed the most to the stability, prosperity and cultural life of Vietnam.

With the war on, it is virtually impossible for external aid, particularly from the U.S., to make any real contribution toward improving the life of the peasant. But with the coming of peace, the U.S. could gradually transform its military bases into industrial centers and its man-power programs into economic and educational development. Instead of the countryside capturing the cities, according to Lin Piao's concept of the "war of national liberation," the cities and industrial bases could gradually absorb the countryside into the economic structure of the nation. At the present time, the ratio of U.S. civilians in Vietnam to the military is about one to 300; the day this ratio is reversed in favor of the civilians, the "other war" will be won. The Vietnamese were and are against a foreign military presence, but they are not xenophobic. They know how to absorb other cultures, as they have shown with the Chinese and the French, without destroying their own identity.

The approach outlined above, I am convinced, will lead to peace and independence for Vietnam. Looking from an American point of view (as well as I can) at the possible result, it would at worst be an independent and neutral communist state, something like Yugoslavia. At best, and I personally think this more likely, it would be a non-communist (although perhaps "leftist") and neutralist state.

But all this depends on whether the U.S. is really interested in negotiations on Vietnam. Some friends of mine, both Vietnamese and American, think that the U.S. is not interested in peace in Vietnam but instead sees the war as a first step in its confrontation with China. I find it hard to accept this view, at least so far. I hope Americans will realize that a war with China would be a profound disaster—and also that it is unnecessary; in fact, that there is a quite reasonable alternative open.

The Alliance for Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in his foreign aid message received today, President Johnson underscores the intent of the United States to continue its support to the Alliance for Progress. He reminds us again of the far-reaching significance of this program.

On August 21, 1961—5½ years ago—the governments of 19 Latin American nations met with representatives of our own Government to launch a peaceful revolution in the southern half of the hemisphere. In return for U.S. support of their national development efforts, the Latin Americans agreed to undertake vigorous programs of self-help and reform.

By and large, Latin America is keeping its side of the Alliance for Progress bargain.

Reform governments oriented to Alliance principles have since been elected in Colombia, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Bolivia, and several countries of Central America. All of these and others are trying to reform tax systems to finance a higher percentage of their development programs. Many have begun to reform their land tenure systems and thus raise the living standards of their farmers. New housing, new schools, new clinics are rising in the cities and villages of every country.

Specific examples are innumerable:

Primary school enrollment in Chile increased by 175,000 pupils in 1965, and by 80,000 in 1966. To teach the new students more than 5,000 new primary schoolteachers are being trained by the Chilean Government every year.

Colombia doubled agricultural investments last year, and strives to triple them this year, in a move to step up the distribution of farmlands and credits.

Peru has financed more than 7,000 self-help projects in its impoverished Indian communities.

In Central America, the formation of a common market has quadrupled regional trade in only 5 years.

But the pace of Latin Amerian development is still too slow to meet the growing demands in every country for food, housing, water, power, schools, and jobs—to consider only the minimum requirements of rapidly growing populations. If present trends continue, we are told, the Latin American population will double every 23 years and reach 625 million by the year 2000.

Steadily increasing numbers of unemployed or underemployed urban slum dwellers present an immediate political crisis to the statesmen and economists of every Latin country.

Indeed, it is hard to overstate the magnitude of the challenge.

To meet the demands for food, farm production must be increased by at least 6 percent every year;

To meet employment demands, at least 140 million new jobs must be created;

To house those not yet born, more than a million new houses are required;

Hundreds of thousands of new classrooms must be built; tens of thousands of new doctors and nurses must be trained; thousands of hospitals and clinics must be constructed.

We in the United States are well aware of the political and economic chaos that could threaten this hemisphere—and our own security in the United States—if these minimal goals are not met. That is an important reason why we pledged our help to the people of Latin America in the Charter of Punta del Este. And that is why the President of the United States has promised to continue U.S. support of the Latin American development effort beyond the 10-year period originally envisaged for the Alliance for Progress.

As President Johnson has reminded us—

> The beginning of the beginning is behind us. . . . We have only begun to meet the needs of today, and these are but a fraction of those of tomorrow.

Can we in the United States afford to renege on our part of the Alliance for Progress bargain? Do we want to?

My answer is no. This is a pledge that we can and must honor.

Hon. Christian A. Herter

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. BATES

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, in addition to what I have already said about our late beloved colleague, the Honorable Christian A. Herter, I wish to present the following newspaper account:

[From the Gloucester (Mass.) Daily Times, Jan. 3, 1967]

HERTER JOINED MANCHESTER IN MANY SUMMER EVENTS

MANCHESTER.—Former Secretary of State and Massachusetts Governor Christian A. Herter, 71, who died Friday evening at his home in Washington, D.C., was a longtime summer resident of this town. He had a house on Proctor St.

Before he became Secretary of State he took part in community activities in the summer, and many residents had a nodding acquaintance with him.

One year he was the speaker at the 50th anniversary celebration of the Manchester Club. He has ridden in parades and appeared at many events.

A five-term congressman before he upset the Democrat Paul A. Dever in the 1952 gubernatorial race, Herter was a special aide to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson on trade negotiations since 1962.

The son of ex-patriate artists, he was born in Paris and graduated from Harvard College. He later helped Herbert Hoover with the American Relief Administration following World War I.

Widely recognized for his organizational skill while in Congress, Herter was noted for combining "the organizational and investigational ability of Hoover with the humane international outlook of Wendell Wilkie."

He was among those who influenced Gen. Eisenhower to run for the presidency in 1952 and four years later turned aside a movement led by Harold Stassen to make him vice president. Herter nominated Richard M. Nixon at the 1956 Republican convention.

After Herter turned down a chance to run for a third term as governor in 1956, he became undersecretary of state to John Foster Dulles, succeeding Dulles upon his death.

Herter served as Secretary of State for 21 of the stormiest months in post-World War II history. There was the U–2 incident, the emergence of Communism in Cuba, Nikita Khrushchev's visit to the United Nations and riots in Japan which forced President Eisenhower to cancel a proposed visit.

In 1962, he accepted the special trade negotiations post from President Kennedy and had stayed at the post until his death.

N. V. Nelson Hospital Dedication

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I was honored during the recess of Congress to attend the dedicatory exercises of the new wing of the Massachusetts Hospital School for Children at Canton, Mass., which was named in honor of my dear, able, and distinguished friend, Mr. Nils V. "Swede" Nelson.

For many years, this great American, known to very many people in Massachusetts and throughout the Nation, has contributed unselfishly and greatly to many extremely worthy causes. His career has indeed been inspiring. Outstanding Harvard gridiron star and coach, a very successful businessman, "Swede" Nelson has taken a leading part in many activities for the public good, for the benefit of our youth, our children, and many other people.

It would not be possible for me to recite adequately "Swede" Nelson's tremendous contribution in so many different fields for community, State, and Nation. The dedication of this new hospital wing of an institution devoted to the care and treatment of handicapped children in his name springs from Mr. Nelson's magnificient, long-sustained, effective work for a group of children whose welfare, care, and treatment must always be one of the very strongest commitments of our society and its enlightened leadership.

The Massachusetts Hospital school is a noted institution inaugurated in 1904 by Dr. Edward H. Bradford, a celebrated Boston physician of proud New England ancestry. He was the father of outstanding and very distinguished sons, a former, able and distinguished Massachusetts Governor, the Honorable Robert Bradford; an eminent doctor, Charles Bradford, a famous specialist; and Mr. Edward Bradford, a very successful businessman—all powerful exponents of the children's cause and in the forefront of humane activities.

"Swede" Nelson has long had very close ties with this distinguished family, originating at Harvard and continuing in their mutual, very deep interest in working for and helping handicapped children. It would be impossible to estimate the amount of good that has resulted from the association of "Swede" Nelson, the Bradford family, and other dedicated leaders, who have labored together to advance the very worthy cause of the children the new hospital wing will serve so fittingly.

Throughout the long years, "Swede" Nelson has devoted himself to this vital activity with characteristic buoyant spirit, great ability, intensive drive, tenacity, and telling effect. He has provided strong, inspiring leadership to press forward with the noble cause of these children—their proper hospitalization, care, and treatment with the result that, thanks to him and his associates, and the vision and help of the State, in this hospital the best talents and techniques have been developed and the finest equipment, medical care, nursing, and therapy have been developed to attend to the needs of these young people, who must depend upon great, humane leaders like "Swede" Nelson, experienced public officials, doctors, nurses, and other dedicated men and women willing to lend their energies and abilities to this fine cause.

Much of the life of "Swede" Nelson has been devoted to helping, guiding and inspiring our young people, particularly those who need special attention, concern and care. He has made these contributions without thought of himself, without fanfare or display, motivated solely by the desire to do his best for those who so urgently require for their comfort and well-being, and sometimes for their survival, the very things this hospital wing will provide.

I am very happy indeed that the name of this great American, humanitarian and outstanding leader, "Swede" Nelson, will be perpetuated in the consecrated work of this hospital for many years to come, for generations yet unborn, as a symbol of his nobility of purpose, his forceful leadership, his spirit of dedication and his love of human beings.

We can all be very grateful that we have such outstanding, able, humane leaders like "Swede" Nelson, and those who labor with him for this lofty cause. I know that this fine, new hospital they serve and its zealous, able, dedicated staff will continue to reflect and exemplify the great concern of our people for those dearly beloved children whom this great institution will serve and help in the time to come.

It is most fitting indeed that this beautiful new wing of the hospital should be named in honor of one of its most articulate and effective servants and champions, our distinguished and beloved friend, great Harvard athlete, recognized civic, business, patriotic, and humanitarian leader—Nils V. Nelson.

Since "Swede" is one of my dearest friends, I know perhaps more than most other people of the most exceptional contributions he has made to so many superb causes, and particularly to those persons in our midst who, for one reason or another, are not always able to help themselves.

Our communities, our great Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and our Nation are enriched by courageous, altruistic leaders like "Swede" Nelson, who strive, in war and in peace—because he is an outstanding war veteran too—in so many fields of endeavor, to strengthen and perfect the foundations of this great, free government, and to provide such valuable support, encouragement, and assistance to handicapped children, who are, and will continue to be, so deeply in the hearts and in the concerns and solicitudes of our fellow Americans of every race, class, and creed.

With a heart overflowing, with gratitude and pride, I heartily congratulate my dear friend, "Swede" Nelson, his gracious and devoted wife, Esther; his lovely daughter, Natalie; his distinguished son-in-law, George Hill, and his entire family and wish them Godspeed always. All America may be proud of one of our foremost, beloved, honored, and dedicated citizens—the great "Swede" Nelson. May he long brighten the lives of our people and serve our children in need of his help.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks, I insert directly following my remarks the very impressive, moving speech of my dear friend, Mr. Nelson, upon this dedicatory occasion and insert therein the statements and newspaper articles by the gifted newspaper writers, Mr. "Chick" Welch, Mr. Fred Murphy, and Mr. James J. Collins, and the very appropriate and impressive remarks of his close friend and fellow trustee, the dedicated and able Mr. Edward Clark.

A large gathering was present and many dignitaries were in attendance at the exercises, among them notable spiritual leaders, including His Beloved Excellency, Bishop Jeremiah F. Minihan; my outstanding and able colleague and valued friend, Hon. JAMES A. BURKE, who represents the community where the hospital is located; the able, gracious, and distinguished Governor of the Commonwealth, His Excellency John Volpe; and many other outstanding leaders from every walk of life.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert as part of my remarks a number of articles, comments, and other materials touching on this memorable occasion:

REMARKS OF MR. NILS V. NELSON, OCTOBER 27, 1966

Governor John A. Volpe, my fellow members of the board of trustees, Dr. Norton, Dr. Ciani, Dr. Cowin, and Ed Clark—all the reverend clergy, Father McCann, Father Morgan, Rabbi Mann, Reverend Little, and my lifelong friends, your excellency Bishop Jeremiah Minihan, and Rev. Matthew Coughlin; Dr. Carrol, Dr. Foley, Dr. Charles Bradford, Dr. Brayton, all you loyal members of the hospital school, and you wonderful children, my old friends from the Gridiron Club and West End House, my great teammate, Congressman Phil Philbin, my family, lovely ladies, friends and neighbors.

Words are inadequate to express the overwhelming gratitude I have for this great honor, to have my name associated with the immortal Dr. Edward H. Braford, who in 1904, with tremendous vision and a great love for handicapped children, established this great hospital school so these blessed children could have a completely happy life.

This hospital school was founded by Dr. Edward Braford so that education, convalescence, and rehabilitation could all proceed together. Through the outstanding leadership of Dr. Brayton, we are accredited by all the colleges, and no other institution in the country has a secondary school like ours.

As our fine directors, Dr. Carrol and Dr. Foley will confirm, the introspective remarkable skill of all our great doctors, teachers and nurses has not only brought light to dark places, but they have rehabilitated 98% of our wonderful children. Many students go to college and many also follow very useful occupations. Their achievements would compare with secondary schools anywhere.

I would like to pay tribute to Col. John Donovan, of blessed memory, whom I coached at Harvard. John never took a backward step. He was chairman of the board for 10 years, he worked hard to improve, encourage and help our handicapped children whom he loved. We shall always miss him.

Miss Brickett, Miss Drummond, Miss Anderson, Miss Johnson and Mrs. Ellery have helped so much in our hospital school family. And there are many others; however, we cannot forget our gardener, Mr. Dodd, who keeps this place beautiful.

I have so many nice folks to thank, my friends, the trustees, it is a real pleasure to work with them. They are simply great. Many thanks also to a fine doctor, Dr. Charles Bradford, a distinguished scholar and athlete. His brother Edward and Governor Robert Bradford are just like him. Charlie, the Gridiron Club executive board, and the club presented this oil painting—it doesn't look like Cary Grant, but it certainly looks like me. I will never forget what the Gridiron Club has done for me. All you nice folks were very kind to drop by and visit with us, my good friends, Governor Volpe, and my former roommate and teammate, Congressman Philbin—you were both very nice to come.

All of us are very proud to be a small part of this dedicated hospital school. My pride is so great in this honor that probably nothing in my life could have made me so supremely grateful. Esther, Natalie, Red Hill, and our six grandchildren all share this pride and gratitude.

To this little family, my dear mother and dad, and my good friends, many of whom are here, I owe all the good things that have ever happened to me.

If my humble efforts have helped, it is only because of the tradition set by Dr. Bradford. All these doctors, nurses, teachers, trustees and helpers have been as one great team, of which we have all been a part. Our immortal, inspirational leader, Dr. Bradford, and all those who have followed, truly believe we get along by helping each other.

Finally, you wonderful boys and girls, who have made this day so happy for me and all of us—you are among the finest young folks in all the world.

Love still makes the world go round, and I am sure our Maker with his infinite wisdom will always watch over our children.

I used to think that athletes had the greatest courage, but let me assure you that the sublimest courage is found in the bravery of a staunch soul—of a handicapped child.

Bless all of you for what you have done to help make this hospital school for crippled children the finest in the greatest country in the world, these United States.

My appreciative thanks are without limit. I am forever grateful.

REMARKS OF HON. EDWARD CLARK

We gather today to dedicate a new hospital, increasing the facilities of this great hospital school here at Canton and though this addition to our facilities we shall be able to greatly increase the services and care of the children entrusted to our care and of whom we are so proud.

But the dedication goes far beyond our services as rendered. We are gathered also to honor a man of outstanding qualities, a man of greatness, who is known and loved by all who meet him and call him friend.

The recipient of today's honor is a gentlemen in every sense of the word, a self-made man whose deeds have been known, recited and recorded in the Congress of the United States and its CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on not one but three occasions.

When appointed a trustee of this great hospital school, I considered it to be a great honor to be associated with our guest of honor. Little did I know of the tremendous lessons I was to learn from his example. The very way he conducts his every day life and the humility he shows at all times, are an inspiration for all, and the devotion he shows to the children of this school is in itself a tribute to him. On many occasions I have heard him say, "If it be for the best interest of the children and for the good of the children then we should vote for it. For that is our purpose as trustees."

This great man is as considerate of the poor as he is of the wealthy, as considerate of the worker as he is of the administrator and as considerate of the ward attendant as he is of the superintendent. This man makes no distinction between men because of race, creed, or color and is at all times ready and willing to assist his fellow man.

I am most grateful, and I shall cherish always the years of association and years that it has been my privilege to serve as his brother trustee.

Long before the ecumenical spirit was thrust into prominence, this great man whom we honor today was a walking example and practiced the precepts of that spirit in his everyday life. It is therefore most appropriate and fitting that we today dedicate this beautiful building in his name, rewarding 25 years of faithful and devoted service to this hospital school. It is an honor truly deserved.

Ladies and gentlemen assembled here today on this memorable occasion may I present to you a gentleman, the type of man you are honored to know once in a lifetime: Mr. Nils V. "Swede" Nelson.

HOSPITAL WING DEDICATED IN CANTON: "SWEDE" NELSON SALUTES COURAGE OF CHILDREN

(By Fred Murphy)

It was a big day for a big man yesterday when the new wing of the Massachusetts Hospital School in Canton was dedicated the Nils V. Nelson Building in honor of the Harvard football star and coach.

"Nothing else could have made me so supremely happy," Swede Nelson told the 400 friends attending the dedication ceremonies.

"Words are inadequate to express my gratitude at having my name associated with Dr. Edward H. Bradford who established this hospital school in 1904."

Referring to the many crippled youngsters in the audience, Nelson said he once thought the best brand of courage was found on the athletic field.

"But I know now that real courage is found in the hearts and minds of these handicapped children."

The new wing adds 80 beds to the hospital's previous 177-bed capacity.

The $2.5-million wing is equipped with two surgical suites, complete operating rooms, with the latest electrocardiogram anesthesia and x-ray units.

The new building also includes speech and occupational therapy rooms, clinics, a medical library and administrative offices.

Gov. Volpe, said the wing was rightful tribute to an outstanding citizen.

"You are honoring yourselves, when you honor Swede Nelson . . . a gentleman among gentlemen."

Another dedication speaker, hospital trustee Edward T. Clark, described Nelson as one of the greater men of our times:

"Long before the ecumenical spirit was thrust into prominence, Swede was a living example of that way of life."

Others attending the ceremony were U.S. Reps. James Burke and Philip Philbin, the Most Rev. Jeremiah F. Minihan and members of the Gridiron Club, of which Nelson is past president.

$2.5-MILLION BUILDING IN CANTON: NEW CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL WING

One of the world's most famous facilities for handicapped youngsters, the Massachusetts Hospital School for Crippled Children in Canton dedicates an addition tomorrow.

The $2.5-million Nils V. Nelson Building is named in honor of Harvard's famed football star and coach, Swede Nelson, who is serving his 25th year as trustee of the school.

Swede will be on hand for the ceremonies tomorrow afternoon, along with members of the Gridiron Club of Greater Boston, of which Nelson is a past president.

Gov. Volpe will be principal speaker.

The wing adds 80 needed beds to the Bradford Hospital, founded in 1904 by Dr. Charles H. Bradford, father of former Gov. Robert F. Bradford.

Twelve of the beds will be cribs and will facilitate the hospital-school's new policy of accepting crippled infants. All of the medical and therapy facilities will permit treatment at a very early age.

Up to now, the state-supported hospital school accepted physically handicapped children from kindergarten age through high school.

Currently the school's 150 youngsters are receiving education and rehabilitation to overcome their handicaps.

The school has many successful graduates, including doctors, teachers, artists, lawyers, and administrators.

"Ninety-three per cent of our graduates become self-supporting," school officials proudly announce.

"Fifty per cent complete their high school education here and go to higher learning, the others directly to jobs in industry and business."

Many of the patients are able to get to their classrooms on crutches, in wheelchairs or on litters.

Some can't be moved from their beds, so a new dimension was added last year to enable the classrooms to come to them by way of television.

The wing, in addition to the additional beds and cribs, will house two operating rooms, a therapy center, a pharmacy and other facilities.

Dr. John Carroll, school director said the operating rooms will permit corrective surgery on infants to ward off some of the crippling effects of their infirmity.

Commenting on why the new wing was named in honor of Swede Nelson, Dr. Carroll said, "He has been a wonderful person. He has represented the school as trustee for 25 years and has been instrumental in getting many of the facilities we needed."

[From the Nattick (Mass.) Herald, Nov. 1, 1966]

STIRRING TRIBUTE TO "NORSEMAN"

(By Chick Welch)

Naming the Crippled Children's Hospital-School at Canton after the one-and-only Nils V. (Swede) Nelson, the World's Greatest Sportsman, last Thursday, on a sundrenched afternoon, "one in a million" for this time of the year was, an affair that everyone who ever knew Mr. Nelson should have witnessed. We always felt that the wonderful "Swede" missed-his-calling, because so help us, Thursday afternoon while holding his audience in the palm of-his-hand, he had nearly everyone present laughing hilariously one minute and weeping unashamedly the next.

He would have been a "natural" on the stage should he or one of his friends who are legion, directed his many talents to the footlights where people would never have tired of listening to him. Here's a wonderful personage everyone who knows him wishes could live forever; his equal as a good-will-dispenser may not come along in the next 100 years and, perchance, as the poets say, For Aye! Lest the caption to this article be disconcerting in a manner of speaking Nils V. is as American-All-American like the Olympics Billy Mills (USMC), the Stage and Screen's Bob Hope, Casey Stengel, and the late Pres. John Kennedy and the Garden's Walter Brown all rolled into one. Canton for the specially privileged children Signor Nelson predicted that Harvard would go all the way if the team continued to give their two year Eye tallian backs running room.

NELSON WIT, ENERGY CITED AT DEDICATION

(By James J. Collins)

CANTON.—Swede Nelson, whose wit and wisdom have extolled many another personage, stood quietly with head bowed as others lauded his personal dedication and energy in community service here Thursday.

Dedicating the Nils V. Nelson Memorial Wing of the Massachusetts Hospital School, Gov. John A. Volpe praised Nelson and his work for the hospital school.

The school offers specialized medical care and training for educational careers to physically handicapped students. It was a fitting tribute to Nelson who this year marks a quarter of a century as a school trustee. During that time he has given generously of his time and resources to expand and update facilities at the Canton complex.

Joining in the tribute were Cong. James A. Burke and Philip Philbin, Most Rev. Jeremiah Minihan, auxiliary bishop of the Boston Archdiocese, and scores of legislators.

Gov. Volpe noted that Nelson is "one of our most distinguished citizens. In honoring him we are honoring ourselves. He is and has always been a gentleman among gentlemen.

"Today we take a great step forward. How rightfully proud our guest of honor must be. Through his example may we be dedicated to public service and public trust."

Other speakers included Dr. John J. Carroll, superintendent of the hospital school; Dr. Alfred F. Frechette, commissioner of the state Department of Public Health. Nelson himself once more proved to be a delightful raconteur.

Prayers were offered by Rev. Leo J. McCann, Catholic chaplain; Rabbi Jacob Mann, and Rev. Timothy H. Little, Protestant chaplain.

The new $2.5 million wing increases the bed capacity by 77. It is equipped with two surgical suites with special facilities for physicians, nurses, and attendants.

It contains three and six-room wards, administrative offices, lobby and reception areas, and specialized rooms for X-ray, plaster casts, a blood bank, and recovery room.

In addition to the surgical and medical services and its education program supervised by Dr. Margaret Brayton the hospital school provides for special postgraduate training courses beyond the high school level.

Battle of Grand Canyon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, during the period between the 89th and 90th Congresses an article appeared in Per Se magazine's winter issue in which I had the opportunity to detail some of the attitudes in California and elsewhere along with my own views on the need for regional development of the Colorado River Basin water resources. For the purposes of the RECORD, I have asked and been granted unanimous permission that the article be reproduced:

THE BATTLE OF GRAND CANYON

(By Hon. CRAIG HOSMER)

In Hollywood's Wild West it's easy to spot the good guys: they all wear white hats. In today's real West it isn't so easy. A gigantic water battle rages and both sides deck themselves out in the white of righteousness. The result is confusion, particularly in Congress where the struggle focuses.

The battle and its issues are wrapped up in H.R. 4671, a bill to authorize spending $1.7 billion to build the Colorado River Basin Project, latest of many multi-purpose western water and power projects. It will benefit seven states and affect a vast area of approximately 242,000 square miles—about one-twelfth of the continental United States. Mexico, our neighbor to the south, has a stake in it too; for the lower reaches of the Colorado wind through that country to the Gulf of California.

The project's proponents are the responsible water officials of Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Nevada, Arizona and California. Faced with spectacularly rising population curves and burgeoning new demands for municipal, industrial and agricultural water, they foresee a bleak future of drought and economic stagnation unless H.R. 4671 is enacted. Further, they see in the revenues from the two proposed power dams a practical means to price water within reasonable relationship to its users' ability to pay. Dams of this kind have been an integral element of western water development ever since the Reclamation Act was enacted in 1902 under sponsorship of Theodore Roosevelt's Administration.

The project's opponents are conservation groups spearheaded by the prestigious San Francisco-based Sierra Club. They have taken dead aim on the dams, which they charge are unnecessary, will inundate Grand Canyon, generally ruin the area's natural state and set a precedent for the invasion of all national parks and wildlife areas.

Basic to this battle is the conflict which inescapably occurs when a dynamic, expanding society reaches physical circumstances tending to contain it. For centuries the consequence in Europe has been bloody wars. In America has been water wars. To the opponents, the issue now at stake is conservation and a place for man to commune with nature and to play. To the proponents, a place for man to play comes second to a place for man to live—and *water* is vital to life.

The current battle is only the latest in a century-long series of water wars dotting the history of the arid west. Pioneers turned to the Colorado's waters for their needs, when the states involved first were settled. By the law of the West, water appropriation for "beneficial consumptive use" creates a right to continue that use indefinitely against subsequent appropriators. While the land remained sparsely settled water rivalries arose on a local basis. Later, as population increased, more rapidly growing states—particularly the southern section of California—began appropriating uses of the Colorado's water at a rate alarming to the others. Adolescent California, it was feared, would lay claim to a lion's share by prior appropriation before maturity in other states would grant them their rights. Local rivalries ripened to interstate contests.

Defense actions by California's neighbors took the form of blocking her reclamation projects in the Senate. Their success hinged on the fact that smallness of a state's population does not dilute its political power in that body. Senators from the Upper Colorado River Basin states of Wyoming, Utah, New Mexico and Colorado ganged up with Arizona's and Nevada's to outvote the two from California, the other Lower Basin partner.

Not until 1922 was the impasse partly broken by a seven-state Colorado River Basin compact negotiated at Santa Fe, N.M., under guidance of Herbert Hoover, recently returned from Europe as post-World I food relief czar. The compact did not divide the Colorado's water among the states but between the Upper and Lower Basins, with the dividing line at Lee Ferry in Northern Arizona. It left to the respective states the further task of allocating basin entitlements between them.

The compact was written in "acre-foot" terminology—an amount of water covering an acre of land to a depth of one foot, roughly 325,900 gallons. Along with other provisions, it gave each basin a right to beneficial consumptive use of 7½ million acre-feet annually. The Lower Basin was authorized to increase its use by 1 million acre-feet per year if surplus water was available. Water to which Mexico might be entitled (and the amount was assumed to be small) was to be deducted first from the surplus and then equally from each basin's allocation. With this exception the basins now were freed to appropriate permanently beneficial consumptive uses up to the limits of the compact and, on a temporary basis, take water in excess of that amount until uses in the other basin required its retention. The slower developing Upper Basin was protected against the fast developing Lower Basin exemplified by California.

Without the pressure of rapid growth and expansion during the 1920–1950 period, the Upper Basin could move leisurely and amicably to an agreement in 1948 dividing up their water.

The situation was quite different to the south. Arid Southern California desperately wanted the Boulder Canyon Project based on Hoover Dam. It wanted large-scale importation of Colorado River water to its coastal plain via a massive aqueduct planned by the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California. Arizona wanted none of this. Its strategy was to throw every possible roadblock against acquisition of water rights by the growing giant next door. It refused even to ratify the 1922 agreement. It declined to agree on a division of Lower Basin water. In Congress it fought a bitter delaying action against the Boulder Canyon Project Act, first introduced in 1922, and stalled from passage until 1928.

Congress, wearied of the running Arizona-California feud, determined by that Act to settle it. It said that before Hoover Dam could be started, California must renounce all claims to over 4.4 million acre-feet annually of Colorado River water, plus one-half of surplus waters, if any. A 2.8 million acre-feet allocation was suggested for Arizona and 300.000 acre-feet for Nevada. In 1929 the California legislature agreed to the limitation. Construction of Hoover Dam at last began in 1930, despite threats by Arizona's governor to call out his National Guard and stop the ground-breaking. It was not until 1944 that Arizona reluctantly ratified the Santa Fe Compact in order to sign a contract with the Department of the Interior for its stipulated 2.8 million acre-feet of water.

During that same World War II year, 1944, a treaty with Mexico was ratified giving it a surprisingly large 1.5 million acre-feet of the Colorado's water annually. The actual burden of this treaty is not 1.5, but approximately 1.8 million acre-feet to account for water lost through evaporation and regulation of the delivery to Mexico.

By itself, the superimposed Mexican Treaty burden was an unexpected but not staggering blow. Taken with more complete data on the Colorado River's actual water supply accumulated following the 1922 Compact, it ran up a life-sized red warning flag. The Santa Fe negotiators, it turned out, had divided up more water than the river supplied. This deficit now was to be augmented further by the imposing treaty burden. The gap between water expectations and water realizations of the states was staggering. In short, the water-bankruptcy of the river became clear and certain.

The seeds of violent controversy between the states along its banks again were sown. This time the mere division of an assumed water sufficiency was not the issue. The dispute transmuted to a dreaded responsibility to allocate a frightening deficiency. Arizona moved quickly in 1946 to insulate itself from any allocation of the deficiency by introducing bills in Congress for the Central Arizona Project measured by the state's full 2.8 million acre-feet claim, undepleted by any shortages in supply. California and others countermoved by stalling the bills. Frustrated in Congress, Arizona moved its battle to a new arena in 1952. It filed suit against California in the Supreme Court to enforce it hopes and desires.

The Court rendered its decision in 1963. It refused to consider the question of deficits. That hot potato was tossed back to the Secretary of the Interior and Congress. In the process, California's 4.4 million acre-feet paper allocation of water was confirmed. The Court further decreed that the considerable water of an Arizona tributary of the Colorado the Gila River, need not be counted against Arizona's 2.8 million acre-feet paper allocation. This was a bitter blow to California, as it meant—in practical effect—the Colorado River's deficit was not to be lessened by the Gila's estimated 1.75 million acre-feet flow.

Anticipating the possibility of a dismal day in court, California fought hard during the mid-1950's to delay legislation sought by the Upper Basin states to approach their Compact entitlements of Colorado River water. Water rights and compacts to the contrary, California theorized that as long as water flowed down the river it was not held upstream and consequently was available for use in existing California projects. She gained four years, delaying passage of the Upper Basin's Colorado River Storage Project until 1956.

This contest marked the beginning of the current truce on bickering between the river states. It became apparent to California, as well as to the others, that fighting between themselves offered no real solution to the basic problem common to all: water-bankruptcy of the river. Each passing year had brought a closer realization that the river's water ledger must be brought out of the red by a substantial augmentation of water supply. Within 20 years the actual water to meet California's 4.4 million acre-feet entitlement will not be flowing due to new uses upstream. Should the Central Arizona Project be built, its situation will be the same. Only a little farther in the future will the same consequences plague Upper Basin states. Their entitlement by the Compact may meet their needs, but water actually available will not.

Although the seven Colorado River states may agree on little else, all are now convinced that a dire future of drought can be avoided by augmentation of their river basin's deficit water supply through "importation from sources outside the natural drainage basins of the Southwest, desalination, weather modification, and other means," as H.R. 4671 provides. To the complete satisfaction of each, the bill calls for studies and reports on feasible means for augmentation. Of equal importance, and to help pay the cost, the bill authorizes Marble Canyon and Hualapai (formerly Bridge Canyon) Dams, whose hydro electric revenues, when combined with Hoover, Parker and Davis Dams and other project-income, are expected in 75 years to pay all interest and pile up $2.14 billion net revenues to help pay for augmentation schemes. The two new dams account for $1.2 billion of this total. Additionally, it allocates to the U.S. Treasury (rather than Colorado River revenues) the cost of the first 1.5 million acre-feet of augmentation by declaring the Mexican Treaty burden a national obligation. The 1 million balance of the first 2.5 million acre-feet per year is to be repaid from the proposed dams. These are the mechanics by which water augmentation—whether by "importation, desalination, weather modification, or other means"—becomes financially feasible.

The bill includes other features acceptable to all seven states by way of give-and-take compromises, such as:

Authorization of the Central Arizona Project for Arizona.

Authorization of five new participating projects for the Upper Basin.

Extension of water augmentation studies to include such far-away locations as West Texas and Western Kansas.

A guarantee to California that calculation and allocation of the river's water deficit will respect her claim to 4.4 million acre-feet.

A provision guaranteeing first claim to the areas of origin of water imported from them.

Establishment of a National Water Commission, which powerful members of the Senate held as ransom for even considering the bill.

Despite the area-of-origin protective clause, states of the Pacific Northwest—Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana—violently oppose the legislation. Such opposition is somewhat understandable in context of these states' amply generous water supply. They have not studied it carefully in relation to possible future needs based on expansion during the decades ahead. They don't want to take any chances on unknowns. Further, their numerous Congressmen, Senators, Governors and candidates for office at all levels find mounting a crusade "to save the Northwest's water from greedy California" is much more productive at the polls than debating more controversial issues.

Less understandable is the violently emotional opposition by the Sierra Club and its allies in hitherto responsible and respected groups, the wild charges that Grand Canyon will be "inundated," "flooded" and "ruined" tend to be believed by millions, who picture a total obliteration of this priceless national scenic heritage. If this were true, public outrage would be justified. Plans for dams which would bring such an end to the Grand Canyon should be burned like a leper's rags.

But the charges are not true. Marble Canyon and Hualapai Dams will do no such thing. Grand Canyon National Park will not be inundated. It will not be flooded. It will not be ruined.

The effect on the Canyon will be minimal and then only at locations inaccessible to all but a hardy and adventurous few possessing money, strength and stamina to play at the dangerous game of shoot-the-rapids. Such adventurers are so small in numbers that in all recorded history less than 2000 have played it and seen the scenes the Sierra Club is unwilling to allow modified in exchange for water for perhaps 50,000,000 people by the year 1999.

The truth is that under authority of H.R. 4671, Marble Canyon Dam will be built 13 miles upstream from Grand Canyon National Park and nearly four times that distance from the traditional South Rim observation points. It wont affect the "wild river" below because the river ceased to be "wild" when Glen Canyon Dam, upstream from Marble, began storing water—as much water as Lake Mead. Marble Canyon Dam will simply generate power, and money, with the water that Glen regulates and releases. Hualapai Dam will be built 80.3 miles downstream from the western border of the Park and 149.5 river miles from the South Rim. Even the recreation lake created by Hualapai will be 55.5 miles from the South Rim. True, this lake at its tip will border the Park for 13 miles. It will be 89 feet deep within a narrow inner gorge, which the general public never sees or visits. It first touches a boundary of the Park, dwindling to nothing 13 miles upstream, still at a boundary. The canyon walls in this area are more than 3000 feet high. The ratio of 89 to 3000 is about that of the thickness of a brief case, lying flat on the floor, to the height of a usual ceiling. In length the 13 miles of the canyon bottom (now inaccessible) that would be made visible from the new lake bears about the same ratio to the length of the river in the Park as the length of the brief case bears to the length of an average living room.

As to relative volume, the ratio of the lake's little puddle to the vast emptiness of the canyon overlying it is too small to be calculated—a minuscule fraction of one percent. A veritable drop in the bucket. To say that this will "ruin," "inundate" and "flood" Grand Canyon National Park, as the Sierra Club alleged in paid advertisements in the New York Times and Washington Post, deserves the reply made in the Post's editorial of July 14, ". . . It is plain nonsense to speak of this proposed minor change in the Park as ruining the Grand Canyon." No dams or lakes will be visible from any easily accessible public observation point anywhere in Grand Canyon National Park. The Colorado River will flow, as it does now, through 104 miles of the interior of Grand Canyon National Park—just as the Act of Congress of 1919 which created Grand Canyon National Park contemplated by providing specifically for hydroelectric development in or along its borders.

The Sierra Club, having lost all perspective for any view but its own, has elected to accomplish its allegedly conservationist goal by destroying one of the most delicately-structured compromises ever placed before Congress. It has decreed that H.R. 4671 shall be gutted by striking out everything after its enacting clause and substituting language authorizing only the old, original Central Arizona Project.

Conservationists tacitly admit their case against the dams is weak. They make their fight not so much for Grand Canyon as for general principle, explained by one of them, Prof. Richard C. Bradley of Colorado College: ". . . If they (the conservationists) lose Grand Canyon it is doubtful that they could ever win anywhere else. Every one of our national parks has reservoir basins, marketable timber, mineral resources, or motel sites. Next time the promoters will have the added weapon of 'precedent,' because of the decision on Grand Canyon . . .".

Prof. Bradley and his colleagues can point to no specific threats to any park. They are oblivious to the West's water needs. They have forgotten such already-existing "precedents" as beautiful Jackson Lake and Dam in Grand Teton National Park, and glistening Sherburne Lake and Dam in Glacier National Park. There's also Fontana Lake and Dam which now abuts Great Smoky National Park in the same manner the proposed Hualapai Lake will border a far boundary of Grand Canyon National Park. All of these lakes are being visited yearly by millions, who can testify these waters have enhanced—not ruined—the scenic surroundings.

There can be but two alternative results of this battle. If good sense prevails, the bill will pass and the West will have water. If the Sierra Club's campaign succeeds, there will be disastrous and lasting water shortage throughout one-twelfth of the U.S. continent.

Irrelevantly, and in either event, Grand Canyon National Park remains essentially unchanged.

With the dams, the Canyon will stay as it now is with this exception only: a narrow lake, about the width of a football field, extending 13 miles along the northwest border of the Park. Just how this could ruin an area nearly as big as the State of Rhode Island is inexplicable.

As a Westerner, I am particularly concerned that this position of a usually responsible private club does not wreck H.R. 4671. Down the drain with the wreckage will go the water future of my own and six neighboring states. Funds will not be available to augment the Colorado River's inadequate water supply. Even studies aimed at water augmentation will be scrapped, and so will relief from the Mexican Treaty burden. Arizona does not ask for prostitution of the legislation to a parochial central Arizona project by the elimination of these features, which make it a *regional* plan valuable to all seven states. Since Arizona does not ask that California or her other sister states commit hara-kiri, why should the Sierra Club?

Because, it says, the dams aren't needed to pay for the Central Arizona feature; and if money is needed for anything else, it can come from alternatives to the dams, such as:

Selling around 100,000 acre-feet a year the Club contends will evaporate from the new lakes. (The water only could be sold for an insignificant profit in relation to the dam's $1.2 billion.)

Building nuclear or coal-fired power plants someplace else to raise the money. (This is a bald invitation for the Government to go into the power business and plunge the whole project into the much larger private-versus-public power struggle; as a "precedent" is suggests the Government build power plants everywhere as an alternative to raising taxes.)

Taking the $700 million construction cost of the dams and lending it out over the life of the project to earn the $1.2 billion. (The Government's profit would be the difference between the interest it pays and what it receives, less other expenses of the money-lending business—probably less than half that of the dams.)

The Sierra Club contends that, in any event, the dams just will not make the amount of money estimated. Its witnesses before the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee said the power could not be sold. None of them were public utility economists. The real experts in the subject speak differently.

Bureau of Reclamation engineers and economists gave the Committee details of their comprehensive studies of project power markets and revenues, refuting the Club.

A. H. Forman, executive vice president of Arizona Public Service Co., an investor-owned utility, stated ". . . the available market can easily absorb these quantities (of hydropower) by the time the dams are constructed . . . It is indicated that the estimated rate for peaking power from these dams would be competitive . . . and the estimated price would not be a barrier to marketing such power."

Alex Radin, general manager of the American Public Power Association representing more than 1,400 municipal and other publicly-owned electrical systems, last January wrote: "By 1980, population gain and associated production increases will swell the need for peaking power from the present 20 million kilowatts to more than 50 million. Power dams at Bridge Canyon and at Marble Canyon would contribute 2 million kilowatts, a very welcome and valuable help to the local and national economies."

On May 27, in a letter to Rep. John Schmidhauser, Radin also wrote, ". . . private utilities are building, and applying for licenses to build, a number of conventional hydroelectric plants. In 1965, there were 46% more applications filed with the Federal Power Commission for non-Federal hydro power sites than the average of the last 10 years."

Managers of electrical utilities are not foolish with their investment funds. In fact, several applications by power utilities to build each of these dams are temporarily tabled by the Federal Power Commission. Congress voted to hold private licensing in abeyance until next January 1 to allow time for Congressional decision on H.R. 4671. Next year the FPC can license the dams if Congress has not done so. Should this occur, profit from power sales will not go to the U.S. Treasury to help pay for this water project and future progress. They will go to the power companies.

The National Rural Electric Cooperatives Association also has investigated the economics of H.R. 4671. Last July, this body advised its members to express themselves to Congressmen in favor of the bill, which "would provide billions of gallons of fresh water for the Southwestern desert states and some 2,000 megawatts of low-cost hydroelectric power," saying it did so because "the Sierra Club, and other preservationist organizations, have mobilized a nation-wide effort to kill the Colorado River Basin Project . . ."

As a Californian, I am further concerned with the Sierra Club's "Central Arizona Project only" flim-flam because it tosses aside my own state's hard-won provision in the bill that the Lower Basin burden of possible water deficits be borne first by the new Arizona Project. It requires diversions for that project be reduced to the extent necessary to protect other existing, long-operating projects in Arizona, California and Nevada. Despite this, California's protection is not unlimited. Her prior right still is held to 4.4 million acre-feet yearly because she agreed to that in 1929. Further, the protection continues only until works are completed to augment, by 2.5 million acre-feet annually, the Colorado's supply. The Sierra Club's bill-gutting maneuver would strike out this protection for 10 million Southern Californians dependent on the Colorado River. It would authorize the water-using Central Arizona project anyhow, thereby imposing an even greater probability of deficit on the River.

Adding insult to injury, the Sierra Club's deleting of both dams will place the whole burden of subsidizing the new Central Arizona Project on Hoover, Davis and Parker Dams—that is, on the users of power produced by these dams. They would have to pay higher power rates to replace lost Hualapai and Marble Revenues. Ironically, these users principally are the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, Southern California Edison Company and the Imperial Irrigation District. They would pick up the tab. Metropolitan is the biggest single bill-payer at Hoover Dam, paying as much as Arizona and Nevada combined. The Sierra Club commands California's power users to pay higher rates to subsidize a project which takes water away from them!

In a more general vein, conservationists objections to the dams raise the issue of whether the outdoors are to be reserved for enjoyment by a few or opened for the enjoyment of many. The National Geographic magazine for July 1966 contains an article by the Director of the National Park Service about the population pressures on the National Parks. It is illustrated by breathtaking pictures of Lake Powell, and of Rainbow Bridge, so despised by the Sierra Club. Secretary Udall is quoted as predicting that in a few years reservations, months ahead, may be necessary for overnight visitors to stay in Grand Canyon National Park. More recreation areas, like Lake Mead, Lake Powell and Lake Hualapai, must be created to relieve the population pressures on national parks like Grand Canyon. It is a fine thing to be pro-nature, but to do so it is not necessary to be anti-water. That is about the stance to which the Sierra Club's hysterical campaign has reduced the once respected organization.

Senator Frank Moss of Utah told his colleagues last June of the pleasure he had as a Boy Scout in the canyon of the Colorado above Glen Canyon, where he rafted down and camped beside the muddy torrent. He said he then could not get into side canyons, nor could he see the great escarpments and buttes set back at a distance from the water.

Since Lake Powell has filled Glen Canyon Dam, the Senator has gone back to the places of his youthful frustrations. Now he finds, he says, a myriad thrilling by-ways to explore, ruins of ancient dwellings of Indians, and "best of all, there are the reflections of all this beauty to be seen in the clear, blue waters of the lake . . . The Glen Canyon story will be repeated in Marble and Bridge Canyons once the dams are built."

Incidentally, the effect of Glen Canyon Dam has been to cool as well as clarify the water impounded in Lake Powell behind it. In the now cooled stream below the dam there are trout to be caught in great numbers. In the turbid torrent previously there, only a few trash fish could live. The effects below Marble and Hualapai dams will be similar.

The lonely Hualapai Indian tribe wants a dam at Bridge Canyon, and they want it called Hualapai Dam. On the lake, which will border their reservation, they plan to build marinas, parks and campsites to earn a better living. Hualapais are now isolated in their wilderness and impoverished. Family incomes average less than $1,500 a year. For these Indians, the dam represents hope for a better life. In their way, they get as emotional on the subject as any member of the Sierra Club. They know Thoreau chose penury to live at Walden Pond, but they have had enough of penury. And they respect Thoreau, who went to live his wilderness ideal without forcing others to share his austerity.

There was a time when the Sierra Club, too, respected the man's philosophy. But a new, reckless breed of leadership has taken hold of that organization. Using the flimsy pretext of saving the wilderness, it is attempting to thrust its monastic views upon a misinformed public, blocking orderly resource development for private political advantage.

Who shall triumph? The few or the many? The choice seems so clear as to make the question rhetorical. But this is an election year and there are many considerations to cloud the principal issue. When talk of "economy" grows louder in Capitol corridors, when the strength of the opposition is unfathomable, when voters are in a protesting mood, men in public office oftentimes find prudence in forsaking statesmanship for survival. It is a human frailty as old as politics.

Perhaps the question will not be resolved at all this year. It is impossible to predict at this writing. There is no escaping the undeniable fact that the dry-as-dust West needs water augmentation desperately. Common goals and principles enunciated in H.R. 4671 embody the solutions to that problem. They provide the opportunity to develop wisely our precious resources today and plan soundly for tomorrow.

A Way With Statistics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent article appearing in the National Shooting Sports Foundation, Inc., newsletter on statistics on crime and gun legislation.

This fine article points up very thoroughly the evil inherent in this kind of senseless legislation, so restrictive of fundamental rights and so futile in its effect on crime and criminals.

The article follows:

A WAY WITH STATISTICS

There were 304 cities and towns in America, communities of 25,000 or more in population, which did not report a single willful killing during 1965.

This fact is verified from a list of 857 communities of that size in the 1965 Uniform Crime Reports, issued by John Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

In an era when crime is viewed as one of the most serious problems facing the nation, it becomes significant that better than one in three of these cities and towns surveyed by the FBI were free of murders and nonnegligent manslaughter.

But perhaps even more significant is the fact that this statistic has never caught the attention of the anti-gun lobby in this country.

The anti-gun lobby has developed quite a knack for dipping into several thousand statistics, selecting two or three out of context to suit its purpose, and publicizing them to "prove" a point.

For example, the anti-gun lobby is fond of pointing to the homicide rate in metropolitan Dallas, which has liberal firearms laws, and disclosing that it is higher than the rate in metropolitan New York, which has the severe Sullivan Law. They contend that this is to the credit of the Sullivan Law and that restrictive gun laws will stop crime.

However, if the anti-gun forces were to examine the three principal categories of crime in which firearms play a part—murder, aggravated assault and robbery—they would find that New York has a total rate of 244.2 offenses per 100,000 people, compared to 203.1 in Dallas.

Also ignored is the statistic that out of 183 standard metropolitan statistical areas surveyed by the FBI, there were 131 with over-all homicide rates lower than New York's. None of these areas has firearms laws as severe as the Sullivan Law. They include such cities as Phoenix, Des Moines, Denver, Milwaukee, Portland (both Maine and Oregon), Oklahoma City, Omaha, Spokane, Tulsa and Wichita.

If the anti-gun lobby compared metropolitan areas of nearly equal size, they would find Dallas with an overall homicide rate of 10.3 per 100,000 people, Milwaukee with a rate of 2.3 and Minneapolis-St. Paul with a rate of 2.1, and all with liberal gun laws.

Both Alabama, the state with the highest homicide rate, and Vermont, which has the lowest, also have liberal firearms laws. And with 304 cities of varying size from all parts of the country reporting no willful killings of any kind, it would indicate that crime is affected by something other than firearms laws.

The estimated number of robberies, aggravated assaults and murders with firearms amounted to less than four percent of the 2,780,000 serious crimes committed in the United States during 1965.

In a section on "Crime Factors" in the 1965 report, the FBI states: "Since the factors which cause crime are many and vary from place to place, readers are cautioned against drawing conclusions from direct comparisons of crime figures between individual communities without first considering the factors involved."

The report states further: "The statistical tables in this publication disclose that the varying crime experiences, especially among large cities and suburban communities, are affected by a complex set of involved factors and are not solely limited to numerical population differences."

The factors cited by the FBI are: density, stability and make-up of the population; economic status and local customs; educational and religious characteristics; climate; strength, standards and efficiency of local law enforcement; policies of the local courts; and attitudes of the public toward law enforcement problems.

Interstate Roads

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY A. TAYLOR

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply concerned over the cutback in Federal funds for our Interstate Highway System.

When the first reductions were announced last November, I immediately wired President Johnson and urged that the action be reconsidered. It is now feared that further reductions may be forthcoming.

In my judgment, the Nation's interstate highway program is the last place where reductions should be made.

This program to build a 41,000-mile system of interstate highways is already 3 years behind schedule, not counting further delays certain to result from recent cuts in construction money.

Since the program was launched in 1956, highway construction costs have almost doubled. An end to the rise in costs does not appear in sight.

Aside from the obvious inconveniences of a partially completed national highway network and the handicap to our military efforts, the lack of adequate interstate roads increases the dimensions of two of the country's largest unsolved problems.

The first, and most alarming, is the steadily mounting highway death toll.

Figures just released by the National Safety Council show that traffic accidents in the United States in 1966 killed 52,500 persons—an increase of 7 percent over the 49,000 killed in 1965. This is 7½ times the number of American fighting men killed to date in Vietnam.

For every 100 persons killed on noninterstate roads, only 40 would have died had they been traveling on an interstate highway, since interstate roads are rated 2½ times as safe as older highways. It is estimated by the Bureau of Public Roads that completion of the interstate road system will save at least 6,000 lives per year from traffic accidents. Ironically, a prolonged delay in completing America's interstate road system and the Appalachian road program could cause as many unnecessary deaths of American citizens as would be saved by an early end to the war in Vietnam.

Recently North Carolina Gov. Dan K. Moore observed,

> The mounting death and accident toll leads me to believe that it is of great importance to move ahead as rapidly as possible in the modernization of our highway system.

I realize that highway fund cuts were considered desirable by the administration as a means of meeting inflationary pressures produced by Vietnam expenditures. The highway fund, however, is unique in that while the administration may temporarily divert or suspend the distribution of highway construction funds to the States, the money must by law remain in the highway trust fund and eventually be turned over to the States for highway construction. Difficulty, however, results from the fact that in the meantime, highway deaths, and construction costs continue to mount.

The second problem is simply the fact that we are on the verge of a national traffic jam already common to many of our large metropolitan centers. By 1975, the number of motor vehicles on our Nation's highways will be almost double those on the roads when the Interstate Highway System was started.

If anything, our road program should be accelerated, including our Appalachian highways. We cannot afford to slow down now, and I intend to do everything possible to help keep our highway construction programs moving forward.

Continued roadbuilding is vital to both America's peacetime and wartime economies.

The Brave Astronauts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, an excellent editorial appeared in the Oakland, Calif., Tribune on Monday, January 30, 1967, entitled "The Brave Astronauts."

The writer captures the spirit of the tragedy surrounding the deaths of Virgil Grissom, Edward H. White II, and Roger B. Chaffee.

I am happy to make this editorial available to my colleagues and urge their reading of it:

THE BRAVE ASTRONAUTS

It was inevitable that there would be casualties in man's struggle to conquer space. But it is touchingly ironic that the first fatal spacecraft accident in the United States program occurred on the ground and not in the far reaches of space.

That somehow adds an extra element of tragedy to the deaths of America's three brave astronauts, Virgil Grissom, Edward H. White II and Roger B. Chaffee.

Grissom, a hero of the Mercury and Gemini programs, was seeking to become the first man ever to make three trips in space by heading this nation's first Apollo moonship mission. White, who had the distinction of being the first U.S. astronaut to walk in space and become a human satellite, also was a space veteran whose exploits had thrilled the world.

Chaffee, the third victim of the sudden fire that engulfed their Apollo spacecraft during a practice launch countdown, was looking forward to his first space flight.

All three had become—like the other astronauts—modern day folk heroes not only to Americans, but to millions around the world who join in mourning their passing.

They shared that unique camaraderie that binds the brave and daring who risk their lives to lift man's horizons—and sometimes lose.

The fact that they knew and accepted the risks involved in space exploration makes their deaths even more of a poignant and personal loss to millions who watched and applauded their courage from afar.

While the accident at Cape Kennedy will delay America's moon program, the exploration of space will go on.

And even in death, Gus Grissom, Ed White and Roger Chaffee, will be contributing toward this goal because the investigation of the fire that swept their spacecraft on the launching pad may yield information that will help prevent a similar tragedy in the future.

Meantime, the nation and the world, pause to pay tribute to three brave men. Their names have been added to a distinguished gallery of great heroes who have given their lives to help man push back the frontiers of the unknown.

Sputnik, Kosygin, and Elemental Reciprocity

SPEECH

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, the current interchange of commodities and ideas between this country and the U.S.S.R. are to a great extent the handwork of this administration's "bridge-building" efforts. The President, in his state of the Union message, again reminded us of those efforts when he urged the Congress to pass an East-West trade bill and to approve a consular convention with the Soviet Union.

Now the American people have been exposed to an equal treatment telecast message from Premier Kosygin, a ranking, and full member of the Soviet Communist Party Politburo. Mr. Kosygin was presented live, via Early Bird, over all U.S. national television networks on February 9. He presented Communist-approved solutions for solving world problems including how to begin peace negotiations in Vietnam. And, inasmuch as Mr. Kosygin has attained high standing in the Communist Party, after loyal work in the Ministries of Industry and Finance and also as Chairman of the State Planning Commission (GOSPLAN), it was to be expected that his responses to written questions also would include a pitch for the expansion of Soviet trade. In any event no harm to the cause and image of the Communist Party resulted from Mr. Kosygin's telecast.

Mr. Kosygin's telecast relates to my remarks of January 18, 1967. At that time I stated my concern that the "administration is not capable of keeping up with the activities of the agencies of the Communist Soviet Government which are directly involved with distributing propaganda in the United States."

The country's unease in this matter has not yet been relieved.

The U.S. Information Agency and many people, including distinguished gentlemen from various parts of the country, have suggested or implied that the heart of the matter rests in the current Cultural Exchange Agreement which was signed and entered into with the Soviet Union on March 19, 1966.

It is to be hoped that the administration would not intentionally enter into a solemn agreement with the U.S.S.R. unless such agreement was meaningful. And in that part of the Cultural Exchange Agreement which provides for the exchange of information in the fields of printed materials, radio and television, it is to be hoped that the administration protected the best interests of the United States such that any exchange would be an equitable exchange.

Since the responsibility for negotiating and administering the provisions of such an agreement rests with the Department of State, I believe it would be constructively informative at this time to enter in the RECORD the exchange of correspondence about Communist propaganda I have had with the Department of State.

When the Department of State replies to my most recent letter of January 27, 1967, it is my sincere hope that the reply will give clear indications of the administration's plans for making an hour-and-a-quarter televised presentation to all Soviet citizens. In reciprocity for Mr. Kosygin's appearance here, it is natural for Americans to expect that the administration soon will skillfully present to the Soviet people this Government's proposals and plans for achieving an honorable peace in Vietnam.

The following points are brought out in my letter of January 6, 1967, to the Secretary of State and the Department's January 20 letter of reply:

First. As of October 12, 1966, the Secretary of State held the opinion that the Communist Party was getting behind in the competition in ideas with the free world. Aprpoximately 3 months later, Sputnik magazine, a vehicle for disseminating official Communist Party propaganda, was permitted entry into the United States.

Second. The Communist Party's device of substituting names of Soviet Government agencies for Communist Party activities apparently is acceptable to the Department of State. In other words, such words as "Moscow, U.S.S.R." printed in minuscule type—approximately one-half the size used in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—at the bottom of an inside page is adequate and can be equated with any need for clearly identifying Sputnik as being printed under the auspices of the Communist Party.

Third. Citizens of the Soviet Union are undernourished—in fact destitute—as concerns non-Communist ideas and opinions.

Fourth. A measure of doubt arises as to whether the Department of State made any attempt to obtain reciprocal rights—prior to the import of Sputnik, and in exchange for Sputnik—to export to the U.S.S.R. a similar magazine, for example, a Russian language edition of the Reader's Digest.

The correspondence follows:

JANUARY 6, 1967.

Hon. DEAN RUSK,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: News stories this week tell of a new Soviet magazine called *Sputnik*. It carries articles which have appeared previously in Soviet publications. Reportedly, 12,000 English language copies of the magazine's first edition, the January 1967 issue, are being distributed in the United States and circulation is expected to reach 50,000 before the year is out.

It is my understanding that in the Soviet Union the agency, GLAVLIT, reviews all printed matter of every kind and in so doing it performs pre-publication and post-publication censorship. I also understand that no publication may be exported and no publication may be imported without the permission of GLAVLIT. The need for GLAVLIT is, of course, clear. In the words of the Communist Party's theoretical journal, *Kommunist*, "The strength of our press lies in its idea content, its loyalty to the all conquering teaching of Marxism-Leninism . . ."

In the light of the above it would appear that the magazine *Sputnik*, as all material printed in the Soviet Union, is definitely a vehicle for disseminating Communist Party propaganda.

If the magazine *Sputnik* is now being imported into the U.S. two questions immediately arise:

1. Is each copy clearly identified as "Communist Propaganda"?

2. Did the United States Department of State proffer any agreement to the Soviet Union for the purpose of obtaining reciprocal rights to export to the U.S.S.R. a similar magazine, for example, a Russian language edition of Reader's Digest?

On October 12, 1966 you made an address entitled, "Requirements for Organizing the Peace." In your remarks you brought out the fact that economic production is growing more rapidly in the Free World than in Communist states. Then you went on to say:

"Even more important, communism is losing the competition in ideas."

It is my conviction that in any equitable competition between ideas generated by a free society and ideas generated by the Soviet Communist society that the latter would be defeated overwhelmingly. The key word, however, is "equitable". Within any society the opportunity for a victory of Free World ideas over Communist ideology is greatly diminished if rules are stacked against the Free world such that there is no equitable competition.

And in the Soviet Union the Communist Party destroyed the competition in ideas almost 50 years ago. I believe the records show that on November 9, 1917, two days after the Bolsheviks seized power, Lenin suppressed all non-Communist publications. Reportedly, Lenin stated at that time that the "press is one of the most powerful weapons" which is "not less dangerous than bombs and machine guns."

Mr. Khrushchev has said:

"We do not have a stronger, more effective instrument than our own press. The press is the best long-range weapon of our Party. We can if we select our newspaper articles well, hit the mark thousands of kilometers away . . ."

From what I can determine the present ruler of the U.S.S.R., Mr. Brezhnev, does not differ with the policy and statements of Lenin and Khrushchev as regards the usefulness of the printed word in advancing the cause of Communism. On May 5, 1966 *Pravda* used these words, ". . . the Soviet press—the mighty ideological weapon of the party, the collective propagandist, agitator and organizer. Our truly popular press, guarding and multiplying militant Bolshevik traditions, loyally serves the Communist Party . . ."

A requirement for organizing the peace should include specific plans and positive action for winning the competition in ideas. It would seem that meaningful efforts to establish equitable competition in ideas between the Free World and the world of the Bolsheviks are long overdue and that for the advancement of U.S. national interests such efforts are mandatory.

I invite your comments to the above.

Sincerely yours,
GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB,
Member of Congress.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 20, 1967.

Hon. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN LIPSCOMB: The Secretary has asked me to reply to your letter of January 6 concerning the new Soviet magazine *Sputnik*, which, I understand, is being offered for sale on newsstands in the United States this week.

You raise two specific questions regarding the magazine.

With regard to the first question—whether each copy is clearly identified as "Communist propaganda," the magazine does not carry such a label. However, its identity as a Soviet publication is clearly set forth and the fact that the American distributor has registered with the Department of Justice as an agent of Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga, Moscow, U.S.S.R., under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1948 is specified on the inside of the front cover.

Concerning the second question—whether the United States has received reciprocal rights to export a similar magazine in the Russian language to the U.S.S.R., the Department has raised the question with the Soviet Embassy and we now await a Soviet reply. In taking this action, we are continuing our efforts to achieve the very objective that you have set forth, namely, to establish an equitable competition in ideas.

Please let me know if I can be of any assistance in the future.

Sincerely yours,
DOUGLAS MACARTHUR II,
Assistant Secretary for
Congressional Relations.

JANUARY 27, 1967.

Hon. DEAN RUSK,
Secretary of State,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Thank you for the Department's January 20 reply to my letter of January 6, 1967. It arrived in my office on January 24.

On the matter of exports of a magazine similar to *Sputnik* to the Soviet Union, the Department's letter states you "now await a reply" from the Soviet Embassy. (This refers to the fact that the United States after having permitted the import of the Communist Party magazine, *Sputnik*, then approached the Soviet Embassy and raised the question of reciprocal rights to export a similar magazine to the USSR.) As it becomes available, I would appreciate learning:

1. The date and nature of the Soviet reply (complete text is desired if the release of it will not harm the national security of the United States).

2. The date of the Department of State's message to the Soviet Embassy to which you "now await a reply".

At this time, I would also like to determine what arrangements the Department of State has made with regard to having an official of the United States Government appear on a telecast to the entire citizenry of the Soviet Union.

Sincerely yours,
GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB,
Member of Congress.

William Preston Lane, Jr.

SPEECH

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, William Preston Lane, Jr., was a man of great foresight and political courage. His term as one of the greatest Governors ever to lead the Free State of Maryland was characterized by its preparation for things to come. Governor Lane mapped the prosperous and progressive road our State was to travel during and long after his term was over.

This great man has now passed on, and we all deeply mourn his death. His greatness, vision, and courage are aptly described in an editorial which appeared February 8, 1967, in the Baltimore Sun newspaper, and I insert the editorial at this point in the RECORD:

W. PRESTON LANE, JR.

In the list of Marylanders of statesman's stature, Preston Lane will have an honored place. He was a man of vision, intelligence and character. Above all, he was a man of courage. A citation for gallantry as an officer of the 115th Infantry in the Meuse-Argonne fighting of World War I testified to his physical courage; and his political courage was no less. Once the two were demonstrated together. In the early Thirties, when the State was disgraced by two lynchings on the Eastern Shore, Lane was attorney general. Warned that if he crossed the Bay to direct the search for the lynchers he faced violence, and beyond that an end to any political aspirations, he crossed the Bay. Stonings of his car did not deter him. "I detest and abhor intolerance and bigotry," he said, and so he did, all his life.

The passions of that time had subsided by 1946, when he was elected governor, but Lane had not changed. Politically, the fiscal reform he proposed in 1947, including as it did the sales tax, was said to be an invitation to personal disaster. He pressed for the program, and got it, and the condition of the State's financial affairs today serves as a reminder that the program carried us for almost two decades. There were other accomplishments: the realization of the 40-year-old dream of a bridge across the Bay, notable progress in road-building, a vast improvement in the quality of education in Maryland. But at the end of four years the phophets of political gloom were proven right, and the voters whose affairs had been so benefited by their own sales-tax pennies repudiated Lane in his attempt to win reelection. In disappointment, and in honor and dignity, he left the stage of public office.

The other aspects of his career, in the law, in business, in newspaper publishing, require no recitation. In all these fields, as in politics, he was an ornament to the State of which he and his forebears were citizens. As Maryland honors him today in death, those who knew Preston Lane grieve also at the passing of a friend of unforgettable warmth, wit and charm.

William Preston Lane

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE H. FALLON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, the Free State of Maryland has had a roster of Governors whose renown is not only national but international. With certainty it can be predicted that the name and fame of William Preston Lane, Jr., will be inscribed among the most eminent of our Maryland leaders.

We in Maryland mourn the loss of Pres Lane. In every aspect of his brilliant career he showed great leadership and the courage to back up his convictions. He was an astute and effective politician. He achieved much as Governor.

It was a privilege to know and watch Governor Lane in a distinguished career. To the heroic qualities he brought into the public service could be added a citation for vision. He effected reorganizations, reforms, and improvements all over our State which are often taken for granted today and regarded as elemental necessities. His fame will endure not only in Maryland but among the pantheon of great American statesmen and leaders.

The grieving members of his family have much indeed to be proud of—not only of Governor Lane's record as an outstanding Governor—but of his long career motivated at all times by his genuine love for his native Maryland and an earnest regard for the welfare of the people. To his wife and daughters, Mrs. Fallon and I extend our deepest sympathies.

Under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD the editorial which appeared in the Baltimore Evening Sun yesterday, February 8:

WILLIAM PRESTON LANE

When William Preston Lane, Jr., was awarded the Silver Star for gallantry in the Meuse-Argonne battle of World War I, more than a decade before he become Maryland's attorney general and nearly 30 years before he was elected governor, the citation commended his "courage, coolness and marked devotion to duty." Those were exactly the qualities which in a high degree distinguished the career of Mr. Lane the public servant and chief executive of the State as they had the action of Captain Lane the soldier.

In his political life Mr. Lane was a link between the Maryland of Gov. Albert C. Ritchie and the altogether different problems of the post-World War II period. It was under Ritchie that he served from 1930–1934 as the State's highest legal officer. And it was Mr. Lane as governor who wrestled with the large and urgent needs that had accumulated during the years when the energies and wealth of the states and localities, like those of the nation, had been chiefly absorbed by the great conflict. Though different in size some of the needs were remarkably like those that preoccupy us now. There were, for example, the questions of devising means of State aid for local governments, and of providing State assistance for the school system with particular reference to teachers' salaries, to the raising of standards and to the renewal of plant and facilities. In addition it was clear that the State's hospitals, especially in the case of the mental and tubercular institutions, required extensive improvement and it was equally plain that a new beginning had to be made on Maryland's road system, on its renovation and modernization, on better maintenance and new construction.

Governor Lane confronted these tasks with characteristic courage, with realism and with determination. He recognized that the necessary work could not be done without new revenue and that Maryland, heading into an era of rising costs, had to find more money if it was to progress. Realizing this, he struggled for and got the sales tax. He knew full well that politically it was a dangerously unpopular expedient, but since he also knew it was a sound program he never hesitated. He fought the fight for it and by winning the fight set the State on a fiscal course which kept it steady up to the present time.

With the same sure vision and tenacity of purpose he initiated reforms in education, undertook what seemed in their day to be notably ambitious roadbuilding plans, and drove to completion the long-discussed scheme for the construction of a great bay bridge. Indeed, it was Mr. Lane who with the same coolness of judgment he had shown on the battlefield, shaped Maryland's future in much of the pattern we know today. A great deal that citizens now take for granted, a great part of the foundation on which we now build, was his work. Although he failed of reeelction in 1950, chiefly because the effects of his long-range vision were obscured by small-minded exploitation of the sales tax issue, his achievements remained to testify to his stature as a statesman.

Maryland will remember William Preston Lane as one of its ablest leaders and honor him for the foresight, political valor and "marked devotion to duty" by which its people richly benefited.

Parent Participation Preschool Is a New Way To Spell Success

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, one of the most encouraging articles I have seen on Sacramento's war against poverty appeared in the Sacramento Bee on January 26. The article, entitled "Parent Participation Preschool Is a New Way To Spell Success," was written by Nancy Skelton. It describes an antipoverty project called parents participation preschool, or simply PPP, which enables the mothers of preschool children from poverty neighborhoods to actively participate in Headstart-type classes as subprofessional teacher aids.

Miss Skelton reports that to these mothers, "PPP spells hope. It spells a chance of fulfillment and a chance to get ahead in life which up until now has been filled with closed doors and one-way streets leading nowhere." Miss Skelton focuses on two of the PPP mothers, Mrs. Beulah Lopez and Mrs. Tommie Adams, to illustrate the enormous impact which this imaginative antipoverty project is having upon the residents of disadvantaged Sacramento neigborhoods.

Mr. Speaker, I think Miss Skelton's report on the PPP project is excellent, and I insert it at this point in the RECORD:

PARENT PARTICIPATION PRESCHOOL IS A NEW WAY TO SPELL SUCCESS

(By Nancy Skelton)

Say "PPP funded by the EOA" to an educator and he'll recognize it as official lingo for Parent Participation Preschools, supported in part by the federal Economic Opportunities Act.'

The people who take part in the project have a simpler translation.

To them, PPP spells hope. It spells a chance for fulfillment and a chance to get ahead in a life, which up until now has been filled with closed doors and one way streets leading nowhere.

Parent Participation Preschools are classes for 3 to 5-year-olds in which parents take part. There are 20 such classes operating in disadvantaged neighborhoods throughout Sacramento.

There is one teacher for each class, one teacher aide, a work experience high school boy and two mothers. Among them all, they see to it that 15 tiny students prepare themselves educationally, socially and culturally for Kindergarten.

It is a twin sister to the summertime Headstart project.

Our story concerns the teacher aides, two of them to be exact, who both agree that PPP has changed their lives. They are Beulah Lopez and Tommie Adams.

Much is written about the children's success in the project but there's a success story with the parents, too.

Beulah, a resident of the River Oaks housing project, became interested in PPP when it began operation three years ago at Jedediah Smith School. Her son was a preschooler and she, a participating mother.

Today she is the teacher aide, a contract employee of the Sacramento City Schools and is enrolled at Sacramento City College, working toward an education credential.

"The pre-school teacher, Marion Anderson, showed so much faith in me . . . gave me so much encouragement . . . I just had to go on," explains the energetic grandmother, who first of all set out to get her high school diploma at Fremont Adult Education School.

"I looked up the word education in the dictionary. It hadn't meant much to me before. It said 'to bring forth'. I decided that to bring forth the best in a person, you must put in, too."

Beulah was born in Clarkston, Wash. Her mother was half Nezperce Indian and her parents were farm people "with no time for schooling. We had struggles . . . people not accepting us because of our Indian background. My heart's desire now is to go back and help the Indian children in Idaho, to help them overcome their superstitions, which are the height of ignorance. You know, people still are afraid of the 'wild' Indians."

CARING AIDE

Beulah is a vital part of her PPP class, assisting the master teacher in planning activities, play periods and with the general "caring" which is necessary to make the children feel at home. There is hardly a child at Jedediah Smith who doesn't call Mrs. Lopez, "Beulah."

"Once, during the war, I was on a bus in San Francisco. I overheard two teenagers talking about their babysitting jobs. One said, 'When the kid won't go to sleep, I just hold it over the gas until it does.' We can't let the demand of children exceed the supply of people who care.

"You know, unless you become as a little child, you cannot enter the kingdom of heaven. I think that's where I'd like to go and I'm halfway there among these little children."

Beulah Lopez, an articulate, full-blown philosopher, has to grope for words when explaining what her teacher-aide job has meant: "I just couldn't tell you . . . there are no words to express it."

MOTHER OF SIX

Many of those who find their way to the PPP classes share a common predicament: The circumstances in their lives have overtaken them before they have a chance to do anything about it. That's the purpose of PPP, to see that—the children and their parents—get a chance.

Another teacher aide in the city schools program is Tommie Adams, a mother of six, ages 4 through 10. She has been divorced for three years and before entering PPP she was doing janitorial work. Now she has several units and a B average to her credit at Sacramento City College and "definitely" is going to get a teaching credential from Sacramento State. She is 30 years old.

Tommie came to the preschool as a participating mother three years ago. It has been teacher, Barbara Davis, and social worker, Berneice Clayton, who have encouraged her to become a teacher-aide.

"They really cared what I was doing . . . whether I succeeded or not. My kids think it's really terrific, too. They really get a kick when I go off to college at night."

Tommie also has worked as a Home Visitor for the program, going around to houses in the neighborhood "recruiting" children and parents.

MODISH TEACHER

"This job has taught me so many things . . . like how to communicate more with my own children," says the perky Mrs. Adams, a stylish dresser who leans toward the Mod fashions. "The mothers love it. It gives them a chance to get up and get dressed with somewhere to go . . . a chance to tell each other their problems. We're just like one big happy family.

"It's been fascinating for me. It seems I didn't know how to talk to children. Now, if there is a problem, I can redirect them instead of just yelling. This place gives you a good feeling. Some of the kids never had a bike or a puzzle before they came here. You have such a feeling of accomplishment . . . I don't believe I've ever been discouraged."

Tommie is a popular member of the Oak Ridge School staff, an expert jump rope turner, a good tear dryer and a friend.

"If one of the children is naughty, I just say, 'Now I like you, but I don't like what you did.'"

Tommie, a native of Texas, also received her high school diploma from the local adult education program. She plans to enroll at SSC when her youngest child is in school.

Beulah and Tommie work three hours every morning and are paid approximately $2.25 an hour under contract with the city schools. One gets the impression, however, that the time and money really don't matter.

As Beulah puts it: "This is more than just a job."

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An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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Appendix

A Tribute to Christian Archibald Herter

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. **BURKE** of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, when Christian A. Herter died on December 30, 1966, the Nation was deprived of one of its most dedicated servants of peace—a humble, and yet determined, statesman—who conceived of his mission, whether as diplomat, Congressman, or Governor, as a trust bestowed upon him by the people of a land insistent upon seeking harmony in a discordant world. He was, as the Manchester Guardian once called him, a "Boston gentleman," and at the same time, in the words of a well-known political analyst, "a moderate and a rational man." For these reasons, no less than for his ability in the international sphere, not only this Nation, but also the world, feels acutely his loss.

I should like to note at this time the affection with which he was regarded abroad, as well as at home. He was molded in the classic pattern of what a diplomat should be: born in Paris of expatriate artist parents, he learned German and French as well as English, before being brought to the United States at the age of 9. He once spoke in Paris, after his birth:

> The first sentence that comes to mind is "Each man has two countries, his own and France." This sentence, which is so true, has been repeated millions of times, and I believe I can apply it to myself: France is certainly my second country because it is the land of my birth.

Said the French Journal du Dimanche, upon his appointment:

> France . . . gets a friend in Herter. He is a friend, almost a relative, who from the time of his birth in Paris has preserved a deep affection for France.

I do not wish to belabor the point; I wish only to illustrate that Christian Herter was a man of cosmopolitan background, brought up in the traditions of both politics and social grace, and that he combined the best of both in a way that won for him personally, and for the country he represented, the affection of the world. Such tributes do not come without respect for the ability, as well as love for the character, of the man. Nor was the esteem in which he was held abroad limited to France. I might cite one, among many, tributes paid him, again upon his accession to the highest position in the State Department, the praise of then-Chancellor Raab of Australia, who considered him "a true friend of our country, and a man capable of fulfilling the difficult task the United States is facing at the present time."

After graduating cum laude from Harvard, Christian Herter elected to pursue the study of art—what seemed to him then foremost among his several interests; consequently, he enrolled at Columbia University's Architecture School and New York's School of Applied Design. But he was persuaded in 1916, at the age of 21, to take a minor post in the U.S. Embassy in Berlin, from which he was forced to leave when the United States entered World War I against the Kaiser. Already he demonstrated his diplomatic ability when, arrested in Mainz as a suspected spy, he escaped possible summary execution by means of his persuasive skill, convincing his interrogators that he was indeed a member of the U.S. Embassy staff. From that time on, he spent most of his life in either political or diplomatic posts, serving several Presidents of both parties.

He acted as secretary to a special commission that negotiated a prisoner-of-war agreement with Germany in 1918, and in the same year worked as a staff member of the American commission to negotiate the peace at Versailles. In 1919 he went again to Europe, this time to assist Herbert Hoover, who was directing the American Relief Administration. When Mr. Hoover—whose son Herter would replace as Under Secretary of State in 1956—when the elder Hoover became Commerce Secretary in 1921, he picked Herter as his assistant.

Later, disillusioned with Washington, the young and idealistic Herter in 1924 took over the ownership and coeditorship of the Independent magazine, in which position he urged the United States to "shed its isolationist fear" and join the League of Nations. Unable to remain aloof from political activity for long, however, Herter was elected in 1931 to the Massachusetts State House of Representatives, where he served until 1943; from 1943 to 1953 he served with distinction in this House of Representatives. He was, at the time of his appointment as Secretary of State in 1959, "singularly blessed with an enormous fund of affection and respect in Congress," wrote the New York Times, assessing his potential.

> In fact—

Continued the Times—

> he had not a single enemy of any substance in Congress. For a Secretary of State in this age, this fact borders on the miraculous.

Christian Herter's record of service—his part in laying the groundwork for the Marshall plan—is too well known to bear expansion here. It is a tribute to the depth of human concern which characterized every aspect of his public life that when he received the $10,000 Collier's Award in 1948 for distinguished congressional service, he donated the money to the Foreign Service Educational Foundation.

Herter, who never lost an election, served effectively and efficiently as Governor of Massachusetts from 1952 to 1956. Called back to Washington in 1956, he began his appointment as Under Secretary of State. Appointed in 1959 to the job held for so long and so forcefully by John Foster Dulles, Herter succeeded to a position for which he had been recommended by Dulles himself. The Senate, in a gesture of its confidence in, and respect for, his ability, approved his appointment unanimously, after suspending the rule requiring a waiting period of 7 days for confirmation.

Although as Secretary of State, he was beseiged with international difficulties, among which the most prominent was the diplomatic stir following the downing of an American U-2 plane in the Soviet Union, Herter never failed to believe in politics, and foreign affairs, as "the art of the possible." He never ceased to believe that courteousness and good manners are essential concomitants to political acumen and diplomatic firmness, and he left his mark of cultivation and gentility upon all those he touched. His internationalism was apparent until his death, when he was serving as the Government's chief planner and negotiator on foreign trade, a position to which he was appointed by the late President Kennedy. That he accepted this post, despite the hardships of arthritis, from which he had suffered for 25 years, despite the fact that he had already served his country more than well, is a tribute in itself. The pursuits of old age, the devotion to his family and his avocations, were not to take precedence over duty conceived and implemented in the service of peace and motivated by selfless compassion for human kind. The Washington Post, in an editorial following his death, perhaps best summarizes the record of his accomplishments:

> His influence on the Republican Party was great and possibly decisive. . . . As Governor, Congressman, Undersecretary and Secretary of State, and as a national party leader, he used his enormous influence, great talent and personal charm in the constant pursuit of peace through collective international efforts.
>
> There might have been a Marshall Plan without him, but without him that plan might never have had the strong bi-partisan support that made it a national instead of an administration purpose.
>
> There might have been a test-ban treaty without him, but he gave the striving for such a treaty its initial impulse and its earliest attention and the foundations he laid resulted in the final achievement.
>
> There might have been a reorientation of American policy devoted to cultivating the good will and cooperation of the unaligned nations, but that post-Dulles change got its impetus from him and derived much of its thrust from his own friendly, amiable and tolerant personality.

What Is Stewart Udall Up To?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, on February 7 the Tucson Daily Citizen ran an editorial alleging that even the Governor of Arizona was stunned and bewildered by Interior Secretary Udall's switcheroo on proposals for the Colorado River. He has dumped the seven State basin development plan he formerly favored. Now he wants a parochial three counties in Arizona plan. Presumably these are that State's most populous politically potent counties. Only 2 days prior to the Daily Citizen's puzzlement a California newspaper, the Long Beach Independent-Press-Telegram, ran a piece which might provide the answer. The items from both newspapers are reproduced below:

[From the Long Beach (Calif.) Independent-Press-Telegram, Feb. 5, 1967]

START OF A CAMPAIGN?—UDALL WATER SWITCH SUSPECTED

WASHINGTON.—Interior Secretary Stewart Udall's turnaround on the Colorado River issue last week buttressed speculation that he'd like to leave the administration for a berth in the United States Senate.

The crew-cut cabinet member made a policy switcheroo in which he abandoned a regional approach to utilizing the river's highly coveted water and came forth with a plan to benefit almost entirely to Arizona.

Although other states howled with rage at being sold down the river, the new Udall scheme made him many points in his home state of Arizona.

The Arizona reaction to his new stand could serve Udall well if speculation is correct that he's going to run for the Senate there next year.

The seat is held by venerable Carl Hayden, who'll be 90 years old next year but who has said he'll run again. However, there is a good chance that he might be persuaded to change his mind.

The seat will also be sought by Barry Goldwater, and the president would like to see the 1964 GOP presidential nominee opposed by the strongest Democrat possible.

[From the Tucson (Ariz.) Daily Citizen, Feb. 7, 1967]

NEW CAP PLAN BAFFLES STATE

Gov. Jack Williams expressed bewilderment last week when he was advised of a drastically revised Central Arizona Project proposed by the Johnson Administration.

The Arizona governor could have added that he was stunned. He, as were most Arizonans, was caught completely off guard by Interior Secretary Stewart Udall's proposal which reduces the seven-state regional plan to a three-county Arizona plan. Sen. Paul Fannin was wise to call at once for a meeting of Arizona's congressional delegation with state leaders.

The last session of Congress considered a block-buster $2.1 billion regional water plan to develop water resources in the lower Colorado River Basin. The Central Arizona Project was part of the regional plan. So were two dams on the Colorado River, Hualapai and Marble Canyon dams.

The bill made more progress than ever before, but it still died in committee. Some of the seven states, including Arizona, vowed to renew the quest for vital water in the 90th Congress.

So far Arizona and two other states have introduced bills which are modified versions of the last session's seven-state regional plan. Arizona's, for instance, whittled the bill down by eliminating one of the two controversial dams opposed by the conservationist Sierra Club.

These states and Congress in general were caught by surprise by Secretary Udall's unexpected $719 million scaled-down plan. Reaction generally was complete bewilderment, but among Arizona legislators bewilderment slowly has turned to anger.

Secretary Uail's plan, if translated into legislation, means that Congress will enact legislation which would increase costs of water users and real property taxpayers in just three counties of one state.

And, this is what makes Arizonans angry. If the CAP is going to be an Arizona affair only, why is this a matter just for Congress to decide? And why is it necessary to abandon the Marble Canyon Dam, which would not spoil the Grand Canyon and which would help finance CAP?

Certainly, Arizona is in a better position than Congress to determine how to proceed with a project that will be of benefit to the entire state, not just to three of the state's counties as Secretary Udall's plan suggests.

Too Late To Stop Space Drive Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Mr. William Hines reviews the current status of the manned lunar landing program in an article February 2, 1967, in the Washington Evening Star. Although Mr. Hines feels that a thorough analysis must be made of the recent tragic loss of Astronauts Grissom, White, and Chaffee, he reaches the conclusion that it is shortsighted to stop now in our effort to land and return a man safely from the moon. The editorial follows:

TOO LATE TO STOP SPACE DRIVE NOW

(By William Hines)

Now that the initial shock of the tragedy at Pad 34 is beginning to wear off, the second guessers are stirring. They are wondering—with a murmur now that will grow to a shout later—whether we should be going to the moon at all.

The time to have asked this question was 68 months ago, when the proposition was first laid out. The late President Kennedy challenged Congress to hash out the matter thoroughly before setting the nation on the road to the moon. Congress listened to his May 25, 1961, space message with slack-jawed wonderment and then—with little debate and no dissenting votes—authorized the moon program.

Thus Congress—as well as the administration and the nation as a whole—is stuck with Project Apollo, and any six-year veteran of Capitol Hill who raises his voice in doubt now is in peril of being asked where he was when the great debate didn't materialize.

There are probably as many good reasons for not going to the moon as for going, but now is not the time to bring them up. The United States has laid its prestige on the line. It has spent most of the billion dollars Apollo will cost, and it would probably be harder now to turn the program off than it was to turn it on in the first place.

In addition—to be just a bit mawkish about it—it would dishonor the memories of astronauts "Gus" Grissom, Ed White and Roger Chaffee to scrub the program now because they died so suddenly and tragically. In a sense, dying in that way is what test pilots are for.

There is probably some justification for the assertion, sometimes heard here and there, that Kennedy sold the country a tremendous bill of goods on that May afternoon almost six years ago.

He was new in office, a bit bloodied by the Bay of Pigs fiasco and the Russian propaganda victory scored the month before by Yuri Gargarin in the spacecraft Vostok I. In addition, he had been elected on a promise "to get America moving again," and how better do that than propose something he would not be called upon to deliver for seven or eight years?

But if Kennedy ranks as the outstanding real estate salesman of all time in selling Congress the moon, he was at least candid with the legislators about the difficulties. He told them flatly, "No single space project . . . will be so difficult or expensive to accomplish."

And he told them, too, that it was their decision to reach: "This is the judgment which the members of Congress must finally make—let it be clear that I am asking the Congress and the country to accept a firm commitment to a new course of action—a course which will last for many years and carry very heavy costs."

And then the President put it right to the legislators—to go all-out or forget about it:

"If we are to go only half way, or to reduce our sights in the face of difficulties, in my judgment it would be better not to go at all. It is a heavy burden, and there is no sense in agreeing or desiring that the United States take an affirmative position in outer space unless we are prepared to do the work and bear the burdens to make it successful. If we are not, we should decide today and this year."

Well, the decision was made, and five and one-half years later we found ourselves roughly half way to the moon (in work done, not in time elapsed) and currently in the face of a very great difficulty. What is to be done?

From any rational point of view, the only thing to do is carry on. The Apollo program necessarily will mark time until the true cause of the spacecraft disaster is located and corrected. It is conceivable that the delay could cause the Dec. 31, 1969, deadline to be missed. It is entirely possible that the Russians will get to the moon ahead of us.

But so what? The world will not end, or the United States vanish, if Russians beat us to the moon, any more than the Soviet Union would vanish if we got there first. Kennedy covered this point, too, in his amazingly prescient message of May 1961:

"While we cannot guarantee that we shall one day be the first, we can guarantee that any failure to make this effort will make us last."

It would be senseless to stop now. Fortunately, it probably also would be impossible.

National Teachers Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 12, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, distinct advantages of the National Teachers Corps were pointed out to me this week by a Buffalo resident who has witnessed the Corps' effect on his city. As Mr. Gary E. Zimmerman observed in a letter to me, there is a real necessity for competent followup programs for the Headstart system.

Because the Corps will only be funded by Congress until June of this year—I strongly recommend that Congress look into the importance of its continuation. I am including Mr. Zimmerman's well-documented letter on the matter for your careful consideration:

FEBRUARY 1, 1967.

Representative RICHARD D. MCCARTHY,
U.S. Courthouse, Buffalo, N.Y.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE MCCARTHY: I would like to express my thoughts about the need for the continuation of the National Teachers Corps in the five Buffalo public schools. Recently in the newspapers, I read about the importance of follow-up eductaional programs for the Headstart programs. This is precisely what the National Teachers Corps is doing in the elementary schools. It serves the unique educational needs of disadvantaged children in our city by following up preschool programs.

From first hand observations in Buffalo, I have seen the young, energetic practical interns in the Corps expending great amounts of time and energy studying to become elementary school teachers, working in disadvantaged schools and neighborhood organizations at night. Their program is rigorous, it has vision, and it deals with obvious needs of children. The State University College at Buffalo on Elmwood Avenue is sponsoring and educating the twenty-four men and women in the Corps. Under the competent leadership of Caryl G. Hedden, Director of the National Teachers Corps in Buffalo, there is a new emphasis upon preparing teachers for disadvantaged children.

The National Teachers Corps has been funded to June, 1967 by Congress. If the Corps is not funded beyond June, 1967, it is doomed and Buffalo will lose a valuable community asset. You must vote "yes" for the continuation of the Corps.

Sincerely,

GARY E. ZIMMERMAN.

Congressman L. Mendel Rivers

SPEECH
OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. I am delighted to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I am so pleased that the gentleman from Maryland has taken the time to say these words about the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina, who is chairman of one of the great committees of the Congress. I am pleased, too, that my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ARENDS], who serves on that committee and who has served on it for many years, has joined in this deserved tribute.

Mr. Speaker, it is easy to criticize—and in the business that we are in as Representatives of the people in this great legislative body, it seems as if criticism is the order of the day—almost every day and every hour of the day.

On the other hand, it is oftentimes very difficult, I know, to point out the tremendous good that so many of our Members do day after day with little or no recognition. Constructive work gets too little attention.

Mr. Speaker, I came to the Congress at the same time as our colleague, MENDEL RIVERS, a good many years ago. He is one of the most dedicated and devoted Members we have and I was so glad that the gentleman from Maryland has pointed out that he not only has found acceptance and favor with the officers of our armed services of our country but that he is equally respected and admired by the enlisted men in our armed services—which indicates his broad interest in all who serve this great country of ours.

I congratulate the gentleman on the statement he has made and I concur in the fine remarks he has uttered here.

United Nations Organization Versus U.S.A.: A Case for Reapportionment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, one person, one vote. Such is the ordered equality-of-votes theory called "reapportionment" legislated into law as a progressive humanitarian reform by our Supreme Court in 1965.

Since this decision, every citizen has been swayed into equalitarianism by the constant promise of full and inflation-free voting power. State legislatures have been ordered, in the name of law and justice, to redivide and equalize their legislative bodies. Congressional districts have been reformed, altered, or enlarged, and the judicial system overfilled with suit after suit as well-meaning citizens search for the golden tomorrow of equality-of-vote power.

Truly, America of today is suffering from the neurosis of "one person-one vote"-ism. Convicts are freed, laws declared illegal, and taxes voided—all because of guideline findings of inequities in apportionment.

If you consider yoursef to be an American and believe in representative government, regardless of your feelings on the reapportionment decision, consider this constitutional case for reapportionment:

The United Nations Organization has a total of 122 voting members. Using population census figures from the World Almanac, we find the 1960 population of New York City to be 7,781,984. Compare the populations of 69 voting members of the United Nations Organization with that of New York City.

(See table below.)

Thus, New York City, with a population of 7,781,984, contains more people than 69 (or over half) of the voting member nations of the United Nations Organization General Assembly. Radical discrimination against the people of New York City who have no vote. Unless we are of the opinion that the peoples of Africa and Latin America are more educated, better disciplined, and trained in the art of government and world leadership than are the folks in New York City.

Using again the World Almanac we find one of our smallest States in area, Rhode Island, with a population of 859,488. Yet, 10 members of the UNO General Assembly—with 10 votes—are each smaller in population:

1. Barbados	245,000
2. Botswana	559,000
3. Cyprus	598,000
4. Gabon	462,000
5. Gambia	330,000
6. Guyana	647,000
7. Iceland	208,000
8. Kuwait	468,000
9. Luxembourg	331,000
10. Maldive Islands	97,000

Further, the combined populations of these 10 countries together with the populations of four other UNO voters:

1. Congo (Brazzaville)	900,000
2. Lesotho	858,000
3. Trinidad and Tobago	975,000
4. Mauritania	1,000,000
Total	7,678,000

Or a total of 14 General Assembly votes does not represent the combined populations of New York City at 7,781,984. Discrimination against New York City and Rhode Island?

Rather, discrimination against all of us citizens of the United States? The 1960 population of the United States of America was 179,323,175. The total combined populations of a majority, over 51 percent, of the voting member nations of the UNO General Assembly is less than the population of the United States of America. Yet, our country, the United States of America, has but one.

And consider this. The Soviet Union has three votes in the United Nations Organization: U.S.S.R., Byelorussia, and the Ukraine—the latter two countries being Russian states—the United States of America has 50 States, but only one vote. Equal representation?

What has happened to the application of the "one person, one vote" dream? Was it a sincere application or only a tool to be used against local representative government and individual liberty? The same President is in office. Mr. Katzenbach and Mr. KENNEDY are here in Washington. But rather than suggesting irregularity, inequity, discrimination, denial of human rights, they glamorize the "paper bag" monster as if it were holy or sacred. They seem to use the United Nations as a front to stymie American progress.

Arthur Goldberg—UNO's Ambassador to Washington—who has a law degree and some judicial training, was on the same Supreme Court that subjected the American people to apportionment. Now, he and his fellow judicial mechanics promote and espouse "a world ordered under the law." Whose law? Where is the law to come from? No member of the United Nations organization has ever been voted into office by any nation. No government has commissioned by its representative bodies such drivel. Could he be suggesting law enacted by an "unapportioned" United Nations General Assembly of men who have never been voted into office nor given such authority by their people? Certainly these men have heard of the failing of government usurped from people without representation. It is adequately defined in history as tyranny. The ultraleft extremists are silent, permitting the clock to be turned backward.

Although unelected by our people and approving of this gross discrimination against the people of the United States, even Mr. Goldberg, as a legally trained man, should awaken to the needs of the times and be expected to answer to reason and recognize this conspiracy against "equal rights" for his once fellow countrymen. For as a once jurist he must realize, under his rule of law, nothing enacted or considered by an unapportioned body can become a valid binding law against Americans, whether by treaty, Executive order, or otherwise. It is but a farce. To comply violates the law of our land. To enforce it, treason.

United Nations Organization Member Nations Smaller Than New York City

New York City	7, 781, 984
1. Albania	1, 865, 000
2. Austria	7, 255, 000
4. Bolivia	3, 697, 000
5. Botswana[1]	559, 000
6. Burundi[1]	2, 600, 000
7. Cambodia	6, 200, 000
8. Cameroon[1]	5, 210, 000
9. Central African Republic[1]	1, 352, 000
10. Chad	4, 000, 000
11. Congo (Brazzaville)	900, 000
12. Costa Rica	1, 433, 000
13. Cuba	7, 631, 000
14. Cyprus	598, 000
15. Dahomey[1]	2, 300, 000
16. Denmark	4, 758, 000
17. Dominican Republic	3, 619, 000
18. Ecuador	5, 084, 000
19. El Salvador	2, 929, 000
20. Finland	4, 630, 000
21. Gabon (U.N. population)[1]	462, 000
22. Gambia[1]	330, 000
23. Ghana[1]	7, 740, 000
24. Guatemala	4, 438, 000
25. Guinea[1]	3, 500, 000
26. Guyana	647, 000
27. Haiti	4, 600, 000
28. Honduras	2, 284, 000
29. Iceland	208, 000
30. Ireland	2, 563, 000
31. Israel	2, 563, 000
32. Ivory Coast[1]	3, 750, 000
33. Jamaica	1, 800, 000
34. Jordan	1, 876, 000
35. Kuwait	468, 000
36. Laos	3, 000,000
37. Lebanon	2, 152, 000
38. Lesotho[1]	858, 000
39. Liberia[1]	1, 066, 000
40. Libya[1]	1, 617, 000
41. Luxembourg	331, 000
42. Madagascar[1]	6, 262, 000
43. Malawi[1]	3, 753, 000
44. Maldive Islands	97, 000
45. Mali[1]	4, 576, 000
46. Malta	319, 000
47. Mauritania[1]	1, 000, 000
48. Mongolia	1, 019, 000
49. New Zealand	2, 647, 282
50. Nicaragua	1, 655, 000
51. Niger[1]	3, 328, 000
52. Norway	3, 738, 000
53. Panama	1, 246, 000
54. Paraguay	2, 030, 000
55. Rwanda[1]	3, 000, 000
56. Senegal[1]	3, 490, 000
57. Sierra Leone[1]	2, 200, 000
58. Singapore	1, 865, 000
59. Somalia[1]	2, 500, 000
60. Sweden	7, 773, 000
61. Syria	5, 399, 000
62. Togo[1]	1, 617, 000
63. Trinidad and Tobago	975, 000
64. Tunisia[1]	4, 675, 000
65. Uganda[1]	7, 551, 000
66. Upper Volta[1]	4, 858, 000
67. Uruguay	2, 845, 734
68. Yemen	5, 000, 000
69. Zambia[1]	3, 710,000

[1] Following country signifies located in Africa.

Harvard University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, there has been a great deal of comment, both privately and in the press, regarding political ramifications of recent developments at Harvard University. This situation has caused a great deal of concern from popular Washington seeress, Jeane Dixon to author William S. White.

An article appeared recently in the Washington Post regarding this problem at Harvard. Believing that it will be of interest to my colleagues, I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Jan. 15, 1967]

A BRITISH VIEW: HARVARD ENCLAVE TURNS INTO KENNEDY POWER CENTER

(NOTE.—Henry Fairlie, a British journalist now residing in Washington, wrote this article for today's issue of the Sunday Telegraph in London.)

(By Henry Fairlie)

Money moves in these times in mysterious ways its wonders to perform. There is no longer any reason for it to be openly corrupt or for those who accept it to be openly venal. It operates through bodies, whether foundations or trusts, whether endowments or grants, which are not only legal but respectable.

When it is Kennedy money, or Kennedy-controlled money, which is involved, one would expect to find this new system of wealth working with both exceptional directness and exceptional subtlety. When one gets to Harvard University, at Cambridge, Mass., this is exactly what one finds.

What follows is not the exposure of a scandal or a racket. It is the exposure of the way in which, under the most discreet and respectable and legal arrangements, money today wields power and wields it expertly and deliberately.

The story needs to be told carefully, for it is a story in which the small qualifications, the small arrangements, matter. Big wealth operates today in the pages which are printed in small type. It is with the small type that we must be concerned.

In its issue of Oct. 29, 1966, the Harvard Alumni Bulletin ran a story with this lead paragraph:

"A glittering company foregathered on the top floor of Holyoke Center the evening of Oct. 17 to celebrate the creation of the Institute of Politics. Among 80 guests of the president and fellows of Harvard were eight members of the Kennedy family, four Senators (two of them Kennedys), more than a dozen former officials of the Kennedy Administration."

Before this glittering company foregathered, there had been at Havard a perfectly chaste Graduate School of Administration, which could boast the kind of scholars one expects a university like Harvard to attract and encourage.

Suddenly, as a result of an assassination, there appeared in Harvard an organization which carries the title, The Kennedy Library Corporation. This is the governing body of the fund which has been collected, and is still being collected, to establish a memorial in Cambridge to John F. Kennedy.

The short description of its composition is one which was given to me in Cambridge by someone who has had dealings with it: "It's chairman is Eugene Black, of the Chase Manhattan Bank: it includes men like George Meany, of the AFL–CIO, and for the rest, it is really Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and the family." The family, of course, is the Kennedys themselves.

This body then decided to move in—there is no other phrase—on Harvard. It decided to rename the Graduate School of Administration, and attach to it a quite new body, the Institute of Politics. It is here that the plot thickens. I am probably the only member of the general public who has seen the letter in which the Kenndy Library Corporation laid down its terms to the Harvard Corporation, which is the governing body of Harvard University.

It is worth noticing that the letter from the Kennedy Library Corporation to Harvard Corporation was, in fact, a letter from one partner of an established Boston law firm to another partner. "In these matters," said someone who should know, "New England is really much worse than old England."

ITEMS OF AGREEMENT

Three items of the agreement should be noticed, First, there was the insistence that the Graduate School of Administration should be renamed the John F. Kennedy School of Government. Harvard has never before named any department or school after any donor. Indeed, it had to go to court in order to get permission to make the change which the Kennedy family demanded, but there, in the final letter of agreement, are the strict words: "Harvard Corporation shall go to court . . ."

It is worth reporting the comment of one of the best scholars within the School of Government. "If we accept this as a precedent we will become like Brandeis College, where even the lavatory seats have inscriptions which say, 'In memory of * * *'" Harvard, in fact, degraded itself by accepting this condition.

Secondly, in the agreement, there was the firm condition that the newly established Institute of Politics should have its own "Advisory Committee." Again, in black and white, there was the strict statement that a member of the Kennedy family should be a member of this Advisory Committee and that while they live it should be either the widow of the President or one of his brothers. The present representative on the Committee is Jacqueline Kennedy.

TWO ENDOWMENTS

Thirdly, the agreement stated the amount and the form of the endowment. To put it briefly, the total endowment of the Institute of Politics will be $10 Million. The total endowment of the John F. Kennedy School of Government will be $3.5 million. The Institute's income from this endowment will rise from something over $300,000 this year to something over $500,000 by 1976. But the point to notice is the discrepancy between the endowment of the school, which is the established scholarly body, and the endowment of the Institute.

It is obvious, then, in the Institute that the Kennedy family—or, more formally, the Kennedy Library Corporation—is most interested. But it was the endowment and the renaming of the School of Administration which gave it its foothold. Without this endowment and renaming, it would have been very difficult to establish the Institute within Harvard.

Why this interest in the Institute? One must look first at its composition.

NEUSTADT IS DIRECTOR

At its head stands its director, Prof. Richard Neustadt. He is the archetype of the strange American phenomenon, the man who crosses, backwards and forwards, from the world of scholarship to the world of politics, without being too disturbed by the possible conflict. He has been an adviser to President Truman, to President Kennedy and to President Johnson.

Would he be an adviser to another President Kennedy? Probably not in Washington, I suspect. But it is idle to pretend that his role in the Kennedy circle is insignificant.

He is an operator; this is one thing which makes his conversation and his writings about politics both entertaining and instructive. He knows perfectly well the nature of the operation which he has been invited to conduct, and if anyone can guide the Institute to some satisfactory activity it is he.

Beneath him are the members of the Institute, who are also on its Planning Committee. All of them are professors at Harvard. But this only shows how immaculate was the original conception of linking the Institute of Politics with Harvard's established faculties and schools. The respectability of the Institute is, in this way, built in, just as it itself has been built in.

ALL SERVED IN WASHINGTON

They are all men who, at some stage in their careers, have served in Washington, and who, except for the more elderly of them, might expect to be invited back to Washington one day. Two of them stand out, and and help to tell a little more of the story. It is precisely because they are both exceptionally able men that they should be noticed.

The first is Prof. Adam Yarmolinsky. He left Washington last year to become a professor of law at Harvard, a member of the Institute of Politics, and the chairman of its fellowship committee.

CLOSE TO M'NAMARA

As Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, he was close to Robert McNamara, and remains closely associated with him. He left President Johnson's Administration with a considerable, if justified, personal grievance. He would certainly like to return to Washington some day, under a suitable President, and the most suitable in sight is Sen. Robert Kennedy.

The second name worth noticing is Prof. Daniel P. Moynihan. He was in Washington—and still is at Harvard—one of the most gifted minds in public life in America. Passionately serious without being heavy or earnest, his first interest is the Negro in the city. Again, there is not the slightest doubt that he would like to return to Washington—under a President Robert Kennedy.

To these, it is perhaps worth adding a third name: Prof. Cary Kaysen. Director of the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton, he has visiting-member status at the Institute of Politics in Cambridge. Again one meets a former member of the John F. Kennedy Administration likely to be called upon in any future Kennedy Administration.

POSTS THEY HAVE HELD

From the members of the Institute, to its fellows: these are youngish men, largely drawn from inside the Administration in Washington, who spent a year at the Institute. Their former posts are worth listing:

Carl Alperovitz, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs.

David Filvaroff, Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

Stephen Horn, Administrative Assistant to Sen. Thos. H. Kuchel (R-Calif.).

Andreas Lowenfeld, deputy legal adviser in the State Department.

Jonathan Moore, legislative assistant to former Sen. Leverett Saltonstall (R-Mass.).

John G. Palfrey, formerly of the Atomic Energy Commission.

John G. Stewart, special assistant to Vice President.

Richard Tuttle, director in Jackson (Miss.) of the office of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights.

John G. Wofford, staff assistant to the deputy director of the Community Action Program.

To these may be added the rather surprising name of a British citizen, Sir Eric Roll, who retired on Oct. 1 as permanent Under Secretary to the Department of Economic Affairs.

But, this month, there has been one more addition. A distinguished Washington journalist, Philip Geyelin, is in the process of leaving his former post as diplomatic correspondent of the Wall Street Journal for a key appointment on the editorial page of The Washington Post. In the month between jobs he has been made an extraordinary fellow of the Institute.

OTHERS TO BE BROUGHT IN

There is a group of men in public life who are going to be brought to the Institute periodically throughout the year. This group includes Alan Otten, of the Washington Bureau of the Wall Street Journal, and Max Frankel of the New York Times.

It should be obvious by now that the Kennedy Institute of Politics provides the most convenient opportunity for attracting under the Kennedy name men who are at present serving in the Johnson Administration, who are hoping to be employed by, and would be useful to, another Kennedy Administration, and who, as influential political journalists, have valuable services to offer in the future.

If there is any doubt about this, it is about to be removed. In the White House today, there is one special assistant to the President of exceptional quality, Francis Bator. Although it has not been announced, he has accepted a professorship within the John F. Kennedy School of Government, and the post of Director of Studies within the Institute.

The assumption is that he will return to Washington one day.

MOTIVE AND INTENT

Prof. Yarmolinsky made a nice distinction between "motive" and "intent" when he was talking of those who are brought to the Institute. Certainly, neither motive nor intent is being attributed here to those who accept the Institute's invitations, offers, and hospitality.

But the fact remains that one cannot examine the list of members, or the list of fellows, or the list of faculty associates, without recognizing that within Harvard's boundaries and constitution, there now exists an apparently respectable body which is precisely organized to attract men out of the public service until they may, at a convenient time, be returned to it.

One must return, at this point to the original endowment and constitution. The first point is that very little of the money collected by the Kennedy Library Corporation is actually Kennedy money. But the control of the Kennedy family over the funds is assured.

Far more significant is the fact that, of the endowment of $10 million of the Institute of Politics, $2.5 million came directly from the Ford Foundation, technically as part of the Kennedy Library Corporation's gift. Who is head of the Ford Foundation? None other than McGeorge Bundy, formerly special assistant to both President Kennedy and President Johnson.

BUNDY'S AMBITION

Bundy's close association with Sen. Robert Kennedy is no secret. Nor is his ambition to be Secretary of State. Again, this is not to attribute motive or intent. One is merely illustrating how large wealth in these days, through endowments and foundations, becomes entangled in, and itself entangles, the operation of political power.

The only Kennedy who has any formal relationship with the Institute is Jacqueline Kennedy, as a member of the Advisory Committee. The other members of the Committee are a fairly representative group of what for want of a better term, one may call America's Eastern Establishment.

This Committee is to meet as a group once a year. But it has an executive secretary, Michael Forrestal, and its members can be contacted at any time.

Still, to my perpetual question: Why should there be an Advisory Committee at all if the Institute is a genuine part of Harvard University responsible to the Harvard Corporation?—I received only one direct and convincing answer. "The Advisory Committee will come into play when the President's widow decides it should come into play."

The Advisory Committee, with the firm condition that one Kennedy should be a member of it, is the formal sanction which underlies the informal but continuing interest that the Kennedy family takes in the running of the Institute. That interest is displayed actively and strongly by Sen. Robert Kennedy.

HEAD OF THE FAMILY

"It is an Irish family," said one leading figure at Cambridge, "and there is a head of the family." Indeed, at one meeting concerned with the affairs of the Institute some time ago, when Sen. Edward Kennedy offered an opinion, his brother interrupted: "Now, Teddy, remember what father said, that I am head of the family."

It is, of course, impossible to get any confirmation of the Kennedys' influence on appointments. One leading member admitted to me that there were certain problems which were taken to Robert Kennedy. But one hardly needs more confirmation than the list of the main appointments themselves. Whether past members of the Kennedy circle, whether aspiring members of it, or whether men the Kennedys would like to attract into it, they are all potential members of any future Kennedy Administration.

By means which are entirely legal and respectable and discreet, the Kennedys have established, with funds collected in memory of John F. Kennedy, a recruiting college. That valuable work may be done there is beside the point. It could have been done without the formal and informal connections which the Kennedys have insisted on retaining with the Institute.

If they did not insist on these connections for the purpose which seems apparent one can only ask why the John F. Kennedy School of Government and the Kennedy Institute of Politics were not endowed in the simple manner which most donors have found adequate in the past.

Dollars and Cents in Space Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Marquis Childs, in the Washington Post of February 1, offers a challenging analysis of the continuation of our space program today. He evaluates the tragic loss of our astronauts, the current condition of the NASA budget, and the Soviet progress in space. Considering these elements, Mr. Childs arrives at what seems to be the only logical answer to our continued progress as a Nation. I commend this brief but searching article to your reading:

DOLLARS AND CENTS IN SPACE PROGRAMS

(By Marquis Childs)

A distinguished American space specialist just returned from two weeks in the Soviet Union brought back an interesting report. He talked with the leaders of the Soviet space program at several space centers and without exception he found while they said very little they were like the cat that had swallowed the canary.

This is interpreted here as meaning that the Soviets will shortly announce a major breakthrough. The guess is that it will be an orbiting manned space platform.

The likelihood of a dramatic new Soviet achievement takes on particular weight in view of the tragedy to the three American astronauts at Cape Kennedy. It will dramatize the degree to which the Soviets are ahead in heavy boosters essential to carry out a landing on the moon. Repeated denials from both sides that this is not a race to the moon are all very well. The fact remains that the first power to land men on that silver orb will gain enormous prestige.

It is too early to say how long the setback in the American program will be as a result of the disaster to the Saturn I at the Cape. But the minimum will be three to four months.

What this means in the broader outlook of the President's budget and the approach to spending, taxes and public opinion should be clearly understood. James E. Webb, the hard-driving boss of the Aeronautics and Space Agency, calls NASA's budget for 1968 of just over $5 billion a "succes budget." By this he means that virtually every test and every trial flight leading up to the landing on the moon prior to 1970 must be successful. His unquestioned loyalty to the President to one side, Webb might have called it a tight budget, a description fitting the whole stretched-out effort to cover the diverse programs at home and abroad in a business-as-usual frame.

The capsule destroyed atop the giant Saturn in the flash fire that took the lives of the astronauts points up the "success budget." The first in the series, it was equipped to send back in a 14-day test mission far more data than later capsules. Data is, of course, the raw material that will spell the difference between success and failure on the moon.

The later capsules will provide less of the kind of information vital to the final goal. This points up what it means to assume success each time. The need to redesign the capsule, in effect to start over again, can threaten the success schedule and push the moon landing close to the deadline of 1970 or beyond.

It is not alone in the President's budget that success each time is assumed. The public has a take-it-for-granted attitude despite the errors occurring on almost every orbiting test. The skill of the astronauts and the supporting crews on the ground have overcome those errors. And despite repeated warnings sounded by everyone from Webb on down on the inherent danger in the whole incredibly complex operation, the public had fallen back until last Friday on the comforting view that everything would go all right.

The unanswered question is: Can this country do everything within the normal, comfortable frame of reference? Mayor Jerome Cavanagh of Detroit, president of the National League of Cities, had sharp things to say on this score when the League met in December in Las Vegas. The percentage cut in housing and urban development, he pointed out, was 17 times.

Webb was sitting beside him waiting to make the principal address. Characteristically he got up, abandoned his prepared manuscript and launched into an impassioned exposition of what NASA had contributed to scientific advancement and industrial growth as well as to exploration of outer space and the earth's atmosphere.

It was a masterful presentation. But in a sense it begged the larger question. That is whether without a substantial tax increase to rebuild the cities and get on with the moon program—in addition to the cost of the Vietnam war, together with a rigorous overhauling of priorities—it is possible no matter how much the budget is stretched to do everything.

This becomes increasingly important in relation to the other giant power. The view is growing here that contrary to the conviction cherished at a high level the Soviet Union is succeeding in space, in weaponry and in other fields vital to world leadership. It may be because in a totalitarian state the individual and his living standard can be squeezed and squeezed again. But if it is being done, explanations are irrelevant.

General Kosciuszko: A Patriot of Two Lands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, at this time, the 221st anniversary of his birth, I should like to pay tribute to the memory of Gen. Tadeusz Kosciuszko.

Illustrious heroes of many nations of the world joined us during the Revolutionary War so that freedom could establish a beachhead on this continent. Kosciuszko was one of those brave men.

General Kosciuszko today symbolizes, throughout the world, the spirit of the indomitable Poles who for 1,000 years have toiled in defense of freedom. There is no better example of the Polish spirit and dedication to freedom than this man.

The spirit of Kosciuszko indicates that the Polish Nation will never acquiesce to the tyranny of communism. Today Polish emigrants who cannot return to their native land because of Communist domination carry on the struggle for ultimate liberation of that country. Within Poland the spirit of freedom continues to flourish, despite the presence of dogmatic communism.

Kosciuszko is the symbol of a gallant people who have for 10 centuries inspired the world in the firm belief that man was created to be free and that the dignity of the individual is the greatest force on earth.

School Guidelines and the Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article written by Columnist David Lawrence, which appeared in the Washington, D.C., Evening Star newspaper entitled "School Guidelines and the Law." His comments are so clear, concise, and to the point, that all I can add is my complete agreement with his statement. I commend its reading to my colleagues in the House:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Feb. 9, 1967]

SCHOOL GUIDELINES AND THE LAW

(By David Lawrence)

Respect for law and order has been preached again and again by almost everybody in government from the President on down. No explanation has been given, however, as to why the U.S. Office of Education is today disregarding the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which specifically says:

"'Desegregation' shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance."

The same law declares that, to assure "nondiscrimination in federally assigned programs," each federal department and agency which is empowered to extend financial assistance to any program or activity is authorized to effectuate the provisions of the statute. But it is stated that this can be accomplished only "by issuing rules, regulations, or orders of general applicability which shall be consistent with the achievement of the objectives of the statute authorizing financial assistance."

It is also stipulated that "no such rule, regulation, or order shall become effective unless and until approved by the President."

President Johnson thus far, however, has not approved any regulation containing "guidelines" with respect to "racial imbalance" in the schools. The U.S. Office of Education nevertheless continues to threaten the withdrawal of public funds if certain "guidelines" are not obeyed.

The latest example of this activity is reported in an Associated Press dispatch from Orlando, Fla., on Feb. 6, which reads as follows:

"Florida counties in which few Negroes live will be expected to abolish dual school systems by next fall, a federal official said yesterday.

"Stricter federal guidelines for desegregation of public schools were spelled out by John Hodgdon of the U.S. Office of Education. He spoke to county school officials from throughout the state.

"Counties with Negro school populations of less than 15 percent will be expected to phase out dual systems in the fall Hodgdon said. Those with more than 20 percent should achieve integration of 15 percent of the total by September, he added.

"'Next year, we will also be asking for the equivalent of two fulltime teachers per school on a desegregated basis,' Hodgdon said. 'Last year, one teacher per school was satisfactory.' . . .

"Hodgdon said he was outlining only guidelines: In school districts with many Negro pupils, individual problems will be considered."

The same situation which is described in Florida prevails in other states. Unquestionably many students will have to be transported from one school district to another in order to achieve "racial balance" of this kind, but the Civil Rights Act of 1964 says:

"Nothing herein shall empower any official or court of the United States to issue any order seeking to achieve a racial balance in any school by requiring the transportation of pupils or students from one school to another or one school district to another."

In a recent hearing, a federal examiner, Seymour Wenner, called attention to the fact that the President has not approved any regulations dealing with "guidelines." Wenner said:

"Did Congress say that he (the President) could say, 'I really don't want to hear about this problem any more?' That seems to me to be exactly what Congress said he wasn't supposed to do. That seems to be at war with this very peculiar requirement that the President supervise the regulations."

Briefs have been requested in this case. It is anticipated, however, that the U.S. Office of Education will argue that the "guidelines" are only "advice," and not an order. But the effect of the activities of the Office of Education is just the same as if an order had been issued. For the federal government can withhold funds at its own discretion and apparently does not give any reasons for such action, except to say in general terms that the wishes of the federal government have not been fulfilled.

Many members of Congress have been criticizing the Department of Health, Education and Welfare—which supervises the U.S. Office of Education—for attempting to bring about "racial balance" in the schools despite the fact that the statute itself withholds any authority to carry out such an objective. But the office of education continues to make its own "guidelines" without formal presidential approval.

To Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, it has been a pleasure to be associated with the Vaughn Bible Class of Calvary Baptist Church for 20 years. During that time I have known some of the greatest Sunday school teachers in America, among them our colleagues, Oren Harris, Brooks Hays, Cliff McIntyre, O. K. Armstrong, and Gene Siler. One of the most dedicated, devoted, and greatest teachers in the 75-year history of this great class has been Col. Woodford T. Moseley.

Colonel Moseley was recently ordered to Vietnam, and while he was en route, the president of our class, Roger Sisk, wrote to Colonel Moseley the following very splendid letter:

Col. Woodford T. Moseley,
En route to Vietnam.

Dear Mose: Many of us recall some five years ago when, with your lovely wife Claire, you came to Calvary and brightened the horizon like the sun fixing to rise. You melted into our Christian activities, giving them a lively and more flavorful taste, and as a result you earned our love and respect.

The Vaughn Class has been especially blessed Mose, first with your occasional presentations of the morning lesson, then with your valued participation in other Class activities, including a term as our President in 1963. Then later with your service as our official teacher, during which you gave us many thoughtful and inspiring lessons, and provided other excellent guest teachers. We thank God and the Army for letting us have you this long.

As you leave us now for a little while Mose, of course we shall miss you, and so will the hundreds you have talked and prayed with at the Central Union Mission, and the old folks you have cheered at the D.C. Village, and the hundreds in the organized Bible Class Association who have profited from your presence and presentations.

Yes Mose, your fine Christian witness has blessed us all and will remain a joyful memory but, the original will go with you to bless others in need. May God be very close to you and wife Claire as she waits here your return.

Sincerely and prayerfully yours,
Roger Sisk,
President.

United Nations Organization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Dean Acheson's letter on Rhodesia and the United Nations Organization appeared in the December 31, 1966, Washington Post.

January 7, 1967, President Johnson was persuaded to rescue Britain from its rightful humiliation and executed the controversial Executive order against little Rhodesia.

Bad facts make hard law. Likewise, political expediency backfires. Today Rhodesia, under vicious attack by all United Nations Organization's participating parties, has been orbited into worldwide acclaim and leadership through her people's courage and resolute determination.

The facts and law in December of 1966 are in no way changed or modified by the President's self-imposed secondary boycott. Right is right and no amount of self-justification or propaganda can correct the wrong. Our image at home as "the land of the free" can only be recovered by an immediate lifting of the economic sanctions.

Do not blame Rhodesia, nor her leaders. Deposit the cause where it belongs—with the Security Council, Harold Wilson, Arthur Goldberg, Nicholas Katzenbach and our President.

Acheson's letter, accompanied by the Rhodesian viewpoint follow in full text:

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 31, 1966]

Acheson on Rhodesia

It would be a mistake to cavil at a sound conclusion because of persnickety trouble with some of the preceding reasoning. You are certainly right in the first and last sentence of your editorial on Dec. 9 on sanctions against Rhodesia: "The central fact of the Rhodesian situation is that there does not seem to be much to do about it . . . . It is not a time for posturing and empty gestures." You are also right that whatever the Rhodesians have done has been wholly within their own country and contains no element of aggression. But you bother me when you speak of "the white minority's transgressions." Transgressions against what? What international obligations have they violated?

International law does not proclaim the sanctity of British dominion over palm and pine. Certainly we Americans are in no position to declare it—we who conspired to instigate French aggression against British power in America and not only threatened but shattered international peace to achieve our independence. Furthermore, the British government has conceded since 1923 that Rhodesia is not only self-governing but responsible for its own defense and security. Therefore, to assert *de jure* as well as *de facto* independence is not a transgression.

Certainly Rhodesia's voting laws and system of popular representation in its legislature are not contrary to any international obligation. The one man, one vote deduction from the Fourteenth Amendment is not recognized in international law, as our friend King Faisal of Saudi Arabia can testify. Indeed, the present system in Rhodesia, broadly speaking, has been in effect and regarded with complacency in Great Britain for nearly half a century.

You quite rightly observed that this system operates entirely within the boundaries of Rhodesia and affects no one else. In such a situation the U.N. Charter is plain. Chapter I, Article 2, paragraph 7 provides unequivocally that the United Nations shall not intervene in matters which are within the internal jurisdiction of any state. The United Nations evades this simple command by reasoning worthy of the Red Queen in *Through The Looking Glass*. One has to follow it closely. Rhodesia, in doing what the U.N. has no jurisdiction to forbid, annoys African members to the point where they may transgress against the First Commandment of the U.N. (Chapter I, Article 4):

"All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state."

Since Rhodesia by doing what it has always done and with which the United Nations cannot constitutionally interfere, incites less law-abiding members to violate their solemn obligation not to use force or the threat of force in their international relations, Rhodesia becomes a threat to the peace and must be coerced.

If this reasoning leads the reader to ask with Mr. Chanler, "Who's loony now?", don't blame Rhodesia, blame the Security Council and Harold Wilson.

Dean Acheson.

Washington.

[From the Rhodesian Information Office, Washington, D.C.]

Rhodesian Viewpoint: An Answer to Ambassador Goldberg

On December 31 the Washington Post published a letter from former Secretary of State Dean Acheson opposing U.N. involvement in the Rhodesian affair. On January 8 the newspaper published a 'communication' from Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg replying to Mr. Acheson's criticisms. Some comments are offered below on various positions taken by the Ambassador. Extracts from his letter to which the comments relate are printed in small type.

"First it is argued that action on this issue by the U.N. involves a violation of Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter which reads:—'Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.' The fallacy of this argument can be seen when the facts involved in the Southern Rhodesia situation are tested against the language of the Charter itself: Rhodesia is not a 'state' and has not been recognized as such by a single government or international organization."

The question of what is or is not a 'state' has been the subject of much debate by students of international law and the best conclusion to be reached from their commentaries is that it is impossible to dogmatize about statehood, and that law, as Mr. Goldberg suggests later, "is often developed on a case-by-case basis." There can be no doubt that Rhodesia possesses most of the attributes of statehood inasmuch as it is a clearly defined territory with a central government which exercises effective jurisdiction over all aspects of the life of the community, including the maintenance of law and order. Mr. Smith's government has exercised effective authority in Rhodesia to the exclusion of other authorities both before and since the declaration of independence of November 11, 1965.

Rhodesia has long been recognised as possessing an international identity by virtue, inter alia, of being a Contracting Party to the GATT since 1948, by various treaty obligations that it has entered into and by its membership of certain U.N. agencies.

Rhodesia is regarded as having sufficient national identity for sanctions purposes. Presumably Britain is not applying sanctions against herself.

"The situation in Rhodesia is not 'domestic', since it involves the international responsibilities of the United Kingdom under the Charter relating to non-self-governing territories."

This statement is not in accordance with the facts. Mr. Cecil King, British representative on the U.N. Fourth Committee, informed the Committee on October 1, 1963: "We do not accept that Southern Rhodesia is a non-self-governing territory, despite the repeated assertions to that effect which have been made in the United Nations. . . . The plain fact is that Southern Rhodesia *is* self-governing, in relation to the parent country, and has all the attributes of a self-governing territory. . . . That, quite shortly, has always been and remains the attitude of my delegation. For that reason my delegation has always denied and continues to deny the competence of this organisation to concern itself with the affairs of Southern Rhodesia. No resolution of the Committee of Twenty-four or of this Committee or of the Security Council or of the General Assembly can make the status of Southern Rhodesia what it is not."

Mr. Goldberg's assertion is in direct contradiction of Mr. King's statement. The fact that Britain has since found it expedient for various political reasons of her own to reverse her position on U.N. involvement in the Rhodesian affair has no bearing on the principle that is at issue here.

"The action of the Security Council does not constitute 'intervention' since the Council has acted at the request and with the concurrence of the legitimate sovereign, the United Kingdom."

This is surely an exercise in semantics. It begs the question as to whether it is proper for the U.N. Organization to respond to the request of the British Government for assistance in asserting its colonial domination over a territory which has severed the last bonds of dependency. Mr. Walter Lippmann has no doubts on this score. He says that, "Mr. Wilson is asking the U.N. to do what it was never meant to do, what it is not organized to do and what it cannot do."

"Article 2, Paragraph 8, by its own terms, does not apply to the application of enforcement measures such as mandatory sanctions imposed by the Council in this case."

True, but this supposes that enforcement measures are well founded, which in turn requires accepting the absurd proposition that Rhodesia is a threat to the peace.

"Second, it is sometimes said that the United Nations action represents a denial of the principle of self-determination. The simple answer to this argument is that the Smith regime is not asserting the right of self-determination for all the Rhodesian people but merely the right of 6 per cent of the Rhodesian people who are white to rule over 94 per cent who are black. The refusal of the United Kingdom to recognize the illegal seizure of power by a minority group based on racial grounds, far from being a denial of self-determination, is an attempt to implement that objective for the Rhodesian people as a whole."

Leaving aside the question of self-determination, which admits of many interpretations and constructions, it is demonstrably false to suggest that the Rhodesian Government is asserting "the right of 6 per cent of the Rhodesian people who are white to rule over 94 per cent who are black." No such intention can be inferred from anything that the Rhodesian Government has said or done. Rhodesia's voting qualifications are non-racial and they inevitably envisage the progressive enfranchisement of black Rhodesians on the basis of their achieving these qualifications. The qualifications were built into the 1961 constitution under which, as British Ambassador Sir Patrick Dean assured the U.N. General Assembly in June, 1962, "it is accepted that majority rule will come . . . . The process of extending a franchise, in accordance with our practice and experience in many different territories, is one which should proceed step by step." Voting qualifications are unchanged in the 1965 (independence) constitution and it cannot therefore be alleged that the act of independence was in any way motivated by a desire to restrict black Rhodesian political rights.

As a condition precedent to acknowledging Rhodesia's independence, the British Government laid emphasis on six principles, certain of which called for an acceleration of black political advancement. In the talks abroad H.M.S. Tiger early in December Mr. Smith found it possible to accommodate Mr. Wilson on all these principles. Mr. Wilson acknowledged this himself. He told the British House of Commons on December 5;—"On the amendments necessary to the 1961 constitution which would be required to give effect to the six principles, Mr. Smith and I reached complete agreement. . . . The requirements of the six principles have been met in full with effective constitutional and external guarantees."

"Third, it is argued that the Rhodesian situation poses no threat to international peace justifying the application of mandatory sanctions. To this I must point out that it is the explicit prerogative of the Security Council under Article 39 of the United Nations Charter to make a finding that there is a threat to international peace and security. In the case of Rhodesia, the Security Council has reviewed the facts of the case and made precisely such a determination. In doing so, the council naturally bases its decision both on the existing situation and on its best estimate of what is likely to happen in the future. Clearly, there are great risks of violence already involved in the suppression of the fundamental rights of 94 percent of the population in Southern Rhodesia, and the danger to peace will obviously grow if some remedy is not found.

"Fourth, it is sometimes argued that sanctions cannot be applied against Rhodesia since the threat to peace originates from other African states. This argument overlooks the fundamental fact that the threat to peace inherent in the Rhodesian situation lies in Rhodesia itself."

It is incontrovertible that Article 39 of the U.N. Charter empowers the Security Council to determine that there is a threat to international peace and security. What is at issue is whether the Security Council applied sound, sober and objective judgment in making that determination in respect of the situation in Rhodesia. Many detached observers believe that it did not. Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson commented as follows to the Washington Evening Star:—"The only way the U.N. seems to be able to reason that it can get a Rhodesia is to say that by doing what they have a perfect right to do—and with which the U.N. is forbidden to interfere—they so annoy less law-abiding characters that these people will threaten to attack them, which violates the Charter, and therefore Rhodesia is a threat to the peace. This is about as backwards a piece of reasoning as anyone can easily conceive."

Since Article 39 lays an obligation on the Security Council to make a finding that there is a threat to international peace and security, it is surely very remiss of the Council to have passed up the opportunity to assemble all the facts. The Council did not even acknowledge, much less entertain, an application by Rhodesia to be heard under Article 32 as a party to a dispute before the Council.

There is no basis whatever for the allegation that "there are great risks of violence already involved in the suppression of the fundamental rights of 94 per cent of the population" or that "the threat to peace inherent in the Rhodesian situation lies in Rhodesia itself." Rhodesia is demonstrably free from political tensions, as many independent witnesses have testified—certainly freer than many other areas of Africa that have not attracted the attention of the Security Council. The Nigerian Editor-in-Chief of the Lagos Daily Times has said that the overseas picture of Rhodesia as a grim, tense, police state is "a massive fraud." South African liberal Laurens van der Post, who visited Rhodesia since independence with what he described as "a profound emotional and intellectual bias towards finding nothing but evidence of impending Greek tragedy," found nothing to substantiate his apprehensions. Instead he found "a general preference among them (black Rhodesians) for an evolutionary rather than a violent revolutionary change of Rhodesian society." Congressman John Ashbrook and two American colleagues who visited Rhodesia early last year found that the Rhodesian Government commanded "the virtually unanimous support of the white population and the respect of a preponderance of the Africans;" also that "the telltale signs of racial tension are nowhere to be seen." They concluded that "American Policy on Rhodesia represents the triumph of ideology over actuality." In a letter to the Washington Daily News on December 23 Mr. Frank Johnson of the American Security Council refers to a cartoon presumably indicating that Rhodesia is an oppressive white police state. He writes: "I have just returned from a visit to Rhodesia and can personally vouch that the contrary is true. The few police to be seen on the streets are black as well as white, and none carry guns. Ian Smith drives his own car, has no bodyguard and is quite careless of the most elementary personal security. Perhaps one of the most impressive testimonials of African support for the Smith Government is the fact that communist-trained terrorists entering the country from Zambia are either killed or reported to the border guards by the local African population."

Another testimonial of black Rhodesian support for the Rhodesian Government is contained in a statement issued November 2, 1966 by the Council of Chiefs, recognised traditional leaders of tribal Africans under the British approved 1961 constitution. Part of the statement reads: "We wish to state quite clearly that we support the Government of Rhodesia and we do not accept the claim by the British Prime Minister that he has continuing responsibility and authority for and over our people through the Government and Parliament of the United Kingdom." The Council of Chiefs has reaffirmed its support for the Government in the last few days.

In January 7, veteran Chief Simon Sigola sent letters to U.N. Secretary General U Thant, President Johnson and President de Gaulle inviting them to visit Rhodesia to see for themselves that it is not "a bad country and a threat to the peace."

"Finally, it is argued that the application of mandatory sanctions to Rhodesia constitutes a dangerous and unacceptable precedent for similar U.N. action wherever violation of human rights may occur.

"This argument overlooks a number of elements which are quite unique in the Rhodesian situation. Here we have witnessed an illegal seizure of power by a small minority on racial grounds bent on perpetuating the subjugation of the vast majority. Moreover, in this situation the sovereign authority with international responsibility for the territory has asked the United Nations to take measures which will permit the restoration of the full rights of the people of this territory under the Charter."

The rule of law, domestic or international, necessarily implies the dispensation of even justice. Many commentators on the Rhodesian question have noted the blatant double standards that the world organization is applying in its treatment of the situation. In his statement to the Security Council on December 12 Ambassador Goldberg suggested, for example, that "the international community will not tolerate the existence of a discriminatory system based on minority rule in defiance of the United Nations and its principles." U.S. News and World Report points out (January 2) that at least 37 member nations of the U.N. have governments that are based on minority rule and that at least 25 other U.N. members are open to suspicion in this respect; also that fewer than half of all the 122 U.N. members have governments clearly based on majority rule.

As to the "unique element" of Rhodesia's "illegal seizure of power", it has been remarked that it is just as well that there was no United Nations in existence when the American nation was born. But beyond this, it is not necessary to look very far for examples of governments possessing full membership rights in the U.N. which have come into existence through illegal seizure of power or coup d'etat. Amongst the membership of the Security Council itself Nigeria is such an example, and it is not a year since the Uganda constitution was suspended, and the President deposed and forced to flee the country.

In Rhodesia there has been no illegal seizure of power. The Rhodesian Government in office today was duly and constitutionally elected in May, 1965 and continues to govern with the same body of Cabinet Ministers, heads of civil and military departments, legislators (including the opposition party) and judges.

There is no question, as is stated here, of the "sovereign authority" asking the United Nations "to take measures which will permit the restoration of the full rights of the people of this territory under the Charter." The rights of the people have not in any way been abrogated or abridged. The request of the "sovereign authority" relates to the imposition of colonial control over a country in which it has not hitherto existed.

"Aside from the legality of the action against Southern Rhodesia taken by the United Nations, the policy and moral reasons for doing so are compelling. Why, then, do we feel the Rhodesian crisis is so important that we take such a strong stand on it?

"In the first place, one of the most basic issues involved is a moral one, that is, to restore the constitutional authority in order that all of the people of Rhodesia may join in determining their national future. Our country, founded on the proposition that all men are created equal—and currently engaged in a vigorous nation-wide program to make that equality real for our own Negro citizens—cannot honorably adopt a double standard on what is happening in Rhodesia. In addition, as a founder of the United Nations and a principal architect of the U.N. Charter, we have a special obligation to see that the Charter's provisions concerning human rights and self-determination are upheld. These provisions are not merely exhortations—they are solemn treaty obligations.

There is an inference in the Ambassador's statement that the United States is obligated in some way to enforce in Rhodesia the same political conditions that obtain in this country. Surely this is an untenable position. By logical extension it must imply that the United States is obligated to take action to upset controlled economies and substitute free economies, or to upset single party systems and substitute two-party systems. Nor does the existence of U.N. conventions as "solemn treaty obligations" improve the argument. It may be argued that, when governments subscribe to a U.N. convention, they bind themselves in a contractual sense to observe its provisions. There is certainly no commitment to take punitive or hostile action against a third country in order to compel compliance. Nothing of the kind is envisaged in the Charter.

"From a political standpoint, we have a practical interest in maintaining friendly relations with the newly independent countries of Africa, for whom this Rhodesian issue is of the highest importance. Moreover, the success of a rebellion aimed at creating a new white minority state in southern Africa would inevitably harden the lines of political conflict and would tend to stir interracial violence on that continent. A failure to resolve the Rhodesian crisis with justice to the African majority would inevitably strengthen the hand of extremism, violence and racism in the heart of Africa. Such a prospect is not in the interest of African development and progress nor of world peace and security—nor is it in the interest of the United States.

"For all these reasons the United States, in dealing with the Rhodesian question, intends to remain true to its best traditions—knowing that in so doing we also most effectively uphold our national interests. We shall continue to proceed step by step, weighing both the legality and the wisdom of each step as we go in the light of the situation and of the United Nations Charter."

When the argument is reduced to questions of American national self-interest it is not appropriate for Rhodesians to comment except to reject the invalid grounds on which this interest is calculated, and to express the hope that American policy will not be so motivated as to assist ideological aggressors to destroy one of the brightest spots in the dark continent. Here we revert to the basic premise of the Charter:—

"All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state."

What's It Like To Be Poor?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, I am submitting for the Appendix of the RECORD the last of the series "What's It Like To Be Poor?" written by the Cincinnati Enquirer's distinguished reporter, Margaret Josten. I hope all the Members have benefited from these articles.

The article follows:

CHEERFUL NOTE: ADC ROLLS DROP

(By Margaret Josten)

(Last of a series)

Aid to Dependent Children rolls in Hamilton County have taken a surprising turn—downward.

Since January, 1966, the number of families getting help under that program has decreased by about 200. At the end of December, there were 5288 families, or 21,748 persons, on ADC.

The story is the same with Aid to Dependent Children of the Unemployed. A year ago this program helped 517 families or 3184 persons; now it covers 238 families or 1451 persons.

Although the decreases are not spectacular, they are cheering to Frederick A. Breyer, whose job as director of the Hamilton County Welfare Department is not always cheerful.

Mr. Breyer is inclined to thank the widespread employment opportunities of today for the changing picture.

But he notes that the drop in clients may be due in part to the never-ending efforts of the Welfare Department to get people into jobs.

Mrs. Minna Bardon, an outgoing motherly woman, who by the way, writes book reviews for The Enquirer, heads the major phase of this effort by the department.

She is involved with all welfare clients, not just those on ADC or ADCU.

"Most of my best workers are ADC mothers," she says, adding, "they want to work to improve the living conditions of their children."

Mrs. Bardon screens and selects women who are given intensive "home-nurse aid" training for eight weeks. The Cincinnati Board of Education and the Cincinnati Metropolitan Housing Authority co-operate in the project.

The women learn all things necessary to domestic work: homemaking principles, simple nursing procedure, nutrition, marketing, use of electrical appliances, care of the elderly, the mother and the baby.

Before the women are sent out on jobs—and Mrs. Bardon constantly gets calls for workers—they are checked thoroughly for illnesses and good records. Ability to read and write also is a requirement.

If there are small children at home, the women generally are advised to stay there. The whole emphasis of ADC, as was pointed out in earlier articles, is to provide for the well-being of the children.

Cincinnati's need for day care centers, where working mothers can leave their children, is a matter that bothers Mrs. Bardon.

She tells many a success story about the changes she has seen in welfare clients after they learn to do something, then get work as housekeepers or in hospitals or nursing homes.

"Sooner or later, if a person is able physically or mentally, we can do something," she says optimistically.

Another job training effort got underway just last November with a $433,000 Federal grant under the Economic Opportunity Act, Warren G. Tanzler, a department staff member, heads this program which is too new to show results.

This is set up to train ADCU men, as well as ADC women. Some are training at Longview State Hospital as food handlers; other are getting basic education and nurses aid training from the Board of Education; four are training to be clerk-typists; 17 women are doing housekeeping and dietary work at Rollman Pyschiatric Institute.

The basic difference between this program and the one headed by Mrs. Bardon is that Mr. Tanzler's staff does follow-up work on people after they find jobs. "Some have to be wet-nursed along," he points out.

Also, Mr. Tanzler's operation has some money to pay for child care, which makes it easier to train and put ADC mothers into jobs. There is also money to buy the uniforms which may be needed on particular jobs.

The Welfare Department, Mr. Breyer emphasizes, is doing all it can to get people off relief and into employment.

The legal services division tracks down missing fathers in an effort to get support payments.

Questions about welfare are pertinent today since fights are brewing in current sessions of the Ohio Legislature and United States Congress.

In Washington, a congressionally-created advisory council has urged adoption of a minimum standard for public assistance payments below which no state may fall.

At the state level there is agitation to upgrade ADC, ADCU, and general grants from the present 70% of subsistence to 100% of subsistence. Subsistence standards now used are based upon 1965 costs of living. Several groups are insisting these should be based upon current costs.

The Potomac PC Circus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, the sales participation concept—as we now see it being practiced—has been the object of much controversy.

The February 6 issue of the Daily Bond Buyer includes an excellent editorial comment dealing at length with the ramification of this method of "grab-bag financing" and asks the very pertinent question of how long Congress will tolerate such financial gimmickry.

Believing that it will be of interest to my colleagues, I insert this article in the Appendix of the Record:

The Potomac PC Circus

The development of the sales participation concept, initially advocated as a means of getting the Federal Government out of the banking business, appears to be altering the Government's function in this regard from one of banking of simple, self-limiting kind to banking of a complexity that is limitless in scope and unfathomable in understanding.

To fall back on the Scriptural diction: "O the depths of the riches of the wisdom and the knowledge of the Mature Political State! How inscrutable are its judgments, and how unsearchable its ways!"

To assume the debt commitments of tax-privileged borrowers until maturity is a lot different from acquiring such commitments for eventual resale in the private capital market, the familiar practice of fundamentalist finance.

There also is a discernible difference between straightforward Government divestment of outstanding loans through sales of participations out of a fixed trust, so to speak, and the open-end catch-all of granting loans with the prior intent of pooling them for resale.

The old concept evidenced the wish of the Government to have a minimum role in the banking business and to get out of it whenever feasible.

The latter concept nominates the Government for a role that—if exploited to its full implications—could very well mean the end of private investment banking.

Until the blossoming of the PC approach, the Federal Government's intrusion into the field of private financing was mostly a casual affair, one brought about by the compulsions of a Federal budget that required the full face amount of each loan to be accounted an expense and tallied in the outgo column.

Because of these budgetary limitations, the supply of Government money available for loans to colleges and universities on under-the-market terms—was not sufficient to fill the demand; the current program has had to limp along on a mere $300 million annually at an interest cost of 3 per cent.

The great demand for these funds resulted last January in the full year's allotment of loans being overspoken for, with applications running at about 300 per cent of the available money. The financing plans of unsuccessful applicants were left stranded in a market dilemma: they could be left to the going rates of the market or they could stay in an unfunded state.

To the "non-profit" Government financiers of the civil service, the dilemma of the educational institutions was, naturally, a warrant for expanding Government banking from the function of "lender of last resort" to that of an aggressive monopolist studded with "concentrated economic power" and fed by civil service "finders" of "multi-tiered monstrosity" scope.

Thus a new plan was brought into being in which the Government would be permitted to extend to institutions of higher learning up to $1 billion per year of interest-free loans for a period of ten years. These would be packaged and sold as PCs at going market rates, with Congress appropriating sufficient funds to pay whatever interest charges the market called for.

The big demands for the "old" 3 percent money suggests that an interest-free program, if ever enacted, will be even richer in financial calories for the universities; it will be a uephoric arrangement for the Washington moneychangers, too, since there would be no visible "red ink": the costs of the program would be offset by the sales of participations.

One is nevertheless spurred to again bring up the question: just what does this kind of pre-emptive grab-bag financing presage for the future of private investment banking: How many worthy public causes are there on the state and local level?

How long will Washington's financial insurgents be content to allow the future financing of such causes to be left to the offices of private bankers and the private market?

Will the necessarily rising cost of borrowing on the ever-swelling volume of Federal agency PCs finally give pause to the Congress about the new financial gimmick? If so, when will the disenchantment take place, and at what upset borrowing cost—5¼ per cent? 5½ per cent? 6 per cent?

It all hangs, of course on the nature of the thing. Is the PC innovation a full-faith-and-credit commitment of the United States? The former Attorney General has ruled that it is.

Well, then, if Federal credit is pledged, is not the debt subject to the Government's statutory debt limit? The Administration insists it must not be; otherwise, the Federal Government, if it is not already over the statutory debt limit, soon will be in the dread soup.

If the Congress insists that full-faith-and-credit debt must be accountable to the debt limit, Washington's Indian rope trick—the disappearing budget deficit—becomes more difficult to perform; and the debt management companion act of eating cake and having it, too, will be running the risk of being booed off the stage.

Kremlin Drive in Mediterranean

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, too many people in this country—officials and others—today would have us believe that Russia has mellowed and the Kremlin has renounced aggression.

As many Members of this House are well aware, such is not the case. The Soviet Union is persistently, and very cleverly, pursuing its expansionist goals.

A very informative article on what the Soviet Union is doing in the Mediterranean appeared in the Aurora Beacon-News, as well as the many other newspapers served by the Copley News Service.

I refer to the article, "Power Shift Taking Place in Mediterranean World," by Brig. Gen. James D. Hittle, U.S. Marine Corps, retired, director of national security and foreign affairs, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States. The article appeared in the Monday, January 9, 1967, Aurora Beacon-News of Aurora, Ill., as well as other newspapers throughout the Nation subscribing to the Copley News Service. This article underlines the historic significance of England's virtual disappearance as a Mediterranean power and the meaning of Russian fleet units now operating in the Mediterranean.

What is happening in this respect in the Mediterranean is simply another example of the tremendous strategic gains being made by the Soviet Union throughout the world as a result of the Kremlin's postwar policy of placing such heavy emphasis on building a modern fleet, as well as a huge and fast-growing merchant marine.

The author of this article, who is well known to Members of this House as a result of his several years works with us as legislative assistant to the Commandant of the Marine Corps, and later as Assistant to the Secretary of Defense for Legislative Affairs, is currently the director of national security and foreign affairs for the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

I consider this article on the Russian naval penetration of the Mediterranean to be of unusual importance. Under leave to extend my remarks I include this article from the January 9, 1967, Aurora Beacon-News:

POWER SHIFT TAKING PLACE IN MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

(By Brig. Gen. James D. Hittle, U.S. Marine Corps, retired)

NAPLES, ITALY.—A power shift of historical importance is taking place in the Mediterranean world.

Unfortunately, it's little noted by most Americans, who are understandably preoccupied with the growing Vietnam War.

This is what is happening: British sea power has virtually disappeared from the Mediterranean. Russian sea power is replacing it. As the British sail out of these historic and strategic waters, the Russian fleet units sail in.

This marks a shift in the world power equation that is difficult to overestimate. For centuries there was good strategic reason to refer to the Mediterranean as a "British lake."

Exit of the Union Jack and the entrance of the hammer and sickle marks, for the Mediterranean area, and for much of the world itself, an end of an era.

It was no accident of history that originally put a British fleet on Mediterranean station. British statesmen realized control of that vast inland sea controlled much of the Mideast, the northern rim of Africa, and the southern shores of Europe. With the opening of the Suez Canal, the Mediterranean became a major link in the opening of the Suez Canal, the Mediterranean became a major link in the "lifeline of the empire."

Today, Persian Gulf oil, so important to the peacetime economy and wartime survival of Europe, makes the Mediterranean a lifeline of the Free World.

Now, as in the past, the security of Europe is dependent on the control of its Mediterranean sea flank.

But the British weren't the only ones who realized the key strategic role of the Mediterranean. Russia also knew it. From the days of the early Varangian kings, predating the Romanoffs, Russian ambition to be a Mediterranean power has never wavered.

So, today, the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean pointedly symbolizes the realization of a 1,000-year-old Russian dream.

The Free World should realize that it is no token force the Kremlin has in the Mediterranean.

European sources told me that this Russian fleet presently consists of two missile frigates, destroyers, submarines, a tanker, supply ships and several electronic surveillance ships.

These last are the large highseas trawler types that so frequently shadow our naval activities throughout the world.

Also, from time to time, a sleek Soviet Sverdlov class cruiser moves into the Mediterranean and joins the Kremlin's fleet.

Estimating the number of Russian subs in the Mediterranean is a constant problem. Observers can sight and total up the exact number making the necessary surface passage of the Black Sea. But, because of the depth and width of the Gibraltar Straits, we can't tell how many Russian subs sneak submerged into the Mediterranean from the Atlantic. So, we really don't know how many are in the Mediterranean at a given time.

Fortunately, the Kremlin Mediterranean fleet doesn't match the power of our Sixth fleet in these waters. But that is little real consolation.

With this fleet the Kremlin has dealt itself into the Mediterranean high stakes poker game. Thus, Russia has broken the West's monopoly of control over these waters.

With the British out and the Russians in the Mediterranean, things will never be quite the same—or as secure—along the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's southern flank.

The 25th Amendment—Virginia's Continuing Contributors to the Construction of the Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLETON J. KING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. KING of New York. Mr. Speaker, last Friday the 38th State ratified the 25th amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Many are entitled to credit. In the House of Representatives, none deserves more than the distinguished gentleman from Virginia [Mr. POFF]. From the time of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, Virginians have played a vital role in the constitutional drama. That played by Representative POFF in the conception and birth of the 25th amendment was in the highest tradition of statesmanship set by his Virginia predecessors.

As a mark of tribute to the work he did and the service he performed, and under leave of the House, I quote herewith the text of an article authored by Representative POFF and published in the January–February 1967 issue of Case and Comment:

PRESIDENTIAL INABILITY AND THE 25TH AMENDMENT

(By Hon. RICHARD H. POFF)

(NOTE.—RICHARD H. POFF has represented the Sixth Congressional District of Virginia in the United States House of Representatives since 1952, four years after his graduation from the University of Virginia Law School. Prior to his election to Congress, at age 29, he practiced law in Richmond from 1948–1952. In 1958 he was selected as one of the fifteen outstanding young men in American politics. He is a member of the House Judiciary Committee and the seven-man Republican leadership team in the House of Representatives.)

For more than a century, the question of Presidential Inability plagued legal scholars and students and practitioners of government. Because the issue was so complex and so controversial, the problem was neglected or deliberately ignored. Only in 1965 did the Congress undertake active consideration of what will most surely be the Twenty-Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Why a Constitutional amendment? Why not a statute? Some considered a statute sufficient. In recent years, the great body of legal opinion has held that so far as the question of Presidential Inability is concerned, a Constitutional amendment is not only the proper legal course but the wise course. The difference of opinion arose from the language of Article II of the U.S. Constitution, Section I, clause 5, which reads as follows:

"In case of the Removal of the President from Office, or at his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation, or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected."

That language was first brought into sharp focus in 1841 when President William Henry Harrison died in office. Because it was uncertain whether the "powers and duties" would "devolve" or the "office" would devolve, the question immediately rose, "Will Vice President Tyler become Acting President of the United States?" Tyler answered the question by taking the oath of office of President. Since then the "Tyler Precedent" has been confirmed seven times.

But Tyler's answer concerning succession following death did nothing to clarify the question of succession following inability. Indeed, it complicated that question. Death and inability both are treated in the same clause of the Constitution. Thus, it was argued that whatever should "devolve on the Vice President" on account of the President's death, would also devolve upon the Vice President on account of the President's inability; and, if what devolved in one case was the office itself, then it would have to be the office in the other case. The conclusion of this argument was that if the Vice President should assume the office of President on account of the President's inability, the displaced President could not thereafter, even if he recovered, reclaim his office. Such Constitutional scholars as Daniel Webster so declared.

In the face of such an argument, it is little wonder that Vice Presidents have been reluctant to assume the mantle of the Presidency, even in the most urgent crises. When, in 1881, President Garfield lay incapacitated from an assassin's bullet some 80 days, Vice President Arthur would not act. The same was true in 1919 when President Wilson suffered a stroke which rendered him all but helpless.

CONGRESS HAD LITTLE AUTHORITY TO ACT

In these two crises, surely Congress would have passed a statute in Presidential Inability if Congress felt it had the Constitutional authority to do so. There were those who felt that Congress had such authority. They pointed to the "necessary and proper" clause and to the language in Article II which reads that ". . . the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation, or Inability . . ." But the remainder of that clause gave the Congress pause; it gave the Congress power to act only in case of the inability of "both the President and Vice President."

The implication was that Congress had no power to act by statute when only the President was disabled. This implication was tacitly acknowledged by the Congress in 1792 when it passed the first Presidential succession act. That Congress was peopled by contemporaries of the authors of the Constitution, and the statute significantly failed to provide for succession when only the President was disabled.

So far, I have dealt only with the legal justification for a Constitutional amendment. There was a *pragmatic reason* as well. So long as there was any question about the efficacy of a simple statute, such a statute would be subject to attack. Such an attack would come at a time when the nation could least afford it—when the President became disabled or when the disabled President recovered and sought to reclaim his office.

Yes, I was asked, why couldn't we *proceed by both routes?* Why couldn't we have a brief Constitutional amendment which would simply empower the Congress to pass a statute dealing with Presidential Inability? The answer was that we could, but in my judgment, we should not. I had two reasons. First, in a matter as vital to our national interests as the continuity of Presidential powers, stability and durability are important; only a Constitutional amendment could guarantee this. Second, the doctrine of separation of powers, which has served us so well for so long, would be blurred by the dual approach. Presidents and Vice

Presidents are not always popular with Congress, and at a given time, one may be more popular than the other. Sometimes, the political party which controls the Congress is not the same political party which controls the White House. If a simple majority of the legislative branch had the power to make these rules one day and to change them the next, the executive branch would be subordinate instead of co-equal and the head that wore the crown would indeed be uneasy.

THE PROBLEM OF WRITTEN AGREEMENTS

Then there were those who asked why we couldn't just forget about both Constitutional amendments and statutes and deal with the problem as we had in the past by *written agreements* between the President and Vice President. There were several answers to that question. A private agreement would not have the same effect as law, and it would be questionable whether the President could in such an informal, bilateral fashion lawfully delegate powers conferred upon him by the Constitution, by treaties and Congressionl statutes, to another person. The question would be serious enough to invite legal challenges to every domestic act, and every function in the field of foreign relations would be under a cloud. Moreover, such bilateral agreements have never provided, and in the nature of things could never provide, for an enforceable settlement in the event of a dispute about whether or not the President was disabled. The only real function these arguments served was to dramatize the urgency of having a definitive mechanism built into the basic law of the land where it would be visible to all and where it would remain constant from one Administration to the next.

WHEN THE PRESIDENT IS IRRATIONAL

When we speak of the problem of Presidential Inability, we are speaking of *two categories of cases*. The first is that in which the President recognizes his inability (or the imminence of his inability) and wishes voluntarily to vacate his office for a temporary period. (The classic example is when the President expects to undergo an operation.) The second category is that in which the President, by reason of physical or mental debility, is unable to perform his duties but is unable or unwilling to make a rational decision to relinquish the powers of his office, even for a temporary period.

Section 3 of the bill passed by Congress provides for the *first category*. Simply by sending a written declaration of inability to the Heads of the two Houses of Congress, the President makes it possible for the Vice President, as Acting President, to discharge his duties so long as the President feels that his inability has not terminated. When he chooses to do so, he may reclaim and reoccupy his office by sending another written declaration to Congress. Unlike the second category, his declaration of restoration is not subject to challenge by the Vice Persident and Cabinet. The reason for this distinction is obvious. A President would always hesitate to utilize the voluntary mechanism if he knows that a challenge could be lodged when he sought to recapture his office.

Section 4 of this bill as finally approved by Congress provides for the *second category* of cases. There are two illustrative examples. One is the case when the President by reason of some physical ailment or some sudden accident is unconscious or paralyzed and therefore unable to make or to communicate the decision to relinquish the powers of his office. The other is the case when the President, by reason of mental debility, is unable or unwilling to make any rational decision, including particularly the decision to stand aside.

It was the second category of cases which gave scholars so much concern. The problem is best defined here by a series of questions. Who would first raise the question and who would make the decision concerning inability? Should the word "inability" be defined? What procedure should be used in restoring the President to his office after his recovery? These questions and questions subsidiary to each of them were answered in Section 4 of the bill.

The original draft required the Vice President to initiate the action and required only the subsequent concurrence of the Cabinet that the President was disabled. However, the Vice President historically has been reluctant to take the first step for understandable reasons. Thus, Section 4 is in the conjunctive and places the power and responsibility jointly upon the Vice President and a majority of the Cabinet or "such other body as Congress may by law provide."

In the second step, these same people make the decision about inability and transmit that decision in writing to Congress, upon the receipt of which "the Vice President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President." While others had been proposed, we decided that these were the people who should have this power and who should make the decision. The Vice President, a man of the same political party, a man originally chosen by the President, a man familiar with the President's health, a man who knows what great decisions of state are waiting to be made, and a man intended by the authors of the Constitution to be the President's heir at death or upon disability, surely should participate in a decision involving the transfer of Presidential powers. The same is true of the Cabinet whose members were appointed by the President and are closest to him physically and most loyal to him politically.

While the Vice President and Cabinet seem to be the ideal people to be entrusted with the power of decision, Section 4 recognizes that future experience may dictate the naming of "some other body" by the Congress to act with the Vice President. Presently, the Cabinet as defined in 5 U.S.C. 1 consists of 10 members. It is possible that an even-numbered Cabinet might divide evenly, thus effectively stultifying the system erected in Section 4. For this reason, or some other good reason, Congress may sometime find it necessary to name some "other body" which of course it could do simply by adding to the Cabinet as the decision-making body one non-Cabinet member.

Authors of the legislation struggled with the problem of defining the word "inability." It was decided that it would be unwise to attempt such a definition within the framework of the Constitution. To have done so would have given the definition adopted a rigidity which, in application, might sometimes be unrealistic. In my judgment, it would also have been unwise to attempt such a definition by statute. The slightest imprecision in such a definition would be the target of legal attack if and when it should become necessary to exercise the procedures of Section 4. It is highly unlikely that the responsible government officials entrusted with this great power would abuse it by declaring a President elected by the people of this country disabled when in fact he was not, especially when the Congress is given the ultimate voice in this determination.

PROCEDURES FOLLOWING RECOVERY

The procedures to be used in restoring a disabled President to his office following his recovery constituted one of the critical phases of the problem. The procedures specified in Section 4 deal with the problem in a careful deliberate manner. Herein lay the principal difference between the House bill and the bill first passed by the Senate. Under the Senate bill, the President could resume his office after his written declaration of restoration to the Congress unless within two days the Vice President and a majority of the Cabinet sent a written declaration to the Congress challenging his restoration. If under the Senate bill the Congress by a two-thirds vote upheld the Vice President's challenge, the Vice President would continue to hold the office as Acting President; otherwise, the President would resume his office. The difficulty with the Senate version was that the Congress, which might not even be in session, could delay by filibuster or deliberate inaction for an indefinite period of time, during which the Vice President would remain in office. This difficulty would be especially great if a majortly of the Members of Congress (but less than two-thirds) were hostile to the President.

The House Committee felt that any delay on the part of Congress should inure to the benefit of the President rather than the Vice President. Accordingly, the House Committee adopted two consequential amendments. Under the first, the Congress, if not in session when it received the Vice President's challenge, would be required to assemble immediately. On the Floor of the House, at the request of the Speaker, I offered an amendment to this amendment which required the Congress if in recess to assemble within 48 hours. Under the Second Amendment adopted in the House Committee, the Congress would be required to act within 10 days after receipt of the Vice President's challenge. Later, the Conference Committee changed this to 21 days and the two-day period to four days. This is self-executing; if the Congress fails to act, the President will resume his office after the lapse of 21 days. In effect, the procedure as outlined under the House version, which adopted, gives the Congress three options: *First,* the Congress can act and by a two-thirds vote uphold the Vice President's challenge. *Second,* the Congress can act and by one more than a one-third negative vote in either House, reject the Vice President's challenge. *Third,* the Congress can allow the 21-day period to expire wtihout acting at all.

The net effect of the second and third options is the same; the President is restored to his office. The chief merit of the House version is obvious. Circumstances may be such that the Congress by tacit agreement may want to uphold the President in some manner which will not amount to a public rebuke of the Vice President who is then Acting President. The third option furnishes the graceful vehicle. And this system renders impossible the awful stalemate which would have resulted under the Senate version from a filibuster or deliberate inaction in either House.

It will be observed that the procedure fixed in Section 4 gives the Congress no voice in the decision for the initial involuntary removal of the disabled President. As soon as Congress receives the written declaration of inability from the Vice President and a majority of the members of the Cabinet, the President is removed and the Vice President becomes Acting President. However, the President who regards himself capable and objects to the Vice President's action is not left without recourse. He has the right as soon as he is removed to send Congress his written declaration of restoration, and at that point the Vice President or Acting President has four days in which to challenge the declaration and the procedure for Congressional review becomes operative.

No one claims that this bill in its final form is foolproof or that it covers every hypothetical case which might present itself to the inventive mind. If one assumes that the Vice President and most of the members of the President's Cabinet are charlatans, revolutionaries and traitors, we were foolish to attempt any solution. Rationally, we made no such assumption. Rather, we assumed that the American form of government with its system of checks and balances is so structured; that the freedom of the American press is so secure; and, that the conscience of the American electorate is so sensitive and its power so effective, that rogues in public office are foredoomed to exposure and swift retribution. Certainly, we want a government of laws and not of men, but somewhere in the process of administration of the laws, we must commit our fate to the basic honesty of the administrators. Somewhere, some time, somehow, we must trust somebody.

Thaddeus Kosciusko Birthday Ceremonies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday, February 12, ceremonies were held honoring Gen. Thaddeus Kosciusko here in Washington at the statue of this great Polish general in Lafayette Park.

Charles Burke, Washington representative of the Polish American Congress was chairman of the ceremony. I had the honor of participating in the program along with former Polish Ambassador Jan Ciechanowski, Congressman LUCIEN NEDZI, of Michigan; and Thaddeus Drweski, president of the Policy Club of Washington. I am hereby submitting excerpts of the remarks which I made on the occasion and also the speech of former Ambassador Jan Ciechanowski.

SPEECH OF CONGRESSMAN MADDEN

Mr. Chairman, I am, indeed, happy on this occasion to participate in the annual ceremony honoring the Great soldier, statesman and Polish patriot, General Thaddeus Kosciuszko. It is fitting that on this day that he is being honored simultaneously with another great fighter for freedom and liberty—President Abraham Lincoln. It is also fitting that General Kosciuszko statue and the ceremonies today are taking place across the street from the White House in Lafayette Park. The American people join the Polish people in commemorating the heroic deeds of this great Polish hero because he not only fought for liberty and free government in his homeland but, as a young man came to America and greatly aided our colonies during the Revolutionary War so that this new land of ours and future generations of Americans could enjoy liberty, freedom, and self-government.

General Kosciuszko was also an engineering genius, and one of the greatest masters of artillery tactics in his day. No officer serving under Washington was more vital to the success of our Revolutionary War than this son of Poland who so well exemplifies the contribution of the men and women of Polish blood to the history of our Nation.

It was he who directed the building of the military defenses at Philadelphia and at West Point before and during the war for American Independence. To him is attributed the winning of the Battle of Saratoga, the turning point of the long and painful struggle of the Colonies. Thomas Jefferson said of him; "He is as pure a son of liberty as I have known and of that liberty which is to go to all, and not to the few and rich alone."

It is well that the world is reminded of patriots like Kosciuszko, a man who fought for the independence of our Nation and his native land with dedicated zeal. The struggle for liberty is endless. Each period of history has its challenges, its own dictators, and its own despots, but this should not discourage us or lead us to despair. Instead we should draw courage and inspiration from the example of valiant men such as General Kosciuszko and rededicate ourselves again to the unfinished task to which they devoted their lives.

I wish to congratulate the Polish American Congress, the Polish Club of Washington, D.C., the Polish Combatants Association, the Polish Falcons of America and The Polish American Art Association for the work they have done this year and in other years in reminding the people of the nation and the world and the younger generations of the great deeds and heroism of the pioneers who fought for the freedom which we all enjoy in this land of ours.

The history of Poland over the centuries has been illuminated by the valiant fight it has made for liberty and freedom regardless of the power and the military might of some of its tyrannical neighboring nations who, over the years, have made various efforts of subjugate a liberty-loving people. Poland, after World War I, during its twenty years of freedom, made more progress in the installation and practical operation of a free government, industrial expansion, educational growth, than any nation in history in such a short time. Unfortunately this great progress was interrupted by the Soviet tyrant and the Nazi War Machine. The Nazi tyranny has been eliminated and in recent years we have observed the Soviet communistic economy disintegrate. Stalin, the most ruthless of tyrants, and Khrushchev have disappeared from the scene. The Communist economy in Russia and its agricultural programs have been a failure—millions are starving in China today. Its modern economic programs have been negative, impractical and failures. Its food production has only been able to serve a fraction of its people and, in my opinion, the time is not far distant when the much-herald communist millennium will have completely disappeared from the world.

Our great Nation has been the leader in this fight for freedom and communist curtailment. After World War II we spent billions of dollars to re-build the bombed out nations in western Europe. We have aided them to become re-established and prevent the Soviet war machine from marching after they were helpless by reason of World War II bombing and destruction.

In 1951 General Eisenhower, then at the head of European defense, testified before the House Foreign Affairs Committee that if it had not been for the valiant sacrifice of our nation made during those days, "all Europe would be communist today." That was in 1951.

History will reveal after the communist international conspiracy is destroyed, that it was this free land of ours that saved the world from communist tyranny and enslavement. We can all today be grateful for the nearly over seven million Polish American citizens and citizens of other captive nations who have joined in and aided our Government to fight communist expansion and curtail communist tyrannical designs to enslave mankind.

ADDRESS OF JAN CIECHANOWSKI, FORMER AMBASSADOR OF POLAND TO THE UNITED STATES

This 12th day of February marks the 221st anniversary of the birth of Tadeusz Kosciuszko.

Through the years these annual celebrations at the foot of his monument in Washington, D.C., have become traditional manifestations of American-Polish patriotism.

They are yearly reaffirmations of the fervant Polish and American love of freedom and undying devotion to national independence.

Kosciuszko will forever remain the symbol of this precious American-Polish community of ideals.

As shown by the record and the many highly laudatory testimonials of the Commander-in-Chief and other Generals under whose command he served in America from 1776 to 1783, Kosciuszko's part in the American War for Independence was both welcome and quite substantial. He contributed his considerable scientific knowledge of military engineering by planning and building fortifications and defenses at Saratoga, West Point and other strategically important localities when serving with the Army of the South.

After the war, upon the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief and the Secretary of War, on October 13th, 1783, Congress passed the following Resolution:

"Resolved, that the Secretary of War transmit to Colonel Kosciuszko the brevet commission of Brigadier General and signify to that Officer that Congress entertain an high sense of his long faithful and meritorious service."

This annual celebration has a particular significance, not only because today is the 221st anniversary of General Kosciuszko's birth, but especially because it takes place at a time when the American nation is proving to this ultra modern world of cynical materialism and computerized thinking, not by words alone but by powerful action in distant Vietnam, its unswerving fidelity to the ideals of human freedom and the inalienable right of all nations to self-determination.

President Woodrow Wilson proclaimed this right in the following terms: "Self determination is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action, which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril . . ."

This Wilsonian "imperative principle of action" is now actually being put into practice by the United States, under the High Command of President Lyndon B. Johnson.

American Armed Forces are fighting in South East Asia solely in defence of Vietnam's independence and of the right to self-determination of the Vietnamese people.

Thus, this conflict in a distant foreign country is yet another mighty American war effort, free from imperialist designs, inspired by the loftiest principles of justice for all nations.

As one stands here, facing the noble figure of Kosciuszko—gallant Polish and American fighter for freedom and independence, one realizes with sincere emotion how closely the present American war action in Vietnam accords with the time-honored fighting slogan of Poland: "For our freedom and yours" . . . "Za wolnosç nasza i wasza."

National Negro History Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. MESKILL

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. MESKILL. Mr. Speaker, the city of New Britain, Conn., today begins its first community celebration of National Negro History Week. I want to join them in paying tribute to the American Negro's many accomplishments throughout the history of our country.

National Negro History Week brings to mind the many contributions of the Negro people to the history of the United States, in many fields, ranging from the natural sciences to medicine to the arts, education, and politics.

Unquestionably, one of the greatest scientists of modern times was the Negro chemist, George Washington Carver. His contributions to the agricultural development of many products, including the peanut, the sweetpotato, and the soya bean, have placed him among the scientific leaders of the age. Dr. Carver has been honored with medals and awards too numerous to mention.

Among the outstanding surgeons of the 20th century must be listed the name of Dr. Charles Richard Drew, the late staff director and chief surgeon of Freedman's Hospital, in Washington, D.C. His single contribution to medicine in the form of preserving blood plasma for emergency transfusions during World War II earned for him the coveted Spingarm Medal. As an authority on blood plasma, Dr. Drew was in charge of collections for the armies of the United States and Great Britain.

The contribution of the American Negro to the fine arts has been notable for more than a century. Robert S. Duncanson, of Cincinnati, attained distinction as an artist in the 1840's, on an international basis. Edward M. Bannister, of Providence, was a recognized painter in the 1870's and 1880's, and organized a studio which served as the nucleus of the Rhode Island School of Design. Perhaps the greatest American artist at the turn of the century was Henry O. Tanner, a teacher at Clark University in Atlanta, the greatest painter of scriptural subjects of his age.

Among educators, the late Booker T. Washington is remembered as the man primarily responsible for introducing the industrial arts program into the American public school curriculums. Dr. Washington's accomplishments at Tuskegee Institute alone were a monument to the contribution of Negro education. Mr. Mordecai W. Johnson at Howard University, Dr. Charles S. Johnson at Fisk University, and the late John Hope of Atlanta University have done much to further the progress of higher education among Negroes.

A representative list of Negro leaders of the past few decades should include such names as Dr. Martin Luther King, president of the Southern Leadership Conference; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; A. Philip Randolph, director of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom; Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development; Dr. G. James Fleming, director of the Institute for Political Education, Morgan State College; and Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League. These are only a few of the host of Negro leaders in America currently engaged in programs designed to foster Negro recognition and further Negro contributions to the American way of life.

As a social being, the American Negro has performed with great ability. The fact is worthy of the national recognition it shall receive during National Negro History Week, 1967.

No Change on Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, at his press conference last Thursday, Secretary of State Dean Rusk took what seemed to many people to be a rather blunt and inflexible position on the question of a halt in American bombing of North Vietnam as a precondition for peace talks with the North Vietnamese.

Mr. Rusk stated that the American position is that a bombing halt must be answered by "reciprocal military moves" from Hanoi.

An alternative suggested in the New York Times editorial of February 10, 1967, concerning the reduction of bombing I think merits our thoughtful consideration, and I would like to commend it to my colleagues, and place the editorial in the RECORD at this point:

NO CHANGE ON VIETNAM

Secretary of State Rusk gave his press conference yesterday to state in the most emphatic way that the United States will not cease its bombing of North Vietnam without some "reciprocity" on Hanoi's part. There is "no shift in our position," he said.

The flatness of the Rusk declaration and the certainty that he spoke for President Johnson was a chilling response to an atmosphere of faint hopes and a worldwide buzz of speculation over possible peace feelers by Hanoi.

Such feelers and shifts of position seem to be taking place, and presumably there is and will be quiet diplomacy going on in many capitals that have contact with Hanoi. Mr. Rusk went out of his way to emphasize that the United States, for its part, is not yielding an inch in its determination to order no unilateral halt in bombing of the North. Even the present lunar new year truce is merely "a four-day cease-fire so far as we are concerned," the Secretary declares.

The situation is stalemated. Hanoi says—and this is a somewhat different position than before—that it will consider peace negotiations if the United States stops its bombing of the North. Washington says that it will not stop the bombing unless there is a corresponding reciprocal move of de-escalation on the part of North Vietnam.

Secretary General Thant of the United Nations has stressed his view that "a powerful nation like the United States should take the initiative in the quest for peace." If the United States will not stop the bombing—and Secretary Rusk made that clear—it could still take an initiative by reducing its bombing attacks.

Mr. Rusk, for instance, made a strong point of the fact that the United States cannot be expected to sit back and watch North Vietnamese trucks carrying troops and materiel toward the South. Why not, then, at least confine the bombing to the infiltration routes by rail, road and sea and stay away from population centers? This would be a proof of American readiness to move, not just stand still, in search of peace.

It would be better to take the risk—and there would be an obvious risk—of stopping the bombing of the North altogether. The deadlock that exists today cannot, on the basis of existing knowledge and opinion, be broken by the inflexible policy that Secretary Rusk enunciated yesterday.

Soviet Lobbying

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, lobbying in our Congress by Communist agents of the Soviet Union is a shocker. If the Russians are now making "unofficial calls" on our lawmakers to work for passage of the controversial Communist Consular Treaty, what pray tell can we expect from them if the law is passed and these agents become officially recognized?

My folks back in Louisiana are understandably upset over this entire program to enter into a brotherhood with Russian Communists. Possibly this is because they are at a loss as to how to write to their sons and husbands, dodging Communist bullets in Vietnam, why we are considering legalizing Communist lobbying among their Congressmen back home. To say the least, not a morale booster.

My mail is running 1,000 to 0 for America and against any deals that might even dignify Russian Communists.

And where do these Russian lobbyists come from? The enclosed section of the yellow pages index, from page 425 of the Washington, D.C., telephone book may better show their strength and organization on Capitol Hill.

Soviet Embassy—	
Office, 1125 16th NW	NA 8–7550
Military and naval attaché, office of, 2552 Belmont Road NW	DE 2–3741
Residence, 1706 18th NW	AD 2–3092
Commercial division, 1706 18th NW	AD 2–2917
Information, 1706 18th NW	AD 2–3426
Military and naval attaché office, 2552 Belmont Road NW	DE 2–3743
Visa and consular office, 1609 Decatur NW	882–5829
Office, 1706 18th NW	AD 2–3756
Soviet Life magazine, 1706 18th NW	AD 2–7768
Office, 1706 18th NW	CO 5–2607
Press department, 1115 16th NW	347–1347

So that our colleagues may read and study this revolting invasion, I am enclosing the news clipping from the New York Times service:

DIRKSEN BRISTLES AT SOVIET "LOBBYING"

WASHINGTON.—Senate Republican leader Everett Dirksen complained yesterday that he was being "lobbied" by both the State Department and the Soviet Embassy to support a proposed consular treaty with the Soviet Union.

Some difference developed between the Senator and the Soviet embassy over whether there had been any "lobbying."

As recounted by Senator Dirksen, a "young man" from the Soviet Embassy called on him Wednesday to discuss East-West cooperation, including the treaty. The diplomat's purpose, the Senator suggested, was to spread "propaganda" and to lobby for East-West legislation.

But the Soviet Embassy version was that the diplomat was paying one of his get-acquainted visits to congressional leaders. The diplomat, according to an embassy spokesman, requested the appointment last October, shortly after arriving in this country, and was informed last week that he could see the Senator on Wednesday.

"It is quite surprising," the embassy spokesman said, "to have an unofficial talk of a general nature described as lobbying."

Senator Dirksen told reporters that the efforts of the State Department and Soviet Embassy officials "have not changed my views on the treaty, although these views are not yet finalized."

The administration has generally assumed that the Republican leader is dead set against the treaty and intends to make it a political issue.

While offering the administration no encouragement on the beleaguered treaty, Dirksen did provide unexpected support for the outer space treaty, another of the East-West steps proposed by the administration. The Senator said he could "certainly go along" on it.

Fine Arts Center Created in Anderson, Ind.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, the cultural accomplishment of Anderson, Ind., should be acclaimed as an inspiration to similar U.S. communities. This primarily industrial city of 65,000 people has illustrated that efforts to improve a city's cultural environment are not just the concern of larger, more resourceful metropolitan cities. With great pride, Andersonians recently held an inaugural opening for their fine arts center.

The materialization of this center is a praiseworthy accomplishment not only for its potential value to all Hoosiers but also for the communitywide motivation which inspired its birth. No one patron family initiated and supported this project. Private citizens were able to maintain a spirit dedicated to the establishment of a permanent facility for the presentation of a variety of artistic programs.

This objective was realized on January 15, 1967, when the center's inaugural exhibition entitled "The First Hundred Years of Indiana Painting" brought art history to Andersonians. Anderson people hope that their fine arts center will become a major contributor to the cultural revival of the Midwest.

I would like to see more cities the size of Anderson take an interest in stimulating private community support for the establishment of cultural centers. Cultural revitalization need not be solely a big city phenomena. Cultural growth of our less sophisticated cities not located in a metropolitan complex can keep pace with the more immediate local campaigns as the war on poverty and urban renewal.

Anderson, Ind., has proven that community dedication can produce a permanent cultural contribution to the local modernization program.

Survey of 90th Congress, First Session, Relative to Participation in the Boy Scouts of America, by Congresssman Clarence J. Brown, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, last year in observance of the 50th anniversary of the chartering of the Boy Scouts of America by the U.S. Congress, I had the pleasure of preparing a survey of the Members of the 89th Congress, second session, to determine what the Boy Scouts had done for Congress 50 years after Congress did something for the Boy Scouts by chartering it as a national organization.

This year, I have again been asked to make this survey by the Boy Scouts of America to determine the number of Members of the 90th Congress, first session, who were Scouts and/or Scout leaders. This year's survey, as did last years, reveals that more than one-half of the Members of Congress have served Scouting in some way.

This year's survey discloses that 328 Members of the 90th Congress, first session, have participated in Scouting as Scouts and/or Scout leaders— as compared with last year's total of 302. Of the 328 who have participated, 26, compared with last year's total of 24, have achieved the rank of Eagle, the highest award which can be earned by a Scout. The increase in the number of Members participating and the number of Eagle Scouts might be attributed to the lower average age of the Members of the 90th Congress, as a result of the unusually large number of younger men elected last November.

Also nine adult leaders—one more than last year—hold the Silver Beaver award, two hold the Silver Antelope award and two others hold the Silver Buffalo award, the highest recognition given to adults in Scouting. In addition, while these have not been counted in my statistics, one of the women Members of Congress has been named honorary Boy Scout and another has served as Cub Scout den mother.

Under unanimous consent I make the results of my survey part of the RECORD in observance of National Boy Scout Week, February 7 through 13:

SURVEY OF 90TH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION, RELATIVE TO PARTICIPATION IN BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

(By Congressman CLARENCE J. BROWN, JR.)

	Representative	Senator	Total
Scout	147	30	177
Scout and leader	81	10	91
Leader	51	9	60
No participation	145	50	195
Subtotal	424	90	523
Women	11	1	12
Vacancy	1		1
Total	[1] 436	100	536

[1] Includes Puerto Rico representative.

Total Members who have participated in Scouting: 328 (77% of eligibles).

Total who were scouts: 268.

Total who were leaders: 151.

EAGLE SCOUTS

Senator Frank Moss, Utah (D).

Representatives

Jeffery Cohelan, California (D).
Burt L. Talcott, California (R).
Charles Bennett, Florida (D).
Roger H. Zion, Indiana (R).
Donald Rumsfeld, Illinois (R).
John Culver, Iowa (D).
Hervey Machen, Maryland (D).
Gerald R. Ford, Michigan (R).
John A. Blatnik, Minnesota (D).
Thomas Curtis, Missouri (R).
Durward Hall, Missouri (R).
Barber Conable, Jr., New York (R).
J. William Stanton, Ohio (R).
Horace Kornegay, North Carolina (D).
Mark Andrews, North Dakota (R).
John E. Hunt, New Jersey (R).
Clarence J. Brown, Jr., Ohio (R).
Tom Steed, Oklahoma (D).
John R. Dellenbeck, Oregon (R).
Daniel Flood, Pennsylvania (D).
Richard Schweiker, Pennsylvania (R).
J. J. Pickle, Texas (D).
John O. Marsh, Jr., Virginia (D).
Henry Reuss, Wisconsin, (D).
Larry Winn, Jr., Kansas (R).

SILVER BUFFALO

Senators Carl Hayden, Arizona (D).
George Murphy, California (R).

SILVER BEAVER

Senators

Clinton Anderson, New Mexico (D).
Everett Jordan, North Carolina (D).
Mark Hatfield, Oregon (R).

Representatives

Del Clawson, California (R).
Larry Winn, Jr., Kansas (R).
Thomas Curtis, Missouri (R).
Durward Hall, Missouri (R).
Page Belcher, Oklahoma (R).
Arch Moore, Jr., West Virginia (R).

SILVER ANTELOPE

Senator Mark Hatfield, Oregon (R).

Representative Durward Hall, Missouri (R).

Honorary Boy Scout: Catherine May, Washington (R).

Cub Scout Den Mother: Florence P. Dwyer, New Jersey (R).

BOY SCOUT SURVEY RESULTS CONDUCTED BY CLARENCE J. BROWN, JR.

(Scout denoted by (S); leader denoted by (L); Scout and leader denoted by (S & L).)

ALABAMA

Senator John Sparkman (D), S & L.
George Andrews (D), S.
John H. Buchanan, Jr. (R), L.
William L. Dickenson (R), S.
Robert E. Jones (D), L.
Armistead I. Selden, Jr. (D), S.

ALASKA

Senator E. L. Bartlett (D), S.
Howard W. Pollock (R), S.

ARIZONA

Senator Paul J. Fannin (R), S.
Senator Carl Hayden (D), L.
John J. Rhodes (R), S.
Morris K. Udall (D), S & L.

ARKANSAS

E. C. Gathings (D), S & L.
Wilbur D. Mills (D), S & L.
John Paul Hammerschmidt (R), S.
David Pryor (D), S.

CALIFORNIA

Senator Thomas Kuchel (R) S & L.
Senator George Murphy (R), L.
Alphonzo Bell (R), S.
George E. Brown, Jr. (D), L.
Del Clawson (R), S & L.
Jeffery Cohelan (D), S.
James C. Corman (D), S.
Don Edwards (D), S.
Richard T. Hanna (D), S & L.
Craig Hosmer (R), S.
Harold T. Johnson (D), L.
Robert L. Leggett (D), S & L.
Glenard P. Lipscomb (R), S.
John F. McFall (D), L.
William S. Mailliard (R), S.
Bob Mathias (R), S.
John E. Moss (D), S.
Ed Reinecke (R), S & L.
Edward R. Roybal (D), S.
H. Allen Smith (R), S & L.
Burt L. Talcott (R), S & L.
Charles M. Teague (R), S.
John V. Tunney (D), L.
James B. Utt (R), S.
Lionel Van Deerlin (D), S.
Jerome Waldie, (D), S.
Bob Wilson (R), S.
J. Arthur Younger (R), L.

COLORADO

Wayne N. Aspinall (D), S.
Frank E. Evans (D), S & L.
Byron G. Rogers (D), S.
Donald G. Brotzman (R), S.

CONNECTICUT

Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D), S.
Senator Abraham A. Ribicoff (D), S.
Robert N. Giaimo (D), S.
William L. St. Onge (D), S & L.

DELAWARE

Senator J. Caleb Boggs (R), S & L.
William V. Roth, Jr. (R), L.

FLORIDA

Senator Spessard L. Holland (D), S.
Charles E. Bennett (D), S.
Dante B. Fascell (D), S.
Sam M. Gibbons (D), S.
James A. Haley (D), L.
Edward J. Gurney (R), S.
A. Sydney Herlong, Jr. (D), S.
Claude Pepper (D), S & L.
Paul G. Rogers (D), S.
Robert L. F. Sikes (D), S.
J. Herbert Burke (R), S.

GEORGIA

Jack Brinkley (D), L.
John J. Flynt, Jr. (D), S & L.
G. Elliott Hagan (D), L.
Phil M. Landrum (D), S.
Maston O'Neal (D), S & L.
Robert G. Stephens, Jr. (D), S & L.
Fletcher Thompson (R), L.
W. S. (Bill) Stuckey, Jr. (D), S & L.
Benjamin Blackburn (R), S & L.

HAWAII

Senator Hiram Fong (R), S & L.
Spark Matsunaga (D), S.

IDAHO

Senator Frank Church (D), S.
George V. Hansen (R), S.
James A. McClure (R), S.

ILLINOIS

Frank Annunzio (D), L.
Leslie C. Arends (R), S.
Harold R. Collier (R), S.
Edward J. Derwinski (R), S.
John N. Erlenborn (R), L.
Robert McClory (R), L.
Roman C. Pucinski (D), S.
Thomas Railsback (R), S & L.
Dan Rostenkowski (D), S & L.
Donald Rumsfeld (R), S.
William L. Springer (R), S.
Sidney R. Yates (D), S.
Senator Charles Percy (R), S & L.

INDIANA

E. Ross Adair (R), S.
John Brademas (D), S & L.
William G. Bray (R), S.
Lee H. Hamilton (D), S.
Andrew Jacobs, Jr. (D), S.
Richard L. Roudebush (R), S & L.
Roger H. Zion (R), S & L.

IOWA

Senator Jack Miller (R), S.
John C. Culver (D), S.
John Kyl (R), L.
Fred Schwengel (R), L.
Wiley Mayne (R), S.
Neal Smith (D), L.

KANSAS

Senator Frank Carlson (R), L.
Senator James B. Pearson (R), S.
Bob Dole (R), S.
Chester L. Mize (R), S.
Garner E. Shriver (R), S & L.
Joe Skubitz (R), L.
Larry Winn, Jr. (R), S & L.

KENTUCKY

Senator John Sherman Cooper (R), S.
William H. Natcher (D), S.
William Cowger (R), S.
Frank A. Stubblefield (D), S.
John C. Watts (D), S.
Gene Snyder (R), S.

LOUISIANA

Hale Boggs (D), S.
Speedy O. Long (D), S.
Otto E. Passman (D), S.
Joe D. Waggonner (D), S.
Edwin E. Willis (D), S.

MAINE

Senator Edmund S. Muskie (D), S.
William D. Hathaway (D), S.
Peter N. Kyros (D), S.

MARYLAND

Senator Joseph D. Tydings (D), S.
Samuel N. Friedel (D), S.
Hervey G. Machen (D), S & L.
Charles McM. Mathias, Jr. (R), S.
Rogers C. B. Morton (R), S.
Clarence D. Long (D), S.
Gilbert Gude (R), S & L.

MASSACHUSETTS

Senator Edward Brooke (R), S.
William H. Bates (R), S.
Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. (D), L.

MICHIGAN

Senator Robert P. Griffin (R), S & L.
Garry Brown (R), S.
Elford A. Cederberg (R), S.
John D. Dingell (D), S & L.
Gerald R. Ford (R), S & L.
William D. Ford (D), S.
Edward Hutchinson (R), S.
Lucien N. Nedzi (D), L.
Philip Ruppe (R), S.
William S. Broomfield (R), S & L.

MINNESOTA

Senator Walter F. Mondale (D), S.
John A. Blatnik (D), S.
Donald M. Fraser (D), S.
Joseph E. Karth (D), S & L.

MISSISSIPPI

Thomas G. Abernethy (D), S & L.
G. V. Montgomery (D), S.

MISSOURI

Senator Edward V. Long (D), L.
Thomas B. Curtis (R), S & L.
Durward G. Hall (R), S & L.
W. R. Hull, Jr. (D), L.
William L. Hungate (D), S.
Paul C. Jones (R), S & L.
Frank M. Karsten (D), S.
William J. Randall (D), S.

MONTANA

Senator Lee Metcalf (D), S & L.
James F. Battin (R), S.
Arnold Olsen (D), L.

NEBRASKA

Glenn Cunningham (R), S & L.
Dave Martin (R), S & L.
Robert V. Denney (R), L.

NEVADA

Senator Howard W. Cannon (D), S.
Walter S. Baring (D), S.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Senator Norris Cotton (R), S.
Senator Thomas J. McIntyre (D), L.
Louis C. Wyman (R), S.

NEW JERSEY

Senator Clifford P. Chase (R), S.
Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr. (D), L.
Cornelius E. Gallagher (D), S.
John E. Hunt (R), S & L.
Joseph G. Minish (D), S.
James J. Howard, (D), S.
Charles Sandman (R), S.
William B. Widnall (R), S & L.

NEW MEXICO

Senator Clinton P. Anderson (D), L.
Thomas G. Morris (D), S.
E. S. Johnny Walker (D), S & L.

NEW YORK

Senator Robert F. Kennedy (D), S.
Hugh L. Carey (D), I.
Barber B. Conable, Jr. (R), S & L.
John G. Dow (D), S & L.
Thaddeus J. Dulski (D), S & L.
James R. Grover, Jr. (R), S.
Seymour Halpern (R), S & L.
Frank Horton (R), S & L.
Carleton J. King (R), L.
Richard D. McCarthy (D), S.
Robert C. McEwen (R), S.
Abraham J. Multer (D), L.
Richard L. Ottinger (D), S.
Otis G. Pike (D), S & L.
Odgen R. Reid (R), S.
Joseph Y. Resnick (D), S & L.
Howard W. Robison (R), S & L.
John J. Rooney (D), S.
Henry P. Smith III (R), S & L.
Samuel S. Stratton (D), S & L.
Herbert Tenzer (D), L.
John W. Wydler (R), S.
Theodore R. Kupferman (R), L.

NORTH CAROLINA

Senator B. Everett Jordan (D), L.
James T. Broyhill (R), S.
L. H. Fountain (D), S.
Nick Galifianakis (D), S.
David N. Henderson (D), S.
Walter B. Jones (D), S.
Charles R. Jonas (R), S.
Horace R. Kornegay (D), S & L.
Alton Lennon (D), S & L.
Roy A. Taylor (D), S & L.
Basil Whitener (D), S.
James C. Gardner (R), S.

NORTH DAKOTA

Mark Andrews (R), S.
Thomas S. Kleppe (R), S.

OHIO

John M. Ashbrook (R), L.
Jackson E. Betts (R), S & L.
Clarence J. Brown, Jr. (R), S & L.
Samuel L. Devine (R), S.
William H. Harsha (R), S.
Wayne L. Hays (D), S & L.
Delbert L. Latta (R), S.
D. E. "Buz" Lukens (R), S & L.

Clarence E. Miller (R), S.
William E. Minshall (R), S.
Charles A. Mosher (R), L.
J. William Stanton (R), S.
Chalmers P. Wylie (R), S & L.
Robert Taft, Jr. (R), S.

OKLAHOMA

Senator Fred R. Harris (D), S.
Senator A. S. Mike Monroney (D), S.
Carl Albert (D), S & L.
Page Belcher (R), L.
Ed Edmondson (D), S.
John Jarman (D), L.
Tom Steed (D), S & L.

OREGON

Al Ullman (D), L.
John R. Dellenbeck (R), S.
Senator Mark Hatfield (R), S & L.

PENNSYLVANIA

Senator Hugh Scott (R), S.
William A. Barrett (D), S.
Edward Biester (R), S.
Frank M. Clark (D), S & L.
Robert J. Corbett (R) S.
Daniel J. Flood (D), S.
James G. Fulton (R), S.
Albert W. Johnson (R), L.
Joseph M. McDade (R), S.
Thomas E. Morgan (D), S.
Fred B. Rooney (D), S.
John P. Saylor (R), S & L.
Herman T. Schneebeli (R), S.
Richard S. Schweiker (R), S & L.
J. Irvin Whalley (R), L.
L. G. Williams, (R), S.
Joshua Eilberg (D), S & L.

RHODE ISLAND

Senator Claiborne Pell (D), S.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Senator Strom Thurmond (R), S & L.
John L. McMillan (D), L.
L. Mendel Rivers (D), S & L.
Albert W. Watson (R), S.
Senator Ernest Hollings (D), S.

SOUTH DAKOTA

E. Y. Berry (R), L.
Senator Karl E. Mundt, (R), S.
Ben Reifel (R), L.

TENNESSEE

William R. Anderson (D), S.
William E. Brock III (R), S.
John J. Duncan (R), S & L.
Richard H. Fulton (D), S & L.
Ray Blanton (D), S & L.
Dan Kuykendall (R), L.

TEXAS

Senator Ralph Yarborough (D), L.
Omar Burleson (D), S.
Earle Cabell (D), L.
Bob Casey (D), S & L.
John Dowdy (D), S & L.
O. C. Fisher (D), L.
Eligio de la Garza (D), S & L.
Henry B. Gonzalez (D), S & L.
Wright Patman (D), L.
J. J. (Jake) Pickle (D), S.
W. R. Poage (D), L.
Graham Purcell (D), L.
Ray Roberts (D), S & L.
Olin E. Teague (D), S.
Richard C. White (D), S & L.
James C. Wright, Jr. (D), S & L.
Abraham B. Kazen, Jr. (D), S.
Robert B. Price (R), L.
Joe R. Pool (D), S.

UTAH

Senator Wallace F. Bennett (R), S.
Senator Frank E. Moss (D), S.
Laurence J. Burton (R), S & L.
Sherman P. Lloyd (R), S & L.

VERMONT

Robert T. Stafford (R), S.

VIRGINIA

Thomas N. Downing (D), S & L.
Porter Hardy, Jr. (D), S & L.
John O. Marsh, Jr. (D), S & L.
David E. Satterfield, III (D), S.
William C. Wampler (R), S.
William L. Scott (R), L.
Senator William B. Spong, Jr. (D), S & L.

WASHINGTON

Senator Henry M. Jackson (D), S.
Brock Adams (D), S.
Thomas S. Foley (D), S.
Lloyd Meeds (D), S & L.
Thomas M. Pelly (R), S.

WEST VIRGINIA

Senator Robert C. Byrd (D), S.
Senator Jennings Randolph (D), S.
Ken Hechler (D), S.
James Kee (D), S.
Arch A. Moore, Jr. (R), L.
John M. Slack, Jr. (D), S.
Harley O. Staggers (D), L.

WISCONSIN

Senator William Proxmire (D), S.
Robert W. Kastenmeier (D), S.
Glenn R. Davis (R), L.
Melvin R. Laird (R), S.
Henry S. Reuss (D), S & L.
Vernon W. Thomson (R), S.
William A. Steiger (R), S.

WYOMING

Senator Gale W. McGee (D), S.

Students Support Right To Vote for 18-Year-Olds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, on January 30, 1967, I introduced a joint resolution in the House of Representatives (H.J. Res. 232) proposing an amendment to the U.S. Constitution which would provide as follows:

> No citizen of the United States who is eighteen years of age or older shall be denied the right to vote by reason of age.

In my remarks at the time I introduced the resolution I pointed out that over half of our citizens today are under 25 years of age, that the young generation is well educated, and that with few exceptions the youth of present-day America is deeply concerned with national and international problems. I also emphasized that while the proposal to give young people over 18 the right to vote has been suggested in the past, no action was ever taken on it by the Congress. Now the idea has ripened in our day; hence, both major political parties can unite behind this proposal and support it.

Since the introduction of the resolution, I have received many letters in support of such an amendment to the Constitution. I was particularly pleased to receive a letter from a group of students from the Waterford High School, Waterford, Conn., in my congressional district. The letter, in support of my resolution, is signed by some 300 students. It lists seven reasons why such an amendment should be adopted, and I am, therefore, pleased to insert in the RECORD the letter and the names of all those who signed it. It reads as follows:

WATERFORD HIGH SCHOOL,
Waterford, Conn., February 7, 1967.

Congressman WILLIAM ST. ONGE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ST. ONGE: We the undersigned students of Waterford High School, Waterford, Connecticut support your bill to have the voting right extended to all United States citizens eighteen years of age or older, and feel they can accept this responsibility for the following reasons:

(1) Being that an eighteen year old can be drafted and can fight for and die for his country, he should be allowed to have a say in his government.

(2) Eighteen to twenty-one year olds would be able to express their opinions in the voting booths instead of in the streets.

(3) Seventy per cent of the states allow women to be married before the age of twenty-one without parental consent.

(4) Federal relief for dependents ends at age eighteen unless the dependent remains in school.

(5) The minimum driving age in the United States for all states is eighteen years or less.

(6) At age eighteen in many courts a person is no longer considered a juvenile and is subject to adult punishment.

(7) The states of Kentucky, Georgia, Alaska, and Hawaii allow persons under twenty-one to vote. We should like to have this discrepancy corrected by creating a universal voting age of eighteen.

We extend our best wishes for a quick passage of this bill.

Sincerely yours,
STUDENTS OF WATERFORD HIGH SCHOOL.

George Blahun, Prescilla Wade, Rists Pafias, Susan Curless, Linda Bellefleur, Pat Willis, Linda Johnston, Linda Schaller, Brian MacDonald, Ralph Hirachfeld, Terry D. Hillfield, Karen Gifford, Richard Mills, Bob Darling, Mike Green, Susan Wirta, Donna Cantillon, JoAnn Kovalik, Diane Montesi, Martha Roberts, Linda Palmiea, Edward Bartle, James Mercer, Nancy Smith, Chris Tordenti, Suanne Wells, Dudley Hambon, Teresa McCount, Kathy Wentworth, Mary Silva, Bonnie Hines, Rodney Williamson, Greg McNeil, Jason Hanne, Lucien H. Bazinet, Jr., Marg McMullin, Allan Tracy, Linda Mueller, Joanne Smith, Roberta Berman, Carl Lewis, Eric Strickland, Joseph Weymouth, Peter Krohn, Cathy Carlson, Karen Banta, Evelyn Wilcox, Calleen MacDougall, Nancy Briggs, Carol Sylvia, Toni Deurloo.

Theodore Bartlett, Darryl Murphy, Linda Elender, Linda Wilkinson, Susan Donatalo, Donna Greene, Lynnette Outlaw, Tom Snow, Bob Bunting, Leslie Ingham, Zora Foley, Larry Flaman, Ken Buttinger, Bob Daniels, Douglas McFarland, David Lenz, Susan Sustafson, James Lawrence, Douglas Platz, Martha Rowe, Susan Wainwright, Mark Helljer, Meca Williams, Andrea Lyons, Nevil Petrini, Jeffrey Rappaport, Janice Shelburn, Judy Johnson, Vic Yoretk, Kevin Bonaldes, Paul McFarland, Kathie Kononchik, Katie Williams, J. Wayne Riellce, Sandra Anglin, Sherry Mabry, John Wyld, Melanie Surprenant, Donna Arms, Thomas Burrows, Renate Potet, Joanne Doy, John Bottenett, Veronica Price, Dyann Govenning, Cheryl Stynilaski, John Kirk, George Bonneau, Jr., Joseph Scolia.

Gerald Kavarnos, Charles Horton, Cay Williams, Joe Mates, Merle Kanao, Dean Golembeski, Bill Deal, Michael Fergione, Stephen Cosjan, Jack McDonald, Mark Greer, Richard H. Vescari, Kathy Burke, Daniel Cain, David

Lenz, Debbe Lamerick, Ken Buttinger, Roger Briggs, Donna A. Malloy, Richard Eldridge, William Wells, Gregory Farrar, Marlene Watson, Rosemary Christina, Roselle Richardson, Helen Hirschfeld, Jill Stoner, Joann Spinato, Candice Weigle, Maureen Jamieson, Yvonne Michaels, Carl Lewis, Thomas Toranger, Jerry Brown, Donna O'Neill, Karen Alligood, Linda Hall, Pat Brennan, Suzanne Grippe, Paul Frendenstein, Gary Shelburn, Barry Goldwater, Rhonda Dougherty, Robert Graigice, Nick Levell, Joan Greene, Justice Cascial, Wendy Mosher.

Linda Christian, Eric Benoit, Russell Pickens, Douglas Niedzwecki, Matthew Kwannliiuski, Bill Rogoff, Tom Schmitz, Janie Geer, Gary Piascil, John Awezec, Brett Keeney, Dianne Fisher, Noreen Collett, Joan Appliky, Luanne Wells, Virginia Elliott (Ginny), Leslie Kim Brall, Kathy Blatchford, Carol Spinnato, Debbie Pukas, Joanie Sirotnik, Deborah Campbell, Carolyn Malloy, Judy Robinson, Carol Pickens, Linda Britagna, Denise Faraci, Nancy Silvestri, Pam Romeo, Candida Pelka, Barbara Dyer, Betsy Klipp, Anita Zackowski, Metra Henderson, Karen Hunt, Liz Anastasia, Linda Guido, Debbie Wheeler, Linda Chopi, D. Senkow, S. Mabry, Margaret McGauretie, Bett Sargent, Linda Belanger, Paula Frausire, Wendy Preeschel, Mary Lou Durkee.

Michael Piscatella, Jack Jones, Sue Smith, Robert Darling, Irene Burgess, Tom Lamb, Kevin Gasser, Henry Albert Schaller II, Loretta Swartz, Pat Kane, Mary Murallo, Lynda Sopczyk, Edward Auena, Caffeen O'Neiff, Richard Bascetto, Debbie Thompson, Lila Gallup, Jo Sellech, Kevin Pope, Donna Salvagna, Carol Rossi, Craig Forster, Wayne Beacey, Barry Rogers, Loreen Denison, Debra Mahoney, Joan Rubino, Robert Zuppl, George Pope, Alan D. McNelly, Robin Beauchamp, Ruth Massey, Wanda Goodall, May-Ann Wood, David Buscette.

Andy Ciofi, Clemente Jaminal Dela Cruz, Jr., Bill McClarvell, Eddie Derr, Virginia Swan, Tom Lizotte, Tom Ladner, Ruby Hempstead, Barbara Ely, Joseph Huet, Gary Rolls, Bill Somesfel, Jason Vreeland, Mel Counts, Brian Loneigin, Charles Phipps, Leonard Bunell, Walter Briggs, Joseph Hamel.

Power Poles at Woodside Not So Bad After All

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, not too long ago there was quite a battle hereabouts as to whether or not the AEC could run high-voltage powerlines to feed the new Standford linear accelerator on the Palto Alto campus. The city of Woodside was particular vociferous in its opposition to the overhead lines and was insistent that many millions of extra dollars be spent to run the lines underground. As it turns out AEC was able to run its lines overhead without despoiling the scenic delights of Woodside. Its accomplishment was recorded in Electrical World magazine for January 17, as follows:

A 220-Kilovolt Line to Accelerator Wins Public Acceptance

(By A. L. Perry)[1]

Concern for community sensibilities is evident in the construction of the Atomic Energy Commission's 220-kv tap line to the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center, near Palto Alto, Calif.

Comments of residents of the wooded foothills through which the line was built indicate satisfaction that everything possible was done to preserve the environment, other than placing the line underground.

To win this approbation, AEC specifications called for:

Tapered steel poles, 48 to 94 ft tall, painted a dull light green, and light-gray insulators blending into the landscape. The only lattice structures in the 5.3-mile line are alongside Pacific Gas & Electric Co's double-circuit line, hidden from the land side by a ridge.

Corona-rings and line hardware were selected for minimum radio-influence voltage. These eliminate radio noise effects at residences and upon a radio astronomy laboratory nearby. Conductors were burnished and cleaned during stringing to remove dirt and rough spots.

Extraordinary care by the contractor minimized damage to foliage, trees, and general terrain. Road -construction and clearing were minimized and done in a manner to avoid soil erosion. A helicopter was used to carry materials and set poles at sites not accessible for a crane. Debris was removed daily, and construction crews were admonished to avoid excessive noise, dust, and interference with traffic.

A "conductor corridor" was avoided by angular routing through the hills and trimming trees in an irregular manner. The first step was trimming and removing trees for access roads and site clearing. It was combined with building access roads. The latter have good drainage, rock surfacing, riprapped banks, and several paved exits from existing roads. A bare minimum of trees was removed or trimmed to allow access to site areas for pouring footings and erecting poles. A tree was trimmed first and removed if later removal was found to be necessary.

TREE TRIMMING MINIMIZED

The second step was trimming for conductors. This could not be done until the poles were erected and a line of sight obtained. Only enough trimming was done to provide good clearance for stringing and sagging.

The third step was trimming for live conductor clearances of 30 ft to ground, 15 ft to vegetation, and topping or removal of danger trees.

Foundation holes were augered 4 and 5 ft in dia and 14 to 30 ft deep, according to soil conditions and to minimize guying. The reinforcing bars are welded and tied to a spiral, forming the cage for concrete reinforcing.

Concrete was placed by mixer trucks, concrete pumps, and hoppers. Anchor bolts, 2¼-in. and 1⅝-in. by 80 in., were placed using preformed steel templates to assure a proper fit.

The poles are unique. They are made of tubular steel in tapered sections that telescope to make a tight fit without welds or bolts. Heights range from 48 to 94 ft, weights from 2,000 to 8,000 lb. Five structures are without guy support for changes in angle of 14 to 90 deg.

In the line, the steel poles total 68, 16 single-pole, eight 2-pole, and 12 3-pole structures. The stand-off, self-supported insulators on most singlepole and some three-pole structures are believe to be the largest. These insulators, 95-in. long, were obtained in catilever strengths of 2,000 and 5,000 lb.

The low-strength units support jumpers at double dead-end structures; the high-strength were mounted in staggered fashion on single poles to support the conductors over flat university land along the accelerator building.

About 55% of the poles were set by a rubber-tired, front-and-rear-steering, 14-ton crane, many with insulators attached. In less accessible locations, poles were set by helicopter. Where weight of a pole was 3,000 lb or less, the complete pole was lifted by the helicopter. About 20% of the poles, however, were flown in sections to sites and assembled by placing the base, securing anchor bolts, and lifting the top section into the telescoping position.

Another helicopter carried insulators singly to poles where they were fastened directly into position. The helicopter was used also to lay a ½-in. polypropylene rope along the route. This rope, placed in the stringing sheaves, was used to pull in a ⅜-in. "roepack" nonrotating wire cable for pulling the conductor.

Stringing of conductors was by standard tensioning methods, with extreme care to provide a noise-free circuit. Scratches, burrs, dirt and aluminum filaments were removed by buffing the conductor as it unreeled. Rope nets and wooden guard structures protected highways and existing wires during stringing.

Conductors are 1,113 MCM, 61-strand all-aluminum. A single conductor per phase was installed with corona-free hardware, as for EHV, to reduce radio noise.

The longest span, 2,450 ft, was from the take-off tower to a three-pole structure, both at 2,100 ft elevation. A ruling span of 1,000 ft was applied as the line descended along the foothills. Finally, a 700-ft ruling span was used along-side the accelerator.

The circuit provides 300 Mw of capacity from two PG&E circuits, tapping one or the other by means of two 3-pole circuit switchers on the 97.5-ft take-off tower. To provide an alternative source of 30 Mw for emergencies, an additional $130,000 was spent for transformer capacity from an existing PG&E 60-kv circuit providing temporary power.

To build the 5.3 mile, single-circuit line in this manner cost AEC about $850,000, exclusive of land. Before the more attractive design was adopted, one concept considered was a double-circuit, 220-kv line on conventional four-legged structures. The cost was estimated at $688,000.

Lera Thomas Gives Her Report on the Sight and Sound of War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Lera Thomas, who so ably filled her husband's shoes for a short term in the House of Representatives, did what she could to bring a little of home to as many boys in Vietnam as she could during a recent trip she made to that part of the world.

Mrs. Thomas visited with people from the lowest military rank to the highest trying to learn as much as she could about what was going on. Not only did she see and visit more places than most so-called dignataries would go, she did more than certainly any one person could manage on a short trip.

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[1] A. L. Perry, Field Engineer, Rogers Engineering Co., Inc., San Francisco, Calif.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD, an article which recently appeared in the Houston Chronicle on Sunday, January 15, 1967, which gives her account of her trip. I would also like to insert an article which appeared in the Baytown Sun on Monday, January 30, 1967. Mrs. Thomas is to be admired and thanked by us all for what she did on her trip to South Vietnam.

The article follows:

[From the Houston Chronicle, Jan. 15, 1967]

LERA THOMAS GIVES HER REPORT ON THE SIGHT AND SOUND OF WAR

(NOTE.—*Houston's former congresswoman, Lera Thomas, widow and successor to Congress of U.S. Rep. Albert Thomas, left the United States last Nov. 29 on a mission of study and goodwill to Japan, Korea, Thailand and South Vietnam. While in the Far East, Mrs. Thomas examined American economic aid programs to SEATO countries, visited the fighting fronts in Vietnam and talked with Texans serving with the military in Vietnam. She is due back in the states this weekend. Here is a personal account of some of her experiences.*)

(By Mrs. Lera Thomas)

SAIGON.—I have spent the last several weeks visiting the provinces, towns, villages, the smallest hamlets of this embattled country.

I went into hospitals, schools, religious temples, and I toured the industries and ports to take the economic pulse of Vietnam.

I talked to the people—the farmers and the soldiers, the workers and the leaders—and I talked to the members of the Viet Cong, the enemy, who had defected from Communist forces.

One fact is clear to me:

Unless a stable economy is established in South Vietnam and the people are given an incentive to maintain that economy, we will lose what we are fighting for here.

I don't think we'll lose it.

The South Vietnamese are eager to learn the ways of Democracy. They have so little, and they know they would have less under Communist rule. Democracy is their hope for security in the future.

I know now the kind of enemy we face. He's an enemy without honor. Ruthless and brutal.

I was there when the Viet Cong violated the Christmas Day truce. I saw five wounded victims of their treachery.

When I first arrived in Saigon, the city teemed with thousands of U.S. servicemen and civilian workers.

How was I to locate those from the Harris County area and other Texas communities to whom I hoped to talk and for whom I had messages from home?

Well, I was a special correspondent for The Chronicle, so I fell back on the basic principle of reporters: I asked questions.

I learned you could find a Texan in almost any crowd of soldiers, sailors or Marines in Vietnam, and in every hospital.

It was a little sad, but among the young fighting men from Texas who gathered around me everywhere I went, there were many for whom I did not have personal messages. So I'd sit down and tell them about home.

I flew into Da Nang Christmas Eve. It was sunny and bright when we left Saigon, but the Monsoon rains had been falling for days at Da Nang.

I checked in first at Navy headquarters and then went across the river to the Marine encampment where I persuaded the commander to allow me to join a military convoy to Phu Bai in the forward area and only 70 miles from the Demilitarized Zone.

The convoy was commanded by a Col. Khoa, a provincial chief. The road to Phu Bai goes through Viet Cong territory and is dotted with garrisons that guard the vital supply road.

I remember one outpost in particular, in a desolate area. The few American soldiers seemed so lonely that I insisted that I be allowed to visit them for a few minutes.

Col. Khoa was reluctant but agreed to halt for a few minutes. There was a flurry of activity among the young soldiers and their Vietnam comrades as I picked my way through the barbed-wire entanglements surrounding the sand-bagged command post.

I learned later that they were removing from my sight the body of a Viet Cong soldier who had been killed during an assault on the post earlier in the day. They allowed me to see a Viet Cong soldier they had captured.

At Phu Bai, I dined with the soldiers of an infantry outfit commanded by Gen. W. B. Kyle of Hillsboro, Tex.

Later, I joined a convoy moving down to the coast and visited a front-line hospital along the way.

Dirty, grim-faced young soldiers were unloading five wounded comrades as we arrived at the hospital. The Americans had been ambushed along the same road I was traveling. The Viet Cong had detonated a mine under their carrier.

I was thankful to learn their wounds were not fatal.

Here are some of the servicemen and civilian workers that Congresswoman Lera Thomas visited with in Vietnam.

Houston and Harris County: Pfc. Rudolph F. Cannon, Jr., 9009 Laura Koppe; Cpl. Rodney J. Stutes, Jr., 4430 Orange Grove; Pfc. C. E. Fisher, 2040 King; Airman 1/c Robert Brown, Jr., 5621 Truett; Capt. Albert W. Costley Jr., 2206 Sheridan, Baytown; Maj. (Chaplain's Corps) D. B. Jordan, former pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Pasadena; David Warren, 2401 Addison; Lt. Col. Ralph Culver, 4110 Roseland.

Sp. 4/c Jimmy Watson, 3918 Woolworth; Maj. Hollanw E. Bynam, 3822 Wentworth; Gray D. Hill, 6910 Fulton; Pfc. Frank Akins, 4017 Citadel; Pfc. Raymond E. Anderson, 915 Hector, Pasadena; Pfc. Denny Neff, 1802 S. San Jacinto, Pasadena; Warren E. Flannery of Houston; Harold L. L. DeWeese, Baytown.

Other Texans: Maj. Gen. Wood B. Kyle, USMC, Hillsboro; Pfc. Russell G. Gifford Jr., Kerrville; Randall E. Johnston, Texas City; Capt. J. E. Hanson, Gonzales; Dennis Schirmer, Corpus Christi; Ronald Schumann, McQueeney; David L. Reeves, Aransas Pass; Col. J. B. Hill, Hillsboro; Col. R. H. Thompson, Pearsall; Lt. Col. G. D. McPherson, Corpus Christi; Sp. 4/c Alan Jones, Nederland; Sgt. Jerry Wheat, Freeport; Col. Allan T. Sampson, Corpus Christi; Major H. E. Simpson, Beaumont.

[From the Baytown Sun, Jan. 30, 1967]

ASIAN TOUR ENDS CONGRESSIONAL CAREER—MRS. THOMAS CHEERS TEXANS, BAYTONIANS ON VIETNAM TRIP

(By Fred Hartman)

The last days of the congressional career of Mrs. Albert Thomas, who served out the term of her late husband, was spent in Vietnam and in Korea visiting army and air force men in the thick of the fighting between Saigon and North Vietnam.

She spent hours talking to Texans in hospitals, in their quarters, in recreation centers and everywhere she had a chance to get a personal look at the young men who are carrying the fight to the Viet Cong in the cause of the Free World.

She had a particularly pleasant conversation, for instance, with a young career soldier, a dentist, who happened to be Maj. Albert W. Costley Jr. of Baytown. Dr. Costley still has another six months to serve in his tour in the Far East.

Within the past few weeks the young Baytown resident was promoted from the rank of captain, and he also had a chance to spend a part of a five-day leave with Mrs. Costley after they met last week in Honolulu.

Mrs. Thomas got as close as 70 miles from North Vietnam, and she spent Christmas Day in Hue at the Phu-Bai base located near Da Nang.

Mrs. Thomas, who was helped in arrangements by representatives of the State Department, also met and talked to the John Sylvesters, who are now in Saigon on assignment with Esso. In fact, Mrs. Thomas was a dinner guest of the Sylvesters one night during her stay there.

She had several close calls, but is now back home in Houston with the job ahead of transcribing voluminous notes and pictures into a series of newspaper and magazine articles.

Once Mrs. Thomas had a real rough helicopter ride when the "bird" in which she was a passenger almost collided in mid-air with another due to low ground fog that impeded landing efforts.

At another time she saw five young soldiers in a hospital who had been shot while on a trip over the same route she had been scheduled to take in a jeep but which had been cancelled at the last minute.

One of her most proud possessions is a green beret that was presented to her. The former congresswoman said she was told that actress Martha Raye is the only other woman to whom a beret was presented.

Mrs. Thomas was in Vietnam at the same time the Bob Hope group made their appearances there, and she took many pictures of the group as they appeared before the thousands of U.S. men in Vietnam.

Prior to the Vietnam visit, Mrs. Thomas spent several days helping make an official inspection of port facilities in Korea. She filed this report as her last official act as a congresswoman.

"I hope to go back," Mrs. Thomas said. "In fact, I would go almost anywhere in the world if I thought by so doing I could bring messages of cheer and best wishes from home to our boys who are fighting our battles."

She did say she would exclude Africa and India, if scheduling were left up to her!

Mrs. Thomas has traveled extensively as an aide to her late husband during the nearly 30 years they served together in congress.

The last Rep. Thomas for many years was a ranking member of House Appropriations subcommittees that had the responsibility to furnish tax funds for installatious throughout the U.S. and all over the world.

The Honorable Chet Holifield's Address to Southern Governors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I commend to my colleagues and to the people of our country the following timely and superb address delivered by our colleague CHET HOLIFIELD, chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, to the Southern Governors' Conference, Gilbertsville, Ky., on September 19, 1966:

Remarks by Congressman Chet Holifield, Chairman, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, at the Southern Governors' Conference, Gilbertsville, Ky., on September 19, 1966

INTRODUCTION

It is an honor to participate in the program of this 32nd Annual Southern Governors' Conference. From the standpoint of nuclear energy the southern states, represented as a group, have been in the vanguard of organizing for this new era of technical progress.

The Southern Interstate Nuclear Board, which you have formed to deal with the new force of nuclear energy in our society, is being used as a model for similar regional organizations throughout the country. Last week, for example, the Western State Governor's Conference on Atomic Energy was held in San Francisco. In my message to that Conference I strongly endorsed the regional approach to nuclear energy as exemplified by your pioneering organization. Many of the problems and areas of interest to be encountered in atomic energy are regional ones and should be approached on a regional basis,

I wish to commend those present who are working toward greater cooperation in atomic energy on a regional basis and particularly those who have taken the initiative in bringing you together. Cooperation is essential, and, as is often the case, area problems are more effectively handled by those more closely concerned than at the Federal level.

I congratulate you for your foresight in establishing the Southern Interstate Nuclear Board. Getting organized while the commercial application of atomic energy is still relatively young will help you get started on the right foot. You can assist in bringing atomic energy into its own at the state level. Through coordination of regulatory and other activities it should be possible to achieve greater goals and productivity in atomic energy than would be possible were each state to act independently or, in some cases, in competition, one with the other.

Looking over the Southern Interstate Nuclear Board's report to the Governors at this Conference, it is evident that a lot has happened in the field of nuclear energy here in the South and elsewhere during the past year. A number of these activities are of such importance to the South and the entire Nation that I would like to comment on them.

GROWTH OF NUCLEAR POWER

The Southern Interstate Nuclear Board's report shows that a total of eight major nuclear power reactors have been announced by electric utilities in the South since last November. Some conception of the significance of this fact can be obtained by comparing the 6,800 megawatt capacity represented by these eight plants with the nuclear power growth figures for the whole nation. The total capacity of all civilian nuclear power plants ordered as of January 1, 1965 in the United States was only approximately 3,500 megawatts. Installed nuclear capacity as of that time amounted to about one-half of one percent of total installed generating capacity. During 1965 approximately 4,700 megawatts of nuclear generating capacity were ordered—about one-fifth of the total generating capacity ordered during this period. During the first eight months of 1966, about 16,000 megawatts were ordered—over one-half of the total capacity ordered.

These figures indicate a revoluation is taking place in the energy economy of our nation. The figures for the Southern States also indicate the leadership which is being provided in this revolution by the South.

Competing energy fuels such as coal, which is the basis of an important industry in the South, have at times become unduly concerned with the entry of the atom on the energy scene. I say this because there has been a meteoric increase in the demands for energy. In the future we must satisfy an expanding market for all types of fuel. The outgoing President of the Edison Electric Institute in his June 8 speech presented the picture of increasing electrical energy demands in a very graphic way which I think bears repeating. He said:

"It is estimated that total electric energy output for the United States will probably be between 6 and 10 trillion kilowatt-hours by the year 2000.

"This means that we have less than 35 years to build the equivalent of seven additional power systems the energy size of all that is now serving the American people."

To meet this increasing demand we will need increasing amounts of all forms of fuels—coal, oil, gas, hydro and nuclear. The suppliers of fossile fuels will be hardpressed to meet the ever-increasing demands that will be placed upon them. Fossile fuel and the atom may be competitors—but they must also be partners.

Up until now, though, nuclear power has as far as the coal industry is concerned just been a user of the electrical energy produced by coal. In fact, ten years ago the Atomic Energy Commission consumed over 10 percent of all the electrical energy generated. With the great increase in the amount of energy generated and the cutbacks in the enriched uranium producing plants, the AEC still uses nearly five percent of the electrical energy. It is about time that nuclear energy should start picking up some of the load.

POLLUTION OF OUR ENVIRONMENT

Before I take up some of the other items covered in the SINB report to the Governors, I want to talk about a problem which I consider very serious and one which demands more attention. This is pollution. Pollution has reached dangerous levels because of our burgeoning population, our industrial society and our carelessness.

In order to put the so-called population explosion in perspective, I would like to cite the following statistics pertaining thereto.

At the time of Christ the population of the Earth is estimated to have been about 250 million people. It took 1830 years for the world's population to grow to a total of one billion people. In only 100 additional years (in 1930), the population reached the two billion mark. In the year 1960, 30 years later, it reached the three billion mark; and finally in the year 2000, only 34 years from now, it is estimated that the world's population will be about six billion people.

Turning now to the U.S. statistics, in the year 1790 (166 years ago) our first U.S. census revealed a population of 3.9 million people. The present estimate of the U.S. population is about 195 million. In the year 2000, this is expected to soar to 362 million people. All of these people will need electrical power, food, water and other services which will place a heavy burden on the natural resources of this country. In addition, this means that we are faced with a new problem. For years we have relied on dilution in the atmosphere and in bodies of water to take care of disposal of waste. We can no longer do this. Our ever-increasing population is manufacturing waste at such a rapid rate that we must evolve new methods of treating or preventing waste in order to preserve the quality—even the livability—of the environment in which we must survive.

In the fall of 1965 an expert Environmental Pollution Panel of the President's Science Advisory Committee submitted a report entitled "Restoring the Quality of Our Environment." This was the result of a searching inquiry into the problem of waste disposal in our rivers and harbors, disposal of materials into our atmosphere, and many of the important aspects of the total environmental picture. I would like to quote a portion of a preface letter by President Lyndon Johnson which appears in the published report.

"Our affluence spews out vast quantities of wastes and spent products that pollute our air, poison our waters, and even impair our ability to feed ourselves.

"Pollution now is one of the most pervasive problems of our society." ". . . . our present efforts in managing pollution are barely enough to stay even, surely not enough to make the improvements that are needed."

In a talk I gave in November of last year before the Contamination Control Group on Air Pollution I stated that we are approaching a point of a possible citizen's revolt concerning pollution. I pointed out that the incentive for such a revolt is the danger to public health and welfare which stems from pollution. The individual's rights are being violated, and justifiably, restitution is being demanded. I also said in a recent statement before the Edison Electric Institute that I believe the public will be willing to pay more for various services in order to improve health and living conditions.

It is obvious that the rapid increases in population and the tendencies for concentration in metropolitan areas require that we give special attention to how we supply power for our cities without polluting our environment. One of the most promising routes to nonpolluting energy is nuclear power. Nuclear power holds the promise of solving most of our metropolitan pollution problems. Nuclear plants don't themselves release pollution to the atmosphere. The power generated by such plants could also be used to recharge power units such as batteries or fuel cells for automobiles and thereby also eliminate one of our fastest growing sources of pollution. In addition, low cost energy from nuclear power plants could be used to purify and reclaim our water supplies to alleviate our water pollution problems. Our move toward nuclear power has started as indicated by recent events.

A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO THE POLLUTION PROBLEM

I for one question whether present efforts to bring environmental pollution under control as we enter the era of the megalopolis will be successful. Thus far most of the thinking on the subject has been devoted to isolating single aspects of the problem—such as air pollution resulting from the operation of automobiles, or water pollution due to industrial operations.

I do not think that it is fruitful to consider only specific types of pollution. The piecemeal approach tends to limit the consideration to only local areas of such pollution. Moreover, certain areas tend to be emphasized while others are neglected. For example, one important aspect of environmental control which I think has been neglected is the interrelation of environmental pollution factors with our over-all way of life. I think it is time now to look at complete urban centers with control of environmental pollution a fundamental factor in their design.

In many localities we are now witnessing the construction of completely new cities, sometimes through initiation of construction of large new developments, and in many cases through the wholesale redevelopment of existing urban areas. Wouldn't it be wise to seize this opportunity to take an over-all approach to the pollution problem? Let me give a few examples of what I have in mind.

The automobile is now one of the greatest contributors to atmospheric pollution. Highways and interchanges for automobiles present severe problems in the design of urban communities. It's quite possible that if we looked at these questions as related problems—that is, as part of a whole—we might find a combined solution to both of them. In other words, in lieu of setting one group of planners upon the problem of reducing pollution from the automobile and another group to solving the transportation question, why not look at these as interrelated problems? In doing so the planners might find that restricted use of the automobile and the creation of a central mass transportation system in the urban area would provide superior commuting service while eliminating both the problem of air pollution and the problem of concrete jungles. Other similar examples of the value of considering urban design from the standpoint of a complete system can readily be given.

One fundamental factor which is critical to the overall problem of urban design is the provision of energy. The availability of an adequate supply of low cost energy which in itself does not contaminate the environment will permit the elimination of many of our pollution problems. With adequate supplies of low cost energy, water can be purified, air can be filtered, automobiles can be propelled, various wastes can be converted and eliminated, and so forth. Nuclear energy, for one, may fill this bill. Perhaps, therefore, energy should be given a more central position in our urban planning.

The foregoing amply indicates, I think, that we can no longer consider piecemeal solutions to our environmental problems. We must approach the urban design problem on a broader basis. I also want to indicate that it is an urgent matter to get on with the overall system analysis approach in our attempts to achieve proper control of environmental pollution. We should also utilize our great scientific centers to give us guidance in this critical area. Our atomic energy laboratories, for example, contain a concentration of scientific and technical talent never before amassed. The accomplishments in the field of nuclear weapons and civilian applications of nuclear energy I do not believe are matched by any other scientific effort. I think it might help if I were to give a few examples to illustrate the uniqueness of this national resource and its adequacy to treat the overall system analysis approach to the urban design problem.

The Atomic Energy Commission's national laboratories are staffed by outstanding scientists in both the physical and life sciences. The concept of tracer techniques mastered and used in the atomic energy program is a fundamental tool in the analysis of our environment. The problems of nuclear weapons effects and fallout have been faced by the national laboratories on a worldwide basis using techniques directly applicable to the analysis of pollution problems. The worldwide aspect of pollution is stressed in the Report of the President's Science Advisory Panel on Pollution where they recommend that data be obtained on pollution and temperature trends in the atmosphere and stratosphere throughout the world. The same approach has been used concerning measurements in the oceans when radioactive waste disposal in the ocean was under consideration. The biological studies of the effects of radiation on ecological systems is also an area of special talent possessed by the national laboratories. The pest control work which has been achieved through the use of radiation also covers an important aspect of the environmental pollution problem. Of course, as I mentioned before, the development of nuclear power plants, which was done by our national laboratories, to supply the electrical needs of urban centers is a fundamental factor in any approach to the pollution problem. This one factor may prove to be the most effective in contributing to a solution to the pollution problem—but it must be considered in the overall analysis of our environmental pollution problem.

What I personally propose to do is to follow up on this item with the Atomic Energy Commission. What I would like to see the Atomic Energy Commission do is mobilize its resources and come up with an outline of how to approach the overall environmental pollution problem of the megalopolis. If it is agreed that the proposed attack can give us valuable assistance then we can look into how this competence can be utilized.

I firmly believe that our only hope for a satisfactory solution to the general problems of environmental pollution is the comprehensive approach. The city or the megalopolis must be considered as a whole and ways must be found to provide man with his needs without poisoning him.

EMPLOYEE RADIATION PROTECTION

Getting back to the work of the SINB in the past year, I would like to comment on radiation protection of the workmen in the nuclear industry. The work that your state organizations have been doing to educate and train workers in the control of radition and to tie such work into the workmen's compensation programs of the various states is laudatory. The raditation protection of workers in industry received special attention in the June 22 meeting of SINB at Oak Ridge. My colleague, Senator Gore, addressed you at that meeting and did a fine job of outlining the growing number of workers in the atomic energy field.

The subject of radiation protection and workmen's compensation for radiation ininjuries has concerned the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy for many years. I have been advised that information developed during the hearings we held begining in 1959 has been of assistance to the States in formulating the many improvements that have been made in workmen compensation statutes the past seven years. In many states there is still room for improvement, and it is an area in which we are constantly learning.

On August 30 and 31 the Joint Committee held hearings concerning an AEC-sponsored program to provide assistance to the states in connection with establishing and operating recordkeeping systems for atomic energy workers. There is apparently some concern with respect to the possible effect on other forms of workmen's compensation and setting of precedents with respect to the pursuit of claims for radiation injury. In response to requests from professional and industrial organizations, we have scheduled additional hearings concerning the AEC recordkeeping program for September 20, 1966. With the large number of individuals and organizations expressing an interest, we may have to continue the hearings on September 21st.

We always try to get the full information on each and every issue before acting. I look forward to the hearing on Tuesday to provide us with vital information, and I am hopeful that the testimony will help us to reach a decision with respect to the bill.

It is important in the field of workmen's compensation, particularly as it pertains to occupational exposure to radiation, to have uniformity of standards. Each of your states may have slightly different problems which may result in slightly different states' laws for compensation. It is paramount that where possible we derive these laws from a uniform code or set of standards. Your group can make a valuable contribution by sponsoring seminars which would permit the discussion and interchange of ideas relating to criteria and standards affecting workmen's compensation laws and recordkeeping.

OTHER EFFORTS OF THE SINB

Time does not permit me to comment on other important areas of interest being pursued by SINB. The efforts of the Board in education, civil defense, water desalination are a few of the other areas which stand out in importance. I want to encourage you to continue your efforts so that we continue our progress in the new era of nuclear energy in such a way as to assure the maximum benefits for mankind.

Congestion, Corruption Strangle Saigon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, the congestion, waste, and pilfering of cargo in Saigon Harbor continues in spite of assurances from Vietnamese and American officials that action has been taken to stop the chaos. Last year, just before the elections, we were assured by AID officials that steps were being taken to halt the pilfering of AID cargoes from the docks in Saigon. The Maritime Administration told us that everything was being done to alleviate the congestion of the harbor.

But recent reports from Saigon, by Helen Delich Bentley, writing for the Baltimore Sun, in the February 7, 1967, issue indicate that the situation is anything but rosy. It would appear that AID is flooding the harbor with unwanted and unneeded commodities. Much of this cargo ends up in the black markets of Saigon. And the taxpayers of America pay the bills.

Mr. Speaker, it is time for this administration to take action to remedy the chaos of waste, congestion, and pilfering in Saigon.

Helen Bentley's article follows:

[From the Baltimore Sun, Feb. 7, 1967]

CONGESTION, CORRUPTION STRANGLE SAIGON

(By Helen Delich Bentley)

SAIGON, February 6.—Bribery, collusion, corruption, lack of a national economic policy, black market manipulation, carelessness and ineptness plus mountains of cargo are causes behind the strangulation of Saigon.

Saigon has become the victim of congestion and chicanery because the United States has endeavored to push enormous volumes—wanted and unwanted—through the narrow funnel.

Lack of a functioning distribution and warehousing system should have made the authorities realize that they cannot pour commodities into Saigon the same way that they handle them in the United States. Yet the overwhelming supply of goods continues to arrive.

The Agency for International Development of the United States Department of State is much to blame, initially, AID assigned people incapable of handling or advising on port operations. Then AID topped this error with a continuing refusal to parcel out commodities like fertilizer, so that they could be used by the country. Instead, they rushed 50,000, 60,000 and 100,000 ton purchases into Saigon simultaneously.

Local business interests have complained that they have been forced at times to "buy" commodities in which they had no interest simply because Uncle Sam through AID, made the money available to the South Vietnamese Government, which wanted the money spent.

Both Vietnamese and United States governmental officials—the Vietnamese undoubtedly more so—have been involved in corruption and collusion over the past sixteen months.

Premier Nguyen Cao Ky, when he looked at the sad plight at Saigon port last October, remarked:

"It appears that a den of thieves is operating here."

In recent weeks, Ky has made some changes in top port personnel. It is hoped that the "den of thieves" has been wiped out.

Hundreds of thousands of tons of cargo have been shoved into this sleepy East Asian port almost overnight and have provided a lucrative setting for congestion, thievery, and general maritime problems.

Saigon initially was located about 44 miles up the river from the South China Sea and designed to handle the annual exportation of 600,000 tons of bagged rice and a little rubber.

It imported a relatively small amount of luxury items for the French who dominated the city.

COMPARED WITH SHANGHAI

Last year alone, however, nearly 4,000,000 tons of general cargo, both military and commercial was imported through this same port.

Old China experts, looking at the harbor of Saigon today, see a strong similarity to the humming atmosphere of Shanghai, at one time the world's busiest port for ship arrivals and departures.

It soon became evident, as the voluminous mass began flowing into Saigon, that money could be made. No one here will talk freely about the corruption, but by listening long enough and picking up hints and remarks here and there, facts fall in place and suspicions are confirmed.

GENERALS BUSINESS MEN

Eager Vietnamese generals set themselves up in business with stevedore companies, or they become importers.

Port officials accepted bribes for manipulating the arrival dates of ships waiting their turns at Cap St. Jacques.

Local shipping interests—and everything must be handled through them because Americans are here only as high-paying "guests"—seized on the opportunity of the massive cargo overflow to gobble up every barge, junk, and sampan in the area.

The harbor craft are extended the full length of the Saigon River and requests are sent for craft from Cambodia. However, some Vietnamese Government officials have become conscientious enough to prevent Cambodians from profiteering in this manner.

FIFTY PERCENT PROFIT

The business men will pay the barge owners from 20 to 30 piasters per ton per day, the "ton" to be stipulated by the owner. In turn, the middle men bill their customers from 30 to 50 piasters per day; making a 50 per cent profit or more without lifting a finger.

When these operations started, however, no one thought that perhaps the commodity market would become so glutted with the goods being hustled into the floating craft that the consignees would not want their merchandise or would be unable to purchase them. Their refusal or inability to accept them skyrocketed the volume of floating craft in the area. The entanglement on the piers then spread to the wooden-hulled, unpainted barges. Cargo was dropped aboard; it didn't matter how.

Some of this has been staged with considerable deliberation, in cooperation with organized gangs of thieves—referred to as both the Oriental Mafia and the Viet Cong—so that the goods could be made available to the black market without paying customs fees or full costs of purchase, or to the guerrillas for nothing.

ANOTHER BLACK MARKET

In addition to profits made in this manner, there is another black market—that of foreign exchange. Many local business men still hope to collect enough American dollars from steamship lines and Government agencies to make an enormous profit from both the commodities and barge rentals. The extra money then would be available to convert into piasters.

The official rate of exchange is 80 to 1, while the "accommodation rate" is 118 to 1.

After the Fourth Military Command of the United States Army succeeded in straightening out the flow of military cargo, weird obstacles were thrown in their way.

MORE ROADBLOCKS

Every time a rumor is circulated that both the military and commercial operations of the port are to be turned over to Uncle Sam's Army, more roadblocks originating from Chinese merchants and financiers headquartered in Cholon loom up.

When an officially-appointed Vietnamese Government commission made up of persons from the Chamber of Commerce and the Government appeared close to establishing a program whereby the commodities clogging Saigon would be confiscated as provided in "official" decrees, Premier Ky dissolved the commission. No eplanation has ever been given.

The blacklisting and license seizure of importers who fail to take their goods have not been enforced.

John R. Blandford: A Well-Earned Tribute to His Ability

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, a speech entitled "Excellence in the National Public Service," was recently delivered by Secretary of the Treasury Henry H. Fowler on the occasion of the 1966 Rockefeller Public Service Awards luncheon. It gives me particular pleasure to place this speech in the RECORD because John R. Blandford, the chief counsel of my committee, is a recipient of this award.

It has been well said that no man is indispensable; however, Russ Blandford approaches this ideal so closely that I find it hard to imagine the Armed Services Committee operating without him. Certainly, its efficiency and effectiveness would be vastly diminished were he not here.

Russ Blandford, in his many years of service, has acquired an immense knowledge of our Nation's military structure. I think it is safe to say that he knows more about the armed services than anyone in the Pentagon—or anywhere else around Washington.

He has always shown a tremendous energy for his work. He has given without hesitation of what should have been his own time. His hours are long and run from dawn to dark every day. Yet, with all this burden, he never fails to find time to help every member of the committee, whether he be Democrat or Republican, senior member or freshman.

With all of this, he has remained quietly behind the scenes, often unnoticed and unrewarded while the glory went to others. Because of this, I was especially pleased to find that he was to receive a Rockefeller Public Service Award. No one deserved it more.

Secretary Fowler's speech, which further explains the principle of these awards, follows:

EXCELLENCE IN THE NATIONAL PUBLIC SERVICE

We are here today to honor five persons whose excellence in the national public service is being recognized with Rockefeller Public Service Awards.

The Rockefeller Public Service Awards are often regarded as the highest privately sustained honors bestowed on persons in the Federal career service. Each year since 1960, as you know, awards have been made to outstanding men and women in each of five categories: administration; foreign affairs or international operations; general welfare or national resources; law, legislation, or regulation; and science, technology, or engineering.

Conceived and established by John D. Rockefeller, III and administered by Princeton University, the awards are designed to strengthen the public service and improve the public image of government by recognizing distinguished career civilian public servants. The awards inspire the recipients to carry on their public service with renewed dedication and inspire others in the career service to elevate their goals and seek outstanding achievement.

It is a privilege for me to be here today and to have this opportunity to extend my sincere congratulations to these recipients. They are among the finest examples of the excellence which typifies the personnel of the United States Government.

I am particularly pleased to have this opportunity today for two reasons.

First—and I hope no one will think this is a self-serving comment—I believe that the rewards of public service in the United States are not commensurate with the importance of that service. I do not mean that in any narrow sense but rather in a very broad sense: the high quality of the men and women who serve their government and the crucial responsibilities which they carry for the rest of our nation are imperfectly recognized and understood by the nation at large.

My second reason flows from the first: it is impossible to overestimate the importance of maintaining and improving the quality of the men and women who constitute the publice service of the United States. We could expose ourselves to no greater hazard than to fail to continue to attract and keep intelligent, imaginative, energetic, and courageous people in our public service.

Let me quote briefly to you from the 1965 Annual Report of the National Institute of Public Affairs:

"A people has the kind of government it earns. If the conditions of providing good government are not met, the bad government that results will be well deserved.

"The quality of government is set by many things, but none is now more important than the character of its leaders. In the large, dynamic, complex society advanced technology makes possible, these men and women are the critical factor in determining what government shall do and how well, at the same time that government, itself, necessarily assumes greater significance in shaping the common life. For better or worse, these few are charged with the well-being of the many, and the people are soundly advised to ensure the better by encouraging talent, understanding, virtue and dedication in those who lead."

Throughout its lifetime our nation has been well served by those who have entered its public service. This has been true not only of our Presidents, who have invariably emerged as forceful leaders in times of national crises, but also of the many others at every level and in every field of activity who have helped to make the wheels of government turn effectively.

But the prospect—and hence the responsibility today—is different from that of the past. The primary issue today is not of the order either of survival in and recovery from economic depression or victory in global warfare. In President Johnson's words:

"The issue for this generation is a different kind. It has to do with the obligations of power in the world for a society that strives, despite its worst flaws, always to be just and humane."

I suggest that mobilization of public leadership is the first obligation of this well motivated power in the mid-twentieth century world of rising expectations, of almost unlimited peril, and of unparalleled opportunity.

It is vital to any nation how well it performs that task, and sometimes the success or failure of a country with less than global responsibilities to bring forth high quality leadership affects the fate of other countries.

But the responsibility has fallen to the United States not only to be faithful in our pursuit of the American vision of a Great Society at the State, local and national level but also to be vigorous in extending that vision throughout the world. In a very real sense, how well we meet the requirements of leadership will determine the course of world history in the year ahead.

Uninvited as that responsibility is, we have no practical alternative but to recognize it and accept it and to carry out the obligation as best we can.

To do so, we must have a strong and effective national government.

We must also have—especially in our ever more urbanized nation—viable and capable State and local governments.

Further, we must have a vigorous private sector which serves as the foundation of all our governmental activities and is, in turn sustained by those activities.

Today, and in the years ahead, meeting those needs will require of all Americans, whatever their personal concerns and private pursuits, a very real and deep involvement in the public life and public affairs of this nation, both at home and abroad. For both the nation and the world have grown too small—and the stakes have become too high—to allow any of us to live for very long in easy and unconcerned isolation.

Issues and events that once could have been safely confined to one city, or one region, or one country, now involve us all because they now affect us all.

Inevitably, they involve all the institutions that represent our public interest and express our public will—primarily our institutions of government at all levels, in our cities and communities, in our states, and on the national level.

For as public problems have grown, so has public power—and there is no more important and imposing challenge than the prudent, intelligent, and creative use of public power in furthering our quest for the kind of society here at home and the kind of world at large in which men can best live a full and free life.

To meet that challenge will require that we engage our ablest and most imaginative minds at all levels of public service—in elective office, in the key appointive posts, and in the career administrative service.

To meet that challenge will require our colleges and universities, our secondary educational system, our parents, our leaders in public and private life—all individually and together—to ask themselves continually whether we are doing all we can to assure that we have available for public service a sufficient number of our ablest and best trained citizens.

Perhaps in the past we have seen public service too much in terms of individual opportunity and not enough in terms of broad public interest. Public service is indeed stimulating and satisfying to most of those who are deeply engaged in it. If its monetary rewards and those of recognition by fellow citizens are limited, the satisfactions of a role, however great or small, in worthwhile endeavors and sometimes great events—of being "where the action is," if you will—are frequently greater.

It is up to each individual ultimately to determine his own future and on an individual basis there has been a strong flow of talented people to public service over the years. But in our highly organized society the competition for talent is keen and grows ever keener. It is time to recognize clearly that there is a high priority public interest in strengthening the hands of government in the competition for talent and in fostering the development of technical, administrative and leadership potential in the public service to the highest degree attainable.

There is a sharpening, if imperfect, perception of this fact today at all levels of government. Yet action to meet this need has lagged. To quote again from the Annual Report of the National Institute of Public Affairs:

"In a few situations, major efforts are made to identify talented persons and systematically open to them appropriate development opportunities, ranging from rotation to new positions where they will be challenged to learn, through involvement in short-term training and educational programs, to occasions for returning to universities for substantial periods of study. On the whole, however, far too little is done even where the need is clearly seen. Limited staffs and budgets in the face of large tasks impose a stern discipline on government agencies, forcing attention to today's problems rather than tomorrow's. As with all disciplines, some of this is healthy and too much self-defeating."

I must note here that the Institute itself sponsors an excellent Career Education Award Program. Just as the awards which bring us together today recognize talent and achievement at high levels in the Federal government, the Career Education Awards recognize talent and achievement at another level and seek to foster them by providing further educational opportunities to career men and women in public service who have the potential for high-level policy and management positions.

One of the most hopeful developments in this field began with a statement by President Johnson last May at Princeton University. He said, and I quote:

"I have asked Chairman John Macy of the Civil Service Commission to head a task force which will survey Federal programs for career advancement. I have asked him to study an expanded program of graduate training which, with the help of the universities, can enlarge our efforts to develop the talents and broaden the horizons of our career officers.

"I also intend next year to recommend to Congress a program expanding opportunities for those who wish to train for the public service. . . ."

I am making no effort to catalog the proposals and attempts to sustain and improve the quality of our people in public service. I simply want to note that there has been quite a number of them, particularly in the last two decades, and to stress that there are still great gaps in our efforts.

One proposal which has been discussed for a number of years is to establish a staff college or a Federal Executive Institute for the most promising high-level civil servants. Its purpose would be to provide a continuing, federally-financed educational institution for career officials whose experience and performance indicate they are good investments.

I believe this approach to the centralized higher education of public servants after employment is more practical and more desirable than centralized training before employment at a Public Service Academy comparable to the French National School of Administration.

One of our great strengths as a nation is our diversity. Our Federal government must cover a range as great as the outside world. A single institution for specialized training before employment in the Federal service simply could not, in my opinion, satisfy the demand.

I believe that as another alternative to the single academy approach to the training of potential public servants, we should encourage a more pluralistic approach: the development of a number of rigorous programs designed to meet the nation's primary needs in several broad but interrelated areas.

Also, both the government and the private sector gain from our custom of drawing top-level public officials from outside sources, often recalling the same individual several times. This custom has served our nation well in the past and continues to provide many of our best high-level officials.

We should encourage more qualified men and women in private life to interrupt their careers to serve in government operating roles as well as consultant and advisory positions on a short term basis.

The need and the opportunity for this cross-fertilization exist at all levels of government—not only the Federal. In fact, we should encourage much more movement than currently exists between the Federal and the State and local levels.

This leads me to a very important point which needs increasing emphasis: we must not let the high priority we naturally and correctly assign to the needs of the Federal government obscure the needs of our state and local governments, which in some respects at least, must be rated as even greater than those here in Washington.

The very fine study of the Committee for Economic Development, entitled, *Modernizing Local Government*, has recently underlined this need and outlined proposals for helping to meet it.

In the words of the report, "local governments have a continuing need to attract, retain, and develop competent personnel . . . Nationwide there is a serious shortage—sometimes described as 'desperate'—of well-qualified personnel available for service at local levels."

The same could be said with equal accuracy about state governments.

The problem of high quality personnel in sufficient numbers at the state and local levels stemming from the rapid growth in their scope and responsibilities associated with rapid urbanization is intensified by one aspect of our Federal system which can easily be overlooked. This is the time honored and highly effective system of Federal and state grants. These are sometimes conditional on professional or merit-system staffing. In any case, by thrusting greater responsibility on both the state and local governments, the grant system widens the gap between supply and demand of high qualified public servants at these levels.

Some of this need could be met with Federal assistance, and indeed there have been proposals for grant funds for that purpose, notably those by Senator Muskie in legislation he sponsored during the last session of the Congress.

I am pleased to be able to say that the Treasury has opened its training courses in tax administration to state and local personnel. We sponsored legislation in 1962 to permit state and local tax officials to enroll in the various training classes of the Internal Revenue Service. In addition, the Service provides the states with training materials and correspondence courses. A number of other Federal agencies offer training to state and local government employees.

The order of magnitude of the need of state and local governments may be seen from the Manpower Report which the President sent to the Congress last March. Federal, state, and local government personnel totalled more than 10 million in 1965. State and local government accounted for 7,667,000 of those employees.

The growth in state and local personnel from 1964 to 1965 was more than 400,000, or 5.8 percent.

The Report commented: "In the public sector, employment expanded substantially. As in most recent years, practically all of this growth (over 90 percent) was in state and local governments. Federal employment has grown only slightly during the past 5 years, rising by less than 1 percent per annum."

Let me turn briefly away from our internal needs just long enough to suggest the needs generated in the developing world by that revolution of rising expectations of which I spoke some minutes ago.

The economic demands of industrializing and urbanizing societies are rapidly making ancient political patterns obsolete. But while wants and material needs rush ahead, too often society and political structures remain stubbornly implanted in a bygone era.

A vast river system in Asia lies unutilized because the political cooperation necessary to its development is not forthcoming. And yet that river is the potential source of an entire region's advancement from a medieval to a modern economy.

Thousands of Latin Americans live out their lives in poverty and disease because their homes are inaccessible—isolated from the 20th century by lack of transportation and communication systems which we in the Northern Hemisphere take for granted.

As Secretary McNamara noted in a speech this year, over one-half the world's population by the year 1970 will live in the independent nations sweeping across the southern half of the planet. But this hungering half of the human race will by then command only one-sixth of the world's total of goods and services.

By the year 1975, the dependent children of these nations alone—children under 15 years of age—will equal the *total* population of the developed nations to the north.

These are facts which our State Department and Agency for International Development, the international financial institutions, and the United Nations must live with constantly. They meet the problems being generated in the developing world every day.

No one would suggest that these problems could be solved by qualified people alone. But the satisfaction of the future need for qualified public servants, American and international, to assist the less fortunate majority of the world's people is essential to this formidable task. The clearly discernible needs are already staggering. What may the needs be 10 years from now—or 20?

Certainly there has never been a more difficult but exciting time in history to participate in national public service. Even within the last decade we have entered new and ever more challenging fields, both nationally and internationally.

And government service is a challenge. Not only the ambitious programs we have undertaken in the 1960s but the fact that more able men and women are being attracted to national public service than ever before bear out this fact. We are attacking some of mankind's oldest problems, and we are drawing on the best talent of the nation to plan and guide our policies.

Each new venture represents a concerted effort to cope with the increasingly demanding problems of the Twentieth Century.

The mammoth problems of public administration in our urban and suburban areas involve housing, education, transportation, sanitation, motivation—all the facets of modern life. In the closely related spheres of health, education, and welfare we seek no less than the eradication of disease, ignorance, and poverty.

The economic and financial sphere encompasses both domestic and international issues. Sustaining our economic growth through appropriate fiscal and monetary policy, management of our national debt, finding solutions to our balance of payments problems and developing a viable international monetary system are just some of the major challenges we face.

We face problems of tremendous complexity and impact on the world we live in. They are some of the most significant and difficult riddles of our time. Grappling with these issues is exhilarating. The thrill and fascination of helping to weave the fabric of history is undeniable.

It is my conviction that one of the greatest attributes of public service is the privilege of being an active participant in one's times. To paraphrase a friend of mine, it is the thrill of "painting on a very large canvas," even if with "a very small brush." These days no one can question this attraction of public service.

Certainly that is one of the prime factors which lead men and women to enter public life. There are others.

The question is: are they enough? Can we insure that we will always have enough men and women of talent and initiative and courage and imagination in our public service?

Can we insure that there will always be men and women in government in sufficient numbers such as those we are honoring today?

The answer, of course, is that it is not an insurable matter. We can only try to make sure. But our recognition of the need is a beginning. If we honor our public service while we demand the best of it, we will surely not fall short of what our times—present and future—demand of us.

World Weather Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, recently President Johnson praised the progress made by the Environmental Science Services Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce, since its establishment in 1965. At the time President Johnson submitted reorganization plan No. 2 of 1965 creating ESSA, he predicted that it "would permit us to provide better environmental information to vital segments of the Nation's economy." In reviewing accomplishments of ESSA recently, the President noted that today, "by interpretation of pictures transmitted by satellites we are able to gather data on snow cover" and that this information "is useful in water supply forecasting for semiarid regions, sea and lake ice reconnaissance, and identification of flood areas."

Today within ESSA, a century-old meteorological dream is becoming a reality. The global weather observing potential of earth-orbiting satellites has provided the key in the quest for an improved understanding of man's physical environment.

Because of the tremendous scientific and technological advancements triggered by the weather satellite, a world weather program with enormous economic and lifesaving benefits is now being planned by the nations of the world.

The world weather program, an international effort in which President Johnson has pledged the Nation's cooperation, is a long-range effort planned by the World Meteorological Organization of the United Nations. The meteorological goals of the program will be to improve the meteorological services of all nations, to increase the accuracy and extend the time range of weather predictions, and to explore the possibility of large-scale weather and climate modification.

This month—February—marks the first aniversary of the establishment of the world's first fully operational weather satellite system. Successful launches of the environmental survey satellites ESSA 1 and ESSA 2 in February of 1966 established the system a short 7 years after the first weather satellite, Tiros 1, was launched in April 1960. These satellites, along with ESSA 3, launched in October of 1966 and ESSA 4, launched last month—January 26, 1967—are providing regular and continuous daily weather observations of the entire globe. ESSA 1 and 3 are sending global cloud pictures for central analysis while ESSA 2 and 4, equipped with automatic picture transmission—APT—cameras are directly and automatically beaming regional cloud cover photos to receiving sets in 35 nations of the world.

About 180 APT receiving stations are now in operation around the world. They have been established on every continent—including Antarctica—by U.S. and foreign government agencies, universities, television stations, and commercial organizations. APT pictures have also been received on ships at sea and aircraft in flight.

In the United States, "instant weather" photographs have been valuable in improving local forecasts and briefing pilots. Other nations have expressed their gratitude for the help these pictures have given in preparing daily weather forecasts, in issuing storm warnings, and in contributing to the safety of aviation and shipping.

APT pictures provide meteorologists with immediate, timely information on weather conditions over a large area around the receiving station. Photographs of ocean areas are especially useful because of the scarcity of weather observations at sea. Such pictures are sometimes given to pilots preparing for long, intercontinental flights. The Weather Bureau's hurricane forecast offices are equipped with APT receivers which enable them to detect and track tropical storms long before their approach to land.

Even in areas with relatively adequate surface observations, meteorologists have used the APT photographs to find the exact position and extent of fronts, storms, the jet stream, sea-ice conditions, and snow cover. From some pictures, and expert can deduce the presence of turbulence, the direction of surface winds, and sea conditions.

Since the beginning of the operational system, the ESSA 1 and 3 satellites have returned more than 110,000 useful pictures. ESSA 2 has broadcast over 32,000 pictures for reception by APT ground stations. From the pictures, ESSA's National Environmental Satellite Center has prepared more than 10,000 analyses for transmission to U.S. weather stations and foreign meteorological services, and has sent more than 700 warnings to areas in the paths of potentially dangerous storms.

Working in cooperation with ESSA's Institutes for Environmental Research, the National Environmental Satellite Center is planning and developing improved satellite sensors. ESSA's Institute for Telecommunication Sciences and Aeronomy has designed a solar proton counter. This instrument will provide data to detect and forecast solar disturbances which can affect the operation of unmanned satellites, astronauts, and supersonic aircraft flying at high altitudes.

Improved ESSA satellite systems are being developed for launching in late 1968 or early 1969. Besides carrying the solar proton counter, the new environmental satellite system will combine within a single satellite the direct and stored picture readout now requiring two satellites. The new system will also permit nighttime cloud observations on a global basis.

It is through these remarkable advancements that man at last has hope of probing the mysteries of our atmosphere and acquiring an understanding of its processes and thereby improve man's prospect for survival.

Brandeis University Memorial to Hon. Christian A. Herter

SPEECH
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, as a dear friend and fellow Massachusetts colleague of Christian Herter when he served in this House, I, and every person ever privileged to know this dedicated patriot, was deeply saddened at the news of his death last December 31. His whole, mature life was spent in devoted public service to his country and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. No one is likely to surpass and few will ever equal his characteristically unselfish and remarkable contribution of personal integrity, intelligence, industry and achievement to the civilized progress of his beloved Nation and the world. The name of Christian Herter will forever remain in American history as a shining symbol of the finest traditions of honorable public service.

Mr. Speaker, some time ago Brandeis University named a faculty chair as a living tribute to Christian Herter and, upon his death, it was announced that what had been planned as a living tribute would now be designated as a memorial to him. Donations to complete the fund establishing the Herter chair in international relations may be sent to Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass.

When speaking of the memorial designation Dr. Abram L. Sachar, university president, said:

> I learned with deepest regret of the passing of former Governor Herter. This came as a tremendous shock to Brandeis, where we have virtually completed the endowment for the chair in international relations in honor of Mr. Herter. It is tragic that what had been conceived as a living and happy tribute to one of our great statesmen must now be a memorial.
>
> "Brandeis is especially proud that it conferred an honorary doctor of laws degree upon Gov. Herter in 1955 in the midstream of his productive career.
>
> "Our honorary degree citation described how he moved through 'the jungles of politics without shedding principles of integrity.'
>
> "Gov. Herter's courage, extraordinary accomplishments and moral purpose will always serve as an inspiration to Brandeis as they will to the nation and the world.
>
> "To his widow and children, I want to extend the deepest sympathy," Sachar concluded.

Spokesman for Nation's Shipyards Urges United States To Respond to Soviet Bid for Sea Supremacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, on numerous occasions in the past 2 or 3 years, spokesmen concern about the U.S. merchant marine have called attention to the decline of our fleet and urged that immediate action be taken to reverse this situation and make it again a fleet worthy of the largest maritime nation in the world. However, there was little response to this appeal.

Recently the president of the Shipbuilders Council of America, Edwin M. Hood, addressing a maritime policy industry seminar sponsored by the Maritime Trades Department of the AFL–CIO, painted a picture of the spectacular expansion of the Soviet merchant marine in recent years. While our fleet has been declining steadily, theirs has been increasing at a spectacular rate, and this is truly a cause for alarm and action.

His remarks should be must reading for every Member of Congress and of the executive branch of our Government and therefore I am inserting them in the Record for their perusal:

Speech by Edwin M. Hood, President, Shipbuilders Council of America, Before AFL–CIO Maritime Trades Department Seminar, January 18, 1967, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C.

It is a pleasure to be here today, particularly since I have been given the privilege to contribute some thoughts on a most important topic—the growing spectre of the "hammer and sickle" fleet on the high seas.

I could not begin, however, without expressing the firm conviction that the cooperative approach being taken by major segments of the American merchant marine and their supporting co-partners throughout the country in pursuing a mutual objective—the revival of U.S. maritime strength—will bring about positive results. While there is a wide spectrum of interests represented by the various industry groups, all of us are united in the belief that our great country should and will be restored to the rank of a first-class maritime power. In retrospect, it is regrettable that we didn't coordinate our efforts ten or even five years ago. If we had, the present maritime dilemma and the deteriorated condition of our shipping fleet might well have been prevented.

If one were to assess world-wide maritime developments of recent years, the phenomenal growth of Russia's merchant fleet would take top honors as the most notable achievement. And, if one were to designate the greatest maritime calamity of the same period, the dubious award would have to go to the United States—in accurate recognition of the steady decline of the American merchant marine to a third-rate status.

The Soviet Union with a dedication of purpose so typical of avowed communists, with huge outlays of funds, and with priorities equivalent to, or surpassing, its outer space programs, has transformed itself from a maritime non-entity to a major power on the high seas in the span of a few short years.

In sharp contrast, the United States, which emerged from World War II as the supreme maritime power, in terms of merchant ships, shipyards, skilled manpower—seagoing and shoreside—has sunk to an ignominious position. From a fleet of some 5,000 ships, nearly all of which were less than 3 years old, the American merchant marine has, over the last two decades, contracted to 1,040 vessels—four-fifths of which are 20 or more years of age. The quantitative and qualitative decline of the American merchant marine is all the more implausible and alarming when one considers that the United States—being the leader in world trade and the key barrier to further military or economic conquests by the forces of communism—has a greater and more urgent need for self-sufficiency in maritime requirements than any Free World nation.

Russia's ambitious fleet expansion program from its inception has been, and is, unwavering and sustained. The decline of the U.S. flag merchant marine has also been of a continuing nature—but in an opposite direction to that of the Soviet Union.

The Shipbuilders Council of America has been following these contrasted trends closely since 1961. Using world-wide data sources—foreign press dispatches and trade publications, unclassified reports from our embassies abroad, Russian and Iron Curtain country publications and information from Federal agencies, we believe we have clear, documented evidence of the Soviet Union's progress in its quest to become a dominant maritime power in the early 1970's.

Needless to say, we have not been compiling this information for in-house lamentations. We have disseminated, at frequent intervals, updated details on Russia's expanding maritime strength—in speeches, press releases, contacts with the Congress, the news media, veterans groups, educators and others. We have generated a score of articles in the daily press and mass circulation magazines, which focused attention on the contrasting priorities the U.S. and the Soviet Union have assigned to maritime resources.

Back in 1950, the Russian merchant fleet comprised only 432 ships, of 1,000 tons or over, aggregating 1.8 million deadweight tons. The great majority of these vessels were relatively small, slow-speed ships of ancient vintage. In fact, the best vessels in the fleet were the 100 or so Liberty's tankers and other types of ships the United States turned over to the U.S.S.R. during the days of the World War II Lend-Lease program. By 1953, the year Stalin died, the fleet numbered only 487 vessels totaling about 2 million deadweight tons.

After Stalin's death, the Soviet Union became more engrossed in maritime development, and by 1958 had a fleet aggregating 3.6 million tons. However, in that year, Russia formulated an ambitious, long-range fleet expansion program with shipbuilding tonnage priorities detailed by a Seven-Year Plan (1959–1965). The basic goal of this plan was to double the 1960 fleet tonnage by 1965. In 1960, the Soviet fleet tonnage amounted to 4,940,000 deadweight tons. Therefore, Russia's objective was a 9.8 million ton total by the end of 1965.

Early in the Seven-Year Plan, some difficulties in meeting prescribed tonnage goals were encountered. But, by 1963, the "hammer and sickle" fleet was expanding at a rate of 100 or more ships and 1 million deadweight tons annually. This growth rate was maintained in each subsequent year.

The Maritime Administration's most recent tabulation of "Merchant Fleets of the World," revealed that as of June 30, 1966, the Russian merchant marine consisted of 1,360 ships totaling 9,811,000 deadweight tons. It is apparent, then, that Russia's target of 9.8 million tons by the end of 1965 was met only a few months off schedule. We estimate that during the last six months of 1966 Russia took delivery of 62 additional vessels totaling 590,000 deadweight tons. These additions would have increased the fleet to 1,422 vessels, totaling 10.4 million deadweight tons, as of December 31, 1966.

Currently, Russia's fleet expansion program is governed by a Five-Year Plan (1966–1970) which is programmed to provide a fleet of 15 million deadweight tons by the end of 1970. There seems to be little doubt that this goal will proceed on schedule, since it requires 4.6 million tons total or annual additions of 1.2 million deadweight tons over the next four-year period.

As will be seen from the following tabulation, in November, 1966, Russia had 556 large merchant vessels, totaling 4.5 million deadweight tons under construction or on order. It seems reasonable to conclude that all of these vessels will be in operation well in advance of 1970. There have been subsequent reports of a year-end surge of shipbuilding orders which increase Russia's backlog to more than 600 ships of approximately 7 million deadweight tons.

Merchant ships under construction or on order for the U.S.S.R. and United States (1,000 tons and over)

	Russia		United States	
	Ships	Deadweight tons	Ships	Deadweight tons
March 1962	225	2,263,000	61	878,000
May 1963	236	3,032,000	47	698,000
May 1964	441	3,462,000	47	725.000
October 1965	464	4,268,000	39	545,000
January 1966	500	4,553,000	45	580,000
November 1966	556	4,520,475	48	641,117

In 1965, the U.S.S.R. spent more than $600 million for merchant ship construction while the United States spent less than $150 million. Even worse, this year, the U.S. is expected to spend about $106 million, while Russian expenditures according to one report will be nearly $1 billion—just for merchant ship construction. Another statistic is also alarming. About 80 percent of the Soviet shipping fleet is less than 10 years of age, while more than 80 percent of the American merchant marine is 20 years of age or older.

The following points put in clear perspective the differing priorities which the Soviet Union and the United States have assigned to their maritime programs:

Russia's merchant fleet already exceeds the active U.S.-flag fleet. There were 1,400 large merchant ships in the Russian fleet as of the first of 1967, whereas our active fleet—even though bolstered by reactivated reserve fleet ships for Vietnam service—numbered only 1,040.

For the past several years, new ship deliveries to the Soviet fleet have outpaced U.S. deliveries by a ratio of 8 to 1. (Thus, in 1965, 129 new ships were delivered to the Russian fleet while only 16 were added to the American fleet.)

Russia's November, 1966 backlog of ships under construction or on order exceeded the U.S. total by a ratio of 11.5 to 1 in numbers of ships and 7 to 1 in terms of tonnage.

In the period 1950–1966, the Soviet fleet grew from 432 ships to 1,422—a net gain of nearly 1,000 ships. During the same period of the U.S. active fleet contracted from 1,900 to a little more than 1,000—a net loss of nearly 900 ships.

The "hammer and sickle" fleet today transports 75% of the Soviet Union's foreign commerce. Although the United States is the leader in world trade, only 7.7% of the nation's foreign commerce moves in American flag ships.

Russian shipyards—and those of most of her satellite nations—are operating at close to 100% capacity. (This is one of the chief reasons why Soviet shipbuilding orders have been placed with free world shipyards.)

The Soviet Union's merchant shipbuilding program has required annual expenditures of between $600 million to $750 million. The U.S. merchant shipbuilding program ,on the other hand, in recent years has been geared to Federal expenditures of about $100 million annually.

These foregoing figures demonstrate that the Soviet Union is well on the way to becoming a dominant—if not the world's leading—maritime power. All of this aggressive, precisely planned activity is 100% subsidized by the Kremlin. It requires heavy commitments of hard pressed foreign exchange and domestic resources. It has been, and is being, undertaken at the expense of providing consumer products for the Russian proletariat. But, the short and long range objectives on the international frontier should be self-evident.

As the Russian fleet expands and is able to dominate the sealanes of the oceans, there are those who believe that shipping fleets of other nations will be squeezed out. As other fleets vanish or are unable to compete with freight rates, which the Soviets can easily manipulate, the Russians would be in a position to force many countries to seek the services of communist-bloc shipping. The potential danger of such dependency would be that the communists could withhold ocean freight services from any nation out of favor with Soviet policies or could increase the rates to make them prohibitive.

Here, it needs to be emphasized that the industrial and military might of the United States is dependent on 77 strategic materials, 66 of which must be imported. Of those 66, at this moment, more than 96 percent of the tonnage involved is brought to our shores by foreign-flag carriers—the ships of other nations.

It takes little imagination to conclude that if the Russians should eventually control the trade routes by which these critical materials come to us, we would be dependent on those who have sworn to "bury" us—and then, do you think they will bring those materials to us! The answer should be obvious—we would be under their thumb without a missile having been fired—and ocean shipping will have been the medium by which that domination will have been achieved.

Like the free air that surrounds all mankind, every action of the international communist conspiracy touches our daily lives. This freakish octopus thrives on the indifference and apathy of peoples. It thrives on the confusion and pusillanimity of governments. It proceeds with unyielding purpose. It can be deceivingly still or move with strategic swiftness.

Until a few years ago, it had not been generally realized that the communist octopus, among other things, is a marine creature of substantial proportions. I have already described the merchant marine situation. But that is only a part of the story. In truth, Soviet Russia's naval strength today is second only to that of the United States.

Russian naval vessels are steadily expanding their scope for operations. The Soviet submarine fleet outnumbers the U.S. fleet, and it is not without a ballistic missile capability, though not yet as well perfected as ours. Russian fishing vessels serve as electronic listening posts throughout the world, and the probabilities for greater strength on the seas through oceanographic research are being furiously pursued.

These are all visible evidences of how the Soviet Union has been able to advance on a frontier vital to our capacity for national survival through the "indifference and apathy of people" and the "confusion and pusillanimity of government." All of this happens as the Red Navy and the Soviet merchant marine, tentacles of the communist octopus, assume a challenging position on the seas.

Free people unfortunately are sometimes unwisely extravagant in thought and deed, and many times indifferent and apathetic to things essential. Fortunately, those in this audience are hardly apathetic—you, collectively and individually, are in a unique position to convince those who are indifferent—and I am confident you will succeed.

Case of the Tractless Constituent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents has been at odds with the Interior Department and its Bureau of Land Management for a decade now over a small tract of vacant land in New Mexico. Last week it was my privilege to introduce a bill on his behalf, directing the Secretary of the Interior to consummate a long-delayed land sale.

In today's issue of the Washington Daily News there appears a feature story about the plight of my constituent, Mr. Herbert E. Counihan, of 4109 Buck Creek Road, Brinkley Manor, in Prince Georges County, Md.

I request permission for the story by Margery Elsberg, of the Washington Daily News, to be inserted at this point in the RECORD:

CASE OF THE LAND THAT COULDN'T BE LANDED—MR. COUNIHAN HAS NO ACRES AND PAINS

(By Margery Elsberg)

A Prince Georges man who's been in a hassle with the Interior Department over the ownership of 8.2 acres of undeveloped land in New Mexico for 10 years has decided that the only way to cut the red tape is by taking the case to Capitol Hill.

"Right is right," said Herbert E. Counihan, 39, of 4109 Buck Creek Road, Brinkley Manor. "Just because they're big and I'm little, I don't think they should be allowed to get away with short-sheeting me like this."

Mr. Counihan's New Mexico real estate ventures started 10 years ago when he was stationed in Las Cruces with the U.S. Public Health Service.

"I looked in the newspaper and saw the government was having a sale on land so I decided to bid on the 8-acre piece.

"The government said the land was worth $61.50 and I bid $102. I just grabbed the figure out of the air."

EUREKA

There was only one other bidder, a man named Rupert A. Chisholm, a successful real estate and construction man in the state. Mr. Chisholm bid $65 so the deed went to Mr. Counihan.

But Mr. Chisholm—evidently surprised that he had an opponent in the sale—appealed the decision of the Interior Department to give the land to the highest bidder. He maintained that, since he owned adjoining land, he had a legal "preferential right" to win. The Interior Department agreed, so the 8.2 acres went to Mr. Chisholm.

Mr. Counihan counter appealed. He said Mr. Chisholm wasn't due a preferential right because the land wasn't in his name, but in the name of Chisholm Inc. The Department at first disagreed with Mr. Counihan, but after a second appeal and more arguments, and a two-year wait, the land went back to Mr. Counihan.

FRAY

Mr. Chisholm counter-counter-appealed. He said Mr. Counihan's appeal hadn't come within the required 60 days from the original sale decision; he said the adjoining land was in the name of Chisholm Inc. because of an error; and—in case the Interior Department still didn't side with his arguments—Mr. Chisholm argued that the land should go to neither. That was because, he argued, the land had risen in value and the government was being cheated.

The Interior Department's Bureau of Land Management studied the case again. They decided that Mr. Counihan was right and that the land should stay with him. But . . .

AD INFINITUM

Taking a cue from Mr. Chisholm's final argument, they decided to re-assess the land to see if the government was, in fact, being short-changed. They re-assessed it and said that the land had been worth not $61.50, but $451 at the time of the bidding. Therefore, they said, the 8.2 acres outside of Las Cruces was once again the property of the government, and the sale, appeal, counter appeal and counter-counter appeal were for nought.

Mr. Counihan re-counter-counter appealed the Government's reclaiming the land. But, he said, it didn't do any good.

"That's like betting on last year's elections," he argued. "That's looking over your shoulder after it's all over," he complained. "It was like running headlong into a series of stone walls," he moaned.

In the meantime, Mr. Counihan, who had changed jobs first to the Army, then to the Air Force, was transferred to Washington, first at Bolling Air Force Base, then the Pentagon, as a civilian employe. Back in New Mexico, Mr. Chisholm had died in a plane crash.

"I read in the paper here a story about a man who had a fight with the government over 14 cents," he said. "And he finally had his congressman introduce a private bill in Congress, and that's how he won. So I went to Rep. (Hervey) Machen (D., Md.) and asked him to do the same for me.

Rep. Machen complied. But not without one more twist.

"When he went to the office that ordinarily draws up private bills for congressmen," Mr. Counihan said, "the office was too busy." So he asked the Interior Department lawyers to help out, and they did."

END OF THE ROAD

The bill is now in Congress, thanks to the boost from "the enemy" and Mr. Counihan is waiting to hear the outcome.

"I think the Interior Department now thinks their decision was a big mistake but they couldn't get out of it. This will get them off the hook," he said.

If he wins, he said, he'll "probably just frame the deed and stick it on the living room wall." And the land: he said he'll just let it sit there.

Naval Justice School Graduation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include therein a speech I made December 9, 1966, before the graduating class of the U.S. Naval Justice School at Newport, R.I. This was the 128th class to complete the course of study at this noted school.

I was greatly impressed with the way these graduation exercises were arranged and conducted by the admirable commanding officer, Capt. Anthony J. De Vico and his staff, and by the splendid, well-trained graduating class of this very essential Navy school.

The exercises were well attended by high ranking Navy officials, including the able and distinguished Admirals Massey and Ruckner and other distinguished guests. The occasion was appropriately graced by the presence of the very able, distinguished Chief Judge of the Court of Military Appeals, the Honorable Robert E. Quinn, whose leadership and contributions in the field of military justice is so widely known and deeply appreciated.

The speech follows:

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN PHILIP J. PHILBIN, GRADUATION EXERCISES, NAVAL JUSTICE SCHOOL, NEWPORT, R.I., DECEMBER 9, 1966

My Dear Rabbi and Reverend Fathers, Captain De Vico, Judge Quinn, distinguished guests, members of the graduating class and their families, officers and men, friends and fellow Americans:

I am very thankful to our very able, distinguished friend and great Naval leader, Captain De Vico, for giving me the very high privilege and honor of being with you today at these very impressive, graduating exercises of this outstanding U.S. Naval Justice School.

This is a very great day for each and every one of you, nad I am proud and happy to share it with you and your dear ones, and take special pleasure in extending to all of you my heartiest congratulations and very best wishes for your future success, well-being and happiness.

This school is not only one of the finest, but one of the most important institutions, of our armed services, indeed, there are few things more vital to morale than the fair, impartial dispensation of justice in the interests of the many officers and men, who comprise the defense and fighting force of this great nation.

In that context, this school is not only of greatest import to the country but it is extremely well organized. Its forceful, talented leadership truly represents our highest standards, is learned, dedicated and intent upon maximum contributions to the student body that is possible in a school of this kind.

Your education, training and experiences here have been memorable. You have been carefully screened and selected in terms of character, background, ability, aptitude and loyalty to the nation.

You have been expertly instructed in the complexities of military and naval justice, in the intricate, sometimes baffling provisions of the Code and the many rules and regulations, customs and precedents, written and unwritten, which pertain to insuring the highest possible measure of justice, equity, fairness and consideration, consistent with the urgent needs and the imperative demands of our armed forces in war and peace.

As you know, the Uniform Code of Military Justice originated in the House Committee on Armed Services, and I may state in all modesty, that I was privileged, as one charged with special duties as a member of that great Committee, to play a part in the formulation of that significant, historic document.

The Code is not perfect, to be sure. No such document can be. There are, no doubt, areas which require further legislative attention that I will not elaborate upon here. But I can assure you that the Code has been worked out with meticulous care, after long hearings, and after our Committee had sought and received the counsel, advice and active assistance of some of the greatest legal authorities and leaders of our Armed Services, our outstanding law schools, Bar Associations, noted leaders of the Bar, veterans and service organizations and a host of highly informed, richly experienced specialists, too numerous to recite.

As you well know, the Manual for Courts-Martial prepared to implement this Code is an extremely comprehensive, thorough and expertly compiled document, brought up to date in a diligent and scholarly manner, and constituting in a general sense a valuable, effective, if not always an absolute or impeccable guide, for the administration of total justice in the Armed Forces.

The 'rule of law' is a cherished, American basic principle supporting the incomparable edifice of liberty, freedom and justice that is truly indispensable to the conduct of this great government, not only in its civil functions but in its military organizations as well.

The maintenance of law and order under principles laid down by the Constitution of the United States is a prerequisite to the existence of the government itself, of paramount relevance to the effective implementation and operations of all our military services.

While, as lawyers and legislators, we well understand the differences in approach and the distinctions in procedure, substantive content and result, necessitated by the special and critical characteristics of the military services, under our system of government, every member of the Armed Services whatever his calling, just as every citizen and resident coming under the protection of the law, is and must continue to be, entitled to the maximum measure of justice that is implicit in the great charter of freedom, which we so proudly call the Constitution of the United States. That must always be your special concern.

Today we are facing and going through unprecedented changes in our way of life. The country and the world are changing in many basic, fundamental ways made necessary by the tremendous advancement in the arts and sciences, truly incredible new ideas and techniques affecting our economy, our social institutions, our government structure and, indeed, our entire way of life.

The Armed Services have been profoundly affected by these changes; in fact, in many respects, the services of today would hardly be recognized by those who served ten or fifteen years ago, and they will continue to be changed, streamlined, radically revised in the future, particularly in the immediate years ahead.

This means, of course, that the military law, like the civil law, will have to adapt itself to the rapidly shifting format of organic change that few, if any could have envisioned a few years ago. In order that the government may continue to be our servant, not our master, we must tenaciously cling to our immutable, fundamental principles and concepts of freedom, reinforced, sustained and activated by legal principles and sound, intelligent, well-equipped and high-minded administration.

In this process, every man and woman in our Armed Services, and in civilian life, will be entitled to their rights under the law, to their day in court, and to procedural and substantive justice of the kind that is part of the fabric of our Constitutional system,—not merely the casual or hard-handed rule of the dictator, but the impartial, humane, understanding and enlightened judgment of those who are schooled in law, trained and prepared to help and counsel those who, for any reason, may become subject to inquiry, trial or judgment.

It is for these reasons, my friends, that I am gratified to observe on this happy occasion when you are graduating from this fine school to take your part—and it will be a meaningful, important part—in promoting the goals of military justice that the faithful, efficient fair-minded peformance of these duties will be a truly invaluable contribution to the Navy, the Department of Defense, and the security of the nation.

As you leave this school today, I know you have mingled feelings of pride, satisfaction, gratitude and regret. You can well recall your concrete achievements here, you can be satisfied with your success and I know you are very grateful to your devoted instructors, teachers and leaders, the great men who have given you the benefit of their knowledge and wisdom and fitted you for your very important tasks.

I also realize that it is a time for parting for many of you from the friends you have made here, the fine fellowships you have formed, but you must bear in mind that the recollection of all these things will not only afford you pleasure but inspiration in the time to come.

Much of the world is in a state of upset and revolution, fanned by the tyrannical, world-wide Communist conspiracy that is intent upon undermining and bringing down the monuments of our civilization and converting this nation and indeed all mankind to the servitude of the World Communist Superstate.

These forces have lighted the fires of subversion, revolution, force and violence in many placs throughout this world. Predicated on Marxist principles, these forces are seizing upon every opportunity to strengthen their position and to weaken the over-all power, prestige and strength of this nation and the free world.

Regardless of their professed differences of opinion on tactics, this is the leadership that is responsible for the take-over of Cuba, 90 miles from the shores of the United States.

This is the leadership fomenting unrest and insurrection in Latin America, Africa and Asia, as well as in Europe. Through stealth, infiltration and, where necessary, aggression this power complex is working in every way to topple down free democratic regimes and substitute in their stead the mailed fist and the police state of the Communist tyranny.

This is the leadership that produced the tragic conflict in Vietnam and is now probing and testing to see whether the free world has the courage, the stamina, the will, purpose and determination to defend itself, or whether it is willing to stand by in mock protest and supine acquiescence while the Communists take over Asia, and, then when they have consolidated their gains, move in accordance with the Marxist plan and timetable toward other nations.

Regretfully and tragically, this is the kind of world in which most of you will serve for varying times to come, but I hope your service will be pleasant, as short as you choose to make it, and never dangerous to your life or well-being.

The issue before us is not obscure. It is whether we of this nation and the people of the free world are to be free or captive to Communist masters, whether the small, helpless peoples can be crushed underfoot, their rights as human being ignored, their liberties ruthlessly suppressed by force of arms, and in time the whole free world overrun, over-powered and shackled by the Communist superstate.

Everybody wants peace—universal peace—the end of irrational carnage, the end of the nightmare of threatened nuclear destruction, a world organized on the 'rule of law', in which you are so well trained, and to which our nation and other free nations are committed, that will renounce war forever as an instrument of settling international differences and that will substitute friendship, understanding, cooperation, and love for the welter of conspiracy, conflict, destruction, and hate that is threatening the world with disaster.

So far as this nation is concerned, the door to peace is open, as it always has been. The puppets of Hanoi need only to indicate by one word that they are willing to talk peace and sit around the conference table and negotiate with sincerity and truth, an honorable agreement to end the fighting and establish enduring peace.

But it takes two sides to conduct a peace parley, two sides to talk, two sides to act, two sides to join hands with honor and decency to dispel the shadows and miseries of war, and embrace the sunshine and happiness of peace, to bring law and order to the world, to institute judicial accord and the rule of law in place of conspiracy, hatred, violence, aggression and destruction.

When that time will come no one can predict. The Communists gloat over our present involvement. How soon they will realize that this attitude will consume and finally destroy them and cause more destruction and suffering no one could tell at this time.

But there are some good signs, some promise. This nation and much of the world is pressing vigorously for peace and progress.

Let us continue our militant work for a just peace. Let us strive for peace with all the earnestness and determination we can command. The door is wide open. Let us continue to mobilize world opinion, in and out of the United Nations, behind the cause of self-determination and freedom to which we are committed.

Meanwhile, until that day of peace comes, let us remain firm, strong and resolved to prevail in our great purpose, keeping our commitments to freedom and above all, protecting the safety, security and great heritage of this country. Let us exert every effort, every energy in the early settlement of this extremely tragic conflict and take every honorable means to bring peace, brotherhood, prosperity and happiness to all peoples of the earth.

Let me say, Captain DeVico, that I am very proud of you, your instructors, the members of your command, and the dedicated graduates of this school, and of all those who are enrolled in our armed services, and I wish especially to reiterate my heartiest congratulations, wholehearted compliments and commendations to all of you in this command who are doing such outstanding work for our great Navy and country.

I have confidence that you graduates will continue to make a fine record in the service of our nation, and that you will reflect great credit upon this school in the time to come.

I am also sure that you will serve as enlightened advocates and staunch champions of the "rule of law" and the cause of justice for all members of the armed services that may be in any way affected and benefited by the splendid services you render and the significant decisions you may be called upon to make. May they always be blessed with the healing graces of justice tempered with mercy.

As you go forth as proud graduates from this school today, I know you will take the good lessons you have learned here with you, to guide and help you in the faithful effective performance of your duties, and I hope and pray that the good Lord will be with you wherever you may go, wherever duty may call you, to protect and shield you from danger, to inspire and strengthen you to serve with courage, loyalty, distinction and sound judgment, and return you safely to your dear ones, your families and friends when your tasks are completed.

Finally, I hope and pray that our leaders, and the leaders of the free world, and most importantly, the Communist leaders involved will soon be inspired to end the fighting and aggression in Vietnam and elsewhere, and join together to bring universal peace and justice under the "rule of law" to all nations of the world.

And let me assure you that our Committee will continue to work for your well-being, welfare, prosperity and happiness as best as we can and I am sure the Congress will do likewise.

God love you and thank you very much.

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CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Deputy Administrator Moot, of SBA, Stresses Importance of Cooperation for Progress in Lebanon, Tenn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Robert C. Moot, Deputy Administrator of the Small Business Administration, recently addressed the jaycees distinguished award banquet in Lebanon, Tenn., in the great Fourth Congressional District of Tennessee, the district which I am honored to represent in the Congress.

Mr. Moot emphasized the importance of cooperation between business, government, and communities in a unified effort to achieve growth and progress. He stressed the importance of the role of the Small Business Administration in strengthening our free enterprise system and complimented the great work of the jaycees.

We appreciate Mr. Moot's participation in this most worthwhile event and because of the interest of my colleagues and the Nation generally in the main themes of his address, I have asked unanimous consent that his remarks be reprinted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The address follows:

REMARKS OF DEPUTY ADMINISTRATOR ROBERT C. MOOT, SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION, AT THE JAYCEES DISTINGUISHED AWARD BANQUET, LEBANON, TENN., FEBRUARY 2, 1967

During my travels I have had the pleasure of visiting many small American towns. These visits always have made me feel close to the traditions and spirit that have made this country great. I can now add Lebanon to my list. Why it has taken me this long to see this attractive community, I really don't know. I hope you will not conclude that it was because I lacked a sense of appreciation for the finer things in life.

The more I have thought about this banquet, in this community setting, in this country, at this time in world history—the more I am convinced that it is very appropriate for a representative of the Small Business Administration to be with you tonight. There is, I believe, a single chain which links all of us and the various circumstances which are related to this award ceremony.

Since the earliest days of our country we have equated the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness to our ability to control the course of our individual economic destiny.

We seek work where we please and of the type that is most rewarding to each of us. We select an academic or professional career, a government or business career or a self-determined combination. And if we pick a business career, we can be employee or employer. All of these alternatives we have the right to consider and to select to the extent of our ability.

But rights must be protected and assured. In the same document which claimed these unalienable rights, Congress declared, "that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

And so the people of the United States and their Government joined together in the beginning in a common cause. It was—and is—the responsibility of the people to secure a richer, fuller life for all through economic growth in a competitive, free, private enterprise system. It was—and is—the responsibility of your government to aid and encourage the efforts of its citizens, to be an advocate for those who seek to exercise their economic rights and to protect them against those who would deny these rights.

Let us look at the community of Lebanon, the Jaycees and this affair, the Small Business Administration, and your Government. I find there is a common theme which binds all of us to the finest of American tradition.

Cumberland University, where we meet tonight, is the alma mater of a distinguished roster of former and present Members of Congress, six of whom either were or are chairmen of important congressional committees.

Included in this number is your own Congressman, JOE L. EVINS, who is the chairman of a committee we consider extremely important and directly related to our common theme of tonight—the House Committee on Small Business. He is also chairman of the Subcommittee on Independent Office Appropriations.

The list of his present and former colleagues who are Cumberland graduates is equally impressive: Oren Harris, of Arkansas, former chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Frank Chelf of Kentucky, THOMAS ABERNETHY of Mississippi, chairman of the Agriculture Subcommittee on Research and Extension, Tom Murray of Tennessee, former chairman of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, OMAR BURLESON of Texas, chairman of the House Committee on Administration, and, of course, WRIGHT PATMAN of Texas, chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency.

There is a distinct pattern and a common pattern to be seen in the careers of these distinguished legislators. The similarity of the pattern argues against coincidence as an explanation. The community itself, as well as the faculty of the school, must have contributed to the economic knowledge and growth of these men. Together, as well as separately, they have been champions and protectors of our individual economic rights. In a very real sense they have added significantly to that heritage of open access to the wide horizons of the private enterprise system which we all enjoy. Lebanon can and should be proud of them.

As a community, Lebanon has contributed to our national goals not only through its local business and academic growth but also—and significantly—by graduating and sending men of national stature to guide our legislative department in Washington.

Now, how does the junior chamber of commerce, the Jaycees, fit into our common theme of economic growth in the American tradition? Again, we see a healthy balance in the cooperative efforts of the private and public sectors of our economy. Several hundred thousand Jaycees at the local level are training to be the leaders of tomorrow by working on constructive civic improvement projects. Nowhere is the objective of economic growth in the American way better exemplified than in this grass roots program—a program which links the community, the business world, and the youth of today in a common effort to improve our way of life. Tonight's award reflects the type of achievement which can be realized if we work together. The community of Lebanon can and should be proud of this achievement.

Is there a place for the Small Business Administration in this mutual effort of economic growth? Is the small business concern important to the American way of life? There are many reasons why it is.

All big businesses were small at one time and the only sure way to prevent the concentration of most resources into a few private hands or into the hands of the Government is to make certain that there is open access to the business world for all of us.

More than 95 percent of all concerns in the country are small in size, and are independently owned and operated. More than 40 percent of the Nation's employed are in small business. We must keep it that way or better. Assurance of economic freedom for the individual means that we must protect and encourage the use of these rights.

Small business assures adequate competition; it is the cradle for the birth of new, imaginative and useful products. It opens new employment areas so necessary to continued economic growth and well being. The door must be kept open for the small business to start, to take root and to flourish.

How does the Small Business Administration contribute to the welfare of the small business concern? It gives away no money, makes no grants, accepts knowingly no bad loans and is dedicated to encouraging the private enterprise system. And yet, through the far-sighted wisdom of congressional leaders, such as those we have mentioned, and the round-the-clock efforts of an inspired administrator, Mr. Bernard L. Boutin, it has many tools and is skillfully using all of them to aid, encourage and protect the growth of the small business sector of our economy. It is because of these programs that I think an SBA representative should be here tonight, joining in a tribute to initiative and ability, in the recognition of economic and civic growth through cooperative effort.

The SBA programs are based on the same fundamental premise which supports our entire economy.

We co-sponsor special management courses with colleges and universities. These have been attended by nearly 150,000 businessmen throughout the country.

The results must be very satisfactory. A manager of a small business was asked if he would recommend such a course to his friends. His answer was, "Yes, but not to my competitors."

Other programs seem to be equally popular. We have developed and published what is perhaps the largest library of small business management publications in the world.

Two years ago we created SCORE, the Service Corps of Retired Executives. This program channeled a vast, untapped reservoir of executive talent to an area where it was vitally needed—the Nation's small business community.

Today, 3,000 SCORE members, all volunteers, are giving small businessmen individual counseling—giving them the benefit of their own experience and know-how so that they, too, can become successful in their own right.

In addition, we have a small business advisory council in each State. These councils, composed of leading businessmen, bankers and educators, serve the SBA and the public without pay and provide needed practical recommendations to the SBA administrator.

SBA, however, does more than aid and counsel. It acts as an aggressive advocate for small business. It assures that an equitable share of government procurement is awarded to the smaller concerns. It enables the worthy small business concerns to borrow funds for initiation or expansion. When funds are not available in the private sector, SBA will lend limited amounts of government funds just as long as there is a reasonable assurance of repayment.

The bankers of the country and the SBA have developed a fine working relationship—more than one-third of the loans which SBA is now approving do not involve any government money. The small businessman is helped in his own community by his friends and neighbors whose savings he borrows through the local bank. We think the community can and should be proud of this joint public and private effort.

At this point it might be well to put all these pieces together—the Jaycees, the community and the Government—to see how well we are working as a team.

In the past five years, the economic growth of the country has been increased by $100 billion, mostly in real value. It is expected that this rate will continue.

Yet, at the same time we are experiencing this sound, unprecedented growth, we are fighting a costly war some 10,000 miles across the Pacific. Each month hundreds of ships and hundreds of aircraft transport more than a million tons of supplies to our troops in southeast Asia. We are providing seven pounds of food per man per day. These troops are the best equipped and fed of any army in history—more than 85 percent of all the meals served in South Vietnam are hot meals with fresh meat and vegetables.

Is it a strain on all of us to support this effort? Of course it is—but the President has asked for no price controls, no wage controls or no rationing of our daily domestic needs.

Ladies and gentlemen, I think this proves that our system is healthy, strong and the right one for us. We can and should be proud of our heritage and our future.

Thank you.

A New Frontier in Minnesota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the State of Minnesota is on the verge of becoming a site for a new "experimental city" many miles from any present metropolitan areas in the State. An editorial in the February 12 Washington Post describes the city as "one of the most exciting ideas of the year," adding that the experiment "may have a profound influence on the future of this and other countries." Following is the editorial:

NEW FRONTIER

The move toward planning and construction of an entirely new city in the open spaces of Minnesota is one of the most exciting ideas of the year. The project is, of course, highly experimental. But it is an experiment that may have a profound influence on the future of this and other countries.

The underlying idea is a reversal of the present trend of concentrating population in a relatively few large urban centers. That unhealthy trend has created appalling problems of crime, poverty, traffic congestion, smog, and urban blight. People have flocked to the cities in the hope of improving their standards of living and their cultural opportunities. In a vast number of cases, however, they have exchanged a healthful environment (regardless of poverty and under employment) for slums, social malaise and the hopelessness that settles on large urban ghettos.

What the University of Minnesota and three agencies of the Federal Government are hoping to do is to break this dreary pattern. The proposed city will not be a new suburb or a satellite of any metropolitan area. Nor will it be crowded into any complex of existing cities. The plan taking shape, with strong encouragement from Vice President Humphrey, calls for an entirely new city at least 100 miles from any existing urban center.

Of course the planning will have to be good. An experimental city with no *raison d'etre* would quickly wither and die. On the other hand the opportunity of beginning a new city from scratch, free from all the handicaps of congestion, blight, obsolescence, and so forth, should itself be an extraordinary stimulus. The appeal to new industry, business, workers and residents will be very substantial.

We hope that the planning funds will be granted and that some of the best minds in the field will be put to work on the project. When the site is finally selected, we hope that the managers will have the good judgment to buy up the land at agricultural prices. The rising price of the land from more intensive urban use could itself finance much of the cost of developing the proposed new city.

It is not to be supposed that most of the new cities of the future will be planned and developed with Federal aid. But the Government can, with the cooperation of other agencies, demonstrate the feasibility of new techniques in city building. And it can highlight the advantages of using more of our country for living space, instead of overcrowding existing ghettos. Our new frontier may well be the open space of today where new cities will rise in the decades ahead.

Star-Bulletin Article Recalls Harsh Treatment of Hawaii Aliens Under World War II Martial Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the Honolulu Star-Bulletin is publishing a series of penetrating articles recalling what life was like in Hawaii during the period when martial law was imposed and constitutional privileges were suspended in the islands following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

In one of these articles, Reporter Alf Pratte points out that of the thousands of persons touched by martial law in Hawaii during World War II, Hawaii's Japanese alien residents and their families bore the heaviest burden of all. About 1,450 of them were taken into custody during the war and although it has been more than a quarter of a century since martial law was imposed, for a few of them the after-effects still remain, both emotionally and financially.

Most of Hawaii's detained Japanese however, have "weathered the storm," so to speak, and since their release have made a success of themselves in various walks of life despite the many injustices suffered while military law was in effect.

The most amazing and noteworthy fact is that little or no bitterness dwells in the hearts of these Japanese aliens who were so adversely affected by those unhappy events of 25 years ago. This is reflected, for example, in the remarks of Mr. George S. Yamamoto, a former resident of Hawaii now living in Japan, who is quoted in the Star-Bulletin article as saying that, despite his unjust treatment during the war, "my heart is in Hawaii."

In the hope that it will serve as a grim reminder of what can happen to any group of innocent people when men in government act too hastily, I would like to share this excellent article by Alf Pratte, which appeared in the Tuesday, February 7, 1967, issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, with my colleagues, and submit it for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

AFTER-EFFECTS STILL REMAIN—MARTIAL LAW WAS HARSH FOR HAWAII'S JAPANESE ALIENS

(By Alf Pratte)

Of all the thousands of persons touched by martial law in Hawaii in World War II, none were hurt more than Hawaii's Japanese aliens and their families.

For a few, the after-affects still remain—both emotionally and financially—even though congressional laws have offered compensation for some losses.

But for most of the rest of Hawaii's Japanese, the injustice of military law was only an unfortunate incident and they have gone on to become successful in government, business and other professions.

This is especially remarkable in view of the fact that with the imposition of military controls, alien Japanese fishermen, photographers, printers, bank employes and sake dealers lost their jobs.

According to Gwenfread Allen in her book on "Hawaii's War Years," aliens were also required to turn over to the nearest police station "all implements of war, fireworks, cameras, short-wave receiving sets and numerous other items."

Although the Japanese received receipts for the possessions taken over by the Alien Property Custodian, many of the objects were never returned.

As Miss Allen notes: "Many of the articles deteriorated as a result of incorrect handling or from natural causes.

"Some items which became scarce as the war progressed, or which had souvenir value, disappeared.

"Radios were made available to special services officers; binoculars and telescopes were given to the Navy; and some fireworks were used at jungle training centers to simulate war conditions."

In addition to the personal property taken by the military, the Foreign Funds Control Office froze the assets of all enemy aliens and even some Americans of Japanese ancestry.

One of the financial institutions dissolved was the Pacific Bank, which well-known

Island businessman Daizo Sumida had been connected with since 1919.

A former vice-president and later president of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce for three years, Sumida was one of more than 300 Japanese held at the Immigration Station and at Rainbow Island with the outbreak of war.

About 1,450 Japanese—nine-tenths of one percent of the total in Hawaii—were taken into custody during the war.

Robert Hogan, a Honolulu attorney, recently recalled the treatment of some of Hawaii's Japanese during the early months of military rule 25 years ago.

As part of his job as a lieutenant in the U.S. Army, Hogan was asked to set up a special hearing board to advise the military governor in the handling of the internees.

"They were to be treated as internees and not as prisoners of war," Hogan said. "As far as I was able to observe, they were treated that way."

Hogan said the only abuse he was able to recall concerned one zealous Army officer who tried to get the internees to help build their own camp on Rainbow Island.

"I saw an old Japanese man about 70 years old doing construction work," Hogan said.

"When I brought this to the attention of the officer in charge, he told me to mind my own business."

Hogan says he later reported the incident to a senior officer and presumes "the situation was cleared up."

Some internees have testified to similar harsh treatment in the camps and on the Mainland, while others called it "strict but fair."

A sad side of military law that is often forgotten, however, concerns the handful of Japanese who were not interned, but who were still under suspicion for one reason or the other.

One of these men who was virtually kept a prisoner within his own country was George Shoji Yamamoto, who was interviewed by Star-Bulletin reporter Tomi Knaefler in Tokyo last November.

Yamamoto was the son of the late Seizo Yamamoto, the owner of the Motoshige Trading Company in Honolulu and major stockholder in the Pacific Bank.

Both firms were liquidated under the Alien Property Act, and although the younger Yamamoto was born in Honolulu, he was accused of being an enemy spy, taken to the Immigration station and held for six weeks.

"I understand that the Army Intelligence had some ridiculous report about me. A flunky from the Alien Property Custodian Office came to my house. He was the nastiest man I ever came across," Yamamoto said.

"He asked me: 'How come a Jap like you owns a house like this?' "

Although Yamamoto was later released, he was more or less under house arrest for the rest of the war.

"I had to get a receipt for every minor purchase, even for a five-cent cake of tofu, and I couldn't go to work throughout the war," he recalled.

Yamamoto said that the late Walter Dillingham had a lot to do with his being released by the military.

"We used to be neighbors, and I spent most of my time as a youngster playing with the Dillingham boys."

Yamamoto was even turned down when he tried to volunteer for one of the Nisei Army battalions because of the cloud that hung over him.

And it was not until 1945 that he learned of the death of his mother, who had gone to Japan with his father in 1941.

After the war, one of the officials in Honolulu advised Yamamoto that it would be relatively easy to get his family's property and assets returned, once he explained that a visit he made to Japan had been for the purpose of seeing his family.

But when Yamamoto tried to press his father to recover his assets, the latter refused, saying:

"Son, I went to Hawaii with $1,000 in my pocket. I led a wonderful life there, and everything was from Uncle Sam. If Uncle Sam wants it now, it's his."

Yamamoto says he feels no bitterness toward the United States.

"There are a lot of honest and fair people who helped—and after all, we were at war.

"They had to draw the line, and I guess I was on the line."

In 1953, Yamamoto left Hawaii with his wife and three children. Today he has his own real estate business with a vast development project in Hayama.

His daughter Ann attends the University of Hawaii.

Yamamoto says he eventually hopes to come back to Hawaii for a visit.

Despite his unjust treatment here during the war he says, "My heart is in Hawaii."

Constructive Patriotism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON

OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to relate a most heartwarming story that was brought to my attention by a constituent and friend, Mr. John Phelan, of Wayne, N.J.

The sixth-grade students at the Albert Payson Terhune School of Wayne wrote to several servicemen from the Eighth Congressional District of New Jersey serving in Vietnam to wish them a Merry Christmas and to inquire of their needs.

One of the students, Miss Maureen Whalen, of Wayne, received the following reply from Seaman Craig A. Marshall, of Little Falls, N.J.:

DEAR MAUREEN: What a pleasant surprise it was to hear from someone near my home in Little Falls. It certainly is "a small world." My name is Craig Marshall, I am 24, and work in civic action projects of this Navy Seabee battalion. Little Falls has been my home for the past 14 years and I reside on Prospect Street near the Little Falls Laundry. I am not sure where Kingston Road is, but I do know the Swansons on Tuxedo Drive—is that very close?

Other sailors here have read your letter and want you to know that we certainly appreciate your encouragement, Maureen. Thank you especially for your wishes for a Merry Christmas.

I mentioned that I worked on civic action projects, which are designed to help the Vietnamese people improve in education, living conditions, and personal hygiene. Some people have termed this area as the "Economic War." Our efforts include helping a hospital in Da Nang, an orphanage nearby, and particularly the nearby village of My Thi (Mee Tee) with a population of 700. So far we've set up a first aid station and helped build a three-room schoolhouse there. Presently, however, a big problem has been lack of adequate clothing for children of all ages. In your letter, Maureen, you asked if your class could send some things we may need. As we feel we have plenty compared to these people, could I ask on behalf of the battalion that your class consider sending articles of used clothing to us for distribution to My Thi villagers and those of the surrounding area? Articles are needed for all ages from infant to teenage; men and women's articles would also be appreciated. We must ask that all clothing be clean, since we have no cleaning or mending facilities here. If your class would like to help us, please have them send the clothing, securely boxed, to: Civic Action Office, c/o Craig A. Marshall, CES2, NMCB Five, FPO San Francisco, Calif. 96601.

Presently, a friend and myself are teaching English to Vietnamese children part time in a nearby school. Perhaps you or members of your class might wish to correspond with some of our students of 6th grade age. If so, I certainly invite you to do so, and I will either give you names and addresses of those wishing to write on request, or forward your letter(s) to them.

Maureen, I thank you for listening to our requests. As you can see, besides helping the people of South Vietnam protect their country from Communism, we are trying to help them live a better life, and would appreciate any help your friends and you may furnish.

Thank you very much again, Maureen, for your enjoyable letter. We wish your family and you a very Merry Christmas, and a successful New Year.

Sincerely,

CRAIG A. MARSHALL,
Civic Action Office.

P.S. I thought you might like to see just a few of the children of My Thi, so I have included a snapshot of a favorite bunch that I work with.

I found Seaman Marshall's letter to be most refreshing in that he asked not for himself but for the Vietnamese children.

Since that time, with the able assistance of their teacher, Mrs. Janet Connolly, the students have been gathering clothing to comply with the request.

Also, they have obtained a commitment for a donation of a minimum of $100 from Wayne Elks Club No. 2181 to defray the cost of shipping the clothing to Vietnam.

I wish to commend Miss Whalen and her classmates for their deep concern for our servicemen stationed in Vietnam, and for the comfort and happiness they are about to bring to the Vietnamese children.

I would also like to commend Seaman Marshall for his unselfish response to the offer of the students, and for the worthwhile work he is doing for our country.

Essay of Teddy Lazowski: "What the Flag Means to Me"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, February 12, the Holy Name Society of Immaculate Conception parish, Staten Island, N.Y., held a communion breakfast and announced the winner of their essay contest "What the Flag Means to Me." The winner was a 12-year-old schoolboy, Teddy Lazowski, who is a member of Boy Scout Troop 49. The sentiments expressed here reflect great credit upon his home and school, and his community. I am happy to bring to the attention of my colleagues his prize-winning essay.

WHAT THE FLAG MEANS TO ME

To me the flag means freedom. I've read in my history book where we started fighting for freedom over two hundred years ago. Even today our fathers, brothers, and uncles are fighting and dying for this same freedom, on the other side of the world.

It makes me proud to live in this country of the United States. Where men are born free. Free to choose their own religion. Can you imagine what conditions we would be living in if we did not have freedom.

We would be living in a dictatorship, where we would be told what to do, when to do it, and how to do it. If we did not obey we would be put in prison and maybe even to death.

Or we could be living in a country where people live in the streets, because they have no homes. It is not just that they are without a car or a washing machine or a refrigerator. They are without permanent shelter of any kind, not enough food to eat, and not enough clothes to keep them warm. Can you imagine what it would be like if we were these people.

Yet we don't even bother to stand up straight when we say the pledge of allegiance. All over the world, wherever the red, white, and blue is flown, people know what it stands for. That is why our enemies rip it down.

We take our flag for granted and have grown careless in the care we take of it. It makes me feel ashamed to see how some people treat our flag. These are not bad people I am talking about, they are good citizens, and I guess they just don't stop to think because they leave the flag out in all kinds of weather, and let it get dirty and torn. Not a very fitting condition for so honorable a symbol.

If you own a flag you should take care of it. I know it is not always easy to run out at sundown to take the flag in, especially if there is a good television program on. I know, because I have had to do it. My father fought in two wars for the freedom that our flag stands for. If the time comes, I too shall fight for "Old Glory."

TEDDY LAZOWSKI.

Famine in India Worsens, Despite U.S. Aid, Grain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Glade Presnal, a young farm leader from Goddard, Kans., last fall traveled to India under auspices of the U.S. Council of Youth to observe firsthand conditions affecting this famine-stricken nation. A graduate of Kansas State University, he has been a leader in 4-H and the International Farm Youth exchange program.

Although Glade Presnal now has reported for military service, Mr. Dave Mackie, staff writer for the Wichita, Kans., Eagle, has written an article in which Mr. Presnal's findings, observations, and recommendations are reported. All of us who are concerned with winning the "war on hunger" should be interested in the report of Mr. Presnal as published by the Wichita, Kans., Eagle.

The article follows:

PROBLEM JUST TOO BIG—FAMINE IN INDIA WORSENS DESPITE U.S. AID, GRAIN

(By Dave Mackie)

Despite massive infusion of United States aid and grain, conditions in famine-stricken India are getting worse.

This is the assessment of Glade Presnal, 24-year-old Goddard man and 1966 political science graduate of Kansas State University, who returned recently from a 36-day visit to India.

Presnal was selected last fall by the U.S. Council of Youth to go to India to "come up with some new ideas of what can be done. . ."

He said he left the country with a feeling close to "hopelessness."

The problem: Millions of half-starved people unemployed and unskilled, 220 million sacred cows that eat food people should have, an educational system geared to training civil service clerks instead of teaching people to make a living.

"Maybe the corner will be turned in another 10 years, but the whole situation in India is receding today," he declared.

"Everything the United States is doing is right, but the problem is just too big," he explained.

However, Presnal did see "pockets of improvement."

One is a $2.5 million fertilizer plant being built by American companies as a gift to the people of India. The problem is that once completed, there are no electricians and skilled laborers to operate the plant, Presnal said.

The continuous aid America is pouring into the country is creating a dependence on America and is at best a stop-gap measure, he believes.

About one-fifth of the U.S. wheat crop—equal to that produced in Kansas—was poured into India under Public Law 480 last year. The program permits India to buy American wheat in India's currency.

This also is creating a problem. It is estimated by 1972 at the present rate of purchase of wheat, the United States will control Indian currency. Businessmen there are suspicious of the objectives of United States in the program, he said.

American universities on the job in India training people in agriculture are making a dent in the problem, Presnal said. They should continue. Also the American Peace Corps is doing a "magnificent job," he said.

Presnal sees nothing at present that can make the country self-sufficient.

One ray of hope is to train India's youth in vocational programs, Presnal said.

The 4-H program of teaching youth to raise livestock and develop homemaking skills could do a lot, he said. It also develops a sense of competition and vocational skills sorely lacking in India today, he added.

Such a program also would serve as a "vehicle for teaching sanitation and health at the grassroots," Presnal said.

Birth control and family planning programs are effective but not big enough to solve India's exploding population problem, he said.

Vocational schools are being established and agriculture extension is reaching many farmers, but just when the corner will be turned is the question, he said.

Presnal stopped in Italy on the way back to visit families he stayed with under the International Farm Youth Exchange program in 1963. He said he saw improvements in consolidation of the fields for application of modern agricultural techniques in Italy.

Presnal will report to Selective Service Tuesday for a two-year stint. His induction was postponed last fall when he was selected from millions of American youth to accomplish the American mission abroad.

He is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Ross Presnal of Goddard.

Mousse au Chocolat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, recently I received a letter as follows:

I am writing to express my gratitude for what doubtless will seem to you one of your less important activities—the inclusion of the Hoppe columns in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. One of my duties is to read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD daily, to glean any bits that may be of use to my company. This is quite an undertaking, and ranges from interesting to boring to infuriating to unbelievable. When I discovered the Hoppe columns in the Appendix, it was like finding mousse au chocolat for dessert after a boiled beef dinner. I enjoy them so much, and am always docile about reading the preceding matter—but so disappointed when they do not appear. The days when two are included are rich indeed. Anyway, I gather you insert them for fresh air, which they certainly are. And I wanted you to know that they are appreciated—if not by your colleagues, at least by one faithful reader! Keep up the good work. I would be very sad indeed to go without dessert.

Following are two columns by our satirist, Arthur Hoppe, the first which appeared in the San Francisco Chronicle on January 31 and the second on February 1.

His columns follow:

PITCAIRN: THE IDEAL NATION

(By Arthur Hoppe)

Up Pitcairn! Throw off the yoke of British colonialism! Freedom and independence forever!

Please excuse my enthusiasm today, but Pitcairn Island out there in the South Pacific is demanding its independence from Great Britain. And if it wants to be a free country, I'm on its side.

If Russia, America, China, France and places like that can be countries, there's no reason Pitcairn can't be a country if it wants to.

Moreover, it has the ideal requisites for nationhood: a rich history (by Nordhoff and Hall); a pleasant climate; a total of two square miles of sacred soil to defend; a single, stable, thriving industry which produces a product always in demand (postage stamps); and a strategic position in world affairs—it being 5000 miles from anywhere.

Indeed, the only conceivable objection to Pitcairn becoming a sovereign nation in the family of nations is that it only has 79 people.

This has stirred some protest. But there's definitely nothing in the old rule book which says you have to have thus-and-so many people before you can become a nation. And I think 79 is plenty.

True, Pitcairn would be unable to send an ambassador to each of the 140 or 150 (so who counts?) nations that are now in business these days. But a single roving ambassador of the Averell Harriman variety could easily deliver all the ultimatums Pitcairn is likely to deliver and still have plenty of time to sell postage stamps on the side.

Pitcairn will also, of course, need a President to lead the people selflessly and humbly and a Vice President to keep telling the President how gloriously he's doing it.

A minimum of ten senators and 20 representatives will be required to pass laws in an atmosphere of harmony and dignity, plus a sergeant-at-arms to break up fist fights. And if they're going to pass laws, they'll naturally need a Supreme Court to declare them unconstitutional.

At least one admiral and two generals will be needed to attend diplomatic receptions and tell everybody how much they hate war. But an army or navy certainly doesn't seem necessary, thanks to Pitcairn's lack of territorial ambitions.

A cabinet, however, is essential in order to have cabinet crises. But it could be a small one that would fit in a corner somewhere. The Postmaster General, of course, would be the key member.

But even figuring in customs guards (to prevent the smuggling in of cheap, foreign-made stamps), a regional director of urban planning (every government needs a planner), and two "high official sources who declined to be identified" (so the nation can have a newspaper), there's no question that Pitcairn can be adequately governed by 79 people.

This gives us one citizen left over. But he's absolutely essential because there's no sense setting up a government unless there's somebody to govern.

Thus we see that 79 pople are sufficient to establish a nation these days 78, no; 79, yes. And any fair-minded man must agree that Pitcairn should get to be a nation.

In fact, it will be a lovely nation. It won't go marching off to war, or pushing other people around, or threatening to blow us all up with thermonuclear bombs.

Indeed, the only question left to resolve is how come Russia, America, China and France get to be nations?

Death of the Salesmen

(By Arthur Hoppe)

Following is another chapter in that standard unpublished reference work, "A History of the World, 1950–1999." The title of this unprinted chapter is "Developing a Profitable Foreign Policy."

During the 1950s and 1960s U.S. foreign policy hinged on a massive aid program in which billions of dollars were given away—a program that came under increasing fire for being financially unprofitable.

By 1966, however, the tide had turned. And in January, 1967, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was able to report that a small but "dynamic and aggressive" sales force in the Pentagon was now selling more than twice as much in arms to foreign countries annually as the aid program was giving away.

The importance of these arms sales in halting the dollar drain and improving American prosperity was widely hailed. But it soon became clear that the Pentagon and the State Department were working at cross purposes. A choice had to be made. The President made it.

The result was "Operation Coat Holding," headed by Mr. Burton Button and staffed by the greatest team of dynamic and aggressive salesmen the world had ever seen.

The Operation's first test came in the uneasy Middle East. Salesman Al O'Leary, who had infiltrated the Israeli ranks, called across the border: "Yanh, yanh, you Syrians are a bunch of cowardly Arabs!"

From the Syrian side, Salesman Stanislaus Heffelwaite, disguised in a burnoose, replied: "You Israelis are too chicken to step across the line and prove it!"

In the resulting holocaust, $3.2 billion worth of American-made tanks, planes and armaments were shot up. Sales soared.

By fomenting clashes, coups and wars, the American economy hummed. Indeed, it soon reached capacity.

"In Vietnam today," said the President, "we are now expending billions in ammunition and armaments—free of charge." And his decision to replace our troops with arms salesmen was universally approved.

Through volume production, the U.S. was able to undercut not only its allies but Czechoslovakia as well. And Communist nations, too, vied to purchase American arms.

"A bullet," said Mr. Button in defense of Operation Coat Holding, "knows no ideology. And besides, if we didn't sell them weapons, someone else would."

Thus, by 1984, the whole world had become an armed camp—an American-armed camp. And everybody was rich and happy—everybody in America.

Unfortunately, an overzealous salesman named Willy Loman made the mistake of selling 200 nuclear tipped intercontinental rockets to tiny Albania.

"Good heavens," exclaimed Mr. Button on reviewing the contract, "no down payment and E-Z credit terms! What a terrible disaster this is going to be."

"But if we didn't sell them weapons . . ." said Mr. Loman defensively as the air raid sirens began to wail.

"What makes it such a terrible disaster," said Mr. Button gloomily, just before the roof fell in, "is that we're not going to make a nickel on it."

Illogical and Inconsistent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the Dothan (Ala.) Eagle last Thursday, February 9. I commend the article to the attention of every Member of Congress. I hope that each one will read the comments and that Congress will act to correct what I consider a perilous and defenseless foreign policy:

Illogical and Inconsistent

Inconsistency and the double standard practiced by the government are all too familiar to the American people.

"Why?" is a question that never gets an answer.

The only thing forthcoming is another example and currently it deals with the United States' attitude toward Rhodesia.

The United States has joined up with the United Nations in applying economic sanctions against Rhodesia as requested of the UN by Great Britain. At the same time, however, neither Great Britain nor the UN apply any kind of sanctions or reprimands against North Vietnam, the country through which supplies are channeled to be used against American military forces in South Vietnam. In fact, ships flying the British flag and the flags of other UN member nations call regularly at North Vietnamese ports delivering these supplies.

The other day Senator Harry Byrd, Jr. (D–Va.) made a speech in the Senate and wanted to know why it is that the proper United States officials have not demanded that the UN impose sanctions against North Vietnam similar to those applied to Rhodesia. He asked:

"Is it logical to demand sanctions against a country at peace (Rhodesia) while being unwilling to demand the same sanctions against a country at whose hands the American people have suffered more than 44,000 casualties? Perhaps this makes sense, but I am finding it difficult to reach that conclusion."

The selling job for this inconsistency has been done by Arthur Goldberg, the U.S. Ambassador to the UN, who was fired up because Rhodesia declared its independence from Great Britain, something the United States itself did in 1776 and which if it hadn't done there would be no Goldberg in the UN now.

While Ambassador Goldberg and his associates seek to rationalize and reconcile, others, such as Senator Byrd, intensify their questioning. For instance, The Nashville Banner, says, in part:

"The glaring inconsistency of UN action (and Mr. Goldberg's acquiescence) is inexplicable since that body was created for the purpose of promoting an enduring world peace.

"Its proposed intervention in Rhodesia can be summed up in a single word—'meddling.' Its refusal to take action in the Vietnam crisis by falling back on the lame excuse that an embargo or military assistance 'is unrealistic' in view of the fact that UN member nations 'have sharply divided opinions' on the issue, is as phoney as Ichabod Crane's 'headless horseman.'

"The United States, as principal UN banker, has pumped $150 billion into that organization on the assumption that it would exert its power and influence (and even armed intervention) against aggressor nations violating the basic tenets of the international non-aggression pact under which it was organized.

"It deserves at least token support in its fight to prevent a Communist sweep through defenseless free nations in the Far East. Instead it has been slapped in the face by the UN assertion that the U.S. military action in Vietnam is an unwarranted breach of world peace."

What Is a Cop?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a copy of a speech taken from the "Dragnet" episode which was broadcast over the NBC Television Network last week.

At a time when violence and crime are increasing in our country, the role of the police officer and law-enforcement agents becomes more significant. The speech, which follows, portrays a policeman's attitude toward his job which deserves greater respect and admiration than the public has been willing to give:

What Is a Cop?

It's awkward having a policeman around the house. Friends drop in. A man with a badge answers the door. The temperature drops twenty degrees. Throw a party and that badge gets in the way. All of a sudden there isn't a straight man in the crowd. Everybody's a comedian. "Don't drink too much," somebody says, "or the man with the badge will run you in." . . . Or, "How's it goin', Dick Tracy? How many jaywalkers did you pinch today?" . . . And there's always the one who wants to know how many apples you stole. All at once you've lost your first name. You're a "cop," a "flatfoot," a "bull," a "dick," "John Law," You're "the fuzz," "the heat," . . . you're poison, you're trouble . . . you're bad news. They call you everything, but never a policeman. It's not much of a life . . . unless you don't mind missing a Dodger game because the hotshot phone rings . . . unless you like working Saturdays, Sundays, holidays . . . at a job that doesn't pay overtime. Oh, the pay is adequate. If you count your pennies, you can put your kid through college. But you'd better plan on seeing Europe on your television set. Then there's your first night on the beat. When you try to arrest a drunken prostitute in a Main Street bar and she rips your new uniform to shreds. You'll buy another one . . . out of your own pocket. You'll rub elbows with all the elite: pimps, addicts, thieves, bums, winos, girls who can't keep an address and men who don't care. Liars, cheats, con men, the class of Skid Row. And the heartbreak: underfed kids, beaten kids, molested kids, lost kids, crying kids, homeless kids, hit-and-run kids, broken-arm kids, broken-leg kids, broken-head kids, sick kids, dying kids, dead kids. The old people that nobody wants, the reliefers, the pensioners, the ones who walk the street cold and those who tried to keep warm and died in a three-dollar room with an unvented gas heater. You'll walk the beat and pick up the pieces. Do you have real adventure in your soul? You'd better have. You'll do time in a prowl car. It'll be a thrill-a-minute when you get an "unknown trouble" call and hit a back yard at two in the morning, never knowing who you'll meet . . . a kid with a knife . . . a pill-head with a gun, or two ex-cons with nothing to lose. And you'll have plenty of time to think. You'll draw duty in a "lonely car" . . . with nobody to talk to but your radio. Four years in uniform and you'll have the ability, the experience and maybe the desire to be a detective.

If you like to fly by the seat of your pants this is where you belong. For every crime that's committed, you've got three million suspects to choose from. Most of the time you'll have few facts and a lot of hunches. You'll run down leads that dead-end on you. You'll work all-night stakeouts that could last a week. You'll do leg work until you're sure you've talked to everybody in California . . . people who saw it happen, but really didn't. People who insist they did it, but really didn't. People who don't remember, those who try to forget. Those who tell the truth, those who lie. You'll run the files until your eyes ache. And paperwork . . . you'll fill out a report when you're right, you'll fill out a report when your wrong, you'll fill one out when you're not sure, you'll fill one out listing your leads, you'll fill one out when you have no leads, you'll make out a report on the reports you've made, you'll write enough words in your lifetime to stock a library. You'll learn to live with doubt, anxiety, frustration, court decisions that tend to hinder rather than help you: Dorado, Morse, Escobedo, Cahan. You'll learn to live with the District Attorney, testifying in court, defense attorneys, prosecuting attorneys, judges, juries, witnesses. And sometimes you won't be happy with the outcome. But there's also this: There are over five thousand men in this city who know that being a policeman is an endless, glamorless, thankless job that must be done. I know it, too. And I'm damned glad to be one of them.

RICHARD L. BREEN and JACK WEBB.

Poverty Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of those of my distinguished colleagues who persist in maintaining that the war on poverty proceeds on the basis of partisan politics and Federal control, I wish to call the attention of the House to the contrary views of two highly respected syndicated columnists. I refer to Joseph Kraft's column entitled "Poverty Politics," which appeared in the Washington Post last October 3, and Roscoe Drummond's column entitled "A GOP Opportunity," which appeared in the Washington Post on November 27.

Mr. Speaker, the war on poverty is being fought and won on a nonpartisan basis at the local level, and I wish to have the Kraft and Drummond columns included at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Oct. 3, 1966]

INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK: POVERTY POLITICS

(By Joseph Kraft)

The congressional debate on the poverty program this year provides further evidence of a new approach to public welfare that is finally coming to supplant the now outworn philosophy of the New Deal. It also reveals that there is in the politics of poverty a great gap between local and national leaders.

The New Deal approach featured centralized governmental action to help poor people and communities. Washington developed programs for insurance, public works, job training and relief. Funds were shelled out either directly by Federal bureaucrats, or indirectly by these bureaucrats to local officials. The state was the doctor, the individual the patient—and in some cases, the victim.

The political advantages of that system, particularly to Congressmen, are obvious. It gives Congressmen the maximum opportunity to intervene on behalf of their constituents with appropriate government agencies.

Thus every political organization that has survived—and notably the organization of Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago—has had as a cornerstone of its power support for New Deal programs. And similarly every major department doling out welfare funds—whether Labor, Agriculture or Health, Education and Welfare—has become deeply subject to the influence of powerful Congressmen or groups of Congressmen.

The new approach features direct participation in the formulation and administration of programs by groups of local citizens. Thus Community Action Programs in the War on Poverty are largely run by local councils with direct representation of the poor.

These local councils decide on the allocation of funds among a wide shopping list. They can, for example, choose a Headstart Program, benefiting pre-school children; or a Neighborhood Youth Corps, putting teenagers to work on community projects; or a Health Services Center; or a Center for Legal Services; and so forth.

To a large extent, moreover, local people have a voice in running the programs they have chosen. For instance, in the Health Services Center due to be set up in Watts, the troubled Negro ghetto of Los Angeles, the neighborhood council will have the right to fire doctors it finds unsatisfactory. In the Center of Legal Services established in Houston, the neighborhood council has the right to fire lawyers it finds unsatisfactory.

This local emphasis has an obvious appeal for local political leaders. And now, after some early fears that Community Action would feed political opposition, city halls across the country have lined up behind the poverty program.

The local support includes not only well-known Democratic players of welfare politics such as Mayor Daley, but even some conservative Republicans. Indeed, because of the emphasis on decentralization and in line with a recent article in Life magazine by Hugh Sidey, the Republican Mayor of Tulsa, J. M. Howgley, has said of Community Action that "This is a Republican program, if we only had the brains to know it."

But local control leaves Washington politicos out in the cold, particularly Congressmen whose bread and butter has been intervention with Federal agencies on behalf of constituents. And the debate on the poverty measure in the House of Representatives this year has largely turned on efforts by Congressmen of both parties to get back in the game of welfare politics.

The Republican proposal which has been defeated would have vested most of the programs now in Sargent Shriver's poverty agency in old-line departments that are so responsive to Congressional pressure. The liberal Democratic bill approved by the Administration also moves to recapture authority for Washington by fixing floors on amounts available for particular poverty programs—not less than $496 million for the Neighborhood Youth Corps, for instance, not less than $352 million for the Headstart program, and so forth.

What this suggests to me is that national political leadership has not yet caught up with the requirements of the new approach to welfare. There is a vacuum waiting to be filled by younger political leaders—particularly by Republicans.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Nov. 27, 1966]

A GOP OPPORTUNITY

(By Roscoe Drummond)

Republican leaders will have an early opportunity to show what they really mean when they say they will not use their enlarged congressional power to dismantle the Great Society.

It will be quite a temptation to make the War on Poverty a partisan whipping boy because it is already being hounded—for opposition reasons—both by the extreme left and the extreme right.

It will not always be easy for Sen. Dirksen and Rep. Gerald Ford to stick to their announced policy of trying to improve Johnson programs rather than trying to dismantle them. It would be a tragedy to do otherwise.

The anti-poverty programs and Sargent Shriver himself have been badly battered during the past year by those who think they aren't doing enough, by those who think they are doing too much and by those who think that doing anything is bad.

Shriver's usually tight operation has unquestionably sprung some leaks and scraped a few shoals. This makes it all the more appropriate that the Republicans scrutinize everything Shriver proposes to do with an alert eye for better administration and for assurance that the money is put to the best purposes.

But there are strong reasons why the GOP should think twice before aiming scatter-shot attacks on the work and fruits of the anti-poverty programs:

1—Republican mayors and governors across the country are strong supporters of the poverty programs. They know at first hand the benefits which have already been forthcoming. They are aware that all the major enterprises, like Head Start, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, Upward Bound, Community Action, the Legal Services, Migrant and Indian Programs, Adult Literacy, Work Experience, Vista and the Job Corps are doing good work and have touched and changed the lives of several million people. They want them continued.

2—In a very fundamental sense, the anti-poverty programs are taking a turn which implements one of the foremost tenets of the Republican philosophy of government: they are decentralizing Federal aid programs; they are giving large authority to city and local government; they are rewarding local initiative and expanding local participation; they are making partnerships with the private sector of the economy and with private educational institutions.

The central fact of the War on Poverty is that state, city and local governments have never exercised so much authority in the allocation and administration of Federally financed programs. They are exerting so much independent initiative and discretion over the use of Federal funds that some Congressmen now want to get back more say so they can themselves allocate more funds to their own districts.

This would be a backward step. And it is certainly not Republican doctrine. It would seem to me that the Republicans ought to be eager to expand local initiative and discretion.

The closest scrutiny of the War on Poverty is certainly in order, but now that the Office of Economic Opportunity has shown effectiveness, it deserves a chance to build on its own experience and maturity.

Co-ops and the War on Hunger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure on February 7 to share the platform at the International Development Conference with the Secretary of Agriculture, Orville L. Freeman.

In his speech, Mr. Freeman began with a brief discussion of Presidential messages dealing with the world's food crisis. The race between food supply and population is now being lost, he pointed out. But, he added:

> There really is *no* convincing reason why the developing countries cannot increase their food and fiber production to required capacity and have enough to spare, in the years to come, to contribute—through trade and non-trade employment—to general economic development.

Then the Secretary went on to describe what cooperatives have done and can do in winning the war on hunger. He quoted a statement by the President:

> The War on Hunger is too big for governments alone. Victory cannot come unless businessmen, universities, foundations, voluntary agencies, and *cooperatives* join the battle.

Along with other speakers at the conference, Mr. Freeman commemorated the 5th anniversary of the Humphrey amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act. Vice President HUMPHREY, then the senior Senator from Minnesota, called for new emphasis on cooperatives in the organizational structure of the Agency for International Development.

I endorse the Secretary's suggestion that the anniversary is an appropriate time to assess the progress made under the Humphrey amendment. He said:

> I suggest to you then, that you consider the possibility of an international conference to explore fully, and assess fairly, the efforts to raise the living standards of two billion people overseas through private voluntary organizations modeled after the credit unions, cooperatives, and savings and loan associations of our own and other developed nations.

Mr. Speaker, the Secretary made a number of other observations that deserve the attention of every Member of this House. I include the text of his remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

Most of you, I'm sure, sense the same disturbing paradox I sense whenever I enjoy a meal such as this, in surroundings as pleasant as this.

Half the people in this world of more than 3 billion souls have never had a satisfying, fully nutritious meal.

This, I know everyone here agrees, is a sad commentary on civilization in this soon-to-be 21st Century.

To be sure, this is nothing new. Such has been the case throughout history. What is new is the fact that it need no longer be the case. Today, for the first time in history, we have the scientific and technological knowledge and techniques to banish hunger from the earth.

The big question is not whether we *can* mobilize and use this . . . but *will* we?

WEAPONS BEING MOBILIZED

I believe we will. I believe this because conferences such as this are being held. I believe it because all of you and many more around the world are dedicated to this cause. I believe it because the President of the United States recently made another ringing declaration of War on Hunger . . . and because, under his leadership, we are beginning to mobilize the weapons to win that war here at home and around the world.

I brought with me today two powerful and perceptive messages to the Congress from the President of the United States.

Last February, President Johnson delivered a powerful and significant *Food for Freedom* message. On Wednesday of last week, he followed this up with an inspiring call to action, a call directed to the entire world as much as it was to India, the Congress, and the American people.

I urge you to study these messages carefully . . . and to use them. They can be potent incentives in recruiting troops and supplies and material for the War on Hunger.

Let me take a few minutes to review these messages with you. Then—consistent with the special theme of this occasion—permit me to examine briefly what cooperatives have done and can do in winning this crucial war.

First of all, both Presidential messages emphasize the dimensions of the world food problem.

CLEARLY CRUCIAL PROBLEM

Moreover, the President also made the crucial nature of this problem dramatically clear in his recent State of the Union message when he declared:

"Next to the pursuit of peace, the really great challenge to the human family is the race between food supply and population increase. That race tonight is being lost."

It *is* being lost. And it *will* be lost unless we mobilize every tool, technique, and talent—in the developing as well as the developed world—to reverse the trend and win that race.

All of you, I'm sure, are familiar with the basic causes of the world food problem.

World food production is *not* keeping pace with the exploding demand for food triggered by population expansion and rising levels of consumer income.

While world population is increasing by more than a million people a week . . . world food output per capita is steadily falling behind.

Adding to the food-population crisis is the grim fact that the population explosion is taking place, for the most part, in the very developing countries least able to cope with it.

These nations are increasing their population by some 3 percent a year. Their population will double within a generation . . . and multiply 18 times within a century . . . unless effective control measures are instituted now.

EXPLODING FOOD DEMAND

Sheer growth in numbers of people constitutes the major cause of the exploding demand for food. But there is another. Expectations and incomes are rising at the same time—not only in the rich nations, but also in many of the poorer countries.

This combination of factors has created a demand which the world's farmers currently are failing to meet. For the past 6 years the world's people have been eating *more* than the world's farmers were producing.

The margin was provided by surplus stocks of grain built up in the preceding 8 years. But since 1961 stocks have declined about 14 million tons a year, and today there are no real surpluses of any major commodity in the world. The world has chewed up its surpluses.

In the U.S. surpluses are gone . . . today we have no more than working reserves. In a new effort to meet rising demand, we are bringing back into production about half the land that was idled during the surplus period.

Conceivably we could open the flood gates of total American food production and send additional shiploads of food aid abroad. There are two reasons, however, why this is not practical. In the first place, immediate return to full production would glut the market beyond effective *immediate* demand. This, in turn, would hurt our farmers and our whole economy. We have learned the hard way that surpluses depress farm prices and reduce farm income.

TEMPORARY EASING

In the second place, all-out production still would provide only temporary easing of the world food problem. The hard fact is that all of the production of all the acres of all the developed nations will not be able to meet world food needs much longer. In the next 15 years, the world will add another billion people. Even doing our best, we could feed only part of them.

Most of these people eventually will have to feed themselves in order to survive. This is the paramount, overriding fact which inspired President Johnson's Food for Freedom program.

This program, under which we combine food assistance with development assistance, not only asks—but expects—recipient countries to do *more*, much more, in their *own* behalf.

Incentive is built into the program for a purpose. Food for Freedom clearly states that as we help combat hunger and malnutrition and encourage economic development, we will give particular attention to those countries demonstrating a determination to improve themselves. Self-help is the key to winning the war on hunger.

But the U.S. cannot do the job alone. And this was the thrust of the President's message on India last week. He made it clear that the first obligation of the entire community of man is to provide food for all of its members . . . that no single nation could be expected to do it alone.

He pointed the way to a sustained international effort. And he made recommendations that went beyond the perimeters of the immediate Indian crisis. He said we shall continue to press for appropriate action on multilateral fronts to meet the challenge of the War on Hunger. He said we shall continue to encourage private capital and technology in this effort. He said we shall press for the early creation of the guarantee fund to encourage private investment in the agricultural industries of developing nations. And he said we stand ready to implement the application of science to the problems of food production.

NATIONAL WILL REQUIRED

But none of these steps, he concluded, can be as important as the very first requirement—a national will on the part of the hungry nations to help themselves.

In this way, the President challenged the American people, the developed nations, and the developing nations, themselves, to march together in the War on Hunger. It will be a tough war . . . a grim war. But increasing awareness of the magnitude of the problem, and continuing advances in the knowledge needed to bring forth two and three times more yield from the same land, give us reason for hope . . . and even cautious optimism.

There really is *no* convincing reason why the developing countries *cannot* increase their food and fiber production to required capacity and have enough to spare, in the years to come, to contribute—through trade and nontrade employment—to general economic development.

The challenge, then, is more than the physical capacity to produce food; it becomes an institutional one as well. How can we develop the pattern of relationships and social and economic institutions that will make it possible to apply in growing measure the technical and scientific skills we have today? Studies and research involving social and economic factors, political relationships and administrative organizations as they affect agricultural development are fully as important as scientific studies of plants, animals and soils. If we can learn more about what kinds of policies and programs make for greatest success under varying conditions, we can progress more rapidly toward our goal.

Here is where cooperatives come into the picture, for they are, first of all, economic institutions built by people to improve their own economic circumstances.

STRUCTURAL FIBERS

But they are much more. They are bound with the very fibers needed to weave stronger social and governmental structures. These fibers are:

Democratic organization—growing out of member control.

Leadership—emerging from the opportunities and responsibilities members and directors must assume for sound cooperative operation.

Self-reliance—built out of the opportunity to do things for themselves as well as from the experience of doing them.

These elements, vital to any effective association of free and independent men, are translatable from cooperatives to the task of building stronger, freer countries.

Cooperatives have another thing going for them in these countries. They are warmly accepted by any freedom-loving people. They form a bond between cooperatives in developed and developing nations . . . and a bridge over which social and economic benefits can pass.

Cooperatives also have a common ancestry throughout the world. They were fathered to solve an urgent problem . . . and meet an urgent need.

SMUGNESS UNWARRANTED

We sometimes grow a little smug about where we are today with our U.S. cooperatives. We forget what it was like earlier in this century as rural people began to build their own cooperative structures—often by trial and error and bitter experience.

Co-ops had to win a place for themselves in Government and in society. It was just 50 years ago—in 1917—that the forerunner of our cooperative credit system began with the start of the first Federal Land Bank. And it was not until 1922 that the Capper-Volstead Act made clear the rights of farmers to organize into cooperatives. Four years later, the Cooperative Marketing Act made it official that the USDA provide specific help to cooperatives—help still being provided 40 years later through the Farmer Cooperative Service.

Cooperative efforts overseas have a far briefer history.

As recently as 1961, not a single person or a specific office had an official assignment to work with cooperatives under the Federal Government's foreign assistance program. Today, the Agency for International Development in the State Department has a special International Cooperative Development Service that spearheads developing co-ops in more than 50 countries.

There are 10 organizations with major AID contracts to help generate overseas co-op development—the organizations represented in the sponsorship of this conference. The Department of Agriculture, other government agencies, and many colleges and universities also have people hard at work developing cooperatives in the far reaches of the world.

We here today know that it was the Humphrey Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act that brought on this rapid rise in cooperative emphasis. This measure often has been called the official key that opened the door to helping the developing nations build cooperative institutions.

EMPHASIS ON CO-OPS

It was the voice of Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, then Senator from Minnesota, that called for the adoption of this amendment. He urged a new emphasis on cooperatives in AID's organization structure, saying—"People's groups, working together through cooperatives, can be seed centers which will nourish and support democratic government."

The Humphrey Amendment is a mandate from Congress calling for the use of the resources of cooperatives, credit unions, savings and loan associations, in our foreign assistance program. Its purpose is to develop similar institutions and stimulate democratic processes in the developing countries.

Under the terms of the Humphrey Amendment, people who know and helped build our own cooperatives are working overseas to involve communities and groups of people in:

Expanding agricultural credit to small farmers.

Extending electricity to rural areas.

Organizing and operating marketing and purchasing cooperatives.

Starting housing cooperatives.

Unraveling tangled laws.

Carrying on educational work with leaders and members.

AID reports that it has been or is involved in one way or another with 40,000 cooperatives that have 16 million family members . . . and that it has committed about $50 million for technical help.

BASIC PATTERN

This cooperative program is helping people in economically barren lands build for themselves a basic, self-help institutional pattern, and from this pattern they are casting the dies for their future.

The partnership of U.S. cooperatives and Government with leadership in the developing countries is helping give hope to both the yearning and the hungering half of the human race.

But cooperatives also help develop the physical resources needed to put food in the mouths of the hungry. Seeing how it is done in this country provides ideas which others can then apply in their own lands.

In our country, many of our early co-ops started so farmers could obtain better seeds and proper fertilizer, two basic steps in multiplying yields.

And many of the early U.S. cooperatives built the marketing bridge from the farm to the consumer with a two-way benefit—a place for the farmer to sell if he produced more, and food for the consumer at the place where he could buy it.

Farmers in this country have found ways to obtain the capital they need to produce their great abundance. Among these, is the cooperative credit system. Bonds sold through this system draw on the nation's money markets for money to lend to farmers and to their cooperatives.

Concepts and ideas on this order were pioneered overseas by some of the co-op groups sponsoring this conference even before the official congressional blessing of the Humphrey Amendment.

The work of the Cooperative League in India during the 1950's is but one example. The League's men pioneered the importing of their co-op experience to cooperatives in developing countries. CUNA International long has shared its experience with the people of other countries as they develop their own credit unions.

ISLANDS OF HOPE

President Johnson has referred to cooperatives as islands of economic hope. The partnership under the Humphrey Amendment seeks to bring to the other half of the world—the hungering and yearning half—the hard-won experience of U.S. cooperative leadership in order to multiply those islands.

This is a real, working partnership; one in which the Department is proud to participate with AID and the cooperatives. Rumors of bureaucratic jurisdictional struggles have a discouraging way of popping up in news columns, while "good news" stories, stories that report solid, effective inter-agency or inter-departmental relations and cooperation frequently go unnoticed.

I'm thinking now of one such story—the story of how excellent working relations have combined resources and talents across the government to reach a common objective in the cooperative development program.

As one example, USDA provides the meeting place for a monthly luncheon for AID representatives, cooperative contractors, its own staff, and others involved in cooperative activity. This luncheon affords an excellent opportunity to exchange ideas and develop closer coordination.

AID and the Department of Agriculture together work out programs and plans to help people in developing nations use cooperatives to build their economies. AID then provides the financing to help us sent trained men overseas from the USDA, from the Land Grant colleges, and from the co-ops themselves.

We now have many such cooperative-trained people at work abroad, and soon will have even more, particularly in Vietnam and other crisis areas.

CO-OPS IN LATIN AMERICA

Let me give you an example of how we approach this part of our job. Farmer Cooperative Service, the USDA agency with a 40-year history of research and education in cooperatives, now has six men in Brazil and Paraguay, and more soon to go. One of their big jobs is to help train the co-op leaders in these countries so that they, in turn, can train others. Plans are now well along to open two training schools for cooperative management people in Brazil.

Our cooperative advisor in Paraguay, working with the Ministry of Agriculture, has helped develop a poultry cooperative and a dairy cooperative in Asuncion, the capital city of that country.

Recently, these two cooperatives agreed to establish a jointly owned feed mill. Each, working through our FCS representatives in Paraguay, is sending two representatives to the United States for special training in feed manufacturing. FCS is helping to develop this training program. When these men return to their country, our representative there will work with them to establish a sound, efficient mill operation.

The Department of Agriculture provides backup help, educational materials, and special assistance of many kinds for its own staff and for other cooperative specialists overseas. Many U.S. cooperative contractors draw on the Department for information.

Each year we welcome to the Department hundreds of people from overseas who come here to learn about cooperatives. Last year there were more than a thousand. The Farmer Cooperative Service worked with more than 700 of these people, and the Rural Electrification Administration with 300. We also helped them to schedule visits with U.S. cooperative people who counseled with them about co-ops and co-op programs.

INTERNATIONAL CO-OP TRAINING

Many of these people go to the International Cooperative Training Center in Madison, Wisconsin, to get intensive training in cooperatives.

We all know cooperatives have done great things for the United States. And we all are encouraged that strong beginnings have been made in the less developed areas of the world.

But these are but beginnings. Now it is up to us to give vigorous and determined help to these early-stage cooperatives if their members are to accomplish in 15 years what it took us 100 years to do. For 15 years, we must remember, may be all the margin we have in which to turn the tide in the War on Hunger.

Thus, we can't waste our resources. We can't waste our people. We can't waste our time. We must move swiftly, for we have much to accomplish in too few years.

HARD QUESTIONS

It is timely, then, to ask ourselves some hard questions.

Can cooperatives really act as an institutional bridge between Government agencies in developing countries and the farmers?

Will the governments need to work down from their own structure in some areas, using a kind of "prefabricated cooperative pattern" which will drop local co-ops into desired places?

Since lack of capital is one of the biggest problems in developing countries, where will the money come from to do these things?

Where do you find the people to run the co-ops? And if you can find them, how do you train them?

Do we have men knowledgeable in cooperatives located in strategic places in the developing countries?

Do we have co-op specialists in our embassies abroad?

These, I think, are some of the questions we should be asking.

And, along with these questions, we should be asking if our efforts overseas have measured up to the high hopes of the Humphrey Amendment. Have we done all we can? Have we used our funds wisely?

It occurs to me that—without pausing in our efforts to use cooperatives, credit unions, and other private, voluntary organizations to help people overseas live better lives—this fifth anniversary of the Humphrey Amendment is an appropriate time to assess our progress thus far.

But such an assessment, I would think really should include the views of the domestic leaders of these self-help ventures—the leaders of the new cooperatives in Africa, Latin America, and southeast Asia. And it should include the views of others, who, just as we, are engaged in technical assistance to these developing nations—the leaders of cooperatives in Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Japan.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

I suggest to you then, that you consider the possibility of an international conference to explore fully, and assess fairly, the efforts to raise the living standards of two billion people overseas through private voluntary organizations modeled after the credit unions, cooperatives, and savings and loan associations of our own and other developed nations.

This anniversary is an appropriate time to look forward to such a session.

As the race between people and food production reaches the far turn in the next few years, the developed nations will have to invest more talent, more technology, and more hard cash if this crucial race we are all engaged in is to be won.

Let us never forget that governments alone cannot win it.

President Johnson made this clear last week when he said:

"The War on Hunger is too big for governments alone. Victory cannot come unless businessmen, universities, foundations, voluntary agencies, *and cooperatives* join the battle."

There is our challenge. Cooperatives have a most important part to play in meeting it.

Preserving the Rights of the States With Respect to Public Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I introduced House Joint Resolution 292 on February 13. It has a very simple purpose—to prevent untimely interference by Federal officials with legitimate local school programs and make it impossible for the same officials to take away Federal funds from needed educational programs in deserving communities at the stroke of a pen.

The resolution follows:

H.J. RES. 292

Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution preserving the rights of the States with respect to public schools

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States:

"ARTICLES—

"SECTION 1. The right of each State to determine the curriculum of, the facilities provided for, and the qualifications of the personnel in, the public schools of that State shall not be abridged either directly or indirectly by the United States.

"SEC. 2. This article shall not be construed to prohibit Federal finanical support for education, nor be construed so as to abridge the rights of persons protected by the fourteenth amendment.

"SEC. 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress."

Mr. Speaker, the case for this resolution is clearly spelled out in a booklet written by Drs. Myron L. Ashmore and Charles R. Forman, of the Board of Public Instruction of Broward County, Fla. It is entitled "You Say It Can't Happen Here." This booklet should be very carefully read by Members of Congress and I submit it for reprinting in the RECORD:

YOU SAY IT CAN'T HAPPEN HERE?—IT IS HAPPENING HERE[1]

Shall the doctrine of academic freedom remain viable? Shall education progress?

Shall regulatory agencies usurp the authority of Congress and the Federal Judiciary?

Shall regulatory agencies interpret, amend, and rewrite Congressional legislation by contracts secured by using our tax money as "the consideration for" signing?

Shall Federal regulatory agencies use this contract mechanism to usurp state and local legislative, judicial and administrative functions?

Shall our children be educated; or shall they be indoctrinated with one national philosophy of education?

A Clearly Stated, Specifically Worded Amendment to the Constitution is Urgently Needed to Prevent Federal Control of Education.

Unfortunately, one who raises a question involved with civil rights is frequently prejudged to be a hypocrite and a bigot, and his question automatically ignored. We can no longer afford to do this.

The administration of the Civil Rights Act by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has raised questions which must be looked squarely in the face; questions which free men must recognize for what they are; questions which must be satisfactorily answered if men are to remain free, if education is to continue to progress, and if the doctrine of academic freedom is to remain viable.

These questions transcend personal background and section consideration. They transcend whether one is a Democrat or a Republican.

When caught up in the fervor of any great revolutionary movement people are prone to succumb to mob psychology—to excuse and endorse almost any means to secure its goals. Since they are only human, judges also get caught up in the maelstrom, and at times judicial perspectives get out of focus.

We must pause and take another look at some of the actions we are taking to expedite our respective interpretations of civil rights. If the Civil Rights Act of 1964 needs to be amended, it should be amended by proper congressional procedure—not by administrative action, and not by court interpretation.

We shall call attention to a number of issues involved in the HEW administration of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Some of these issues are of grave national importance because they have wide general application to education and government. Others are primarily concerned with the administration of the Civil Right Act itself.

Unfortunately, and with tragic implications for the future of this nation and that of free men everywhere, these issues are being confused, overlooked and ignored by the overzealous and unreasoning civil rights steamroller. Neither wishfully ignoring these issues nor bypassing them in order to expedite civil rights objectives will cause these issues and their consequences to disappear. The practices, procedures, and precedents established by the civil rights juggernaut will remain to haunt us.

If federal bureaucratic preemption and extension of authority by contract continues to be used to achieve civil rights objectives, it can be used to secure other objectives.

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[1] In support of this statement, carefully read: (1) Titles four, five, and six of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; (2) HEW Regulation pursuant thereto (45 CFR Part 80); (3) HEW General Statement of Policies thereto, 1965; (4) HEW Revised Statement of Policies thereto, 1966; (5) HEW form 441; (6) HEW form 441–B; (7) HEW written and oral statements to local school boards.

If subterfuge, threat, harassment and duress are condoned to secure clivl rights objectives, as they have been, they can be employed to secure other objectives. Having used the tremendous leverage of deferral, refusal, and termination of federal aid for educational programs as a combination bribe, chain and whip to expedite civil rights objectives, there will always be temptation to those administrators in control to use this money leverage to secure whatever their objective of the moment might be.

If significant federal aid to education is not to inevitably lead to one national system of federally controlled education, Congress must somehow figure out how to write and enforce adequate safeguards in all federal aid to education legislation. These safeguards must effectively prevent federal administrative agencies from directing or controlling state and local educational policies and philosophy by contract or by any other means.

The prevention of federal control of education is a paramount issue that must be solved. Those who are quietly, ardently, and continuously working toward the goal of federally controlled education have been having a field day using civil rights as a lever.

A dictatorship—whether it be Stalin's communism or Hitler's fascism—must have nationally-controlled education in order to maintain itself. In a nation as large and as complex as ours, it is axiomatic to say that free men and a free society cannot expect to long exist with federal control of education—nor can academic freedom. Federal direction of school lunch programs is one thing; federal direction of children's thinking and control of their education is an entirely different sort of thing. This must be prohibited. History teaches us that when a mechanism for exerting influence such as this exists, men in positions of authority will eventually use it.

It should be self-evident that one dominant national philosophy of education would stymie educational progress.

Federal aid for education is largely the result of the work of professional educators concerned about inappropriate financial support for education at the local level. Professional educators now need to become concerned about preserving their right to independent educational thinking—a right that has been instrumental in making this country great.

A clearly understandable, very specifically worded constitutional amendment must be passed to insure the effective preservation of state and local control of educational policies, philosophies, and operation. This is needed to aid and reinforce appropriate legislation by Congress. (This must not contain integration overtones. Integration is not the issue here. Racial overtones would prevent adoption of this needed amendment.)

A major issue is involved—one that should be of grave concern to every thinking person regardless of his race, regardless of personal financial circumstances, regardless of the possibility of current personal or racial benefit. At issue is the usurpation of federal, state, and local legislative, administrative, and judicial processes and authority by bureaucratic agencies of the federal government by the use of contractual agreement entered into "for and in consideration of" the federal aid requested. This issue is as simple as it is dangerous and far-reaching in its potential. The issue is unauthorized legally enforceable legislation by contract by administrative personnel. These contracts, using our tax money for leverage, are drafted, interpreted, administered and enforced by individuals who have no responsibility to the voter. This is patently wrong and dangerous. Furthermore, these administrators and their successors feel free to subsequently change and augment the initial interpretations.

This practice of legislation by contract was the cause of our Board's problem with HEW. This was why we refused to sign without protective qualifications either form 441 or 441–B. These are legally enforceable contracts which would result in obligations not required by, and to obligations in direct contradiction to, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and to specific prohibitions therein.

Congress must write specific prohibitions into all federal aid to education legislation which would effectively prevent the use of contract by federal administrators to either increase their authority or modify or influence the educational direction of the programs administered by them.

Blatant misrepresentation and duress have been involved in getting school boards to sign the contracts 441 and 441–B with HEW. If the issue were not clouded or overridden by the emotional desegregation factors, most 441 and 441–B contracts should and would be voided by the courts on the ground that they were signed under duress and deliberate misrepresentation.

Both oral and official HEW printed presentations to local school authorities unequivocally and most emphatically stated, and continue to state, that unless a school system is operating under a federal court order for desegregation, the school system must sign either the 441 or 441–B assurance form in order to receive federal ad. This edict applies to both old and new federal aid programs. Faced with this ultimatum from presumably reliable and knowledgeable federal officials—threatened with the loss of federal support for established programs of long duration, and for supplies and equipment which the community had come to rely or—faced with the unforeseen difficulty or inability of meeting financial commitments previously made to the personnel involved in these programs—confronted with the pressures for additionally needed programs—most school boards automatically signed these assurance forms relying on "good faith presentation" by HEW.

These assurance forms 441 and 441–B are contracts wherein "for, and in consideration of" the aid requested, the Board agrees that it will comply with all requirements imposed by or pursuant to the "Regulation" of HEW and its policies, and further agrees to the judicial enforcement of this contract on the Board, its successors, transferees and assignees. As pointed out before, the HEW regulation and policies now appear intended to amend and to negate certain sections of the Civil Rights Act.

The truth is that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 does not authorize HEW to require school officials to sign any contract for the consideration of receiving federal aid. It only authorized HEW to promulgate rules, regulations and orders. The propriety and the legality of such rules, regulations, and orders and their interpretations would then be subject to appeal via all normal channels, including the courts. However, once these contracts 441 and 441–B are signed, the Board loses its usual rights of appeal concerning these rules, and the rules then become subject to arbitrary judicial enforcement regardless of what their status would have been under the Civil Rights Act of 1964. (Most actions brought against school boards that have come to our attention are for breach of 441 or 441–B and not for failure to comply with the Civil Rights Act.)

Harassment and threat of harassment through excessive reports, deferral of project approval, litigation, audit and investigation can all make responsible school administration trying and difficult. The complaint of any individual can result in unwarranted, costly, time consuming investigation of the school system and its programs at any time.

This unit of HEW, and many of the individuals involved with the interpretation, administration and enforcement of Title VI, have operated with little concern for any of the multitude of other factors which vitally affect education, and whose closely interrelated workings must be carefully considered, adjusted, and coordinated in order to provide a sound educational program for each child. Wherever this is the case, this branch of HEW should be restaffed with people knowledgeable of and concerned for quality education.

This is of special importance and of grave significance for those charged with the responsibility for approving and reviewing the operations of the individual school systems. Expert educational judgment must be exercised at this level or major damage to the academic integrity of educational programs may result in inferior education for children at all levels.

Interacting factors which determine the quality of educational programs vary greatly between school systems. The present tendency to ignore this fact and to use arbitrary standardized criteria for the convenience of officials, instead of specific analytical judgment in evaluating school systems is injurious and inexcusable. It must inevitably cause marked damage to the academic integrity of many school programs, and poorer education for many of our children—including those whom we are specifically trying to help. A youngster only goes through the third grade one time. Haste is not so important and no official (and no judge) is so busy that he should not take whatever time is necessary to reasonably evaluate any program that directly affects the education of thousands of children. In good conscience, and in order to try to provide the best possible education for each child, judges and administrators must reconsider this abdication of responsibility to our children by wholesale use of standardzed arbitrary criteria.

In addition to their inherent tendency to corrupt, influence the direction of, and dictate state and local education thinking and philosophy, the current methods of providing federal aid to education are inefficient and very wasteful of both tax money and educational manpower that is sorely needed at the local level. We could tremendously expedite the progress of (and improve the operational efficiency of) most educational programs supported by federal aid—greatly reduce their cost—markedly increase the amount of money available to improve education at the local classroom level (estimated by at least a third)—return the talented federal educational manpower to depleted state and local service where it is so desperately needed to improve current educational programs and to adequately implement new ones—by simply using the federal government as a tax collecting agency for this purpose.

Federal support to education can best be accomplished by Congress "earmarking" certain tax money to be distributed directly to the states and local areas as needed and for the purposes needed. This would mitigate against all four of the above defects now inherent in our federal aid programs.

We are now drafting a proposed amendment to the Constitution which we hope will largely prevent federal teacher standards or certification of teachers; federal direction, regulation or accreditation of educational programs, regulation or approval of curriculum, and textbooks, etc. The following tentative proposal for such an amendment has been suggested: "The right of the several States to determine the content of the curriculum and the educational qualifications of teachers in public schools shall not be abridged by the United States." We will greatly appreciate your reaction to this proposal and your suggestions.

(When we use the term "federal direction of," we do not mean "direction" in the sense of federal support for specific disciplines such as science or vocational education, as long as the recipients of this aid are entirely free to prepare and select their educational materials, curriculum, texts, methods of teaching, etc., without any actual or implied federal recommendations. We do not mean "direction" in the sense of federal support for educational research, or for the evaluation of or development of educational programs, equipment, and facilities as long as the educators involved are free to exercise their individual professional judgment as to the direction the studies shall take and how this shall be done, and are free to analyze, interpret and report their findings without any actual or implied federal suggestions in these matters.)

Thank you for bearing with us, and for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,

MYRON L. ASHMORE, Ed. D.[2]
CHARLES R. FORMAN, D.V.M.[3]

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[2] Superintendent of Public Schools, Broward County, Florida (90,000 students, 1–12 plus, 5,000 students at the Junior College of Broward County); Incorporating Trustee and Secretary of the Board of Trustees of Nova University; Incorporator and Trustee of the South Florida Education Center; Vice President, State Superintendents' Association; Commission on Colleges for the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, Past Member, Governor's Advisory Committee on Vocational Technical Education; State Steering Committee for N.D.E.A. Funds; Director, State Secondary Principals; etc.

[3] Vice Chairman, Board of Public Instruction, Broward County, Florida; Incorporating Trustee and Vice President, South Florida Education Center; Past Member, Board of Control for Florida University System; Incorporator and Past Trustee, Nova University.

Resolution Adopted by the Denver City Council

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BYRON G. ROGERS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, ever so often, I regret to say, one or another of my esteemed colleagues casts a covetous eye on the U.S. Mint in Denver. Recently there has been renewed speculation that a new mint is under consideration and that it might be moved to another city. This has aroused considerable alarm among the citizens of Denver, who rightly regard the mint as a great civic asset.

Aside from the obvious economic and commercial advantages which Denver affords, it also has a historic claim to this facility. Denver was "coining money" even before the Federal mint system was established. The mint is a tangible link with the robust gold and silver mining camps upon which Colorado's statehood was built.

The history of coinage operations in Denver is sketched in a resolution adopted early this month by the Denver City Council. I insert it in the RECORD for the instruction and edification of the Congress:

RESOLUTION NO. 5, SERIES OF 1967, INTRODUCED BY THE ENTIRE COUNCIL

A resolution reviewing the history of the United States Mint in Denver, Colorado, and resisting any and all attempts to curtail its operation, close it down or remove it to any other jurisdiction within these United States.

Whereas, on March 8, 1859, Milton E. and Austin N. Clark of Leavenworth, Kansas, and E. H. Gruber of St. Louis and Leavenworth, formed the bank of Clark, Gruber & Co. as one of the big buyers of gold coming from the new and fast-growing settlements along the Rocky Mountains, and

Whereas, high transportation costs and delays in transferring gold from these virgin fields to the eastern banks led to the idea of coining the gold dust at the site where it was found, and

Whereas, Milton Clark purchased steam-driven machinery for the minting operation in December of 1859 and transported it by ox-drawn wagon over the Smoky Hill Trail for installation in a 2-story brick building at the corner of G. and McGaa Streets, now 16th and Market Streets, and

Whereas, the first gold coins were stamped at this mint on July 20, 1860, and this was the forerunner of several such private mints that led eventually to the passage by the United States Congress and signing by President Lincoln on April 21, 1862, of a law establishing a federal mint system, and

Whereas, a governmental coinage operation was approved for Denver on July 19, 1893, and the present mint building, modeled after the old Medici Bank of Florence, Italy, was planned and constructed and eventually opened on March 22, 1902, and

Whereas, another four years elapsed before the interior facilities and minting equipment were installed and coining operations commenced on February 2, 1906, and the Denver mint has, in the intervening years, produced the coins necessary to successfully commence in our great nation, now, therefore,

Be it resolved by the Council of the City and County of Denver:

Section 1. That the City Council of the City and County of Denver, in unity with all citizens of Denver and Colorado, object most strenuously to any and all efforts to interfere with the minting operation in Denver, or move the coin mint to any other location in this nation.

Section 2. That if the Federal Congress and the United States Treasury Department should find that additional coins need to be minted that such minting be accomplished in Denver, Colorado, at the present mint or in expanded facilities in this city.

Section 3. That the Clerk of the City and County of Denver shall attest and affix the seal of the City and County of Denver to this resolution.

Passed by the Council January 30, 1967, Irving S. Hook, President. Approved: Thomas G. Currigan, Mayor, January 31, 1967. Attest: F. J. Serafini, Clerk and Recorder, Ex-Officio Clerk of the City and County of Denver.

(Seal)

Published in The Daily Journal, Jan. 28 and Feb. 4, 1967.

Commemorating Lithuania's Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, February 16 marks the 49th anniversary of the independence of Lithuania. It is very fitting that the Congress of the United States devote time to commend the Lithuanian people and to remind the world that Lithuania and its people will continue to fight for the reestablishment of complete independence and self-government.

Lithuania's valiant wars for liberty and independence are not of recent origin but the pages of her history are emblazoned with heroic battles for liberty since the 12th century. During the 16th century, Lithuania battled against the same Russian tyranny which envelops it today. In the 18th century, this country suffered a decline which brought about complete Russian domination. This tyrannical yoke was inflicted for 120 years, but during that period five major revolts took place against its conqueror.

The people of this nation, during intervals of time in the 19th century, enjoyed the opportunity to exist as a free and independent people. World War I brought about an international situation which gave Lithuania a long-awaited opportunity to proclaim to the world that it is a free and independent nation. For more than 20 years as a free country, no nation has ever demonstrated its capacity and ability for self-government more than Lithuania. Its civic leaders brought about long-needed land reformation, created and expanded industry, established an adequate transportation system, and enacted social legislation and an educational policy which could well be copied by other nations throughout the world. This great progress by a free nation continued up until World War II when Lithuania again became the victim of a powerful aggressor nation who succeeded in enslaving its people.

I have spoken on former occasions on the floor of the House outlining the infiltration duplicity and force used by the Communists to submerge Lithuania and I shall not repeat those sordid facts today.

Stalin, the most ruthless of tyrants, and Khrushchev have disappeared from the scene. The Communist economy in Russia and its agricultural programs have been a failure—millions are starving in China today. Its modern economic programs have been negative, impractical, and failures. Its food production has only been able to serve a fraction of its people and, in my opinion, the time is not far distant when the much-heralded Communist millennium will have completely disappeared from the world.

Our great Nation has been the leader in this fight for freedom and Communist curtailment. After World War II, we spent billions of dollars to rebuild the bombed-out nations in Western Europe. We have aided them to become reestablished and prevent the Soviet war machine from marching after they were helpless by reason of World War II bombing and destruction.

In 1951, General Eisenhower, then at the head of European defense, testified before the House Foreign Affairs Committee that if it had not been for the valiant sacrifice of our Nation made during those days, "all Europe would be Communist today." That was in 1951.

History will reveal after the Communist international conspiracy is destroyed, that it was this free land of ours that saved the world from Communist tyranny and enslavement. We can all today be grateful to the Lithuanian-American citizens and citizens of other captive nations who have joined in and aided our Government to fight Communist expansion and curtail Communist tyrannical designs to enslave mankind.

Fino Introduces Second Bill To Regulate Foreign Banking Operations on Basis of Reciprocity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill to amend the Bank Merger and Bank Holding Company Acts so as to require that mergers and holding company acquisitions involving foreign-controlled banks and bank holding companies shall be judged—by the appropriate regulatory agencies under the several acts—by an additional standard in addition to the competitive criteria already on the books. The new criteria by which such transactions are to be measured is simply reciprocity: whether or not the home nation of the foreign-controlled bank or bank holding company allows U.S.-controlled banks or bank holding companies to undertake similar transactions.

The bill I am introducing today is a companion to my bill, H.R. 570, which is identical to the Javits bill introduced last August. H.R. 570, designed to centralize power over foreign bank branches, agencies and subsidiaries within the United States in the hands of the Comptroller of the Currency, does not affect merger or holding company transactions.

Under H.R. 570, a foreign banking corporation desirous of establishing a branch, agency or subsidiary within the United States—except a state prohibiting foreign banking operations—would apply to the Comptroller of the Currency. Existing branches, agencies and subsidiaries would apply within 1 year. The Comptroller would assess applications by taking a number of factors into consideration; among other things, he would consult with the Department of State. Under H.R. 570, the Comptroller would have the power to deny applications of foreign banking corporations where the homeland of those corporations does not grant similar opportunities to U.S. banks.

I believe that reciprocity must be an essential part of any Federal foreign bank regulatory bill. I say this because any Federal regulatory system would supersede State regulation, and the leading foreign banking State, New York, already has a reciprocity requirement blocking branches of banks of nations—that is, Canada—which do not allow U.S. bank branches. Certainly we do not want to pass legislation which would knock out the New York State reciprocity requirement without setting up another. That would reward Canada for financial chauvinism. Clearly, reciprocity is essential.

Because H.R. 570 does not extend to merger and holding company transactions—or to stock acquisitions by foreign nonbanking corporations—I am today moving to fill that gap. I believe that we ought to set up new reciprocity standards for regulated merger and bank holding company transactions where foreign enterprise is on the move to take over U.S. banks.

Last year, the California-Canadian Bank of San Francisco merged with—acquired—the Northern California Bank of San Mateo. The first—acquiring—bank is a subsidiary of a Canadian bank. At the time the California-Canadian Bank applied to the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation for merger approval, Canada was considering legislation to further restrict American banking in Canada. Yet for want of authority to judge the proposed merger by standards of reciprocity, Chairman Randall of the FDIC was not authorized to deny the proposed merger. He reluctantly approved it, although noting both the unfriendly attitude of Canada and the fact that the proposed merger would expand Canadian banking activities in the United States.

Mr. Speaker, Canada has bigger banking interests in the United States than any other foreign nation. Canada has bank agencies in New York and California, subsidiaries in both States, and considerable operations in Oregon, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. These operations have assets, I believe, of about $5 billion. Five billion dollars, Mr. Speaker, and Canada expects us to take things laying down when U.S. banks, which are already denied agency and branching privileges in Canada, are to be kept from owning more than a certain percentage of Canadian banks.

I hope that Congress will give my foreign bank regulatory legislation full consideration. I particularly urge Congress to insist that any such legislation contain reciprocity provisions.

Waipahu High School Students in Hawaii Earn To Aid Botswana Fund

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, a unique people-to-people exchange program was aided this past week in Hawaii by students of the Waipahu High School by their donation of $1,500 to a fund to help education in the newly independent nation of Botswana, in South Africa.

The donation, raised through a special candy sale drive, and the largest made to the fund since it was established 6 months ago, was presented to Honolulu Star-Bulletin columnist Jim Becker by the cochairmen of the drive, Sharon Naka and Lynne Morimoto, at a school assembly last week. The funds will go toward building or expanding a school in Botswana.

Originally the students at Waipahu had planned the drive to help the Peace Corps build a school in Botswana, but as the Peace Corps has not as yet started a project there, the student committee—in its desire to aid the young African nation—decided to make a direct donation through the Star-Bulletin's Hana Botswana Fund.

The word "hana," interestingly, means to labor, to make or do in Hawaiian. These young men and women captured the spirit of international cooperation by working to earn their contribution to the Hana Botswana Fund.

I am sure that the friendly ties between our country and Botswana will be expanded and strengthened, and a program of mutual cultural exchange will be developed, as a result of the efforts of these splendid young citizens of Waipahu.

I believe my colleagues will want to join with me in congratulating the students of my State on their Waipahu-Botswana school-to-school project, and I am pleased to submit for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the news article about the project, which appeared in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin on Tuesday, February 7, 1967:

WAIPAHU AIDS BOTSWANA FUND

Waipahu High School students have donated $1,500 to the Star-Bulletin's Hana Botswana Fund to help build or expand a school in Botswana.

The donation is the largest made to the fund since it was established six months ago.

The Hana Botswana program is a people-to-people alliance between Hawaii and its antipode, Botswana. The fund's chief purpose is to help education in the newly independent nation in south-central Africa.

The $1,500 will be sent directly to Miss Gaositwe K. T. Chiepe, deputy director of education in Botswana. She was the first native of her country to visit Hawaii—she came last June on a State Department sponsored trip—and is a trustee of the Hana Botswana Fund in her native land.

Charles H. Pletcher, U.S. Charge d' Affaires of the American Consulate in Gaberones, Botswana's capital, will assist Miss Chiepe in selecting a school to benefit from the Waipahu-Botswana school-to-school project.

It's expected that letters and tape recordings will be exchanged between the two schools for mutual cultural enlightenment.

Jim Becker, Star-Bulletin columnist who visited Botswana last year, accepted the $1,500 from Waipahu High student service project chairman Sharon Naka and co-chairman Lynne Morimoto at an assembly last week.

The Waipahu students originally planned their candy-sale fund raising as a project to help the Peace Corps build a school in Botswana. About 150 schools on the Mainland have followed a Peace Corps program in this field. But the Peace Corps is newly arrived in Botswana and has not yet started such a project there, so the student committee decided to use the direct approach of the Hana Botswana Fund.

Recently, Kalani High School, in a similar drive, raised $1,550 with the hope it would go to Botswana, but the Peace Corps will use it in Tanzania instead. Peace Corps rules require donors to give the Peace Corps freedom to use the funds as the Peace Corps deems best.

The Hana Botswana program, which has won the highest endorsements of the U.S. and Botswana governments, seeks to encourage a variety of people-to-people exchanges, directly and informally.

Links have been established between Radio Botswana and Honolulu's KAIM; the Star-Bulletin and the Botswana Daily News; and about 50 individuals in both areas.

In addition, five Island schools and a church have plans to carry out exchanges with institutions in Botswana.

Waipahu's 1,800 students raised their $1,500 in a 10-day candy sale.

The original goal was $900. Assisting the co-chairmen were Sheila Matsmuoto, Gail Hiraki, Sharon Bello, Christine Esber, Stanley Fujioka, Charlene Oshiro, Gary Choo, and student body adviser Floranio Castillo.

Student officers are Theresa Coronas, president; Roy Iwane, vice-president; Lynne Morimoto; secretary; Wayne Takahashi, treasurer.

Kiewit Computer Center Dedicated on Dartmouth Campus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, the utility of automatic data processing is gaining greater recognition every day. Recently on the campus of my alma mater, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H., a new computer center was dedicated. This facility established at a cost of several million dollars was made possible, in large part, through the generosity of a fellow alumnus, Peter D. Kiewit. Mr. Kiewit is a member of the class of 1922 and a successful businessman in Omaha, Nebr.

The Kiewit Computer Center will house a new $2½ million General Electric 265 computer. The impact of computers on knowledge, education, the university, and society were highlighted in a panel discussion presented by an impressive group of educators and automatic data processing specialists. The panel discussion followed addresses by Frances Keppel, former U.S. Commissioner of Education, who is now chairman of the board of General Learning Corp., and Hershner Cross, vice president and group executive of the General Electric Co.

Nearly 200 persons from the educational, scientific, business, and publishing worlds attended the 2-day conference. In his remarks on "The Future Impact of Computers," Mr. Kiewit observed that "during the last half century we have experienced probably the greatest scientific advance that will ever happen in the history of mankind. And this computer center that we are dedicating here today is symbolic of this great progress. The computers now installed, and the vastly improved models that will inevitably follow, will have capabilities far beyond the most optimistic dreams of anyone who was in college when I was."

Mr. Speaker, the values of automatic data processing to our educational institutions, to our modern industrial community, as well as to our governmental functions, are becoming more apparent daily. It is certainly timely for the Congress of the United States to authorize establishment in the Library of Congress of an automatic data processing facility that can serve the needs of the Members of this House as well as of the other body. Many of my colleagues have joined me in introducing legislation which will provide this authority. I am hopeful that just as the Kiewit Computer Center has become a reality on the Dartmouth College campus, so a computer center in the Library of Congress can become a reality to benefit directly the elected representatives of the people and thereby benefit indirectly the Nation itself.

Does Social Security Offer Security?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, in light of the President's recent proposals for increasing social security payments and extending benefits under the program, a recent article by one of the Nation's leading journalists, Mr. J. P. Harris of Hutchinson, Kans., is both interesting and thought provoking.

Thousands of Americans are becoming increasingly concerned over the future solvency of the social security program and about the prospect of vastly increased contributions to the fund in years immediately ahead.

Mr. Harris' article appearing in the February 5, 1967, issue of the Salina Journal in my congressional district follows:

SOCIAL SECURITY POOR INVESTMENT

(By John P. Harris)

President Johnson has proposed the greatest liberalization of Social Security benefits in 30 years. At first glance it seems a lot of pie in the sky. The longer I look, however, the less pleased I am.

However it may work out for the participants as a whole, for the individual one it seems to me to represent more and more of a snare and a delusion.

Johnson recommends that by 1974 the maximum pension go to $378 a month, but that will not be any government giveaway. The one who receives it and his employer will be paying for the ultimate benefits through their nose. Each will pay a SS tax of $600 a year in rounded off numbers. There will be a total levy of 11.1 percent on a salary of up to $10,800 a year.

Let's apply the figures to Oscar Opper who today is a promising high school sophomore. In 1974 assume he graduates from Harvard magna cum laude. By that time some brain talent scout will provide him with a $10,800 salary.

So each year from the beginning of his working career Oscar and his employer will put $1,200 into the SS reserve fund. When he retires at 65, after 42 years on the job, their total contribution will have been $50,000.

But if the government invests this money, or had given Oscar the right to do so for himself, at present rates of interest it would have quadrupled. So there should be an initial credit of $200,000 in Oscar's account before his first pension check is written.

At the rate of $378 a month, it will take Oscar 52 years and five months to get back his money and the earnings on it.

Even though he stays in unusually good health, I greatly doubt Oscar will live to be 117, let alone the extra five months. He'll probably come to his end around 80, and it is unlikely his wife, Ophelia, will survive him for a decade.

So for Oscar, and his name is legion, Social Security will prove to be a poor investment. He and Ophelia together will lack much of getting his money back. Oscar should write his Congressman.

Sacrifice Is OK—But It Must Be Justified

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. DELLENBACK

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to present a view from southern Oregon which points out the conflict between the President's request that the people sacrifice taxes to support the effort in Vietnam and his failure to apply his own admonition to the nondefense portion of his budget. The Grants Pass Daily Courier is a respected newspaper in my district. The sound views it advocates editorially normally reflect the feelings of its readers.

The editorial follows:

[From the Daily Courier, Jan. 25, 1967]

SACRIFICE IS OK—BUT IT MUST BE JUSTIFIED

Sacrifice, as most of us probably understand it, means doing without something that might, under better circumstances, be available to us. Sacrifice is necessary when one need is so pressing as to make another expendable.

And so, how is it possible that our President asks us to give "a measure of sacrifice," and then he turns around and asks for higher than ever expenditures for nearly everything under the sun.

Apparently the "sacrifice" we're called upon to make is in the form of parting with more of our dollars, so that the government can continue to do more and more for us that we'd do better and less expensively if we kept our money in the first place.

The President says all "waste and nonessentials" have been cut from his proposed budget, yet only in one category are expenditures reduced: to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's program, which through its research probably will return in one form or another nearly every dollar spent on it, while others bring little or nothing in return.

Can Lyndon Johnson's memory be so short, or poor, that he cannot remember back less than three months, to Nov. 8, when Americans resoundingly rebuked him at the polls for a wastrel administration which had spent this country into an untenable inflation? Is it that he cannot remember, or does he rather think that by expanding his programs, hiking taxes and postal charges to increase income, he can buy enough votes to retain his control of the government?

The voters demanded economy. Unless Congress can muster a majority inclined to frugality, we'll have even greater spending, and in all likelihood, worsening inflation.

The "measure of sacrifice" we're called upon to make should begin at the top, not the bottom. It should recognize that we're paying for a war in Vietnam, and cannot continue to be lavish at home at the same time. We'll tighten our belts, yes, but not to buy a welfare state.

H.L.E.

Letter From a Chaplain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, the December 16, 1966, issue of the Church Herald contains an excellent answer, by U.S. Navy Chaplain G. P. Murray, to those who readily condemn us in Vietnam but can see no evil on the part of the Vietcong.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that the letter from the chaplain be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

A LETTER FROM A CHAPLAIN

DEAR MR. EDITOR: I have had it!

I am getting weary indeed of the many articles and letters submitted concerning Red China and the war in Vietnam. They are written, I'm sure, by people who have never seen a Chinese Communist, or been ashore in the combat area!

This pains my heart, because the things they are saying are just not so. I spent eight months in the combat zone with a group of men who literally worked themselves to death on humanitarian projects. We built roads, a hospital, dug water wells, and did countless acts of civic improvement, such as working in Catholic and Protestant orphanages.

Then, returning to the good old U.S.A. I find criticism, bickering, and questions like: "Are you still burning innocent villages and shooting civilian women and children?" I find that patriotism is suspect, miltiary obligation is something to be avoided, and to almost kill yourself trying to rescue a man is now a sin. . . .

I wish that the critics of the war, and those who are always clamoring about Red China, would shut up and listen once in a while to those who have been there. Please excuse my phraseology, but I mean it. I'm sick to death of battlefield experts who have never left home, and of mushy Christians who have never been to an area where to believe in Christ means torture and death. Let them spend their time under fire, then I'll listen. Let them go over and talk to the refugees from China and North Vietnam, then I'll talk with them. May God have mercy on these political and military experts who debate in a classroom and never get more than a hundred miles from home. May God have mercy on us all, for condemning so easily and commending so slowly. . . .

What frightens me is that our people are not getting a good and true picture of the Vietnamese conflict, even though I'm sure it is the best-covered news event in history! When I tell people that our men never fired a shot at the Vietcong *until* we were attacked, they look at me like I was crazy. When I tell them that the Communists hate our guts, and savagely blew up our hospital, and maimed our men with ambushes, no one wants to listen. When I ask these people back in the States if they have been to Asia, if they have talked with any refugees from North Vietnam lately, or questions of that nature they say, "No, but it doesn't make any difference!" Can you imagine that?

I hear a continual criticism of our presence in Asia and continual harping to withdraw. Why don't we clamor for the North Vietnamese to get out of South Vietnam? Why isn't there more condemnation of the raping, looting, burning, and hell the Communists are spreading south of the demilitarized zone? I think the thing that burns the soul of every combat soldier is to come home and hear some fat, comfortable preacher in his clerical garb denounce our country's policy, and spout off about a war he hasn't fought in and discuss issues he has no firsthand knowledge of. I know this has been true ever since "Willie and Joe" came back from World War II, but for heaven's sake we ought to learn something by now.

When I tell folks back here about the work our boys are doing over there—building, teaching, healing, and cleaning, I get a sweet smile, a knowing look, and a reply something like this: "Oh yes, it is wonderful what our boys are doing. But don't you think those people are just taking advantage of us and they really aren't in favor of us being there, and wouldn't they be just as happy and well off under the Communists?"

The first several times I heard this, I was too surprised to reply. Then I was too mad to talk. Now I want to go in a corner and weep!

How stupid can we get?

I know that this war is a terrible thing. I know that there is a lot of feeling about "political policy," and "foreign affairs," and that it is not a simple thing. Oh Lord, how well I know this—as does anyone who has been there for a few months.

But how would you like to have someone say to you, "Let them go, don't help, they will be happy under Communism!" It's an old truism that if we sit here smugly in our freedom, and not help others preserve theirs, we wouldn't have ours very long! We're so smart we know this, but we are so dumb we don't want to do anything about it.

There is no doubt in my mind that this is the "Good-Samaritan-Parable War!" We've got a bruised and bleeding South Vietnamese desperately in need of help. And a lot of Americans fear getting involved by stopping to help. The thing that breaks my heart is, that having been one of the many who did stop and try to help a little, I straighten up, and turn around looking for our Church to help—and I don't find it! What's wrong with being on the side of freedom? What's wrong with helping a brother who is hurt badly and calling for help? What's wrong with speaking out against the godless ruthlessness of Communism? Nothing, you say? Then why don't we do it?

I love the Reformed Church in America, and I hope I'm Christian in the matter of speaking to the Red Chinese, and working for peace. The only trouble is the last Red Chinese I saw tried to mortar me to death.

Now, brother, if you want to speak with him, and discuss the issues of peace with him, go right ahead! Be my guest. I have had it. You try it for a while. Then, *after* you come back, let me know how you made out.

Fraternally,

G. P. MURRAY, *Chaplain.*

BOSTON, MASS.

The President as a Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS S. KLEPPE

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, in a series of Lincoln Day speeches in the Second District of North Dakota, I quoted what I think was a most moving assessment of the Great Emancipator by an eighth-grade student, Miss Diane Ridl, of St. Wenceslaus Parochial School, Dickinson, N. Dak.

Her motivation is proof today that Lincoln lives in the minds of all people. I commend this essay to my colleagues. Miss Ridl received a trip to Washington for her prize-winning essay.

The essay follows:

THE PRESIDENT AS A LEADER

Abraham Lincoln began life with his hands, discovered his heart and controlled both with his head.

As a political man, he stuck to his principles. His viewpoints were seldom political or economical, but almost wholly moral. His appeals were always of peace.

When Lincoln became president in 1861, he pledged to use all his skills, both in politics and statecraft, toward the preservation of the Union. Already the Civil War had broken out between the North and the South at Fort Sumter. Only three months later the first major battle was being fought at Bull Run. Often during this time Lincoln would go out into the battlefields with words of encouragement for his men. Lincoln regarded every soldier as his son, and all as his children. After four years of fighting, the war was over. The day of love and peace had dawned. The miracle of unity had occurred. And above all this loomed the figure of one man; namely, Abraham Lincoln.

We perhaps wonder what attracted everyone to this great man. Probably the greatest reason for this was his achievement in the enaction of the famous Emancipation Proclamation. This act affected approximately three hundred million Negroes by breaking the chains of slavery throughout the world. Lincoln had a great love for these slaves and once told them, "Liberty is your birthright. God gave it to you as he gave it to others." Lincoln also had a love for his fellow man, as a man who knew no malice or envy, only love.

This certainly shows a deep love for the more unfortunate. The Declaration of Independence clearly states that "all men are created equal." And what better example is there than Lincoln who brought about the abolition of slavery?

Fifteen Steps in the Right Direction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, keeping in mind the fact that traffic deaths are increasing in the United States, I feel that a recent study and resulting recommendations, made by the Maryland Governor's Safety Advisory Council and under the able leadership of William Prescott Allen, Bethesda publisher, is a step in the right direction.

The council's recommendations are as follows:

FIFTEEN STEPS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION

1. Require that persons under age 18 complete an approved driver education course before obtaining a driver's license.

2. Provide for mandatory safety inspection of motor vehicles at least once each year.

3. Strengthen safety and licensing requirements for operators of motorcycles.

4. Require operators suspected of driving under influence of alcoholic beverage to submit to chemical tests.

5. Establish provisional licenses for persons under 21 years of age.

6. Create a top-level position of Highway Safety Coordinator.
7. Provide jail sentences for driving when license is under suspension.
8. Revoke vehicle registration of drivers convicted of driving while operator's license is suspended or revoked.
9. Re-examine applicants for driver licenses every four years.
10. Establish minimum physical standards for drivers.
11. Require physicians to report physical deficiencies of drivers.
12. Provide for medical certification before licensing of persons convicted twice or more of drunk driving in a five-year period.
13. Study existing facilities for emergency treatment of accident victims.
14. Determine whether traffic courts are following recommended procedures.
15. Establish a system for pinpointing accident locations.

Ukrainian Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a letter written by Orest Szczudluk, vice president of the Boston Chapter of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., which appeared in the Boston Sunday Herald, January 29, 1967.

The letter follows:

UKRAINIAN FREEDOM

To the EDITOR OF THE HERALD:

Forty-nine years ago today on January 22, 1918, free Ukrainian National Republic was proclaimed in Kiev, capital of Ukraine.

As the young Republic started to organize its political, economic and cultural life, it was engaged in costly and bloody war with Soviet Russia, despite previous Soviet Russian pledges to respect and honor Ukrainian Independence. In 1921, the Ukrainian National Republic succumbed to the numerically superior forces of Communist Russia. A puppet Communist regime was installed in Ukraine, without letting the Ukrainian people exercise their voting rights.

In the past 49 years, Ukrainians have continuously demonstrated their resistance to Russian colonial rule by unceasing uprisings and resistance movements. During WW II, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) fought against the Nazi and Communist forces.

Recently, the Ukrainian Dance Ensemble performed in Boston, demonstrating Ukrainian folk dances, music and embroidered costumes. By dispatching this group to this country, Communist rulers in Ukraine are attempting to deceive the American people about the colonial status of Ukraine. The truth is: the Ukrainian people are denied to enjoy political, religious and cultural freedoms!

Moreover, Communist Russia has been enforcing policies of genocide against Ukrainian culture and language. Recently, over 100 of writers, poets and intellectuals were sentenced by Communist courts in enslaved Ukraine, because they demand freedom of expression for the Ukrainian culture.

The Ukrainian people, together with all captive nations under Communist domination, are entitled to the same rights and freedoms the nations of the free world enjoy.

O. SZCZUDLUK,
Vice President, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc.

Japan Embassy Counselor Shun-Ichi Yamanaka and Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby Speak at Washington Japanese-American Citizens League

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the Washington, D.C., chapter of the Japanese-American Citizens League held its 21st installation banquet at the Marriott Motor Hotel in Rosslyn, Va., on January 28, 1967, and it was my privilege to attend the banquet and participate in the program. During the ceremonies, Mr. Kaz Oshiki was installed as the 1967 chapter chairman, and Miss Ann Fukutome was installed as president of the 1967 Junior Japanese-American Citizens League. The distinguished gathering included the Japanese Embassy Counselor, the Honorable Shun-Ichi Yamanaka, who gave the principal address, and Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby, who received a special citation for his outstanding work as General MacArthur's chief of intelligence and head of linguistic teams in the Pacific during World War II. Mike Masaoka, Washington representative of the league, served as master of ceremonies for the occasion.

It was a time of renewed pride for those of us who are Americans of Japanese ancestry as we listened to the splendid address by Counselor Yamanaka on the subject, "Cultural Heritage of the Nisei." Speaking on the various aspects of the flow of Japanese culture to the United States, the Oxford-educated counselor commented that, ironically, the greatest occasion for renewed interest in the culture of Japan came through the American military occupation of Japan after World War II.

Many thousands of American GI's, with scant knowledge about Japan, were immersed in the midst of the Japanese way of life and gained a practical knowledge of Japan, its people, and its culture, to be shared with fellow Americans upon their return to the States.

The counselor pointed out that although the occupation of Japan ended 15 years ago, the Security Treaty between the United States and Japan has insured a constant rotation of American personnel, both military and civilian, between our two countries. He stated that he felt the long run, perhaps, one of the most beneficial effects of the treaty may well turn out to be its role in promoting mutual understanding and trust between the peoples of Japan and the United States, and he emphasized that this is why the American of Japanese ancestry has a unique contribution to make to American life.

Describing "cultural heritage" as a nebulous and intangible thing, Mr. Yamanaka stressed that one just cannot sit back and wait for a heritage to fall into one's lap. You have to learn, and in order to learn you have to expand some effort—and the effort to understand is one of the first steps by which one enters into a cultural heritage. Stressing education as a key to understanding, Counselor Yamanaka observed that in Japan, parents, however humble, however poor, always strive to give their children a better education than they had enjoyed themselves, and many observers on the Japanese scene feel that this emphasis on education is one of the reasons why Japan was able to manage the transition from a feudalistic society to a modern, democratic nation in such a short period of time.

The Japanese official said he believed we Americans of Japanese ancestry, with continuous modification of our own American culture, could enrich the American tradition with oriental elements in the direction of a wider, more comprehensive, all-embracing inheritance of human culture as a whole, with the ultimate goal being that of the sharing of the achievements of all humanity.

We, too, look for a world which Mr. Yamanaka described in his closing observation, "when becoming better Americans and becoming better Japanese will mean the same thing—that we are becoming better citizens of the world in the process."

I had the honor of presenting a special citation to General Willoughby during the program. General Willoughby, who for the 10-year period, 1941–51, was chief of intelligence for General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, was responsible for the initial wartime employment of Nisei in his capacity as chief intelligence officer, and he continues, as if it were a mission, to tell the story of the remarkable contributions of the Nisei in war and peace.

I believe that Counselor Yamanaka's address and General Willoughby's remarks at the banquet will be of particular interest to my colleagues, and I take pleasure in submitting them for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

ADDRESS BY COUNSELOR SHUN-ICHI YAMANAKA, AT THE INSTALLATION BANQUET, JAPANESE-AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE, WASHINGTON, D.C., CHAPTER, JANUARY 28, 1967

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, the other day I had a couple of visitors from Japan, from a certain movie company, who were here to locate people and scenes they wished to include in a documentary they were going to make for the Meiji Centennial. They told me they had found the perfect person for one of their shots, an Issei now living in Canada, who was born in the first year of Meiji, and who was still hale and hearty at the age of 99, in this year of 1967. As the Meiji Centennial corresponds roughly to the centennial of the Japanese in America, I was very strongly impressed by the fact that the amazing success story of the Issei and the Nisei in this country has indeed taken place within a single life-span.

Tonight, however, I am not here to sing the praises of the Issei, but rather, to speak about the cultural heritage of the Nisei—the Americans of Japanese ancestry.

Though America's initial contacts with Japan date back to the 1790's, it was not until Commodore Perry's two visits to Japan in 1853 and 1854 that an awareness of the neighbour across the Pacific began to take shape in the American consciousness. Incidentally, it may interest you to know that the Japanese stone imbedded in the Washington Monument was brought back to America by one of the ships in Perry's squadron in 1854.

Of all the Western countries exercising influence on Japan during those formative years of Meiji, none was stronger in its practical impact upon the country and its institutions than the United States. In the other direction, the Americans too could not escape being influenced in their turn by Japan and things Japanese, even though such influence tended to be concentrated in the area of the fine arts.

Foster Rhea Dulles, in his book "Yankees and Samurai", mentions that after Perry's expeditions, Japanese arts and handicraft were soon found in many New England homes as treasured possessions, and that Tiffany and Company were selling Japanese objets d'art as early as the 1870's.

Efforts to interpret the Japanese and their culture to the Americans were made by a host of notable figures, among whom Ernest Fenollosa, the art critic, the Lafcadio Hearn, the writer, are the best known. Fenollosa was almost single-handedly responsible for beginning the wonderful collection of Japanese art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and many of you who have seen the recent Japanese movie "Kwaidan" in color will know that Lafcadio Hearn wrote the original stories from which the movie was made.

Today, probably the field in which Japanese influence is most strongly seen is that of architecture. You now have a number of excellent American architects, Minoru Yamasaki and Kyo Obata among them, who are making good use of the Japanese heritage. But even in this field, the original impetus came in 1876, with the exhibition of a Japanese pavilion at the Centennial Exhibition held in Philadelphia in that year. It is said that the pioneer American study of Japanese architecture was the book "Japanese Houses and their Surroundings", published in 1885 by Edward S. Morse, and which quickly went through four editions.

Traditional Japanese painting, especially "sumi-e", Japanese "Ukiyo-e" color prints, calligraphy, the tea-ceremony, the art of flower-arrangement, Japanese lacquer-ware, cloisonne, silk fabrics and embroidery, pottery, sculpture, fans and screens, lanterns, Kabuki and Noh, Haiku, Zen—all have had their impact on American culture and continue to exert their fascination on American minds attuned to the East.

Thus, the original inflow of Japanese culture to the United States was in the 19th century. In our own century, however, the greatest occasion for renewed interest in the culture of Japan came, ironically, through the American military occupation of Japan after the war.

The Occupation gave thousands and thousands of GI's, who knew next to nothing about Japan, the opportunity to live in the midst of the Japanese and to realize that they were human beings after all, and human beings with social and cultural values not normally evident on the field of battle.

There has long been a number of scholarly works on this and that aspect of Japanese life, and even in the midst of the war, Ruth Benedict was writing her monumental study of Japanese mores, "The Chrysanthemum and the Sword".

But the impact of the Occupation on the participating Americans was instrumental in making practical knowledge of Japan a thing to be shared by all Americans, and not just a preserve of the scholars and esthetic intellectuals. For the Americans who were there, it was an experience in "total immersion", and this experience has, of course, rubbed off on their families, friends and neighbors after their return to the States.

Though of course the Occupation ended 15 years ago, the Security Treaty between the United States and Japan has ensured a constant rotation of American personnel, both military and civilian, between our two countries. I feel that perhaps, in the long run, one of the most beneficial effects of the Treaty may well turn out to be its role in promoting mutual understanding and trust between our two peoples.

The American heritage has its roots in the mainstream of Western civilization, Greco-Roman or Judeo-Christian, whichever you choose to call it. Even the Indo-Aryan tradition traveled westward. On the other hand, though fragments of Chinese culture did reach America through the West, by and large the vast hinterland of Chinese, and to a lesser extent, Korean, culture—distilled, blended and aged in Japan—has reached America through America's contact with Japan. Even today, American news of current events in Communist China relies a great deal on news sent out by Japanese correspondents!

And this is why the American of Japanese ancestry has a unique contribution to make to American life.

What is this nebulous, intangible thing called "culture"? What is a "cultural heritage"? My dictionary tells me that the anthropological definition of the term is: "The sum total of the attainments and learned behaviour patterns of any specific period, race, or people, regarded as expressing a traditional way of life subject to gradual but continuous modification by succeeding generations."

Japanese culture, then, is "the sum total of the attainments and learned behaviour patterns" of the Japanese people. My emphasis is on the word "learned". You cannot just sit back and wait for the heritage to fall in your lap. You have to learn, and in order to learn, you have to expend some effort. Obviously, there are some things that you inherit anyway, without any conscious effort on your own part—the color of your eyes, hair, certain physical and physiognomical features, certain qualities of mind and brain, even perhaps some manual dexterity.

Artifacts and works of art are solid, concrete evidence of cultural attainments. But to appreciate these attainments, you have to be able to understand the traditions and the frame of mind of the artist who produced them—and the effort to understand is one of the first steps by which you enter into a cultural heritage.

I have often wondered about the particular quality of the Japanese contribution to world culture. Is there anything special that the Japanese have to offer?

It is true that there are certain characteristics which have, through the years, come to be associated with the Japanese—frugality, hard work and love of beauty. Some Japanese scholars, notably Dr. Watsuji, have tried to explain the formation of such traits through the geographical and physical characteristics of the country. For instance, the Japanese have had to cultivate through the centuries the habit of hard work and frugality in order to eke out an existence from the limited area suitable for cultivation. Living close to nature, in a climate blessed with a distinct division into the four seasons, has cultivated a deep appreciation of nature and her beauties. The prevalence of typhoons, earthquakes and other natural calamities has endowed the Japanese character with a certain fortitude in the face of adversity. The Japanese as a rule waste no time in crying over spilt milk.

In some respects, we very much resemble the people of Britain. Someone once described the British as "sitting in coal and surrounded by fish, otherwise ill-provided". The Japanese are perhaps even worse off, because even though they are surrounded by fish, they are sitting, not in coal, but right on top of an earthquake zone! It seems to me quite clear, however, that the similarity in the British and the Japanese characters stems from the fact that we are both island countries, with all the good, and the bad, points attendant on such insularity.

The fundamental qualities imposed by our natural surroundings combined with the Confucian code of ethics to build up a strong pragmatic approach towards life which has remained the backbone of the Japanese character in spite of conditioning by Buddhist beliefs.

Certainly one of the major contributions of Confucian thought to the Japanese has been its strong emphasis on loyalty in human relations—loyalty to one's self, to one's family and to the country. Confucianism was also responsible for the early realization of the importance of education in Japan. Parents, however humble, however poor, always strove to give their children a better education than they had enjoyed themselves, and many observers of the Japanese scene feel that this emphasis on education is one of the reasons Japan was able to manage the transition from a feudalistic society to a modern, democratic society in such a short period of time.

When I was a member of the United Nations secretariat, at U.N. headquarters in New York, an American colleague once said to me, "Do you know, Yamanaka-san, even though you are a Japanese and I am an American, I feel closer to you than I would to, say, an American farmer from the deep South? Just as there is a North-South cleavage in the economic standards of the countries of the world, there is a North-South cleavage between the international intellectual community and the non-intellectual community, regardless of race or nationality."

I do not quote this remark from any feelings of intellectual snobbishness. Indeed, I have a very realistic view of my own limited capabilities in the intellectual field. But I do have something which I share with my one-time colleague in the United Nations, and that is actual, first-hand, on-the-spot contact with a number of foreign cultures other than my own. And I think that this is important. Now that the world is getting smaller all the time, no country can afford to isolate itself.

It seems to be a fact of international life that all developing countries have to pass through a period of intense nationalism. This is true in Africa and also in Southeast Asia. The danger is, of course, that such nationalism, while remaining one of the most effective devices for mobilizing national energy, runs into the great danger of becoming chauvinism. I like to think, as a Japanese, that Japan has outgrown its period of extreme nationalism, and has now reached the point where there is no need to whip up chauvinistic sentiments to maintain her position in the world community.

What I am trying to say is that, though at the present moment in world history there does seem to be a distinct Japanese way of looking at things, growing out of the traditional Japanese way of life, we eventually come to the second part of the dictionary definition that I have already quoted, namely: "subject to gradual but continuous modification by succeeding generations."

By all means, Americans of Japanese ancestry should study Japanese culture. For those of you who know the language, it is almost an obligation. And by learning to appreciate Japanese concepts of life, religion, nature, beauty, and the universe, I am tolerably certain that you will be able to enrich the American tradition with oriental elements which it did not possess before. In other words, you will be playing your part in bringing gradual but continuous modification to your own American culture, in the direction of a wider, more comprehensive, all-embracing inheritance of human culture as a whole.

I have been informed that the Japanese-American Citizens League has plans for a good-will tour, or a series of such tours, to Japan. I also understand that the JACL and Japan Air Lines are jointly sponsoring a program of summer fellowships, for young members of the JACL to visit and study in Japan during the summer months. I should like to take this opportunity to express my wholehearted support for all such programs.

In the concluding paragraph of her book, "Windows for the Crown Prince", Elizabeth Gray Vining says:

"I had been asked to open windows on to a wider world for the Crown Prince. I had tried, but who can say to what extent I had succeeded? But certainly many windows had been opened for me—and perhaps through me for others—both on Japan itself and on that ancient, ceremonious, hidden world within the Moat. Through windows, whichever way they face, comes light, and light, I thought, is good."

Japan has learned much from America. It remains to be seen whether America is willing to learn from Japan. But during the process of gradual and continuous modification of our respective cultures, let us not lose sight of our ultimate goal, the sharing of the achievements of all humanity. I look for a world when becoming better Americans and becoming better Japanese will mean the same thing—that we are becoming better citizens of the world in the process.

Remarks by Maj. Gen. C. A. Willoughby, MacArthur's Chief of Intelligence, 1941–51, on the Occasion of the Annual Installation of the Japanese-American Citizens League

Mr. President, Counselor Yamanaka, Congressman Matsunaga, ladies and gentlemen, responsible for the initial, wartime employment of Nisei in my capacity as MacArthur's Chief of Intelligence, I undertook this task beginning with 1942, at the height of anti-Japanese feeling and at the peak of war hysteria. Linguist requirements for the European theater of war could have been met without leaving the sidewalks of New York City, but there was a vastly different story in the Far East.

I have long sought an opportunity to record the remarkable contributions of the Niesl in war and peace, and perhaps atone for barbaric injustices inflicted upon them by color-blind politicians. There was no tax-exempt "Foundation" to hire third-rate European sociologists to propagandize the American dilemma vis-a-vis Orientals.

The post-Civil War carpetbaggers who practiced genocide on a vast scale on the American Indians set the historical pattern for the Nisei concentration camps in the Pacific West, in 1941, and the pseudo-legal confiscation of private properties. However, this gallant ethnic minority did not retaliate by rioting or staging crypto-communist revolutions in the style of Watts, Chicago, and Rochester, but quietly served on the Asiatic and European fronts with spectacular brilliance unsurpassed by any comparable American or Allied military unit.

I let MacArthur speak for them. In a preface to the "Intelligence Series", Tokyo, Japan, Sept. 30, 1950, the General stated:

"A.T.I.S., the Allied Translator and Interpreter Service, an operating agency of the theater G–W, engaged in an extraordinary variety and extent of activities throughout (our) Campaigns. The polyglot personnel of this unique organization could speak and translate 29 oriental languages and dialects. Their work was stupendous. By September 1945, they had processed over 350,000 captured documents; of these 19,000 titles were translated and 17,000 printed. In addition, 855 Interrogation reports were published, based on the examination and screening of more than 10,000 P.W.'s. A.T.I.S. publications, produced in thirteen editorial categories, were regularly disseminated to intelligence agencies of all theaters and have contributed materially to the success of (my) operations.

"In this connection, it is appropriate to emphasize the invaluable services rendered by our Nisei, in conjunction with combat operations. A regiment of Nisei, the 442d Infantry, established an incredible record of heroism on the battlefields of Italy, in 1944.

"Preceding this record by two years, Nisei linguist teams of my (MacArthur's) command accompanied American assault units in every landing from Papua to the Philippines to match the Italian combat performance. Over 180 members of A.T.I.S. received battle decorations; 125 additional personnel were cited in Brigade and Division Orders."

So much for combat service. MacArthur's Preface to the "Intelligence Series" notes a shift from "military" (combat) to "civil intelligence". It was inescapable that Japanese linguists were to play a significant role in the occupation of Japan and its civil administration:

"In the administrative framework of the Occupation, A.T.I.S. linguists translated 'directives' and applied them as C.I. agents and (thus) became the indispensable links between Japan's millions and the widely-scattered Occupation forces.

"The plan for the Occupation had the code name 'Black List'. Annex 5 covered intelligence procedures. The various G–2 Sub-Divisions were promptly oriented toward civil objectives. G–2 operated as a sort of F.B.I. through the use of observation posts in each political sub-division of the nation. In Japan, this was the 'Prefecture'."

The program tonight stresses the "Cultural Heritage of the Nisei." I am happy to point out a very recent and spectacular "cultural" contribution. I am referring to the *MacArthur Reports* now being published by the Government, after initial confiscation by President Truman, in 1952, and fifteen years of storage in a Washington warehouse. I take a grim satisfaction in having personally accomplished this delayed publication, in 1966 and 1967. Two volumes, in deluxe editions, have already appeared for sale by the Superintendent of Public Documents and two more dealing with Japanese Operations are in process of publication.

An enormous range of research, source development and manuscript copy is evident in statistical totals of pages of text, plates and illustrations, viz:

Project	Title	Pages	Illustrations	Total
1	American Operations in the Pacific	468	134	602
2	Allied Occupation of Japan	291	95	386
3	Japanese Operations in the Pacific	778	171	949
4	Japanese War Records: Monographs	18, 675	1, 576	20, 281
5–16	General Intelligence Series	6, 004	1, 509	7, 513

As regards Projects 1 to 3, inclusive, they were developed by me, as editor-in-chief (in addition to other duties) to page proof status, in Tokyo, and turned over to the Department of the Army and the Intelligence Agencies, including mats, acetates, copper and zinc plates, etc.—in other words, they were print-ready. On transfer of these records, the Army History Division made an official appraisal (1953) viz:

". . . All of this material is indexed and catalogued in a manner that is rarely encountered amongst the records of military operations . . . the integrity of this collection will be maintained in its present form . . . it constitutes a unique and extremely valuable body (of records) which derives value as much from organization and assembly into an integrated collection as from its contents. Tremendous effort has been expended in the creation of this collection in order to facilitate research and reference into the history of the War in the Pacific and the military phase of the Occupation . . ."

The Superintendent of Public Documents issued a special Supplement, No. 20–W/S on Oct. 7, 1966, and circulated 850,000 copies. There was some Press coverage by the Scripps-Howard chain and the *Chicago Tribune*, and a garbled account in the *Washington Post* without reference to the editor-in-chief, confirming the old cliche about "prophets in their home-town."

These superb volumes represent a truly cultural effort. Diplomacy seeks "cultural exchange" between nations These superb volmes are in that elusive category—an initial print job by an important Japanese company, the Toppan Co., in friendly association with the United States Government Printer.

The Regular Army can take satisfaction in that its "professionals" will take on any local mission or assignment, as in Tokyo, and produce a finished product equal to any comparable civilian or commercial enterprise.

In my capacity as the responsible editor-in-chief, I must point out that the MacArthur historical projects 1–16, inclusive, were a G–2 assignment and that a most casual scrutiny of approximately 30,000 pages of text indicate that this mammoth job could not have been done without the linguistic support of the Nisei in MacArthur's intelligence agencies. And that means members of the present audience who served in Japan. The full story of the Nisei in MacArthur's command, however, has not been told as yet. The record is available in the "General Intelligence Series", especially Volumes III, IV and IX. Since it has taken me 15 years to force the publication of the *MacArthur Reports* in only four volumes into the open, there is little likelihood that the "Intelligence Series" will ever reach the public.

I thank you.

Tribute to the American Sokol Movement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, the American Sokol movement has recently observed a 101st anniversary. Its founders came mainly from Bohemia, an area now familiar to us as a part of Czechoslovakia. The durable organization which they began has always had as its purposes the physical, mental, and cultural training of its members.

Those members now number over 250,000 Americans. Their splendid organization is entirely self-supporting. With the dues it collects and the donations it receives it builds and staffs gymnasia, foreign language schools, libraries, summer camps, and many other physical and cultural programs and activities.

It has a magnificent motto: "For neither profit nor glory." That motto conveys the stress laid on independence, initiative, and self-discipline by the Sokol movement.

Some of its members are as young as 6, some are over 60, but boys and girls, men and women, all share in the benefits of an athletic and recreational program that is second to none in this country. Think of the value to children and teenagers of an organized program like Sokol's. The approach taken by Sokol is the one that avoids juvenile idleness and juvenile delinquency, that builds health through physical fitness, that inculcates a democratic spirit by team play, and that makes tomorrow's leaders of today's children.

What We Can Afford

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, surely the time has come when we must sit down and determine what we can afford in passing on appropriations. The following editorial from the Wall Street Journal of February 9 is an excellent exposition of this limiting idea:

What We Can Afford

A side effect of the long bloom is the prevalent motion that the country is so rich it can afford anything it needs and even anything it wants, whether it be the "elimination" of poverty or rebuilding the central cities from scratch. Not least, it is a concept that animates Federal planning and budgeting.

To concede the existence of affluence beyond dreams of avarice is not to accept the argument; it is defective, and you would think obviously so, on several counts.

Trying to do anything and everything (which increasingly means through the machinery of the central Government) requires first of all an awesome amount of taxation. On the most straightforward basis, the cash budget, Washington hopes to rake in over $168 billion in fiscal 1968, and that stupendous sum fails to cover planned outlays of more than $172 billion.

Whether or not we are hit with a direct tax boost this year, taxes on the productive part of the population are constantly going up; the more money a man makes the more the Government takes. In part the arrangement is supposed to redistribute income, but there is a point at which it develops diminishing returns.

It does little good to the poor, that is, if the better off are taxed at a level that discourages effort, or if the taxation induces recession. Among economists it is widely believed that the proposed 6% increase may in fact contribute to a downturn this year.

But since even oppressive taxation is insufficient to sate the Federal appetite, inflation is a further result of doing too much. Right at the moment an impression exists that inflation has been licked, and accordingly, it's noted, interest rates are turning down. Yet the Administration makes no secret of its yearning for still more inflationary easy money, and certainly the same adjective applies to its fiscal policy.

The deficits, which can be inflationary, are continuing large, larger than they seem. On a cash basis, the current year's deficit is figured at $6.2 billion, next year's at $4.3 billion. As the First National City Bank's Letter observes, however, and as these columns have done:

". . . when sales of financial assets and participation certificates—which act as substitues for regular Treasury financing—are added in, the actual cash deficits are much bigger: $10.1 billion this year and $9.6 billion in fiscal '68." A business slowdown could bring a red-ink flood of $15 billion or more.

The Letter puts the whole thing succinctly: ". . . the basic problem in both fiscal '67 and '68 is that the Federal Government is enlarging its claim to the nation's resources too rapidly to avoid both inflation and a slowdown in the private business sector."

The very possibility of a recession is a further refutation of the theory that the U.S. is so wealthy its Government doesn't have to exhibit any prudence or priorities in its projects. People who talk like that seem to have forgotten that the business cycle is still with us, despite the ministrations of the New Economists.

Granted it's been a long, big boom, but set against American economic history it is a brief span indeed. And if a recession does materialize this year or next, it will be in no small measure the consequence of the Governmental extravagance which helped overheat the economy.

Even if reckless spending could somehow be justified, non-financial considerations also argue against the frantic Federal effort to get into every conceivable act. Principally, it just doesn't work out particularly well; Washington has mastered hardly any field it has invaded.

Witness the ill-fated "war" on poverty, into which the planners plunged on the naive assumption that mere handouts would take care of the complex and sometimes intracable causes of poverty. Generally speaking, it is at least possible that more limited objectives and more thoughtful approaches might have more rewarding outcomes.

The nation is rich, it's true; it can afford a lot of waste, bungling and abuse. Still, the evidence is rather rapidly accumulating that we are being forced to buy a size of Government well beyond our means.

Money Still Talks Between Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the McPherson, Kans., Sentinel which discusses in very practical manner certain aspects of increased East-West trade. Since this will be an important matter considered by this Congress, I feel the pros and cons as expressed in the Nation's press should be brought to the attention of House Members.

The editorial follows:

Money Still Talks Between Nations

Congressman Garner Shriver is urging serious study of President Johnson's request for more trade with communist nations. In part, he believes that expansion of trade with these latent enemies could be a useful tool in our attempts to bring peace to the world.

There is much opposition to the idea because many consider it trading with and bettering the enemy. Still, if we don't do business with them, our own allies will continue to do big business with them as they have been doing for years. Our refusal to trade with these nations will not stop their purchases elsewhere at all. It only cuts us out.

Above all, money still talks big between nations just as it does between people. When we trade with strangers all of us get better acquainted and an understanding started in trade can very well spread into better understanding between nations.

These nations will make money as will we with expanded trading and when you do business profitably with someone, you're bound to be a little more understanding.

Radical as it sounds, expanded trade could well help toward a more peaceful world as Shriver suggests.

The Kee Report: Budget Cutting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include this week's public service television and radio newscast, "The Kee Report." The subject discussed is "Budget Cutting."

The report follows:

The Kee Report: Budget Cutting

This is Jim Kee, bringing you the Kee Report.

Each year, shortly after Congress assembles, a lively discussion breaks out about the greatest fiscal operation on Earth. This operation is better known as the Federal Budget, meaning the President's estimate of how much money the Government will take in during the year ahead and how much it will cost to run the Government during the same period.

Budget talk is rather complicated even for advanced students of economics. The difficulty is increased by the fact that the Government's fiscal year begins on July 1, and ends 12 months later. In other words, Congress is now considering the estimates for the year 1968.

There is no disagreement, however, about calling this the world's largest fiscal operation. The budget in no other country equals that of the United States. The money spent by Uncle Sam supports a host of activities that are essential to you, both at home and abroad. There is another very important aspect to this operation. The money spent by Uncle Sam provides a strong underpinning for the national economy, which is now at a record level. Financial experts agree that too deep a slash in Federal spending could bring on a serious business recession.

The budget recently submitted to Congress by the President calls for record expenditures and strong demands have been made that the Congress should economize. The public has a right, a duty, to demand the prudent use of its tax money and the elimination of waste in Federal spending.

Until the House Appropriations Committee completes its study of budget estimates, it will be impossible to say what spending can be cut without endangering national interests. However, a few essential facts should be borne in mind in considering the Federal Budget.

In some of the main areas of spending, it is impossible to reduce expenditures without endangering national security, or violating the sacred pledge of our Government to its citizens.

The first area of spending is national defense. Direct military expenditures for the next fiscal year will exceed 74 billion dollars. Indirect defense spending for the atomic program and the space program will add millions more. During our lifetime, more than 20 nations have lost their liberty, because they lacked the military capacity to defend themselves. We do not want that to happen to our nation.

Interest on the National Debt will reach about 14 billion dollars. There is no way to escape this obligation. The budget estimates call for $6 billion to operate the Veterans Administration. We certainly do not want to escape the debt we owe our ex-servicemen and women and their dependents.

During the next few years the Government will spend huge sums to abate the dangers of air pollution and water pollution. This is a new area of Federal spending. However, it could be avoided only at extreme peril to public health.

I believe Congress can and will cut spending in non-vital areas. But care will be taken to avoid harm to the national well-being.

Thank you for listening.

Agricultural Marketing Act of 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, last week I introduced a bill which will guarantee farmers certain rights in marketing their products. The bill, H.R. 5275, would assure farmers the right to belong to a marketing or bargaining association, or any other organization, without fear of discrimination by processors, buying agents, and handlers. It would, likewise, prohibit these groups from intimidating farmers to belong to such organizations.

I believe this legislation is important—probably more important today than ever before. It is the desire of all of us to move in the direction of less government involvement in the marketing and price mechanism of agriculture. But I strongly feel that if we are to realize this goal for farmers, new institutions, owned, operated, and controlled by farmers, must move into the picture to take over a portion of the role which government has played in recent years.

Farmers must band together in associations which will be able to sit down with buyers, packers, and processors to negotiate price structures, contract conditions, and other factors necessary to guarantee an adequate supply of food for consumers at a fair price to farmers.

To be sure this can be accomplished, this type of legislation needs to be provided. We are not suggesting that there have been great abuses of marketing rights in the past. We are suggesting that there could be in the future as farmers move to strengthen their position in our private competitive system.

Congress has the responsibility of establishing the rules which guide our system of self-government. H.R. 5275 merely adds another rule which guarantees our farmers a "fair shake" in their attempts to carry on their role in our society. Several of my colleagues have also introduced this legislation. I hope more will do so soon. I commend you all to study this legislation and lend your support to it.

Commencement Exercises at U.S. Merchant Marine Academy, February 10, 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, this year the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy held a February graduation instead of the normal summer graduation. The need for these young men to man our merchant ships on the Vietnam-United States runs necessitated this action by the Department of Commerce. One hundred ninety-eight young men who successfully completed the 4-year course of instruction will join our Merchant Marine to carry on with honor, uprightness and loyalty the profession and traditions of the U.S. Merchant Marine officer.

The graduation address was delivered by the Honorable J. W. Gulick, acting Maritime Administrator, and I include his address:

REMARKS OF ACTING MARITIME ADMINISTRATOR J. W. GULICK, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AT COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES AT THE U.S. MERCHANT MARINE ACADEMY, KINGS POINT, LONG ISLAND, N.Y., ON FEBRUARY 10, 1967

To the Class of 1967, my hearty congratulations.

This occasion is unique. It is a special time when one graduates from an accredited institution of learning. It is particularly unique when one adds to that experience the immediate prospect of serving our country in her time of need.

To the Maritime Administration, and to the United States Merchant Marine Academy, this graduation represents a major departure from tradition. Rather than the usual ceremonies held under a hot summer's sun, this mid-winter graduation was authorized to help alleviate the shortage of merchant marine officers to man the ships maintaining the vital supply lines to Southeast Asia, and in carrying on our trade with the Free World.

Your predecessors, the Class of 1966, did not face the demanding sacrifice of overtime study as you have done, but I know they spoke for you in their request to President Johnson to graduate as early as possible so they could contribute their services to man the life-line to Vietnam. Let me read their letter:

"Mr. President:

"We, the Class of 1966 at the United States Merchant Marine Academy . . . feel compelled, as responsible and patriotic Americans, to speak out in support of your policies. We believe that it is in the best American tradition to support a people who are struggling to retain their independence, as the Vietnamese people are now doing. We as a nation have committed ourselves to defend the free world and to bring about a just and honorable peace. Not honoring our commitments now would destroy the respect of the rest of the world for our pledge, and also leave the rest of Southeast Asia helpless in the face of communist aggression.

"Our class, as well as supporting our nation's stand, is anxious to do something concrete in aid of the war effort—and we can. The war has led to a crisis in the maritime industry, which includes a severe shortage of officers to man the ships now being removed from the reserve fleet. We are looking forward to aiding in filling this void, thereby serving our country and meeting our moral obligations. This is in keeping with all the traditions of the Cadet Corps created in the Second World War. In addition to sixty-eight graduates, one hundred and forty-two Cadets while still in training died at sea for their country. Six cadets received the Merchant Marine Distinguished Service Medal. We appreciate the opportunity our country has given us, and we now stand ready, willing, and able to do what we can for our country."

The letter was signed by every member of the class.

You have withstood the rigorous acceleration of the curriculum, and I know that you, too, stand ready to serve. This is not a call to the refined habits of commercial service. You are being asked to give a service to your country that only you, each one, as individuals, can give in support of those men who in daily combat serve where the going is roughest.

I know you will accept this challenge and meet it. In doing so, you will be serving not only your own chosen career, but serving your country as well. The President put it aptly when he wrote to the Kings Point Graduating Class:

"Each of you has signified your intent to serve America on the seas as we seek to uphold peace, justice, and the dignity of man—not only here at home but for people throughout the world. In the far corners of the world in which you will voyage, you can play a major role in the challenging years ahead. . . . I am confident that in sailing the waters of time, whether they be calm or troubled, you will justify the pride our nation has always held in its Merchant Marine."

We hear much these days about the softness of our young men. I don't believe it. The next time some one questions the character of young America, let him think of the graduates of the Class of 1967 of the United States Merchant Marine Academy—and of their predecessors.

You follow in a proud tradition of service. The men who sail our ships in support of freedom's fight have proved once again that the American Merchant Marine can be counted on when the chips are down. With ships outmoded by twenty years and more we have nailed our colors to the masthead to proclaim the fact that the merchant marine—as old as it is—as beset with problems—*does* serve the national defense of the United States. This is a fact, and all the debate to the contrary cannot change it.

Your responsibilities, however, are just beginning, and there is a full need for your talents, your dedication, your service. The merchant marine, we hear on every side, faces more problems than any other industry. And it seems we have become so obsessed with the number and difficulty of the problems we have lost sight of the vast promise and challenge of accomplishment which lies before us. Freedom won on the battlefield is a waste of sacrifice—unless we use that stepping stone to build a better future.

The one, most meaningful purpose of the American Merchant Marine in times other than emergency is its ability to support and sustain that industry and commerce essential to the Free World's future. The flow of goods to and from the United States is the largest in the world. This means that the United States is the center, the hub of international commerce. It is not enough to say that this of itself demands the *protection* of United States shipping. Under that theory the means becomes the end: the purpose of building and operating ships is limited to the need to possess a merchant fleet. This overlooks the fact that, in this day of modern business with its rapid means of communication, its wide-ranging economic impacts, its need for faster turn-over from production to delivery, shipping must become an integrated part of the transportation complex.

The business of shipping is neither distinct nor individual unto itself. There is awakening a new concept—long overdue—under which the various modes of transportation no longer stand alone. Heretofore, each system of transportation generally attended exclusively to its own area of operation—it began and ended within its own limited orbit. The trucking industry's primary concern ended at the tailgate of the truck; the railroad's interest went little farther than the loading platform alongside the steel tracks; and the shipping industry figured its responsibility began or ended with the cargo on the dock.

The key to this new concept is unity—unity and coordination which produces and sells just one inter-related product: transportation. The beneficiary of this concept is the shipper—the importer and exporter. And if the public funds which have enabled us to advance since 1936 to this present moment are not directed solely to this objective in the future, then we will be guilty of a compromising disservice to the total transportation industry, of which we are a part. The nation calls upon us to build our segment of a solid national economy, which is the only hope of the Free World's future.

I hardly need add that in the accomplishment of this objective it seems completely illogical to quarantine the shipping industry from the recognized and accepted federal transportation complex embodied in the Department of Transportation. To think otherwise is to worship at the shrine of isolation—and we learned a hard lesson in the results of isolation during the bitter years of World War II.

What part will you play? As I see it, a joint relationship with maritime labor and maritime management. It is proper and essential that you commence your service in the ranks of maritime labor. I urge you to be knowledgeable and responsible members when you join labor's ranks.

Neither labor nor management can operate in a vacuum, each must be willing to work with the other even to the extent of lending assistance to the solution of problems that are of primary concern to one alone. The reason for this is simple for the problems of either are bound in one way or another to affect both. Though some may reject this concept, it is nevertheless a fact that in this age of modern production and of measurement by productivity, the best efforts of both are required to solve the problems of the industry.

I may report to you that I am delighted at the growing awareness on the part of maritime labor officials of the inter-dependence of labor and management in the field of shipping and that both gain or lose as the industry prospers or falters.

Thus you must be aware also of the increasing need for maritime labor to become management oriented, and vice versa.

It is not enough to man a watch in the accepted routine of shipboard operation. The ship is rapidly becoming an integral part of the transportation assembly line. Improvements in the performance of that function can only come with the close cooperation of labor and management. Keep on the alert to stay abreast of the advances in technology which will be necessary if we are to become increasingly competitive in the changing world of trade. Never lose the desire to seek out better means of achieving the objective of your job.

Now, let me digress for a moment and comment on the role and mission of the Academy and its relationship to the national program of the Maritime Administration. For far too long, Kings Point has been more or less forced to operate as an isolated Government activity. Steps have been taken this past year to improve this situation.

The Academy has been elevated to its proper place as an important program element within the agency. The Superintendent now reports directly to the Administrator. The newly created Board of Advisors, chaired by the eminently qualified President of Rutgers University, Dr. Milton Gross, is committed to a program to upgrade the institutional aspects of the Academy's program, and campus life in general. The impact of its recommendations will be felt at all levels of Academy activities.

On the administrative side, the Maritime Administration is working closely with the Academy leadership to improve program planning, budgeting, personnel management, administrative procedures and to provide a closer relationship with obvious mutual advantages to the national programs of the Maritime Administration. I am highly gratified by the wholesome response at all levels of Academy leadership to this new relationship. We are justifiably proud of the Academy's past record and that of the Corps of Cadets. We pledge our very best efforts to make this institution a model of excellence.

You who are undergraduates will play an important part in achieving this goal. A man-sized job awaits the conclusion of your undergraduate studies. Unlike most other college students, your future career is assured from the moment you matriculate. From the day you first set foot on this campus, your country expects you to commence building the bridge to manhood and the service to which you are committed. Good progress has been made in the instillation of a highly responsive esprit de corps. Refine and broaden this spirit until it directs every aspect of your life both on and off campus. I am proud of you and I have faith in you. I mention it because the spotlight of your country's interest increasingly is focusing its attention upon you.

To return to the graduates, what I now say is somewhat on the personal side. It is not unimportant that, in the final analysis, it is the measure of the man himself that spells success or failure in life's mission. I come then to your most important contribution to the merchant marine of tomorrow. The ships will be the most advanced types that technology can produce. The transportation system will require changes in concept beyond our present comprehension. Your personal contribution will be the daily building of a strong sense of personal character that stimulates its own leadership.

In the old days of sail, the motto was one hand for the ship and one for yourself. Today, there are few instances where the physical dangers of seamanship demand such attention to self-preservation. The life is easier, the equipment will be even more improved than it is today, and the surroundings are not comparable. Don't succumb to the easy life of self-gratifying vegetation. I urge you to perfect the arts of self-discipline, and the desire to achieve well, even at the expense of that extra effort to do an even better job. Remember that the reward of a deserved rebuke is priceless knowledge. Practice the art of living and working with all men under all manner of conditions without compromise, for a man's ideals are his personal compass points.

Our merchant marine needs the finest of all men with the broadest of horizons to sail it to its intended destiny. Your Government has given you the best training it can muster. The future course is now yours.

God bless each one of you, and welcome aboard to the task of building an American Merchant Marine which will not only serve, but bring a sense of justifiable pride to our Nation.

What Is a Cop?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, on October 14, 1966, I placed in the Congressional Record a statement of my feelings concerning the plight and status of the American law enforcement officer. It was titled "What Is a Policeman?"

Just last week while viewing the "Dragnet" program on television, I heard the featured actor, Jack Webb, give a most moving and significant statement on this same subject. It is so pertinent that I am happy to include it in today's Record and hope that all of my colleagues will take the time to read it.

The statement follows:

What Is a Cop?

It's awkward having a policeman around the house. Friends drop in. A man with a badge answers the door. The temperature drops twenty degrees. Throw a party and that badge gets in the way. All of a sudden there isn't a straight man in the crowd. Everybody's a comedian. "Don't drink too much," somebody says "or the man with the badge will run you in." . . . Or, "How's it goin', Dick Tracy? How many jaywalkers did you pinch today?" . . . And there's always the one who wants to know how many apples you stole. All at once you've lost your first name. You're a "cop," a "flatfoot," a "bull," a "dick," "John Law," You're "the fuzz," "the heat," . . . you're poison, you're trouble . . . you're bad news. They call you everything, but never a policeman. It's not much of a life . . . unless you don't mind missing a Dodger game because the hotshot phone rings . . . unless you like working Saturdays, Sundays, holidays . . . at a job that doesn't pay overtime. Oh, the pay is adequate. If you count your pennies, you can put your kid through college. But you'd better plan on seeing Europe on your television set. Then there's your first night on the beat. When you try to arrest a drunken prostitute in a Main Street bar and she rips your new uniform to shreds. You'll buy another one . . . out of your own pocket. You'll rub elbows with all the elite: pimps, addicts, thieves, bums, winos, girls who can't keep an address and men who don't care. Liars, cheats, con men, the class of Skid Row. And the heartbreak: underfed kids, beaten kids, molested kids, lost kids, crying kids, homeless kids, hit-and-run kids, broken-arm kids, broken-leg kids, broken-head kids, sick kids, dying kids, dead kids. The old people that nobody wants, the reliefers, the pensioners, the ones who walk the street cold and those who tried to keep warm and died in a three-dollar room with an unvented gas heater. You'll walk the beat and pick up the pieces. Do you have real adventure in your soul? You'd better have. You'll do time in a prowl car. It'll be a thrill-a-minute when you get an "unknown trouble" call and hit a back yard at two in the morning, never knowing who you'll meet . . . a kid with a knife . . . a pill-head with a gun, or two ex-cons with nothing to lose. And you'll have plenty of time to think. You'll draw duty in a "lonely car" . . . with nobody to talk to but your radio. Four years in uniform and you'll have the ability, the experience and maybe the desire to be a detective. If you like to fly by the seat of your pants, this is where you belong. For every crime that's committed, you've got three million suspects to choose from. Most of the time you'll have few facts and a lot of hunches. You'll run down leads that dead-end on you. You'll work all-night stakeouts that could last a week. You'll do leg work until you're sure you've talked to everybody in California . . . people who saw it happen, but really didn't People who insist they did it, but really didn't. People who don't remember, those who try to forget. Those who tell the truth, those who lie. You'll run the files until your eyes ache. And paperwork . . . you'll fill out a report when you're right, you'll fill out a report when you're wrong, you'll fill one out when you're not sure, you'll fill one out listing your leads, you'll fill one out when you have no leads, you'll make out a report on the reports you've made. You'll write enough words in your lifetime to stock a library. You'll learn to live with doubt, anxiety, frustration, court decisions that tend to hinder rather than help you: Dorado, Morse, Escobero, Cahan. You'll learn to live with the District Attorney, testifying in court, defense attorneys, prosecuting attorneys, judges, juries, witnesses. And sometimes you won't be happy with the outcome. But there's also this: There are over five thousand men in this city who know that being a policeman is an endless, glamorless, thankless job that must be done. I know it, too. And I'm damned glad to be one of them.

Benefits for Viet Vets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, praise for the Presidential proposal to enact the Vietnam Servicemen and Veterans Act of 1967 has resounded across the Nation in the public press. It is gratifying to see such wholehearted support for this unquestionably just and fair legislation.

The letters and telegrams that have poured into Washington in support of rapid passage of this program evidence the concern of Americans for their men engaged in the awesome struggle in Vietnam.

I feel confident that we will provide those benefits asked for by the President. I offer my full support to his proposals, and hope for a speedy enactment.

From the press we have learned quickly the feeling of the people on this matter. An outstanding example of the editorials which have appeared since the proposal was made in this editorial from a fine and objective newspaper, the St. Paul Pioneer Press, St. Paul, Minn., in its issue of February 4:

BENEFITS FOR VIET VETS

American servicemen fighting in Vietnam are fully entitled to the extended GI bill of rights benefits proposed by President Johnson.

The President recommends:

Disability compensation at full war-time rates.

Disability pensions for veterans and death pensions to widows and children of Vietnam veterans.

Special medical care benefits, including medicine and drugs for severely disabled veterans on the pension rolls.

$1,600 toward the purchase of an automobile by veterans with special disabilities.

These benefits were available to veterans of World War II and the Korean war.

There is no valid reason to treat Vietnam veterans less generously. The war in Vietnam is fully as hard fought as the Korean war and World war II.

Denying veterans of the Vietnam war the benefits enjoyed by other war veterans is an injustice that should be rectified.

A Door Closed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times lead editorial yesterday expressed the disappointment of many of us that the brief pause in the bombing of North Vietnam was not continued.

Many of us had hoped that the pause would be continued long enough to exhaust any reasonable hope that North Vietnam, and the Vietcong, would respond either by a deescalation of their own military efforts or at least by specifically agreeing to come to the negotiating table.

There can be no question that risks are involved in halting the bombing of the north. But this risk is more than counterbalanced by the costs and the dangers inherent in the present stalemate.

As the Times stated yesterday:

> A full-scale and uninterrupted bombing of North Vietnam may have some military logic, but it will put an end to the hopes of peace in Vietnam for a long time to come.

Mr. Speaker, I commend this editorial, and an equally thoughtful one which appeared in the Times on February 10, to the serious consideration of all who are concerned with seeking an early, just, and negotiated peace in Vietnam.

The editorials follow:

[From the New York Times, Feb. 14, 1967]

THE EPHEMERAL PAUSE

The resumption of the bombing of North Vietnam comes as a harsh disappointment to the many millions in many lands whose hopes had been raised by the brief pause. This will include the Vatican, the United Nations, the chancelleries in many countries and those Americans who thought they saw a gleam of hope on the dark Vietnamese horizon.

The reason given by the Pentagon was that the bombing had been halted "in order to avoid any possibility that earlier resumption would be misconstrued in relation to [Soviet Premier] Kosygin's visit to London." There was unconscious irony in this reminder that the bombing raids had begun on Feb. 8, 1965, after the Pleiku incident while the same Premier Kosygin was visiting Hanoi. This time the Johnson Administration no doubt entertained hopes that Prime Minister Wilson would be able to persuade Mr. Kosygin to make some strong and urgent move for peace by influencing Hanoi.

Mr. Wilson's brave words to Parliament that he believed a peaceful solution "could now be reached" were contingent on "a belief on each side that the other desires a negotiated settlement." Unfortunately, there is no such belief.

President Johnson now says that he had "no choice" but to resume the bombing. So both sides are fixed in the positions that existed before the pause—the United States will not stop the bombing unconditionally unless the North Vietnamese reciprocate by some form of de-escalation, and Hanoi will consider peace negotiations only if the United States ends the bombing unconditionally.

There were two ways of breaking this deadlock. Hanoi could have changed its demands or, had there been an extended pause in the bombing, North Vietnam and the many diplomatic forces working for peace might have had a chance to reach a favorable decision. As Secretary General Thant said yesterday, the bombing pause would have had to last a few weeks. Instead, there were two days.

The temptation now will be to escalate the bombing in order to destroy the North Vietnamese build-up of matériel during the cease-fire. The Times has long believed—and still believes—that the bombing should be stopped altogether and for a considerable period. Failing that, it would be wise to confine the raids to the roads, trails and sea lanes from North to South Vietnam, keeping well away from population centers.

A full-scale and uninterrupted bombing of North Vietnam may have some military logic, but it will put an end to the hopes of peace in Vietnam for a long time to come. President Johnson said again yesterday that "the door to peace remains open"—but he closed one door when he ordered the resumption of the bombing.

[From the New York Times, Feb. 10, 1967]

NO CHANGE ON VIETNAM

Secretary of State Rusk gave his press conference yesterday to state in the most emphatic way that the United States will not cease its bombing of North Vietnam without some "reciprocity" on Hanoi's part. There is "no shift in our position," he said.

The flatness of the Rusk declaration and the certainty that he spoke for President Johnson was a chilling response to an atmosphere of faint hopes and a worldwide buzz of speculation over possible peace feelers by Hanoi.

Such feelers and shifts of position seem to be taking place, and presumably there is and will be quiet diplomacy going on in many capitals that have contact with Hanoi. Mr. Rusk went out of his way to emphasize that the United States, for its part, is not yielding an inch in its determination to order no unilateral halt in bombing of the North. Even the present lunar new year truce is merely "a four-day cease-fire so far as we are concerned," the Secretary declares.

The situation is stalemated. Hanoi says—and this is a somewhat different position than before—that it will consider peace negotiations if the United States stops its bombing of the North. Washington says that it will not stop the bombing unless there is a corresponding reciprocal move of de-escalation on the part of North Vietnam.

Secretary General Thant of the United Nations has stressed his view that "a powerful nation like the United States should take the initiative in the quest for peace." If the United States will not stop the bombing—and Secretary Rusk made that clear—it could still take an initiative by reducing its bombing attacks.

Mr. Rusk, for instance, made a strong point of the fact that the United States cannot be expected to sit back and watch North Vietnamese trucks carrying troops and materiel toward the South. Why not, then, at least confine the bombing to the infiltration routes by rail, road and sea and stay away from population centers? This would be a proof of American readiness to move, not just stand still, in search of peace.

It would be better to take the risk—and there would be an obvious risk—of stopping the bombing of the North altogether. The deadlock that exists today cannot, on the basis of existing knowledge and opinion, be broken by the inflexible policy that Secretary Rusk enunciated yesterday.

Second- and Third-Class Mail for Five Companies

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill which would extend to volunteer fire companies the rates of postage on second- and third-class bulk mailings which are now applicable to certain nonprofit associations and organizations.

In much of rural and suburban America, our volunteer fire companies are not only the only protective agency in the town, but they form the backbone of much of the charitable and organizational work performed.

The history of volunteer fire departments and companies is long and illustrious.

Our Nation's first President, George Washington, was a volunteer. As a matter of fact, in 1764, he purchased a fire engine in Philadelphia for 80 pounds, 10 shillings—about $400—and gave it to the Alexandria, Va., Volunteer Fire Company.

The first "mutual fire society" was started in 1718. Its main job was to save furniture and personal property while the paid fire department was fighting the fire. Similar societies began to flourish. Then a gentleman we have all heard of, suggested that the companies do more—that they do both salvage work and firefighting. His name was Benjamin Franklin and the volunteer company he organized in Philadelphia set the pattern for the Nation. From that time on, the development of a volunteer fire company was often the first real community action taken, as the rest of our continent was settled and the boundaries pushed westward.

Today, many of these volunteer fire companies still exist and perform their vital duties in an age of rapidly advancing technology. Very often they must reach their membership for drills concerning improvement in modern firefighting technique; to call them together for meetings; or, in areas where they also serve charitable needs, for meetings for those purposes.

Figures for recent years show that nearly 12,000 men, women, and children lose their lives annually as a result of the Nation's fires. Property damage alone comes to more than $1½ billion a year. In much of the Second Congressional District of New Hampshire and other rural areas, the only force standing between these ravages of fire and the people are the volunteer fire companies and departments.

If these volunteer companies, which have done such a remarkable job in New Hampshire, are to be able to continue their fine work, the least we can do is allow them the same postal privileges we now allow other similarly oriented charitable and nonprofit organizations and associations.

Spain: Her New Role in the Defense of Free Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD another well-considered article on the importance of Spain in the defense of Europe.

This article appeared in the San Diego Union on Sunday, January 29, 1967, and other papers served by the Copley News Service. It was written by the distinguished military analyst, Brig. Gen. James D. Hittle, USMC, retired, whose column is nationally syndicated.

I have always been impressed with General Hittle's perspicacity and his ability to reduce issues to a common denominator. But in this article concerning the affect of France's withdrawal from NATO and the ever-increasing importance of Spain, he has surpassed anything he has previously written.

General Hittle has had a distinguished military career and is now the director of national security and foreign affairs for the Veterans of Foreign Wars, in addition to his other accomplishments. He has no ax to grind. He merely calls a spade a spade, a characteristic much to be desired, but so often missing these days.

I commend this article to all who are interested in the defense of freedom:

[From the San Diego Union, Jan. 29, 1967]

NATO STRATEGY EYED—DE GAULLE PULLOUT POINTS UP SPAIN'S WESTERN EUROPEAN ROLE

(By Brig. Gen. James D. Hittle, USMC (retired))

WASHINGTON.—If anything good can come from French President Charles de Gaulle's military withdrawal from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, it is the new emphasis on the strategic role Spain can perform in the defense of the West.

No longer can the left-leaning governments of some NATO nations indulge themselves in the perilous luxury of mixing prejudice and policy. That is just what some of them have been doing by blackballing Spain's closer integration into European defense.

When De Gaulle took France out of the military councils of NATO, he did something else: He took much of NATO's strategic depth with its maneuver area, logistic backup, and air base support installations. The result is that now the defense of Europe is far too linear, too narrow and hence too shallow for comfort.

STRATEGIC NECESSITY

This puts the spotlight of strategic necessity on Spain.

It doesn't take any detailed general staff analysis to see why Spain is so important to the defense of Europe and the free world. Geography is the key to Spanish strategic importance.

Spain has a land area of 195,000 square miles. This is only about 20 per cent less than the total area of France.

It will be a surprise to some that Spain is twice the size of West Germany.

Thus, Spain ranks in land area as the second largest country of free Europe. This fact, alone, underlines the strategic indiscretion of not including Spain as a full partner in post-World War II European defense arrangements.

TOUGH TO CRACK

Geography also has endowed Spain with a degree of protection enjoyed by no other European nation. On the north the Pyrenees are a towering obstacle to invasion from across the relatively narrow land connection with southern France. To the east is the Mediterranean Sea and on the west is the Atlantic. The Straits of Gibraltar are on the south, constituting an historic water boundary between Europe and Africa.

It is precisely this protected position of Spain, occupying the bulk of the Iberian peninsula, that has made Spain such a tough nut for aggressors to crack.

For too long too many in free Europe have been minimizing the strategic importance of Spain. But no such mistake was made by the Communist master planners. It was no act of strategic caprice that resulted in Spain being picked, in the 1930's, as an early and key target of Communist conquest.

The Kremlin knew that if it could get Spain through subversion and civil war, communism would outflank the remainder of Europe from the south, and be in a position to control the Straits of Gibraltar to isolate the Mideast and the northern rim of Africa from European and U.S. Atlantic-based sea power.

Anyone who doubts Spain's vital role in European strategy should speculate on what would be the plight of Europe and the free world today if communism, rather than Franco's nationalists, had won the bitter civil war in the 1930's.

BIG DIFFERENCE

It is hard to avoid concluding that if Spain had not fought to hold the European flank of the free world on the Iberian peninsula in the 1930s, the strategic face of Europe today would be much different.

Spain is, of course, making meaningful contributions to the defense against Communist aggression.

The United States has air bases in Spain and a Polaris submarine base at Rota. Such Spanish participation in European defense is through bilateral arrangements with the United States.

As helpful as this arrangement is, it still limits realization of Spain's full defensive potential.

Now, with France militarily out of NATO, and NATO militarily out of France, the inclusion of Spain as a full partner in European defense has become a strategic imperative.

Three Hundred and Thirty-two "Diplomas" Earned at Parks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, many of us fail to recognize the fine work that has been done by the Job Corps.

I am happy to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article which appeared in the Livermore, Calif., Herald-News of January 10, 1967, describing the outstanding job being done at the Parks Job Corps Center in providing general education certificates to Parks Corpsmen.

I commend its reading to my collegues.

THREE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-TWO "DIPLOMAS" EARNED AT PARKS

A Camp Parks high-school education drive among Corpsmen resulted in 332 general-education certificates last year, compared to only 11 graduates the year before.

A high school dropout who passes general education development tests in five subjects receives a certificate which is generally accepted as the equivalent of a high school diploma by colleges, the U.S. Government and many employers, says Guy Mount, coordinator of the G.E.D. program at Parks.

"According to our placement office," Mount said, "a Corpsman's 'employability' is tripled when he has a G.E.D." Mount is aiming at 600 graduates in 1967.

Mount believes as many Corpsmen as possible should have the opportunity to earn their G.E.D.'s. When he took over the program last September, only 124 corpsmen had earned their certificates in the preceding 11 months. But in four months, 219 high school dropouts passed the examinations.

Mount's goal is to continue that average of 50 or more each month during this year.

"A Corpsman with a 7th grade reading comprehension level has the capability of improving his math, reading and English skills enough to pass the test within a nine-month period," Mount said. He also noted that it is possible for corpsmen with reading skills below the 5th grade level to pass the test within a year and a half.

As a case in point, Mount mentioned John Finley, now employed by the Continental Water Company of San Carlos. Finley came to Parks with a second grade reading level, and in 18 months of study improved enough to pass his G.E.D., completing a pair of vocational courses along the way.

"The G.E.D.," Mount continued, "provides an identifiable goal which almost automatically motives a corpsman to further study."

The testing is done twice a month at Amador High School, but in emergency cases where the corpsman is about to leave the center, Mount transports them to Galileo Adult High School in San Francisco or the Contra Costa County Department of Education in Pleasant Hill to be tested.

Mount has good reason to respect the value of a G.E.D. certificate. A high school dropout himself, he earned his G.E.D. in the Marine Corps and went on to a successful career with International Business Machines and the Friden Corporation before coming to Parks.

Amherst Peace Vigil Demonstrates the Power of Silence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, it has been apparent from reaction in the press and elsewhere that many of the public demonstrations throughout the country by various groups over the U.S. involvement in Vietnam have lost much of their potential effectiveness because of the paradox of their presentation.

It is curious and contradictory, for example, that demonstrations urging peace and a cessation of all fighting have so often been couched in violence and characterized by civil disturbance.

A new technique is being employed by peace marchers, many of them from the academic community, in the town of Amherst, Mass., the technique of the silent vigil.

Whether or not the silent vigil proves more effective in generating support is perhaps a moot point. But, whether their position is supported or not, there can be little question of the sincerity of the marchers; of their singular interest in bringing peace. We cannot accuse them, as others have been accused, of being more interested in personal publicity or in "shaking up" society on any pretext.

Recently the pages of the New York Times carried a thorough and interesting account of the Amherst peace vigil. Under unanimous consent procedures, I now place the Times article in the RECORD.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times, Feb. 6, 1967]

THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY IN AMHERST JOIN PEACE VIGIL—SILENT PROTEST IS CONDUCTED NINTH CONSECUTIVE SUNDAY

AMHERST, MASS., February 5.—Peace marchers demonstrated today for the ninth consecutive Sunday, circling the Amherst Town Commons in an hour-long silent vigil.

Placards placed at the four corners of the Commons read "Weekly Vigil for Peace in Vietnam." More than 350 persons participated, compared with 65 the first week Dec. 4.

Dr. Elliott Offner, Smith College associate professor of art, who has marched in eight of the vigils, saw significance in the fact that there were many different protesters each week.

"The tremendous turnover," he said, "shows that the actual participation is much greater than is evident from the figures of any one week and that the vigil is not the project of a small nucleus but a means of expression welcomed by many people.

"There is something very eloquent about the silence. It is unemotional and direct."

STUDENTS JOIN IN

Students from Amherst College, Smith College, the University of Massachusetts and area high schools have taken part in the vigils, but the majority of marchers are residents of Hampshire and Franklin Counties.

In addition, there have been special groups, such as children brought by their headmasters from the Meetinghouse School in Rindge, N.H., and from the Putney (Vt.) School.

Today's marchers included persons on their way home from church and persons on their way to the ski slopes. There have been clerics, teachers, housewives, salesmen and small children in the vigil.

One child said, "I hope I won't still have to be vigiling when I'm grown up."

Last week a French woman who had lived in Vietnam three years marched by herself across the street from the group, refusing to join a nation protest. Today she joined the others.

The first silent protest vigil is believed to have been held last winter on the University of California Santa Barbara campus. It was instituted by a sociology professor, Charles Hubbell.

VIGILS TOTAL 89

There are now 89 of these nonviolent antiwar demonstrations, Dr. Hubbell reports, with groups ranging in size from eight persons to Amherst's high of 350.

An offshoot of the Amherst vigil began in nearby Springfield yesterday when 175 persons stood in the courthouse square.

Dr. Hubbell, a veteran of World War II and the Korean War, who was a navigator for 30 bombing missions over Germany, said there was justification for those wars but believes that now "we need to open up dialogues between those with opposing views." He continued:

"Strangely this silent vigil seems to provide a bridge. People wait to talk to marchers, and we seem to change some minds. In the last instance we must change the minds of those in Government. I believe if enough of us express ourselves and appeal to President Johnson, instead of considering him our enemy, we might change things."

No incidents have marred the Amherst vigil, but during the last month a station wagon has been parked on the Commons with the sign "Support Your Boys in Vietnam."

Bullying Rhodesia Is Folly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, "Bullying Rhodesia Is Folly," is an interesting analytical editorial from the State Times in Baton Rouge, La. I am asking it be included in the RECORD for reading by other Members.

The editorial follows:

[From the Baton Rouge (La.) State-Times, Feb. 9, 1967]

BULLYING RHODESIA IS FOLLY

House of Representatives Armed Services Committee members have given notice to Secretary of State Dean Rusk that they will not support any American military intervention in the affairs of Rhodesia.

The amazing thing is that any United States national administration could contemplate any sort of action against remote and newly independent Rhodesia.

Rhodesia is no sort of threat to peace in the world, now or at any other time. It would have made just as much sense to identify Ethiopia a threat to world peace when Il Duce began the Italian invasion of that unhappy African principality.

Great Britain does not dare try to assert domination over Rhodesia, which followed the path of the American colonies not quite two centuries ago and rejected submission to the government of Great Britain any longer. She is, this old ally who once was an enemy, perfectly willing to let us pick up her marbles for her and hand them back. Wasn't it Adolf Hitler who, in a relatively lucid moment, once declared that Great Britain was willing to fight to the last Frenchman?

The United Nations, now insanely veering from its charted path as a vehicle for world peace and accord without intervention in the obviously internal affairs of any country, makes the case that Rhodesia's voting qualifications do not suit. So we, the United States, ought to kick the Rhodesians around, or possibly shoot 'em up. This would demonstrate what votaries of real democracy we are!

In the Sudan, more than a million Christian Negroes have been slain or driven into exile by a Moslem government. No one, in or out of the United Nations, recommends U.N. sanctions against the Sudan nor the use of an international constabulary to protect these helpless blacks.

Nearly all the Moslem and Negro "nations" of Africa are ruled by despots or tyrannical military cabals, with no democracy and far less rule of law than prevail in Rhodesia. From Tanzania and the two Congos, armed bands of terrorists set out regularly to lay waste with bullet and torch and sword the African provinces of Portugal. No one, in or out of the U.N., recommends sanctions or military intervention against Tanzania and the two Congos.

Just what kind of fools do the U.N. and Great Britain take us to be?

It will take the 90th Congress to persuade them we are not, at that.

Crime Prevention Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the following very excellent and timely editorial appeared in the Newberry Observer, Newberry, S.C., on February 14. As we observe Crime Prevention Week, I commend this outstanding editorial to the attention of each Member of Congress and to every citizen in our country:

CRIME VULNERABLE TO COMMUNITY COOPERATION

Crime holds a pistol at the head of every American in a deadly, one-sided game of Russian Roulette. Each time crime pulls the trigger, we have one chance in 70 of being its victim.

Odds of 70 to 1 may be attractive in horse racing, but not when life and property are on the line. Even the most reckless gambler wouldn't back such odds against a lineup of murder, rape, assault, burglary, larceny, robbery and auto theft. Yet we and our families are pitted daily against that lineup and at those odds. And, the odds get worse by the minute.

The 70 to 1 figure is based on the horrifying timetable of crime revealed by FBI statistics. It shows five serious crimes are committed every minute. The breakdown is a murder every hour, a forcible rape every 23 minutes, a robbery every four-and-a-half minutes, an aggravated assault every two-and-a-half minutes, an auto theft every minute, a larceny of $50 or more every 41 seconds, and a burglary every 27 seconds. There is a murder, forcible rape or assault to kill every two minutes. At that rate, time is rapidly running out for all of us.

Still, there is hope. Crime is vulnerable. In spite of all we are told about the inevitability of crime under modern sociological conditions, the monster is not invincible. It will not be completely vanquished this side of heaven, but Americans must never succumb to the falsity that they are powerless to halt crime's appalling growth.

Common sense conveys that much crime can be prevented, and that criminals can be caught and convicted. Where then does the fault lie? Why does crime make such formidable advances each year? Are the police to blame? No, the fault is not the police, but in ourselves that crime is overwhelming us. The reason? Because we as individuals and families making up the community do not sufficiently cooperate among ourselves and with our law enforcement agencies in fighting crime.

The nation's Exchange Clubs have a simple, workable solution to halt the steady proliferation of lawlessness. It is expressed in their slogan for the 20th annual observance of National Crime Prevention Week, February 12-18—Community Cooperation Conquers Crime.

That is the answer to the crime problem if we would only act on it. Of course it would mean sacrifices, all of us would have to start obeying all the laws all the time. We would have to come to the aid of citizens under criminal attack, report to the police all crimes and suspicion of crime, and willingly testify in criminal cases and serve on juries.

As taxpayers, we would have to provide our police with adequate pay, decent working conditions, and modern equipment, and, above all, give them moral support. Factional leaders would have to eschew demagoguery and insist on obedience to all laws, even those they consider unjust, and work for changes of law through the democratic process. Parents would have to start acting as parents should, teaching their children obedience and respect, providing them with sound moral values and setting good examples.

It would mean quite a change in daily living for many of us, but unless we are willing to let crime take over and resign ourselves to life in a "civilized" jungle, we must cooperate as a community to conquer crime. National Crime Prevention Week should inspire us to get on with the job.

Crime Medicine Is Expensive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, in the President's recent message to Congress, he asked for a $50 million program to make the streets safer and to control crime through the development of more effective crime control devices and a broad system of rehabilitation on all levels.

An editorial in the Plain Dealer examines the findings of the National Crime Commission and the cost of greater rehabilitation efforts. It indicates the urgent need for rapid action of the President's program and concludes that his message "clears the way for some intensive work by Congress on tighter crime control and how to pay for it."

Following is the editorial which appeared in the Plain Dealer on February 7, 1967:

CRIME MEDICINE IS EXPENSIVE

The FBI summary for 1965, the latest year for which figures are complete, shows that more than 2,780,000 serious crimes were reported in the United States that year, a 6% increase over 1964.

Of every 1,000 inhabitants, 14 were victims of serious crimes, a 35% increase over 1960.

President Johnson proposes to do something about these appalling statistics.

In a special message to Congress, he has asked $50 million for a program to make the streets safer and to control crime.

Among objectives are more effective alarm systems, tactical squads, special street lighting and greater rehabilitation efforts.

It is when the message gets into some findings of the National Crime Commission that the President begins to touch the real heart of the crime problem and, while he does not say so, the answer in most cases is money.

The commission says the first step in crime prevention is elimination of crime-breeding conditions. Slums breed crime careers and the President does not have to leave Washington to have this confirmed.

A second prevention step is better-trained people on all rehabilitation levels and the better the training the higher the price tag.

A third step is better correctional facilities, especially for the young offenders. Juvenile Court Judge Walter G. Whitlatch could give the White House an impressive picture of what this deficiency is costing Ohio in offenders being returned to society before they can be adequately treated.

The message gave no attention to the police recruitment problem that is undermining crime control in every major city, including Los Angeles where police salaries are among the highest in the nation.

Police morale is at a low point and it is a barrier to bringing capable men into the departments. The problem is acute enough to rate attention at the national level.

The President's call for a crackdown on mail order sales of firearms will be widely welcomed, especially by policemen. Fifty-three policemen were killed in line of duty, 52 of them by guns, in 1965.

The message clears the way for some intensive work by Congress on tighter crime control and how to pay for it.

Food for India

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, in the face of a threat to future world peace comparable in magnitude to the H-bomb—the crises of food and population—the President has taken a humane but practical and realistic stand in his message on food for India.

India, as an editorial in the Monday Christian Science Monitor points out, constitutes not only an immense world emergency, but "an even greater world opportunity to show how concerted international action can find an answer to a dire problem."

Under unanimous consent I enter this editorial in the RECORD.

India can be a model for attacking the much broader crisis that is building. The United States cannot solve the problem alone. It will take vast international effort. It will take aggressive self-help.

We better make that clear to all concerned. We are all going to be living with this problem for many, many years to come.

The editorial follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Feb. 6, 1967]

HELPING INDIA TWO WAYS

There are two key phrases in President Johnson's message to Congress on food help for India:

America would cease to be America if it stood idly by when men starved.

We shall approach the Indian food problem through the Indian aid consortium organized under World Bank chairmanship.

In short, the Untied States will continue to prove its generosity and brotherhood through large-scale food shipments to India, but it will also push for a worldwide, carefully planned, long-range international attack upon the problem of hunger—in India and elsewhere.

The necessity for both—the generosity and the over-all planning—is made starkly clear with word that in India's Bihar state, home of some 50,000,000 human beings, for months people have been living on from two to five *ounces* of grain daily. And even this pitiful morsel was made possible only through the importation of 11,000,000 tons of grain last year.

As one of the steps to meet this year's need for a 10,000,000-ton grain import, President Johnson is proposing sending 2,000,000 new tons forthwith. This will bring America's yearly shipment to India to about 6,600,000 tons.

Such shipments must keep on so long as men, women and children look to them in bitter need. And it is now apparent that this will require a sharp increase in American grain growing. Indeed, Washington has already begun authorizing the sowing of more acreage.

But the Indian situation requires much more. First, it demands a step-up in food shipments from lands other than the United States. Such shipments from, for example, Australia, Canada and the Soviet Union have already taken place. These must be supplemented by greater donations of fertilizer, agricultural gear, and the utilization of more foreign know-how.

Most of all the Indian situation calls for an international effort. This should organize both relief and aid on a continuing worldwide masis. It should stress the requirement for ever greater efforts at self-help by Indians. It should press for more successful efforts at population control.

India constitutes an immense world emergency. But it also constitutes an even greater world opportunity to show how concerted international action can find an answer to a dire problem.

A New Look at News

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, may I take this opportunity to bring to the attention of the Members of Congress a news item that appeared in the Quincy Patriot Ledger. It concerns recommendations on the treatment of news which is of growing concern, particularly with large metropolitan newspapers that have a problem on space as it applies to local, national and international news stories. The Quincy Patriot Ledger, in my opinion is one of the best newspapers in the Nation. It treats the news in an objective manner. The Patriot Ledger has a wide scope of coverage, local, State, National, and international. We who live in the South Shore section of Massachusetts are fortunate in having a newspaper that upholds the highest principles in journalism. The news story follows:

NEW LOOK AT NEWS NEEDED, EDITOR TELLS PRESS GROUP

LIMA, PERU.—The editor of The Patriot Ledger of Quincy, Mass., says newspapers should use savings from new printing techniques to improve the news content of their publications.

John R. Herbert, who also serves as president of the Inter-American Press Association's technical center in Miami, Fla., noted Tuesday that publishers "spend thousands of dollars a year on research into better printing methods."

But, he told a meeting of the press association, "these same publishers spent little or nothing on research into what is printed in the news columns of their newspapers."

Herbert said there should be no conflict between better printing processes and better news coverage. "The only question is whether we really know what we should do to provide better news coverage."

He said studies should be made on the quality as well as the quantity of news content.

A 60-inch travel page story on Latin-American scenery may be more impressive in quantity than a 10-inch story on a governmental change, "while actually the shorter story is more significant and important," he said.

"I am concerned about the coverage we give news from outside our own nation," Herbert said. "Not only is it a matter of knowing what is going on in other countries but of equal or perhaps greater importance in understanding what is going on.

"If we find any validity in the argument that newspapers must provide community leadership through the exercise of responsible journalism, we must look upon this responsibility from a global point of view."

The South Bend Tribune Says, "The Road to Freer World Trade Is a Two-Way Thoroughfare"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I am asking unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the text of a most thoughtful editorial, "Swiss Movement," from the South Bend Tribune of February 11, 1967, concerning the Kennedy round of negotiations on trade and tariffs.

The editorial follows:

SWISS MOVEMENT

President Johnson's order last month reducing U.S. import duties on watch movements was of particular importance to Switzerland. Swiss manufacture of watch movements is a major industry sensitive to the rise and fall of trade barriers.

Hence the Swiss gave the United States a loud round of applause.

The Swiss might have let it go at that, having duly expressed their appreciation, and sat down.

They chose instead to hail Mr. Johnson's order as a reminder to the participants in the so-called Kennedy Round of negotiations on trade and tariffs of the necessity to behave in the same spirit if there is to be significant progress toward freer world trade.

Hans Schaffner, head of the Swiss Department of Public Economy, put it in these words:

"We would like to interpret this decision as an indication of the determination of the United States government to do everything in its power to contribute to a successful conclusion of the Geneva negotiations in other fields as well. As a necessary and indispensable counterpart to this, however, the other participants in the Kennedy Round, great or small, must behave in the same spirit; they must refrain from withholding concessions of their own on the alleged ground of the supposed reluctance of their partners to co-operate. The Kennedy Round can bring about a significant contribution towards liberalization of world trade only if all participants show the maximum willingness for constructive co-operation, for which a growing and flourishing world economy will be our common reward."

Well said. The road to freer world trade is a two-way thoroughfare. It is especially nice to hear this from the other side of the Atlantic.

Help for Our Gold Mining Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I want to call to the attention of my colleagues remarks made by Congressman ARNOLD OLSEN of Montana at the Seventh Annual Mining Conference and Exhibition in Denver, Colo., February 11.

I share Congressman OLSEN's concern for the state of our disappearing gold-mining industry. Yesterday he introduced a bill in the House calling for assistance to encourage increased production of gold, and I request that his remarks in Denver be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this time:

GOLD SUBSIDY BILL

I was eager to accept the invitation to come to Denver today to visit with you briefly about the dwindling production of gold; a problem which, unless solved, could very soon seriously threaten our already weakened gold reserve.

All of us who lived through the difficult years of the late twenties and early thirties, when our Nation was afflicted by the greatest depression the World has even known, know it would be absurd to ask any citizen to exist now on what it cost him to live then. It is equally absurd to ask the gold mining industry to attempt to survive with the same income it received 35 years ago.

Yet this is exactly what the current Government policy relating to gold producers demands. Over the years our Government has asked the domestic gold-mining industry to attempt to survive in the face of rising costs and regulations fixing the price of its product.

It is a matter of record that production costs in every industry have increased over the years and, as you all know, the gold industry is no exception. And the absurdity of existing regulations are supported by the fact that, while there is plenty of gold in our hills, the production of gold has become more and more a "by-product enterprise."

Unfortunately, our Government sometimes doesn't patch the hole in the henhouse door until all the hens have gotten away. Action should have been taken sooner, and much of the damage is already done, but I think it is time to patch the hole in the door while ew still have a hen or two left.

Right now we have only one major producer of gold in this country, the Carlin Gold Mining Company of Elko, Nevada. Only twenty-five producers supply 94 percent of all our domestic production of gold. Actually three firms represent approximately two-thirds of our national production and much of the gold mined in this nation is a by-product of a base-metal mining operation.

Many mines have closed down and their works are in varying degrees of decay. Experts predict that unless something is done immediately gold mining will disappear as an industry by 1970.

The seriousness of this situation is accentuated by other considerations. First, our gold reserve has been gradually reduced over the last several years, and, second, there has been a spectacular increase in the consumption of gold in the arts and industry. The use of gold by the arts and industry has exceeded our domestic production of gold every year since 1957, and in the last four years it has doubled. For the first time in modern monetary history, all newly mined gold is going into private hands.

Our gold production continues to decrease at a startling rate and the call for gold for commercial purposes is skyrocketing at even a greater rate with growing demands in such areas as our space and defense needs. We are becoming more and more dependent upon the import of gold and the major gold reserves outside the United States are found in the troubled Republic of South Africa and in Communist bloc nations.

We have ore reserves within our boundaries. It is imperative that we take advantage of them.

These two factors—dwindling production and increased demand—work together. They could spell disaster. During the first nine months of 1966 the Treasury released $105 million for domestic consumption, and in 1965 it released $118 million.

And we have the added consideration that some of our friends in the world family of nations are converting large dollar holdings into gold. France, alone, has converted $2.9 billion to gold since 1962. This is another aspect to the problem which demands its own solution. I think action should be taken to discourage this outflow of gold, but it would take too much time to dwell on that here.

It will not be easy to revive this Nation as a major producer of gold. It is always more difficult to recover if a situation is allowed to deteriorate too far and the empty, rotting gold mines scattered throughout our western states testify to the fact that such deterioration has taken place.

Monday I will introduce a bill in the House of Representatives calling for subsidy payments by the Gold Mines Assistance Commission to miners of gold to maintain the rate of gold production from operating mines and to stimulate increased production through the reopening of mines which have been forced to close.

The Treasury Department has expressed its fear that the world might view such legislation with uncertainty. The Department thinks such action could be considered a first step toward increasing the price of gold and payments which recognize the increased costs of producing gold since the 1930's could be interpreted to imply the acceptance by the United States of prices for gold which are higher than the official rate of $35 per ounce.

First, let me say that the legislation I will introduce includes a clause stating flatly "that financial assistance payments to domestic gold producers hereunder shall have no effect upon the monetary price of gold paid by the Treasury Department of the United States."

Secondly, when the gold coverage of deposits of the Federal Reserve banks was removed in 1964 there was no rush to convert dollars to gold in the Central Banks of Europe. Surely this step taken by the Treasury could have been interpreted as a move in the direction of demonetizing gold—a move toward the devaluation of the dollar. European banking officials are not stupid; they understood the logical reasoning behind the Treasury's decision in 1964 and I know they would see the logic in establishing a subsidy intended to revitalize the gold mining industry in the United States. Our intention is to strengthen, not to weaken the dollar.

Last year the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs recommended the enactment of legislation similar to that which I have introduced. I will do everything in my power to urge my colleagues on this important Committee to attack this problem with renewed vigor in the 90th Congress. If we all work together, I am optimistic that we can achieve the goal for which we have been working over the years.

Police Morale

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON FUQUA

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Evening Star on Monday, February 13, presented an editorial entitled "Sagging Police Morale."

It should be read by every Member of the Congress.

I served as a member of the Subcommittee of the District Committee that authorized and urged the Harney report. I think the Star has done an excellent job of capsuling its findings, and what the editorial has to say is serious.

I am deeply disturbed at the attitude of the community toward its police department. This attitude needs to change.

I urge you to read the editorial:

SAGGING POLICE MORALE

The report which has been prepared for the House District Committee by Malachi L. Harney is a serious effort to examine the problems of law enforcement and police morale in Washington from the policeman's point of view. This is something that badly needed to be done and it should serve a useful purpose.

One of the graver inferences to be drawn from this report is that the District is approaching a point at which it either will be impossible to police large sections of the city or the standards now set for police recruits will have to be lowered.

The simple fact is that for a variety of reasons young men are not interested in being policemen and it is becoming increasingly difficult to replace those who leave the force. Something can be done, and is being done, about some of the problems. Steps already taken to provide better pay and better equipment are examples. A larger reason for the loss of policemen and the difficulty in replacing them, however, will be found in a growing belief on the part of the police that they are not being supported by the community, by the courts or by District officials.

One example can be seen in Saturday afternoon's disgraceful spectacle when two police officers undertook to arrest five men whose car was found to contain loaded guns and two ski masks—tools of the stick-up artist. The police were beaten, one seriously. Meanwhile, a crowd of some 300 to 500 taunted the police. One of the arrested men appears to have been at liberty on personal bond, which means no bond, although he was under indictment on three counts of assault with a dangerous weapon, two counts of robbery and three counts of carrying a dangerous weapon. This is simply outrageous.

The nub of the Harney findings is summed up in a statement by one police private: "I don't mind taking the risk of being beaten up or even of being shot at; that is part of police work. And the fact that I am still here indicates I am not afraid. But I do want to be backed up. All the worst criminal needs to do is point a finger at a policeman and yell 'police brutality.' Everything else is then forgotten. The attention focuses on the policeman as being the culprit, no matter how phony and patently irresponsible the charge may be."

Perhaps there is some exaggeration in this. But there is also a great deal of truth. And something had better be done about it. For the alternative is a continuing drop in police morale and effectiveness, and a corresponding rise in the rate of crime and the number of criminals.

That $3 Billion Foreign Aid Is Fraud Bathed in Sheepdip

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, apparently there is some confusion in our land as to just what items in the budget constitute foreign aid. But we all know that regardless of what it is called by anyone, it still costs dollars and cents deducted from mom and dad's paycheck.

For the reading interest of my fellow colleagues, I am asking that Mr. Henry J. Taylor's article, which appeared in the Baton Rouge State-Times on February 6, 1967, be inserted following my comments.

The article follows:

THAT $3 BILLION FOREIGN AID IS FRAUD BATHED IN SHEEPDIP

(By Henry J. Taylor)

President Johnson asks Congress for around $3 billion in foreign aid, solemnly claiming cuts.

Fellow peasants, we're being had

That $3 billion is nonsense, a figure Mr. Johnson might as well have popped out of a Chinese medicine man's basket of snakes. The real cost exceeds $9 billion.

Study the proposed budget, which we taxpaying peasants are not supposed to do, and you will find nearly $6 billion additionally scattered in 14 other separate sections not included in the President's official foreign aid figure.

These include the $1.6 billion "Food for Peace" deliveries, $455 million for the Inter-America Bank and International Development Association and international organizations, $112 million for the Peace Corps, etc. I find that our aid still goes to 82 countries.

Meanwhile, overheard, the duplication is robbing us blind. Hey, that's our money!

Contrary to popular impression, the State Department has a budget that is peanuts compared with the whole basket. The Central Intelligence Agency alone, for example, is twice as large as the State Department and spends at least twice as much money. But, when it comes to being understood by our public, the State Department has always had a genius for putting the worst foot forward and few taxpayers know the truth.

When you go into our embassy in London, Paris, Rome, etc., the poor old State Department is done a continuing injustice by visitors who think the hordes on hand are State Department employes.

Incredibly, about 45 Washington departments and agencies are concerned to varying degrees with forming and implementing foreign policy, which is one reason why the United States so often comes in on the caboose in affairs abroad.

Twenty-two federal agencies board at our embassies. They have nearly 36,000 American civilians scattered around in 138 countries on our taxpayers' pay roll. In addition, we taxpaying peasants pay about 91,000 foreign nationals in our agencies overseas.

Only about 37 per cent of all U.S. civilians assigned abroad are employes of the State Department our aid agency and the U.S. Information Agency all lumped together. More than half (52 per cent) work for the Defense Department. The remaining 11 per cent are employed by other Washington bureaus too numerous to list.

In some places I've been, the coordination is like a dozen Ben Turpins peeping at each other through an aspidistra plant.

As one result to which all this contributes, the Federal Reserve Board figures show that in the past 10 years we lost about $8.4 billion in gold while other countries gained $13 billion. The gold behind our money fell from $21.9 billion to $13.3 billion. Other countries' gold climbed from $14.3 billion to $27.5 billion and their additional dollar balances subject to conversion into our taxpayers' dollars went from $13.8 billion to $28.2 billion. The outside world now holds $55 billion in gold and dollars—nearly twice as much as 10 years ago—while our gold reserve has just struck another new 29-year low.

Nevertheless, President Johnson most lately promised the fifth annual conference for the Alliance of Progress that America's (taxpayers) goals in Latin America are 140 million new jobs, a million new homes, countless new classrooms, etc., and all with no discernible way to achieve these even though we taxpaying peasants have been putting about $1 billion a year down there and still are.

What Mr. Johnson might more honestly have told us in his budget message is that all nine members of an advisory committee sponsored by the Organization of American States have resigned because of "haphazard methods of determining aid programs" and have reported their resignations to the General Accounting Office, charged by law with auditing federal agencies.

This inside explosion caused an inside impasse which President Johnson has kept under cover while he claims frugality in the foreign aid budget.

The General Accounting Office has been refused permission to audit many of the President's own agencies' expenditures for the Alliance for Progress.

Mr. Johnson fails again to tell us the full truth. The new, better-balanced Congress should not start its cuts with the professed $3 billion. The unrevealed total $9 billion is the proper target. Please remember this the next time you see the nonsense about $3 billion.

Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, shortly after the death of Senator Byrd of Virginia, John A. Hamilton, a former Virginian now writing for the Detroit Free Press, wrote a beautiful tribute to the Senator. I am pleased to spread it in the RECORD so that all who admired Senator Byrd may read it.

The article follows:

BYRD, OF VIRGINIA, DIES—VOTERS, PRESIDENTS AWAITED HIS WORD

(By John A. Hamilton)

Forgive the personal reference. I want to talk about Sen. Harry Flood Byrd, a Virginian, and about my home state with its Blue Ridge Mountains now ablaze with red oaks and orange ashes and, many leagues below, its Shenandoah River winding gently among these hills.

I ride the mountain tops, I ride;
I have found my life and am satisfied.

Edwin Markham's lines tug at those of us who have tramped the wooded Blue Ridge, still notched with Stonewall Jackson's trenches, and the lines call to all who have lived in the Valley of Virginia amid its red barns, white frame homes, spired churches and carefully tended fields dotted this time of year with golden hutches of reaped wheat.

Byrd's dead now, at 79, and he will be claimed by the hills he loved.

Avid mountain climber, Byrd ignored intense arthritic pains in his later years to scale such peaks as Hawks Bill, Naked Top, Roundhead Ridge and, his favorite, Old Rag. Earlier, he badgered Franklin D. Roosevelt into building the Blue Ridge Parkway and Byrd personally donated camp sites and cabins high in the mountains. He became the National Park Service's only honorary member.

Politicians from the deep folds of Virginia's western mountains as well as those from the rolling Piedmont section of the state to Tidewater where resort sands edge the Atlantic looked to Byrd for guidance.

Byrd held high public office for more than half a century, heading the powerful Byrd organization which ran Virginia and, for many years, the Senate Finance Committee which carefully reviews major pieces of spending legislation. On many important issues presidents, state officials and courthouse hangers-on alike awaited "the word" and the word came from Byrd. He was as he has been called, the Buddha of Berryville.

But no brooding Buddha, he. Small, frail in his later years, he remained vigorous until his mortal illness forced him to resign from the Senate about a year ago. The things you remember about him were his charm and grace and persuasiveness, his twinkling eyes and rosy cheeks which puffed up round and red when he smiled.

Courtly, conservative, a man of impeccable integrity, this Virginia Democrat held the esteem of virtually every member of Congress who came to know him and, so, it is not extraordinary that a Republican member of the House has eulogized him perhaps better than others in Washington.

Rep. Gerald Ford of Michigan said that "Byrd's devotion to the fundamentals of free government will remain an inspiration to all of us. Virginia has produced her share of great Americans, from Washington to Wilson and from Jefferson to Harry Flood Byrd."

Byrd was a Jeffersonian Democrat in that he believed government ought to be kept close to the people. "Divide the counties into wards!" urged Jefferson.

"Virginians today still believe in the Jeffersonian doctrine that the least governed people are the best governed," said Byrd. "We oppose the vast and increasing concentration of power in the federal government and we are alarmed by it."

In a rumpled white linen suit, mopping perspiration from a reddish face, Byrd would mount the back of a flat-bed truck or stand atop a wooden crate at his annual apple orchard picnics and talk politics. In the nature of things hard to explain to outsiders, Byrd's political philosophy was Virginia's political philosophy and vice versa, each drawing strength from the other. Osmosis was an active force at work in the state and the young absorbed philosophy as the soil absorbed rain.

Part was metaphysical, a fusion of spirits with a large degree of intuition involved. As the birds knew to fly south in the winter and the oaks to turn red and the sycamores yellow. Virginians knew—or thought they knew—how Byrd felt on issues.

"The reasons for Virginians' conservatism can be summarized in four parts," he explained at a picnic several years ago: "Deep background in the development of the American system; great ordeals under oppression of centralized power; unwavering adherence to principles; and belief in sound progress. Our attitude has never been expressed better than Thomas Jefferson put it in an 1816 letter to Samuel Kerchival. He said:

" 'A departure from principle in one instance becomes a precedent for a second; the second for a third; and so on 'til the bulk of society is reduced to misery without sensibilities, except for sin and suffering. The forehorse of this frightful situation is public debt. Taxation follows that, and in its train there is wretchedness and oppression.' "

Byrd opposed many social reform measures of the New Deal, Fair Deal, New Frontier and Great Society. He broke completely with FDR, caused President Truman to complain about "too many 'birds' in the Congress," and young John F. Kennedy to confess that "he gives us fits." Nor could Byrd accept the Supreme Court's 1954 school desegregation decision, terming it "the ultimate in judicial usurpation" and looking wistfully for its reversal.

But Byrd's opposition was based on principles, not prejudices, for as governor of Virginia he had inserted one of the first antilynch laws onto southern law books. He balked at some spending measures of various administrations because he considered them profligate, jeopardizing the value of the dollar and threatening the sort of inflation settling on the land today. He annually trimmed non-essential federal expenditures by millions of dollars.

Our ship of state needs anchors as well as propellers and with Byrd's death it has lost a valuable one. Doubtless his rural background helps explain his political philosophy. An apple grower, one of the largest in the world, he lived at his beautiful Rosemont much as Jefferson had lived at Monticello.

And the poet Markham in writing of the mountains wrote also of Byrd.

I ride the hills, I forgive, I forget
Life's hoard of regret—
All the terror and pain
Of the chafing chain
Grind on, O cities, grind
I leave you a blur behind.

Byrd's roots, tracing back to Virginia's earliest aristocracy, were nourished in rural Virginia.

"I love these mountains," he once confided from the top of Old Rag. "I like to look out over the ridges and valleys and watch the changing shadows."

As Byrd loved his Virginia, a native far from home can report, so his Virginia loved him.

CIA and NSA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the current uproar over the revelation that the CIA has been financing the National Student Association (NSA) to the tune of $400,000 per year raises some very fundamental questions.

First, was the clandestine relationship at all useful? Did the NSA succeed in countering the efforts of its Communist-supported opposites? Or was the CIA's under-the-table subsidy of the NSA not only immoral and corrupt, but futile and counterproductive as well?

The subsidy was made "covert," a State Department official explained, because it was decided that public disclosure of Government financing would have opened the NSA to Communist attacks as an instrument of the U.S. Government. But is not the real effect of this covertness, when it is finally made public, infinitely more damaging to the reputation of the NSA and the United States than the harm the CIA was supposedly trying to protect against.

A free society, if it is to remain free, must not stoop to adopt the tactics of totalitarianism. The behavior of the CIA is doubly damaging in this respect. First, our reputation abroad has suffered a great blow, but, equally important, the CIA has helped contribute to a frightening domestic phenomenon. We are creating a generation of young Americans who have no faith in the honesty and openness of their own country. Specifically, NSA has chapters on more than 300 American college and university campuses where about 1.5 million students are gaining an education; these students cannot help but be disillusioned.

Several conclusions are obvious, Mr. Speaker. First, the CIA has destroyed forever the usefulness of the NSA.

One NSA student leader said:

> This has become a nightmare for us. Our whole credibility has been based on the image that we are independent. Now everything we do or have done will be tainted whether we're guilty or not.

The NSA, if it continues in existence, will always be suspect. We can only hope that the CIA has not used other groups of scholars or professional people for similar purposes. The CIA action in this instance is nothing less than horrifying. It is also incredibly stupid.

Perhaps the most unbelievable aspect of the whole affair is the clumsiness of the CIA. It is supposed to be one of the world's most sophisticated intelligence organizations and yet it lets itself get caught subsidizing a bunch of kids. How horribly demoralizing; high-paid supersleuths, part of the country's chief intelligence agency, are nabbed where no self-respecting burglar would have left a fingerprint.

For many months the senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], has been calling for the CIA to let the Congress know more of its activities and expenditures. The Oversight Committee of the other body has added three Senators from the Foreign Relations Committee as a result of Senator MCCARTHY's efforts. The House should do the same. There is no reason on earth why Representatives and Senators should not know more about the activities of the CIA. After all, if they allow undergraduates in on their activities why not elected representatives of the people?

The relationship between the CIA and the NSA reportedly began in 1952. In that year John Foster Dulles was appointed Secretary of State. His brother, Allen, then Deputy Director, shortly became Director of the CIA. Did John Foster Dulles persuade his brother, Allen, of the need to give money to the student group to counter the Communist moves of the day? The Dulles brothers were splendid public servants, somewhat Cromwellian in philosophy. That estimable Englishman said, "Trust in God and keep your powder dry." In this instance, I suppose that the Dulles brothers forgot that leaks might dampen the powder. Their successors compounded the errors.

I think it fundamental that the activities and expenditures of the CIA be thoroughly examined by responsible congressional authorities. The CIA and all other Government departments must not only be protected from dominance by each other, but should perform only their legally assigned functions. The CIA was never meant to be a military agency or a State Department. Further, the CIA was never meant to dominate private organizations, labor unions, or tax-exempt foundations. It must never again be allowed to do so.

The exposure of the CIA will prove a valuable thing if it leads to a proper investigation and definition of the Agency's responsibilities. It is now the duty of the Congress to take remedial action without delay.

The Vietnam Conflict Servicemen and Veterans Act of 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, over 11,000 miles away from their native homeland, over 400,000 Americans are involved in protecting the lives of approximately 15 million South Vietnamese and other Asians threatened with subjugation or death by communism from outside their own country. These valiant American soldiers are defending freedom, not just for those Asians, but for all free peoples.

Several hundred thousand other Americans have already fought the "good fight" in the cause of freedom on that foreign soil.

These Americans—the essence of the finest of American youth—are fighting the continuing battle for freedom over 65,000 square miles. For, within every rice paddy, within every delta, the specter of the subversive Vietcong lurks.

Aided by the communistic regime of North Vietnam, these Vietcong torture, pillage, destroy, and murder the populace. Their intimidation knows no bounds because of the designation "civilian." Their ruthless attempt to conquer these free peoples has been answered with the might of this Nation. Our young men have taken up the fight, and their sacrifices compare with those of men from our past wars.

Our fighting men do not know the term "retreat." Here in America these men deserve our every consideration. We must not retreat, either, and must act in their behalf. We must provide for these men when they have fought the fight and return home to receive the plaudits of a grateful Nation, just as all of our other veterans.

The call to duty—the same call that has gone out to millions before them—was answered by these young men. Today, they bear arms in the name of this Nation.

On January 31 the President sent us a message dealing with veterans benefits for these brave young men. He called the proposed legislation the Vietnam Conflict Servicemen and Veterans Act of 1967.

I am wholeheartedly behind any actions this body may take to rectify the inequities which now exist for our servicemen who are fighting in Vietnam.

Inaugural Address of South Carolina Gov. Robert E. McNair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, South Carolinians, and indeed Americans everywhere, can be proud of our distinguished and able Governor. Governor McNair was overwhelmingly elected Governor last November after becoming Governor in April 1965. Governor McNair on January 18, 1967, delivered an outstanding, encouraging and refreshing address. I commend this great speech to my colleagues in the Congress and to the people of the United States.

The speech follows:

[From the Greenville News (S.C.), Jan. 19, 1967]

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF SOUTH CAROLINA GOVERNOR, ROBERT E. MCNAIR

There are many feelings that a man wants to express when given the privilege of serving the people of his state as their Governor. It is a time to express the deep and sincere gratitude that I feel for the confidence placed in me by my fellow South Carolinians.

It is a time to share with you some of my thoughts about South Carolina's past and present—and even more important—about her future. It is a time to talk about positive action and the ability of our people to grasp the new opportunities of this exciting age.

As we meet here today, we have faced up to challenges and changes that have tested our dignity and our character. On this 18th day of January in 1967 the people of South Carolina are respected throughout the nation.

I believe that South Carolina wants to move forward aggressively in the last half of the 20th century. I believe that my fellow South Carolinians are not only prepared, but are eager, to reach out toward greater achievement. And, on the basis of that conviction, I give you my firm commitment to responsible forward movement.

I would like to believe it is the same kind of commitment my parents must have felt some 40 years ago in a small farm community in Berkeley County. The efforts by my father and others to put as much quality as their resources would allow in a three-teacher schoolhouse near Jamestown gave me opportunities for which I have had many reasons to be grateful.

Proud as I know my parents were of the benefits they were able to provide, I regret that their life span was not long enough to share with me this greatest honor of my life.

As we look back into the history of our state, we discover convincing evidence that we descend from a proud and diligent people. Time has proved the relevance of the motto inscribed on the Great Seal of South Carolina—"While I breathe, I hope."

Your generation and mine has created a new and diversified economic base. We have ceased to imitate and begun to innovate. We are creating new jobs and new hope for those who show their willingness to help themselves. We are setting the pace for a vibrant, New South.

Although our recent economic gains are most gratifying, the cold facts of reality must be recognized and reckoned with. If we are to maintain our lead, and accelerate our thrust toward new horizons, we must come to grips with a basic fact. Vast numbers of our citizens are either under-prepared or under-employed. We must develop a continuing stream of human resources in order to insure a steady flow of progress. The primary requirement for future economic gains will be a reservoir of skilled manpower.

This can be done, and will be done, through vocational and educational training. This is a basic obligation imposed on the leadership of South Carolina today. We must apply our best efforts to the fulfillment of this obligation.

As we make plans and establish priorities for South Carolina, we must recognize those areas in which decisions cannot be postponed. Some of the principal needs requiring immediate attention are in the field of education and training.

We must achieve effective coordination of education at all levels, with ample opportunities for job-oriented, as well as academic training.

More emphasis must be given to the expansion and orientation of graduate programs in our colleges and universities. We know that grants and other resources are going to those institutions which are capable of generating modern research. We also know that industries looking to the future are gravitating toward those states which recognize this relationship.

We must have new laws and new programs to keep more of our children in school. If we encourage illiteracy by ignoring this need, then we are paving the way for a welfare state.

Other areas in which I believe we cannot afford to procrastinate include:

New concepts in industrial financing to avoid competitive disadvantages.

Additional safety measures and fully-supported law enforcement to reduce the toll of highway accidents and traffic deaths.

Reasonable insurance law revisions that will stabilize rates, prohibit arbitrary cancellations, and avoid penalizing the safe driver.

New emphasis on programs to provide more doctors, and to reduce the critical shortage of nurses, technicians, and other medical professionals.

Reorganization in our mental retardation and rehabilitation programs to render more effective and economical service.

Fuller development and increased promotion of our outdoor recreation facilities. This will require a consolidation of services and effort.

Closer coordination and expansion of agencies involved in agricultural service and research.

Another area of concern involves the impact of a growth and shifting population. The transition from a predominantly rural to an increasingly urban society has created new problems which demand new approaches. Air and water pollution, for example, must be dealt with before we are faced with a critical situation.

We must, at the same time, act on other crucial matters involving the structure and continuity of our government. Well-conceived action must be taken on reapportionment, provisions for county government, constitutional revision and election law improvements.

Those of us who have labored together in the Legislature know that real progress is seldom achieved through the ideals of one man; nor can legislation achieve intended results without effective and responsible administration.

That is why it will be my policy—as it has been during these past 20 months—to counsel with many, to keep lines of communication open, to seek the best thinking available for the solution of problems and the realization of opportunities. Thus, when the time comes for action, we are ready to act.

Through prudent and careful management down through the years, we have achieved an enviable reputation for fiscal responsibility. We should not, and will not depart from this basic and sensible course. However, experience has taught us an equally important lesson—that the needs of tomorrow are, in fact, the problems of today.

Unless we are willing to shortchange coming generations, we must be determined to reach out for new goals through responsible growth financing. We live in a dynamic society. We must invest in the future.

We are advocating a program of growth financing that would be planned with the assistance of the best fiscal minds in the state. It should be structured on the basis of sound, business concepts—taking into account our goals for the future and our capacity to achieve them. Either we move forward with this kind of planning, or we will surely move backward.

As we take action to enhance the stature of South Carolina in all of these fields, we will continue to seek out and effectively utilize any and all resources that can be used to our benefit. The resources of the federal treasury have become an increasingly important factor in the extension of services. While these resources have been applied to many needs which the states, themselves, have been unable—or in some cases unwilling—to meet, they have often been misapplied and have impeded effective working relationships between the states and the federal government.

Working with other governors in recent months, I have suggested constructive proposals for improvement of this relationship. The response has been favorable, mainly, I believe, because South Carolina has tried to recognize not only its prerogatives—but its responsibilities, as a state.

We have reached a point where we are being given more responsibility for the conduct of federally-sponsored programs. We have asked for this responsibility. It is now up to us to demonstrate that we are, indeed, willing and able to expand existing programs and initiate new ones to provide for the legitimate needs of our people.

Our determination to move forward has been manifested in many ways in recent years of challenge and decision. But perhaps the greatest tribute to the people of South Carolina is the reputation we have established as a state whose citizens are dignified, fairminded, and respectful of the law.

I firmly believe that we can have no finer purpose than to uphold that reputation. Convinced as I am that this purpose is supported by a large majority of our people in every station of life, I intend to use all of the authority and influence at my command to see that the good name of our state is not tarnished—either by infringement of human rights, or by flagrant disregard for law and order.

I plan to discourage at every opportunity any attitude or suggestion that the law can be treated as a matter of personal convenience. Until laws are changed in our system of representative government, it must be assumed that they represent the will of the majority. We cannot engage in selective enforcement and maintain respect for the law. As law-abiding citizens, we are obligated to give full support to our local and state enforcement officers in their efforts to carry out their duties. To do otherwise will instill doubts in the minds of our children that we truly believe in the legal system and the constitutional form of government to which we pledge our allegiance.

If I could choose one word to use as a guide for the next four years, it would be "responsibility." I hope during the next four years to see many more of our people recognize their responsibility to involve themselves in planning and acting for the future of our state and our communities.

I believe the time was never better for leaders in every field to speak out for the interests of their state. There is no room in South Carolina for those who would subordinate the interests of the whole state to the building of political parties, or the furthering of political ambitions. The worth of an idea can neither be justified nor discredited by the imprint of a party label.

At the same time, government in South Carolina will not be enhanced by the two-party system if it results in promoting purposeless discord and dissension.

Today's South Carolina has no time for obsession with either "black power" or "white backlash." The time was never better to work for an improved climate of understanding—for opinion leaders and editorial writers to encourage action rather than promote reaction.

With the opportunities that are before us, this is not the time—and South Carolina is not the place—for those who are pre-occupied with extremism or petty frustration.

It is a time and a place for resolving problems rather than contributing to divisive frictions—for breaking down artificial barriers to progress—for reaching out to the timeless goal of human betterment through the wider extension of knowledge and the better use of our human and natural resources. This is the time, and South Carolina is the place, for building communities where only the clearly indolent will bear the bitter burdens of poverty and ignorance.

As I look at my state on this January day, I see people looking ahead with new breath and new hope. I see a place where shirt-sleeves are at the elbow and hands are on forward gears—a place where the unskilled become mechanics, and mechanics become technicians—where new opportunities unfold every day for men and women who want better lives for themselves and their children.

South Carolina has the eagerness to move upward—the basis—and the momentum.

When I first took office, 20 months ago, I pledged every fiber of my being and every talent at my command to the end that our progress and the welfare of our citizens would be maintained and improved.

I have attempted to keep that pledge. Today, I renew it.

Thank you.

Today Is 20th Anniversary of Romania's Enslavement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Columnist Dumitru Danielopol, through his personal experience, has had a seat at the scene of the Communist seizure of Romania. His article in the Aurora Beacon-News on February 10, 1967, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of Romania's enslavement, merits special review and I ask leave to insert it in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Aurora Beacon-News, Feb. 10, 1967]

TODAY IS 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF ROMANIA'S ENSLAVEMENT

WASHINGTON.—It happened 20 years ago. On Feb. 10, 1947 a large black limousine drove into the courtyard of the Palais d'Orsay in Paris. It carried George Tatarescu, vice-premier of Romania and minister of foreign affairs.

Officially, he was going to the French Foreign Ministry to sign a peace treaty that was to end the "state of war" between Romania and the Allied and Associated Powers.

What he was in fact doing, was signing the Romanian people into bondage.

I don't know if he fully realized at the time, but as I watched his car arrive that gray, rainy, cold afternoon, I knew there was no hope for Romania.

As secretary general of the economic delegation of Rumania in 1946 I had had plenty of opportunity to see the farcical conditions under which the peace conference had been conducted.

I saw Russia's arrogance, treachery and appetitie at close range.

I also experienced the disinterested attitude of American delegates.

There were supposed to be four Great Powers on the European scene in those days—the U.S., Britain, France and the U.S.S.R.

At that Paris Conference there was only one, the Soviet Union.

With cunning and some astute political moves the Soviets convinced the other three that in order to ensure a lasting peace any treaty should have "Great Power Unanimity."

The three western nations fell into the trap. They gave Russia veto power and although outnumbered, 3–1, the Soviet Union got what she wanted, and more.

The treaties were a disaster.

"Both in substance and in technical drafting they could be compared unfavorably even with the maligned treaties of 1919 and 1920," reflected John C. Campbell, a member on the U.S. delegation, in the book, U.S. in World Affairs.

"They were a far cry from what the people of Europe and America had been given to expect."

After the bitter experience of the war, after all the propaganda and the lip service paid to the principles of the Atlantic Charter, he said Eastern Europe was surrendered to a new tyranny.

The only hope for the people of Eastern Europe at the time was the United States. France had died at Verdun in 1916. Her claim to "Great Power" status was a sham.

Britain was tired and economically exhausted. Her empire was going to pieces and a weak Labor government of Prime Minister Clement Attlee didn't know how to stop it.

The Soviet Union was in shambles.

Four years of bitter and bloody war in her territory, a two-way scorched earth policy, and tens of million people killed left the U.S.S.R. only a shadow of the "greatness" it claimed.

The one and only real power in the world at the time was the United States.

Economically, industrially, militarily America had never been stronger.

Yet in foreign politics the United States was weak.

America was in no mood to stand firm, in no mood for heroics. It was only in a hurry to get the whole thing over with.

"The four allied governments," reported Secretary of States James Byrnes, after his return from a 1946 meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in Paris, "cannot indefinitely delay the making of peace with countries which have long ceased to fight, simply because they cannot agree among themselves on peace terms."

Appeasement of Russia became the order of the day. It was peace at any price.

"The Americans are giving away more than the Russians are asking for," remarked the Communist Romanian boss, Lucretiu Patrascanu, one of the members of the Romanian delegation.

In the hope of befriending the Soviet ogre, Eastern Europe and parts of Germany were fed to him.

What happened since is history.

Tatarescu spent years in Communist prisons. He was released only to die.

Patrascanu was executed by a Stalinist firing squad.

Romania is a police state, trying to find economic recovery in a land that was exploited by the Soviets, then left to the mismanagement of local Communists.

The appeased ogre was not appeased.

One billion people are in captivity.

America has not had one single day of real peace. A cold or hot war has raged ever since. Still no end is in sight.

Now appeasement has another name—"peaceful engagement." It is voiced in Washington even while American soldiers are being killed by Communists.

Will we ever learn?

Dulles Airport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to find in the editorial columns of the Washington Post some words of praise for Dulles International Airport and the suggestion that the air carriers give thought to increased use of this outstanding facility.

The editorial follows:

DULLES AIRPORT

It is to be hoped that Tuesday's great storm may have brought to the attention of the aviation industry a phenomena of which it evidently has not been aware previously: that there is a great international airport outside of Washington which has a fine operating record. Dulles Airport continued to receive and dispatch flights during hours when both Kennedy International Airport in New York and Washington National Airport were closed.

Sooner or later this great facility—with good claim to being the best airport in the world—will be used to its capacity. That it is currently used chiefly as a standby facility for airports less fortunately located is no reflection on the airport. But it is a reflection on an industry that seems unable or unwilling to make good use of the best facilities on the Eastern Seaboard—best in terms of safety, convenience for passengers and efficiency for aviation.

The Appalachian Regional Development Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the testimony of the Honorable Raymond P. Shafer, Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, to the Special Committee on Economic Development of the Public Works Committee of the U.S. Senate on January 26, 1967.

The testimony follows:

TESTIMONY OF THE HONORABLE RAYMOND P. SHAFER, GOVERNOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA TO THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE PUBLIC WORKS COMMITTEE OF THE U.S. SENATE, HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH, CHAIRMAN

Mr. Chairman and distinguished Senators—I am delighted to have this opportunity to give you the views of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania concerning Senate Bill No. 602, amending the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965.

Pennsylvania is keenly interested in every aspect of this Act and the Appalachia Program. As you know, the Appalachian portion of our State has the largest area and population of any of the Appalachian states and our State contributes more to the budget of the Appalachian Regional Commission's operation than any other of the 12 states. You know that beginning July 1, 1967 the states will pay 50% of the costs of the operation of the Commission. This brings home to each of the states and especially to Pennsylvania our large stake in the successful operation of the Program.

I shall divide my testimony in four parts:

1. An overall appraisal of the Appalachia Program.
2. The admission of Mississippi.
3. Other major amendments to the basic law.
4. Authorizations.

OVERALL APPRAISAL

We believe that the Appalachia Program is a good program. We think these amendments and others we propose will make it better.

Looking at practicalities, I am proud to report to you that Pennsylvania has aggressively taken advantage of the program, and it has helped us.

Not including development highways, we have had 85 separate projects approved by the Commission involving $26.5 million of Appalachia funds. More projects have been approved at State level and are before the Commission and Federal agencies now.

Forty-six point seven miles costing $36,507,000 of development highway have been approved, and 48.6 more miles are awaiting clearance.

Eleven access roads have been approved, costing $.5 million.

Thirty-six grant-in-aid projects, involving $6.4 million of Appalachia funds, have been approved. These include help to higher education facilities, hospitals, nursing facilities, libraries and vocational schools.

So we are moving,—getting results from this program.

Equally important, in principle, we find the Program one that force-feeds the growth of *state* responsibilities. When you imposed on the states through this law the duty to originate and select the projects which were to be funded by combined State and Federal funds, you truly took an important step in the revitalization of the Federal system and the development of states responsibilities.

In candor, America today wants to see greater responsibilities, greater activism by the states in solving the problems that they and the National Government confront. The Appalachia Program is a model which could well be applied as an effective system for hitting rapidly and soundly at the problems of our time.

I cannot stress this too strongly.

As you know, I strongly favor tax sharing with minimum restrictions. At the same time, as a companion mechanism to utilize the capabilities of the states and cut through the confusion and red tape besetting the Administration of many federal programs today, I urge you to study and learn from the Appalachia Program. It works.

I respectfully urge that you apply its techniques to many of your other grant programs, which are bogged down and failing to get through to their objects.

ADMISSION OF MISSISSIPPI

Now turning to specific provisions of the bill before you, section 403, amended, would bring 27 counties of Mississippi into the Appalachian region.

Pennsylvania favors the inclusion of these counties of Mississippi on the terms set forth in the Act, namely that adequate funds in each of the various sub-programs covered by the Act, be provided on a pro rata basis for Mississippi.

OTHER MAJOR AMENDMENTS

1. The most important change in the Act, is that which authorizes appropriation of funds to the Commission (section 401), and authorizes the Commission to advance funds for approved programs and projects to the appropriate departments and agencies (sections 102 and 401). At the same time, the Commission will, with the advice of the federal departments and agencies, approve the projects and programs. (This is achieved by appropriate amendment of language throughout the Act.)

Presently, funds are appropriated to the Departments and agencies. They disburse the funds,—on the recommendation of the Commission.

The present procedure is cumbersome. It interposes a review that duplicates the Commission review, and it produces delay and second guessing.

Regrettably, for example, in access roads, Commission approvals have been given as long as a year and a half ago,—but Commerce hasn't yet delivered a penny for these roads.

We strongly support this amendment to section 102, 401 and others related throughout the Act. Together they spell effective, yet duly safeguarded, *action*.

2. Another useful amendment, particularly with the cut-back in federal highway funds, is that to Section 201 which permits *reimbursement* of highway funds if the states can move ahead, but federal funds are consumed. This is, as you know, standard practice in the Inter-State program. It will give much greater flexibility to the States in building their Appalachian Highway system.

3. We support the amendment to Section 202 of the Act which provides for broader more comprehensive multi-county demonstration health facilities as an imaginative approach to solving regional health problems. These amendments will accelerate the fulfillment of comprehensive medical facilities on a demonstration basis; this is a truly worthwhile regional effort.

4. There are two additional amendments we believe should be included, which are not.

First, Section 205 is a critical section of the Act for West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio and Pennsylvania. It provides for mine restoration, the filling of underground voids and the extinguishment of underground mine fires has proceeded well.

But strip mine restoration, a pressing need in conservation and beautification, lags because it is limited to publicly-owned lands. There are few of these. Hence the dollars authorized and appropriated for this program remain virtually unused.

A solution to this problem which would also avoid the "wind-falls" Senator Lausche seeks correctly to prevent, would be the creation of a federal revolving fund to enable the States to purchase at low cost "gutted-out" lands. They could then be reclaimed, resold at higher prices, the proceeds returning to the fund.

States would be eligible for this assistance only where they had rigid strip mine restoration laws to *prevent* spoliation of natural beauty in current operations.

We shall make available to you, statutory language to achieve this program, and we earnestly urge it upon you.

The problem is too pressing to delay further.

Second, it has been the practice of the States to elect and have represent them and the States' Co-Chairmen between meetings, a States' Representative. We recommend that this should be recognized and authorized in the basic law.

For that purpose we recommend that Section 101 have the following sentence added:

"The States may also elect a States' Representative, not from among their number, who shall serve on such terms and conditions as the States may determine".

AUTHORIZATIONS

The Bill before you modestly increases authorizations for specific programs by a total of $10 million over the authorizations of the original law. This merely covers Mississippi's entry into the program.

Approval of these increases is a condition of our approval of Mississippi in the program. We trust your committee will therefore approve these increases if you approve admission of Mississippi.

One authorization is, in Pennsylvania's view, inadequate. This is in Section 201, providing for development highways. The section does not provide either the miles or the dollars needed to include Routes 219 and 119 from the Maryland border to the New York border nor Route 220 from Williamsport to the New York border, in the Appalachian system. This leaves a bad gap in the highway network. To complete a highway system that truly opens up this major Appalachian area of Pennsylvania, additional dollars and miles must be authorized. Specifically we recommend to you that this authorization should be increased by 318 miles and $191 million dollars to complete these highways.

CONCLUSION

The Appalachia Act is a good act.

Pennsylvania and its sister states are doing their responsible best to make it work.

The amendments before you today in the Bill, plus those which Pennsylvania specially seeks will make the Act work even better.

We urge this distinguished committee to report these amendments favorably to the Senate.

Thank you.

Foreign Aid: A Force for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SILVIO O. CONTE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, we are presently on the threshold of another in our series of annual confrontations in this Chamber over the size and scope of our foreign aid program. My views on the subject should be well known to most of my distinguished colleagues, having sat on the Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee since coming to the Congress, and having authored minority views on the program on at least two previous occasions.

I support the concept of foreign aid. In my judgment its impact on world hunger and disease, its encouragement of peace and as a deterrent to war, have more than justified our investment.

I am prepared to support the program again this year, in spite of warnings from the press and elsewhere that powerful opposition is building up against it in the 90th Congress.

The program can and should be revised and improved, of course. I have so advocated in my own minority views appended to previous committee reports on the program. But it should not be sacrificed on the altar of economic austerity.

The program proposed by the administration this year appears to press even further in the direction I have supported and recommended over the years; namely, a greater emphasis on economic aid and less on military assistance.

A number of stories and editorials have appeared in the press recently concerning the scope and thrust of our foreign aid commitment this year. Two of the more incisive and well balanced of these appeared in recent issues of the Washington Post and the Berkshire Eagle, the latter published in my hometown of Pittsfield, Mass.

The Eagle editorial, which, incidentally, quotes some of my own candid observations, emphasizes the need for continuing the program and cites the comparatively modest outlay as opposed to the costs of the war effort in Vietnam.

The Post editorial notes the rhetorical hocus-pocus with which the administration has tried to conceal the true nature of the overall foreign aid program. The Post also rightly decries the administration's preoccupation with slogans and gimmicks in order to sell a program that is basically sound and so vitally essential for world peace and our own national security.

Under unanimous-consent procedures, I submit both editorials to appear at this point in the RECORD and respectfully commend them to my colleagues' attention.

The editorials follow:

[From the Berkshire Eagle, Feb. 10, 1967]

A BETTER FOREIGN-AID BILL

Representative Silvio O. Conte, a longtime backer of U.S. foreign aid programs and an influential member of the House

Appropriations Committee, is convinced that the administration will have to be satisfied with considerably less than its $3.126 billion foreign-aid request this year.

"The President won't get anything like even $2.9 billion," says the Pittsfield congressman. "I'm going to support the bill as usual, but it's getting tougher every year. There are probably enough Democratic opponents to align with Republicans and knock down the President's suggested figures."

The prospect is unwelcome because it happens that in most respects this is a better foreign-aid bill than any in recent years. It deserves passage in substantially its present form.

Its principal virtue is that it makes a marked shift of emphasis from military aid to economic aid. It signals a change in the program that foreign-aid experts long have advocated but have been unable to incorporate in the administration's proposals.

The figures tell the story. Last year President Johnson asked for $2.469 billion in economic aid and got $2.144 from Congress. He asked for $917 million in military assistance and received $792 million (excluding Vietnam war costs). This year the President wants an increase in economic aid to $2.53 billion and a cut in military aid to $596 million.

But the indications in Washington are that these figures will be shaved anywhere from 5 to 20 per cent. The situation in the Senate is much the same as last year, when a great many former foreign-aid champions like Senator J. William Fulbright approved cuts in the program as a means of registering opposition to policies in Southeast Asia. With the conservative bloc buttressed by last November's elections, the new Congress is likely to be more even economy-minded than its predecessors.

And though war costs properly have no bearing on the objectives of the foreign-aid program, the $20-billion-a-year conflict in Vietnam and the threat of a spring tax increase provide ammunition for the cost-cutters.

The counter-argument is, of course, that a nation which can afford the enormously expensive war while preserving prosperity at home can well afford to spend $3 billion to help relieve the conditions that generate unrest. But whether this viewpoint will gain enough adherents in an economy-bent Congress remains in doubt.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Feb. 13, 1967]

FOREIGN AID'S REFORMATION

In the field of foreign aid, as elsewhere, what President Johnson has done—and he has done some very big things—is all too often diminished by the way he does it. What the President has done is to engineer the most sweeping reformation of this country's foreign aid philosophy since the Marshall Plan. His latest foreign aid message to Congress is eloquent testimony to the new faith—to insistence on self-help by beneficiaries, to "multilateralism" in giving and receiving, to economic uplift for its own sake, to a bare minimum of pork-barrel diplomacy.

"Want is the enemy of peace and hopelessness the mother of violence," the President declared, in committing this country to a global responsibility for sensible, hard-headed, sympathetic cooperation in the long, hard business of narrowing the treacherous gulf dividing the rich nations and the poor. "The inescapable lesson of our century," he said, "is that our home is this planet and our neighbors three billion strong."

So far, so good. But if the lesson is inescapable, so is the harsh reality: While the urgent needs of our less developed neighbors on this planet are growing, the efforts of the industrialized nations to meet these needs are faltering. The flaw in the President's otherwise praiseworthy foreign aid message is that it is downright furtive about the very point on which it ought to be most forthright—the true dimension of the problem and the present and future cost.

Twice, he reassured the Congress that United States aid outlays are now less than seven-tenths of one per cent of national income. What he did not say was that while this country's national income has been increasing steadily, foreign aid spending in recent years has been declining progressively.

In all logic, if the problem is as serious as Mr. Johnson makes it sound, this country ought to be prepared to allot a fixed proportion of its resources to the job. Instead, the proportion alloted has been shrinking steadily.

In fairness, it needs to be noted that there is more to the President's program than meets the eye-catching claim that its $3.1 billion total is the lowest ever requested. What that means is that it is the lowest ever requested within the framework of a Foreign Assistance Act, which means nothing—except to Congressmen to careless to count in some additional, and highly important, commitments which the President mentioned only in passing, or not at all.

Among these are $200 million in special funds for the Asian Development Bank; a United States contribution of an unspecified amount to a special fund for the African Development Bank; "new proposals," also unspecified, for replenishment of the Inter-American Development Bank, which will be a major concern of the Latin American summit meeting later this year; and new funds to fulfill existing United States obligations to the International Development Association, the World Bank's lenient-lending offshoot, which the President did not bother to mention, though it faces the need for a major replenishment of funds even after current obligations are met.

It can be argued that the presentation of foreign aid programs has always been something of a shell game and that Mr. Johnson has merely added a few more shells. The same defense can be made, in the name of practical politics, for other gimmickry: the suggestion that Congress state as an "objective" that 85 per cent of development loan funds be disbursed in regional or multilateral frameworks, when that is already the case; the establishment of a National Advisory Committee on Self-Help, to pry into the domestic policies of aid beneficiaries; the old-hat re-emphasis of private investment as the "best, long-term route to rapid growth"; the coining of yet another slogan, the "War on Hunger," and the creation of a new bureaucratic entity to pursue it.

If this is really what it takes to elicit solid support for a worthy case, so be it. A danger remains that the cause will suffer in the long run unless it is sold squarely for what it is worth.

World's Debt to L.B.J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM D. FORD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, in his thought-provoking comments on the problems of the population boom, Clayton Fritchey hails President Johnson as "the first U.S. Chief Executive to face up to the crisis, and deal with it frankly and courageously."

The syndicated columnist goes on to say that if the world wins the desperate battle to overcome population growth before it overcomes the world, a great deal will be owed to the President.

The article is a lucid presentation of the positive steps of the present administration in the face of strong opposition to make family planning a concern of the Federal Government. It notes the short history of this movement and attributes its failure to the fear of past Presidents to take a positive stand on so politically controversial an issue.

Mr. Fritchey concludes that President Johnson has paved the way for a national effort that is rapidly gaining momentum. His article, as it appeared in the Washington Evening Star of February 3 will be of interest to my colleagues, and I ask that it be included in the RECORD.

The article follows:

JOHNSON PAVES WAY IN FIGHT ON POPULATION BOOM

(By Clayton Fritchey)

If the world wins the quiet, but desperate, race to overcome population growth before it overcomes the world (and the outcome is still in doubt) a great debt will be owed to President Johnson.

One reason that it is still a touch-and-go matter is that a systematic attack on this overwhelming problem was delayed for years because the most powerful country on earth either opposed or dragged its feet on all such efforts.

And this negative attitude, which delayed the start of organized governmental programs for so many years, can be laid directly at the door of U.S. Presidents who, for political reasons, shied away from this controversial problem. More than anything else, they were fearful of church opposition.

Johnson is the first U.S. chief executive to face up to the crisis, and deal with it frankly and courageously, even though his intervention has aroused some church reaction, especially from Catholic quarters.

The Johnson approach, both domestically and internationally, is well beyond that of even recent Presidents like Eisenhower and Kennedy. Just eight years ago when Eisenhower was asked about a possible government role in family planning, he snapped, "That's not our business." And when the question of disseminating birth control information arose in the United Nations in 1962, the United States, under Kennedy, refused to go along, a policy that has been reversed under Johnson.

"Family planning as a concern of the federal government has a remarkably short history," says Dr. Philip Lee, assistant secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. It is the understatement of the year.

Last March Johnson told Congress, "It is essential that all families have access to information and services that will allow freedom to choose the number and spacing of their children within the dictates of individual conscience."

In the years to come that many sound bland and cautious, but it nevertheless was a pioneering statement. There are many who still think the government's efforts are excessively timid, but it must be remembered that, while resistance has diminished, the subject is still controversial.

Only a few days ago, in fact, the Vatican weekly, Osservatore Della Domenica, criticised a passage in Johnson's State of the Union message, in which he said, "Nations with food deficits must put more of their resources into voluntary family planning programs."

Also, some weeks ago the U.S. Catholic bishops issued a statement accusing the government of taking the initiative in spreading the word, so to speak, about birth control. They said. "We decry this overreaching by the government, and assert again the inviolability of human privacy."

Yet on the whole the educational program has encountered far less opposition than might have been expected. Last week, for instance, the Roman Catholic archbishop of San Antonio, Tex., approved a proposed community planned parenthood program under certain conditions.

"Human beings," said Archbishop Robert Lucey, "should be judiciously informed of scientific advances and exploration by methods by which spouses can be helped in arranging the number of their children. . . . Planned parenthood shares with us a desire to inform married parents of their responsibility in bearing children."

In another Texas city, Corpus Christi (the first to get family planning funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity), birth control clinics were a big factor in a 41 percent reduction in the number of patients treated after illegal abortions, and a 28 percent drop in hospital births.

In Baltimore, where 14,000 indigent mothers were supplied with contraceptive instruction and devices in 12 months, the National Observer reports that 2,000 fewer births were recorded in 1965 than 1964, a drop of 10 percent. The estimated savings to the city in projected education costs alone exceeded $1 million.

Two years ago, HEW's Children's Bureau says, only 13 states were participating in family planning programs, but this already has jumped to 41. However, the head of the bureau adds:

"The fact is that less than a third of the counties or municipalities in the United States are supporting family planning activities. . . . Only 436 hospitals in the nation (less than 7 percent of the 6,422 that reported) offer family planning services."

So it is evident that the United States is still a long way from realizing Johnson's goal of extending birth control services to "all families" in need, but the President certainly has paved the way for the national effort that is rapidly gaining momentum.

The Alewife: Nuisance Today; Needed Tomorrow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, on several occasions in recent weeks I have called attention to the problems being caused in the Great Lakes by the population explosion among the alewife, a small herringlike fish which now exists by the tens of billions in the Great Lakes.

The alewife has become a number one concern as a serious cause of water pollution. The bodies of the dead fish clog water intakes, litter beaches and create stenches in the business districts of lakeside cities.

If the population of this species could be brought under control, the alewife could be an important element in the rejuvenation of the Great Lakes as a recreational and commercial fishing resource.

In a recent report, the Fish Division of the Michigan Conservation Department reported amazing progress in stocking the Lakes with coho and chinook salmon. Essential to the growth of these species, as well as the indigenous lake trout and steelheads, are substantial numbers of small forage fish to feed on.

The alewife will fit this purpose well—if the fish population of the lakes can be brought into balance.

Today the alewife is crowding out desirable fish, such as the yellow perch and cisco. If the Chinook and coho salmon can become firmly established, however, they will surely trim back the fantastic numbers of the alewife.

To effect the desired balance a new and vigorous program is required. That is why I have introduced a bill which would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to provide $5 million on a matching basis with the States for a coordinated program of research and action designed to control the alewife and eliminate the problems it presently causes.

This bill H.R. 4793, currently is pending before the House Merchane Marine and Fisheries Committee.

I was gratified by the editorial in the Milwaukee Sentinel, Monday, February 13, endorsing the proposal. Because the editorial describes the present situation forcefully, I wish to bring it to the attention of my colleagues by placing it in the RECORD at this point:

NUISANCE FISH

The alewife, a herringlike fish, which seldom grows more than nine inches long, is causing a whale of a problem in Lake Michigan.

It is estimated that there are between three and five billion pounds of alewives in Lake Michigan, a figure that is all the more impressive in view of the fact that the fish didn't really move into the lake until 1949.

CAUSES STENCH AND LITTER

The alewife causes no end of troubles. It clogs water intakes and electric utility facilities. It causes stench, as anyone who has been near the Milwaukee river in season can testify. It litters beaches with dead fish. It is hurting the recovery of the Great Lakes fishing industry, already hard hit because of the severe depletion in fishing resources caused by the marauding lamprey eel. It compounds the pollution problem.

Clearly, the alewife presents a problem that calls for intensive treatment. Rep. Zablocki (D–Wis.) proposes that something be done about it. He has introduced a bill authorizing the secretary of the interior to co-operate with the affected states in conducting research into the problem and carrying out action programs of elimination and control.

The measures would authorize a five million dollar federal appropriations which would be expended on a matching basis with the states acting together in compacts or separately.

There are some commercial possibilities. Already, some alewives are being harvested to be utilized as mink food, pet food and fish meal. But this barely dents the problem. A conservative estimate for the potential growth in commercial production of Lake Michigan alewives under present capacities is 76 million pounds a year, only about 2% of the total amount of alewives in the lake.

Another possible way to reduce the alewife population is to use the fish as a forage food for game fish. But this, as well as the development of commercial possibilities, will require well organized and concentrated research.

It is to be hoped that congress will give speedy approval to the Zablocki bill.

Cal Coeds Serve as Tutors and Friends in Union City Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I know many of my colleagues share my concern regarding potential cuts in our Nation's war against poverty. Many worthwhile and meaningful projects stand in jeopardy because of these severe restrictions in the national budget. An outstanding example of volunteer effort which is threatened with loss of support was described in the January 20, 1967, issue of the Fremont News Register by Miss Diana Jow Dulac. Under the guidance of the Fremont-Newark-Union City Economic Opportunity Agency, which pays for one-fourth of the staff adviser's salary, mileage for the volunteers' car pools, and office and art supplies, 30 University of California coeds volunteer their time and talent to work with low-income Spanish-speaking residents of Union City.

It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that we are very foolish if we attempt to economize by eliminating such projects as the one described in the following article:

[From the Fremont (Calif.) News Register, Jan. 20, 1967]

CAL COEDS SERVE AS TUTORS—AND FRIENDS—IN UNION CITY PROJECT

(By Diana Jow Dulac)

Each Thursday afternoon two young ladies drive up to Searles School in Union City and hurry to their classes.

Once a week the dark-haired coeds from the University of California step from their regular life as students and become teachers.

They are part of a force of more than 30 Cal students who have volunteered to serve as tutors, teacher's aides or just plain friends to a large number of Spanish-speaking people in Union City.

The project, one of several sponsored by Stiles Hall on the Berkeley campus, is part of a program to send volunteers to towns and cities throughout Northern California. The program is in its second year in Union City—in operation since late 1964.

From the beginning the volunteers have worked in the schools, teaching English not only to the children but to adults. Eight volunteers tutor English at the adult school, six more students have close personal contact with some families, visting the homes of several Spanish-speaking people in the evening for instruction in English.

The Union City plan includes the Saturday "Creativity Workshop," a project that involves young children. Volunteers take the children on weekend excursions to such places in the Bay Area as the Steinhart Aquarium and Mission San Jose de Guadalupe.

"These Saturday activities," according to Mrs. Sue Lucas, staff advisor to the volunteers, "are designed to enrich children's experience in such a way that their reading comprehension and general education are helped."

She adds in many cases the weekend journeys mark the first time the children have been to such places.

Nearly 100 students have worked on the Union City Project since it began, with more than one-third of the volunteers returning each year. Most of the students, Mrs. Lucas notes, are upper division or graduate students. They are representative of the diverse student body at Cal—the politically active, politically inactive, sociology majors, English majors, from through California, from other nations. Surprisingly, only a few have set their sights on a teaching career. Virtually all have some training in Spanish and almost one-half of the volunteers are fluent in the language.

Mrs. Lucas also observes the young men and women are "in the program for personal satisfaction"—there is no pay, no college credit for the work they do.

"Throughout the life of the project," she says, "the students and I have relied heavily on the co-operation of the local people and the informed guidance they have given us."

Unfortunately, the future of the Union City Project is in doubt

Staff and program costs are met entirely by the Fremont-Newark-Union City Economic Opportunity Agency. The EOA funds pay for one-fourth of the staff advisor's salary, mileage for the volunteers' car pools, and office and art supplies.

The Union City Project may be threatened because the EOA will have to trim its budget after a recently announced cutback in funds from the Federal government.

An EOA spokesman notes the budget is still being reviewed before cuts are made, but there is a strong possibility the project will be affected.

Undaunted, Mrs. Lucas still hopes volunteer work can continue:

"Expenses for car pools and office supplies will not be reduced too much. What actually will be affected will be my salary.

"We have been preparing letters to plead our case with the EOA. The students want to keep working in Union City and Stiles Hall will do everything possible to keep the project. If necessary we hope to recover the costs elsewhere."

Baker University Celebrates Its 109th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LARRY WINN, JR.

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, on this past Sunday, February 12, 1967, Baker University of Baldwin, Kans., celebrated the 109th anniversary of its founding. Baker, the oldest college in Kansas, is controlled and maintained by the Kansas Conference of the Methodist Church. It was founded by the Kansas-Nebraska Conference of the Methodist Church and named in honor of the conference founder, Bishop Osmon C. Baker.

The school received its charter on February 12, 1858, and under the leadership of its first president, the Reverend Werter R. Davis, began its work of instruction on November 22, 1858, only 4½ years after the opening of the Kansas Territory to white settlers. From that date to the present the college's record of service has been unbroken.

In just the past year, Baker University has shown astounding growth. Seventeen new professors and part-time instructors have joined the staff of the school. The most recent is Dr. Arthur W. Davidson, former chairman of the University of Kansas Department of Chemistry and author of two college chemistry textbooks. He comes as Baker's first visiting distinguished professor.

One of the most exciting programs which Baker is undertaking is the building of a sister college in the country of Botswana in Africa. This summer 12 Baker professors and 18 students will go to Botswana to work in that country for 4 weeks and assist it in building the college. In addition, Bishop Ralph Dodge of Rhodesia will join the Baker faculty in 1968 to head the new African studies program.

With the advent of these new and exciting programs Baker University can look to the future with the same confidence which allows it to build on the solid foundations of its past.

"Fuller Disclosure, Washington Style"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, during recent weeks there has been extensive discussion about the President's administrative budget and the manner in which it was submitted to the Congress.

It is my opinion that this year's presentation of the budget constituted a distinctive improvement over its predecessors. The budget message spoke with a unique clarity that deserves the commendation of the Congress.

Following is an analysis of the President's 1968 budget which appeared in Forbes magazine on February 1, 1967, entitled "Fuller Disclosure, Washington Style":

FULLER DISCLOSURE, WASHINGTON STYLE—WHEN PRESIDENT JOHNSON SENT HIS NEW BUDGET TO CONGRESS A FEW DAYS AGO, IT WAS A DOCUMENT THAT DIFFERED FROM THE TRADITIONAL ONE. FOR THE FIRST TIME, BUSINESSMEN SHOULD BE ABLE TO MAKE SOME SENSE OUT OF IT

The $135-billion administrative budget that President Johnson submitted to Congress late last month, for the Government's fiscal year beginning this July 1, was a new departure. It marks the first attempt of the U.S. Government to figure out in detail what it really is spending the tax dollar for.

Money for What? Says William Capron, a former Assistant Director of the Budget who is now with the Brookings Institution: "Until now, the budget was a document designed to obscure. The new budget opens up everything so that people, especially people in business can see what is going on."

Charles L. Schultze, the present Director of the Budget, says that businessmen "can really learn somehing from the new budget. They can find where and how to sell to the Government, and they might be able to apply some of the new cost-effectiveness-analysis methods we use to their own budgets."

This is why:

In years past, the budget was a mass of detailed figures, agency by agency: How much would go for personnel, how much for procurement, how much for maintenance. Personnel to accompilsh what? Procurement of what? Maintenance of what, to do what? The budget didn't say. Nobody reading it, including the President himself, could really tell whether the agency was spending too much, or too little, or even whether its spending had any purpose at all.

This new budget, as Schultze puts it, "presents tables breaking down Government activities by categories of what's actually going on." Consider, for example, the difference between this year's listing of the Post Office Department and last year's. Last year's merely said the department needed $6.3 billion, an increase of $900 million over 1965. Then it went into a description of the department's plan to establish the zip code. End of paragraph.

This year, the department is asking for $6.8 billion. But the budget explains just what the department plans to spend the money for: direct services (like selling postage stamps) $434 million; processing of mail, $2.3 billion; delivery, $2.7 billion; transportation, $1 billion; enforcing postal laws, $20 million; research and development, $18 million.

The advantage of presenting the budget in this way is obvious. At a glance, it points up a serious deficiency in the Post Office Department: $2.7 billion for door-to-door delivery, only $18 million for R&D. Says Charles J. Zwick, assistant director of the budget: "No modern business even approaching the size of the Post Office Department would operate with that pathetically small appropriation for research and development. Maybe we ought to spend a lot more on Post Office research and development in order to find ways of knocking down that big delivery bill."

Last year the Atomic Energy Commission's allocation was listed in a lump sum. This year's listing gets specific: procurement and production of raw and special nuclear materials, $503 million; military applications, $914 million; space applications, $131 million; fixed-plant power development, $253 million.

Why Fight Coal? Again the advantage is obvious. As Zwick points out, "When budget reporting is done in this way, the public as well as those officially responsible for Government budgeting can begin to ask some interesting questions. For example: Why has so much been allocated for atomic power development? Isn't that something that competes with coal? Isn't that something that might be done better by private industry?"

Compelling agencies to describe exactly what they are doing with the Government's money has turned up some interesting facts. It has revealed, for example, that the Department of Agriculture is spending $209 million a year on 4.9 million acres of timberland in the Rocky Mountains. When Zwick asked Agriculture why, Agriculture explained that it was spending the money to help low-income families in the area. Now, budgetman Zwick asks: "Couldn't the money better be spent on other things to help local income, such as opening ski areas, or mining, or other more profitable forms of production?"

Zwick's question points up what could prove the most valuable thing about the new budget system: It gives the Government at least a clue to determining whether its expenditures are worthwhile. The new budget system already is being used for that purpose by the U.S. Information Agency. In a Southeast Asian country, for example, the USIA recently undertook to measure the money it was spending on pamphlets to reach the rising middle class against the effectiveness of these pamphlets. The agency discovered it wasn't getting its money's worth. Movies, TV and magazine picture stories gave more return on the dollar.

The new budget system was inspired by the cost-effectiveness program that Robert S. McNamara instituted at the Pentagon when he became Secretary of Defense. McNamara couldn't make head or tail of the Defense Department budget. It told him, for example, that the Navy was spending so much for ships; but what did the Navy need these ships for? What was it doing with them?

Nowadays, the Defense Department budget shows how much the Navy is spending for, say, antisubmarine warfare. That way McNamara has some way of determining whether the U.S. is getting anything for its money.

For the U.S. businessman, the new budget system serves two purposes. In the first place, it tells him which government agencies are operating on programs that might have a need for his products. In the second place, a businessman might well want to adapt, in making up his own budget, some of the ways in which the Government is now breaking down the functions of agencies.

At Textron Inc., they already have been adopted. Textron, which does a great deal of defense work, was greatly impressed by the reforms McNamara made in the Defense Department budget. "We are now using a similar form of cost-effectiveness analysis," says Executive Vice President Harvey Gaylord. "We are extending this kind of analysis from our regular commercial areas down into such things as public relations and advertising."

PUBLIC RELATIONS DIVIDEND

Aside from any internal use Washington agencies may make of this kind of budgeting, the new system has an obvious public relations advantage for the U.S. Government. For generations the public has been accustomed to view Government spending as just that—spending. Taxes have been to the public and most of the press a cost item, a lavishing of the people's money. Perhaps only in defense and in local outlays for education could the public see that it was getting services and value received for much of the $100 billion-plus the Federal Government is spending. Now, for the first time—at least for people sophisticated enough to read balance sheets—it will be clear that they are indeed getting goods and serivces for the "cost" that taxes represent to them.

Veterans' Day Program, Clinton High School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, on November 10, 1966, it was my great privilege and honor to address the student body of Clinton High School in my hometown of Clinton, Mass., at impressive exercises to commemorate Veterans' Day.

I have unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the speech I made on this event which I was privileged to share with the outstanding faculty and students of this noted school:

REMARKS IN PART OF CONGRESSMAN PHILIP J. PHILBIN AT VETERANS' DAY EXERCISES, CLINTON HIGH SCHOOL, NOVEMBER 10, 1966

It is a great honor, a high privilege and a genuine pleasure to join you today at these very well arranged exercises to commemorate Veterans' Day.

The kind invitation came to me virtually as a command because Clinton High School, its distinguished teachers, its students, its alumni and everything pertaining to it is very close and dear to my heart.

There is a tremendous tradition associated with Clinton High School that traces back to the early days of this great hometown of ours and has come down to us through the years. There are few if any secondary schools in this nation or anywhere else for that matter that could boast of the distinguished history and record of our beloved Clinton High.

If time permitted I could talk a long time but will not today about the tremendously rich and valuable heritage, accomplishments, achievements, teachers and graduates of this great school.

Clinton High was founded by zealous high-minded leaders and educators, great men and women who were influenced by their belief in the Almighty, superb patriots who passionately loved individual liberty, the principles of the American Constitution, the virtues of the free way of life, zealous patrons of the Arts and Sciences, staunch believers in this system of government and free enterprise. These folks were endowed with highest ideals and zealously followed the religious and spiritual principles which they embraced. They were great inspirers, great teachers, great uplifters of the youth and the community, highly motivated, just as your own very distinguished teachers of today are, to counsel wisely and to guide and direct intelligently and well those who came under their charge.

I wish I could touch more in detail upon the lives and contributions of some of these men and women because they laid here the foundations for this outstanding institution which has done so much for Clinton, its young people and for our beloved Commonwealth and nation as well.

It is teachers and leaders like these who through the years made Clinton High School the effective influence for good in the training, educating and enlightenment of our youth that it is today.

And I am proud to note that their high standards and motivation, zeal of leadership and perfectionism in all things that relate to sound education and lofty citizenship are well represented and well exemplified by your present able and distinguished Superintendent Sheridan, your able and distinguished Principal, Mr. Gibbons, and all the other fine teachers who serve you so well in this noted, well-appointed, secondary school.

If I had the time, I could tell you something about the great men and women that have come out of this school in the past and that have gone on to higher institutions of learning and have distinguished themselves in the professional business and public life of this country.

Of course, I do not have the time adequately to deal with this subject, to recite the large numbers of Clinton High School graduates who have gained great distinction for themselves in later life and have contributed greatly to the country in so many ways.

It would perhaps suffice, if I were to stress this one almost unbelievable fact that, in a period of six or seven years sometime ago, Clinton High School graduated four future members of Congress, two of them in one class, your speaker, and my classmate, Congressman James G. Donovan of New York, who almost single-handedly successfully fought the Communist conspiracy in New York City, and in the succeeding class, our friend, Congressman Joseph E. Casey, for years an outstanding Member of Congress, and a few classes before that time, Congressman Edward Kenney, another outstanding member of the House from the great state of New Jersey, the uncle of the Honorable Joseph E. McGuire, outstanding young public servant from Worcester. And then of course, before that time and since we had the great Senator David I. Walsh and a host of others.

I suppose, and I certainly do not want to appear to be boasting, that there is no High School in all this country that can come up to this record, and frankly it has always inspired me, because it pinpoints in such a remarkable way the wonderful heritage of Clinton High School.

It brilliantly illustrates that this school reaches out beyond the individual to the community, the country, and the outside world to encourage, and inspire, and train boys and girls to move up in life, to make something out of themselves, so to speak, and where possible to serve their fellow-man in the spirit of our old class motto "Every day some nobler deed."

I have confidence that you and those who come after you in this fine school will follow this standard and I certainly hope you will gain all your aims and goals.

Now for the subject of Veterans' Day.

It is not possible for any of us to pay adequate tribute to the Veterans of America, whether they sleep in honored glory as hero dead, or recline or sit back helpless in some hospital room, or their home, or whether they still live and actively serve.

No words could ever picture their bravery and sacrifices, and no encomiums and no expressions of gratitude could ever adequately thank them for what they have done.

For in truth, in many wars, in every war of history since this nation was founded, they have gallantly responded to the call of country and duty and honor with little or no thought of themselves.

They have gone forth from their homes, their schools, their places of business and their work, yes, even from their churches, to stand fearlessly against the enemies seeking to destroy it, and they have offered their lives, when necessary, on the sacred altar of American patriotism to save and protect this nation and the liberties and the opportunities and the blessings it has bestowed upon its people.

Very many of our veterans sleep in honored glory in places far removed from home the world over, where they were stricken in deadly battle fighting for the liberties and opportunities that we enjoy. Some of them lie in military cemeteries abroad, or in some sheltered spot, or even in the nameless dust of the past.

One of them, selected by lot, lies in the great Capital of the nation at Washington surrounded by pomp, grandeur, glory and perpetual honor guards.

If you could ask his name and who he was, whether he was black or white, Jew or Gentile, Catholic or Protestant, race, nationality or creed, if he could respond, he would answer in simple words "I was an American who died for my country."

When we consider this kind of sacrifice, my friends, so willingly made in order that this nation might live, that these freedoms and liberties we enjoy might be preserved, we can readily understand that nothing we can do or say could possibly pay these veterans adequate honor or discharge the great debt we owe them.

But there is one thing that we can do to show that we appreciate what they have done for us, and what they have "so nobly advanced" as the great Lincoln put it, to save this nation, and that is, in our day and in the way that is given to us, in the fervor and spirit that our Creator has implanted in our hearts, the energy and life that he has given us, and the learning, the talents and the abilities with which he has endowed us to try as best we can to emulate their example with loyal devotion and wholehearted service in time of strife or peace, to defend, protect and preserve our great heritage of liberty and to hand it down to those who follow us untarnished, untrammeled, unfettered, as eternal testimony of our own contributions to God and country even better than we found it.

And let us remember that there are few, if any, greater services that we as individuals, or as a nation, could render to the ideals, the principles, and the memory of the valiant and the brave; whom we honor today, than to carry out the mandate which they fought and died for, to establish an enduring peace with freedom under God, to join hands with all Americans and all of mankind, as we pledge ourselves to sustain the safety and security of this great land, come what may, in order to put an end to the mockery and calamity of war before a nuclear holocaust destroys all civilization, and install a universal lasting peace based on honor, justice, understanding and amity for all the peoples of the earth.

Tomorrow, as we have done from earliest days, Clinton will celebrate Veterans' Day with prayers, heartfelt gratitude, and fond recollections of the loved ones and the heroes, the valiant and the brave, who served with unstinted devotion.

We will commence this program with a religious remembrance in honor of Clinton's most illustrious son, the late Senator David I. Walsh, esteemed and beloved graduate of this school, veteran statesman-patriot, who left the indelible impression of his zeal and great work for freedom, justice and peace upon the annals of this great government and in the hearts of the people.

This fitting program will continue with special military exercises in honor of all our veterans whose hallowed services we honor. I hope we will all join together as neighbors, friends, admirers in this appropriate tribute to the memory of those whose unselfish service to this country will never be forgotten to the end of time.

Let me thank you warmly, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Gibbons, Mr. O'Rourke for giving me the high privilege of being with you today. Thank you all for your kind attention and your inspiring friendship which I prize more than I could ever tell you. Keep up your good work and strive your best for your own place of usefulness and service and for the greater glory of Clinton High and the great town, state and country we love. Thank you all.

Wilderness Next Door

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, 30 miles west of New York's Times Square lies New Jersey's great swamp, an area which constitutes an invaluable natural resource, not only for conservationists in my State, but for the Nation as well.

At a time when the "asphalt jungle" of urban civilization is encompassing an ever-larger share of the eastern seaboard, the swamp's 13,500 acres of unspoiled beauty have survived as an important "open-air laboratory" for the natural scientist. As the New York Times expressed it, the great swamp serves as a "spiritual resource for human beings in search of greenery and solitude."

I should like to insert in the RECORD an excellent article which appeared in the February 12, 1967, edition of the New York Times magazine by Mr. Brooks Atkinson. I am also inserting an editorial from the Times of the same date. In documenting the redeeming value of this wilderness area, which Mr. Atkinson describes as "Good for Nothing—But Life, Knowledge, Peace, and Hope," the author has rendered a great service to the State of New Jersey. I commend his article, and the accompanying wildlife photographs—which unfortunately cannot be reproduced in the RECORD—to the attention of my colleagues.

Mr. Speaker, the great swamp of New Jersey has retained its independence for many thousands of years. History will surely confirm the wisdom of preserving this unique natural monument for the benefit of posterity.

WILDERNESS NEXT DOOR

New Jersey's Great Swamp is a wilderness at the city's doorstep. Only thirty miles west of Times Square, it is a uniquely valuable stretch of marsh and forest lying unspoiled next to densely congested industrialized areas.

In an article in today's Times Magazine, Brooks Atkinson describes the beauty and the many uses of the Great Swamp. For scientists and students, it is an open-air laboratory. For waterfowl using the Atlantic Flyway, it is a resting place. For wood duck and other species, it is a nesting ground. As a major source of the Passaic River, it helps to regulate flooding and to decrease pollution in an environment seriously disordered by man. Most of all, it is, in Mr. Atkinson's words, "a spiritual resource" for human beings in search of greenery and solitude.

Next Friday the United States Fish and Wildlife Service will hold a hearing in the Morris County Nature Center in Chatham Township on its plan to designate part of the swamp as a Wilderness Area. We strongly endorse this proposal, but the protected area should extend beyond that now suggested by the Fish and Wildlife Service to include the adjoining marsh, the so-called "Harding Unit."

The fragile, perpetually menaced wilderness of the Great Swamp is too precious a resource for this metropolitan area to permit acceptance of half-measures.

GREAT SWAMP IS GOOD FOR NOTHING—BUT LIFE, KNOWLEDGE, PEACE AND HOPE

(By Brooks Atkinson)

(Brooks Atkinson, for 30 years The Times drama critic, then critic at large, and now retired, has written eight books, all of which testify to his knowledge of and fondness for nature. His first was "Skyline Promenade," published in the mid-twenties; his most recent, "Brief Chronicles," published last year.)

After ten or eleven thousand years, another winter has seized Great Swamp in Morris County, New Jersey. The trees are bare, the snow is crusted, the marshes are frozen and little slivers of ice cling to the edges of brooks. In comparison with the life of the other seasons there is not much to see except tree sparrows, in the bushes or among the weeds; titmice; a mocking bird puffed out against the cold; a pheasant; Canada geese; a barred owl, and a few indolent white-tailed deer. Winter has locked up this ancient reservoir of life.

Although the difference between ten and eleven thousand years is stupendous by the standards of human life, it is trifling in geological terms. The exact date when the Wisconsin ice sheet melted into the north and left the physical structure of Great Swamp is not a matter of disturbing consequence. All that concerns the residents of the region today is that the retreating glacier left a wild swamp that has remained autonomous to this day, and puts a solid foundation under modern life.

It is a natural masterpiece, only 30 miles west of Times Square. When the air is clear you can see the peak of the Empire State Building from the ridges of geological till that surround the swamp. The contrasts are dramatic. Thirty million people live in big and small houses in the surrounding terrain; automobiles and trucks choke the cement highways that sweep around the swamp; railroads cut by on both the north and the south. Great Swamp is so centrally located to business and industrial institutions that the Port Authority would like to tear it apart and make it into a jet airport.

But for many thousands of years Great Swamp has retained its independence and preserves in the midst of megalopolis a living patch—seven miles long and three miles wide—of primitive America. "Progress" has stopped where Great Swamp begins. In New Jersey the density of the population is 833 people to a square mile. But no one lives in the interior of Great Swamp. Even in 1967 some parts of it are impenetrable because of quicksand and thick vegetation.

There was a time, not more than a half-century ago, when the word "swamp" was the equivalent of "waste" or "danger." Swamps occupied wasteland that most people thought should be developed into real estate. Swamps harbored snakes and vermin. Swamps held stagnant water that was suspected of breeding agues and diseases. Escaped slaves hid in swamps; escaped prisoners disappeared there. In most respects swamps were regarded as blights in the community.

But swamps are now regarded as essential links in the chain of life. When, in 1959, the Port Authority first proposed to debase Great Swamp into a jet airport, people in the surrounding communities organized into local units and raised $1.5-million to buy 3,000 acres, which they turned over to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to be managed as the Great Swamp National Wildlife Refuge. By 1965 the donors assumed that they had succeeded in preserving Great Swamp. The basic motive was no doubt to spare the community the bedlam of an airport; and the nonprofessional campaign to raise money was widely recognized as an admirable instance of voluntary civic action.

Exclusion of an airport was not the only motive. Ever since the Morris County Park Commission built a nature center for classes and lectures, and the Fish and Wildlife Service built a boardwalk into one part of the swamp, and the Garden Clubs of Summit and Somerset Hills built an observation tower in another wild area, thousands of visitors have been going to Great Swamp to see the splendor of the laurel blooms in the spring, the calla lilies, marsh marigolds and pink lady's-slippers, the wood ducks, the herons and bitterns as well as the deer and the fox.

For many years professional and amateur naturalists have realized that Great Swamp teems with multitudinous forms of life. It has become a classroom for schoolchildren. For students at nearby Drew University, at the College of St. Elizabeth and at Fairleigh-Dickinson it serves as a field laboratory. James W. Hand Jr. of Green Village, a former president of the Summit Nature Club, compiled a list of 178 species of birds seen in Great Swamp from September, 1949, to March, 1964. More than half of them nest in the swamp. Woodcock, snipe, grouse and pheasants are abundant, either as migrants or residents. Dr. Robert K. Zuck and Mrs. Zuck of the botany department of Drew are collecting the plants of Great Swamp. In previous lists the plants had been estimated at about 85. The Zucks have already collected more than 600 and expect to collect more than 1,000 before they are finished.

The deer population of Great Swamp is thought to be about 200. Other mammals include muskrats, weasels, mink, raccoons, striped skunks, red and gray foxes, opossums, woodchucks and cottontails. Their tracks are everywhere. In Great Brook and the Passaic River, which gets about half of its water from Great Swamp, bass, white perch, catfish, sunfish and carp can be taken. Primrose Brook, which is a branch of Great Brook, is stocked with trout.

Every swamp is unique. But those who explore Great Swamp regard it as unique because it contains both northern and southern species of trees, and because little islands throughout the swamp retain trees that are of virgin growth. In addition to sweet gum, sour gum, tulip trees, black and yellow birch, pin oak, black oak and red oak, the swamp contains some white oaks of prodigious size. One of them stands 95 feet high and has a diameter of 4 feet 9 inches. Some of the beeches are also enormous; one has a trunk 14 feet in circumference. Some of these msasive trees are though to be from 300 to 500 years old—in other words, dating from colonial days, or possibly from several years before Columbus sighted San Salvador Island. An oblong bowl of lowlands that used to be regarded as worthless is now recognized as a museum of thousands of years of natural history and a rich storehouse of wildlife of today.

Although the Port Authority can destroy Great Swamp expeditiously, no organization of human beings and inhuman machines could have built it. The structure is too vast in scale. In point of fact, it began 185 million years ago when the red shale on which Great Swamp rests was laid down. Ten million years later the Watchung Mountains, now covered with suburban houses, boiled out of the ground in the form of volcanic lava. Fifty thousand years ago (recent history in the timetable of geology) the Wisconsin glacier started creeping south; it reached its southern limit about 12,000 years ago. When it started to melt it left walls of gravel and sediment that contained a lake 160 to 240 feet deep, 30 miles long and 8 to 10 miles wide. It existed for about 1,000 years.

People who live in new houses on the hills surrounding Great Swamp can blame their steep driveways on the Wisconsin glacier. It left a terminal moraine not well suited to constructing level lawns or roads. The trouble caused by icy driveways this winter began thousands of years ago. Traces of the sediment left by the glacier can still be found on the slopes of the Watchung Mountains and Long Hill, which were islands. Before Lake Passaic drained out through the Little Falls gap near Paterson, it lasted long enough to lay down a solid clay deposit 60 to 80 feet deep that today keeps the ground water flowing through a gravel and sand aquifer beneath. Surface water hardly penetrates the clay bottom of Great Swamp. Surface water nourishes the vegetation and transpires into the atmosphere; and since the swamp slopes 17 feet, surface water slowly moves through the marshes and three-quarters of it eventually flows into the Passaic River. Between the time of the advance of the glacier and the time it retreated, about 4,000 years elapsed. That is a tremendous investment of time in the shallow bowl of forest and marshes that now constitutes a unique entity. Modern bulldozers, draglines and dump trucks could reshape it into the form of an airfield in three or four years.

Man has had a long history in the swamp. In 1965, a member of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey found a stone javelin estimated to be about nine thousand years old. That was the period of nomadic hunters. Members of the chapter who have dug on the perimeter of the swamp have discovered 37 Indian sites of much more recent origin—3,000 years, perhaps. In modern history the records of deeds show that William Penn and two of his sons owned 6,000 acres of Great Swamp in 1667. Men have been picking away at it ever since. During the American Revolution trees were cut to make charcoal for smelting iron. Brick and potash industries were begun. In the nineteenth century the forests were ransacked for ships' timbers and railroad ties. A factory that made fruit baskets depended on the swamp for raw materials. Swamp meadows still produce what is termed "foul" hay. There have been farming and grazing projects on fields that stand above the waterline.

People still live as close to the swamp as possible, paying for their proximity with wet cellars and roads that are occasionally flooded and impassable Attempts have been made to drain the swamp. But Great Swamp is essentially impregnable. The energy of every attempt to tame the swamp eventually succumbs to the swamp's indomitable character. It can be imposed on; some kinds of compromise can be made with it. But so far it has not been absorbed into the fabric of civilization.

This coming Friday the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service will hold hearings in the Morris County Nature Center, at the end of Jay Road in Chatham Township, on a proposal to designate part of the area now managed by the service as a Wilderness Area. If the proposal is accepted, a section named for the late M. Hartley Dodge, one of the pioneers in saving the swamp, will be maintained as a wild area, with trails and roads restricted to foot travel. Meantime, the Government continues to buy additional tracts of land in the roadless area of unspoiled swamp and wooded knolls. It now owns about 4,500 acres (including the 3,000 it was given) and this figure may rise to 6,000 by the end of the year.

To people in love with the life and lore of the swamp and its sequestered beauty, the dynamic signs of the Bureau of Fish and Wildlife are gratifying. The design of the flying goose on signs posted everywhere means that a large part of Great Swamp is already under professional management. It means that the wildlife will be preserved and the public invited in. It means that hunting will be supervised and controlled.

Apart from the wood ducks, bluewinged teal and other water fowl that nest in the swamp, millions of land and water birds migrate twice a year through Great Swamp, which is only 25 miles from the mouth of the Hudson River and is part of the great Atlantic Flyway. At present the refuge produces about 275 newly hatched ducks a year. The Wildlife Service expects to increase production to 1,500 young ducks and 150 young geese each season. By building low dikes that will stabilize the level of the water, the service will also make the swamp more useful for migrating birds. It will plant about 300 acres of the small grains that water birds feed on. Eventually, the agency hopes to make the refuge the sort of habitat it was 100 years ago.

No man is an island, as John Donne declared; and in ecology no species, including man, can destroy the environment and survive. Great Swamp is a spiritual resource. In the midst of a dense tangle of people, facilities and factories it provides an enclave of about 10,000 acres where people can find solitude. Anyone who travels from Hoboken to Morris County can see how urgent it is to conserve an open retreat against the bedlam and ugliness of an industiral jungle. Across the Jersey marshes the landscape looks frantic. The scramble of bridges, tracks, highways and power lines, the hodgepodge of billboards, storage tanks and junkyards are not only dreary. They look desperate. They debase the landscape. They are symbols of a shrill, competitive, nervous disorder that has destroyed much of the beauty of America and much of the joy of being alive. The pace is fast, but the blight is permanent.

Since the climate has not been uniform during the last ten or eleven thousand years, we cannot assume that all the winters at Great Swamp have been identical with this one. Some have been colder; some have been warmer. But this shallow bowl of water, marsh, meadow and forest preserves in the midst of a harsh metropolitan area a harmonious part of the America that has always been. In Great Swamp nothing essential has changed since the mammoth glacier receded. The rhythms of life through the seasons and through the ages continue thier mysterious dance. In the winter the woods are virtually silent. There are no sounds except the detached tap of a woodpecker or the chance cry of a bluejay. Under the pale sky the marsh ice looks gray, with occasional spots of gold where the sun falls on it.

All around Great Swamp property values rise because the population is increasing and the supply of land remains the same. In Great Swamp the property values are low because the land is good for nothing except life, knowledge, peace and hope.

Arab Refugees and the Palestine Liberation Army

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a statement by me at the annual B'nai Zion Order Day Dinner in New York this past Sunday:

It often seems to me that many in the position of leadership and trust are like children playing with matches. We gaze with amazement as some men, presumably adults, use a topsy-turvy logic, if such it can be called, that would lead any reputable psychiatrist to conclude that this was the behavior of the emotionally unstable. I have particular reference to the Arab refugee problem from whence has sprung that particularly noxious band of men called the Palestine Liberation Organization headed by Ahmed Shukairi, its self-styled leader or fulminator, if you please.

Seventeen years ago the United Nations formed the United Nations Relief and Works Administration. Its mandate: to terminate not later than December 31, 1950, unless otherwise directed by the Assembly and to take "constructive measures . . . at an early date with a view to termination of international systems for relief". Seventeen years later the end is not yet in sight. Who are these refugees today? How many are there? Who were these refugees seventeen years ago? And how many were they? How many have been rehabilitated? How many absorbed? A few figures are in order at this point. An early report for the period July 1, 1963 to June 30, 1964, and by this I mean the report of UNRWA itself, showed 1,280,000 Arab refugees were being maintained by UNRWA, 256,000 were already self supporting and no longer needed UNRWA's help. In the 1965–66 report of UNRWA we read that of the 1,317,749 refugees under United Nation's care only 861,122 were registered for rations. Of the remaining 456,627, apparently did not need them. Yet of this number at least 150,000 are admittedly dead, absent, or ineligible. Thus more than half a million among the 1,317,949 who are taken care of by UNRWA are no longer refugees as we understand the term, but whom UNRWA still calls "the uprooted Arab refugee". Senators Gore and McGee, in making a tour of the Middle East reported to the State Department that the ration cards "had become chattel for sale, for rent or bargaining by any Jordanian, whether refugees or not, needy or wealthy. These cards are used as security for loans from many lenders, for credit from merchants, almost as negotiable instruments". Further, the figures show, and this is not a quote from the Senators, that between July, 1950 and June, 1966, the UNRWA rolls showed a total of 570,785 births, and only 112,275 deaths, a most incredible figure as any health statistician can tell you. The pretense of rehabilitating the Arab refugee has been dropped. Now he is merely fed with a ration card, a commodity of barter or bribe. It is perfectly clear that the Arab Governments are exploiting the plight of refugees (I am talking of those who are genuinely in need) for their anti-Israel crusade. The UAR, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon, the host governments of the refugees have frustrated every effort toward a solution of the problem.

At this point nobody seems to make an effort to remember that the refugee problem was brought on by the Arab war against Israel in 1948. At that time the British survey of Palestine established that on December 31, 1944, a total of 640,000 Arabs were living in the present area of Israel; the natural increase during the following forty months, that is until May 1948, the Declaration of the Independence of the State of Israel and the month of the Arab war against Israel, would amount to about 56,000, making a total of 696,000. Of these, about 142,000 remained. 35,000 were subsequently permitted to return to Israel to be reunited with their families. This makes 519,000 refugees who could have gone into "exile". My, how they have grown. Now, as I have said before, 1,317,749 as of June 30, 1966. I say without fear of contradiction that those heads of government, and I mean particularly the host governments, the United Arab Republic, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon have played an indefensible game using human beings as political pawns. I state flatly that UNRWA is a failure, that the reason for its existence has been perverted, and the United Nations has acted less than honorably in not ordering a thorough and objective investigation of this situation to determine the true facts and to determine the composition of UNRWA, its employees, its salaries, so that a conclusion may be reached why UNRWA has failed. Beyond that, the United Nations owes a duty not only to clean house within UNRWA but to stop forthwith the fulmination of such agitators as Ahmed Shukairi. The refugees themselves have been cruelly deceived and the peace in the Middle East stymied.

The Commissioner General of the United Nations, Mr. Michelmore, in a report to the United Nations, stated:

"According to a declaration of September 1964 by the Council of Kings and Heads of State of the League of Arab States, the [Palestine Liberation] organization was established 'to consolidate the Palestine entity, and as a vanguard for the collective Arab struggle for the liberation of Palestine.'"

We all know that the military arm of the Palestine Liberation is the Palestine Liberation Army. It has a budget which has supported recruiting and training facilities and the training itself is carried out in the Gaza Strip under the Egyptian Army as well as in the Sinai Desert, and in Syria and Iraq. The New York Times reports that there are some 6,000 Palestine Army recruits in the area and that armed penetration into Israel has already commenced. This recruiting is done, mark this, from the ranks of the Arab refugees for which refugees the United Nations has already spent $535,397,505, and the United States pays 70% of that fund. Is it any wonder then that strenuous objection has been raised to permitting authorized funds to be spent for Arab refugees who are members of the Palestine Liberation Army? The excuse was offered that members of the Palestine Liberation Army could not be identified. This is utterly absurd. The conscription of the Palestine Liberation Army applies to the age group between 1937–1944 and the duration of the military service is now two years. It is easy enough to withhold ration cards from this age group and place the burden upon persons of that age group to establish that they are not members of the Palestine Liberation Army. It would appear that this is a clear-cut case. Why should the United Nations appropriate money to an organized group with assistance from governments in direct violation of a non-intervention U.N. resolution which reads:

". . . no State shall organize, assist, foment, finance, incite or tolerate subversive, terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the regime of another State".

To consider that there may be two sides to this story reminds me of the time a writer complained to a magazine, which shall remain nameless, that it was publishing a number of anti-Semitic stories. The magazine replied by stating that it attempted to publish both sides of any story, as if there could be two sides to anti-Semitism. It is time to explode the Shibboleth that every story has two sides.

Sadly enough, though the United States objected to contributions made to members of the Liberation Party, it acceded to what is to my mind, a shabby comprise. The Commissioner General reported that, since there is a difference of opinion between contributing countries and host countries about the agencies issuing rations to young men in military training by the Palestine Liberation Organization, it has added a special donation to the amount of $150,000 which would be used as rations for young men in the Palestine Liberation Army. Well, if you can identify those who are to receive the benefits of the "donated" $150,000, certainly you can identify them for the portions of any contributions made by the UN itself. The donations come from, not presumably but definitely, the Arab States. Yet this "donation" will be administered by UNRWA, a United Nations child, the compromise agreed to by the UN, and as a result you find by a very simple equation that in so doing the UN by indirection gives aid and comfort to the Palestine Liberation Army.

I do not intend to let this matter rest. The House Foreign Affairs Committee has already shown its dismay and has made cuts in the United States contributions, but the matter should not be laid aside. You may well believe me that it will not.

Robert E. Lee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the following address is truly outstanding, and I recommend it to my colleagues in the Congress and to every loyal American.

This splendid address was given by Col. Austin P. Gattis, Marine Corps, on January 21, 1967, in commemoration of Gen. Robert Edward Lee's birthday—January 19. The program was held in Statuary Hall of the U.S. Capitol, sponsored by the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

The address follows:

ADDRESS GIVEN BY COL. AUSTIN P. GATTIS, USMC RESERVE ON JANUARY 21, 1967 IN STATUARY HALL, U.S. CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D.C., AT THE 160TH BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATIVE PROGRAM HONORING GEN. ROBERT EDWARD LEE, PRESENTED BY MRS. WAYNE RICHARD DE LANEY, PRESIDENT, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA DIVISION, UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE CONFEDERACY. MRS. ALFRED VERNON HALL, PRESIDENT GENERAL, UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE CONFEDERACY IN ATTENDANCE

Madame President, Madam President General, Distinguished Guests, Daughters and Friends.

It is a distinct honor and a privilege for me to join with you in paying homage to the memory of one of the most illustrious men in our history. It is therefore befitting that his statue, that stands here in this great hall, is simply inscribed LEE—VIRGINIA. There is no question in anyone's mind as to which Lee, for there were many great men of Virginia who bore the last name of Lee, but there was only one Robert Edward Lee.

Robert Edward Lee became a legend in his own lifetime and today, across a gulf of over 100 years, this man's memory is venerated and respected throughout the world.

The men who he opposed and who suffered the terrible thunderbolts he unleashed against the in battle, dubbed him "Lee The Incomparable." It is only natural that the people of the Southland should hold him in high esteem, but to be beloved by one's enemies is, in the least extraordinary and his harshest critics then and now, could not and cannot find anything to detract from the legend or the character of the man. Never a simpler, truer, or more scrupulously honest human ever existed, and it seemed that those who knew him best, loved him the most.

With a bearing of austere dignity, Stephen Vincent Binet, in his poem "John Brown's Body", characterized him as a man of marble, he gave the impression that he was a cold and unsympathetic nature. It has been written that General Lee's only intimate friend was GOD.

Today, it is generally known, what his friends knew during his lifetime—that under the grave exterior of the soldier, oppressed with care and anxiety, beat a warm and kindly heart, full of sublime gentleness. As we examine the letters he has written to family and friends, we begin to discern a man, charitable, forebearing, patient natured, magnanimous without effort, all this from the native impulses of his heart. Lee was a genuinely honest man, incapable of duplicity in thought or deed, wholly good and sincere, inspired always under all temptations by that intangible ingrediant which purifies and enobles, resolutely bent, in the darkest hours as in the brightest to the full performance of his duty.

This man, of whom Thomas Jonathan Jackson once said, "He is the only man, I would follow blindfolded," drew his strength from a complete trust in the living God that made him, A God who he worshiped with unassumed humility.

In an oft quoted letter written to his son, George Washington Custis Lee, a cadet at West Point, the soldier father reveals the philosophy which needs to be reborn in our leadership and our people in these days of uncertainty, confusion and travail.

With your indulgence, I should like to read this letter in its entirety.

"You must study to be frank with the world; frankness is the child of honesty and courage. Say just what you mean to do on every occasion, and take it for granted you mean to do right. If a friend asks a favor, you should grant it, if it is reasonable; if not, tell him plainly why you cannot; you will wrong him and wrong yourself by equivocation of any kind. Never do a wrong thing to make a friend or keep one; the man who requires you to do so, is dearly purchased at a sacrifice. Deal kindly, but firmly, with all your classmates; you will find it the policy that wears best. Above all, do not appear to others what you are not. If you have any fault to find with anyone, tell him, not others, of what you complain; there is no more dangerous experiment than that of undertaking to be one thing before a man's face and another behind his back. We should live, act, and say, nothing to the injury of anyone. It is not only best as a matter of principle, but it is the path to peace and honor.

"In regard to duty, let me, in conclusion of this hasty letter, inform you that, nearly a hundred years ago, there was a day of remarkable gloom and darkness—still known as 'the darkest day'—a day when the light of the sun was slowly extinguished, as if by an eclipse. The Legislature of Connecticut was in session, and as its members saw the unexpected and unaccountable darkness coming on, they shared in the general awe and terror. It was supposed by many that the last day—the day of judgment—had come. Someone, in the consternation of the hour, moved an adjournment. Then there arose an old Puritan legislator, Davenport, of Stamford, and said that, if the last day had come, he desired to be found at his place doing his duty, and therefore, moved that candles be brought in, so that the House could proceed with its duty. There was quietness in the man's mind, the quietness of heavenly wisdom and inflexible willingness to obey present duty. Duty, then, is the sublimest word in our language. Do your duty in all things, like the old Puritan. You cannot do more. you should never wish to do less. Never let me or your mother wear one gray hair for any lack of duty on your part."

"Duty, the sublimest word in our language," wrote Lee—Duty to his God, Duty to his Country, Duty to his State, Duty to his People, and Duty to a Cause he knew to be right and just, this defines the character and spirit of Robert E. Lee.

Every fiber of his being was wholly devoted to that one "sublime word."

A man of lesser character and of lesser faith could not have borne the burdens imposed by four terrible years of war, much less maintain a silence on the occurences of the years that followed. The tremendous influence he wielded over his comrades-in-arms and the Southern People, was exemplified in the complete collapse of Southern Resistance after his surrender at Appomattox, and the hero's orations he received along the road back and upon his entrance into Richmond.

Is it any wonder, then, that Robert Edward Lee, should also merit the eulogy delivered by his father, General Henry Lee, on the death of another great American, when he spoke the following words, "He was first in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen, he was second to none in the humble and endearing scenes of private life. Pious, just, humane, temperate, and sincere; uniform, dignified, and commanding; his example was edifying to all around him, as were the effects of that example lasting".

Although Robert Edward Lee has gone to join the great captains of history in the vaulted halls of Valhalla, he lives on in our hearts and in our minds as a great patriot, as a great American.

Food Aid for India

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK E. EVANS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I fully support President Johnson's call for a joint resolution putting Congress in favor of a well-planned worldwide assistance effort to help India overcome the specter of famine, this year and in the years to come. Against a backdrop of growing population pressures, a second severe drought in 2 years has made India the first great staging ground for conducting the war on hunger.

India is a nation which has made dramatic strides recently in many key areas of development. It has a coherent plan for utilizing its own energies and resources for development. It has a popular, stable, and humanitarian form of government. In these and other respects India provides an important example to other developing nations, demonstrating that economic development and popular government can be complementary. All the investment, effort, and progress to date in India is threatened by the persistent problem of food shortages.

After careful and probing consultation with Members of Congress, Indian officials, and our prosperous allies, the President has come forth with a plan reflecting new U.S. proposals for food policy and strategy related directly to the Indian problem.

Until very recently, the United States was bearing virtually all the burden of world food aid. Now we are insisting that other nations must help, and propose to use international machinery to stimulate burden sharing.

Until recently, food was treated as different from all other economic aid. Now we are telling our prosperous friends, "If you can't give food, give fertilizer so they may grow it or cash so they may buy it."

Until recently, nations were offered food with little regard to their own agricultural improvement efforts. Now we are making agricultural self-help an absolute precondition for U.S. food sales.

Until recently, the whole world shortchanged agriculture in less developed countries in the rush to raise urban living standards and create jobs. Now we seek to make up lost time and reverse the dangerous condition in which for 6 years the world has consumed more food than it has produced.

President Johnson's plan for India incorporates the best we have learned in the last half-dozen years. Hopefully, it will serve as a model as other countries with a food-population crisis approach their moment of truth. Surely it accords with our own great humanitarian concern for human life and well-being.

But we must realize that the President's plan is not self-executing. The struggle is uphill and will not proceed of its own momentum. No one achievement would help more in the struggle than to make ordinary citizens throughout the world aware of the consequences of inaction. By approving the joint resolution the President has requested, we can help mobilize understanding and support of the American public for waging and winning the war on hunger.

In this regard, President Johnson has been accused of playing politics by holding up further grain shipments to India.

If so, says the Denver Post, it's the right kind of politics. The President is attempting to stimulate other countries capable of helping India into actually supplying more food or technology to the vast, underdeveloped subcontinent.

Western Europe, the editorialist notes, has not done all it can for India, and neither has Japan.

Nor, in my opinion, have many other nations. They have rather been content to sit back and allow the United States to carry most of the burden of world aid.

I ask that this editorial be made a part of the RECORD in the belief that it sheds light on an urgent and growing problem:

[From the Denver Post, Jan. 20, 1967]

MAKE AID TO INDIA CLUB LESS EXCLUSIVE

This newspaper supported President Johnson's hold-up of grain shipments to India late last year. We believe his action has been proved right. We support him now in his present attempt to make the aid-to-India consortium more effective.

The issues are similar. Last fall the President delayed shipments of grain until Dec. 22 while insisting that other nations help meet India's famine needs.

The results were fairly good. Canada moved up a shipment of 250,000 tons earmarked for India. Russia contributed food to India for the first time.

Russia's decision to send 200,000 tons of grain came on Dec. 22 and President Johnson the same day released 900,000 tons of U.S. grain for shipment to India.

Now, the President appears determined to consolidate his position. A congressional fact-finding group has returned from India with a recommendation that the United States release an additional 1.7 million tons to help India through June.

This isn't good enough for the President. Admittedly, India's national elections in February would suggest accommodation of the ruling Congress Party, which is friendly to the United States. But the President wants to keep his advantage.

He is, therefore, sending Eugene V. Rostow, undersecretary of state, on a world tour. After discussions in New Delhi Rostow will visit a half-dozen world capitals which can be of greater assistance to India.

The marshaling of aid is exactly what India needs. Some countries can furnish food, others technology—or both, as the United States has done. Western Europe has not achieved its potential as a supplier of technological know-how to India; neither has Japan.

Apparently there will be no approval of further, U.S. shipments of grain until Rostow returns.

Some doubtless will argue that the President is playing politics with famine. Maybe so—but it's the right kind of politics. The goal is to make the Indian aid consortium really effective.

It's possible, too, that a new understanding about India will evolve. Many smaller nations can't be blamed if they've gotten the impression that only big nations, like the United States and Russia, can provide meaningful help.

> Today India needs more than that. Even if drought in India ends this year the danger is not over. Drought elsewhere in the world could bring on a worse crisis. So it's time the world got a better realization of the need for cooperation in waging the fight against hunger. We hope the President's plan of action succeeds in doing that.

Rainbow's End

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, Rainbow's End Camp in Ashby, Mass., is a very constructive, significant activity.

It was established not long ago by a group of interested citizens under the guidance and direction of my able, esteemed, and dedicated friend and constituent, Rev. Lawrence M. Jaffa, as president. The camp is situated in Ashby, Mass., a very beautiful New England town in my district, and completed its first summer last year.

I think that there are few things more important today than adequate, wholesome, intelligently directed recreational and educational facilities for our young people, and indeed for our adult people as well. The functional properties of this camp and the able manner in which this pilot project has been set up and administered indicates the real, valuable potential it has, through a strong, well-organized program of counseling, training, and personal guidance, to serve those fortunate enough to be in a position to utilize its opportunities for enjoyment, physical development, and enlightened companionship.

Those affiliated with the leadership are highly dedicated and they are anxious to do everything they can individually and collectively to make the excellent facilities and opportunities of this camp more generally available to our young folks.

I understand that toward that end the next step of the group is to expand the usefulness of Rainbow's End Camp, offering its facilities to men and women, clerical and lay groups alike, for discussions, seminars, and retreats.

Thus, the activity would extend the range of its operations to adult groups across a very broad front.

This appealing, well-led, movement is now in a position to augment and enhance its work in behalf of our young people, and it certainly should not be necessary at this time for anyone to stress the need there is in this field for the introduction and spread of wholesome programs, firmly established on the spiritual basis of warm human fellowship and understanding that recognize the place that wholesome recreation, creative, imaginative training, and the versatile development of natural skills and talents can play when properly directed in improving the tone of our entire society, both young and adult.

I believe this project is based on sound principles, is ably and responsibly directed, can meet a need that must be met, and is possessed of forceful, intelligent, high-minded leadership capable of doing the job that has to do be done these days. I am happy and proud to express my commendations and best wishes.

The Federal Magistrates Act of 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to abolish the U.S. commissioner system and establish in its place a system of U.S. magistrates. This legislation was originally sponsored in the Senate by the distinguished Senator from Maryland, the Honorable JOSEPH TYDINGS, and has been the subject of hearings before the Senate Subcommittee on Improvement in Judicial Machinery.

The need for legislation in this field has been recognized by leading jurists and the bill introduced today has been endorsed by the American Bar Association and the Judicial Conference of the United States.

Our present system of U.S. commissioners has been the subject of frequent criticism, because while their services require a knowledge of the law, nearly one-third of the present 700 commissioners are not members of the bar. Commissioners are paid on a fee basis raising serious constitutional questions because of the possibility that a commissioner may have a pecuniary interest in cases brought before him. The responsibilities and functions of a commissioner are not clearly spelled out. There is disagreement on the scope and purpose of preliminary hearings in our Federal judicial system. Finally it has been charged that many cases are sent to commissioners for trial as petty offenses when in fact they should be tried by Federal judges as misdemeanors or felonies.

In place of the present system, the legislation introduced today upgrades the commissioner and creates a magistrate system. The basic features of the bill are as follows:

The fee system is replaced by a sliding scale salary system. The highest paid full-time U.S. magistrates would receive $22,500 per year, and part-time magistrates would receive from $100 to $11,000 per year.

All magistrates must be lawyers except in the case of part-time magistrates where the appointing court and the judicial conference determine that no qualified attorney is available to serve at a specific location.

The term of the full-time magistrate is 8 years. The term of the present commissioners is 4 years.

Magistrates can be removed only for cause.

The name has been changed from commissioner to magistrate to emphasize the judicial nature of the duties and responsibilities of the magistrate.

Preliminary hearings or grand jury proceedings must be held within 10 days after presentment, or 20 days after presentment for those released under bail or other conditions. These are only outer limits, since earlier disposition may be possible, extensions may be granted only with defendant's consent except where a U.S. judge finds that extraordinary circumstances exist and that a continuance is indispensable to the interests of justice.

Mr. Speaker, I believe these proposals will strengthen our judicial system and help relieve Federal court congestion by upgrading the present commissioners and expanding their responsibilities. I commend Senator TYDINGS for his work in this important area and urge my colleagues to support this legislation when it comes before the House.

Boost GI Insurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to see the new emphasis being placed on the veterans of this Nation by the present administration. The proposals sent to Congress on January 31 by the President contain revisions and additions to the present laws regarding veterans.

The importance that the people of this country and the free press have given to these proposals is truly a great display of concern and loyalty.

All of the proposals have been given great support. An editorial in the Oakland Tribune on February 3 is an example of the concern of the press for our servicemen now serving in Vietnam. I am happy to insert this fine editorial in the RECORD:

> BOOST GI INSURANCE
>
> Although budgetary restrictions may require some modifications in President Johnson's proposal to improve benefits for Vietnam veterans, one section should be authorized as soon as possible.
>
> That is the part of the bill to increase the government life insurance available to servicemen on active duty. The present limit of $10,000 was enacted 25 years ago during World War II and hasn't been increased since.
>
> Under the President's new proposal, the ceiling on servicemen's insurance would go to a minimum of $12,000 with higher amounts available up to $30,000, scaled to the individual's pay.
>
> This is a long overdue acknowledgement that the World War II insurance benefits are totally inadequate today.
>
> While they are on the subject, Congress should drop the nominal monthly premium charged to servicemen for this insurance, at least for the minimum provided under the plan. There is a precedent for this. Free

term insurance was provided to servicemen during the Korean War.

Vietnam era servicemen certainly deserve equal treatment, particularly since inflation in the 14 years has greatly increased the cost of living.

The cost of providing this insurance should be considered as part of the total price of the Vietnam War.

We're paying more for guns, airplanes and every other piece of equipment used by the military today. The inflation that caused this hike in the price of military material also affects the cost of living for widows and other survivors of Vietnam war veterans.

Asia Is Where the Action Is—Japan a Great Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, one of the unsung and fateful triumphs of American foreign policy is the emergence of Japan as a great power, strongly committed to democratic government, and broadly sympathetic to American objectives in Asia.

In a recent column, Joseph Alsop pointed out that within a decade Japan may be challenging the Soviet Union for second place among the world's nations in industrial power. He points out that, if she does so, her weight in the world will approximate that of "any two of the old Western European nations that were the unique industrial 'great powers' only half a century ago."

The implications of this development, now being paralleled on a smaller scale in many other Asian nations, are both great and obvious.

I ask unanimous consent for the inclusion of this thoughtful article at this point in the Record.

[From the New York World Journal Tribune, Feb. 6, 1967]

JAPAN PROVES "EAST ASIA IS WHERE THE ACTION IS"

(By Joseph Alsop)

WASHINGTON.—If the outcome of the Japanese election had been just a bit different—if the ruling Liberal Democrats had lost no more than 10 or 15 seats—we should now be hearing a great outcry in this country.

Premier Elasko Sato boldly and squarely chose the American alliance as the central issue for the voters to decide on. Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and many others have told us that Viet Nam has alienated from the United States every "independent Asian nation." A small setback for Sato would have been on many a front page, as final proof of the Schlesinger thesis.

Instead, Premier Sato won a resounding victory, electing no less than 277 members of his party to the lower house. As one great newspaper's correspondent reported—on page six!—this was a "solid gain for the pro-American element."

It is important to note these facts, because it is important to understand the power of the double standard that now prevails in some quarters, making page six the right place for a "solid" U.S. gain, and the front page the right place for the most moderate American setback. But these facts are also important because of the great importance of Japan, whose people have once again shown a strong attachment, not only to the American alliance, but also to constitutional and democratic processes.

Sometimes one wonders at the way the vastest changes in the shape of the world we live in, such as the forward movement of Japan, go all but unnoticed by wise persons.

Thus we are told we are an Atlantic power, and the Vietnamese war is a mistake because our business is in Europe. As it happens, however, we are just as much a Pacific power as an Atlantic power. East Asia, too, "is where the action is nowadays," as a banker-friend of this reporter's crisply remarked. And the progress of Japan is the best proof, both that this banker is right, and that our role as a Pacific power is something we should not take lightly.

Briefly, as previously reported in this space, Japan has already passed West Germany, to become the world's third steel-producing power, next to this country and the U.S.S.R., as well as the world's leading steel-exporter. This has been achieved, mind you, without any appreciable domestic supplies of coal or iron! And this is by no means the end of the story.

According to the economists of the World Bank, Japan is also due to pass all the European nations in general industrial output, becoming the world's third industrial producer within two to three years. And more astonishing still, the same economists predict that it should take only about a decade for the 100 million people of the Japanese islands to attain a per capita income equal to the present per capita income in Britain.

When and if that happens, please note, Japan will possess a potential power and general weight in the world very nearly equal to the weight and power-potential of *any two* of the old Western European nations that were the unique industrial "great powers" only half a century ago. Indeed, Japan may then be nudging the U.S.S.R. for second place in the industrial-power lineup.

Please note, too, that this Japanese development is only an advanced example of a process now going on in every East Asian society, except for China, whose people will surely take the same road as soon as they can throw off the shackles of paranoia. In the circumstances, it seems odd to be overly preoccupied, for instance, with the views and postures of General de Gaulle.

The leader of France is an obviously great man, with an unusual knack for throwing his weight about to maximum effect. But his real weight is already a trifle less than Premier Sato's, who does not throw his weight about. In a decade, moreover, the weight of De Gaulle or his successor is due to be hardly more than half the weight of Sato or his successor. One is inclined to say, "While on this subject of grandeur, General, let me introduce Sato-San!"

More seriously, this country has a particularly hard row to hoe, for the United States must somehow manage to perform adequately, both as an Atlantic power and as a Pacific power. The reason for the Vietnamese war is precisely the same as the reason for the Korean war—the need to discharge our responsibilities and to protect our position as a Pacific power.

The Japanese development and the Japanese election both mean, one hopes, that Japan and later other nations will actually shoulder more of the burden, not in Viet Nam, but in the Pacific in the future. President Johnson has the sense and foresight to be inviting Japan to do precisely that, in a quiet way and at the present moment.

South Street Maritime Museum

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 17, 1967

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, those who are interested in the heritage of America will be pleased to know of the plans to save an area of the early 19th-century New York City waterfront that has miraculously survived in the heart of the city along South Street at Fulton Street. This area is known as New York's "Street of Ships."

With the active involvement of Peter Stanford, chairman of the Friends of the South Street Maritime Museum, a group of public-spirited citizens—supported by the City Club of New York, the oldest civic organization in New York City—has worked for a maritime museum to restore the area structures and emphasize the maritime heritage of New York Harbor. Alice H. Taylor has been most helpful in conducting this work.

In a time when many questions are being raised about the need to restore the United States to its former preeminent position as a maritime country, we should encourage this endeavor.

Attached is an article from the Sunday News of New York City for January 29, 1967, which discusses the South Street Maritime Museum and the work being done for it by Peter Stanford:

SHIP MUSEUM WOULD RECREATE 1811

(By Mel Greene)

Representatives William Fitts Ryan (D-N.Y.) and Theodore Kupferman (R-N.Y.), along with other officials, are looking over a plan to turn the Fulton fish market into a maritime museum complete with the sailing ships that made New York a famous seaport more than a century ago.

The museum plan is fourfold. It would restore the area structures built in 1811, place historic furnishings in vacant lofts, outfit clipper ships in the harbor and lease space to restaurants, marine hardware and art stores and bookshops.

"While the plan is still in the discussion stage," said Peter Stanford, chairman of the Friends of the South Street Maritime Museum, 37 W. 44th St., "I have noted a great deal of enthusiasm among ship owners, city officials and prominent people whenever I have spoken about the project."

MANY FACTORS INVOLVED

The settlement of any proposal for the fish market rests on many factors, Stanford indicated. In addition to the long-standing controversy between city agencies and the fish dealers over what to do about the market and the market area, "plans for the museum can still be changed and adapted as we talk to more and more people," said Stanford.

Financing could be a problem. While the program's backers expect over a million people to visit the area when the museum is opened, getting the maritime showplace launched is another matter .

As a spokesman for the City Planning Commission put it, "Having a museum in this area is like asking if you wanted a park in Times Square. It might be a fine idea, but you have to find out if it's practical."

The spokesman said that the Planning Commission is "holding informal discussions" with the museum's sponsors.

"MUSEUM COULD WORK"

"While a museum could conceivably work in that area," he said, "that would be only one alternative" as to what could be done with the site bounded by John, Pearl and Dover Sts. and East River.

The Planning Commission, in its development outline for lower Manhattan, had originally proposed residential towers, shops, movies, a hotel or boatel and a waterside promenade and marina.

"This is expensive and favored land," the spokesman said. "It is an area that, during the day, is thronged with people, but at night and on weekends is practically deserted."

Both the commission and the museum's proponents want "multi-use" made of the region. They seek a "viable community" that would "fit in" with the nearby business section.

"A SENSE OF BELONGING"

Said Standford, "We would like to see afterhours use of the facilities in the neighborhood which are costly to maintain—subways, streets, lights and highways." He felt that the museum would serve this purpose. In addition, the project, Stanford hoped, "would give people a sense of belonging, a place of enjoyment where they would be enriched with visible reminders of the city's past."

"Buildings here looked out at the early development of New York as a seaport and witnessed the opening of the fish market in 1821," Stanford said. "There is no opportunity anywhere in the world to establish a museum of this kind. That opportunity would vanish when the bulldozers move."

In a recent speech before the City Club of New York, 6 W. 48th St. (whose board of trustees has endorsed the museum concept) Stanford said: "These waterfront buildings were standing when the first pack ships sailed on Jan. 1, 1818." The packet craft carried America's early immigrants to the port of New York.

HISTORIC EMBARKATIONS

"The historic commercial structures saw the 'Rainbow' and the 'Water Witch' embarking in the 1940s," said Stanford. "They saw the 'Flying Cloud' load at Maiden Lane in 1851, and speed to the gold rush town of San Francisco in the then record time of 89 days."

"As New York gained in shipping volume, the waterfront became an elley of bowsprits, yards of sail and 200-foot long square riggers," said Stanford.

"The last chapter is today," Stanford noted. At a time when city life is becoming an arid thing, we must offer opportunity and challenge everywhere.

"Thus, the plan for a maritime museum would fit into the meaning of a city in that it would be a recreational activity with a social good and, simultaneously, help to carry on life in an area that is now partially used."

Federal Juries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to discuss at least one very important provision of the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1967.

That portion of the act which deals with the selection of jurors in Federal courts. This statute is designed to insure that each Federal jury will be properly representative of the community. To this end, the bill prohibits discrimination in jury selection on account of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status.

Other provisions specify the procedures which are to be used to select jurors for Federal district courts. The names of potential jurors are to be obtained by random selection from voter-registration lists. If voter rolls are not sufficiently representative in a particular area, the judicial council of the circuit is to designate supplementary sources.

With respect to qualifications for jury service, only objective criteria such as age, citizenship, and literacy are to be used. This will eliminate the possibility of abuse which is present when subjective standards such as "character" and "intelligence" are applied, a practice currently followed in some districts and which usually leads to underrepresentation of members of minority groups and persons of low income. The evidence shows that members of all racial and economic groups are equally capable of performing jury service.

The basic features of the proposed statute—use of voter registration lists, random selection, and objective qualifications—will lead to juries which represent a broad cross section of the community. I support this and each of the other portions of the Civil Rights Act of 1967.

Tax Relief Offered for Employee Moving Expenses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, I have reintroduced legislation to exclude from taxable income certain reimbursed moving expenses of employees who are transferred.

Under existing law, only the bare essentials of moving expenses are excludable from taxable income for these employees. These excludable expenses cover only the actual cost of moving the employee's possessions, and his transportation along with that of his family. All other moving expenses, when reimbursed to him by his company, are counted as personal income and the law requires the employer to withhold Federal income tax on such reimbursements.

Last year, the 89th Congress enacted into law provisions for the Federal Government to reimburse its employees for certain expenses incurred in moving as a result of a Government-requested transfer.

It is manifestly inconsistent for the Government to recognize the legitimacy of these expenses for reimbursement on the one hand, while taxing payments for these same expenses on the other hand. In effect, the tax law works against the very principle of full-expense reimbursement which the Congress adopted for the Federal Government last year.

In addition, this unfairness creates a hardship on employees and severely penalizes them through no fault of their own. It is time this situation is corrected.

My bill would exclude from income many costs in addition to the bare essentials excluded under existing law. Excluded would be such legitimate and necessary expenses as storage expenses; house-hunting trips; meals and lodging while the employee and his family are occupying temporary quarters at the new location; travel between the old and new location; and expenses incurred in connection with disposing of the old residence.

To Combat Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the President in his state of the Union speech declared:

> This Nation must make an all-out effort to combat crime.

Recently, the President submitted his crime bill to the Congress.

It is my hope that this body will favorably consider my proposal to provide facilities in order that intensive research may be done in studying the behavior patterns of the criminally insane. H.R. 1116 would, if enacted, do a great deal toward the alleviation of the fastest growing problem our Nation faces here at home. By studying the behavior patterns of the convicted criminal, we will be in a better position to detect those social patterns in individuals that indicate potential criminally insane activity.

The January issue of Glamour magazine presents an article by Ellen Switzer dealing with the growing trend of crimes committed by the criminally insane and the sociological and psychological impetus behind the commission of such crimes. I believe that this article demonstrates that, with a determined effort, much may be accomplished in mitigating the current upswing in crime statistics. I commend Glamour, the author, and the editor, Kathleen Aston Johnson, for the publication of this article and include it in the RECORD. The article follows:

HAS OUR WORLD GONE AWRY?

(By Ellen Switzer)

We don't think of ourselves as a violent people. But in the face of the recent multiple shocks of day-after-day headlines of irrational shootings, crimes against women, riots and such bizarre tragedies as the mass murder of eight nurses in Chicago, the average citizen feels a mounting sense of helplessness. What is it all about? The world seems to have got out of hand. Why do these things happen, and what can we do to prevent them? A dangerous strain of violence seems to have pervaded the very fabric of our society.

Statistics bear this out. Our incidence of reported crime is unmatched in the civilized world. Usually a real shock is necessary before most Americans are willing to face this unpleasant fact. The assassination of John F. Kennedy, reputedly by Lee Harvey Oswald, was such a shock, but the effect did not last too long.

Every hour of every day, somewhere in the United States, one American kills another American, usually with a gun. Few of the killers are professional criminals. Some have led exemplary lives and are described as "friendly." In 1964, we set an all-time record of 2,604,400 serious crimes (murder, assault with intent to kill, armed robbery, rape), or five a minute. In the last 100 years, four out of nineteen presidents were assassinated, and three others barely escaped a similar fate.

But statistics don't really tell the whole story. Understanding the violence that goes on now first involves understanding the kind of violence it is. Murder, most of us are conditioned by an older society to believe, is a deliberate act, done for profit or power or revenge. Or, if not premeditated, done in the heat of passion. But we expect a reason, a rationale, for the act, so that although we cannot undo it, we can at least judge it and try to prevent its happening again.

We can understand a gangland murder or, after decades of exposure in fact and fiction to Jack the Ripper, even the Boston strangler. But how does one explain a man who walks into a cafeteria at high noon, shoots four people who are total strangers to him, and then says later, "I just don't know what came over me"?

The most spectacular mass murder of the past year was the killing or wounding of forty-four citizens of Austin, Texas, by Charles Whitman, an architectural engineering student, former Marine, ex-altar boy and ex-Eagle Scout. He killed his wife and mother, then climbed a 307-foot tower on the University of Texas campus and methodically and accurately picked off everything that moved, until he was shot down himself by an off-duty policeman and a civilian bookstore employee.

Most of the newspaper editorials that appeared during the following week came to one conclusion: "There ought to be a law. . . ." But few knew what kind of law. There were all kinds of suggestions. The most prevalent called for a gun registration law. Governor John Connally of Texas demanded legislation that any individual freed on the grounds of insanity in murder and kidnaping cases be institutionalized for life. Edward Kennedy suggested that the media stop glorifying violence. Congressman Roman Pucinski of Illinois announced that he has a bill in preparation to organize six regional centers for "intensive research into behavior patterns and early detection of the criminally insane." Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower suggested that every American youth spend at least one year in the armed forces as a character-building experience. Peace marchers in New York and Los Angeles demanded that the United States get out of Vietnam. None of these suggestions would have kept Kennedy's assassin or Charles Whitman from committing their crimes.

In fairness, the causes of violence are so complex that probably no single bill or act can make much difference. Most psychologists, social anthropologists and psychiatrists feel that we must reconsider some of our basic philosophy and make some drastic changes in our problem-solving methods before we can expect any real decrease in our rate of violence. But first we must know more about it.

Brandeis University in Waltham, Massachusetts, has undertaken a systematic study of the legal, psychological and sociological aspects of violence, and this fall the university will open the first Center for the Study of Violence in the World.

Who are the violent ones? Dr. Fredrick Redlich, chairman of the department of psychiatry at the Yale University School of Medicine, defines them as those "certain people who have a great need to destroy, and to destroy themselves in the process." They are apparently motivated by a sort of "Götterdämmerung" impulse. After they have destroyed everything around them, they either commit suicide or they put themselves in a position where they almost invariably will be caught or killed.

How can these people be detected and isolated from society before they commit their crimes? Experts disagree on the extent of the difficulty. Dr. Redlich pointed up one factor which makes it extremely hard to prevent violence before it occurs, even if the potentially violent person is under the care of a psychiatrist. "We can't lock up everyone who confesses having an impulse to kill," he said. "A great many people have such an impulse at one time or another in their lives. Only a tiny minority would ever carry such feelings over into action."

Certainly no psychiatric patient can be jailed for telling a psychiatrist about a violent impulse. Charles Whitman told a psychiatrist in the student health office at the University of Texas that he would like to climb the University of Texas tower and shoot people. Apparently others had expressed a similar notion previously, but none had ever taken any action.

Legal experts indicate that a threat would have to be quite specific for anyone to be arrested. Too many people use the expression "I'd like to kill you" or "drop dead" as part of their everyday language. The only two instances in which arrests occur almost immediately are a threat to the life of the President of the United States and the threat to put a bomb on an airplane.

On the subject of prior detection of the violent ones, Dr. Daniel J. Levinson, a social psychologist and a professor in the department of psychiatry at the Yale medical school, feels that many potential killers throw out a series of complex and often contradictory trouble signals to the community. He pointed to Lee Harvey Oswald and Charles Whitman as examples. "Oswald's mother was told that her son needed psychiatric help when he was a child. Later, Oswald spent his time in the Marine Corps advertising his intense hatred of his country," he said. "He went to Russia and, when he became disenchanted with that country, had to be brought home by the U.S. State Department. He expressed his disappointment in his wife by beating her. He confessed to his wife that he shot at General Walker. Yet no one listened . . . or everyone missed the cues."

Whitman, too, in spite of his calm exterior, showed clear signs of mental instability, fear and hatred. In the Marine Corps he was court-martialed for keeping an unauthorized pistol. He also beat his wife, who knew that he kept guns around the house but apparently did not dare to do anything about the situation. Finally, he himself went to a psychiatrist to ask for help. "This shows some real signs of strength in a man who was apparently deathly afraid of becoming dependent," Levinson said. But again, all the cues were missed. "Oswald, Whitman and several other seemingly irrational killers gave two separate, seemingly contradictory messages to the world around them," Levinson added. "In one breath they yelled 'I hate everybody . . . the world stinks' and in another they were pleading 'I can't control my impulses . . . please help me.'"

We have to learn to listen to such pleas. "We also have to realize that seemingly irrational acts may not be irrational at all from the point of view of the violent person. He is trying to say something to us. When we make violence a mysterious and inexplicable thing, we excuse ourselves and deny our own responsibility. We must look at our society, at our fellow human beings and, most of all, inside ourselves to find the roots of violence."

A look at your society may not reveal the roots of violence, but it does reveal an atmosphere in which it can flourish. We live in an urban society—70 percent of us live in cities. Our population is highly mobile. Families are not the stable unit they were in an earlier rural America. And this urban, mass society seems to foster an impersonality, a lack of concern for one's fellow man that does not exist in a close-knit community. A few years ago, tenants of an apartment building in New York sat by quietly and watched a young woman being murdered. The assailant stabbed and slashed the screaming girl, then ran. Not one of the watching neighbors made a move. He attacked her again, ran away again, finally returned and killed her. The entire incident lasted an hour. When police later asked the neighbors why not one of them had even picked up a telephone to call the police, the most common answer was, "I didn't want to get involved." Similar incidents have been reported from other cities.

This lack of involvement is called "alienation" by psychiatrists. Charles Whitman hinted at it in the note he wrote the night before he went on his rampage: "I have to fight it out alone." And this sense of aloneness may well be a factor in the pattern of violence.

It's most often the stranger in town who commits irrational acts of violence, according to Julius Markfield, a psychiatric social worker who has served as a probation officer in New York City's highest courts and is now director of casework at Family Service of New Haven. "A man comes to New York City from Puerto Rico, the South or Appalachia," Markfield said, "and although he had his problems in his own hometown, at least they were familiar ones. He was surrounded by family and friends on whom he could count, who understood him, and whom he, in turn, understood. Now he is confronted with a whole new set of frustrations, with all kinds of problems he can't solve: housing, employment and loneliness. He can't even work off his anger by going hunting or fishing. It's all bottled up inside him. He feels more and more alienated from his family, his background, and even himself. Whatever standards he had brought with him don't seem to be relevant to the city jungle. Often he strikes out blindly, seemingly irrationally at whomever happens to be closest. This may be a complete stranger, or more often, a member of his family."

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, director of the Harvard-MIT Joint Center for Urban Studies and author, while he was an Assistant Secretary of Labor, of the much publicized "Moynihan Report" on the breakdown of the urban Negro family, feels that a great deal of violence is a result of family disintegration. He points out that the urban slum family is often dominated by the mother, either because the father is absent or "the father is ineffective."

Boys growing up in homes dominated by females have no strong male after whom they can pattern themselves, he pointed out. When they hit adolescence, their confusion about their sexual identity can become overwhelming. Often the confusion expresses itself in rage. "One of the tragedies of life in the slum is that so much of the aggressiveness exhibited there is really intended as self-reassurance by the troubled young men who are not at all certain that they really are tough."

Moynihan suggested several ways to bring the father back into the home. One of them involves a redirection of welfare policies. A strong critic of social welfare laws (especially those that seem to put a premium on absent fathers, such as the aid-to-dependent-children program), he suggests that government agencies take the opposite tack and provide family allowances to encourage families to stay together.

He adds that the lack of a strong male image is a problem in many other places besides the American urban slum. Difficulties arising from female-dominated society are occurring in other cities, such as London and Copenhagen.

Moynihan feels that today's young men tend to "politicize" their troubles. In other words, they blame the social system when they feel miserable and frustrated, rather than Divine Providence or their parents, as they might have in other times. Consequently, they rage at all of society with a violence that often seems undirected. Apparently, Oswald aimed his rifle at both General Edwin Walker and John F. Kennedy, two people who could not have been more different from each other. Whitman thought the world was so terrible that he wanted to leave it himself, and take as many people as possible with him. The fact that most of these people were complete strangers did not bother him at all. He probably thought he was doing them a favor. This rage at the whole social system also seems quite apparent in many of the recent and seemingly senseless riots.

But while the psychiatrists and sociologists are probing the causes of violence, certain legal and practical steps can be taken to curb the spread of mass and individual aggression. First among these steps should be passage of a federal gun registration law.

Nowhere in the United States can one buy a car without registering it, or drive it without taking a test. One cannot even keep a dog without registering him. However, the United States is the only country in the Western world where, in most states and cities, anyone can buy any kind of gun (and the ammunition to go with it) without even the formality of a registration procedure. Every year more than one million guns are sold in the United States. Sporting guns can even be obtained with trading stamps.

America is the dumping grounds for foreign surplus army weapons. The rifle that is assumed to have killed President Kennedy got to this country in the first place because it could not be sold to a private citizen in its place of origin—Italy. Every day, rifles and hand guns are arriving in this country by the carload from Germany, Italy, Belgium and from other gun manufacturing countries. They are being distributed by mail-order gun shops throughout the United States.

A few months ago, a reporter wrote to the mail-order house that sold the infamous rifle to Lee Harvey Oswald. The reporter ordered an identical gun to be mailed to a post office box in Dallas and, signed his name "L.H. Oswald." The gun arrived ten days later, no questions asked.

Not only are rifles and pistols generally available, it is possible to buy mortars, machine guns, antitank guns and even torpedoes from private gun dealers in the United States. Although federal law restricts the sale of machine guns, submachine guns and guns with silencers, gun dealers easily get around these restrictions by "deactivating" the weapons and merchandising them as souvenirs. But one investigator for the United States Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency proved conclusively that it often takes only ten minutes, a certain amount of know-how, and a screw driver to put these weapons into perfect operating condition.

To date, no one has succeeded in passing effective federal legislation to curb the traffic in weapons, but a few states have restrictions on the books.

New York State and New York City have stringent and effective laws to limit the number of privately owned hand guns. The Sullivan Law requires that all hand guns be registered and that a special police permit be obtained by anyone wishing to purchase a pistol. Particularly in New York City, the police investigate any potential purchaser very carefully and he has to have a good reason to own and carry a gun. Contrary to what most people believe, New York City is a rather safe place. Fewer people are shot than in most other cities. The per capita murder rate is relatively low, especially when compared to Houston, Dallas, Atlanta and Birmingham. Texas, which has no effective gun law, has become known as the "murder capital of the world." The only rule in that state requires gun dealers not to sell a gun to someone "who is in a state of passion"—making an instant psychiatrist out of every clerk in every gun store in the state.

One of the few restrictive statutes in Mississippi requires a pistol permit for guns owned by boys under sixteen or for any guns sold within two miles of a school or college. However, this did not stop a mail-order gun house from shipping rifles and machine guns to the University of Mississippi during the height of the James Meredith riots. It might also be interesting to note that guns cannot be sold to Indians in Colorado and to anarchists in Hawaii.

Besides gun registration legislation, there are other practical steps which have been suggested and used to prevent group and individual aggression. New Haven, Connecticut, with one of the lowest per capita urban crime rates in the nation, has taken some of these steps.

A recent statistical summary of urban crime, published by the F.B.I., indicates that the rate of robbery, riot, rape and mayhem is considerably lower in New Haven than in almost all other cities of similar size and of similar racial and ethnic composition. During 1965 when the national urban crime rate rose alarmingly, New Haven's dropped.

What makes New Haven different? Perhaps the difference is best summed up by one young man who dropped out of high school at seventeen, married at eighteen, and at nineteen was ready to leave his wife and baby because he couldn't get a job. He is now employed and staying home nights. "They won't let you be poor around here," he said. According to his story, "they kept dropping by the house with suggestions." "They" in this case were the "indigenous workers" employed by the New Haven antipoverty program, Community Progress Incorporated, or CPI. Financed initially by two massive grants from the Ford Foundation, CPI now also receives about 3 million dollars per year in federal antipoverty funds.

An army of "indigenous workers" (poor people living in the same neighborhood as other poor people) were trained and employed to ring doorbells and direct their friends and neighbors to work-training programs, after-work classes for school dropouts, literacy programs, Golden Age Clubs, prekindergarten classes, employment services and clinics.

The man behind New Haven's success is Mayor Richard C. Lee. He is nationally and internationally known for his impressive achievements in rebuilding a city that was once described as "a big slum around a big school (Yale)." But he knows that tearing down a slum is not enough. "We learned something from all this tearing down and rebuilding," he said recently. "People make slums; unless you can teach them not to make a slum, they will go on doing so wherever you put them. Urban renewal thus has to include people renewal, and that means all the things that condition people to responsible citizenship."

Perhaps there is no complete answer to the problem of human violence and aggression. It may be part of the human condition, as basic as the doctrine of Original Sin, as complex as the tenets of Freudian psychoanalysis. But a beginning is being made, from the introduction of a gun registration law in Congress to Richard C. Lee's urban and human renewal programs, to Daniel Patrick Moynihan's suggestion on how to revitalize the family structure in the ghetto. These are all steps in the right direction, taken by citizens concerned with the safety of other citizens.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

The Supersonic Transport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from the recent remarks of Najeeb Halaby, former Federal Aviation Administrator, delivered before the Wings Club in New York City, concerning the supersonic transport be made a part of the RECORD. Mr. Halaby presents a solid case for the implementation of the plan to build the supersonic transport. I have supported the construction of this airplane because I believe it will have a revolutionary effect on air commerce—much like the jet aircraft when first introduced and be most beneficial to U.S. production and exports. The task is no little one in terms of funds or design but I believe the job is most worthwhile. Of course with the advent of this new service there will be new requirements for terminal facilities—which in many of our large metropolitan areas are already outmoded—as well as methods of solving the problems of getting the traveler from the city to the airport. We must begin soon to find answers to the ancillary questions to mold supersonic transport the more effective mode of travel to the traveler of the seventies.

There being no objection, the excerpts and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SUPERSONIC TRANSPORT

(Excerpts of remarks by Najeeb E. Halaby, at the Wings Club third annual awards luncheon, Biltmore Hotel, New York City, Jan. 18, 1967)

The idea of producing speed with safety and economy, of saving time with convenience and comfort is a private enterprise in this great country of ours, supported and controlled by our federal government, and it's one to which most of us have dedicated our professional lives. American air transportation technology now faces a new test of confidence. Not so much from wide or genuine doubt in the public mind that we can do it, or even from the kind of conflict that has driven the industry in the past. Or from anxiety among the experts as to whether it can be done or not. It seems to be based upon the doubts that we should start building an SST until we are certain. Now the critics and the skeptics—and few if any of them have had any practical experience in designing, building or flying airplanes for profit—have been highly articulate in questioning frequently from the safety of anonymous positions, questioning the wisdom of building the prototype of the American supersonic transport.

The proponents of the program, most of them practical aeronautical men who have to live with their balance sheets, and have been reticent until recently, most of them have been too busy designing and paper testing the several versions of the American supersonic transport and the foreign models, and in projecting plans for its safe and profitable operation to speak out. To the one who demands, however, "Who needs an SST?" two answers have come loud and clear in the past 30 days. The two chief executives of the two foremost American international air carriers who together have ordered 25 US SST's and put up $2.5 million as earnest money, and 14 Concords, for deposits of about $2 million more, have stated on the public record that they believe our government should now proceed with the construction of the prototype SST.

They believe that a partnership of the federal government and American industry is capable of producing without further delay a superior prototype transport and in the public interest. Their orders together with 89 others for the US SST have indicated their willingness to assist in financing a profitable airplane that will meet the growing public demand. As the first to use the US SST, and the first to face foreign competition while continuing to employ 75,000 employees and meet the expectations of their bankers and stockholders, these men have voted confidently to go ahead. In my opinion, it would be prudent to listen to their creative and constructive advice rather than the voices of the theorists, obstacle builders, and the problem magnifiers who have lately ben heard.

These supersonophobes, may be sincere, and they certainly are sophisticated. But they have not been in the business of developing and producing reliable, convenient, ever cheaper transportation at a 1960–65 rate of growth exceeding 15% per year these last five years. Now the problem as I see it in 1967 is for our industry and everyone in this aviation community of ours, to help the President and the Congress make the most prudent and the most temporary investment of public funds in a national interest venture.

In a very real sense, the government is the investment banker for the U.S. SST. Uncle Sam is the venture capitalist who is prepared to risk his stockholders' funds in order to reap capital gains. He is not a mortgage banker insisting on collateral on which to foreclose if the enterprise encounters difficulty. He should be prepared, and I believe he is prepared, to take a calculated risk.

Now have the risks been carefully calculated? From my own personal experience, the answer is an emphatic *Yes*. The SST program has been the most thoroughly and carefully researched project in the history of civil technology. In the 12 years since the first conceptual sketches were made of an SST at NACA, more man hours of research and planning have been spent on this system and its operational limitation and capabilities than ever before in the history of any single civil project, and also more than nearly all of the vast military programs of the past 25 years.

The problem has been defined and redefined, computered and recomputered. Some say it is the victim of paralysis by analysis. I disagree because I think the whole effort has been fruitful. During these past six years of intensive efforts, $511 million has been voted, $311 million committed and $244 million spent by the Federal Aviation Agency alone, together with about $70 million by the manufacturers, for studies and reports by 10 government agencies and 40 corporations. The results have been constantly reviewed by three presidential committees, the National Academy of Sciences, seven committees of Congress, and 13 departments and agencies of the U.S. government.

When one compares this preview effort with that undertaken prior to the construction of the first nuclear reactor, the first nuclear ship, the first ballistic missile, the first supersonic military aircraft, the first manned satellite, and their comparable technical risks, the contrast is startling and, I think, reassuring. It is fair to say that the risks of the SST program, and they are real risks, have been calculated with the greatest care. It is also fair to say that we are not rushing into something suddenly. Our government and industry have been painstaking and deliberate and as a result, we are in a better position to make a better decision and get a better SST than the governments of Britain, France and the Soviet Union were several years ago when they decided to go ahead at full speed.

Now if you will bear with an ageing speed merchant for a moment, I'd like to state the problem as it appears to me after six years of rather hard personal thought and work.

Supersonic Transportation is on its way, and it's the next logical, normal, attainable step in the evolution of aviation. The U.S. has had 20 years of experience. We are now flying two models at above three times the speed of sound. Many more between Mach 1 and Mach 3. Cruising at this speed will save time, and that's what we are—merchants of mobility. Millions of hours of the precious time of our most skilled people for work more creative and more productive than to-ing and fro-ing. And it will compress the world from a 24-hour into a 10 or 12 hour globe.

And if there's anything scarce in this world, it's inspiration and skill. And if you can provide this new rapid dimension to those scarce intellectual and spiritual leaders of this world, you will make a great contribution to society. The Concorde supersonic transport on which the British and the French have pooled the talents, the technology and the industry of two great nations, will fly early next year. And if you read the Soviet literature, as I've been doing, Mr. Tupelov indicates his model 144, developed by the total energy of the Soviet Union, could be flying even sooner than the Concorde.

After two decades of modern technology and hard experience, no reasonable man can expect that these three nations will fail. These are not isolated, commercial ventures of single airplane manufacturers proceeding on their own; these are national interest ventures in which the pride and resources of three world powers are fully committed. And they confidently expect to have transports operating to and from this city in 1971.

What a shock it will be if by any chance the first supersonic airliner to land at JFK is Aeroflot Flight No. 1 from Moscow, via London. It will certainly be no surprise however. In fact, as a customer, it is our expectation that the first passengers to cross the Atlantic in less than three hours will be in a Concorde flown by either BOAC, Air France, or the world's most experienced airline.

And we will work to make it the latter. We'll be going to Britain and France next week to see again the Concorde being assembled, right on schedule, as programmed by our French and British colleagues. As No. 2, they "try harder". With 69 orders in hand, and more to be announced soon, and still more to be placed if our U.S. project is delayed, they are both careful and very confident. The confidence is justified because the public demand for time saving travel is growing apace. And having lost one of the two U.S. manufacturers in this struggle, we are glad that there are two competitors in this contest to build the superior supersonic transport. Because under the spur of that competition, we the airlines and you the public, the passengers will get safer, more economical transportation.

Now if we hadn't believed from the outset that the U.S. supersonic transport would satisfy public requirements and provide marked economic benefit to the airline and the nation, we certainly would never have started the program. Since the government selected the Boeing airplane and the General Electric power plant as winners in the SST competition, you might say that the initial phase of this great project has come to a close. Now as the new one opens—and these manufacturers have not been idle since their submissions last fall—I think that we are now in a position to optimize their designs, at intercontinental, over-water ranges of approximately 4,000 miles—and we started, if you remember in 1961, with a 4,000-mile airplane—4,000 miles and 40,000 tons of payload—we can optimize that airplane in such a way that we will have one superior to the Concorde and the 144 airplane in the 1970's. It's my personal belief, as of this date, that the U.S. SST will be about 15% more economical to operate than the smaller Concorde, at ranges approximately equal to San Francisco-Honolulu. At least 20% more economical on the Paris-New York service and since the Concorde won't be able to make the Rome-New York service, it will be infinitely more profitable on that run.

The manufacturers and the airlines have had to assume from the beginning that they would return the venture capital to Uncle Sam. All of the pricing—these figures of $30, $35 and $40 million per copy of the U.S. SST include development cost recovery to the government.

No one in or out of government has balked at this or considered it impossible, so long as a safe, sound and profitable transport emerges, as our engineers and test pilots predict it will. There are precedents here and abroad for Governmental recovery of R&D costs, and although it will take faith, determination, and a lot of work, it can be done if Uncle Sam's early risk taking bears fruit.

Even if the economics look promising and acceptable at this point, eight years before scheduled takeoff, there reverberates around the SST the sonic boom, real and imagined. From six months live testing in Oklahoma City without injury to a single person or significant structural damage, in which the consensus was that only about 15% or 20% of the population was irritated enough after 180 days of constant daylight booming to make a complaint or do something; from 15 years of military supersonic flying, down to last weeks' surprise report of a lonely Navaho Indian sheep herder in a western canyon last fall, heard an airplane and saw a sandy shelf fall over a prehistoric Indian cave dwelling, the roar of airplanes and the banks of fighters and bombers have irritated people around the world. And despite lack of injury or significant damage, despite studies in depth by the best experts in the United States and abroad, *no one* knows whether the public will or should ever be asked to tolerate scheduled operations that boom inhabited areas.

The antidotes are design, distance up detour around, or degrading of the payload so as to permit overland operations. But if it should not be permitted, if overland operations should not be permitted to protect the public safety, there will still be a very substantial market for the airplane, and the best estimate I can get after a lot of work and study is that at least 500 U.S. supersonic transports can be sold, even if they are limited to overwater operations. This is far less than the minimum of 1,200 U.S. SST's that could be sold, but it is still enough, and I believe when all the data is published, this will be borne out, it is still enough to cover the manufacturers, the governments and the airline investment, and show a return.

In other words, even if it's a Clipper ship, and not an overland express, it can be a success.

My belief is that this is a public investment out of which we will get the capital gains of (1) balance of payments, (2) pressing forward with technology, (3) retaining American leadership in aviation, (4) more than 50,000 jobs a year, (5) a ship and engine that may later prove very useful to our military, and (6) the satisfaction of going forward with a program well conceived and well done—that out of that, and for those reasons, the Congress, if the President sees fit to proceed, will support it.

UNITED STATES TO GO AHEAD WITH SUPERJETS—BUT AIRLINES WILL BE ASKED TO SHARE BUILDING COST—CARRIERS SAID TO AGREE

(By Evert Clark)

WASHINGTON, February 1.—The Administration will go ahead with development of a supersonic airliner. But a 39-word announcement by the Federal Aviation Agency disclosed today that the airlines would be asked to help carry the financial burden of building test planes.

Key United States airlines have already been sounded out. They have agreed in principle, and all other impediments to going ahead with the program have been overcome.

A risk-sharing arrangement has been worked out in which the Government will advance 90 per cent of the development cost but recoup it later with 6 per cent interest.

COST IS $1.2-BILLION

The Boeing Company and the General Electric Company, builders of the plane and engine, wil provide 10 per cent of development cost, now estimated at under $1.2-billion.

Following is the text of the announcement:

Present contracts [with Boeing and General Electric] will be extended on a month-by-month basis with funds already available, pending negotiations by the Federal Aviation Agency with the manufacturers and the airlines for airline financial participation in the phase three prototype development program.

The move to have the airlines share the cost is intended to lessen budgetary pressures on the Administration, make the program more appealing to Congress and have the airlines, the ultimate beneficiaries of the project, show good faith by joining in the risk to a greater degree.

The superjet picture has been somewhat confused since Dec. 31, when the Administration picked Boeing and G.E. to build the test plane, but did not say when this would be done.

Many questions remain unanswered about the airlines' new role. But some Administration officials hope contracts can be signed with them by March 1 Others estimate it will take twice that long.

Meanwhile, Boeing and G.E. are going ahead with design refinements on month-to-month contracts, using money already appropriated by Congress.

Twenty-six domestic and foreign airlines have reserved deliveries of 114 American superjets. Each line deposited $100,000 toward the final purchase of each plane it ordered, and each was to deposit $100,000 more for each plane six months after the building of test planes began.

DEPOSIT INCREASED

That second deposit now will be increased considerably and demanded earlier. Figures ranging from $200,000 a plane to as high as $1-million have been discussed.

Although the latter figure seems high, it is a small part of the final cost of a single superjet, which is now estimated at $36-million—or $40-million with spare engines and parts.

Major questions still unresolved include whether to make foreign airlines, as well as domestic ones, increase their share of the risk, and whether small domestic lines should advance as much money as the giants. Fifteen foreign lines and one broker have ordered 60 of the American planes.

Pan American World Airways and Trans World Airlines, this country's two major overseas carriers, have ordered 25 of the 114 American planes.

It is understood that they have agreed, with some reluctance, to go along with the new risk-sharing arrangement. If they do agree, smaller American lines probably would have little choice but to join them.

President Johnson has not indicated what the F.A.A. will need in funds in the fiscal year 1968 to continue the plane's development. But he is understood to have included about $250-million in his contingency funds for that year, far less than the $430-million he was once expected to request.

UNCERTAINTY ON FUNDS

It is not known whether the airline plan would mean that the F.A.A. needed less than the $250-million in Federal funds. Nor is it known when the President will formally ask Congress to approve a sum for the next fiscal year, which begins July 1.

But the airline plan would certainly ease the Administration's budget problems in the long run, since the airline money, instead of new Congressional appropriations, could be used for part of the development cost.

The airlines are to help the Government recoup the taxpayers' investment by paying royalties for the first few years the plane is in service. The more the airlines pay now under the new plan, the less they will owe in royalities.

Various ways to make the plan more attractive to the airlines are being studied. They include permitting the lines to write off the new deposits as an expense.

C. Wesley Winslow, Distinguished Winsted Citizen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. MESKILL

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. MESKILL. Mr. Speaker, the State of Connecticut has lost an outstanding citizen and community leader in the passing of C. Wesley Winslow, of Winsted.

My distinguished constituent's contributions to his town and the State will assure him a position of respect and esteem in the hearts of his neighbors.

In tribute to the memory of an outstanding American, I have asked permission to reprint the following obituary from the Hartford Courant honoring Wesley Winslow's lifetime of service to Connecticut:

WINSTED TOWN CLERK C. WESLEY WINSLOW DIES

WINSTED.—An official of the County Superior Court and city of Winsted for nearly a half century, Atty. C. Wesley Winslow, 78, of 682 Main St., died Wednesday morning at Charlotte Hungerford Hospital in Torrington.

Mr. Winslow served many years as clerk of the Litchfield County Superior Court and was town clerk for Winsted for 42 years until 1958.

Born in Winsted, "Wes" Winslow was a member of one of the early graduating classes at the Gilbert School here in 1906 and graduated from Yale University with a law degree in 1910.

Returning to Winsted, he became an active Republican worker and public office holder for nearly 50 years.

In his early days as an attorney, he served as prosecutor for the Town Court here and assistant town clerk. He was elected town clerk in 1915 and continued in that office virtually unopposed until the end of 1957.

Named assistant clerk of the Superior Court in 1915. Atty. Winslow served until 1927 when he was named clerk of Superior Court. He held the post until 1955.

Mr. Winslow was perhaps best known in Winsted for his work as town clerk. He held a keen interest in people of the town including histories of families and could instantly recall events and families of earlier Winsted days.

During World War I he was a member of the Connecticut State Council of Defense and served in the Home Guard.

A member of Hose Company I of the Winsted Volunteer Fire Dept., he served as company captain and 25 years as deputy fire chief until 1951.

A member of the Litchfield County and Connecticut State Bar Associations, Mr. Winslow also held membership in the former Winsted Club, the Odd Fellows, Rotary Club, Masons, Elks and Keehow Tribe of Red Men.

Named a corporator of the Winsted Savings Bank in 1930, he served as a director until his death.

Atty. Winslow was a member of the Church of Christ, formerly the Second Congregational Church, for many years. His wife, Mrs. Stella J. Liotard Winslow, died in 1957.

He leaves a sister, Dr. Mildred B. Winslow of Winsted.

Funeral services will be held Saturday at 2 p.m. at the Church of Christ with the Rev. Wallace K. Reid, pastor, officiating. Burial will be in Forest View Cemetery.

Friends may call at the T. Wayne White Funeral Home, 55 Walnut St., Winsted, today and Friday from 7 to 9 p.m.

Memorial contributions may be made to the Book of Memory at the Church of Christ, Winsted.

Extravagant Federal Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, William D. Workman, editor of the newspaper the State, published in Columbia, S.C., has proposed that this be "the year of the ax in Washington," so far as the recently submitted national budget is concerned. Editor Workman authored a most thought-provoking editorial entitled "Extravagance, Inc.," which was published in the State of February 2, 1967. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXTRAVAGANCE, INC.

President Johnson continues to spend the taxpayers' money as if it were going out of style—to the accompaniment of groans from those who foot the bill and cheers from those who profit from Uncle Sam's generosity.

His latest budget recommendations to Congress give rise to further groaning—or cheering, if you feed at the federal trough. But this time, there is even more hocus-pocus than usual in throwing budgetary statistics around. There are *three* types of budgets and the President characteristically chose to emphasize the one which forecasts the smallest deficit for the coming fiscal year.

But the astronomical budgets, ranging from $135 billion to $172 billion, depending upon which system you use, all agree on one matter—the costs for national defense and conduct of the war in Vietnam will amount to at least $73 billion. We just hope that the amount is adequate and that Defense Secretary McNamara has ceased his asinine efforts to predict when the war will end and to "come out even" with expenditures at that precise point.

But American taxpayers will underwrite whatever costs are involved in providing for national security and fulfillment of national obligations against our Communist enemies.

What distresses us is the continuing drain of tax funds into domestic (and foreign) social programs which in essence are nothing more than grandiose schemes of redistributing wealth—forcibly taking from those who produce and freely giving to those who don't. Some of this is necessary if a government is to meet its compassionate responsibilities to the helpless and hapless. But the Great Society has lost all sight of proportion and is undertaking to play Lady Bountiful to all who would rather lean on Uncle Sam than on themselves.

Perhaps the most distressing aspect of all is the ridiculous fact that the United States, at a time of unprecedented prosperity and full employment is going deeper and deeper into debt. The Secretary of the Treasury has just begged Congress to raise the national debt ceiling to $337 *billion* so that the government can meet its pay rolls and other financial obligations.

Already, American taxpayers are forking out their hard-earned money at the rate of $14 billion a year just to pay *interest* on the national debt. And that interest, mind you, buys nothing but debt service. About 11 cents of every dollar we send (under duress) to Washington by way of taxes goes to pay interest, yet there are those who profess no concern because "we just owe money to ourselves."

But all of this cannot be laid solely at the door of the Johnson administration, or of the Administrations which preceded this one. In the final analysis, Congress controls the pursestrings of the nation. Now is the time for our representatives in both House and Senate to stop this financial foolishness at the source by refusing to make unnecessary appropriations.

We've had too much doubletalk and lipservice from members of Congress who scream about total governmental costs and the soaring national debt, yet who continue to vote for projects which make up these bloated expenditures.

This should be the year of the ax in Washington.

Wisconsin's Governor Knowles Discusses Revenue Sharing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, several proposals on the sharing of Federal tax revenues with State and local units of government have been introduced in this Congress. This is an important matter for us to consider, and I have joined a number of my colleagues in introducing a tax-sharing bill.

The distinguished Governor of Wisconsin, the Hon. Warren P. Knowles, has presented his thoughts on tax sharing in a position paper issued to the Wisconsin congressional delegation. So that my colleagues may have the benefit of his thinking on this matter, I include that paper as part of my remarks:

THE GOVERNOR'S POLICY STATEMENT ON FEDERAL LEGISLATION—A WISCONSIN POSITION TO THE WISCONSIN CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION, FEBRUARY 1967, NO. 2

(By Warren P. Knowles, Governor)

This, my second formal statement to you on federal legislation, supports sharing federal revenues to the states as a long-run aim. It also supports conversion of some of the present conditional grants-in-aid to bloc grants as another way of obtaining unrestricted funds for state and local use.

My January letter on the disastrous effects in Wisconsin if the projected $25 million cut in highway funds is carried out showed an example of too much direction from Washington. There are other examples, smaller but just as flagrant.

Admittedly, expenses of the war in Viet Nam make it impossible to enact federal revenue sharing to take effect now. But there is no such bar to immediate consolidation of several related grant programs into broader, less rigidly controlled bloc grants. Possible fields to explore include Public Assistance, Water Pollution Control Aids, Education, Housing and Urban Affairs, and many more.

I. FEDERAL REVENUE SHARING

I support the return to states of a portion of federal revenue, unrestricted, to supplement existing grant-in-aid programs.

In normal times federal revenues are expected to increase by about $7 billion a year from growth in the national economy. At the same time, state and local costs of supporting education, welfare, and other vital services increase faster than the revenue available from state and local taxes.

Wisconsin has a distinguished history of creating needed aid programs, unemployment compensation, for example, and of administering them honestly and effectively. We have proven our ability to serve our people with prudence and compassion.

Opposition to federal revenue sharing comes from those who do not believe state governments will use the unrestricted money wisely. We know, on the contrary, that state government can be a dynamic partner in federalism when given a chance.

Support for tax sharing comes from those of us who believe that conditional grants-in-aid are burdened with unnecessarily detailed requirements, that they now overlap with undesirable duplication by both federal and state agencies in program offerings, and that the result is confusion to the public. The National Governor's Conference, meeting last December, supported the principle of tax sharing. Seventy percent of individuals questions by a recent Gallup poll favor the plan.

Plans for more or less unrestricted revenue sharing are proposed by Professor Walter Heller, Joseph Pechman of the Brookings Institute, Senators Goldwater, Javits, and Scott, Representatives Laird, Goodell, Reuss and others. Senator Nelson has suggested a broad-ranging study of the question. While the plans differ in detail, I believe the differences are not substantial. United support is important to get serious consideration of the general idea at this time. Representative Laird and Professor Heller have both minimized their differences and emphasized the need to unite on the principle. However, since there *are* specifics in several of the plans, I want to comment on some of them.

1. *Equalizing*. We can agree it is in the national interest to provide extra shares to 10 or 12 of the poorest states. But such equalizing aid must go only to states that tax themselves at least at the level of the average state, not to those who make little tax effort.

2. *Tax Effort*. A reward should be included for states like Wisconsin which are already taxing themselves at an above-average level. Wisconsin would, deservedly, benefit from this provision. In Goodell's plan, Wisconsin would benefit the most of any state.

3. *Share to Localities*. Wisconsin, which has always shared generously from its own revenue with the localities, needs no Congressional requirement to share. But if a certain percentage of the returned federal revenues are to be earmarked for localities, the distribution and choice of level—town, municipality, county—should be left to the state.

II. WISCONSIN REVENUE SHARING

Federal revenue sharing is consistent with Wisconsin's tradition of unrestricted revenue sharing with its local governments. In the past fiscal year—

Wisconsin returned $454 million, two-thirds of the total $684 million, of its state collected general tax revenues to local governments to help finance local programs.

Most of the tax revenues returned to localities, $267 million, were unconditionally allocated, to be applied to local government functions in whatever fashion the local jurisdiction determined.

Program aids totalling $187 million were broadly allocated for education, welfare or health purposes, and local jurisdictions were able to determine themselves the thrust of the aided programs.

Wisconsin's fiscal relationship with its local governments contrasts sharply with the federal government relationship with the states. Wisconsin unconditionally shares nearly 40% of its general tax revenues with its local governments—while the federal government shares none of its revenues with the states. Wisconsin's program aids are broadly granted, with great area for local decision-making—while federal aids are often burdened with cumbersome and restrictive requirements.

III. BLOC GRANTS

Besides federal revenue sharing, another way to avoid excessively detailed grants-in-aid while aiding state and local governments is through bloc grants. Bloc grants can be enacted in more fields. A good example is the comprehensive health planning act, (P.L. 89–749) which by 1968 will replace categorical health grants by a lump sum to be spent in health areas determined by the state. Bloc grants enable each state to apply its federal aids to its most compelling problems, which may well differ from those of neighboring states.

IV. ADMINISTRATIVE RESTRICTIONS

Too low standards for building construction, making for short-run economy and long run extravagance;

Delay in federal approval of state and local project applications;

Unnecessarily detailed requirements on grant applications and on financial accounting, taking too much staff time away from program;

Withdrawal of expected funds, so that planned projects must be scrapped, or redrawn at added expense;

Emphasis on some functions at the expense of others equally needed in an individual state;

Failure to recognize or reward a state's own creative problem-solving devices.

These are some of the problems arising as conditional grants-in-aid multiply. Conversion of groups of specific grants to bloc grants would be a helpful step the 90th Congress could reasonably enact.

V. SUMMARY

Federal revenue sharing is critically needed to ease the crushing financial burdens of state and local services.

Any federal revenue sharing plan should recognize the efforts of each state, such as Wisconsin, which seeks to provide necessary services for its citizens.

Federal revenue sharing would build on the Wisconsin tradition of unconditionally sharing state tax revenues with its local governments.

Bloc federal grants, wiping away excessively detailed grant restrictions, should be enacted whether or not a federal revenue sharing plan is implemented.

Observations on the Job Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDMUND S. MUSKIE

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, much attention has been focused on the Office of Economic Opportunity's Job Corps program, it pros and cons, its attributes and vices.

Too seldom do we hear from a true "authority" on the subject, one who has had first hand experience with the program. Such an individual is Robert Howe, a student at Gorham, Maine, State College, whose remarks on his teaching experience at the Job Corps Center for Women in Poland Spring, Maine, which were published in the January 17, 1967, edition of the Gorham State Observer, give some valuable insight into this program. His words are both encouraging, in praise of the activity which he observed, and challenging, regarding the need to maintain a high level of achievement for continued success.

I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JOB CORPS TEACHING PROVIDES UNIQUE EXPERIENCE

(By Robert Howe)

I can remember when, last summer, I heard that the old Poland Spring Inn had been chosen by the Office of Economic Opportunity as the site of a U.S. Job Corps Center for Women. I soon forgot about it, however, until September, when, at a meeting for first semester student teachers, it was announced that a few of us might have the opportunity of doing our second quarter's training there.

Several weeks went by before I considered the idea. But the more I thought about it, the better I liked it. The reason I finally went to Mrs. Costello to tell her I was definitely interested was that it was new and certain to be more challenging than my then existing term in a rural junior high school.

Of the several seniors originally stating a desire to go to Poland Spring, four were chosen. Reg Fickett said to me, "You may not learn much about teaching, Bob, but you'll learn a lot about people." No remark was ever so appropriate.

The Poland Spring Center is not operated by the U.S. government, but by a private business, Economic Systems Corporation, a division of AVCO set up specifically as the administration for the Poland Spring U.S. Job Corps Center for Women. It is one of a very few Centers to operate within its proposed budget for 1966. The government recently signed an 18-month contract with AVCO making Poland Spring the only center to receive a contract of longer than 12 months.

Anyone taking a walk through Riccar Inn, which shares E.S.C. offices with Jack Parr's WMTW television and FM radio studios, can see about 100 desks, some with feet upon them—symbols of a giant business bureaucracy. There is, at times, friction between business and educational interests here because teachers are at the bottom of the bureaucratic pyramid. That is not so different from the public school systems. The teachers do, however, decide how the subjects will be taught and what materials will be used. Class scheduling is in the hands of the educational staff.

There are over 1,000 Corpswomen at Poland Spring between the ages of 16 and 21 years. There is a scarcity of young, unmarried males, so I was forewarned of all types of potential danger: moral, social and even physical. I soon found all these warnings, from folks here at Gorham, misleading and without basis. Actually, the girls at Poland Springs are like girls anywhere else, and the Center is little different from any all-girl school of college. The problem is the public's appetite for gossip and misleading information, and lack of desire to learn the truth.

The teachers at Poland Spring are, in my opinion, of above average ability compared with teachers in public schools. I point this out because here again there has been much unrealistic criticism in this area.

The experience personally and "professionally" has for me been fascinating and rewarding. The biggest problem I, as well as the regular teachers, had to overcome was the negative attitude of many of the girls toward teachers and books. But this negativism is only a reflection of the negativism they had encountered in previous school experiences. The key to helping school dropouts lies not so much with the finding of new methods in the learning process, as it does with changing the attitudes of the girls, gaining rapport with them. Unfortunately, for many girls, this is the first time they have found teachers willing to take the time to be friends and also help them even though they are not heading toward a college career.

Being no older than my oldest students, I instructed the girls not to address me "Sir" or "Mr. Howe." This proved somewhat difficult for girls from Southern states because, apparently, teachers in Southern schools are always given this sign of respect. I wonder how often a teacher in the South is shown the attitude of disrespect prevalent in this part of the country.

Public school-oriented visitors might be set back by the informality of classes, but they are never out of control. There is no discipline problem in Poland Spring classrooms.

The classes are small, averaging 12 to 15 students. My students spend half their school day in academic classes (science, math., social studies, communicative skills) and half the day in vocational classes. The vocations offered include clerical, retail sales, commercial art, cosmetology, floral design, nurse's aide, teacher aide, veterinary assistant, cooking, sewing, drafting, mechanical-electrical assembly, photography, and printing and reproduction. Special areas include driver education, health and hygiene, and physical education. When the girls have passed a high school equivalency test they may go on to all-day on-the-job training.

Other girls spend all day in academic remedial classes until they have reached a sixth grade reading level which will permit them to spend half the day in their vocations. Some girls arrive as high school graduates and can go right into full-time vocational training.

I have visited most of the vocational class areas. The equipment is generally modern and plentiful, better than found in most high schools teaching vocations. The drafting and the printing and reproduction areas are both impressive, and the girls in both fields are already proficient.

Assuming the opportunity continues for sending Gorham seniors to Poland Spring, and I hope it does, I offer this advice to those who may find themselves in a Job Corps classroom in the future. Be prepared to abandon all your ideas about how to conduct a disciplined class; what you have been told in college will not work. If the girls like you as a teacher, you are "in"; if they don't and they are not learning anything, they will tell you so, and you had better be as honest as they are. Let no one look down their noses at the Job Corps girls. On 75 out of 100 topics you might discuss with them, you will be doing most of the listening and learning.

Any teacher who is a success at Poland Spring has attained that balance between being a teacher and a human being that all teachers everywhere should aim for. And if you, as a teacher, "make the grade", the girls will let you know that, too.

Were Welshmen in Alabama 322 Years Before Columbus "Discovered" the New World?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, during the last Congress, many Americans—and many Members—were impressed by the publication of a book and map purporting that Norsemen had discovered, and perhaps had even colonized, the shores of present-day Newfoundland some four or five centuries before Christopher Columbus' famous 1492 voyage.

Studies seem to indicate the Norse adventures in North America in about the year 1000.

The news that the Norsemen had preceded Columbus to the New World by almost a half millennium elated Scandinavians and raised the ire of many Italians, both in America and abroad.

The Vinland Map and Tartar Relation created quite a stir indeed. As Members will recall, the Vinland Map, evidently prepared by a Latin scholar many decades—perhaps several centuries—before Columbus' monumental voyages, clearly showed land to the west of present-day Greenland and Iceland. According to scholars and cartographers, the land mass west of Greenland and Iceland was so sketched as to distinctly show the shoreline of present-day Canada—Newfoundland in particular—with indentations on the eastern shore of the land mass which are almost unmistakably what is known today as Hudson Bay and the mouth of the St. Lawrence River.

Now it appears that we have another important addition to knowledge of early explorations of North America.

An Englishman, Mr. Richard Deacon, is publishing a book in London this month, entitled "Madoc and the Discovery of America," which holds that Welshmen permanently settled the New World, locating in southwest Alabama in 1170. This was not only 328 years before John Cabot's supposed discovery of land which now constitutes a part of the United States in 1498, but it was also 322 years before Columbus' supposed discovery of the New World in 1492.

Mr. Deacon holds that Prince Madoc, a Welsh explorer, landed on the shores of Mobile Bay, Ala., in 1170. As Mr. Deacon relates, even the Encyclopedia Americana reports this landing "with 10 ships and 300 men in 1170." Mr. Deacon's new work presents strong evidence to justify his conclusions. He has assembled much data and has, at least according to Mr. Geoffrey A. Wolff, a Washington Post staff writer who recently wrote a comprehensive article on this impending controversy, made a very convincing case.

As new data and old documents are turned up in the course of extensive historical pryings, we must be prepared to examine new evidence on the pre-Columbian history of America. If the Welsh settled what is now Alabama—and other parts of America—following their 1170 discovery, then they settled it. We should be prepared to objectively accept such a supported finding. If the "evidence" put forth by Mr. Deacon and others amounts to mere assemblages of myths, then we must objectively discard his contentions.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the full text of Mr. Wolff's article, "Wales to Alabama in 1170, It Says Here," which appeared in the Washington Post of Sunday, February 5, 1967. I commend it to the attention of everyone who is interested in pre-Columbian explorations and settlements by Europeans in America.

The article follows:

WALES TO ALABAMA IN 1170, IT SAYS HERE

(By Geoffrey A. Wolff)

Alongside a southern Alabama road is a marker erected in 1953 by the Virginia Cavalier chapter of the D.A.R.: "In memory of Prince Madoc, a Welsh explorer, who landed on the shores of Mobile Bay in 1170 and left behind, with the Indians, the Welsh language."

A cynic might understandably be tempted to discount such a startling announcement, boosting Anglo-Saxon accomplishments at the expense of Columbus's voyage 322 years later, when it comes from the offices of the good Daughters. But in its second paragraph, the marker sends the cavalier to another source: "Authority is Encyclopedia Americana . . ."

The Americana is rather ho-hum about the matter, telling us that Madoc was a "Welsh prince who in consequence of some civil dissensions went to sea with ten ships and 300 men in 1170 and discovered America. He made a second voyage to and from this unknown land but finally was lost to the knowledge of his countrymen . . ."

The short entry concludes, rather indecisively spilling the wind out of its brave initial assertion: "Thomas Stephens, in 'Madoc: An Essay on the Discovery of America in the 12 Century' (1893), asserts that the story of Madoc is a baseless fable."

Now, "Madoc and the Discovery of America" by an Englishman, Richard Deacon, to be published in London this month, assembles impressive evidence to support the claim that Madoc made the round trip from Wales to Alabama. He ransacks five disciplines for clues to the mystery: ancient legend and literature, pragmatic testing, ethnology, archeology and linguistics.

Accurate records were rarely kept in the 12th century, so one is thrown on the mercy of bards who sang tales of great accomplishments. There is an impressive number of such references to Madoc, probably the illegitimate son of a powerful warlord. Poem after poem connects him with the sea and puts him on a long voyage across the Western Ocean to a strange land.

He remained a symbol of seafaring life under the Tudors. In 1865, a stone tablet from Lundy (whence Madoc may have embarked on his second voyage) was found with a legend in old Welsh carved before the 14th century, according to Deacon, who translates it: "It is an established fact, known far and wide, that Madoc ventured far out on the Western Ocean never to return."

EARLY JOURNALISTS

Epic poems, of course, were written to glorify their subjects and poets are no strangers to fiction, but the fact remains that Henrich Schliemann found Troy with the help of Homer, and more recently, the Norwegian archeologist Helge Ingstad used Scandanavian legends to locate remains from Leif Ericson's visits to America. Ingstad believes the bards to have been comparable to journalists today, men who took some pains to discover facts before they wrote.

There is no doubt that a long voyage in a small boat is possible. Enthnological support for the Madoc landing rests on many reports from early settlers of a tribe of white Indians having European features and speaking a language close to or identical with Welsh. Deacon ventilates the theory that Madoc's compatriots moved inland through western Georgia and southern Tennessee, finally settling near the Missouri River.

CATLIN A WITNESS

Many tribes have been called the white Indian nation, but Deacon puts his chips on the Mandans, who were visited in 1738 by the French explorer Verendrye. They had light complexions and lived in small towns with carefully laid out streets which were kept clean, as were their impressively large and sophisticatedly constructed houses. They had some words in common with the patois of Brittany.

Deacon discredits most of the tales of travelers who claimed to have encountered white Indians, especially those who said they found a tribe possessing Bibles and worshiping Christ, but reports from such men as the painter George Catlin, who spent eight years among the Mandans, seem unimpeachable.

Deacon cites archeological discoveries to prove his case. Probably the most important is his claim that there are "at least three forts in Alabama, Georgia and Tennessee which archeologists have testified are of pre-Columbian origin."

"All three," he says, "are believed to have been the work of the same group of people and built within the period of a single generation. What is most remarkable about these fortifications is that they have outlasted many defense works built by the European explorers of the 16th century."

The author also places in evidence what appears to be a 12th century port record from a place called Aber-Kerrik-Guignon which refers specifically to Madoc, names his ship as the "Guignon Gorn" (legend has it as the "Gwennan Gorn") and asserts that it was lost at sea in 1171.

Finally, Deacon cites the references in Sir Walter Raleigh's "History of the World" and elsewhere to the prevalent use of Welsh words by Indians and others long before the Welsh came to America in any strength.

AN ELUSIVE HISTORY

The book is constructed as a reply to that of Thomas Stephens who called the Madoc tale "a baseless fable." Deacon admits that "no other nation in the British Isles has such a shadowy, elusive historical past as Wales. It is almost impossible to say where legend ends and fact begins."

The way to the truth is blocked again and again by manufactured evidence and false reports. Madoc is said by various historians to have landed in more than 15 places and 13 tribes have been called "Welsh Indians." Estimates of the number of ships used by Madoc and his men vary wildly.

Stephens's most basic depreciation of the Madoc legend is that the primitiveness of shipbuilding and navigation in the 12th century would have made the journey impossible. There are no drawings of ships from Madoc's time but critics claim that the voyage would have been "too arduous without a compass." Deacon answers that the Norse did very well, thank you, without compasses, and besides, he claims, there is some evidence that Madoc may have had a primitive kind of lodestone to supplement his use of the stars and birds as navigational aids.

Stephens makes much of the fact that there were six different Madocs in 12th century poems. Deacon believes that his Madoc was the son of Owain Gwynedd, that he was handsome, courageous and probably a bastard. There are references to a Madoc who, like Oedipus, was sent by his father to be killed in infancy but miraculously escaped. Certainly he would have had a motive for fleeing his patrimony.

But Stephens is unpersuaded and asks repeatedly: Why did he make the trip? Why did he sail west with no prospect of finding land? Deacon answers that he went because he was curious, the reason why people explore anything unknown, and that there were many rumors of a fabulous land across the sea.

A TUDOR CONCOCTION?

Another of Stephen's challenges, and a very fair one, is that the Madoc legend was the product of self-serving Tudor historians who wished to extol their monarchs' Welsh heritage at the expense of the Spanish claim that Columbus had discovered America.

The first published Tudor account of Madoc's exploits, by Sir George Peckham, appeared in 1583 when England and Spain were bitter foes. It said in part: "Whereupon it is manifest that that country was long before by Brytaines discovered, afore either Columbus or Americus Vesputius led any Spaniarde thither."

Deacon's rebuttal that the English were disinterested historians because they made no plans to use their claim to gain territory from the Spanish is quite flimsy. Exploration had an enormous hold on the Tudor imagination: Englishmen worked hard to prove themselves first with the most, and the fact remains that much of Deacon's evidence about Madoc in Wales comes from partial sources.

Critics also cite evidence contradicting the existence of Welsh Indians. Luis de Rojas, writing to the King of Spain in 1625, said soldiers and sailors had combed the Georgia-Carolina interior for 150 leagues but "found no traces of the rumored *gente blanco y cabella.*"

Stephens asserts that the contradictory nature of the reports about white Indians, with the many obvious fabrications, leaves the claim wholly unproved. But Deacon answers that many of the reports came from men of unquestioned integrity, and that if we accept only a third of those, we must believe that such a tribe existed and was probably the Mandan nation, which was finally obliterated by war-like tribes early in the 19th century.

Finally, Stephens argues that what words some Indian dialects had in common with Welsh were accidental and rightly points out that no common grammar or syntax have been found. He believes that what traces of Welsh ancestry or words were found in America came over with Elizabethan colonists, not with Madoc. Deacon answers that practically no Welshmen came to these shores until well after the reports of Welsh Indians had become a commonplace.

The details of the linguistic enigma lend credence to Deacon's thesis. What George Catlin learned during his stay with the Mandans demolishes Stephen's flat assertion that Indians were ignorant of pronouns and abstract words. The Mandans had a full complement of pronouns and their pronunciation was markedly similar to the Welsh equivalents.

Another visitor to the Mandans found other striking similarities between the languages. The words for "water" and "river" were identical, as were the words for "blue," "estuary" and "bridge," all terms perhaps left from a seafaring heritage.

In addition, Catlin found a complete phrase, mentioning Madoc, used by the Mandans as an exclamation. The Mandans would commonly call upon the "Great Spirit of the Race" (*Madoc Maho Paneta am byd*), which in Welsh would be *"Madoc Mawr Penarthur am byth"* (Madoc the Great Spirit forever).

Deacon tells us that when the Spaniards settled in Alabama in 1559, they found hidden in a cave a number of ancient eggshell-shaped boats called "coracles," which are used today by the Welsh to fish small streams. Catlin reported that the Mandans used such boats while he was their guest and that the vocabulary associated with them was almost identical with Welsh, which he didn't know at the time.

BLONDS AND REDHEADS

Deacon cites compelling ethnological considerations in favor of his case. Fourteen reports of white Indians refer to them as bearded or whitehaired or both, which would make them unique among Indians, who are beardless and have no white hairs. Lewis and Clark, during their search for a Northwest passage, stayed among the Mandans, who told them they regarded all other Indians as foreign enemies.

Catlin, who agreed with many others that Mandan women were of exceptional beauty, told of blond and reddish hair among members of the tribe and said they told stories of having been descended from white men across the sea. A 20th century scientist, Rued Hjalmer Holand, declared flatly that "all archeologists are agreed that the Mandan Indians have been in prehistoric contact with Europeans. Their frequently recurring blue eyes and their blond complexions prove this."

But there have been similar theories, discounted by Deacon, that Mexico's Indians are descended from white men. The Spanish explorer Cortez supported a legend that Montezuma was directly descended from a race "very far, in a little island in the North . . ." (the quotation is from a letter, supposedly by Cortez, which quotes Montezuma.) Peter Martyr, writing in 1493 from the court of Spain just after Columbus's return from the Americas, said that the natives of Guatemala "celebrate the memory of one of their ancient heroes whom they call Matec."

In the London Sunday Times last month, an article about the dark-skinned Melungeons of northern Tennessee, a people of strange customs, said that "some authorities even suggest that the community was started by Prince Madoc, the Welsh chieftain, whose party sailed west in the 12th century and moved into the continent up the Mississippi." The Melungeons are dark, but have the thin-faced features of Europeans.

THE ONE TANGIBLE

But the Madoc legend rests finally on a massive accumulation of suggestive evidence rather than on anything as tangible as a Vinland Map. If one can believe George Catlin, one can believe that the Mandans had some knowledge of the Welsh language and that they differed in appearance and traditions from other Indians. No objects remain to support Deacon's thesis except the fortification sites mentioned above, and they have been built over recently.

Understandably, Deacon makes a great deal of these forts. He quotes a Col. Bennett H. Young (without providing us with dates or the Colonel's qualifications): "A remarkable prehistoric stone fortification in the state of Kentucky is situated in Madison County about three miles east of Berea." After commenting on their sophisticated layout and construction, Young concludes: "The old forts in Kentucky were not built by Indians but by a past people greatly skilled in arts."

Archeologists digging at Old Stone Fort in Tennessee in 1819 found moats and intricate walls, but, most significantly, they found a large tree growing out of a hollow in one of the walls. They theorized that in the long ago, some seeds must have been dropped in a small open space in the wall. They cut the tree down and dendrochronologists calculated that it dated back before 1482, probably much before.

But that does not, of course, prove that Madoc or the Mandans built the fort. Perhaps the Norse journeyed farther south than we now believe. Whatever the truth, Deacon has converted at least one skeptical reader to a celebrant of Madoc Day.

Wage Guidelines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, once in while one reads a newspaper editorial which drives home a point with plain frankness. Such an editorial, entitled "Dear Guidelines," written by Editor-Publisher R. L. DeYoung, was published in the Spartanburg, S.C., Guide of February 9, 1967. I commend it to Senators and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEAR GUIDELINES

Well, we see where various and sundry representatives are journeying up to Washington, D.C. to go before the high and mighty to protest the minimum wage act as it applies to schools, hospitals, and some state affairs. We could save them the time and expense of the trip, because the high and mighty have spoken—and that's that.

The powers that be have laid down guide lines and the high and mighty will see to it that the subjects walk that line, and they'd prefer to have no back talk. But of course there was and is a price tag on the guide lines. Practically every school board in South Carolina and the nation, have "complied" with the guide lines, and by complying, a certain amount of money, dollars, money of the realm has been granted these school boards with which to carry on their schools. That's where the guide lines come in—do as we say do and you get the money—fail to do as we say, and you get no money, Federal money, that is, money which the taxpayers provided in the first place.

We believe there was some protest about these guide lines by some school officials and some Senators and Congressmen, but the fact remains that the school boards went along with the plan under threat of having funds cut off.

And now, when the high and mighty decree that these school boards and hospitals must raise the pay of workers from $1.25 an hour to $1.40 an hour, they go running to Washington in protest. But we greatly fear the protests will avail them nothing.

If every school board and every hospital in the country had had the courage to stand up to the high and mighty and demanded that local school boards and local hospital boards be allowed to operate their institutions as they believe to be in the best interest of the people whom they serve, then the high and mighty would have been forced to let freedom ring and the local institutions would have been permitted to run their own affairs.

People can see their freedoms slipping away and they do not like what they see, but when the Federal government puts an offer of money on these freedoms the money seems to win every time—and freedom loses.

For the Veterans of Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, it has been most gratifying to see the response of the newspapers and other news media of this Nation to the President's message to Congress on veterans benefits. We all seem to be agreed upon one thing—that the men of this Nation who are fighting in Vietnam are the finest ever to shoulder arms for the sake of liberty and freedom. And, we are likewise agreed upon another point—that these veterans should be recognized by the extension of benefits afforded to all other veterans who have taken part in combat.

I commend the President for his fine message, for which I am most happy to give my support. I likewise commend the press for its quick and favorable editorial comment in support of the President.

As an outstanding example of this comment, and support of the President's proposals, I am including this editorial from the February 2, 1967, issue of the Inquirer, Philadelphia, Pa., in the Record:

For the Veterans of Vietnam

In the context of history, there are large wars and there are small wars. There are wars formally declared and there are wars informally designated as police actions or some such euphemism. There are all-out wars and there are limited wars.

To servicemen personally involved in warfare, the subtle distinctions in terminology are meaningless. For the American soldier who dies in a nameless rice paddy of Vietnam, it is the biggest war he will ever see. For his surviving kin, the tragic loss is total and final. For his battlefield buddies who carry on the fight, there are no limitations when circumstances of war require the last full measure of devotion.

It is self-evident, then, that veterans of the war in Vietnam should be eligible for educational and other benefits equivalent to those received by veterans of the World Wars and the Korean War

President Johnson's message to Congress calls for appropriate upgrading of benefits to veterans of Vietnam, and to widows and surviving dependents. Congress already had initiated legislation along this line. We urge affirmative bipartisan action without delay.

Other proposals in the President's message on affairs of veterans may require further study by Congress, but seem eminently desirable in many instances. Especially essential, we believe, is an unqualified commitment of the American people to provide adequately and realistically for the widows and children of veterans who gave their lives in service to their country. Wounded and disabled war veterans also deserve continuing compassion and support from a grateful Nation.

Antimissile Missile System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, no issue that is before the country today is more important than the building and deployment of an antimissile missile system. The press has published much comment on this subject, the most recent being by columnist John Chamberlain. I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the Record his column entitled "It May Be Too Late for Antiballistic Missile Agreement," published in the Augusta, Ga., Chronicle, of February 8, 1967.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

It May Be Too Late for Anti-Ballistic Missile Agreement

(By John Chamberlain)

The argument that the United States should refrain from building and deploying an anti-ballistic missile, or ABM, system while our diplomats are dickering with the Russians to get them to hold off, too, has a great deal of theoretical merit.

But the issue may already be out of our hands. According to the best intelligence estimates, the Soviets have already spent some $4 billion on anti-missile missile defenses, which, allowing for price differentials, would come to $15 billion in U.S. money.

This means that they are well along in their ABM program, possibly to the point of no return.

Formidable opposition to pursuing a trust-Russia policy in the matter of an anti-missile moratorium is bound to crop up in the U.S. Senate within weeks or even days. Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington is one Democrat who insists that Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara has been wrong to oppose deployment of an ABM system. And Sen. Tom Dodd of Connecticut is another member of President Lyndon Johnson's party who doubts the Soviets would observe good faith in accepting a halt to ABM construction.

Dodd, in fact, is planning a major speech on the subject; he will stress the probability that the Russians are already committed to their own ABM program, with their eyes particularly focussed on the lunatic regime in Red China, which may have deliverable missiles tomorrow.

Dodd is particularly worth listening to whenever he speaks on atomic matters, for he has had a record of consistent prophetic accuracy over the years. When the U.S. was observing the unofficial moratorium on nuclear testing, Dodd warned that the Russians would break it. This was precisely what happened, for the Soviet used the period of U.S. quiescence to push the development of large-yield nuclear technology. Because of this the U.S. had two years sliced off its four-year atomic lead over the Soviets. And as far back as 1960 Dodd was busy urging the U.S. to go ahead with anti-ballistic missile development. The Soviets were already committed to it, and when Khrushchev made his boast that he could knock a fly out of the sky Dodd took it with prudent seriousness.

Dodd wonders what Khrushchev might have done in the Cuban missile showdown if Moscow had had an ABM system at the time. He might have pushed John F. Kennedy one step further toward the brink, and who knows what might have followed? The point is that if one side has chips to throw into the diplomatic pot, the other side must also have them if the cautionary balance of terror is to be maintained.

If the Russians refuse to pull back in their ABM program, the U.S. has no alternative but to match the Kremlin. This will be the substance of Dodd's warning as outlined to me in conversation. The speech should be well worth pondering.

Parable of the Wolf, or, a Believability Gap

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the worker-taxpayer and patriotic-minded citizen also cherished Abe Lincoln's birthday, remembering "you can fool part of the people all of the time and all of the people part of the time, but—"

In view of the intended program to be presented to Congress asking for an anti-crime program, I am asking that there be inserted in the Record at this point the remarks of Vice President Humphrey which appeared in the Evening Star here in Washington on February 15, 1967.

The article follows:

Humphrey Pledges Aid To Drive Against Crime

(By Shirley Elder)

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey responded to pleas from distraught crime-plagued District businessmen yesterday with a firm pledge of support and said they, too, must do their share.

The vice president urged business leaders to form an "action group" to help the administration lobby on Capitol Hill for more money to fight the ever-increasing crime rate here.

"I want you to know," Humphrey said, "that I will do all that I can to obtain from the Congress the funds necessary to establish effective law enforcement in the District and to establish it now.

"We need the backing of every group and interest in the District on behalf of this effort. The time is at hand for business, labor, religious and civic groups to act under the mandate for action which has been spelled out by the President—and to go to the Congress in person to obtain the financial support necessary."

The Humphrey statement came in letters to Richard H. Sinclair, president of the D.C. Savings and Loan League, and G. B. Burrus, president and chairman of the board of Peoples Drug Stores.

Another call for an increase in the war on crime came from the Washington D.C. Retail Liquor Dealers Association, which demanded "strong remedial legislation" to curb the rising tide of robberies.

Hilliard Schulberg, association executive director, said that since 1965 more than 250 holdups and four murders have occurred in stores operated by members of the association.

In a letter to President Johnson, Schulberg urged that suspects charged with violent crime who have prior criminal records not be released on bail before trial. He also called for an increase in police manpower.

Humphrey also released a copy of a letter written last week to another concerned businessman, chairman Robert Baker of the D.C. Clearing House.

"You have performed an important service . . ." Humphrey told Baker. "I hope that you are encouraged, as I am, by President Johnson's strong recommendation (to Congress) . . . When the President says that 'public order is the first business of government,' I think you can take that to mean we are going to see action."

TIME FOR ACTION

However, "action in this case means money." Humphrey listed these problems in the District:

"Police and prosecutors' offices all are understaffed and underpaid. District police should be better trained and better equipped; racial bars should be dropped, and police-community relations should be more pleasant."

Ideally, Humphrey continued, police precinct stations should be centers of "positive community education for law enforcement." And the District should have the "best technical facilities money can buy."

Humphrey also put in a plug for a law to restrict the easy traffic in hand guns.

MUST "PAY THE PRICE"

In an obvious reference to the charge that recent court decisions have weakened law enforcement, Humphrey said it is possible to protect the majority and still guarantee individual rights; "We can do both, but we must be willing to pay the price."

The protesting letters have been published as full-page newspaper ads to dramatize the businessman's anxiety. On behalf of People's, for instance, Burrus printed a list of 62 burglaries and 31 armed robberies suffered by the chain's stores in the last 56 weeks.

Burrus said the dollar loss was $116,000 and warned that "every crime listed carried the seeds of grave human tragedy . . ." The pace of these crimes, he wrote, is "accelerating rather than abating."

Mr. Speaker, for some strange reason this national leader feels that crime can only be controlled if we, the American people, are able to "pay the price." This provokes a question as to why the responsible taxpayer-citizen who has suffered through the breakdown of law and order should be now saddled with another deduction from his paycheck to bail out the same leaders who have in the past encouraged disrespect for local law and order. Since many of our people have short memories, I am asking that the article covering a speech by the Honorable Charles E. Whittaker, former Supreme Court Justice, which appeared in the Washington Evening Star under date of February 15, be inserted at this point to refresh their memories on the events of a year ago.

The article follows:

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE ENCOURAGED, WHITTAKER SAYS

A former Supreme Court justice last night accused President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey, Secretary of State Dean Rusk and American church leaders of encouraging violation of the law by civil rights demonstrators.

The attack came from Charles E. Whittaker, who retired in 1962, in the opening lecture of a three-part seminar on law, order and civil disobedience sponsored by the American Enterprise Institute, a conservatively oriented nonpartisan educational institution. The seminar is being held at George Washington University.

Whittaker cited a 1964 statement by Rusk: "If I were a Negro, I too would demonstrate."

Then he cited a statement by Humphrey last year that if he had to live in the slums "you'd have more trouble than you have had already, because I've got enough spark left in me to lead a mighty good revolt under those conditions."

Finally, he quoted the President's remarks in August 1965, to demonstrators at the White House: "I am proud this morning to salute you as fellow revolutionaries. Neither you nor I are willing to accept the tryanny of poverty. . . . I hope that you . . . will go out into the hinterland and rouse the masses and blow the bugles and tell them that the hour has arrived and their day is here. . . ."

Reasonable minds cannot doubt, Whittaker said, that such statements constituted an endorsement of civil disobedience, even though not intended as such.

Alluding to support of Negro civil rights movements in the South by "Northern whites," including ministers and other church people, Whittaker said their support of demonstrations vocally, physically or financially put them in a position where they "cannot now escape a measure of responsibility" for the results of the demonstrations.

Whittaker said he was sure that "a large majority of American Negroes are law-abiding citizens of good sense and do not subscribe to, and will have no truck with, the preachments of some self-appointed Negro leaders that have exhorted and incited Negroes to violate our laws. . . . My criticisms are of those misguided and irresponsible self-appointed Negro leaders who have exhorted and incited others to violate our laws, and of the relatively small percentage of our Negroes—usually the poorest and least educated ones—who have fallen under the spell of these leaders and have been carrying out their exhortations."

Mr. Speaker, in my humble opinion, it would appear no additional money is needed on a Federal level, no more judges or peace officers must immediately be recruited. Rather, government should let the dedicated jurists and lawmen alone and, under the eye of society in their own backyard, if permitted to proceed unhampered I am convinced they will restore law and order, and deter crime.

In lieu of pleas and leadership against the taxpayer I feel we should encourage those in high places to turn their pleas toward the beatniks and the street legions and the preacherniks, and talk to them—reason with them—in the terms of dignity, honor, loyalty, thrift, and respect for law and order, certainly the result could but stop the confusion in our land, diminish crime with the desired effect of restoring the greatest achievement of our Government; peace of mind and there would be no need for the additional taxes to set up a Federal machine to control crime.

Interview With Comedian Don Knotts—Native West Virginian—Discuss Fond Memories of West Virginia—Tells of Start in Show Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, actor-comedian Don Knotts, a native of Morgantown, W. Va., was recently interviewed by Editor Randy Murray for the December 1966, issue of Business Communications, a quarterly publication of the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co., of West Virginia.

The famous personality recalls experiences as a youngster and offers some observations on the future of West Virginia.

As a graduate of West Virginia University and a member of Phi Sigma Kappa Fraternity, he stays in touch with the university and has many friends there.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the interview with this four-time Emmy winner printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the interview was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WEST VIRGINIAN IN THE HOLLYWOOD HILLS

(By Randy Murray)

(West Virginia-born Don Knotts, destined for show business even as a youngster growing up in Morgantown, credits his hometown for early encouragement discusses the events leading to his present movie career, and offers some observations on his native State).

Hollywood, that unique little suburb of sprawling Los Angeles, remains the film capital of America, even while its claim as the world's capital is debated.

Amid tall, aging palms and colorful stucco residences, movie companies prosper. And alongside them allied businesses—splicing firms, sound specialists, color experts, and smaller outfits catering to newsreel and industrial trailing films—enjoy apparent wealth.

The city and its people are a study in contrast—there is a mixture if not a compound of the conventional and the bazaar. Where else in America will you find pink fire hydrants, youngsters on every corner selling maps to the stars' residences, and an army of "Hollywood types" complete with wildly clashing colors of clothing, sunglasses after dark, and pets that have obviously received more grooming than their masters. Yet in the same famous thoroughfares of Wilshire Boulevard, Vine Street, Sunset Boulevard, Hollywood Boulevard, and the others, operate the very ordinary businesses and the people who operate them. Even the glamorous Hollywood has its Woolworths, its drug stores, its service stations, its insurance agents, real estate brokers, bankers, barbers, and bakers. All exist alongside one another under a warm dry sun that shines so often that it prompted one Southern California native to describe the weather as "monotonous."

Perhaps surprisingly, the studio which claims to be the world's largest, Universal, is located outside of the glamour capital in nearby North Hollywood, a five-minute drive up the freeway. Universal City, as it is called and as it appears on the map, is just that—a city in itself—with an elected mayor, a fire department, and many of the problems of any other municipality.

With the exception of one high-rise executive building, low lying, one-story buildings cover the vast acreage of Universal. These are the studios, the carpentry shops, the dressing rooms and the offices for producers, makeup artists, and writers. A single shade of gray paint covers all of these buildings, lending a military appearance to this studio-city. The drabness seemed a stark contrast to the colorful and creative product of the largest film company.

I met Don Knotts in the offices of his two-man writing team that has been with him since the Andy Griffith show.

Animated, possessed of a remarkable wit, and above all unpretentious and sincere, Don talked at length about his fortunes and misfortunes in the entertainment business, of his recollections of life in Morgantown, and his view of the future of his native state.

WEST VIRGINIA INTERVIEW—DON KNOTTS

Question: Don, as probably the most prominent show business personality ever to come out of West Virginia, what recollections do you have about your early life in Morgantown?

Answer: Well when we get into prominent personalities, let's not forget Fuzzy Knight a little while back there. I remember when Fuzzy came to Morgantown once to visit, I was so thrilled. He came from Fairmont, you remember. Anyway, about my recollections of Morgantown. There's the university, of course. I was fortunate to have been born about a half-mile from the campus, and I can remember the university almost from birth. I had to pass through the campus to go to high school. I remember the freshmen wore the beanies, and when the upper-classmen came by on the campus they used to turn thumbs up and the freshmen had to say, "Beat hell out of Pitt." And when I was in high school and would cross the campus, I used to do that to the freshmen and they thought that I was in the university.

But I have many fond recollections of West Virginia all through high school and college and very, very, very fond memories of the town.

Question: Who in West Virginia especially encouraged you to follow a career in entertainment?

Answer: I had encouragement from many people. My mother encouraged me a great deal, although nobody in my family was in show business. I think I got my interest in show business from my mother who used to love to go to the movies and listen to the radio. And I have been a Jack Benny fan ever since I can remember. I was embarrassed to tell Mr. Benny when I met him that I listened to him when I was a little boy, but he didn't seem to mind. But, I got encouragement right straight through from Dorothy Stone White, who was the drama teacher in high school, to Sam Boyd, Jr., who was the drama teacher at the university, and many, many people around town who encouraged me. I did a great deal of work as an entertainer in Morgantown, starting when I was 13 years old. I must say that the town itself encouraged me, in that I was asked to entertain at this banquet or that luncheon. I really gained a lot of experience right in Morgantown from the age of 13 until 18 when I went into the Army.

Question: What was your first professional job and how did it lead to the present?

Answer: I actually did professional work in Morgantown because I got paid there for entertaining at these various affairs and functions. Then when I went into the Army, I went with an Army show and entertained throughout the Southwest Pacific. When I came back to Morgantown I began to work nightclubs through the summers and on weekends while I was in college. I worked out of Pittsburgh. My first job when I went to New York, when I finally decided to make a real try for it, was with Lanny Ross. He had a radio show at that time, and I did a show with him and I also did, shortly after that, *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts*—which I lost.

And how did it lead to this? The Lanny Ross show led me into the radio show called *Bobby Benson and his B-Bar-B Riders*, which I did over the Mutual Network in New York for about 5 years.

Along with that, I did a soap opera called *Search For Tomorrow* on television, and I made a lot of one-shot performances on *Kraft Theater, Robert Montgomery Presents*, and various shows like that on television. Finally when I was at my lowest ebb, about out of this business, I landed a part in *No Time For Sergeants* on Broadway, and that's where I met Andy Griffith. I was two years in that show and from there I went to the *Steve Allen Show* and, by coincidence, I got back with Andy on the *Andy Griffith Show*. Now I'm here making pictures.

Question: With a long list of acting credits in comedy roles, do you consider yourself primarily an actor or a comedian?

Answer: Well that always gets you into definitions of what an actor and a comedian are. I personally don't like to be referred to as a comic. I don't know why except that I think that a comic means a person who goes out and tells jokes and does bits in front of a curtain or in a nightclub. I very rarely work where I come out and do twenty minutes of stand up comedy, although I have done that. But that's not what I really do most now.

Fred MacMurray is a light comedian. He is also an actor. He is an actor-comedian. If you work within the framework of a situation and you do light comedy roles, I'd say you have to combine the two and say I'm an actor-comedian.

Question: What business or personal contacts do you currently have with the state?

Answer: I haven't been in too close contact with West Virginia in the past few years. Of course my mother lives there, and I get back to see her occasionally. And she comes out here occasionally. I have a brother, Sid, there. And the university—I still stay in touch with the university. Dr. Henning was head of the Speech Department there, and Sam Boyd, I mentioned earlier, I still stay in touch with him. Gus Comunitzis is a contact of mine there. Gus runs the theater. He took my mother to the premier of *The Ghost and Mr. Chicken* and since, just by coincidence, he owns the restaurant just across the street, he took her over there to dinner. My closest friend in the world lives there. His name is Jarvie Eldred. I grew up with Jarvie, and we still stay in touch.

Question: How often are you able to return to West Virginia?

Answer: Well, not too often. I was there about two years ago when my mother was ill. I guess that was the last time I was there. And I was there a couple of years before that when they had a day for me in Morgantown. The then Governor Barron was present. That was quite a nice day. I had a very good time.

Question: Are you able to keep track of activities in the state?

Answer: Well not as much as I'd like. I have been in touch with the university the most, and I really admire the progress they have made with the school in general. The last time I was there, I couldn't believe the way the campus had expanded. The medical school and the hospital they have built there particularly impressed me very much. If I had to be sick I'd go there.

Question: Do friends and acquaintances identify you with West Virginia?

Answer: Some do. Most of the publicity out on me identifies West Virginia as my home state.

Question: You're perhaps best known for your role as Barney Fife on the very popular Andy Griffith Show. Why did you decide to leave?

Answer: It all began, this idea of leaving, when I fulfilled my contract with the Griffith Show, which was a five-year contract. At the end of the fourth year, Andy had about decided to quit the show after five years. The overall plan was to go five years, then quit. So he was talking about dropping it, and as the news began going around town, I began to get various offers to do other things. Along with some of the offers that came along was one from Universal to make some motion pictures, which I had always wanted to do. So about the time we started making the deal, Andy started talking about staying on the air and by then I had gotten interested in this other project. He asked me if I wanted to stay, and I told him about my opportunity. He thought it was a good opportunity. I thought well, if I stayed with the Griffith Show, I'd stay another year, another two, and the show would be over and then what would I do? I thought I'd take the opportunity while it was there. That is really about the size of it. I miss the Griffith Show very much, but I enjoy what I'm doing here so long as we do well at it. The trouble in making pictures is that you can only be a success as long as your last picture was a good one.

Question: What are your up-coming plans now that you have completed your first motion picture?

Answer: Well we just finished writing the next picture we're going to shoot here. It's called the *Reluctant Astronaut* and that's the very next thing I'm going to do. After that I'm going to do a *Chrysler Theater* on television, and then we'll probably be working an another screen play. I'll also be taping a special for television on CBS late this year. I don't know when it will be released, but those are the immediate projects.

Question: Have you met many West Virginians here in California or elsewhere where you have worked?

Answer: Oh, yes. I meet West Virginians wherever I go.

Question: What do you believe the future holds for West Virginia?

Answer: Well West Virginia has a lot of potential. I think that most everybody that I talk to who is not from West Virginia always remarks about the scenic beauty of West Virginia. The mountains and the beautiful scenery are often called the United States Alps. But it is my own personal feeling that, because of the mountains and because of the terrain, West Virginia has a transportation problem. Whenever I drive there or travel there I notice that it is harder to get through West Virginia, generally speaking, to and through and out of places, than it is in most states. Now in Morgantown, sometimes I would feel cut off if I wanted to take the train because Morgantown, believe it or not, does not have a passenger train station. It has a freight train station, but not a passenger train station. I had to go to another town nearby to take a train. And I always felt that if some of the transportation problems could be solved West Virginia would have a better chance of attracting more industry. I just have a feeling that one of West Virginia's problems is that the towns seem to be pocketed. They're somehow not connected. That's just a personal opinion, just something I've observed traveling through there. But, West Virginia certainly has the natural resources to attract most anything. It has that fine school now and marvelous potential.

White Fleet Idea Holds Public Backing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, recently Dr. Albert Burke, whose program, "The Cutting Edge," appears on many television stations across the country, interviewed Navy Capt. Frank Manson.

A major subject of the interview was Captain Manson's proposal for establishment of a Great White Fleet of surplus U.S. Navy vessels to carry medical care and aid to the people of other countries who are victims of disaster, epidemic, or chronic poverty.

The proposal for such a fleet is set forth in House Concurrent Resolution 15, which I introduced on the first day of this session. The proposal was once the subject of a cover story in Life magazine, and it has been proposed by scores of Members of both the House and Senate in previous Congresses.

The letters which follow—a few of the many received by Dr. Burke following his program—are evidence of continued public interest in Captain Manson's challenging proposal:

January 14, 1967.

Dr. Albert E. Burke.

Dear Sir: Captain Frank Manson's idea of surplus ships used as a fleet to further instructions to underprivileged countries, is a wonderful way to project our American way of life and at the same time give these countries a chance to learn and participate to their own advantage.

I believe the cause of most wars is hunger. Very few people feel like fighting with a full belly.

I enjoyed your program the Cutting Edge very much. It may be a good thing to identify each person interviewed, before and after the interview, so one could remember their name.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Alfred De Marco.

New Brighton, Pa.

Indiana, Pa.,
January 13, 1967.

Dr. Albert Burke,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dear Dr. Burke: Last night the station had your program "The Sleeping Giant" on the air. I didn't get tuned in quickly enough to get the name of your guest; except for hearing you call him Frank, I am in the dark as to who this man is who has the great idea for the "White Fleet." It is encouraging to know that you are getting your powerful program, your voice and your energy, behind such a move.

It is about time we are all jerked to the realization there MUST be an answer to the atomic, or any other bomb. They are certainly getting nobody anything, not even peace of mind or the *right* of sons, grandsons, fathers, husbands or uncles to live a normal life, which in my opinion is freedom itself. If this idea of the "Great White Fleet" can ever be put into practice, who knows what might be the outcome.

I have written to my Congressman already and challenged him to buttonhole the right brass on the matter because I have no way of knowing who they might be. If there is any further effort of any kind that a layman can make towards this end, will you get the word to me somehow.

Thanks so much for your very fine lectures. To us it is better to listen to you than to sit at the feet of presidents. Please don't quit. Tell "Frank" whoever he is, I am with him all the way * * *

——— ———.

January 14, 1967.

Dr. Albert Burke.

Dear Sir: We have listened to your program for a long time and have meant to write sooner. We get a lot out of your program and are very much interested in the welfare of this country and are much concerned about the poverty in both America and foreign countries. This White Fleet mentioned on your Saturday, January 14, 1967, program sounds like an excellent way to educate and take care of the health needs of these countries. Then through education these people may learn to help themselves.

If you have any recommendations that we as interested American citizens can do to help in this project or any other for America's benefit, we would appreciate hearing from you. I am a registered nurse and my husband is a printer for a newspaper.

Thank you.

Mr. and Mrs. Clifford Reed.

Butler, Pa.

Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. MESKILL

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. MESKILL. Mr. Speaker, 49 years ago this month, Lithuania gained independence after more than a century of domination by foreign powers. But her taste of freedom was fleeting. Lithuania, during World War II, found herself again under German occupation, once more a battlefield. In 1944 the Soviet Union, repeating earlier history, began its reign of oppressive dominion which to this day deprives over 3 million Lithuanians of autonomy.

We who so cherish our own freedom can only reiterate our support for their self-determination by refusing to recognize the incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union, and by joining freemen the world around in hopes and prayers that our Baltic neighbors may soon again enjoy the fruits of liberty that are now only a poignant memory.

Remarks of the Honorable Paul Findley at Joint Session of the Illinois Legislature

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, last Monday a high honor came to a colleague of ours when Representative Paul Findley responded to the invitation to speak to a joint session of the Illinois Legislature when they paused to pay honor to the man in our history whom I call the most American American of all patriots. I want to take this opportunity to place a reminder of that occasion in the Record because of what Congressman Findley said to this legislative body and through them to the people of Illinois. What he said is pertinent and appropriate and important for us to know and hopefully for us to respond to as we in this area of legislation ponder and decide questions of great moment.

It was appropriate for the Illinois Legislature to invite our distinguished colleague not only because he is a noted, avid student of Lincoln, but one who tries hard to live what he reads and knows about Lincoln when he served in the Congress of the United States for one term and when he served as Chief Executive of the United States. It is my hope that my fellow colleagues and those who subscribe to the Record will read and find assurance in these eloquent remarks on a great emancipator.

The speech follows:

Representative Paul Findley: Speech to Illinois General Assembly, February 14, 1967

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Members of the Senate, Members of the House of Representatives, My Fellow Citizens:

This is a proud and happy moment for me. The opportunity to address a joint meeting of the Illinois Legislature is one of the very rarest of privileges and certainly one which I never expected to come my way. For it, I am most grateful to you, Mr. Speaker, and to all of you who by your presence make this a great occasion.

This is the most important governmental center of the greatest state in the Union. I am aware of the heavy load you carry, the mountain of legislation awaiting disposition, and the inexorable movement of the calendar toward the required day of adjournment. All of this makes me deeply conscious of the unique and highly prized opportunity which these moments provide and I thank you.

The work of the Illinois legislature affects vitally the day-by-day lives of every citizen of this state. The cities, villages and all other subdivisions of government are the offspring of the legislature—deriving their authority and duties, indeed their very existence from actions of this body.

What you do also has tremendous impact on the federal structure of our nation. By guarding carefully your prerogatives, meeting thoroughly the problems of Illinois citizens, you help to stay the natural but powerful trend toward centralization of decision-making in Washington. Thus, through both forward action and protection, you safeguard the very genius of our system which is the dispersal of governmental power.

In this the Illinois legislature is outstanding. I congratulate you for doing a superior job and look confidently to you for continued leadership.

No citizen of the United States can be unmindful of the contributions Illinois has made over the years to the success of the American system of government, and of course the name foremost in this galaxy of statesmen is the one whose birthday anniversary we honor at this time.

Abraham Lincoln once remarked to a friend that his most valuable political training came from service in the Illinois General Assembly. There he learned to respect political organization, to maneuver and compromise on detail without sacrificing principle. Perhaps most important of all he came to honor parliamentary procedure as a great shield of liberty, a protection for the minority—yes, even the minority of one—against vengeful or passionate acts by the majority.

I was invited here of course because the area I represent in the United States House of Representatives is known as the Lincoln District. Much of the same area was in the district Lincoln served in Washington 120 years ago.

His service in Springfield as a legislator, his term in Congress, his campaign for the Senate and his service as President, brings to my mind three of the principles by which he lived.

First, his dedication to individual liberty—the right of free expression.

As Congressman and as President he guarded jealously the right of dissent—even in time of war. He both practiced it and protected it.

As Congressman he brought upon his own head national scorn by criticizing America's role in the war with Mexico which was then in progress. He questioned whether Mexico was guilty of any aggression and put the blame instead on the United States. For it he was editorially labeled a traitor, a second Benedict Arnold.

As President he protected the right of free expression even in the darkest hours of the war. He himself was much abused and villified by cartoonists, writers and speakers, but he protected nonetheless their right to criticize.

Second, his opposition to slavery.

In the same hall where he had earlier served in the Illinois legislature, he warned that a house divided half slave and half free cannot permanently endure. He predicted it will become all one thing or all the other.

As a candidate for the Senate and later as President he viewed slavery as a moral issue. In this he was unlike most prominent figures of his time, who saw slavery primarily as a property or economic issue. He felt that no one is completely free until all are free.

He defined national defense—a topic of much discussion and much expense these days—in a unique way. He said, "Our defense is the preservation of that spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands everywhere."

This was one more way in which Lincoln expressed his conviction that slavery and freedom are mutually exclusive and cannot long stand side by side.

Third, his willingness to act boldly and with imagination.

He was not tied blindly to past traditions. He said, "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is now, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves."

These three principles seem especially appropriate for today.

In this new time of national testing we are engaged in a strange and disturbing war in distant jungles. Prominent voices criticize the bombing, indeed our whole war policies, and try to portray the United States as a cruel aggressor.

The temptation naturally rises to stifle dissent, and to excoriate those who would speak up with an unpopular view. The temptation must be overcome, because liberty—the right of free expression is really what the warfare is all about. We are in Vietnam to help stop the modern-day forces of slavery.

In the formulation of our policies with Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and other areas controlled by dictatorship, we will wisely keep in mind Lincoln's dictum that a house divided half slave and half free cannot stand.

The enslavement of people by rulers controlling great military power is a real and present danger to our own freedom.

The effort to prevent the expansion of slavery to the rice paddies of South Vietnam is somewhat akin to Lincoln's attempts to block it from wheat fields of Kansas. He knew that in the struggle against slavery to surrender anywhere—whether it be abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia or the freedom of the city of Berlin—is to invite defeat everywhere. We have learned the bitter lesson of experience that wise compromise with slavery is not possible, whether it is phrased in the compromise of 1850 or the Geneva Convention of 1954.

Our goals and aspirations as a nation which Abraham Lincoln set for us over 100 years ago are the same that the American people recognize today in our relations with other countries. As a people we seek a world free from slavery.

A world in which the personal freedoms essential to the dignity of man are secure.

A world of equal rights and equal opportunities for all men.

That Lincoln is regarded as the greatest of U.S. Presidents because he ended slavery and preserved the Union is proof that he met the test. Because he succeeded, he is remembered and revered by men of both parties, but remembering his words is not enough. We honor most appropriately the memory of Abraham Lincoln in perpetuating his principles. While we preserve monuments associated with his career, let us also preserve his achievements and build on them for an even greater future.

The responsibility is challenging. Conditions today are different than yesterday. The problems of people in urban society are different than on the farm of yesterday. Technology has made the world smaller in many respects today than Illinois was when Lincoln was born. Forces of tyranny are more menacing.

The entire scope of human problems must be restudied in light of changed conditions.

As Lincoln said:

"We must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves."

Fino Introduces Bills To Put Chiropractic and Physical Therapist Treatment Under Medicare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation to provide payment for physical therapist's services and chiropractor's services under medicare.

Each year, millions of Americans, young and old alike, use the services of chiropractors and physical therapists. Many of these people are elderly persons who are otherwise covered by medicare. Many of them are pensioners. They do not have money to spend on virtual medical services which ought to be provided for under the medicare program.

Therefore, I am introducing two bills to put chiropractor's and physical therapist's services under medicare. If Congress passes these bills, many of our senior citizens will be helped greatly.

Futility in Arms Race

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, in recent days I have come across additional editorial support for President Johnson's effort to dissuade the Soviets from proceeding with the deployment of an antiballistic missile system.

What the President seeks is a commonsense understanding with Russia to prevent a needless explosion in the cost of the arms race and ultimately to draw a halt to that race.

The New York Times contends this objective is in the interest of both countries and all the world. Across the coast in California, the Sacramento Bee says the President merits the backing of all Americans as he tries to lift from our backs the burden of paying for more nuclear weapons.

Each newspaper makes other telling points in behalf of this move in the pursuit of peace.

I ask that their editorials be made a part of the Record:

[From the New York Times, Feb. 9, 1967]

THE ANTIMISSILE DANGER

President Johnson's effort to persuade the Soviet Union to halt deployment of an antiballistic missile (ABM) system is in the interest of both countries and all the world. A new nuclear arms race would foreclose disarmament efforts for many years. It would be illusory as a route to security, for any defense system can be penetrated or saturated. In upsetting the stability of the present nuclear balance, it could revive the cold war and heighten the danger of a clash through miscalculation.

Moreover, intensified nuclear rivalry would be even more expensive in human than in financial terms. Its cost—ultimately $40 billion—would not merely compete with social needs in both countries. It would start civilization moving underground for protection against the overhead nuclear explosions on which ABM defenses rely.

Will Moscow accept the logic of a moratorium? High-level soundings to date have been inconclusive. Soviet officials have indicated a willingness to discuss a "freeze" on ABM deployment, but it is too early to judge whether they are interested in heading off the new arms race altogether. Until now, Russia's new leaders have pursued an ambivalent policy.

Despite friction over Vietnam, Moscow has sought some measure of *détente* with the United States. Agreements recently have been reached on a space pact and commercial aviation. Progress toward a nonproliferation treaty has been substantial. A consular treaty has been negotiated and is now before the United States Senate, where its ratification is of urgent priority. Moscow has exercised restraint both in critical zones, such as Berlin, and in more distant areas, such as Africa, Latin America and the Indian subcontinent. All this has been accompanied by high-level intimations that Moscow now considers China, rather than the United States, its chief threat. Investment needs in agriculture and in consumer goods industries give Moscow added incentive to end the cold war and to transfer resources from military to peaceful pursuits.

At the same time, Moscow has been unable to resist the opportunities to divide the Atlantic world that have arisen as a result of Vietnam and the policies of General de Gaulle. And, despite past American suggestions of a missile freeze and American restraint in deferring production of ABM systems, the Soviet Union has initiated deployment of ABM defenses.

This deployment, so far, seems to be limited. There are quite divergent intelligence interpretations of just what the Soviet Union has done and is doing in this area of activity; but some American officials estimate that Russia has spent $4-to $5 billion on ABM development and deployment to date. The U.S. has spent $2 billion plus for the Nike X missile defense system.

The facts thus suggest that traditional Soviet defense-mindedness and pressure by Soviet military men have induced Russia's new leadership to initiate some ABM steps. What remains obscure, however, are the decisions that have been made about further deployment. There is little evidence as yet that Moscow is setting out to reverse the strategic balance and achieve nuclear superiority over the U.S., although an effort to come closer to parity cannot be ruled out.

In these circumstances, President Johnson's response to Russia's ABM deployment has been sound. Development of American ABM's is being pursued vigorously, but decisions on production and deployment are being deferred. The long "diplomacy versus deployment" debate in Washington has been resolved in favor of a diplomatic effort for a moratorium.

Meanwhile, the United States is pressing ahead with offensive missiles designed to penetrate or saturate Russia's new antimissile defenses. This approach lets Moscow know that the United States prefers to opt for arms control and detente rather than renewed arms competition and cold war.

Should Moscow fail to respond adequately, there will still be plenty of time to study intermediate measures. What is important for Americans now is to support the course of restraint and peace.

[From the Sacramento Bee, Feb. 4, 1967]

Increase in Arms Race Would Be Futile, Costly

President Lyndon B. Johnson wisely has initiated an effort to reach a commonsense understanding with Russia to prevent a vast and needless spiraling of the cost of the arms race.

Without some agreement between the two major nuclear powers, there will be increasing pressure within both nations to deploy antiballistic missile systems. The cost of this to the United States would be $40 billion, according to Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara.

Such a system would deserve serious consideration, regardless of the cost, if it would increase the security of the United States, but this is the flaw pointed out by McNamara. He says that because of the need in both Russia and the US to maintain a nuclear capability sufficient to act as an effective deterrent to any potential enemy, the development of an antiballistic missile system by one nation inevitably would cause the other major nuclear power to develop its own equivalent system. The alternative would be to increase its nuclear weaponry enough to neutralize the defensive effectiveness of the antiballistic system.

The end result would be a fantastic new arms race which would have disastrous side effects and all to no avail. The bill for the balance of terror would skyrocket, but the balance would remain the same.

President Johnson merits the backing of Americans as he seeks to bring about an understanding with the Russians which would lift from their backs the burden of paying for more nuclear weapons simply to keep up with an avoidable arms race spiral.

The thought of $40 billion being spent needlessly on armament when the war against poverty is increasingly on shortened rations is ridiculous. The rivers and lakes, the very air we breathe, are all becoming polluted, and the nation is short of money to face these essential problems.

The unfilled needs of this great nation are waiting fulfillment. Indeed we must have military security but not $40 billion of needless and dangerous extravagance in the arms race.

Marine Organisms—Widely Diversified Study—22-Year Effort

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, I have recently had occasion to hear expert viewpoints of an Air Force sponsored monograph which will certainly be hailed as a scientific milestone. This is the first edition of a proposed three-volume monograph which is being published by the U.S. Air Force. It was developed and written by Bruce W. Halstead, M.D., of the World Life Research Institute, Colton, Calif., under a Department of Defense contract. This tremendous and wonderful work, which is the result of over 22 years of effort, is the most comprehensive collection of data in this area of marine biology ever written. The release of the first volume has received overwhelming acclaim and acceptance from world leaders in the field. Because of the unique problems involved in graphically portraying its contents only the very best materials and production techniques available are being used by the U.S. Government Printing Office in its manufacture.

Although the publication is directly concerned with the toxicity of marine organisms in the broadest possible sense, the application of much of the data that is represented has far-reaching implications to such widely diverse subjects as medicine, marine biology, natural history, fisheries, public health, economic development, pharmacology, biochemistry, sport fishing, scuba diving, pharmaceutical, industry and military operations. I was also informed that fish, sponges, jellyfish, sea snakes, corals, worms, starfish, sea urchins, marine turtles, sea cucumbers, marine mammals, et al., are described from the standpoint of their historical, geographical, pharmacological, nomenclatorial, biological, clinical, therapeutic, preventative, pathological and chemical natures. The work has an exhaustive bibliography with thousands of references covering world literature from 3000 B.C. to the present. Many of them were taken from ancient oriental manuscripts and rare technical publications. There will be over 1,000 illustrations by the finest biological illustrators of Japan and the United States.

I am confident that by the successful completion of this project, which is scheduled for early 1968, the United States will open a new horizon of organic chemistry and marine pharmacology and make a vast contribution to man's understanding of the complex ecological and biochemical aspects of "Inner-Space"—The Sea.

They Must Be Doing Something Right

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PORTER HARDY, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished chairman of the Armed Services Committee, the gentleman from South Carolina, L. Mendel Rivers, recently answered a series of questions on the military exchange and commissary system for the Exchange and Commissary News.

I think my colleagues will find this article very helpful to them in understanding the military resale system and in appreciating the importance of the exchanges and commissaries to the members of the Armed Forces and their families. They will also find it useful in answering questions from constituents.

I would point out, Mr. Speaker, that Chairman Rivers in the accompanying article is addressing himself to the exchange and commissary system as it affects the consumer, the individual service family. It may be that there is room for improvement in the procurement and personnel policies of the system and it may be that the Congress will have to look into this area. I want the Members of the House to know that the committee has not neglected this side of the picture and that we will continue to monitor the operation of the system.

The article, which was prepared by Mr. John Neubauer, the astute managing editor of Exchange and Commissary News, follows:

They Must Be Doing Something Right—A Frank Discussion of the Military Resale System by Its No. 1 Champion

Representative L. Mendel Rivers, the powerful Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, recently answered a series of questions put to him by E&C News on major issues concerning exchanges and commissaries. Rivers, our readers will remember, is the man who said if any commissaries are closed it would be "over my battered body." In this report, provided exclusively to E&C News readers, the chairman speaks frankly about current criticism and future problems of the commissary and exchange systems.)

Mr. Chairman, we know you get an enormous amount of mail from military families. Do you receive a great many complaints about the commissary and exchange systems?

Rep. RIVERS. Not really. We don't get nearly the volume of mail we do on other problems such as assignments, family separations, promotions, etc. We get very few complaints about the exchange and commissary systems as a whole. Most of the mail comes from overseas and concerns the failure to stock various items in individual exchanges. Occasionally we get complaints concerning prices.

What is your answer to those who complain about prices going up and those who say commissaries and exchanges have lost their value?

Rep. RIVERS. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. If they did not provide a significant saving exchanges and commissaries wouldn't be so heavily patronized—and I wouldn't be receiving complaints from those who cannot get to the stores. I think it was your own paper that first pointed out the commissaries have now passed $1 billion a year in combined sales. Exchange and commissary business keeps going up, so they must be doing something right.

You will always find somebody who found something selling cheaper in a commercial establishment than in an exchange, particularly in areas where you have discount stores and no state price maintenance laws. But generally speaking the average costs are going to run less in military stores. I suppose it depends a little bit on one's talents as a shopper. But I'm convinced the military family that shops regularly and conscientiously in the military stores saves money. And I think the military wives know this.

The markup on items in the commissary, as you know, is about three percent, enough to cover transportation and handling costs. It doesn't cover the cost of the staffing of the stores and it doesn't provide a profit. How could commercial establishments consistently compete pricewise?

The markup in exchanges is more, of course, varying with the item. But it must be remembered the exchanges provide another benefit for service personnel—by providing funds for the operation of welfare and recreation activities. I don't know the exact figure, but in 1966 the exchanges provided something like $80 million for welfare and recreation funds. Exchange revenues must also cover the operating costs, including salaries of employees.

Would it be fair to say, Mr. Chairman, that when the cost of everything is going up and wholesale prices are going up, commissary prices will go up, too, but in your opinion commissaries retain their relative value?

Rep. RIVERS. Yes, if you mean the value of commissary shopping as compared with commercial stores.

I think you might statistically make a case for the idea that the value of commissaries as a fringe benefit increases in time of inflationary pressure. That is to say, in time of inflation everyone spends a greater percentage of his income on basic foodstuffs. So the comparative saving is more important in terms of his total family economy. We are now reaching the outer limit of my knowledge of economic theory.

At this time do you foresee any hearings in the coming session of Congress looking to changes in the commissary and exchange systems?

Rep. RIVERS. No.

Do you feel you have the support of the whole Congress in your defense of the commissaries and exchanges?

Rep. RIVERS. Congress is well aware of how the commissaries and exchanges operate and what they do and Congress has made no change in the systems in a good many years, so I think you have to assume this fringe benefit for military personnel has Congressional support.

But some members in Congress seem to regularly launch criticisms of the commissaries.

Rep. RIVERS. Congress has many members who look at various things differently. I think it is important to remember that the committees which have been delegated jurisdiction by Congress in this area—the Armed Services and Appropriations Committees—continue to support the commissary and exchange operations. I regret the criticism from other sources which sometimes has a bad effect on morale.

There are also various retail groups that periodically surface and attack the commissary and exchange privileges. Do you see a likelihood of these attacks tapering off?

RIVERS: IN DEFENSE OF THE RESALE SYSTEM

Rep. RIVERS. I would be surprised if they did. Human nature hasn't changed very much in more than 2,000 years of recorded history. When you have a $4 billion market there will always be a lot of fellows trying to get a slice of it.

Are there any plans to cut retirees out of the commissary privilege?

Rep. RIVERS. I know of no plans to exclude retirees from commissaries and I would oppose such a move. It is one of the things they were led to expect.

We all know the size of the retired rolls are growing rapidly. Could the very size of the retired population in time cause problems?

Rep. RIVERS. I suppose it would depend on how the retired population near commissaries increases and the use retirees make of the stores. I know of no plans to prohibit retirees from using the commissaries. On the other hand Congress probably wouldn't authorize the expanding of commissaries for the purpose of serving retirees.

As you know, the Congress appropriates the money that pays the people who staff the commissaries. And the commissaries are limited in the number of hours they can operate. I don't think Congress would be willing to enlarge the staff and stretch the hours of operation just to serve retirees.

Mr. Chairman, you said they would only close the commissaries over your "battered body." We might observe that so far at least you don't appear to have been battered too much.

Rep. RIVERS. I never felt better.

Progressive Action by the American Bar Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LLOYD MEEDS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Speaker, during the 89th Congress we authorized the Office of Economic Opportunity to help the poor in securing legal assistance. A thoughtful article in the December 10, 1966, issue of Business Week describes how the American Bar Association is giving warm endorsement to OEO's legal services program.

We become justifiably angry when people go outside the law to overcome adversity. But a "long, hot summer" of riots and civil disorder cannot be prevented by building more jails or by enacting more severe criminal punishment. Rather, we must work to provide legal remedies for legitimate grievances.

For many Americans imprisoned by the confines of poverty, it is difficult to see where the law ends and justice begins. The law is seen not as a helping hand but rather as a threatening fist. When we demand respect for the law, we overlook the fact that the law to many poor people is symbolized by a gun, a nightstick, an eviction notice.

The combined efforts of the American Bar Association and the Office of Economic Opportunity are helping to change the poor man's fear and suspicion of the legal system. ABA lawyers participating in legal service programs are spearheading reform in debtor-creditor policies, in employment, and in landlord-tennant relations.

I would like to commend the American Bar Association for this public-spirited undertaking and would like to bring the attention of my colleagues to the preceptive article in Business Week, the text of which follows:

THE POOR FIND A FRIEND IN COURT

To the poor, Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas once said, the law is "an alien force" devised "by the establishment, of the establishment, for the establishment."

Whether this criticism is valid or not, the poor are beginning to get a better shake from the law in a development that has wide implications for business, as well as for the legal profession. What is more, this change—stimulated by President Johnson's Great Society programs—is supported, if not encouraged, by the American Bar Assn.

Helping hand

Dominated by well-to-do corporate lawyers, ABA is hardly given to crusades. But in February, 1965, the association's House of Delegates unanimously endorsed use of federal anti-poverty funds to supply legal aid to the poor. Its support had momentous impact in fostering the government's Legal Services Program.

Dissident lawyers have denounced the program as "socialized law" and an invasion of the sacred attorney-client relationship—almost as unthinkable as the American Medical Assn. fighting for medicare.

Yet ABA's support of federally subsidized legal services grows steadily. Prominent Wall Street lawyers such as ABA President Orison S. Marden are persuading communities across the nation to set up Legal Services Programs and are lobbying in Congress for more cash.

Of course, support from the government and the bar for greatly expanded legal services to the poor seemingly presents a paradox.

Lawyers would hardly be expected to endorse a program that could revolutionize important areas of commercial law. Nevertheless, Legal Services lawyers, bringing controversial test cases, will push for changes in laws protecting the consumer and governing employment, bankruptcy, and landlord-tenant relations.

The government would not be expected to subsidize legal attacks on its own house. Yet anti-poverty funds are paying for lawyers who are strengthening the voice of the poor in disputes over Social Security, unemployment, workmen's compensation, and benefits from the Veterans' Administration and the nation's many welfare agencies.

Legal Services Programs should not be confused with Legal Aid Societies which, supported by charitable donations, have been representing the poor for a long time. Because of perennially short budgets, Legal Aid Societies have handled problems on a crisis, case-by-case basis, without any coordinated overall programs.

The federal money makes a big difference. Legal Services Programs are supported with 90% federal funds and 10% local. They are often, but not always, linked with Legal Aid Societies. They have their own paid attorneys. But community lawyers often supply the local share of funds by donating their time at $8 an hour.

Opposition

Even in these early stages, the concept has caused a storm. The governor of North Dakota was so disturbed that he vetoed two programs for his state. Suits against programs have been filed in Florida, California, Texas, and Washington, D.C.

Prime opponents are neighborhood lawyers, who fear a loss of business, yet test cases produce angry judges, too. Washington General Sessions Judge Charles W. Halleck calls Legal Services lawyers "crusading knights on white chargers" dedicated "to taking every 15c case all the way up to the Supreme Court."

I. FRESH CONCEPT

Some view the new emphasis on poverty law as comparable to the impact of labor laws in the 1930s. What began then as an ill-paid crusade evolved into an affluent practice with the emergence of lawyers who specialize in labor on both sides of the fence.

In any event, test cases almost certainly will forge new ground in commercial law and in legislation covering private economic matters.

Price battle

Philadelphia's Community Legal Services, as a friend of the court, has charged into a controversy to upset the Pennsylvania milk control law, which sets a minimum retail price.

Thomas Gilhool, the CLS attorney, is taking on the state Milk Control Commission, farmers, retailers, and middlemen. He condemns the state for doling out skimpy welfare checks with one hand and then artificially inflating the price of a necessary staple with the other. Comments Theodore Voorhees, former president of the National Legal Aid & Defenders Assn. and a partner in Philadelphia's Dechert, Price & Rhoads: "This guy is going to tread pretty damned heavy on a lot of toes."

Other test cases mix idealism with practicality. Washington lawyers are seeking a precedent to ban retaliatory evictions where landlords eject tenants for reporting housing code violations. New York's Mobilization for Youth lawyers are pressing trial cases to seek more liberal interpretations of welfare statutes.

Unchanged area

So far, poverty lawyers have had few landmarks to guide their efforts; only rarely have the poor had civil cases fought to courts of appeal where new precedents are made. Comments a Southwestern lawyer who directs a local Legal Services program. "There is no poverty law; it's still waiting for the courts to make it."

This idea of forging new law is bringing changes in the nation's law schools. Marquette University is reviewing Wisconsin's statutes and will recommend changes to the state legislature. Georgetown University is taking a fresh look at the federal bureaucrary to see if long-time government programs like public housing are failing in their original concept of helping the poor. More subtle changes are taking place in law schools. Not long ago, a standard course in bankruptcy law was called "creditor's rights" because the creditor had the money for the lawyer. Today's law students are more likely to study "debtor-creditor relations."

II. DAILY PROBLEMS

Efforts to fashion new laws or reshape old ones, though, occupy only a fraction of time for most poverty lawyers. They are busy litigating cases that never will set precedents, counseling, and striving to win out-of-court settlements.

Another problem they face is trying to erase the poor man's bias against the legal system itself. As Justice Fortas has said, the poor view the law "as a fixed pack of cards being used in a game they must play—as victim."

Thus, poverty lawyers must sell the law as something than can work for poor people. In fact, Julian Dugas, director of Washington's local program, figures that 75% of his time is spent on this educational task.

Minor matters

Most cases handled by these attorneys are simple and humdrum. In Austin, Tex., for example, a married man with six children, earning only $440 a month, claimed a used car dealer breached his warranty. Legal representation saved him $50 on a $60 transmission replacement. In Philadelphia, poverty lawyers are forcing local constables—minor court officials empowered to handle evictions and sell a tenant's goods for rent money—to live up to the law, rather than stretching it by failing to give proper notice, for example.

Much of the program's success to date must be laid to the smooth selling job of ABA leaders who have worked with Sargent Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity and with local bar groups across the country.

On the one hand, ABA has counseled Shriver on how to structure the program in a way satisfactory to the bar. Provisions were put into the program's guidelines to assure local control and to protect the business of lawyers in town.

Tricky task

On the other hand, selling local lawyers and their bar associations on the program has been delicate and time-consuming. Marden and other ABA leaders have toured the nation from Oregon to Georgia, quieting fears and persuading municipalities to seek federal funds for legal aid.

In fact, ABA's support has been so strong that this year it found itself lobbying for more anti-poverty money than the Administration wanted to spend. It sought $50-million; the Administration requested $25-million (down from $27-million in fiscal 1966); an economy-minded Congress trimmed the final amount for this year to about $22-million.

As a practical matter, too, vastly increased representation of the poor is certain to spur litigation on which lawyers themselves will thrive. More poor tenants will be fighting landlords, and more indigent consumers will be fighting merchants. "When the landlord sees he isn't going to get away with some questionable practices he has been using, he'll have to hire his own lawyer," says John C. Cummiskey, a Michigan attorney who heads ABA's legal aid committee.

Finally, ABA's support is more than a little colored by the American adversary system itself. As Alexis de Tocqueville observed in the 19th Century, "Scarcely any political question arises . . . that is not resolved sooner or later into a judicial question." Lawyers have a monopoly on representing clients before the court. Unless there is competence on both sides of every dispute, attorneys face the threat of losing that monopoly.

An Oklahoma Marine Writes Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I have heard and read many excellent presentations on why the United States is involved in the war in Vietnam, and why we must see that effort through to a successful conclusion.

I have never, however, seen a more straightforward, moving account of our participation in the Vietnam conflict, both militarily and through our civic action program, than one written home by a marine lance corporal to his friends in Oklahoma.

This letter from L. Cpl. Harry L. Miner of Picher, Okla., appeared in the Miami, Okla., Daily News-Record of February 2, 1967. Corporal Miner recognizes that the war in Vietnam is dirty and brutal. He also recognizes the valor of the Vietnamese people and the need for sacrifice in the cause of liberty.

I believe Corporal Miner's letter will bolster the convictions of all of us who believe our position in Vietnam is right. I would like to have his letter appear in the RECORD.

The letter follows:

MARINE ASKS HOME SUPPORT, MAIL

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The Marine who wrote the following letter is Lance Cpl. Harry L. Miner, whose parents, Mr. and Mrs. Herman L. Miner, live at Picher. His mother is pastor of the Pentecostal Church of God in Miami. In a postscript, Miner writes that he'd "really appreciate getting mail from folks back home.")

As you all know, Vietnam is a far cry from the quiet campus and streets of Miami. Vietnam is made up of jungles, swamps, rice paddies and mountains. This war in Vietnam is a dirty, brutal and very difficult war to fight. We will not be defeated nor will we grow tired. Once the north realizes this, then it should also be clear that the path for reasonable men is the path of a peaceful settlement.

In many ways, I have been stunned by what I have seen here. The conditions that have been forced upon these people throughout the years of conflict and strife are staggering. Few, if any, of you know the meaning of the term "necessities of life." Believe me, these people know its meaning. They are a courageous people and have suffered much in pursuit of their basic liberties. I have found that I like these people and believe that they rate my respect as a Christian and as a Marine.

What we are doing here is not in vain. Every day I see the benefits of our operations in the field and in our civic action programs which we are promoting in villages throughout the country. I know our precious liberty requires sacrifice. That price is now being paid by our men in Vietnam.

You have good reason to be proud of your relatives and friends who are fighting here. All we as Marines can ask of you is that you stand behind us in this war that was not of our making, and that you stand behind your government, pray for us all. We can ask no more.

L. Cpl. HARRY L. MINER.

Canal Zone: Use of Firearms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, after occupation by the United States in 1904 of the Canal Zone, that territorial possession became a model of law and order as well as of mighty engineering and sanitation achievement. Its police force, formed partly with veterans of the Spanish-American War, wore the khaki uniforms of the famed Rough Riders of Gen. Leonard Wood and Col. Theodore Roosevelt. In the performance of duty, they took pride in measuring up to the standards expected of such heritage.

In the Canal Zone courts, justice was swift, impartial, and adequate. The result was a territory relatively free of crime, enabling our citizens there to sleep behind lockless windows and unbarred doors.

This happy situation, indicating a high degree of personal safety in an area previously characterized by endemic revolution and political instability, lasted throughout the construction of the Panama Canal and into the era of operations. Indeed, during World War II, our citizens in the zone usually left their doors unlocked at night as well as in day.

In recent years, Mr. Speaker, conditions have changed, with increasing frequency of reports from the isthmus about the lack of individual security. This, no doubt, is because of the uncertainty and chaos in the zone caused by our weak policies dictated from Washington.

Recently, I received from the isthmus a memorandum on the use of firearms, dated December 6, 1966, that was issued under the authority of Col. Walter E. Mangerich, Staff Judge Advocate of the U.S. Air Forces, Southern Command, Albrook Field, C.Z. Attached thereto was what, in current bureaucratic jargon, is termed a "talking paper" on the same subject, which I find quite disturbing.

It is not clear from the language of this document whether it is meant to apply only where the Air Force has jurisdiction and only in the Southern Command. It apparently is meant for civilian employees of the United States as well as members of the Air Force. In any event, it is in circulation in the Canal Zone.

This unusual document asserts that "while a man's home is still generally regarded as his castle, serious limitations have been imposed on an individuals' historical rights to protect that castle." It further declares that "the law, in short, is this: Unless a prowler, intruder, burglar, or thief is actually in the act of committing a violent felony—the law will not accept a plea of self-defense to any homicide resulting therefrom." Does this mean that our householders in the isthmus must wait until murder, rape, kidnaping, theft, or arson are committed before acting in defense of their homes? This, the "talking paper" says, is the "overwhelming consus among lawyers and law enforcement officials." What lawyers and what officials? I am sure no Member of the Congress would support such interpretation of the law. Certainly, I cannot imagine any red-blooded U.S. civil employee in the Canal Zone failing to do whatever is required to protect his home and family when confronted by an intruder who has already committed the felony of housebreaking for which he could be arrested on the spot by any occupant of the home.

As to the judicial citations with which Colonel Mangerich undertakes to support his remarkable manifesto of instructions, it is enough to say that many courts of our country have become obsessed with the mushy sentimentality that the law must be administered for the benefit of the criminal without considering the rights of the victims involved. Yet the colonel has gone further than these courts in the evident desire to place the law-abiding householder in jeopardy rather than the criminal who invades with the purpose of theft, murder, or rape, or all of these crimes following felonious entry. Such distorted construction of our laws is not only absurd and in conflict with all Anglo-Saxon principles and statutes of law but also serves as a monstrous encouragement for the increase of crime wherever our flag may fly.

If the courts and public officials charged with the duty of protecting our innocent and law-abiding citizens and suppressing crime continue their mad crusade to reverse the law and protect the criminal then chaos and disorder will likely prevail and those responsible for such conditions may, in one way or another, become victims of public wrath.

Mr. Speaker, the indicated "talking paper" invites a number of questions. Who in our Government is responsible for this obvious effort to brainwash our citizens on the isthmus as regards their constitutional rights? Where was it prepared and by whom? What was its distribution? Is it intended to intimidate the personnel of our Armed Forces and their families throughout the world, with special emphasis on the Canal Zone where it was circulated?

Certainly, the subject calls for a full and complete investigation by the Congress and I trust that the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Armed Services [Mr. Rivers] will launch it.

To that end, Mr. Speaker, I quote the indicated memorandum of Colonel Mangerich and its attached "talking paper" as parts of my remarks:

Department of the Air Force,
Headquarters U.S. Air Forces
Southern Command, Albrook
Air Force Base,
Canal Zone, December 6, 1966.

Reply to attn of: JAG
Subject: Use of Firearms
To: WCDR, OPS, SUP, CES, DISP–A, ACIC, WEA, 1976, 1158, TOS, HSS, CAM, APS, BAND, DISP–H, 605, 1978, 1977. (Squadron Commanders)

Consonant with the expressed desires of the Commander, USAFSO, the attached talking paper covering the subject of "Use of Firearms" is forwarded for use at the next commander's call within your organization.

Walter E. Mangerich,
Colonel, USAF, Staff Judge Advocate.

USE OF FIREARMS

Apparently a good deal of confusion and misundertanding exist among military personnel and their dependents concerning the legality and appropriateness of armed resistance to prowlers, intruders, burglars and thieves. In order to resolve these questions, let me interpret what amounts to an overwhelming consensus among lawyers and law enforcement officials: . . . . while a man's home is still generally regarded as his castle, serious limitations have been imposed on an individual's historical rights to protect that castle. Formerly, intruders were often greeted by shots *first* and post-mortem questions *afterwards* but society today views such demonstrations of rugged individualism rather dimly. The law, which merely reflects the ever-changing concepts of society, imposes severe penalties on those who still reach for their trusty shooting irons every time they hear a noise or see a shadow. The law, in short, is this: . . . . unless a prowler, intruder, burglar, or thief is actually in the act of committing a violent felony—and this is very important—a violent felony being one which *in and of itself* presents a clear and present danger to the life and safety of the inhabitants of the residence—the law will not accept a plea of self-defense to any homicide resulting therefrom. I recognize that, under the stress and strain of the moment, calm deliberations and analysis of an intruder's intent are not always possible but, as the Supreme Court of the United States put it not too long ago: . . . "a trespass is not sufficient provocation to warrant an owner of property using a deadly weapon in its defense * * *". The Court went on to say: . . . "The rule that a person is justified in killing one who is attempting to commit a felony by force is limited to cases in which such killing is necessary to prevent the felony * * *".

We, here in the Canal Zone, have been singularly fortunate in our homes, and I say this with full knowledge of the many instances wherein our homes have been robbed or burglarized. In over five years there has not been even *one* single case of violent theft from a home within the Zone, and that statistic is a strong tribute to the military and civilian law enforcement agencies as well as the intuitive restraints which our citizens have exercised. It would be tragic if this remarkable record were suddenly to be broken by the ill-advised rashness of any individual, military or civilian.

All this is not to suggest that we must roll over and play dead in the face of an intrusion into our homes—far from it—again, as was enunciated by the Supreme Court:—"* * * reasonable or necessary force may be used against a trespasser, short of taking or endangering a life, in order to prevent such trespass * * *" but the Court added:—"if such measurably reasonable force is insufficient to prevent the trespass or taking or destruction of property, absent a violent attempt on the part of the trespasser, the owner must suffer the trespass and loss of property and must seek redress at the hands of the law rather than commit a homicide * * *".

What all this comes down to are a few simple rules, and they are really not too restrictive when we think about it a little. If we hear a prowler outside or an intruder inside of the house, *don't*—repeat *don't* reach for a gun. Instead, try as quietly as possible to reach the 'phone and report the incident either to the Air Police or the operator. If this is impossible—and recent experiences have shown that the newer generations of intruders have either cut 'phone lines or lifted a downstairs receiver from the cradle—make all the noise you possibly can—yell out of the windows; stomp on the floor; drop noisy objects, or do anything else necessary to frighten the intruder away. Let me assure you that most of these individuals, especially Latins, are of the "sneak-thief" variety who run at the first indication of having been detected. For heaven's sake, don't wade bravely in, ready to do battle, because that is the moment where the frightened sneak-thief may become the trapped animal—and may resort to violence in order to make his escape. *Don't* do that which our own Air Police and Military Police are under strict orders *not to do:*—shoot a man in the back or shoot merely to protect property. It may come as a surprise to know that these men may discharge their weapons only at an actual attacker on their own person or another innocent bystander—and under *no* other circumstances. In view of this well-considered limitation on professionals, wouldn't it be doubly tragic and foolish for an amateur to take a life in exchange for a wallet, toaster, television set, or camera?

Allow me to add that the laws here in the Canal Zone are no different from the laws in the United States or, for that matter, in Panama. In that Republic, incidentally, crimes of violence other than crimes de passionele, are very rare indeed and the known characteristics of the "sneak-thief" are no different than the ones who strike on Base—they're probably cousins at that—so our personnel living in the Republic must adhere to the same limitations as have been described—with one very salient difference. While people living *on* Base may and *do* possess firearms provided they are registered, it is literally impossible for American military personnel to get gun permits from the Guardia Nacional. As a result, should one of our people get involved in a shooting incident in the Republic—all other factors notwithstanding—the Panamanians could and very probably *would* prosecute on a gun charge.

Are there any questions?

Peaceful Engagement: The Price for Rumanian Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to an article by Dumitru Danielopol which appeared in February 10, 1967, issue of the Aurora, Ill., Beacon-News concerning what he labels the 20th anniversary of Rumania's enslavement.

The after effects of the Rumanian treaty concluded in 1947 as we acquiesced to Soviet terms are an admonition which must be remembered as we assess the same peaceful utterances from the Communists today. In addition to feeling compassion for the Rumanian people who suffer as their Government seeks to grow stronger on a diet of trade with the United States, we cannot ignore the fact that trucks moving south from Hanoi to supply the Vietcong may well be powered by gas supplied by that same Rumanian Government.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the article for inclusion in the RECORD:

TODAY IS 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF RUMANIA'S ENSLAVEMENT

WASHINGTON.—It happened 20 years ago.

On Feb. 10, 1947 a large black limousine drove into the courtyard of the Palais d'Orsay in Paris. It carried George Tatarescu, vice-premier of Romania and minister of foreign affairs.

Officially, he was going to the French Foreign Ministry to sign a peace treaty that was to end the "state of war" between Romania and the Allied and Associated Powers.

What he was in fact doing, was signing the Romanian people into bondage.

I don't know if he fully realized at the time, but as I watched his car arrive that gray, rainy, cold afternoon, I knew there was no hope for Romania.

As secretary general of the economic delegation of Romania in 1946, I had had plenty of opportunity to see the farcical conditions under which the peace conference had been conducted.

I saw Russia's arrogance, treachery and appetite at close range.

I also experienced the disinterested attitude of American delegates.

There were supposed to be four Great Powers on the European scene in those days—the U.S., Britain, France and the U.S.S.R.

At that Paris Conference there was only one, the Soviet Union.

With cunning and some astute political moves the Soviets convinced the other three that in order to ensure a lasting peace any treaty should have "Great Power Unanimity."

The three western nations fell into the trap. They gave Russia veto power and although outnumbered, 3–1, the Soviet Union got what she wanted, and more.

The treaties were a disaster.

"Both in substance and in technical drafting they could be compared unfavorably even with the maligned treaties of 1919 and 1920," reflected John C. Campbell, a member on the U.S. delegation, in the book, U.S. in World Affairs.

"They were a far cry from what the people of Europe and America had been given to expect."

After the bitter experience of the war, after all the propaganda and the lip service paid to the principles of the Atlantic Charter, he said Eastern Europe was surrendered to a new tyranny.

The only hope for the people of Eastern Europe at the time was the United States. France had died at Verdun in 1916. Her claim to "Great Power" status was a sham.

Britain was tired and economically exhausted. Her empire was going to pieces and a weak Labor government of Prime Minister Clement Attlee didn't know how to stop it.

The Soviet Union was in shambles.

Four years of bitter and bloody war in her territory, a two-way scorched earth policy, and tens of million people killed left the U.S.S.R. only a shadow of the "greatness" it claimed.

The one and only real power in the world at the time was the United States.

Economically, industrially, militarily America had never been stronger.

Yet in foreign politics the United States was weak.

America was in no mood to stand firm, in no mood for heroics. It was only in a hurry to get the whole thing over with.

"The four allied governments," reported Secretary of State James Byrnes, after his return from a 1946 meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in Paris, "cannot indefinitely delay the making of peace with countries which have long ceased to fight, simply because they cannot agree among themselves on peace terms."

Appeasement of Russia became the order of the day. It was peace at any price.

"The Americans are giving away more than the Russians are asking for," remarked the Communist Romanian boss, Lucretiu Patrascanu, one of the members of the Romanian delegation.

In the hope of befriending the Soviet ogre, Eastern Europe and parts of Germany were fed to him.

What happened since is history.

Tatarescu spent years in Communist prisons. He was released only to die.

Patrascanu was executed by a Stalinist firing squad.

Romania is a police state, trying to find economic recovery in a land that was exploited by the Soviets, then left to the mismanagement of local Communists.

The appeased ogre was not appeased.

One billion people are in captivity.

America has not had one single day of real peace. A cold or hot war has raged ever since, Still no end is in sight.

Now appeasement has another name—"peaceful engagement." It is voiced in Washington even while American soldiers are being killed by Communists.

Will we ever learn?

Kilmer Job Corps Center Celebrates Second Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, it gives me a great deal of personal pleasure to join my distinguished colleague from New Jersey [Mr. PATTEN], by inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD some of my observations on the Kilmer Job Corps Center in New Jersey which celebrated its second anniversary on Saturday, February 11, 1967.

I hope to attend a special second anniversary program at the center with Mr. PATTEN and another distinguished colleague from New Jersey [Mr. WIDNALL], on March 11, 1967.

I have taken the opportunity to visit Camp Kilmer, tour the center, speak to the corpsmen, staff members and Director D. L. Webber. I had the distinct pleasure of addressing the November 23, 1966, graduating class of more than 150 corpsmen who had completed their training there and were about to go out and make it on their own in society.

As a professional educator, former teacher and school principal, and as one who came back to high school to complete my secondary education after interrupting it to serve in the U.S. Navy during World War II, I could detect the eagerness of these young men who had completed their training to go out into the world and do something with their recently acquired skills.

Kilmer, the second Men's Urban Center to be funded and begin fighting this Nation's announced war on poverty, has not had it as easy as some suspect. This was a brandnew concept, of moving in on poverty at its roots, in the ghettoes, and reaching out with a new ladder of hope to the young men and women who have dropped out of school and cannot qualify for a decent job.

Naturally, there were failures for, before they joined the Job Corps, each one of these trainees was a failure, a dropout who did not have much of a future before him. The fact that there were so few failures, perhaps 30 percent of all those enrolled at Kilmer since its inception 2 years ago, is a great credit to the Center, the Job Corps, and to these fine young people.

Then there were neighborhood hostilities to overcome as Kilmer, which had a glorious history during World War II as a major Army port of embarkation, and later as a haven for victims of the 1956 Hungarian uprising, opened its gates for a third time.

This time it was to provide a training ground for as many as 2,100 corpsmen at one time. These young men, 16 to 21 years old, were considered by many as delinquents. Some of them proved their critics were right, but the vast majority of them not only completed their vocational and academic training at the Center, but went out into the community spreading good will wherever they could.

They could be counted on to provide manpower for worthy projects when needed; they could be called on in a minute's notice to donate blood to a complete stranger when an emergency arose; they could be counted on to produce more than 450 Explorer Scouts and 250 student government representatives during the past 2 years.

They have made it. They are now welcome in the community. When they walk the streets in neighboring towns they hold their heads high. They are proud to be Job Corpsmen—and their neighbors are proud to have them in the community.

Veterans' Pension Payments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, during the 89th Congress, more than 180 veterans' pension bills were introduced in the House of Representatives and referred to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs. All of these measures would have liberalized the pension program in some manner. Some were extremely generous, some were modest and some were extremely conservative. Some were completely unrealistic, while others were quite practical and contained sound proposals. The merits of any of these proposals, however, became a moot question in the eyes of the administration, because their designated spokesman informed the Committee on Veterans' Affairs that they did not support any liberalization of a pension program at that time.

Despite this attitude of the administration with respect to veterans' pension proposals, the Committee on Veterans' Affairs unanimously reported and the House passed H.R. 17488, a bill that would have provided cost-of-living increases to approximately 1.9 million war veterans, widows, and children. Unfortunately, the administration's opposition to this proposal continued and the bill did not pass the Senate prior to the adjournment of the 89th Congress.

Now, it appears that the administration has finally recognized the necessity of increasing veterans' pension payments. The President's message on servicemen and veterans received in the House of Representatives January 31 recommends some increases in the pension program. It is regrettable, however, that the President's recommendations on pension are not as generous as the provisions of the bill passed by the House of Representatives last year. I am, therefore, introducing today a pension bill containing all of the provisions of the bill that passed the House plus an additional provision increasing the income limitations of existing law by 20 percent. This additional feature is necessary if we are to prevent the proposed increase in social security benefits from having an adverse effect upon the veterans' pension program. The new income limitations contained in my bill will permit veterans to receive the increased social security payments each month without affecting their continued pension entitlement.

I am hopeful that our committee will soon be able to report this or a similar bill to the House of Representatives as soon as possible.

No More Medical "Potluck"—The Ellsworth Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. HATHAWAY

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, every so often one will read a magazine article which makes a deep and lasting impression. I ran across such an article recently in a magazine published at Rockport Harbor, Maine, in the heart of Maine's scenic coastal vacationland.

The name of the publication is Maine Digest. The article in question described how Yankee ingenuity and the dedication of local physicians have collaborated to bring to the small community of Ellsworth a modern medical center and health services of a quality such as to be the envy of people living in many larger cities.

The unique achievements recorded at Ellsworth are such that they could serve as an example to many other communities. Also, they reflect great credit on the medical profession as well as on local civic leaders.

It is with pleasure and pride that I share with my colleagues the story of the Maine Coast Memorial Hospital at Ellsworth published in the winter 1967 edition of Maine Digest.

The article follows:

NO MORE MEDICAL "POTLUCK"—THE ELLSWORTH STORY

(By Gene Peterson)

The concept of medicine as practiced at the Maine Coast Memorial Hospital in Ellsworth, Maine, is unique to the state of Maine, if not indeed, to all of New England. Rather than the conventional method of individual physicians in the community seeing their respective patients at their individual offices, this hospital and its staff of medical and surgical specialists have almost turned this process completely around.

Here in this downeast community, among the most highly individualistic populace in all of the United States, stands a physical plant and growing staff of medical specialists, practicing a total concept of medical care. Any patient seeking diagnosis or treatment comes to a clinic, centrally located in a well-equipped medical facility. From the moment he or she enters, the patient is immediately placed under the egis of a highly trained specialist, following referral by an equally skilled diagnostician. No longer does the patient here take medical pot luck. Each phase of medicine or surgery is under the personal supervision of the doctor most qualified to deal with the specifics of the individual case. Most of these men come to the hospital following a residency and board certification.

Not every field or nuance in the wide realm of medicine or surgery is completely covered as of this date, but the Maine Coast Hospital is continually growing and the board of trustees is ever looking for the right person to fill the vacant slots on the broad table of organization. The goal is, of course, to ultimately place each segment of the grand design in the hands of the most qualified and able man available. They are confident that the goal can and will be reached.

The twelve doctors that currently form the medical staff are in effect, employees of Maine Coast Regional Health Facilities, Inc. These men and women have come to accept stipulated salaries and undertake specified duties within the framework of this institution. While they do function under more tightly knit rules, each doctor operates under the widest of permissible latitudes, maintaining a scrupulously guarded personal identity. As one of the medical staff expressed it to me, "this is truly the way for us to guard against the encroachment of the smothering effects of socialized medicine."

All of the doctors who come make their choice freely, with the full knowledge that here they may concentrate entirely on their own specialty, free of all administrative worries . . . doctors being notoriously poor businessmen. Here, they also work fairly uniform hours, have weekends free to enjoy with their families, take *mandatory* vacations and enjoy many more benefits that most of their outside colleagues do not. Another provision of their employment is—every second year, at a maximum, each doctor *must* participate for a minimum of 2 weeks, taking educational courses or participating in medical seminars.

Since the hospital opened in 1956, there have been added four branch facilities. These modern outpatient diagnostic and treatment centers are staffed with general practitioners supplied by the corporation. All of the administrative details are handled by the central facility. The physical sites of the medical satellites, which surround the central plant in Ellsworth, are Southwest Harbor, West Gouldsboro, Milbridge, and the newest, the island medical center in Deer Isle. Currently, negotiations are underway between Bucksport and Maine Coast Memorial Hospital.

The genesis of Maine Coast Memorial Hospital was initially predicated as being a necessity for the residents of Hancock and Washington counties. Over the years, however, it has evolved as an expanding medical complex with a goal of becoming a model rural regional health center.

With their sights set firmly and optimistically on the future, the administrative, medical and para-medical personnel see their dream constantly progressing. With tangible evidence that their dream can be nurtured, cultivated and made to come true, these dedicated and capable people see greater things yet to come. They visualize for the future, units for the care and rehabilitation of the aged and chronically ill, mental health and preventive medicine, regional cancer control, a school of practical nurse education, and facilities for clinical teaching and research. Perhaps these idealistic crusaders may be the subject of ridicule by their more pragmatic confreres, but they are completely sold on the premise that they are the keepers of the faith, for better things yet to come. They are totally convinced that they have been charged with the high calling of creating and maintaining the most modern health complex, to provide the highest caliber of medical care for the entire population of the area.

Simply and inadequately stated, the primary goals of this embryonic medical dream are:

1. Creation of a system of medical facilities and services to provide the inhabitants of the region with the optimum in physical, mental and social well being, consistent with con-

temporary advances in scientific and humane knowledge.

2. To inaugurate peripheral medical centers, making a more equitable base, in terms of convenience to the rural patient; at the same time setting up a comprehensive prepayment method of settling the accrued costs incurred for services rendered. Other methods of payment, as yet not fully explored, are being studied.

3. To acquire and maintain a complement of highly qualified medical and para-medical personnel, place them in a rural milieu and still not sacrifice the professional associations, facilities and intellectual stimuli deemed necessary to maintenance of proficiency and professional growth.

4. To inaugurate a program that will be of national significance, one that will attack and solve the problems inherent in rural communities across the country.

The motivating factors in the inception of Maine Coast Memorial Hospital and the stated goals came about by the expressed desires of those concerned, to fulfill two underlying propositions:

a. It is no longer logical to say that good health is merely the absence of disease; but rather, good health is the maximum physical, mental and social well-being of each individual.

b. Attainment of these maximums is no longer the province and luxury of a few, but the right of every human being.

Although the program has made important strides and is in the process of consolidating its position, it is still in its infancy. It has yet to overcome many formidable obstacles and opposition that throughout history have plagued the advance of human welfare. It needs increased funds and these will continue to be sought—from government, foundations, and private philanthropy. It is a program, once described as, "A blueprint for the future of rural health services, not only in Maine, but across the nation."

Can this grand design and alliance succeed in this materialistic era? Is it possible to promote this benevolent cause when forces of inflation and governmental control make each passing day more difficult than the last? The sponsors respond to these questions with a resounding affirmative. From the point of view of an outsider looking at the noble experiment, with a less than impartial eye, it is our fervent hope that they are right in their optimism, for they are right, their cause is just.

A Department of Business and Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, while the Commerce and Labor Departments were given separate identities in 1913, it seems to me that President Johnson's proposal to merge them once again represents fresh thinking.

It offers constructive possiblities, as the Philadephia Inquirer states in an editorial, which are well worth exploring by Congress.

The Inquirer feels there is much to be said for any practical move to encourage greater understanding and cooperation between business and labor.

Business and labor relationships have matured considerably since the early days of the century. Enlightened leaders in both ranks are aware that a department of the Federal Government ought to be concerned with promoting public and national interest, not simply one group's interest.

I invite my colleagues to read the Inquirer's comments on the proposal by inserting them in the RECORD.

I might point out, too, that Mr. Stuart T. Saunders, chairman of the board of the Pennsylvania Railroad, sees great merit in the President's proposal. His views were expressed in the Philadelphia Inquirer on Sunday, January 29. He urges that the President's proposal "receive the most careful consideration by Congress, by business, and by labor." I ask that his remarks in support of the proposal also be made a part of the RECORD.

The articles follow:

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Jan. 13, 1967]

A DEPARTMENT OF BUSINESS AND LABOR

President Johnson's proposal to merge the Department of Commerce and the Department of Labor is hardly a new idea, but it offers constructive possibilities worth exploring by Congress.

Whether the advantages of such a merger would outweigh the disadvantages would depend largely on details of administrative structure and delegation of authority in the new department. There is much to be said for any practical move to encourage greater understanding and cooperation between business and labor, and to emphasize their common interests for mutual benefit—provided that, in so doing, there is no subordination of one to the other.

In considering the President's recommendation Congress should review the history of both departments and refresh its memory on the circumstances of their origin. A Department of Commerce and Labor was created in 1903, during the Theodore Roosevelt Administration. Ten years later, under President Wilson, the department was divided into two. President Johnson's plan for a merger, creating a Department of Business and Labor, is a call to revive, with modifications, the arrangement that prevailed from 1903 to 1913.

Business and labor relationships have matured substantially since the early years of this century. Enlightened leadership in the ranks of both business and labor is aware that a department of the Federal Government ought not to be a lobby group for any special interest, but should be concerned with promotion of public and national interest.

The Secretary of a Department of Business and Labor probably would need to be someone not identified solely with either group. There could be Undersecretaries or Commissioners within the department heading agencies oriented to business and labor, respectively. This would be somewhat similar to the arrangement approved by Congress 20 years ago when the Department of Defense was given jurisdiction over the Army, Navy and Air Force.

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Jan. 29, 1967]

MERGER FAVORED

Great merit is seen by Stuart T. Saunders, board chairman of the Pennsylvania Railroad, in President Johnson's proposal to combine the departments of Commerce and Labor. But he thinks Mr. Johnson's proposal "should receive the most careful consideration by Congress, by business and by labor."

The recommendation "should be regarded as a major step in reorganizing the executive branch of the government along more efficient and economical lines," Saunders said.

"It seems to me that the time has come to develop a program of reorganization which will make these two departments of the cabinet more effective and dynamic; eliminate unnecessary duplication of economic statistical services in the now separate departments; and join the forces of economic development and manpower resources with the hope that this will produce greater profits for business and better employment opportunities."

He said "only childlike steps" have been taken to adjust the executive department to what he called phenomenal changes in Federal Government.

"We must streamline and modernize the executive branch unless we are ready to concede that it cannot be made a more effective instrument of government," he said.

"In the long sweep of history, the goals of business and of labor are consonant. The course of wisdom, therefore, calls for the management of change for the benefit of as broad a segment of society as possible.

"Substantial economic, political and social reasons underlie virtually every major managerial decision. The well-being of society as a whole can be vitally affected in this process."

Herbert J. Waters: An Aggressive Fighter in International War on Hunger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I have just been advised that an old friend and a fine administrator, Herbert J. Waters, has been designated by the Honorable William S. Gaud, Administrator of the Agency for International Development, to take charge of this Nation's international war-on-hunger program.

The new head of the war-on-hunger program in AID is a rare combination of superb planner and activist. In the days stemming from his experience with Secretary of Agriculture Brannan in 1949 to 1952 and subsequently with the then Senator HUMPHREY, Waters has always been known as a man who was not only an innovator but a man of action. Waters' far-sightedness is perhaps best demonstrated by his efforts in working with Senator HUMPHREY to redesign the Public Law 480 program into the Food for Peace Act.

Waters feels very strongly that Nations should develop primarily through their own efforts. He believes that our programs can only be supplements not substitutions for self-help. He was one of the strong advocates to eliminate the "surplus" concept in the Public Law 480 program and replace it with self-help requirements.

Believing that self-help is the life blood of economic development and believing that no progress is sustained without it, Waters pushed hard for the elimination of the "dole" type of relief to food-for-work programs. He has been active in formulating programs which provide U.S. food and fiber to stimulate greater productivity in the aid-recipient countries. He has been highly instrumental in working out practical self-help measures to be taken by the developing countries to improve their own capacity to provide food for their people.

Waters' responsibilities as Assistant Administrator for Material Resources in AID cut across a large spectrum of responsibilities, using the Nation's agricultural and industrial and transportation resources in fulfilling our foreign assistance objectives. He has been responsible for the encouragement and participation of the U.S. small business in the supply activities of the agency and for activating congressional mandates for more functional use of voluntary agencies and cooperatives to support AID's objectives.

However, his interest and activities in the food-for-peace program in which AID has always had a major role led to a number of important contributions. He was in the forefront in focusing attention to the need to combat child malnutrition, sounding a battle cry nearly 2 years ago in a major address in Brazil that led to new policy initiatives. He was largely responsible for the major shift from the hand-out type of relief to food-for-work programs and new impetus to child feeding programs such as the Operations Ninos program in Latin America.

Waters has ben a moving spirit pressing AID to revamp its programs and policies to give the highest functional priority to food and agriculture. Waters has always emphasized the long-run impact of high level farm production at home to meet world food needs. He has stressed the successful economic development abroad will build U.S. markets for farm products. He has been more than mindful of the necessity for sound population programs which are vital to meeting the food crisis. He has constantly pushed for greater flexibility to use food aid to further our national security objectives.

In his new reorganization of AID, it is Administrator Guad's aim to have Waters concentrate solely on war-on-hunger activities. In undertaking this new assignment, he has indicated his conviction that the food-population crisis can only be won by maximum involvement of private enterprise. There is no doubt that the underdeveloped countries cannot do the job of conquering and overcoming the threat of famine unless the world's private and governmental resources are mobilized soon and effectively.

NATO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, on January 27, Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, retired, who was formerly Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, gave an address before the Commonwealth Club of California on the subject of NATO.

A digest of his address, as published in the Commonwealth, follows:

"PRESERVATION OF NATO IS IN 'YOUR BEST INTERESTS, IN SPITE OF FRANCE," SAYS GENERAL GRUENTHER

Three of the major problems we face today are NATO; the German question; and the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) dilemma.

We had given economic assistance to Europe under the Marshall Plan, but in the late 1940's the area reached an economic "plateau."

Europeans began saying, "We need security" and we saw growing agitation for a security organization. The first response was the Brussels Pact.

Nobody really expected war but we had disarmed to a dangerous degree, and it was felt that the leverage held by the other side could swing the balance in Euorpe if they chose.

Although the North Atlantic Treaty was signed, nothing was done militarily until the Korean War (1950). But the Korean conflict made it clear Communism was again on the march. Agitation for European security was renewed.

Late in 1950, President Truman spoke to General Eisenhower—and subsequently asked him to return to active duty from his post as President of Columbia University.

FRENCH PICKLE

During the Korean War everyone was making estimates on how long we would stay on the Korean Peninsula. Most gave varying periods of time—but some said we wouldn't be pushed out. A fear complex, stemming from Korea, stimulated the military side of NATO.

When Eisenhower toured the NATO countries after assuming command, Denmark had spent 300 million kroner (7k.= $1.00) on military expenditures. The following year she spent some seven billion kroner. Throughout the NATO countries, defense spending increased. But as a Frenchman stated, "Nothing fails like success."

General de Gaulle, in saying that NATO must be out by April 1st, has created a real crisis. And where does that leave us?

At one time (1956), I thought that a French withdrawal from NATO would be a death blow. Was that a correct statement?—I don't know.

From a geographic point of view, France is in an extremely vital position. Nevertheless we must do everything we can to make NATO a success even without France.

GROWING DEFICITS

The alternative is to go back to individual national interests and history has taught us that this has not been too successful.

Some think the threat has disappeared. Militarily we always must consider two things: capabilities and intentions. What are our opponents' capabilities? What are his intentions? Opinions may differ as to the latter, but Soviet bloc capabilities are continuing to increase.

It is to our vital interests to preserve NATO. But it will also be difficult. It's in your vital interests that it continue.

Some friends said they'll buy nothing from France but this is not a very constructive approach. No one lives forever and we may yet see change.

The alliance concept is a real one and must continue.

We've been troubled for years by a balance of payments problem. And it is a difficult problem. Last year our balance of payments deficit was $1.3 billion. This year it might have been $1.5 billion.

NO SOLUTION YET

We have in Germany about 225,000 military personnel. This contributes to our balance of payments problem. It has been proposed that our expenditures be offset by Germany purchasing military equipment here in the United States. The agreement ends this June.

Germany was to purchase a total of $1.3 billion over two years. But she has had difficulty doing so and wanted to arrange some postponement.

When Chancellor Erhard was here last year he went away feeling as though we were squeezing—that we had threatened to pull our troops out. And Germany then had a change of government. The problem has still not been solved.

There is now a renewed interest in pulling our troops out of Germany.

QUESTION OF TIMING

It was felt that ground forces, especially, should be supplied by the Europeans. One can make a good argument to the effect that the Europeans haven't done their end of the job in this respect. The European nations have increased military appropriations though. These are roughly double what they were a decade ago and they have increased six to ten times since Eisenhower.

The question now is whether this is the time to push the issue. It might cause a further unravelling of NATO.

One public figure now says 'increase NATO ground forces by increasing the complement of Germans.' Germany now has 12 divisions. He would increase this to 24—but this would cause a great deal of uneasiness in other European countries.

One other way—the 'trip-wire' concept—is equally unfeasible. Here we would blast anyone passing over such-and-such a line, with nuclear weapons.

It would be inadvisable, at this time, to withdraw our troops from Germany. The question is timing.

The Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) defense problem surfaced in November when Secretary of Defense McMamara anounced that the Russians were building and deploying an ABM system in selected areas. The question has become very hot in the last few months.

Last night McNamara released a document, 209 pages, on the ABM situation. By seven o'clock last night the Soviet Embassy probably had 25 copies of it and some are probably now on their way to Moscow.

NEEDLE IN HAYSTACK

In the early fifties our scientists started fiddling with the problem of having a "bullet hit a bullet" as the writers termed it. This is what is meant by an "ABM system."

Suppose a long-range missile were sent at us—say from Russia. We've developed a radar which can intercept it and notify us. But now such a missile would release "chaff" which causes a large clouded image on the radar "jamming" it. The chaff may extend over 200 miles. The question is then where to hit in that cloud?

Now a radar system can locate the point in that cloud. We've developed the Spartan missile with a nuclear warhead which doesn't have to hit a particular point within that "cloud" but can destroy any missile in the area. This operates in the exosphere.

COULD IT BE TOO LATE?

So decoys looking like missiles separate from the cloud when it hits the atmosphere. And we have the Sprint for that.

The argument now is that if we develop the ABM it will cause the Russians to put more "umphh" in their missiles. McNamara says we'd be better off to put our money into stronger offensive weapons that would deter the Russians. But shouldn't we, at the same time, have a damage-limiting capability in case the Russians don't look at it that way?

President Johnson says we won't develop an ABM system now but will negotiate with the Russians to ban anti-missile defense. If we get no results from this then we'll see about an ABM.

Secretary McNamara has stated that if we had the ABM—and had to use it—we'd probably have only 30 million casualties. And without it we'd sustain 120 million in casualties.

CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM

The ABM dilemma must be solved and we should solve it with a minimum of politics being involved.

I was in the military for 38 years and military aspects often seemed most important. But increasingly it seems to me the economic side is just as, if not more, important than the military aspect.

I'm optimistic for the future. NATO may be unravelling a little but the Communist world is beginning to unravel too. Aside from the Sino-Soviet split, Eastern Europe is having many serious problems.

We can handle our problems if we remain true to our objectives. (DSR)

ANSWERS TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS FROM FLOOR

Q: (John H. Madonne) De Gaulle's true aims in Europe? A: Felt U.S. dominated NATO. Not our intention but when one partner owns 90% of resources, smaller partners sometimes think they get roughshod treatment. Haven't looked enough at others' point of view.

Q: (M. B. Goldsmith) Did Pres. Johnson tell Turks if they intervened in Cyprus, U.S. would not help in event of Soviet attack? A: Don't know. Don't think it's true.

Q: Differences between Greece and Turkey being resolved? A: Yes, but not main NATO problem. We think Turks should ignore air defense and put resources into ground forces. They think, if faced by military aggression, U.S. would filibuster in U.N.—greatest filibustering organization in world—and what would they do meantime?

Q: (Richard B. Blackwell) If, as Walter Lippmann says, Cold War is ending, why are Russians building an anti-missile system? A: Could also say why are Russians largest supplier to North Vietnam? Many Americans and allied soldiers are dead because of Soviet equipment. I hope Lippmann is right, but we shouldn't lower our guard. (MJB)

Competitive Cotton Storage Bids Will Save Millions a Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB CASEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, a year ago, I asked my colleagues in this House to join with me in supporting an amendment that would have saved our taxpayers not less than $25 million a year.

It was an amendment I offered to the agriculture bill to require that the Commodity Credit Corporation must seek competitive bids on Government cotton storage. Unfortunately, my amendment was not accepted by the House, and a chance to save millions at a time when our Nation faces such a fiscal crisis passed us by.

The need for action by this House still exists. It is my sincere hope that my colleagues on the House Agriculture Committee will remember well the points raised in debate on this amendment, and will bring before us a bill wherein this has been corrected.

Mr. Speaker, for those of my colleagues not fully familiar with this problem, or the tremendous effort that has been made to force competitive bidding on cotton storage, I wish to call their attention to a statement made by the American Cotton Compress & Warehouse Association during the public hearing held by the National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber last January 11, in San Francisco, Calif. The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF H. WESLEY MCADEN, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, AMERICAN COTTON COMPRESS & WAREHOUSE ASSOCIATION, WASHINGTON, D.C., AT THE PUBLIC HEARING OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON FOOD AND FIBER, MARK HOPKINS HOTEL, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., JANUARY 11, 1967

Following inauguration of the agricultural adjustment programs in the early 1930's, and prior to enactment of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, the price of American cotton was maintained above its normal free marketing relationship with the price of cotton produced in other countries. This difference in relative prices resulted in substantial increases in the production of foreign cotton and a corresponding decline in the demand for American cotton. These developments, and the rapid build-up in surplus stocks of cotton in this country during recent years, were largely responsible for the basic changes included in the new cotton program authorized by Congress in 1965.

Let me assure the Commission that our members unanimously supported the cotton program authorized under the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 when it was before the Congress, and that each of them worked diligently for its enactment. We still believe that the program, as approved by the Congress, is essentially a good one, and that it provides a real opportunity to materially increase the movement of American cotton into both domestic and foreign markets.

At the moment, however, we are deeply concerned that a "performance gap" does exist between the policy enunciated in the Act, and the steps taken by the United States Department of Agriculture to implement the Act.

As this Association understands it, that policy was set forth clearly and precisely by President Johnson in his 1965 Agricultural message to Congress, again by Secretary Freeman when he appeared before the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, June 16, 1965, and finally this policy was expressed most emphatically in the report of the Conference Committee accompanying the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965.

President Johnson confirmed that he was deeply conscious of the full range of cotton's problems when he recognized these problems for what they are—the problems of a branch of industry whose members must ultimately survive or fail by the discipline of the marketplace. The President put it much more ably in his agricultural message of January 4, 1965:

"We need to change much of our thinking on farm policy. Just as we do in other segments of our economy, we need to separate the social problems of rural America from the economic problems of commercial agriculture."

More specifically, the President put forth in that same message the following objectives for cotton price-support legislation: "It is essential that cotton be competitive with other fibers and in world markets. At the same time we must adopt measures to reduce the cost of the program and the level of stocks."

The basic principles of the program were very ably set forth by Secretary Freeman in his testimony before the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry:

"The overwhelming majority of cotton experts believe that U.S. cotton must be fully competitive in domestic and export markets . . .

"A basic improvement which I hope this Committee and the Congress will give strong consideration is to free the Government of the responsibility of buying and selling cotton. This is a task we do not want, and one we cannot perform as effectively as the open market.

"It becomes especially important in the current crisis, for the old axiom 'export or die' is particularly true in the case of cotton. Historically we have exported one bale in three. With rising yields and growing competition, increasing attention must be given to the foreign market.

"After four years of experience, I am convinced the best way—as a practical matter—to maximize American cotton exports is to move cotton through the private trade freely at world prices. We can best accomplish this through a low loan rate—near the world price—that would permit cotton to move freely into export. Grower income could be supplemented by direct payment in cash or in kind or by diversion payments."

The House and Senate Conferees could not have been more explicit than they were in the following portion of the Conference Report on the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965: "The committee of conference emphasizes, however, that the programs authorized by the bill are designed to move cotton into trade channels for domestic consumption and export. Reduced use of the CCC price-support loan is contemplated. In any instance where the Secretary finds that warehousemen, marketing associations, merchants or others engaged in handling cotton for producers, or participating in the program to make price-support loans available to producers, are taking actions which encourage undue entries of cotton into the loan program, the Secretary shall take such corrective actions as may be necessary."

Despite this very substantial legislative history, the Agriculture Department persist in cotton storage policies that were developed in the past when government programs for cotton consistently encouraged farmers to grow more and more cotton with little or no regard for market demand. These policies encourage the maximum use of the price-support loan, increase the cost of the program and thereby constitute a very serious threat to the success of the program, and to the future of raw cotton production in the United States.

Of particular significance are the following glaring differences that exist between the objectives of the *new cotton program* and the effects of the *existing cotton storage policy:*

I. New program objective: To reduce cost of farm program.

Effect of existing policy: It ignores substantial savings to be achieved through reduced storage cost.

II. New program objective: To keep U.S. cotton competitive with other fibers and in world markets.

Effect of existing policy: It adds to cost of U.S. cotton through high fixed storage and handling rates.

III. New program objective: To eliminate surplus stocks of cotton.

Effect of existing policy: It encourages production of cotton for which there is no market at current price levels.

IV. New program objective: To reduce use of price-support loans by producers.

Effect of existing policy: Encourages producers to use loan as speculative device for carrying cotton ultimately to be sold rather than the intended protection against having to sell at harvest time when prices might be temporarily depressed.

STORAGE POLICY—LOAN COTTON

It is the current policy of the USDA to assume the storage charges that have accrued on all cotton that is acquired by the government when producers default on price-support loans. Only when a producer redeems his cotton from the loan for sale is be required to pay the storage charges incurred during the loan period.

It is only in the case of cotton that price-support loans are not subject to deductions for storage cost, and it is this feature of the program, more than any other, that encourages the maximum use of the program, and ultimately serious abuse of the program. Under these circumstances, the price-support loan becomes a speculative device—cost-free to the producer, but at the expense of the taxpayer. As a result, an enormous cost is imposed on the national treasury through the acquisition and storage of millions of bales of cotton that otherwise would have moved into the market.

Although the competitive position of American cotton in relation to foreign grown cotton has been and continues to be largely determined by price, the same is not true when considering the overall fiber market. The development during recent years of a wide variety of man-made fibers, and the availability of these fibers at acceptable prices demands an emphasis on quality that is not possible under current storage policies. The cotton farmer, as well as the manufacturer of cotton products, must respond to the demands of the consumer.

By providing free storage to farmers who place cotton under support and subsequently elect to default on their loans, the Government actually encourages many farmers to depend entirely on the program with no regard for the market. As a result, large amounts of cotton are produced each year for which there is no market—at least no market which would justify price-supports at present levels.

STORAGE POLICY—GOVERNMENT-OWNED COTTON

Since July 1, 1962, the USDA has followed a policy of storing reconcentrated government-owned cotton on the basis of competitive bids, but this policy has not been extended to the government-owned cotton that remains in original warehouses. Under the current USDA policies all cotton taken over by the government must remain in its original warehouse at a fixed monthly storage rate, unless such warehouse becomes unfit for storage, or until the operator of the warehouse asks that the cotton be moved. Although faced with a rapid buildup in stocks of government-owned cotton during recent years, the Department has rigidly adhered to a policy that allows the operators of original warehouses to retain government-owned cotton at relatively high fixed storage rates, and free of competition. As a result the government is being charged with storage payments in excess of those that would be established if free competitive bidding was extended to all government-owned cotton. Such excessive payments are, in effect, subsidies to the original warehousemen, both unintended and unauthorized by the Congress, and have been so lucrative that many warehousemen have found it desirable to pay rebates to ginners and producers to attract cotton into their respective plants. Under its present policy the USDA arbitrarily establishes what it considers fair and reasonables rates for the storage of all government-owned cotton. The effective rates for the current storage year are 38 cents per bale per month during the first year of government ownership, and 35 cents per bale per month on all cotton that has been owned by the government for one year or more. In comparision, the small amount of cotton that has been reconcentrated on a competitive basis is being stored, in some instances, at rates at low as 15 cents per bale per month.

Warehousemen competing for reconcentrated cotton have not only reduced storage rates, but on numerous occasions have offered additional savings to the government by eliminating various charges and by offering generous freight allowances.

In spite of the record carryover of cotton on hand on August 1, 1966, the current situation in the cotton warehouse industry is highlighted by excess capacity of almost eleven billion bales. The total capacity of warehouses approved for the storage of "loan" and government-owned cotton is slightly over 28 million bales. The Economic Research Service of the USDA has estimated that the peak demand for public storage for all cotton (loan, government-owned, and other) during 1966–67 cotton marketing year will be about 17.2 million bales.

Storage policies and not storage rates, have created this imbalance, and failure to change these policies will inevitably result in a greater imbalance. The over-expansion of the cotton warehouse industry is the direct result of following cotton storage policies during recent years that have not required USDA to fully utilize all existing facilities, thereby encouraging the construction of new and unneeded capacity. The effect of the new cotton program on both the production and consumption of cotton dramatically emphasizes this need for change.

In a competitive market this combination of excessive storage capacity and rapidly declining stocks of cotton would produce significant reductions in storage rates and handling charges for cotton. However, it should be emphasized that under existing conditions competition is permitted on only a relatively small part of the total bales in storage. We appreciate the Department's stated desire to maintain a healthy cotton warehouse system, and we agree that rates should not be established by the Government that would maintain the present overexpansion of our industry. As a matter of fact, we do not believe that any rates should be arbitrarily established by Government.

The problems now facing this industry are the result of substituting the decisions of Government for the decisions of the marketplace. To persist on this course will jeopardize the future of this entire industry. It must be recognized that only by rates established by the competitive process can the Government be assured of the lowest cost and still maintain a healthy cotton warehouse system.

SUMMARY

The current cotton storage policies of the United States Department of Agriculture are neither consistent with President Johnson's stated objectives, nor compatible with the new cotton program that was authorized under the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965. To the contrary, these policies were developed in the past when government programs for cotton consistently encouraged farmers to grow more and more cotton with little or no regard for market demand; they are outdated, and should be changed.

The present status of American cotton is highlighted by the tremendous volume of cotton that has been placed under loan and subsequently acquired by the government during recent years, and by the quantity of undesirable cotton that will remain in government stocks at the end of the current season. These figures suggest that too many people both in Government and within the cotton industry, have come to regard the price-support program as an end unto itself.

To achieve significance reductions in the cost of the program, and to insure its success, it is proposed that the current cotton storage policies of the United States Department of Agriculture be changed to:

1. Require that all government-owned cotton be stored on the basis of competitive bids.
2. Prohibit payment by the Commodity Credit Corporation of storage costs incurred on any cotton prior to its acquisition by the government pursuant to the price-support program.

CCC loan entries, loan redemptions, and acquired pooled stocks; percentages of crops pledged by farmers to loan programs, by seasons, 1955–65

Season	CCC loans			Total cotton crop	Loans as a percent of total crop
	Entries	Redemptions	Acquired or pooled by CCC		
	Thousand bales	*Thousand bales*	*Thousand bales*	*Thousand bales*	*Percent*
1955–56	7,251	1,219	6,038	14,542	50
1956–57	4,830	1,153	3,677	13,151	37
1957–58	3,657	1,197	2,460	10,880	34
1958–59	6,832	794	6,038	11,435	60
1959–60 [1]	335	309	26	14,515	2
1960–61 [1]	540	539	1	14,265	[2]
1961–62	4,850	1,603	3,247	14,325	34
1962–63	6,853	2,109	4,744	14,864	46
1963–64	8,088	2,059	6,029	15,290	53
1964–65	7,341	2,487	4,853	15,149	48
1965–66	6,965	1,621	5,344	14,916	47

[1] Loan eligibility limited to choice B upland and extra longstaple cotton.
[2] Less than 0.5 percent.

Source: Compiled from reports of the Commodity Credit Corporaion and the Bureau of the Census. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Consumer and Marketing Service, Cotton Division.

Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, at times the propaganda machinery of the Soviet Union and its satellites becomes so all-pervasive that it wears down even the most sophisticated among those who are exposed to its fantasies. When the recipients of this type of information are the less informed or the gullible, the result may not only be neutrality of thought, but even a positive acceptance of the distorted message. This is, of course, the ultimate goal of the propagandist, and the proof of his total effectiveness.

A serious example where Communist propaganda has diverted attention away from its own wrongdoing is in the occupation of the country of Lithuania. The world has been so long subjected to Communist flailings at a "dying" Western colonialism that it has neglected to appreciate the true nature of a very much alive and growing Soviet colonial system. This new imperialism has none of the enlightenment of the old colonial system, and amounts to little more than blatant holding by force of the sovereign territory of another nation.

Lithuania has a long and proud history of independence, and February 16 marks the 49th anniversary of the rebirth of this independence which was extinguished when Russian soldiers occupied its land in 1940. The United States has refused, as part of its foreign policy, to recognize the incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union. Mr. Speaker, I believe that it is of utmost importance that the record be accurate for all the world to see. The continued denial of freedom to the Lithuanian nation should be pointed out as giving lie to the outrageous claims of piety on the part of the Communist imperialists, and their simultaneous attempts to direct attention away from their own misdeeds.

Most important we must never forget the longing for liberty of the noble citizens of Lithuania, and we must continuously feed the flame of hope which burns within each of them. It is not unreasonable to anticipate that in time their Soviet masters will recognize that the desire of all men to be free to choose their own destinies can never be extinguished. Thus the trend for the assertion of national independence, which is already so apparent in the Soviet bloc, will extend also to Lithuania. Let us hope it will once again take its place as a free nation living in harmony with its neighbors.

Let us therefore mark this anniversary of Lithuanian independence by encouraging the continuing struggle for freedom and by dedicating ourselves to its eventual realization.

Noisy Aircraft

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I introduced a bill to help cope with the problem of noisy aircraft. The bill, originally proposed by Representative Clement J. Zablocki, of Wisconsin, would constitute an amendment to the Federal Aviation Act of 1958.

It would see that the Federal Government takes over part of the responsibility for alleviating noise pollution. It would also authorize an intensive national research program to cope with the matter of noisy aircraft. It would require the cooperation of aircraft manufacturers and designers.

The problem of aircraft noise has become so acute a social blight in the areas surrounding our cities that something definite must be done to fight this now. First of all, we need a centralized office to serve as a national spokesman for airport neighbors, in my own area in Cheektowaga, Clarence, Lancaster, and Amherst, N.Y.—and across the country.

We need an intensive national program that would devote its time to the progressive silencing of aircraft noise. The bill by Mr. Zablocki would do this.

It would authorize the Federal Aviation Administration to see that the proper research programs were carried out. It would place the FAA Administrator in charge of overseeing new programs and changing old ones to bring about a remedy for the noise.

More than 15 million persons in this country are affected by aircraft noise. It can shake houses, break dishes, interrupt sleep, and cause frazzled nerves.

In the past, aircraft neighbors were asked to put up with noise. This should no longer be necessary. Every American has the right to quietude.

This is an issue that has concerned me for some time now. In August 1966, I supported the creation of an Office of Aircraft Noise Control and Abatement, according to an amendment offered by Representative Rosenthal, of New York.

At that time, I said that little had been done by the Government to meet its responsibility in the area of noise pollution. Today the situation is still unchanged. It is time for definite action in the matter and I believe this bill, if passed, would provide the stimulus needed to effect a gradual stoppage of aircraft noise.

OEO Funds Used To Finance Taxpayers Woes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the unbelievable discovery that our tax dollars were used to finance protests, demonstrations, and unrest at public housing sites to work on public opinion is revolting.

We in Congress are to be asked to curb crime by voting additional tax dollars for more poverty programs like this? Strange education. If not curbed, we may soon finance safeblowing and moonshining.

The folks back home will be watching the appropriations proceedings closer than ever.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that the article of Robert J. Lewis from the Washington, D.C., Evening Star on February 15, 1967, be included at the close of my remarks:

Forum Told of U.S. Aid to Housing Protesters

(By Robert J. Lewis)

Government-financed "community action" groups stood accused today of having organized a series of disruptive protests and demonstrations against public-housing authorities around the country in the last two years.

The charges were made in an independent 108-page study just completed for the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials and made public late yesterday at a national housing forum here.

"Local authorities in approximately 20 cities found themselves the targets of civic, civil rights, or tenant organizations charging the public landlords with failure to do their job and going so far, on some occasions, as to compare them with the slumlords they were presumed to displace," NAHRO reported.

Similar protests have been Capital Housing Authority in the last four or five months, but the report did not identify Washington as one of the cities studied.

STUDIES LIMITED

The 20 cities affected by protests could not be studied individually because of a limitation on funds, it was explained. But protests in six cities were examined intensively. None was identified by name.

The 3-month study jointly undertaken by two Washington consultants for the NAHRO—consisting of federal, state and local housing and urban renewal officials—said tenants of the projects "were not self-organized."

Instead, said the report, "the basic stimulation and guidance came from an outside force. Supplied directly by the local community action agencies (antipoverty)" in three of the six cities studied.

In a fourth city, the instigator of tenant protests was "an informal group of clergymen, college faculty and others."

The instigator-group was formed "to stimulate involvement of apathetic low-income people, particularly Negroes, in community action programs," said the report prepared by George Schermer Associates and Kenneth C. Jones, both of Washington.

Community-action programs are funded by the federal Office of Economic Opportunity, the national agency conducting the administration's war on poverty.

"Funds specifically applied to organizing the tenants were essential to sustain the activity," the report said.

"In two of the instances, most of the organizers were tenants on the payroll of the community-action agencies," the report stated.

ORGANIZERS POOR PEOPLE

"As far as can be determined, no tenants served as organizers in the third instance. In all instances, the organizers were strongly motivated and committed to the cause. However, they were poor people who had to have a source of income before they could function effectively.

"In addition, being on a payroll gave sanction to the activity which would not otherwise have been there."

Noting that news media "gave extensive coverage to the meetings and demonstrations and aired the tenant complaints rather fully," the report said it was "impossible to estimate what proportion of the tenants actually supported the organizations."

A NAHRO official said the consultants had "no specific assignment to measure OEO impact"—that is, the effect of the Office of Economic Opportunity's community-action organizers upon the effectiveness of the demonstrations. It said, likewise, that it doubted identification of the cities was advisable.

Not Needed Here

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, recently the Department of Labor announced that it was awarding the Iowa Employment Security Commission $125,863 to relocate 100 families from 12 southern and southeastern Iowa counties. Families whose breadwinners are chronically unemployed are eligible for the program.

This certainly must be one of the most ill-advised programs ever contemplated by the Department of Labor. In the three counties of the first district included in the program, there are 300 job vacancies right now. It is the height of folly to move families from communities who have plenty of job opporunities.

On Tuesday, February 7, the Muscatine Journal carried an editorial which pointed to the absurdity of this program.

The editorial follows:

NOT NEEDED HERE

It seems like some big spender in the federal government thinks the unemployment situation is so bad in 12 southern and southeastern Iowa counties that $124,863 has been allocated to relocate 100 families whose breadwinners are chronically out of work.

The counties in the program include Washington, Keokuk, Mahaska, Marion, Lucas, Monroe, Wapello, Jefferson, Wayne, Appanoose, Davis and Van Buren.

Many of those 100 out-of-work families (if the government can actually find that many who will move) would presumably come to Eastern Iowa counties such as Muscatine where job opportunities exist. In fact, an Iowa Employment Security Commission team will be starting out March 1 to find prospective employers in the triangle from Cedar Rapids to Dubuque and down to Burlington.

We should be elated if the plan would help Muscatine industries find desirable workers. But we don't think it will work that way. It sounds more like a jug-headed way to spend the taxpayers' money.

People have been moving out of the former coal mining area of southern Iowa for years—but those were the people who had the desire to move. They had the willingness and the gumption to seek new jobs and build new lives. Others have worked into new fields of employment in their own home areas.

Employment in the 12-county area where the government will search for the movable families has made rather impressive gains in the past several years through efforts to attract new industry. Ottumwa, in Wapello county has an unemployment rate of 2.2 per cent—well below the national average. A total of 1,450 new jobs were added in Wapello county in the one-year period from December 1965 to December 1966. Appanoose county added 510 jobs during the same year.

Industrial employers in Ottumwa, Centerville, Mt. Pleasant, Fairfield and other locations in the 12-county area are looking for skilled workers.

The heads of families eligible for free relocation under the federal spending program would have to be unemployed or underemployed. They would be low-income skilled people who can't find jobs now during a period of nationwide high employment.

Muscatine industries have advertised in the 12-county area and have found good workers who moved here. Local industries have also brought in workers from outside the state—often times through the assistance of the Iowa Employment Security Commission. These workers who wanted to move here and had the willingness and ability to secure jobs.

Employment and family moving of the kind we have had through free enterprise should be encouraged—but the government program seems completely asinine during a time when employers within the 12-county are are urgently looking for good workers.

The non-workers who can't find a job and must be moved at government expense are hardly the kind of people Muscatine would seek to attract. The government-paid move could be an opening to the hand-out. We have enough people in Muscatine county on public welfare now without using moving vans to bring in more.

The Critical Years of Automobile Air Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I have been greatly encouraged during the last few years to see develop a growing national recognition of the vital importance of finding solutions to the perplexing and complicated problem of effective air pollution control—especially in America's increasingly crowded major metropolitan centers where some 80 percent of our population will soon be living.

As a member of the Los Angeles City Council, where I had the privilege of serving as chairman of the Public Health and Welfare Committee continuously from 1949 to 1962, I have maintained a deep and abiding personal interest in promoting local as well as State and National action in this crucial area.

It is universally recognized, Mr. Speaker, that one of the major contributors to the air pollution problem is the motor vehicle.

Today, it is estimated there are approximately 80 million vehicles driving on the Nation's highways—and in this affluent society of ours, each year that number increases.

Experts in this field are unanimous in stating that, if we could learn to control pollution caused by the motor vehicle, we would be a long way toward our goal of creating the kind of clean atmospheric environment we want for ourselves and for our children.

I am hopeful that, with this country's great scientific genius and productive capacity, combined with the unparalleled organizational and administrative management techniques we have developed here in the United States, we will be able to harness the wide range of talent and resources that have made America the world leader in so many fields, and mount a truly national effort to eliminate, once and for all, the dangerous impurities in the air we breathe.

On my last trip to Los Angeles I had the pleasure of witnessing a prototype demonstration of an afterburner type of auto smog control device. This device had every appearance of an ordinary car exhaust muffler, somewhat modified, and built for easy installation.

I was impressed and indeed heartened to realize that we now have in being at least one effective smog control unit, requiring only production design and testing, which reduces the hydrocarbon and carbon monoxide emissions to extremely low values—far below the present Federal and California State standards.

It is my understanding that other effective systems are also under development at the present time. So we have reason to view the progress of our scientific and engineering community in the area of automotive air pollution abatement with renewed confidence and optimism that the problem can in fact be solved and solved completely.

More recently I was delighted to have had an opportunity to read a very thoughtful and constructive article on this subject written by Mr. J. A. Varney, of Los Angeles.

Mr. Varney's article, entitled, "The Critical Years of Automobile Pollution—The Question of Concerting Action," contains some excellent ideas and concrete suggestions to outline a positive program designed to solve the automobile air pollution problem by 1972—an ambitious but most commendable and very possibly realistic objective, given the necessary firm determination to achieve this objective as a top priority national goal.

The article follows:

THE CRITICAL YEARS OF AUTOMOBILE AIR POLLUTION—THE QUESTION OF CONCERTING ACTION

SUMMARY

The main need in the automobile air pollution problem is to arrest the contamination before it reaches disaster levels. Contamination reaches critical levels already.

Present control programs directed to improvement of new car design will not reduce the danger for some years to come. A program to reduce noxious emissions from existing vehicles is required.

Technology is now at hand for eliminating the emission of most of the harmful gasses in automotive exhaust. However, even with maximum effort in testing, tooling up and introducing the new technology on a mass scale a number of years of continuing threat must be expected. Given concerted action, the duration of the threat of disaster level air pollution may be reduced and the areas affected kept local rather than allowed to become regional.

The most critical immediate problem, beyond prediction of dangerous contamination levels and imposition of traffic controls, is that of retrofit of the 80 million existing autos. Second only to that is the fitting of the 10 million new vehicles each year with the best state-of-the-art devices available. The overriding question is how best to concert the action.

What is needed is a clearer organization of what are now scattered efforts: the generation of an overall plan of action to yield major, visible and timely results. What is needed in particular is a focal point for analysis, preparation of alternative courses of action, identification and networking of the most attractive plans of action to facilitate executive decision, and program troubleshooting on a national scale.

A no-profit group could help in these regards. Such a group could provide supporting and advisory services to government. It might also provide short-term coordination of particular crash programs on demand.

It is proposed to develop the planning basis for the nucleus of a single-purpose, independent, quasi-governmental group which would function during the critical years and then disband.

I. BACKGROUND

Abatement of automotive air pollution requires:

1. Incorporation in new automobiles of the most effective means to reduce emission of harmful exhaust gasses

2. Retrofit of existing autos with effective devices

3. Regulation of traffic volume in places and time of danger

4. Development of mass transportation which will draw some fraction of the smog producing autos from the roads

Modification of gasoline to reduce generation of the harmful gasses—hydrocarbons, carbon monoxide and oxides of nitrogen—does not now appear promising. One may expect that regulation of the volume and flow of traffic will be carried on as a palliative as necessary as it has been already under emergency conditions. New technology for mass transportation and the electric auto will eventually offer relief but not for ten years or more. This paper deals with the first and second aspects, the new and old automobiles.

II. DISCUSSION

Existing Federal and California law sets standards of emission which the auto manufacturers have sought to meet by carburetion and engine modifications. Such standards have been met marginally in new cars and under controlled conditions. It is now clear, however, that the efforts to date are inadequate. Surveillance under the auspices of the Los Angeles County Air Pollution Control District has determined that the majority of new vehicles fail to meet standards immediately on introduction into service or soon thereafter. While hydrocarbon emissions decrease considerably relative to unmodified vehicle exhaust content, oxides of nitrogen increase markedly. Engine operating temperatures increase, at times dangerously. Power loss under conditions of acceleration may be serious. Engines deteriorate rapidly. Excessive servicing is induced. The harmful emissions increase with age of the car. Driver safety is adversely affected. It is clear that engine and carburetor modifications accomplished to date and currently predicted by the auto industry are not nearly equal to the need.

Afterburner and exhaust recycle systems have been under development for many years and are now proven to be highly effective on both new and old vehicles for reducing the emitted volume of harmful gasses. The emission levels of these systems fall radically below the levels permitted under present Federal and State regulations.. The tabulation below provides a basis for specific comparisons.

Typical emissions (unmodified test auto)	Typical emission levels of same test vehicle equipped with afterburner and exhaust recycle system	Present requirements under Federal regulation effective in 1968 model year
Hydrocarbons (600 to 900 parts per million).	20 to 40 parts per million	For engine displcement of 140 cubic inches or more: 275 parts per million.
Carbon monoxide (3 to 4 percent by volume).	0.3 percent by volume	1.5 percent by volume.
Oxides of nitrogen (1,000 parts per million).	200 parts per million	(1).

Application of afterburner and exhaust recycle systems to new cars is unquestionably practical in light of tests. Application to existing vehicles is similarly practicable provided a suitable blower for supplying air to the afterburner combustion chamber is provided. Blowers for this purpose appear technically promising but have not been fully developed. Feasibility of retrofit of afterburners on existing vehicles on a mass basis would be enhanced were a blower not requiring direct engine drive available. Supplementary support for such a development may be desirable.

Cost to the user of mass-produced afterburner and recycle systems would be, on the order of fifty dollars on new cars and perhaps a hundred dollars installed on retrofit autos. Thus, at least one technical solution of the problem of noxious emissions is in sight. Other impressive developments are known to exist and should be evaluated on a cost vs. effectiveness basis. Legislation and regulation at the Federal level reflecting this state of the art can be drafted soon. The problem, in fact, is time, organization of effort and determination more than technology.

Even if the more effective afterburner and recycle devices were now fully tested in production quantities they could hardly be introduced as standard equipment on new cars prior to the 1970 model year. Under present regulatory procedures and with the normal year and one half lead time for introduction of significant design changes in new car production, a minimum of two years would be required before the first equipped autos could come out of the factories. The more probable time would seem to be three years. Each year only ten percent of the automobile population is replaced by new vehicles. The probable three-year lag plus, say, five years for somewhat over half the vehicles population to be replaced indicates at least eight years of continuing automotive smog hazard. The peak hazard may be expected in 1971 or later, considering that cars give off more fumes as they deteriorate with age.

In short, while important, it is clearly not enough to attend only to new cars. The risk of smog catastrophe is too great. Retrofit of old cars with effective devices is essential. But the problems are diverse. There are 80 million existing autos, many configurations to fit to, and there would be visible cost to the individual owner. Resistance from areas not now seriously affected by air pollution is to be expected.

A national program needs to be designed which will come to grips with the problem of both old and new cars. It will need to consider such aspects as the following:

1. *Public Policy, Legislation and Regulation*

a. Determining new legislative and regulatory needs at all levels of government—federal, state and local.

b. Preparation of legislation and regulatory arrangements.

c. Coordination of legislation and regulation on a nationwide basis.

2. *Hardware*

a. Selection of new technology: Comparison of most promising technical approaches; Selection of best available approaches.

b. Establishing standards of performance based on the need and the best technical approaches: Upgrading of existing regulatory requirements; Development of new regulatory requirements.

c. Identification and support of promising new developments: Government support; Non-government support.

d. Protection of emergency public interest vs. proprietary (e.g. patent) rights; equitable compensation and recognition of private initiative and contribution.

e. Developing production capacity: Demand in relation to present plant capacity: Priorities; Centralized vs. decentralized production; Quality control.

f. Developing installation and servicing capacity; Field station availability; Training.

g. Inspection of vehicle performance: Federal policy and control; State administration; Local execution; Official public vs. private inspection; Surveillance and reporting.

3. *Economics*—public and private impact

a. Costs vs. benefits of alternative programs.

b. Tax incentives for rapid implementation for industry which must manufacture and distribute; For the driving public who must buy the devices.

4. *Public Health, safety and education.*

5. *International aspects*

a. Exchange of technology.

b. Coordination of multi-national programs of regulation.

c. Foreign car imports.

d. Exports.

e. Interface with organizations concerned with world-wide air pollution (e.g. UNESCO).

6. *Program formulation and integration*

a. Networking and costing of alternative plans for both pilot and large-scale programs.

b. Program integration across organizational interfaces: Government; Industry.

7. ***Ways and means of generating acceptance of plans and programs and instigating action***

a. Government.

b. Industry.

III. AN AUTOMOTIVE SMOG GROUP

The scope of the new car and retrofit programs which are necessary to match the urgency of the air pollution problem suggests a need for some form of quasi-governmental group to concert the effort.

This group could be a focal point for analysis of the problem. It could identify, illuminate and encourage early solutions. It could develop alternative plans of action for governmental consideration. It could provide advisory and analytical support services to the legislative and executive branches of government at the federal and state levels. It could perform a trouble-shooting function in the public interest.

In view of the urgent public interest the group should be:

a. Not-for-profit, to avoid conflicts of interest.

b. Supported from both the public and private sectors.

The public sector support should include both the legislative and executive. The private sector support should include private institutions of an educational, scientific and philanthropic nature. Industry should provide minority funding only.

c. Limited to the automotive air pollution problem and to a ten-year life span. (Five years may suffice.)

A new not-for-profit institute should be considered, perhaps located in the Los Angeles smog basin for emphasis.

IV. COURSE OF ACTION

A network has been developed which shows in summary the general form and time scale of a national program which could evolve through the coordinated efforts of both the public and private sectors. Such a program seems likely to emerge from the intense national concern over progressive pollution of the air.

It is proposed now to develop a plan for setting in motion the nucleus of a group as described above which would support such a program.

Comment is invited.

United States May Tighten Belt in Space

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Don Smith of Newsday Washington bureau has recently written a series of articles discussing our national space effort. In the last of the series of arti-

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[1] For detail see "Automotive Air Pollution," 4th report of Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to U.S. Congress, July 1966.

cles, Mr. Smith examines the current problems associated with the decision on the post-Apollo objectives of NASA. Mr. Smith has provided in his article a concise summary of the needs of our country in space for the future.

I commend this article to your reading:

GEMINI, APOLLO AND ?—U.S. MAY TIGHTEN BELT IN SPACE

(By Don Smith)

WASHINGTON.—Flights past Venus and Mars in the 1970s, orbiting space laboratories with crews of six to 10 men, a manned landing on Mars by 1980—all are space agency propects for a program after man sets foot on the moon.

While the possibilities for the future are rich, time and money put their realization in doubt. So far NASA has no fixed post-Apollo program. And within the space agency there is a rift over whether to aim for flights around Mars and Venus with a manned landing on Mars by 1980 or to limit the objectives. It would be less costly to concentrate on mapping the earth's resources, and expanding our knowledge of astronomy and global weather forecasting.

NASA officials and many congressmen have been warning that unless President Johnson's 1968 budget carries close to $500,000,000 in funds clearly earmarked for space projects after the Apollo moon landing, no meaningful project can be put together. And NASA charges that its expensive hardware, industrial manufacturing lines and highly skilled complex of 35,000 agency and 300,000 industrial scientists and engineers will drift away.

The need for NASA to know where it can go and how much Congress and the White House are willing to invest in the future comes at a time when the costs of the war in Vietnam are steadily rising and warnings of a general tax increase are being voiced. Also there is a mounting feeling among government officials and the American public that while the Apollo moon-landing goal must be reached and the cost shouldered: Why spend additional billions to send astronauts on to Mars, Venus and beyond?

For top NASA officials the problem is compounded since they cannot effectively move toward any post-Apollo project until Johnson announces his budget and Congress acts to grant, chop or increase whatever amount NASA asks for.

A clear sign that the coming budget hearings may be the toughest the space agency has ever faced comes from Sen. Clinton P. Anderson (D-N.M.), chairman of the Senate Aeronautical and Space Science Committee. "I feel the Apollo program is valid and will be done within the deadline," Anderson said, "but I'm not very enthusiastic about their proposed new programs."

Reflecting the increasing congressional concern with over-all rising national costs, Anderson said, "If it wasn't for Vietnam then maybe we could waste a bit of money for manned Venus, Mars and Jupiter excursions. But being where we are, faced with having to limit aid to highway programs, poverty and others, maybe we could put away some (NASA) proposals for a few years." Anderson who has been a supporter of space spending in the past said, "I'm one of those who just doesn't buy the argument that unless we start projects now it will cost double or triple a few years from now. I think that's NASA propaganda."

A sharply contrasting view comes from Rep. Olin E. Teague (D-Tex.), second ranking member of the House Space Committee and chairman of the subcommittee on NASA. "I see the moon mission," Teague said, "like the Lindbergh flight, too important. Paris wasn't important; what was important was that such a flight could be made. The moon is just a step along the way to deeper manned space flights." Teague and other members of the House Space Committee, including Rep. John W. Wydler (R-Garden City), had unsuccessfully urged that hearings be held before the 89th Congress ended to determine where NASA and outside experts felt the space effort should be headed.

Hearings were vetoed by committee chairman Rep. George Miller (D. Calif.), who said that he was confident NASA and the White House would come up with an acceptable package. Teague and Wydler charged that such a procedure effectively muzzles NASA officials who must argue in front of Congress for the program they've been given even if they don't approve of it and that such a procedure gives Congres little control in shaping the nation's future space programs.

USING APOLLO LEFTOVERS

The immediate post-Apollo projects will involve Saturn rockets, lunar excursion modules (LEM) and command capsules left over from the Apollo project, Dr. Robert A. Summers, of NASA's Advanced Manned Missions office said, "Logically the first projects will involve extensive lunar explorations and long-duration earth orbital flights, possibly keeping men up for six months to a year with crew changes." How fast the post-Apollo projects proceed is directly linked to the base of the lunar landing itself and more crucially to how much Apollo hardware is left over. Complained one NASA official, "At this point we don't have the money to order our own hardware and probably won't for a while. If Apollo should require all its assigned hardware we will really be hurting." NASA officials stressed, however, that it was unlikely some Apollo material wouldn't be available.

In testimony last year NASA officials, reflecting the agency's own indecision, held out five project areas where the agency's focus could turn after man lands on the moon. The first two proposals are considered tame, the others bold. Here is a rundown on what they propose:

Economic Benefits Emphasis—The program would involve projects mounted from an orbiting space station that would benefit man directly in such things as direct FM and TV broadcasting, long-range and global weather forecasting, inventory of earth resources and the mounting of a 100-inch diameter telescope to give astronomers better views of the solar system. Such a program, continuing into the mid and late 1970s would also have a role in future manned flights since the proposed space platform could serve as a launch site for planetary flights. NASA estimates the cost for this program at about $3 billion a year.

Lunar Exploration and Science Emphasis—A program of extensive lunar manned missions aimed at building a laboratory on the moon and also using the moon as a staging area for further flights. NASA puts the cost of this project at about $3,500,000 a year.

Planetary Exploration and Science—A program estimated to cost $4.5 to $5 billion annually aimed at manned and unmanned flybys of Venus and Mars by the mid 1970s with landings in the late 1970s which would rely heavily on orbiting space stations for the mounting of planetary probes.

Prestige Program—An all-out $6-billion-plus-a-year maximum planetary effort with space stations orbiting in early 1970, a lunar station in place by 1974 and early flybys of the planets with a manned Mars landing set for 1980 or before.

Balanced Program—A less costly project that would, in effect, carry out the aims of all four programs at an annual peak cost of $4.2 billion that would push target dates back by aiming for planetary flybys in the late 1970s and orbiting earth and lunar space stations sometime in the mid 1970s.

Most NASA officials lean toward the balanced program as the most logical. They believe, and hope to convince Congress and the public, that by early projects aiding the nation's economy such as the broadcasting and weather forecasting, mapping and resource studies, which they can mount from orbiting stations, the challenges of manned planetary flights will be more acceptable and more willingly funded.

As one NASA scientist put it, "We hope Congress and the nation will remember (NASA administrator James E. Webb's) warnings that 'future decisions should not be made with a timid hand.' We are talking today about what we will be doing through the 1970s and into the 1980s."

The Ford Motor Co. Versus the Arab Boycott

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the Ford Motor Co. is to be congratulated for its refusal to knuckle under to the Arab League boycott of companies dealing with Israel.

In remaining steadfast to the policy established by the Congress in the 1965 amendment to the Export Control Act, the Ford Motor Co. has affirmed its belief in free trade and in the American tradition of fair play.

It is with pleasure that I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial on this matter from the January 1967 edition of the ADL Bulletin, a publication of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

The editorial follows:

FORD VS. THE ARAB BOYCOTT

(By Arnold Forster)

Courage, determination to stand up for what is right, to resist threats, bullying and blackmail, deserve credit and encouragement. We therefore salute the Ford Motor Company for its leadership in steadfastly refusing to yield American industry's right to free trade in the face of threatened Arab League boycott.

The industrial giant, fully cognizant of the potential consequences, announced last June that it was negotiating with the Palestine Automobile Corporation Ltd. to build Ford trucks and tractors in an assembly plant to be in operation in Israel within twelve months. The agreement, the company said proudly, would make Ford the first major United States manufacturer to authorize such assembly in the Israeli market.

Arab threats and warnings came almost immediately. First Saudi Arabia *ordered* Ford automobile agents to leave that country within three months unless the company changed its plan. Ford, refusing to be intimidated, declared that it would go ahead with its plans for constructing the assembly plant in Israel.

On November 20, the Arabs tried again. The Arab League Boycott Conference voted unanimously to ban dealings with Ford by Arab countries. The company, with assembly plants in the United Arab Republic and Morocco, with annual sales of around 50,000 new Ford cars and spare parts to service some 60,000 Ford vehicles already in operation in Arab countries, stood to lose millions of dollars. The challenge was one of the most sweeping ever faced by an American business interest in the Middle East. To Ford, however, it was a challenge more of principle than of finances.

As Henry Ford II said in a recent statement to the Anti-Defamation League: "We are definitely going forward with our plans for Israel. We feel we have the unchallenged right to compete in any market of the world willing to accept us an industrial citizen."

To give in to pressure, to economic blackmail, would be to go against official United States foreign trade policy. The 1965 Amendment to the Export Control Act (the Williams-Javits Act) specifically opposes inequitable trade restrictions, including boycotts, fostered or imposed by foreign countries against other countries friendly to the United States. The U.S. Department of Commerce asks American industry to refuse to comply with such attempts to restrict free trade.

Ford decided to stand up and be counted in support of American policy, to suffer Arab reprisal, if it must, rather than allow itself to be used as an example to frighten other American industry unwilling or unable to oppose the intolerable situation.

The Arab economic boycott against Israel has been harassing American businessmen for more than a decade. Unevenly applied and quixotically enforced, the procedure to date has produced more political smoke than economic fire. It has failed meaningfully to impede Israel's economic growth which has shown a gross national product increase of about ten percent annually. Despite the knuckling under by some American firms, it is obvious that Arab boycott efforts have suffered setbacks and have not been wholly successful, except for propaganda purposes. Each Arab announcement of blacklisting helps create an image of the submissive American businessman in the Middle and Far East markets.

Ford's well-publicized announcement that it would provide know-how to an assembly plant in Israel was considered a serious blow by Arab boycott leaders—a breach that would further jeopardize the actual boycott opertaion and would certainly mar the carefully and systematically drawn propaganda image. The Arabs knew—as did Ford—that the company's stand would serve as encouragement to other United States firms considering investment plans in Israel. The boycott committee therefore was impelled to make an example of Ford. If the giant firm could be made to give in, other American industry would surely follow.

But Ford refused and refuses to be dictated to by a foreign country. The company will not change or modify its intention to authorize Ford vehicle assembly in Israel by an Israeli dealer.

It is an especially courageous stand for despite the 1965 Amendment to the Export Control Act, companies such as Ford are doing battle virtually alone. The United States has not noticeably intervened in the ban placed against Ford or against other companies also blacklisted by the Arabs.

The State Department explains its policy as follows:

"Public positions can only heighten the possibilities for political confrontation on this issue to the detriment of individual U.S. firms and overall American business interests in the Near East. Our best hope lies in quiet but persistent efforts to make the Arab governments see that the boycott is in conflict with their own economic self-interest."

A careful examination, however, of the Arab League's economic and propaganda war indicates that quiet, behind-the-scenes efforts bring no change, that the only effective means of combatting the boycott is to stand up to it boldly and publicly, refusing in no uncertain terms to submit to its dictates.

In a letter to Secretary of State Dean Rusk, the Anti-Defamation League called such public intervention a major responsibility of our government. ADL pointed out that in asking American businessmen to ignore demands or restrictions imposed by such groups as the Arab League Boycott Committee, the government implicitly commits itself to support those companies which agree to the request.

To allow the attempted punishment of American industry by the Arabs is ironic, too, in view of the fact that Arab nations are the recipients of billions of dollars in American aid—paid for in large measure by billions of dollars in federal taxes derived from domestic and international trade. It seems self-defeating to continue United States aid to Arab states while American industry, because of its obedience to American law, suffers Arab boycott punishment.

The Ford Motor Company, spearheading a tiny group of major companies standing on principle, is defying the Arab boycott. The Arabs had hoped to make an example of Ford and these others. Instead, they are serving as inspiration to American businessmen dedicated to free trade.

The Ford Motor Company's action should be of more than passing interest to all Americans. Ford's courageous stand deserves to be known . . . and deserves vigorous and widespread support.

Salute to a Connecticut Dairy Farmer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, our Nation's dairy farmers occupy an essential position in the economy of the country, as well as providing an all-important ingredient in our daily nutrition. It is therefore, always a pleasure to be able to give official recognition to the accomplishments of this segment of our farm population. This is especially true since so many of those who work the land often labor alone and away from the view of public attention.

I therefore wish to insert into the RECORD an article which appeared in the February 9, 1967 issue of the Moosup, Conn., Journal Press describing the remarkable career of dairyman Herman Frink of the town of Sterling in my congressional district. Besides being a successful third generation dairyman, Mr. Frink is a farmer, cattle dealer, auctioneer, businessman, three-term former State representative, justice of the peace, judge, and a wonderful husband, father, and grandfather. He has been active in the Democratic Party for the past 40 years. In many ways, Mr. Frink's career is representative of our country's farmers whom I, along with so many of my colleagues, are proud to represent in the Congress.

The Journal Press article follows:

LOCAL DAIRYMAN RECOGNIZED BY HOOD COMPANY HERMAN FRINK STILL ACTIVE AFTER 70 YEARS

In the January–February issue of The Milkpail, the official newspaper published by H. P. Hood & Sons, there appears a story of a local dairyman who is well known and liked by many people who know him. He is Herman Frink, 70, of Ekonk Hill who is the owner of one of the finest dairy producing farms in the county.

Of the eight boys in the Frink family, Herman was the only one to stay on the farm, a fact he has never regretted, thus becoming the third generation of Frinks to produce from the land on the family farm. His son, Albert, who lives across the road, works with his father and carries on the family tradition into the fourth generation and it is the hope of both Herman and Albert that the latter's two year old son will grow up with the same kind of devotion to the land and animals and thus become the fifth generation to farm this excellent site, located on the ridge of Sterling Hill just 40 miles from Providence, R.I., where the milk from Frinks' fine herd is processed at the H. P. Hood and Sons plant.

When Herman took over the farm in 1922 he had 100 acres of farmland, twelve cows and a pair of horses. He frequently mentions the fact that when his grandfather farmed this same land and built the fine farmhouse Mr. and Mrs. Frink live in, he used oxen to till the land. His father used horses and at the present time tractors are in use. Herman speculates as to what type of vehicle future generations will use.

At the present time the farm is made up of 800 acres and there are 107 cows, all prime examples of milk producing Holsteins which occupy the huge barn which extends along the highway.

While a farmer or dairyman, if he keeps on his toes, may provide a comfortable living for himself and his family, there are many disasters which can strike that would wipe out the ordinary family. Not so with Mr. Frink, for he has weathered many setbacks which he has met with determination and additional work hours.

In 1960, on a pleasant summer's day while Mr. Frink was attending a cattle auction, his fine barn was destroyed by fire, the holocaust also taking the milk house, much equipment and twelve fine specimens of cows. Although it took a lot of fortitude to "start over" this is what Mr. Frink did and had started to recover from his first great loss when another fire destroyed the new barn just three years later.

Again, in spite of great discouragement, Mr. Frink and son Albert rebuilt the barn, making the new structure one of the finest for miles around.

After the first fire, the Frinks added a new 500 gallon bulk tank and this was spared in the second fire, the firemen preventing the spread of the blaze to the milkroom, and this tank, in Mr. Frink's opinion is one of the biggest and most profitable changes to take place in the dairying industry for years.

Reminiscing, Herman recalls the days when he was producing four 10-quart cans of milk a day, comparing it to the now two tons in the same period, when he hauled this and the milk of a neighbor, to the Providence plant, in an open Reo truck. Sometimes, he remembers it was so cold the milk would freeze in the cans on the way to the plant.

The Frinks continued to haul the milk to the processing plant until last year when they sold the bulk tank truck to the Hood company.

When Herman finally relinquishes the reins, his son, Albert is well prepared to step into his shoes and continue where his father leaves off. Mr. Frink is of the idea that dairying is going to be better for all those who stay in it for he can foresee more "push button" farming. He feels that loose housing will grow in popularity and will prove best.

Because the labor problems won't grow any better he foresees the day of the "big farm" and his advice is to grow with the times, dairymen must practice good business and flance needed improvements and expansion.

Herman Frink is so typical of the old prototype of Yankee farmer and is so familiar to all of us that we take his astonishing record as a matter of course but when one reflects what he has accomplished in his 70 year span his career is an amazing one.

Not limiting his talents to dairying, he has dealt in cattle for many years and until recently was a cattle auctioneer. He also owns and operates five school buses for the town of Sterling and he cuts and sells fire wood from his acres which abound with fine woodland.

In the 1930's he was active politically and served as state representative for three consecutive terms. He points with pride that this was accomplished in a strong Republican township, he being a staunch Democrat. He also served as a town judge for 20 years and still maintains the office of justice of the peace having done so for the past 30 or 40 years.

A faithful member of Ekonk Grange he served as its master for seven years and only last fall was installed as treasure for the 30th consecutive year. He is a director of the Connecticut Bank and Trust Company, an office he has fulfilled for about 35 years.

In addition he has served as chairman of the board of finance in the town of Sterling for about 30 years and has also acted as chairman of the Board of Education for a long period.

A member of the Sterling Hill Baptist Church, which he attends frequently, Mr. Frink has also held membership in Moosup Lodge No. 113 AF&AM for over forty years.

Mr. Frink is married to the former Lena Sayles, of Sterling Hill, and they have a fine family, all of whom live in homes on the family farm. The Frinks have provided a fine heritage for their family and the rapidly growing grandchildren who can enjoy the freedom of acres and acres of beautifully cultivated farmland and nearby wooded areas.

It is quite impossible to sum up the full life of Herman Frink in a few words for he is a third generation dairyman, a farmer, cattle dealer, auctioneer, businessman, former state representative, justice of the peace, politician, judge—but most of all, a fair, square, jovial man, who exudes friendliness, a wonderful husband, father and now, much to his pride, grandfather of a splendid crop of youngsters, most of whom are attending the school in Sterling in which he takes much pride.

Lithuanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, February 16 marks the 49th anniversary of the independence of Lithuania and serves to remind us of the plight of that tiny country and her sister states, Latvia and Estonia. In 1918 the Lithuanian people found that they had to fight to attain and preserve their freedom. For over 2 years, they struggled against the armies of the Russian Whites and Russian Bolsheviks who both sought to restore Russian rule over the gallant nation. By 1921 Lithuania had firmly established her independence.

For a time during the postwar period, it appeared as though Lithuania was assured of a separate national existence. She entered into diplomatic relations with the major European powers in the spirit of friendship and cooperation. Domestically, the country experienced economic difficulties but maintained relative political stability.

The rise of Nazi Germany in the 1930's once again spelled danger to Lithuania. Adolph Hitler had clear designs in Eastern Europe, and these included the Baltic States. In addition, the Soviet Union revived its hope of communizing that area. Lithuania was, indeed, caught between the hammer and the anvil.

The years 1939 and 1940 sealed the country's fate. In July of the former year, the Germans seized Memel. One month later, Germany and the Soviet Union entered into their infamous nonaggression pact. This agreement, as is now known, contained secret clauses giving Stalin a free hand to deal with the Baltic States as he pleased. Stalin soon proved himself capable of exercising this free hand. Early in 1940, the Soviets put severe diplomatic pressure on Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia to allow the stationing of Red troops on their soil. With no hope of outside assistance, the tiny republics capitulated to Moscow's demands. Then, in July 1940, when all eyes were focused upon the fall of France, the Red army invaded the Baltic States and incorporated them into the Soviet Union.

Lithuania's struggle for freedom continued, however. When the Germans invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the people of Kaunas, the capital city, rose up and drove out the Red occupation forces. When the Germans reached Kaunas, they found, to their amazement, a provisional Lithuanian Government exercising authority. Unfortunately, the Reich's policy differed only slightly from that of the Kremlin. Occupation officials immediately removed the provisional government, and 3 years of Nazi oppression began.

Late in 1944, the Red Army reoccupied Lithuania, and the Communists resumed the reign of terror which they had initiated in 1940. Following the end of the war, news leaked out to the West describing the mass deportation of Lithuanian citizens from their homeland. Thousands of others fled by boat across the Baltic Sea to safety in the West.

The tragedy of Lithuania and her sister republics stands out as one of the darkest pages of World War II. If any nation is owed a debt by the world, it is Lithuania. By looking at the misery she had endured, we may gain a higher appreciation of our own freedom. In this spirit and in the hope that a new light of freedom will one day shine down upon this valiant nation, we pay tribute to Lithuania on her independence day.

North Carolinian Tells Why He Is a Democrat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, the following essay by Clinton Pyne, a young student, won first place in the 1966 Teen Dem essay contest sponsored by the Democratic Party of North Carolina.

I was privileged to be present when young Mr. Pyne delivered his essay at the installation banquet of the Young Democratic Clubs of North Carolina held in Southern Pines, N.C., on January 28, 1967.

Despite the fact that Clinton's essay competed with the beautiful countryside, including more golf courses than any other place in the world, an electrifying evening filled with North Carolinian wit and the opportunity for me to meet a lot of bright and cheerful North Carolinians, Clinton's essay stole the show.

The essay follows:

WHY BE A DEMOCRAT?

(By Clinton Pyne)

For slightly more than three years, my involvement in politics and government has been an ever-increasing one. Soon after I become aware of the problems of our state and nation, I turned to an interest in politics. I quickly learned that in our state, an interest in politics is an interest in our great Democratic Party.

Postmaster-General Lawrence F. O'Brien once remarked that he had learned that there were two great parties in American history. One was the Democratic Party, and the other was the Boston Tea Party. I am firmly convinced that only the Democratic party has both the forward-looking programs that the twentieth century requires, and the dynamic leaders who can put them into effect. I am also firmly convinced that our party has proven, both through its principles and its leaders, that it is the people's party.

Lyndon Johnson, speaking in Miami in 1964, declared that "Our party has greatly contributed to the success of the American experiment. We have never represented a single interest; we have never represented a single group; and we have never represented a single social section of the country.

"The Democratic Party has endured and prospered because it rested on the belief that a party exists to advance the freedom and the welfare of all the people."

Democratic administrations have done all they could to insure the best possible life for all our citizens, to give every American a chance to take a part in politics, and to preserve human liberty and personal freedom. Our party has based its foreign policy on a deeply-felt concern for the people of our fellow nations.

Thomas Jefferson, the founder of our party, was a firm believer in the rights of man and the worth of the individual. The policies of his years of service formed the basis for the actions of the Democrats who followed. Andrew Jackson's program greatly benefited farmers and laborers, and tried to curb "the moneyed interest." He also was determined to preserve national unity even, if necessary, by the use of force. Following the Civil War, Democratic leaders urged reconciliation between North and South, and waged a continuous fight against Republican corruption.

In 1896, William Jennings Bryan's fight to rededicate his party brought in new spirit and new blood. Even though Bryan lost the presidency three times, his profound influence on the party bore fruit in 1912, when a split in Republican ranks allowed an easy Democratic victory.

The new president, Woodrow Wilson, put the power of the Federal Government behind the common man. The progessive legislation enacted during his eight years in office included tariff revision, antitrust legislation, the Federal Reserve, the Income Tax, and the direct election of Senators. These programs were aimed at increasing the political power of the people, and at correcting economic imbalances.

Not until 1932 did the Democrats again assume national leadership. To combat the Great Depression, the people called forth Franklin D. Roosevelt. In his first "Hundred Days," the New Deal took shape. To foster the nation's economic recovery, the Democratic Congress enacted many new programs, including: the Public Works Administration, the National Recovery Administration, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Social Secuitry, Rural Electrification, the Labor Relations Act, and the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Following Roosevelt's death, Harry S. Truman was called upon many times to combat the menace of International Communism. The Marshall Plan, the Berlin Airlift, the NATO Pact, and the Korean Action all embodied the principles of the Truman Doctrine.

In 1960 our party was again called upon to lead the nation to greatness. John Kennedy had a keen grasp of the problems of the twentieth century, and he communicated his sense of urgency to the people. Under his leadership, America recaptured the initiative in foreign affairs with the Peace Corps, the Alliance for Progress, and the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. Advances were made in the field of Civil Rights, and the economy was revitalized. Then, after only 1000 days in office, John Kennedy was dead.

The new president, Lyndon Johnson, immediately showed that the mantle of leadership would not be dropped. Since he took office, the Eighty-ninth Congress has enacted an unparalled volume of progressive legislation supporting Human Rights, Education, Economic Strength, Health, and Peace.

This is our party's record. In contrast, the Republicans have a record of division and constant obstruction of progress. Our modern Democratic program expresses Jefferson's timeless axioms in terms of this century's needs.

The late President Kennedy expressed this thought in this manner: "The Democrats look with respect to the past but with hope to the future, while the Republicans look with reverence to the past and dismay to the future. The difference is between the bold imaginative leadership of the Democrats and the timid conservatism of the Republicans."

This difference is why I am a Democrat.

The Debt of Technology to Basic Science

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. BATES

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, the role of applied science in modern technology, and, in fact, in world affairs of the highest magnitude, has taken on such proportions in the last 20 years that its contribution to civilization cannot be matched in the previous 20,000 years of civilization.

These two decades have, of course, brought breakthroughs in basic science as well as in the development of the economic, military and social wonders about us. However, these quite startling inventions, although developed in these past few years, in most cases were conceived and nurtured in years and even centuries past in some small laboratory, both private and academic.

At the symposium on technology and world trade, conducted at the National Bureau of Standards, U.S. Department of Commerce during last November, Dr. H. B. G. Casimir, of the Philips Industries, Eindhoven, Netherlands, made the following remarks relative to this matter:

THE DEBT OF TECHNOLOGY TO BASIC SCIENCE

I have heard statements that the role of academic research in innovation is slight. It is about the most blatant piece of nonsense it has been my fortune to stumble upon.

Certainly, one might speculate idly whether transistors might have been discovered by people who had not been trained in and had not contributed to wave mechanics or the theory of electrons in solids. It so happened that inventors of transistors were versed in and contributed to the quantum theory of solids.

One might ask whether basic circuits in computers might have been found by people who wanted to build computers. As it happens, they were discovered in the thirties by physicists dealing with the counting of nuclear particles because they were interested in nuclear physics.

One might ask whether there would be nuclear power because people wanted new power sources or whether the urge to have new power would have led to the discovery of the nucleus. Perhaps—only it didn't happen that way, and there were the Curies and Rutherford and Fermi and a few others.

One might ask whether an electronic industry exist without the previous discovery of electrons by people like Thomson and H. A. Lorentz. Again, it didn't happen that way.

One might ask even whether induction coils in motor cars might have been made by enterprises which wanted to make motor transport and whether then they would have stumbled on the laws of induction. But the laws of induction had been found by Faraday many decades before that.

Or whether, in an urge to provide better communication, one might have found electromagnetic waves. They weren't found that way. They were found by Hertz who emphasized the beauty of physics and who based his work on the theoretical considerations of Maxwell. I think there is hardly any example of twentieth century innovation which is not indebted in this way to basic scientific thought.

BASIC SCIENCE AWAITS USE BY THE ENTREPRENEUR

I am quite certain that sooner or later the work that is now going on in high-energy physics, on problems like parity conservation and the eight-fold way and the theory of unitary groups and so on, will in some way or other lead people of enterprising mentality and of inventive skill to come forward with entirely new branches of technology.

These basic aspects of science are common property. They are available to the whole world, for everyone who wants to study them, and by the time they are being used they are usually condensed in excellent textbooks and manuals. You don't have to repeat these studies to be able to reap the harvest, but one must have certain powers of absorption. One may ask whether these can be obtained, can be present to a sufficient degree without some involvement in the scientific field.

THE TIE BETWEEN SCIENTIFIC COMPETENCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The case of Japan was mentioned. It is true they went into transistors without very large investments in solid state research, but in my view their proficiency in absorbing knowledge is not entirely unrelated to the fact that Japan, after all, produced two Nobel Prize winners in physics and a number of other leaders in research.

It has something to do with the fact that Japan before the World War pioneered in certain magnetic materials. It has to do with the fact that on the roofs of our houses we find television antennas of the Yagi type, invented by Professor Yagi in Japan. He was a man who encouraged Yukawa not to study atoms but nuclei, and so Yukawa was led into the study of nuclear forces. This indirect route made him not only the winner of a Nobel Prize, but also the originator and father of high energy physics. And it has something to do with the fact that, at present, in the Japanese school of theoretical solid state physics, a man like Kubo is dominating parts of the field. Is this mysticism? You will have a hard time to convince me that this is a myth that should be broken.

I might conclude with one or two examples from my own country which show, that proficiency in certain research may not lead to technological and commercial results, without the support of sufficient enterprise, but that in another way it still has certain influence in the whole picture.

Let's take three cases of Dutch Nobel Prize winners. Kamerlingh Onnes who liquified helium and discovered superconductivity. It did not lead to an immediate development of cyrogenic industries in the Netherlands. It didn't give us—even though the primary logical circuits were also made in Holland in the thirties—it did not give us a great advance toward launching a cyrogenic computer. Technology and industry weren't right for that. Yet when in Holland one decided to tackle certain aspects of cyrogenic engineering, the existence of this tradition helped us quite considerably.

The fact that electrocardiography was discovered in the Netherlands by Einthoven did not lead at once to a great business in electromedical equipment. Yet the fact that there was a general level of medical research contributed to the fact that Holland now exports a lot of x-ray equipment to other countries.

The invention of the phase-contrast microscope by Zernike did not lead to a great manufacturing enterprise for such microscopes. Still, it is in my opinion related to the existence of a prosperous optical industry in the Netherlands.

These are the few remarks I wanted to make and which perhaps can be contributions to the discussions of today and tomorrow.

Cutthroat Trade Must Be Stopped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to indicate and emphasize my strong support of the recent proposal of my esteemed and very able friend and colleague, Congressman JOHN S. MONAGAN, urging the President of the United States to prevent any further tariff concessions on imports of rubber-soled, canvas footwear.

I have been interested in this matter for sometime past, and have previously urged the President and the Tariff Commission to take effective action, but no such action has been taken, I regret to say.

Congressman MONAGAN has been chairman of a very able, knowledgeable ad hoc congressional committee set up by

Speaker McCormack in response to the pending revision of the ASP guidelines, and he has furnished very effective leadership, and has taken all possible measures, to resolve this very serious problem in favor of the affected industries, their faithful workers, and the American people.

It is regrettable, to my mind, that this Government persists in following trade policies which, in effect whether some people believe it or not, undermine the basic structure of many industries in this country of which, the domestic rubber footwear is a very important one.

In the broader sense, the cutthroat competition of cheaply produced foreign imports is having a very harmful effect upon many industries in this country which are plagued by destructive competition from overseas.

It is my sober conviction that unless some way can be found to stop the flood of cheap, foreign imports from inundating American markets in footwear and other products, we will, in time, and it may not be long, feel more keenly the sharp impact and the injurious effects of foreign competition that no economic system, not even our own, can long endure, without being weighed down, ultimately depressed, and finally, in some cases, having its workers displaced from their jobs by the competitive effects of low-priced, cheap goods from overseas.

I propose to file a similar bill to Congressman Monagan's in the House, and do everything I can to secure favorable action on the bill, and, meanwhile, continue my efforts to induce the executive department of our National Government to take appropriate action reversing the reduction of the tariffs on imported rubber footwear by 35 percent.

It should be recognized also that in addition to causing dislocation, depression and unemployment in American industries, the current flood of imports is having a very unfavorable effect upon our trade balances and is, without any doubt, a large factor in augmenting and widening the menacing dollar gap.

In fact, the best way to close the dollar gap is to institute reasonable restraints on harmful foreign imports and make substantial reductions in wasteful appropriations for foreign aid. Such a course would close the dollar gap in a comparatively short period of time.

I do not want to have my position misunderstood in these matters. I strongly favor honest, reciprocal trade with all Nations, except those who by their policy and actions are seeking to destroy this Government and our great free enterprise system.

But I believe this trade must be truly reciprocal, and must be carefully regulated, first, to prevent the inroads of cheap competition, destructive to our industrial structure and the employment of our fellow citizens, and, secondly, to insure that American products shall be allowed to compete on a reciprocal, equal, and favorable basis in the markets of other countries, who have similar privileges here.

I realize the obstacles to changing the present trade laws, but I again want to warn those who are responsible for these discriminatory laws, and for their inconsistent, illogical administration, and for the overgenerous concessions, now being accorded foreign nations, of which rubber footwear industry is a good example, that unless this unjust competition with American industry and its products is stopped, and stopped soon, that many segments of our own economic system will be injured and jeopardized, and the gravely impacting dollar-gap problems will become even more dangerously augmented than they are today. The President and the Congress must take note of this situation and act before it is too late.

I urge the President to take affirmative action in these matters in the first instance, and sincerely hope he will do so.

I want to congratulate Congressman Monagan for his fine, able leadership in seeking relief for a truly afflicted shoe industry, and want to assure him of my wholehearted support.

Special Category on Physically Handicapped Is Urged for 1970 National Census

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, last year I introduced a bill, H.R. 12321, to have information on the physically handicapped included in a special category of the 1970 national census.

The bill received widespread attention and approval from those concerned with treating the physically handicapped and conducting research into the numerous causes of handicapping afflictions.

The 89th Congress did pass a related proposal which I introduced, which was enacted into law, extending to all physically handicapped persons the facilities of the Federal talking books for the blind program run by the Library of Congress.

The bill for a special category in the census, which I am reintroducing, will serve as a focus for the needed, extra study of physical handicaps, and I am sure all difficulties can be overcome. All acquainted with the field agree that more information on the physically handicapped is needed in order to devise the best programs for helping them.

We need to know exactly how many persons are physically handicapped and to what degree. We need more "raw" information on the causes of these handicaps. We need to know how many are employed, or could be employed, and at what kind of work. We need to know how much money is needed to provide income replacement, medical care, rehabilitation, training and other needs.

Although precise figures are not available, the President Committee on the Employment of the Handicapped has estimated that the total annual expenditure by public and voluntary agencies for these benefits and services is about $20 to $25 billion a year. Statistics which could be developed from my census proposal would provide for more efficient use of this enormous sum.

It is unfortunate that presently available figures on the handicapped are no more than a loose collection of data based on isolated surveys, the interpretations of vested interests and casual observations by many Government agencies and voluntary organizations.

When we know who the handicapped are by disability, location, education, income level, sex, and skills, we will be able to facilitate for many, their entry or return to the labor force through rehabilitation, job promotion, and other services. We will be better able to turn what are, in some cases, national liabilities, into national assets.

A Plan For Making the United Nations Financially Independent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Sidney B. Rubin of Brooklyn, N.Y., has devised a plan for making the United Nations financially independent by establishing it as a broker for the various economic communities of nations already in existence or being formed.

I commend it to the attention of our colleagues:

A Plan for Making the United Nations "Broker" for the Common Market

(By Sidney B. Rubin)

The United Nations has come of age, it is again in need of money, and with this knowledge it is again faced with the actual and mature realization, that not only has it grown up to face its responsibilities alone, but is also very much on its own in such fiscal matters.

Notwithstanding the well meaning intentions of its more altruistic members, the ever present problem of survival is there, and she can do little else but debate and argue with those who can best afford to pay their dues, but just won't.

Therefore as it stands today the United Nations is basically a loose knit organization of nations trying desperately to make a better world as best they can, with little cooperation one from the other, and constantly hindered in their efforts by those holding the veto, whose best interests are not always with the purposes of the charter.

It is for shame that such a situation is with us, and that by such circumstances one of the world's noblest organizations is forced to plead and beg for the maintenance of an army and other vital services which are dedicated to the security and welfare of all, including the defaulters.

Such a situation does not speak very well for peace in the world, and cannot long exist.

For without a proper and due respect from mankind, its very appeal is lost in disillusionment and despair.

It therefore stands to reason that something should be done about such a situation and as soon as possible.

The United States cannot always buttress its dwindling financial reserves, while there is a daily demand for monies to be paid to meet an accumulating debt, while many of its poorer members can hardly meet their own financial commitments at home.

There is an answer.

It is one so unique and practical, that the very idea of it has excited those who have heard of it for the first time.

The answer is to make the United Nations *"Broker"* for the Common Market.

The implementation of this plan could well bring prosperity to ourselves and the whole world insuring peace for all time!

It would mean that those nations who are members of the United Nations and do not belong to the common market clubs, or are denied membership therein, can do business with the common market members through the auspices of the United Nations, as *"Broker."*

The United Nations in turn would receive brokerage fees and commissions, besides rental fees for the privilege of doing business within its gates.

Its performances would include the use of the United Nations as *"World Trade Center"* and an International Stock Exchange similar to the New York Stock Exchange.

Here every nation could come in to buy and sell stocks and bonds including diverse and manifold wares from all parts of the world, with an invitation to making "profits" from investing in goods or property put up for sale on the "bargaining tables" of the United Nations under a strict ethical United Nations control similar to our own "Securities and Exchange Commission."

Actually we are putting the United Nations into business.

Under this plan there could be established a "United Nations International Reserve System" similar to our own Federal Reserve System as a clearing house for all fiscal transactions, and a "United Nations Deposit Fund" similar to our own Federal Depository System where the United Nations could guarantee not only the deposits of its members, but also its debts, all the while maintaining a "currency control" based on its own banking facilities.

The United Nations through its authority as *"Broker"* for the Common Market could help stabilize the Gold and Silver imbalances in the money markets of the world, a most important and troublesome problem that we are constantly faced with.

Because of the inequities of exchange, many nations with large silver reserves find their economy affected by their failure to buy needed goods on a gold basis payment.

Thus the United Nations as *"Broker"* could bring about a "balance in payments" by such fiscal control; as guaranteeing the debts of debtor nations, supplementing their payments to creditors from the United Nations own treasury of gold reserves, and in turn accepting payments on loans from the currency of debtor nations, allowing for the United Nations to set the "Discount rate" by which loans are paid from its own bank.

This would mean that there could not in turn be a "monopoly" in currency, because the United Nations could adjudicate settlements and payments by allowing its gold reserves to "challenge" unscrupulous speculators in the "open money markets of the world."

The funds in the United Nations Bank would come from brokerage "fees" and "commissions" in handling the accounts of members of the "Common Market" and those other members of the United Nations who did not belong to the Common Market.

The idea of challenging the inequities of the speculative International Currency System by using its Gold and Silver reserves, could stabilize the world's currency system for all times.

By sizing up a situation where a nation has either too much silver or very little gold, or vice versa, the United Nations as "Broker" could meet the market price "at all times" thus offsetting any advantage to currency dealers and speculators with ulterior motives.

Making the United Nations *"Broker"* for the Common Market is revolutionary in concept in that it keeps its political organization "intact," guaranteeing its political stabilty by makng it financially independent.

Business is the "key" to all economic growth and prosperity and political lines become very thin when business takes over.

Nations large or small want to do business in order to augment a dwindling prosperity or to improve the welfare of its constituents.

Where is there a better place to do business, nation with nation, than within the United Nations?

Nations like individuals need incentives to being happy and at peace one with the other, and making money is the *"greatest"* of all of them!

Nations would soon resolve and forget their differences, they would be so busy concentrating their energies on coming to the United Nations to *"make money"* that war would be a thing of the past.

An example could be Israel and the Arab States. Each needs items that the other has. Neither has anything to do with the other at present. Yet if each knew that they could come to the United Nations as *"Broker"* who handling the business transactions of both, a mutual financial advantage would be had by all, they would in time find it more profitable in doing business, and becoming friends than long standing enemies.

If Red China could be brought to the bargaining tables of a World Trade Center under United Nations auspices, not as a member—but as a buyer and seller of goods, paying a brokerage fee and commission on every transaction to the United Nations—she would immediately lose her inferiority complex and sense of isolation in the world Business Community, simply by making money and finding it "more profitable to be friendly."

It is not as important right now whether she becomes a member of the United Nations as it is to bring her out into the open and becoming familiar with her, that by doing business with her she would give up her arrogance and eventually be entitled to full membership in the United Nations.

As Robert Frost once said—"If someone draws a circle to keep me out—I will draw a larger circle and take him in!"

No nation in the world can be talked into behaving themselves simply by threat of arms. For nations are no different than children—the more you chastize them, the more defiant they become.

You can win a child over though—with candy, nice words—a little loving—and especially showing him or her a way of getting more candy by joining in a project for doing good.

There are no greater incentives for good deeds than a reward. This is true in Diplomacy as well as business for everybody wants to be liked and loved even though outward appearances don't appear so.

Everybody wants to join in the party and have a good time and no one wants to be left out.

Every nation want to be important—even as children—and every nation want to be rich, not poor.

And here in the United Nations is the first real opportunity to becoming financially independent through the United Nations as "Broker" for the Common Market.

A Nation alone as trader has a hard time of it.

It has to fight at great odds, considering the financial trusts and combines of the world!

Even the United States has a tough road alone without the aid of nations sympathetic to our own aims and ideals for we too need friends and trade in order to exist.

But with the United Nations as "Broker" we have an "Arbiter" and a "Common Meeting Ground" where the corporate body of the United Nations as neutral can "supervise" and "dignify" honest business transactions.

It can motivate incentives to investment and trade by the feeling that at long last all nations have a friend in this "Broker" who is interested in the welfare of all, by being paid for services which in turn are used to finance an organization dedicated to the peace of the world, a "non-profit" organization interested in "profits!"

It might be questioned as to how nations can go into the United Nations as buyers if they have no money, which is true of many of the new nation members.

They have land, and on this land as well as in it are natural resources.

They could be given United Nations aid in the form of "development projects" directed by United Nations Engineers who would help them develop and sell their products on the "bargaining tables of the United Nations" at the same time they could borrow money from the United Nations Bank and in turn pay it back on the basis of credit extended to them by the same Bank!

This would release the pent up energies of the "New Nations" eager to contribute their share to the trade and commerce of the world.

We in turn would not have to worry about our gold imbalances as it effects our foreign trade.

Since we would no longer have to finance impoverished nations through long term credits, hoping someday to be paid, we could at the same time help them by doing business with them on the bargaining tables of the United Nations as "Broker."

There could be "Trade Fiestas" with "Bargain Days and Bargains Galore," using every advertising medium to drum up trade by simply making the United Nations a popular "Shopping Center" for all Nations.

We could open up our storage bins and dump it all on the "Bargaining Tables" of the United Nations paying the United Nations brokerage fees and commissions on all sales. We could advertise a "Special Sale" on the goods—and let the U.N. handle it for us.

In turn our own economy would benefit because we could sell our goods to "Common Market" countries and others, and know we would be paid without waiting.

The United Nations therefore could become a Giant Shopping Center, a sort of International Supermarket where surplus commodities could be put on the U. N. "Bargaining Tables" and sold at discount prices, rather than let them spoil in storage bins.

Here all the nations of the world could buy and sell their wares, finance their stocks and bonds through the U. N. Federal Reserve, and have the U. N. as guarantor for all debts through the fees paid for the privilege of doing business within the United Nations.

The great barrier between the Soviet Union and the United States has been an unyielding fight to maintain and corner the markets of the world.

Competitively we are old competitors trying to get there *"fastest with the mostest"* and the hatred, villifactions and "Brink of War" episodes of the past stem very much from the failure of there being no *"neutral intermediary"* and *"arbiter"* to *"resolve differences"* not from a political point of view alone, but rather by a more expedient and fruitful method of making business mutually advantageous through a "Broker" who can handle the goods both have to offer and at the same time make a commission for every sale made—easing the load on both the U. S. and Soviet Union on maintaining the financial Independence of the United Nations.

Thus the United Nations as "Broker" could actually bring the U.S. and the Soviet Union together in a "new understanding" by bringing into the U.N. the goods both have to offer for sale, and as fiscal agent try to sell them to all buyers including the "Common Market" and at the same time bring the goods of the Common Market to the U.S. and Soviet Union for "Bargaining purposes" all through the U.N. as "Broker."

Thus the United Nations would become a "World Trade Center" where instead of Nations seeking customers by shopping around the world, they would come directly to the tables of the U.N. and shop in confidence, "trusting everyone because everyone trusts the U.N.!"

In no time in the world's long history has there ever been a joint effort on the part of all nations to come together and trade in one place.

Nowhere has there ever been a "World Trade Center" where nations could come together without fear or force of arms to trade and make an honest bargain.

The Common Market would not trade with every nation—but through the U.N. as "Broker" they would because of the great financial gain that would accrue to them.

God has given us a great advantage in this day and age that we can put the United Nations to such a use that for all times we can deal fairly one with the other at "friendly bargaining tables."

As "Broker" for the Common Market the United Nations would be in its greatest role.

It would mean "peace" and "prosperity" for the world, for it would become the hero of the world, ready for all eventualities because of a new respect from mankind for guaranteeing not only its political destinies but its financial ones as well.

A Northern Bridge: The Logical Step

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, on January 19, 1967, I introduced H.R. 3135 to amend the act of June 16, 1948, to authorize the construction of northern and southern bridges across the Chesapeake Bay in Maryland. The Committee on Public Works requested reports from the appropriate agencies during the 89th Congress on an identical bill, and I look forward to early action on the bill during the 90th Congress.

On February 9, 1967, WJZ–TV presented an editorial entitled: "A Northern Bridge: The Logical Step." I am pleased to bring to the attention of my colleagues the cogent arguments presented by WJZ–TV on this matter of importance to Maryland residents.

The editorial follows:

A NORTHERN BRIDGE: THE LOGICAL STEP

The Chesapeake Bay bridge issue has been raised again by the introduction of two bills into the General Assembly. One bill calls for the immediate construction of a bridge from Baltimore County to Kent County and preliminary studies for a southern bridge between Calvert and Dorchester Counties. The other bill calls for the construction of a bridge parallel to the present Sandy Point-Kent Island span. This is the proposal that was rejected by the voters in a referendum last fall.

MAP: Northern and Parallel Bridge Routes.

WJZ–TV opposed the parallel bridge plan when it was before the General Assembly, and again in the referendum. The voters have made clear their preference for a northern bridge. We believe they were convinced by the sound arguments in favor of this location. Consequently we believe the General Assembly should approve the northern bridge plan. Let's review those arguments.

The proponents of the parallel bridge span cite two main arguments in support of their proposal. They point out that the present two-lane bridge is overloaded—which is true on summer weekends. They point out that the present corridor is the best one for traffic to and from the Washington area which constitutes 60 per cent of the volume. They also note the relatively low cost of a parallel bridge.

The arguments for the northern span are of a different sort. A bridge from Baltimore County to Kent County would not be a mere widening of an existing corridor. It would create a brand new corridor with all the attendant economic implications. It would bring about a vast expansion of the economic sphere of Baltimore. The northern Eastern Shore, much of it now oriented to Philadelphia and Wilmington, would be brought into the Baltimore orbit. The northern bridge would feed the Baltimore area, not bypass it. If the Sandy Point-Kent Island corridor is important to Washington, so is the northern corridor potentially important to Baltimore.

In summary, we believe that the competitive position of the Baltimore area requires a bridge that serves the economy of Baltimore, and the economy of Baltimore serves most of the State. The General Assembly should pass the northern bridge bill.

Down to the Sea—In What?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, the crisis in this Nation's merchant marine continues to draw wide press attention. The editorial in Newsday of January 30, 1967, is very clear in its analysis of the trouble: too many government agencies involved; too many captains at the helm and all steering in different direction.

The President failed to make any mention of the merchant marine crisis in his state of the Union address. And it has been a long year since he promised us a new "national maritime policy."

Meanwhile, the merchant marine fleet languishes.

Under unanimous consent I insert the Newsday editorial at this point in the RECORD:

DOWN TO THE SEA—IN WHAT?

In three years, the United States will only have 200 dry cargo ships that are less than 25 years old. Our fleet is almost obsolete; our shipyards can't compete with foreign yards, and 96 per cent of the strategic materials we import move in foreign ships.

Succinctly, our merchant marine is in a mess.

The situation troubles the President, the Congress and whole heirarchy of bureaucrats. But little action to reverse the trend has been taken. This, perhaps, is because the problem is an old one and a complex one. The first congressional attempt to help the U.S. shipping industry came in 1789 when customs were reduced on imports carried in U.S. ships. The most significant piece of legislation was the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, which established our desire for a merchant fleet to serve the nation's commerce and defense. It also set the pattern for the subsidy program that continues to this day.

But with government aid, there is always government regulation and administration. It is in this area that confusion reigns. Jurisdictions overlap, lines of authority are blurred and responsibility is uncertain. Currently five cabinet level departments, the Federal Maritime Commission, the Maritime Administration and a welter of subsidiary offices and boards have jurisdiction over the merchant fleet in one way or another. New ideas and bold initiatives have little chance of moving through this thicket of tangled authority.

The N.S. Savannah was one such bold innovation. This automated, nuclear-powered ship was to have set the course for the future of the U.S. Merchant Marine, showing that technology could make the U.S. fleet competitive. But last week it was announced that the Savannah was being taken out of service. As an experiment it had a $53,000,000 impact on the U.S. treasury, but its impact on the problems facing the U.S. Merchant Marine was small. Our fleet is still inefficient, almost obsolete, and dwindling.

The idea of the Savannah was a good one. Automation is the only way that the U.S., with its high wage levels, can hope to become competitive on the high seas. But ideas must be pursued into reality. This one wasn't. One nuclear ship was launched; it sailed in lonely splendor for five years, while the rest of the fleet gathered rust and subsidies.

Our competitive position still demands automation and the construction of an efficient fleet. But who is to set the policy and provide the follow-through that was so clearly lacking in the Savannah experiment? Many in Congress believe the task should be given to the head of a reorganized Maritime Administration. At present the Maritime Administration is part of the Department of Commerce, and its head reports to the secretary of commerce. In addition, many functions that could logically be included in the purview of the Maritime Administration, are the responsibility of other cabinet-level departments. In the last session of the Congress, 11 bills were introduced to make the Maritime Administration an independent agency whose head would report directly to the President. The new agency, in addition, would take over responsibility for many of the functions now performed by other departments.

There was no action on these bills during the 89th Congress. But the 90th Congress is to consider similar measures. A new, independent Maritime Administration, with expanded responsibilities, is an excellent idea. The Congress should act to create this new agency.

It would help eliminate one of the merchant marine's most pressing problems, too many captains in Washington.

Why Should Man Go to the Moon?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in the February 10 issue of Time an essay on the meaning of our national space effort was published. This review is a searching analysis of the need of a technology-based nation to seek its future in those areas of major challenge. In the light of the large cost and the recent tragic death of the three Apollo astronauts, this article places in prospective the reasons for continuing an aggressive and successful national space program. I commend this article to your reading:

Why Should Man Go to the Moon?

For President John F. Kennedy, the U.S. reach for the moon was nothing less than "the most hazardous and dangerous and greatest adventure on which man has ever embarked." Last week, with the tragedy at Cape Kennedy's Pad 34, the nation realized for the first time, in astronautic and human terms, just how hazardous the lunar adventure can be. Old arguments that questioned the whole concept of the Apollo mission seemed to take on new pertinence. Critics were once again asking: Is it worth the cost—in lives, in resources, in money?

By any reckoning, the cost is already extremely high: since 1961, $23 billion has been expended on the man-in-space project alone, which amounts to 65–70% of the entire U.S. space budget. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) presently involves 400,000 workers, including 60,000 scientists and engineers. From the Cape's launching pads to Australian tracking stations, $3.6 billions worth of installations are spotted around the globe.

As missions grow more ambitious and more complex, the price tag will rise. And so, inevitably, will the cost in human life. Grissom, White and Chaffee will certainly not prove to be the last casualties. But the astronauts themselves have always been among the first to argue that though the risks are high, the value of space conquest is incalculably greater. The possibilities and rewards that await for man on the infinite frontiers of space are limited only by the human imagination.

Still, the questions persist. There are those who deride the reach for the moon as a mere race with the Russians for national prestige. But the competition has shifted in emphasis in the 5½ years since the Apollo program began. At the start, speed was all-important. The Russians were already boasting to wavering nations that their space firsts demonstrated the superiority of the Communist way of life. And there was little doubt of the impact of their argument. Everywhere, everyone capable of understanding the significance of the Russian achievement recognized the impressive technological, industrial and scientific skills that lay behind it. Intuitively, people sensed the national purpose that produced the Russian program. Physicist Edward Teller used a sure, fund-winning tactic when he testified before a Senate committee in favor of the Apollo project. "What do you expect to find on the moon?" he was asked. His answer: "The Russians."

The catch-up effort soon became competition on more or less even terms. Diplomats from neutral nations claim that it will not matter much to them which country gets there first, since the other will probably be close behind. But of course it will matter—though not militarily. The moon, once thought of as invincible "high ground" from which to launch an attack on an earthly enemy, now seems beyond consideration as a rocket base. Any lunar-launched missile would take far longer (16 hours) to reach its target than its earth-based counterpart. It would be harder to guide, easier to detect, and simpler to destroy. Which is one big reason behind Russia's willingness to sign an outer-space treaty, renouncing territorial rights or bases on the moon.

SPACE & SLUMS

If no military issue is at stake, then why not cooperate with the Russians in space, avoiding expensive duplication of effort? Many Americans would probably favor this—in the highly unlikely event that the Russians ever agreed. But the duplication involved in competition is not all wasted. "In the past," says A. Edward Tyler, author of *The Space Around Us*, "war has been the great competition. It has made heroes out of individuals and even out of whole nations. Certainly the race for space is a better competition than war." In other words, the race may well become William James' "moral equivalent of war." Quite apart from such hopes, "the U.S. has no choice," says France's Fernand Vinsonneau, secretary general of Eurospace, a group of companies joined to promote space research. "If you give up this race, you simply resign your place as the world's leading technologists."

There are men of good will who remain unconvinced. Moon money, they say, would be far better spent on earth—in the war against poverty, for example, or in much needed medical research. Dr. Warren Weaver, former president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, has calculated that the probable cost of the lunar project could provide, among other things, 10% annual salary raises for ten years to every teacher in the country, a $10 million grant to each of 200 small U.S. colleges, the endowment of universities in more than 50 new nations. New York's Mayor John Lindsay pleaded for more money for U.S. cities by saying: "I would not want the U.S. to be described by future generations as a society that stood amidst the filth, the oppression and the violence of its slums and shot rockets to the moon." Even Vice President Humphrey, himself a strong promoter of the Apollo program, has worried lest "we go down in history as a people who could send a man to the moon and five Coke vending machines along with him, but could not put man on his feet right here on earth."

To Historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr., such arguments are anything but new. He can imagine similar criticism in Spain in the 1490s: "Why in hell are Ferdinand and Isabella giving all that money to that madman Columbus when they could build a good nunnery or a hostel or something?" The present answer to that question is a matter of hard political reality—which is another way of saying, national will. Space has seized the nation's imagination; other causes so far, have not. Dollars not saved in space would not automatically be allocated to poverty, or cities, or air-pollution control.

POVERTY AND JEALOUSIES

Besides, every dollar spent on the lunar program is spent on earth, not on the moon. The money goes into buildings, employee payrolls, training programs. It has become a vital part of the national economy. No project in years has contributed so heavily to so many areas of the country. By its very expenditures, the space effort has effectively helped to reduce poverty.

Faced with the suggestion that their work is far too costly, spacemen are quick to point out that in any event, lunar funds are only a small portion of the national budget; they are not taken out of money meant for medical research or antipoverty drives. The truth is that, for all the intricate problems that must be met before man gets to the moon, planning the trip is far easier than organizing to fight poverty. For space, scientists can draw up a logical program; they have clear goals, few variants. It is lack of technique, not lack of money, that is stalling the Great Society.

And if the space program has contributed mightily to the U.S. economy, it has done even more for U.S. technology. Abruptly and dramatically, it galvanized U.S. science and engineering in a mobilization of manpower and brains unparalleled even by the Manhattan Project of World War II. The U.S. space effort is the pacesetter of our total technological advance. As such it is worth the $7 billion it will cost this year. Says Senator Mike Monroney: "Starving technology mortgages the future of our society. Twenty years ago, Britain picked immediate social goals over technological progress. Today it is paying the price, lacking the production base to support either social or technical progress."

Within the scientific community itself, few dispute the imperative to explore space. But there are some scientists who are frankly jealous of the money that space commands. Nuclear Physicist Ralph Lapp contrasts the $1.3 billion NASA has spent on lunar and planetary science with the modest $76 million the National Science Foundation has to distribute among 5,000 scientists in such fields of astronomy, earth science, oceanography and physics. He quotes one geophysicist: "Sheer lunacy! We are spending more on Mars than we are on studying the earth." Columbia's Professor I. I. Rabi, a Noble prize-winning physicist who is in favor of the moon program, points out that Congress recently made a sharp cut in appropriations for a new nuclear accelerator and for the cosmotron at Brookhaven. But it refused to slice into space allocations. "Disgraceful," says Rabi.

CURIOUS CIRCUMSTANCE

What bothers most such critics is the cost of making spaceships and space travel suitable for man. Unmanned probes, so the argument runs, would learn far more at much lower expense. Says Caltech's Astrophysicist Jesse Greenstein: "The manned-space program is mainly engineering, concerned with keeping people alive in curious circumstances. This does not advance science very much." Men who feel the same way have insisted for years that manned-space probes cost literally 100 times as much as unmanned, and are not worth it. Says Britain's eminent Astronomer Fred Hoyle: "What has been accomplished is not worth a thousandth part of what has been spent."

But the spacemen themselves file a strong demurrer. To them, the commitment of man to the moon is essential. Says Chris Kraft, director of NASA Flight Oeprations: "After the canned man and the monkey flights, we found that by adding a man, you've added a tremendous tool. We now have man in the loop—and that's made the difference." Without a man on board a spacecraft, there is no judgment aloft, no freedom of choice, no chance to take advantage of unforseen opportunities, less chance than ever of getting past unforseen trouble. Ranger's pictures of the moon, spectacular though they were, contain only 500,000 "bits" of information; the human eye with one glance takes in 100 million "bits." In short, however intricately engineered, no instrument, no computer can quite replace man. As one scientist observed. "You can study a girl's measurements, but it will never be a substitute for putting your arm around her."

Getting man into orbit has already repaid the effort many times. The monitoring devices needed to keep track of astronauts' physical condition have now been adapted for U.S. hospitals, enabling a single nurse to keep track of the conditions of many patients perhaps half a mile of corridor away. Today, as a result of space advances, cardiac patients may wear internally implanted electronic pacemakers. Doctors are talking confidently of birth control without pills or intrauterine devices as they experiment with a space-perfected system for monitoring bodily temperature. Refined by aerospace engineers, lasers are finding more and more uses in surgery. Indeed, a whole new breed of medical men has emerged—the biomedical engineer, whose bag contains neither pills nor stethoscope, but electronic black boxes. With his help, aerospace contractors are turning out a remarkable array of prosthetic devices and diagnostic equipment.

And medicine is only the beginning. Heat-resistant shields, developed to protect spacecraft plunging back into the earth's atmosphere, have led to the production of Pyroceram dishes that can go from the housewife's freezer to oven without cracking. The increasing complexity of astronavigation has fostered the development of swifter and smaller computers that find no end of applications on earth. The fuel cell used to supply electric power for Gemini spacecraft is being developed for commercial use, and its production of electricity from oxygen and hydrogen without burning hydrocarbons may be one answer to the smog problem that is increasing all over the world. Some scientists are already speculating about giant orbiting mirrors to light up a battlefield in Viet Nam or melt icebergs, free ice-locked harbors and shift storms from their natural courses. Weather control, to hear them tell it, is almost at hand.

Today it cost about $1,000 a pound to send a payload into space; in ten years, the price is expected to drop to $1 a pound. And when that times comes, engineers should be ready with preprogrammed manufacturing processes that will require the vacuum and weightlessness of space. Joining some of the newer, tougher metals, for example, is a devilishly difficult problem on earth. In orbit, outside any artificial atmosphere, some of them need only be touched together to make a perfect weld.

Even more important than such engineering fallout are some of the almost certain scientific gains. One astronomer with a telescope on the moon, free from the wavering earthly haze, should be able to learn more about the universe in one year than his colleagues have learned in all the previous history of astronomy. Close-up lunar examination should help to answer basic questions about the origins of galaxies and the possibility of life elsewhere in the solar system.

By the enormous effort of mobilizing for an immensely complicated task in a relatively short period, the moon program has also pointed the way to valuable improvements in the new "multidisciplinary approach" to problem solving. Biologists learn to work with physicists, chemist with mathematicians, astronomers with geologists. The approach is now being applied to many of the longstanding problems of society: the population explosion, crime, transportation, nutrition and health, communications.

Studying the problem of maintaining an astronaut in space has forced earthbound scientists to realize that the earth too is a closed system: the pollution of its air and its streams is the same problem that the astronaut's closed capsule presents in miniature.

OUT OF THE VALLEY

In sum, there should be little serious doubt that the space effort has proved its worth many times over. Three months from now, the American Astronautical Society will meet in Dallas to discuss the commercial utilization of space, from television, navigation aids and weather satellites to tourism. Tourism? Well, Barron Hilton, president of the Hilton Hotels Corp., will speak on the "Hilton Orbiter Hotel."

That may be a joke for some decades to come, but other projects are not. Next fall, a special U.N. space meeting will be held in Vienna to discuss the advantages to be derived from the U.S.'s and Russia's orbiting weather and communications satellites, and to consider the greater participation of other nations in space. To utilize the "after-Apollo" capability of the Saturn rockets, IBM has already proposed a series of manned orbiting labs, each of which would be manned by rotating crews of up to a dozen men. These could observe weather, chart mineral deposits, track fish and ocean currents. Their work, IBM calculates, would save about $100 billion annually.

The moon itself may not be a particularly valuable piece of real estate. But neither is a flight to the moon an end in itself; the moon is no more than a way station on a route that scientists have oply begun to map. And there is no doubt that man is going to make the trip some day. Many moon enthusiasts argue that for the U.S. not to reach for the moon would leave all Americans like a tribe that always stays in its valley and never crosses the mountain.

Says Princeton's Professor John Wheeler: "Space is the modern equivalent of the American frontier. If we didn't go to the moon, we would be lesser people. I have a feeling that instead of doing more on domestic programs, we would do less." Even Dr. James Killian Jr., now Chairman of the Corporation, M.I.T., who publicly questioned the commitment of so much manpower to the moon project three years ago, today concedes: "Space exploration is one of man's great adventures, and the U.S. must participate with brilliance and boldness."

The moon is a challenge that the U.S. has already taken, a milestone that U.S. astronauts are already looking beyond. For the Apollo program is only a small part of the space effort. The real object is for the U.S. to develop the capability of voyaging confidently to the limits of man's imagination and ingenuity. The value of such voyages will always be unpredictable. But the history of the human race, said famed Norwegian Explorer Fridtjof Nansen, "is a continual struggle from darkness toward light. It is therefore to no purpose to discuss the uses of knowledge; man wants to know, and when he ceases to do so, he is no longer man."

Honor, Duty, Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a splendid editorial by the distinguished editor and publisher of the Dearborn, Mich., Press, a fine newspaper serving the people of the 16th Congressional District of Michigan, in tribute to Lt. Col. Edward White, and his fellow astronauts, Lt. Comdr. Roger Chaffee, and Lt. Col. Virgil Grissom.

This fine tribute to three great Americans who served their country so well and with such distinction properly will serve as an inspiration to all Americans, and as a highly appropriate memorial to the courage, dedication, and patriotism of these splendid men.

The editorial follows:

HONOR, DUTY, COUNTRY

There are some, I suppose, to whom the deaths of our three brave astronauts will mean very little, just as there are many to whom the tragedy of their passing means very, very much. Perhaps the latter sentiment was best expressed by a barber in whose shop I visited when he said, "I feel the deaths of the astronauts is a personal thing." He said it, that naturalized American. That the deaths of his countrymen was a personal thing.

It has been a very personal thing for me, too, and for the thousands who have been honored to share in the work of America's space agency and of the military forces to which the late astronauts had devoted their lives. Most Americans have shared in this work in one way or another.

My connection with one of the brave men who died in the most significant vehicle of our time was closer than that of many other residents of our community. I had the honor of attending the venerable institution from which Lt. Col. Edward White II graduated, and am possessed of the natural spiritual bond that joins men who have been privileged to march in the Long Grey Line of the United States Military Academy.

But my connection is even more personal than that. I was privileged to have as my roommate Maj. Gen. Edward White, proud father of the late astronaut who bore his name. A quarter of a century later, my son, Lt. Col. John Dexter Smith was privileged to share the same quarters with Lt. Col. White during their period of service at the Academy that trained them for the variant tasks that have since confronted them. That period of service instilled in both of their lives the Academy code of Honor, Duty, Country.

My son and I met at West Point this week to pay our respects to Lt. Col. White. We did not meet there to pay our final respects, for the respect we and most Americans have for our brave astronauts will never be finalized.

It will be inspired every evening when the sparkle of a star catches an American eye. Or everytime a whisp of wind catches an American head of hair, whether in the streets of our own cities or in the lands we are sworn to protect across the seas. We will remember them everytime a sleek silver jet glides through the air reaching toward the zenith of flight our astronauts have attained.

We will remember them, with every flutter of the proud Flag that hovers silently above countless homes, schools, businesses and institutions throughout American and thoughout the world—the same great Flag those sterling aviators carried to heights our forefathers never dreamed were attainable. And we will remember them when their comrades go thundering above the skies of our bountiful Earth, out and away from the very soil on which they were reared—out into the grandeous reaches toward other worlds in a firmament which awaits the bravest of the brave.

We pay our respects, therefore, to Lt. Comdr. Roger Chaffee, Lt. Col. Virgil Grissom and Lt. Col. Edward White, now and every day hereafter.

ROBERT F. SMITH.

FEBRUARY 2, 1967.

John E. Fogarty

SPEECH

OF

HON. FERNAND J. ST GERMAIN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1967

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of gaining a greater insight into the extraordinary personage of our beloved late colleague, JOHN E. FOGARTY, I would like to have the following articles inserted in the RECORD. They include memoriams from: His Eminence Richard Cardinal Cushing, who worked closely with JOHN FOGARTY rendering assistance to retarded children or "exceptional children" as the good cardinal refers to them; Constance Laliberte, who worked for Congressman FOGARTY and is now associated with the Neighborhood Youth Corps; Maxwell M. Geffen, publisher of Medical World News and longtime friend of JOHN FOGARTY; Philip H. Ableson, editor of Science; and perhaps most beautiful of all, a number of statements given to Mrs. Fogarty by the children of St. Philip's School in Greenville, R.I., which was JOHN FOGARTY's parish:

Statement by His Eminence Richard Cardinal Cushing, Archbishop of Boston, in Memoriam: Congressman John E. Fogarty

Informed by good Father Geddes of a Requiem Mass to be celebrated Friday evening in memory of the late beloved Congressman John E. Fogarty, I am taking advantage of the occasion to record a few thoughts pertaining to my relationship with him and my appreciation of him.

Congressman Fogarty told me years ago that he was prompted to become interested in retarded children after reading a speech that I had made in behalf of over five million of these children in the United States. As his knowledge increased his great heart was soon attracted to these children and he immediately began to impress upon the members of the United States Congress our responsibility to help these "Exceptional Children of God". I call them "Exceptional" not because they are handsome or brilliant but because they give us an exceptional opportunity of showing our love for God by loving the least of His brethren.

No member of the National House of Representatives in modern times did more for these "Exceptional Children" and for others, poor and needy, than the dedicated Congressman John Fogarty. Time and again over the years he would contact me or I would contact him. As a result of this relationship I do not know of any Congressman who was more devoted to these mentally and physically handicapped children and other seemingly abandoned and helpless souls.

It is very significant to me that Honorable John Fogarty died suddenly of a heart attack. For years his heart, which was as big as himself, overflowed with love for the poor and the helpless. When it came to legislation pertaining to the physical and mental health of the citizens of this country, he was always in the forefront advocating in his very effective way federal aid in behalf of these and other forgotten souls.

His life, in my opinion, should be an inspiration to those who find it impossible to pursue the courses of higher education and are forced, as a result of lack of finances or some other cause, to find a living in the workaday world. His accomplishments, personal and official, are reminders to those in humble walks of life that education never ends and, no matter how lowly may be the work one does here below, it is always possible to go higher through personal efforts, noble aspirations and love for the poor.

In accordance with the spirit of the Second Vatican Council the Church is known as "the Servant Church." The Church is the Mystical Body of Christ rendering service to the world. Congressman John Fogarty was a faithful "servant" of the "Servant Church" long before the Second Vatican Council.

His death was sudden and a shock to his loved ones and all those who knew him, but we all have the consolation that here was a Christlike man going about doing good at all times, especially for those who could not help themselves.

His charitable soul is now, please God, in the Mansions of Heaven but his memory will live forever in the great social legislation that he sponsored or supported while serving within and without the United States Congress. We who knew him best and loved him most shall never forget him in our Masses, prayers and the fruits of our sacrifices. He shall always be an inspiration to me and others who loved his way of life on this earth.

Congressman Fogarty was a man of God—a layman who exemplified the ideal layman of the Servant Church. May he rest in peace and intercede for us all before the throne of God.

RICHARD CARDINAL CUSHING,
Archisbishop of Boston.

Friend of the Common Man

(By Constance Laliberte)

John E. Fogarty, who rose from bricklayer to one of America's most influential congressmen, will long be remembered as a friend and inspiration to the NYC, especially by those who have participated in the Rhode Island Program.

He played an important role in forming the national legislation that brought the NYC into existence. Also, he worked diligently to secure sufficient funds for our state, thus making it possible for hundreds of teenagers to find employment through the NYC.

Congressman Fogarty can also serve as an inspiration to all of us. He was a champion for the cause of more beneficial health legislation. He was concerned about the common man and his problems. Countless people received help directly from him.

Congressman Fogarty earned every honor that was bestowed on him. He was one of our country's most prominent citizens, but he had to work his way up from humble beginnings. Perhaps this is why he took such an interest in the common man—he understood the problems of ordinary people.

Let us hope that the great work he began will be carried on in order to benefit future generations.

Just as the 90th Congress convened its first session on January 10, I learned that one of its most colorful and vital figures had passed away in his office across the street from the Capitol. John E. Fogarty, "union bricklayer," as he liked to call himself, was, as most everyone else described him, "Mr. Public Health." Though he represented the second district of Rhode Island in the smallest state of the Union for 26 years, he played a major role in the health progress of the entire nation as chairman of the House Appropriations Committee's powerful Subcommittee on Labor-HEW, which initiates all health appropriations legislation.

In 1946, the year before Congressman Fogarty joined the subcommittee, the National Institutes of Health spent only $3.5 million. For fiscal 1967, NIH was voted a budget of $1.5 billion. When he became chairman of the subcommittee in 1949, the total HEW budget was approximately $1 billion. But the final HEW budget voted for fiscal 1967, for which he was largely responsible, is $9.8 billion. And every dollar in that budget had to pass the zealous scrutiny of John Fogarty.

I could fill many pages with tales about this fabulous character. For years, we had the habit of spending an afternoon in New York (following the Lasker Award luncheon), reminiscing about our respective interests in the health field. The first time we met we were alone. The following year, two or three people joined our little coffee klatch. At our last get-together only a few weeks ago, after a meeting the Congressman had addressed in Washington, we were surrounded by a dozen distinguished representatives of government, medicine, and the pharmaceutical industry.

All of us were happy to bask in the sunshine of his quiet, self-effacing, off-the-cuff attitude. And all of us will miss him—one of Washington's truly irreplaceable men.

He declined the opportunity to become Senator from Rhode Island because he felt, as he stated in a recent MWN cover story, that he "could do more by staying on in the House as chairman of my committee—more for the people of my state and the country and perhaps the world."

John Fogarty, you helped millions to achieve better health, you saved countless lives, and you died too soon.

M. M. GEFFEN.

John Edward Fogarty

When John Fogarty entered Congress in 1941, at the age of 27, his background included a high school education and 10 years as a bricklayer and union official. At his death, on 10 January, he was highly respected for his knowledge of many aspects of public health and his effectiveness in fostering medical research. He had received more than 100 awards, including many honorary degrees.

Representative Fogarty began service on the Labor and Federal Security Agency Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee in 1947 and became subcommittee chairman in 1949. In the first year of his service on the subcommittee, the total budget of the National Institutes of Health was about $3 million. In the current year the NIH budget approximates $1.4 billion. Accomplishing this great expansion was not easy. Traditionally the Appropriations Committee seeks to hold down expenditures. Often Fogarty placed his career in jeopardy by clashing with the committee chairman, then Clarence Cannon.

Fogarty never wavered in his belief in the value of medical research, and he fostered its expansion with single-minded zeal. His resources included great energy and unusual political sagacity. Reports of the hearings of his subcommittee reveal a master craftsman at work patiently building an extraordinarily good case for expanded support of medical research. In his efforts Fogarty had an effective partner in Senator Lister Hill. On occasions when House leadership succeeded in thwarting Fogarty, Senator Hill obtained support for increased appropriations in the Senate. Other important allies were James Shannon (director of NIH), Mary Lasker, and the medical research community. Possessing a combination of charm, brains, energy, and money, Mrs. Lasker has had access to all recent Presidents and can mobilize important support for medical research. From the medical community Fogarty could depend on such well-known expert witnesses as Paul Dudley White, Karl Menninger, Sidney Farber, and Michael De Bakey.

Fogarty built skillfully and well. He understood the vital relationship between the support of fundamental science and practical objectives. He built for permanence. His methodical care year after year won for him and the programs he fostered broad support in Congress. The *Congressional Record* for 19 January 1967 provides an indication of the respect he enjoyed. Tributes to him by more than 100 of his colleagues are recorded there. Many of the words of praise are devoted to the enduring value of his efforts in expanding medical research.

There is considerable sentiment in Congress to implement an idea that Fogarty advanced in September 1963:

"I should like to see a plan to bring into being at Bethesda a great international center for research in biology and medicine dedicated to international cooperation and collaboration in the interests of the health of mankind as so boldly envisaged by the President. This center would encompass conference facilities, laboratory and study space, and living quarters to permit the assembly for discussion, study, and research of the outstanding health scientists of the world. I visualize this center associated with the great facilities of the National Institutes of Health and the National Library of Medicine as representing the visible and tangible embodiment of this Nation's devotion to the use of science for peaceful purposes and the good of mankind."

Congressman Laird (R–Wis.), on 18 January 1967, spoke for many Congressmen (and scientists) when he stated, "I can think of no more fitting and lasting tribute to this great humanitarian than the establishment by this Congress of such a center—the John E. Fogarty International Center for Advanced Study in the Health Sciences. Not only will such an institution be a living embodiment of the spirit and aspirations of John Fogarty, but it will serve a needed and valuable role in securing the progress of science in the cause of the well being of all mankind."

Philip H. Abelson.

As We Remember Our Congressman, John E. Fogarty

(By the children of St. Philip School, Grades one and two)

GRADE ONE

John E. Fogarty: He fought in World War II. He helped poor people. He helped build homes for poor people. He worked in Washington. He helped us. He helped children. He lived in Rhode Island. I will pray for him.

Peter Coogan.

John E. Fogarty: John Fogarty is big. He went to church. He worked in Washington. We all loved him. I will pray for him.

Claire Cavanagh.

John E. Fogarty: He helped build laboratories. He was a good Congressman. We love you for helping the poor people. I hope he is in heaven. I will pray for you.

James Powers.

John E. Fogarty: He helped sick people. John E. Fogarty was a big man. He helped the schools. He did good for the people. He helped our State.

Lori Labadie.

John E. Fogarty: I loved him. He was an important man. He helped build places. We pray for him.

Catherine Siedzik.

John E. Fogarty: He was an important man. He helped build houses for the poor people. He helped the poor people in Rhode Island. He was a nice man. I will pray for him.

William Walker.

John E. Fogarty: He helped the poor people. He worked in Washington. He was nice to others. He built schools. I loved him.

Michael Corrao.

John E. Fogarty: He liked to help people. He helped to build schools. He helped poor people. He was nice to others. He loved us. I hope God will help him. I will pray for him.

Suzanne Cullen.

John E. Fogarty: He helped build hospitals and he helped build schools. He was a good man. I loved him. I will pray for him.

Madonna Cahill.

John E. Fogarty. He helped the sick. He worked for others. He helped build some schools. He worked in Washington. He helped children. I will pray for him.

Barbara Placido.

John E. Fogarty: He worked in Washington. I loved him. He helped poor people. He helped other people.

Susan Harrison.

John E. Fogarty: He was a big important man. He helped other people. He built schools for R.I. I loved Congressman Fogarty. He was in World War II. We hope he went to Heaven. We will pray for him.

Kevin Oates.

John E. Fogarty: He helped the poor. He was a good man. He loved us. He worked in Washington.

Frank Mansi.

GRADE 2

Dear Mrs. Fogarty: I know you are sad and everything. But we are sorry and we hate to hear it. We all love you. And that's how it goes. We are very very sorry. And that's how God want it to be.

Lori Paolantonio.

Dear Mrs. Fogarty: I know you feel sad but I do too. I know it is your man the flag is at half mast because our lawmaker died three weeks today. I loved him very much. I know you did too. You loved him much more then I did. Good-by for now.

Susan Reall.

Dear Mrs. Fogarty: I know how you feel with your family. I know he was a Congressman and he loved you too. And I loved him very much. I saw him on T.V. and I like you too Mrs. Fogarty.

Suzanne Demers.

Congressman Fogarty: Dear Bill, Frank, Mary, and Charles, I know your uncle was first a bricklayer. I loved him. He loved the sick and poor. I see the flag at half mast. That shows our (con) country is sad. John E. Fogarty was a good honest man.

Lisa Gibbons.

John E. Fogarty: John E. Fogarty helped the sick and poor. We all loved him because he helped all the people in the world. We are all sorry that he died. We did not want him to die.

Pamela Wojciechowski.

Dear Mrs. Fogarty: I will never forget when John died. I loved him very much. The flag is half mast. It is sad for us.

Cheryl Dionne.

Dear Mrs. Fogarty: I feel sad for your husband. I know you and the family feel very sad. He was a good Congressman. He helped the sick and the poor. He died for our country. The flag is at half mast.

Love,

Mary Lyons.

Dear Mrs. Fogarty: I feel very sorry for your husband who died. And I also feel sad for you and all the famiy. I will remember you in my prayers. I see the flag at half mast so I'll remember you and your husband.

Patricia Monahan.

Dear Mrs. Fogarty: I prayed for your husband dying. He is a Congressman. He prayed for sick people.

He worked in Washington, D.C. The flag is at half mast and I am sad for his wife. He loves the poor.

Joanne Beaudry.

Dear Mrs. Fogarty: I know you and your family are very sad. J.E.F. was a Congressman. He loved the sick and poor. The flag is at half mast because John E. Fogarty died. Everyone is said because J.E.F. died. He died for our country.

Sharon Chakuroff.

John E. Fogarty: John E. Fogarty was a nice man. He helped the sick and the poor people for health of our country. John E. Fogarty helped the people in Washington, D.C. John E. Fogarty was a Congressman of the United States of America.

Robert Cullen.

Dear Mrs. Fogarty: I hope you pray for him. I hope you pray for him all the time. I hope your husband, John E. Fogarty, goes up to heaven. He helped the sick people and he helped the poor people.

Linda Benck.

John E. Fogarty: John E. Fogarty has died. I am sorry for his wife and family. The flag is at half mast. I saw him in the newspaper. He was a good Congressman. I will pray for him.

Daniel Smith.

John E. Fogarty died for our country. He worked in Washington, D.C. I see the flag half mast every day. I am sad he died.

Sandra Carberry.

John E. Fogarty: Congressman Fogarty was a lawmaker. He worked all over the world. He prayed every day because he loved the sick. He worked in Washington, D.C. We have the flag half mast at St. Philip School.

Patricia Wojciechowski.

John E. Fogarty: I know you are a lawmaker of U.S.A. and everybody is sad because they see the flag flying half way on the pole and they are sad because (then) they know that John E. Fogarty died. And I am very sad too for John E. Fogarty. And we know that he died for our country.

John Gilson.

Dear Mrs. Fogarty: I love cogressman Fogarty, very much. The flag is half mast for you. the class prayed for him. He was a lawmaker in Washington D.C. He died for the country. He helped the poor and the sick.

Patricia Mercier.

Dear Mrs. Fogarty: The flag is still at half mast at St. Philip School. We are sad. All grades are sad. I love you very much I am very sorry that your husband died. Everyone must be sorry too. Love,

Deborah McVey.

John E. Fogarty: John E. Fogarty, the Congressman who worked in Washington, D.C. He loved the poor. He died three weeks ago. Since then the flag was half mast. He was a lawmaker for the U.S.A.

Marie Picard.

Dear Mrs. Fogarty, I know you feel sad. He worked in Washington D.C. as I know. We talk about him in school. He helped the sick and the poor.

Tracy Lavod.

Our Congressman John E. Fogarty was a fine man. He died three weeks ago. The flag is at half mast. He was a lawmaker. He worked in Washington, D.C. I feel sorry for his wife and all the family. How sad I felt when he died.

Linda Sachuk.

"Doctor John": I wish John E. Fogarty did not die because he was a lawmaker. My family knows John E. Fogarty. When he died they put the flag at half mast.

Raymond Oliver.

John E. Fogarty I saw John E. Fogarty in the newspaper. John E. Fogarty was a Congressman. We worked for Rhode Island. His wife is sad. He loved the sick and poor. When someone like J.E.F. dies the flag is half mast.

Philip Octeau.

Dear Mrs. Fogarty: I'll remember your husband in my prayers. The flag is at half mast. I am sorry he had to die now. He was a lawmaker for U.S.A. I am very, very sad. All Rhode Island is very sad, too.

Priscilla Murphy.

Mr. Fogarty: John E. Fogarty was a grand person. He worked hard and helped the sick. He also did a lot of good for the retarded children. He was everyone's friend and I will miss him a lot. He made his record true.

KAREN DRISCOLL.

GRADE 3

Congressman Fogarty: John E. Fogarty was a great man. He always helped the poor, the sick, and he collected money to build homes for the children that had no brains. Besides helping the poor he was a holy man. He went to church every Sunday. He never missed Mass.

He served his country well. John Fogarty was in World War Two. When Congressman Fogarty died many people felt sad. He know there is no other man like him. John Fogarty died by heart attack. He died a happy life. He loved God. May he rest in peace.

PETER DAVEY.

John E. Fogarty: John Fogarty was a good man. John went to church every Sunday. He served our country in World War II. He made new laws. John's best hobby was raising money for new hospitals. He always helped the poor. We lost a great man. We need more men like John. Good bye John. Oh Lord let him lay in peace.

THOMAS RAIMONDO.

John E. Fogarty: John E. Fogarty was a wonderful man. Besides being a wonderful man, he was a wonderful Catholic. He was always interested in retarded children, and poor children. When our beloved Congressman died, the flag was set at half mast. That remindes us about our beloved Congressman. I hope he will rest in peace.

JANE CAVANAGH.

John E. Fogarty: John E. Fogarty was very good to the poor, the sick and the old. He was good to children too. John was a man of God. He went to church on Sundays and on Holy days.

Congressman Fogarty fought for our country in World War II.

Dear God bless him and bring him to Heaven with You.

CHERYL PLACIDO.

GRADE 4

John E. Fogarty

J—John E. Fogarty was a wonderful person.
O—Oh! how he helped our country.
H—He helped everyone he could.
N—No one disliked him.
E.—Everyone owes a debt to him.
F—Friends, he had many of them.
O—Oh! how we all love him.
G—God bless him now and forever.
A—A special prayer for him.
R—Remember him I will always.
T—To him I am thankful for help.
Y—Young and old we all will remember him always.

SUZANNE PAYETTE.

Fogarty

F—Is for his friendship with other men.
O—Is for how obedient he was.
G—Is for the good he did.
A—Is for all his work with the retarded.
R—Is for us to remember him.
T—Is for being true to everyone.
Y—Is for all those years he put into his work.

John E. Fogarty did a lot for our state, and our country. It's sad we lost him, but I'm sure he has a happy home in heaven with God!

KAREN GILL.

John E. Fogarty

J—He brought joy to people.
O—His outstanding deeds.
H—His honesty, charity, care.
N—His nobleness of heart.
E.—Everlastingly faithfulness towards his program.
F—His faithfulness towards the retarded.
O—His obedience to God and his country.
G—His gratefulness towards Rhode Island.
A—Assisting the aged.
R—His religious life.
T—He tried the best he could.
Y—His interest in youth.

JUDITH HARRISON.

F—Fogarty's name will never be forgotten.
O—Often he helped the sick.
G—Great Congressman Fogarty had a wonderful way with people.
A—Always working for health, education, and welfare.
R—Representing this great little state.
T—Thoughtful and kind his whole life through.
Y—Yes—this man was truly a Christian.

THOMAS PELOQUIN.

Fogarty

F—Faithfulness
O—Opportunity
G—Goodness
A—Advancement
R—Religious
T—Truthfulness
Y—Youth

Congressman Fogarty was a very intelligent, kind, willing man. He wanted to get people to help him pay for the doctor and medicine bills for the poor people who couldn't afford to pay. He always had a friendly smile for all men, women and children. He did just what God wanted all men to do to think of his neighbor. People will never forget what a good and wonderful man he was. God must surely have taken him into heaven.

DEBBIE GIBBONS.

Congressman Fogarty: Congressman Fogarty was my Uncle. He went to Congress when he was twenty-seven years old. He served there twenty-six years. He was fourteenth in seniority out of four hundred thirty-five Congressmen. He served under four different Presidents and was a close personal friend of President Kennedy. He was proud of his Irish background and to symbolize it he wore a green bow tie which later became his trademark. He was known in Rhode Island as everybody's Congressman and in the country as Mr. Public Health.

MARTHA FOGARTY.

John E. Fogarty: My uncle was John E. Fogarty. He served in Congress for twenty-six years. He died a few hours before he was to be sworn into the ninetieth Congress. I knew him very well. He was my Godfather. He used to take my cousins and me for jeep rides on Sundays. We had fun with him. Sometimes he threw footballs to us. We saw him on Sundays and had a lot of fun!

RAYMOND FOGARTY.

There was a great man. His name was John E. Fogarty. He loved everything and everyone. John E. Fogarty helped the people that had something wrong with their mind. He made the world strong and then God took John E. Fogarty to Him. John E. Fogarty was a great loss to the world and us. It was sad seeing him lowered into his grave. He made our world strong and healthy. Now he is dead but we must keep our world strong the same way as he did. He started it and we must try to keep it that way forever.

JOSEPH OATES.

JOHN E. FOGARTY

"John E."

J—is for justice
O—is for our Congressman
H—is for honest
N—is for nice
E—is for eager

HELEN BANSPACH.

Our country, as well as his family, faced a great loss when Congressman Fogarty was called by God. He was a great man as well as simple man. Others always came first with John and he did something about it. He showed this in his love and the help he gave to the retarded children. One man I admire and would like to grow up like, would be John Fogarty.

RICHARD SIEDZIK.

GRADE 5

Congressman Fogarty: Congressman Fogarty was a great man. He was loyal to his country. He wanted to help in any way he could. He was always willing to help the retarded children. It was a great shock to hear the awful news about Congressman Fogarty's death. He was a great loss to our country.

MARGARET O'NEILL.

John Fogarty: He died at the age of fifty-three,
He was very close to you and me,
If you ask me who was he,
I'd simply answer Fogarty.

MARJORIE SMITH.

A GREAT MAN

Congressman Fogarty, yes, I know,
He was the best Congressman you could ever know,
He helped colored people to flourish and progress,
And always showed up at his congress,
He was always ready to help the poor,
And he never was a real bore,
He talked a lot to help the city,
He died too soon and it was a pity,
Now I hope you will remember him,
And please don't walk off to the gym.
Remember him in prayer and thought,
A spiritual bouquet you should have bought.

ROBERT LYONS.

Congressman John Fogarty: Congressman Fogarty was my Uncle. He Didn't seem like a Congressman. He just seemed like my other Uncles. On Sundays he would take us on jeep rides in the woods. One day my brother Charles and my Uncle were going on a jeep ride in the fields. When they hit a bump and my brother fell off. Another day when I was not on the jeep my Uncle went over a brush pile and could not get off. Then the jeep started on fire. Other Sundays he would play football with us. We had good times with my Uncle. I know we will remember him in our prayers. I hope he has a seat next to God

PAUL FOGARTY.

Mr. John E. Fogarty: John Fogarty was a great man, He had such a wonderful plan; To try to help the poor and the needy, This great man was never greedy. To aid the aged and the ills, Was his unselfish aim and will. "Mr. Public Health" was his name, This was his claim to world wide fame.

MARCIA BRADBURY.

GRADE 6

J—is for justice that he loved
O—is for outstanding Congressman
H—is for the honors he received
N—is for the navy in which he served
E—is for excellence with which he did everything
F—is for the faith he had in others
O—is for outstanding statesman that he was
G—is for the good deeds he did
A—is for America, the country he loved
R—is for respect that he received
T—is for trustworthy—that's what he was
Y—is for the youth centers that he established

THOMAS SHORT.

John E. Fogarty Was:
Just

Open-minded
Humble
Nice
Fair
Obliging
Grateful
Active
Reasonable
Truthful
Youthful

STEVEN AVERILL.

John E. Fogarty: This great humble man, John E. Fogarty, "Everybody's Congressman," went down the path of life doing good for everyone he met. He served in Congress for twenty-six years, trying hard not to accept a pat on the back or congratulations. In those years he truly lived up to the title, "A Man of the People." Congressman Fogarty will remain in the minds and hearts of everyone for many years to come.

PAULA CAVANAGH.

"Everybody's Congressman": On January 10, 1967 Congressman John E. Fogarty left his beloved country, friends, and relatives. But deep in our hearts nothing can erase the memories of this humble congressman. To everyone he was a great loss, to those who knew him personally, and even to those who never met him. Most people will remember him for his outstanding work with the mentally retarded.

He took much time and effort to aid, the retarded by making their lives easier to endure. In our hearts for the rest of our lives will linger the memories of John E. Fogarty known to all as "Everybody's Congressman"

MARTHA HARRISON.

GRADE 7

John E. Fogarty: In the life of a youngster, many things happen, some menial and petty, but others meaningful and important . . . In the Declaration of Independence it says that all men are created equal. Behind this, I believe, lies a promise, a promise that has been fulfilled many times, by many people—A few weeks ago, a person fulfilled this promise once again—Before a cold gray gravestone a person knelt. When he arose, he said, "Well, too bad he died, he certainly was a nice guy." He walked away, and that was that. An encounter with nobody, actually. I don't know why it has to be this way, but that's the way it is. The man should not of been there, really, because he was praying at the graveside of a man who had wanted to talk and listen to everybody. The name on the gravestone—John E. Fogarty. With a big Irish grin on his face, nearly every day he'd board a plane, a massive silver plane which would fly up to the sky and back again. That was, in short, John Fogarty's life. He flew to the sky and back again. He majored, I suppose in helping others. He was the epitome of an Irish-American, but he was the representative of all peoples. You can't picture Mr. Fogarty in a white toga and mantle, with a halo on his head, but if he is in Heaven, I hope that his work-hewn hands will reach down and bless us all.

Ann Conway.

A Well Respected Man: Known to all as a humble man he served in politics for over twenty years. As a youth he was a leader of his society, and until twenty-seven years had passed he had not been anything except a brick-layer. In my eyes he is what you would call an ideal person. His life was full of happiness for in helping the sick you always get a satisfied feeling. He was always saying cheerful words to all as if his supply of happiness and love of neighbor would never diminish. For the rest of my life I will never forget John E. Fogarty the most respected man I have ever known.

Mark Cavanagh.

Congressman John E. Fogarty (1913–1967): Tuesday, January 10, was a very mournful day for all Americans. It was sorrowful because it was the day our beloved Congressman John E. Fogarty passed away in Washington, D.C. Congressman Fogarty was liked by all people, not only for his untiring work in the field of mental health, but also for his marvelous personality, and Irish sense of humor.

John Fogarty did many outstanding deeds for the unfortunate people of our State, among these were having laws passed through our legislature. Because of his many kind deeds, Rhode Island has named one of its health centers in honor of him. I'm sure Congressman Fogarty will be remembered through Rhode Island history as a truly great man.

Congressman Fogarty, a member of Congress for the past 27 years was, I'm sure, very popular among the other Representatives of our country. He was a close associate to the President of the United States, and even known across seas for his many deeds. Truly John Fogarty was a man who would have never been beaten for the seat in the House, and the sure fact of him being in Congress for 27 years is proof enough of him being known as everyone's Congressman.

Robert Harrison.

Congressman John Fogarty: On Tuesday January 10, 1967, a great tragedy hit the nation. It was on this day we in Greenville lost a dear friend and neighbor, but the nation lost a great statesman Congressman John E. Fogarty. Congressman Fogarty labored long and hard for the good of humanity, his help for the retarded children shows this. Although he held a high office, he still remained humble. Because of his great efforts, the fields of medicine and education have been greatly advanced. Surely it will be difficult to find another to replace Congressman John E. Fogarty.

Carolyn Vacca.

Congressman John E. Fogarty: John E. Fogarty was born in Providence in 1913. Elected for the first time in 1940, he served Rhode Island and our nation for twenty-six years. During this time he accomplished more good on earth than anyone I know. He stood out as a great man not only because of his title but also because of his tremendous humility. Awards and merits had their place in his life but his great concern for those not as fortunate as he came first and foremost. A familiar sight around Greenville and Washington was John Fogarty wearing his famous green bow tie.

Surely, such a great and holy man is a saint in heaven today.

Theresa Gibbons.

Congressman Fogarty (1913–1967): Congressman John E. Fogarty was a respected man throughout our country. He was very humble although he really was a great man. He was concerned with the unfortunate people in Rhode Island and in the United States. Everyone mourned on January 10, 1967 when the congressman died. Flags were flown at half-mast throughout the country. His funeral was held at the Cathedral in Providence. The Mass was said by Bishop McVinney. Many high officials were present at his funeral, including Hubert H. Humphrey, the vice president. Congressman John E. Fogarty is one great congressman whom we, the people of the United States, will not forget.

Linda Zangari.

Congressman John E. Fogarty, (1913–1967): John E. Fogarty was truly a respected man throughout our country. He helped the handicapped people in R.I. Only thinking of our state, he wanted it to be a safe place to live in. On January 10, 1967 flags were flown at half mast. His dying on this day (January 10) was truly a great loss to not only our state but to our country and the world.

At his funeral, three days later, were many famous people, the vice president of the United States, and others including his wife, daughter, and relatives. His death brought mourners from all over our country paying honor and tribute to him.

Ann Short.

Congressman John E. Fogarty (1913–1967): Fogarty was born in the town of Harmony in 1913. He served in politics for twenty-six years. He was a chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee handling health, education and welfare matters. Fogarty was a credit to politics. He was loved and respected by everyone in all walks of life. He was a just and equal man and lead a life of holiness. Fogarty was a great loss to humanity. He died on January tenth 1967 a day that can always be remembered by all citizens of the home state of Rhode Island.

Sharon Cardarelli.

Everybodys Congressman: John E. Fogarty, 1913–1967, born in Harmony, R.I., has spent over half of his life in the service of mankind. It was through this service that he won national fame and honors. But these meant nothing to him for he was a humble man. He was never afraid to take advice from anyone. He strived to help the common man, the crippled, and retarded to a better life. It was through this work that he won the title, "Everybodys Congressman." He is gone but his memory still remains.

Michael Kiely.

John E. Fogarty, 1913–January 10, 1967:
*J*ust—in his work.
*O*pen—in his thought.
*H*eroic—in his deed.
*N*oble—in his work.
*E*ager—to serve his country.
*F*ull-time devotion to others.
*O*ld—a time in live he was concerned for.
*G*ay—approach to problems large or small.
*A*lways—willing to lend a helping hand.
*R*apid—help for those in need.
*T*ruly—a sincere servant.
*Y*earning—to help less fortunate.

Donna Hassell.

A Tribute to John Fogarty

The man I knew not personally.
But respected all the same.
Who led the charge for all in U.S.A. in the battle for health education and welfare.
We are deeply shocked by the sudden death of our lifelong friend.
Hats off to John E. Fogarty a leader we will never forget.

Maryann Leclerc.

John E. Fogarty: John Fogarty served in Congress for over twenty-five years. During that time he has made great donations to medical centers and many other things. He was a friend of the people. Mr. Fogarty was respected throughout the nation. During his lifetime he received many awards. In Washington he would do everything possible to help the people of Rhode Island in many ways. He helped the retarded children by building hospitals. When he died in Washington everyone was shocked. He was one of the greatest statesman ever.

Garry Peloquin.

GRADE 8

What I Knew About John E. Fogarty

It was a cool breezy summer day and the waves on Waterman's Lake were almost white-capped.

Ahead of me was my friend pedaling along with a sack full of papers dangling from his bicycle. Soon we were riding along the winding Philips Lane where we halted frequently to deliver papers. We stopped at one house and we walked up to the door and rang the bell. The door opened and a husky man with a big smile on his face greeted us and paid for his paper. He then waved good-by as we hopped on our bikes and left.

That was the first but not the last time I ever saw Congressman Fogarty. The next year I saw him at the Father's Day Breakfast where he gave a short talk. I frequently saw him after that at early mass and as usual he was smiling.

When I heard of his death I was very sorry and no one can ever take his place. When I watched the memorial to him on television I really realized then what a great man he was. He always worked for the people's good and helped many people with their problems. Now he's gone but his works will continue to help the needy.

RICHARD GILL.

John E. Fogarty: The last time I saw the congressman was at a family party. He seemed so relaxed and happy. He gave rides in his red jeep through the woods. The next time I saw him he lay at rest.

He was a great man starting out as a bricklayer and ending up as a renouned congressman is a great feat.

As most people know, John Fogarty was Irish. His symbol was a green bow tie. He was "Everybody's Congressman," especially the sick and mentally ill. Because of this hard-working congressman we now have Fogarty Center and the Fogarty Building at U.R.I. And very soon a building is to dedicated to him at the National Health Institute.

Mr. Fogarty was showered with many honors, but he really never gave much thought to them. He knew there was too much to be done and too little time in which to do it. Thirteen years ago he suffered a severe heart attack and was given three years to live. So he knew he was living on borrowed time.

We have much to be thankful for because of this loyal statesman, John Edward Fogarty.

MARY ELLEN KEILY.

A Tribute to John E. Fogarty

Congressman Fogarty was a wonderful man. During his lifetime he did many useful things some of which were: helping the mentally retarded, giving assistance to older people, and giving many dollars worth of aid to help boost the world of medicine.

Never before has a man of so many virtues been known to Congress. Not only was he a devout Catholic but also a patient, loving and understanding man. Although the virtues just mentioned are very rare in most people he had one virtue rarer than any of these; his constant concern for the health and welfare of others.

When Congressman Fogarty died, the whole nation lost a great man. There was much grief in the U.S. when the news of his death spread. I'm sure he will be remembered in the prayers of many people in days to come.

MARIA PASCONE.

In Memory of a Congressman

Congressman Fogarty was one whom many a person knew,
He was a great man in our government and we trusted him too.
He was the type of man we would always need,
And when he talked we gave him much heed.
To me he was a brave soldier carrying his cross,
And to many when he died a political loss.
A man whose famous memory will forever remain,
A starlight to everyone with never a stain;
A life long admirer of both young and old,
A tale to tell of his heart of gold.

VIVIAN WEAVER.

John E. Fogarty—A Good Christian: Everyone remembers Congressman John Edward Fogarty as a loyal statesman who worked for better health and welfare throughout the U.S. especially in his own state, Rhode Island. But how many citizens remember Congressman Fogarty as a simple man—a good Christian following the path of God? I remember him as this. So do many other people. I remember sitting in back of John Fogarty and his wife and daughter at mass on Sunday in St. Philip Church many times. The Lord said, "He who humbles himself shall be exalted." Congressman Fogarty did exactly this.

MARIE A. MAINELLI.

Mr. Public Health: His twenty-six years of dedicated service in the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States merited for him national acclaim and the established reputation as "the champion of better health for the nation." John Fogarty was a man who sought no trophies of his own but for the victories he helped to win against poverty, ignorance, disease and the waste of human resources. Mr. Fogarty looked to me like a family man: a friend you could trust in a need of help. But most of all he tried to be a friend to all colors and religions. John E. Fogarty in years to come will be a famous man for all to look to. He probably will be remembered for his great works in the field of Mental retardation. He did not go to college like the rest of our congressmen but it was realized he was one of the smartest men that ever served in congress. His formal education ended when he received his high school diploma. Then he became a brick layer like his father and brother. His death as the Pawtucket Valley Times said that Rhode Island has lost one of its most distinguished citizens. He was Everybody's Congressman and he served everyone to the best of his ability in Washington.

RICHARD MERCIER.

Congressman John Fogarty: Three weeks ago the nation and state lost a wonderful and remarkable man.

Congressman Fogarty had contributed so much to our nation's people, especially in the field of medicine. He worked endlessly for the unfortunate retarded. This is one of the important things he is remembered for.

Congressman Fogarty was an outstanding example of a good Christian. His strive was to help people. He was very humble with his work, never looking for praise. Charity was another virtue he openly and always possessed.

Congressman Fogarty was well liked by many throughout the state and nation. He had a good sense of humor, and always had a smile on his face.

Undoubtedly, Congressman Fogarty will be rewarded in heaven for his charitable work on earth.

FRANCES VACCA.

A Tribute To John E. Fogarty: The state of Rhode Island lost a great friend and congressman in the passing of Representative John E. Fogarty. During his twenty-six years as a representative in Congress, his guiding hand has resulted in many benefits for the people in his home state in the areas of health, education, and welfare. Although not everyone knew him personally, even school children recognized the green bow tie as the trademark of John E. Fogarty. He was called "Mr. Public Health" because of his untiring efforts in that field. The citizens of Rhode Island mourned the passing of this great man just as the nation and the world mourned the passing of President Kennedy and Pope John XXIII.

DEBORAH BROSSEAU.

A Tribute to Him: Congressmen Fogarty was the most humble man I've ever met. The times that I met him were only short but in that time I saw truly a great and modest man.

He lived for the people of his state and for his country. He did so much good for the mentally retarded children that I couldn't begin to tell you. Because of all his great works he'll be long remembered in the hearts and minds of generations to come.

He never wanted to be made a fuss over. When he and his family came to their parish church he was just another parishioner. In his beautiful home on Philips Lane in Harmony he led a very easy life but when he went to work for his beloved country he would work for hours at a time.

From a humble bricklayer he gained all the knowledge his mind could hold with not even a college degree. From the first day he entered into politics he lived up to his worthy position.

Truly Congressman Fogarty was the greatest man I've ever met and it was an honor knowing him.

STEVEN SEMMA.

John E. Fogarty: I watched this great man as he cut the ribbon opening a new, modern hospital for the benefit of the retarded children. I was young at the time and I didn't really know who he was or why he was opening the hospital. A few years later I learned who he was and that he had worked very hard for the building of that hospital. I realized then how great this man was to devote his life to underprivileged children. I grew to honor and respect this man and I was proud that I could say, "He belongs to my parish." In his 26 years as a congressman, he accomplished more than most people do in a lifetime. His death was mourned by people all over the country and the world. His time had come and no tears could bring him back, but he will never die in the hearts of many Americans.

PAUL LYONS.

John Edward Fogarty: Mr. Fogarty served under five different presidents in his twenty-six years as a congressman. The presidents were F. D. Roosevelt 1933–1945, Truman 1945–1953, Eisenhowever 1953–1961, Kennedy 1961–1963, Johnson 1963–. John Edward Fogarty was an Irishman with a good sense of humor. His political symbol was a green bow tie to represent his country Ireland. Mr. Fogarty was a Seabee in the navy before he became a congressman. He had only one child Mary. Mary and her mother are now moving from their home on Philips Lane in Harmony, to Washington, D.C. The late congressman did a lot for the mentally retarded children. He started an institution for them. I think Mr. Fogarty should be and will be remembered statewide for his great acts.

BEVERLY LACHAPELLE.

John E. Fogarty (1913–67): John E. Fogarty was a real friend to everyone who he was known to. He never complained about anything and always being humble about his position in office, he never bragged or boasted about himself among others. He would act as any other person would when he went anywhere. Every sunday he would attend the same Mass and walk in and out casually minding his own business not trying to make himself be recognized by everyone as someone special. He was always considerate to needy children and found a new hope for many retarded children. Three weeks ago thousands of people shared the sadness of the loss of John Fogarty who was like a wonderful friend to everyone. If we could have done and achieved every thought John Fogarty had thought of to help someone in need it would take us a century to do so. I think it's good to remind ourselves that John Fogarty was a good American citizen to follow because he always thought of helping someone else first before helping himself. Everyone who knew John Fogarty should be proud of what he has done for everybody through his kindness.

EDWARD LAPRADE.

The Outstanding Life of a Congressman: Congressman Fogarty was a very charitable man with a personality that made any one like him the moment they came into contact with him. He played a wonderful role in the history of our nation and in the history of politics. The whole nation grieved when they heard about the death of this extraordinary man. They all knew that our country would never be the same without him. He was just to begin his 27th year at the opening of the 90th congress.

He did better than many Congressmen who had a college education for he did not. Before he was elected to Congress he was just a simple bricklayer.

He did many good works for people less fortunate than he and especially for the mentally retarded. For this, many places for these people were named after him. He was so concerned with the health of our nation he often said that he wondered why we were spending so much money to get men on the moon and we didn't even know what made the human body tick. I am sure that many people including myself will never forget such a wonderful and generous man.

SHEILA PILOQUIN.

John E. Fogarty: On the morning of January 10, 1967, the intercom blurted out that our Congressman John Fogarty had died in his Washington office this morning. Then thoughts began going through my mind, thoughts on how John Fogarty had helped so many people. I also thought how "Everybody's Congressman" had helped so many mentally disturbed children.

In his twenty-six years in Congress Mr. Fogarty did much great work. But by being the modest man he was you rarely heard his name mentioned with the deed. On that fateful day our country lost one of its great men.

FRANCIS KAYATTAL.

Let Us Have Peace in the Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, recently a very important and historic conference of the New York Metropolitan Region of the United Synagogue of America was held at the Plainview Jewish Center, Plainview, Long Island. Delegates from throughout the New York metropolitan area met on February 5, 1967, to discuss the "New Role of the Conservative Movement and Israel."

Representing 155 congregations, the conference, which was sponsored by the Israel Affairs Committee of the New York Metropolitan Region of the United Synagogue of America, called on the U.S. Government and the United Nations to exercise every effort to end Arab belligerency and to resolve the Middle East crisis by bringing the Arab nations and Israel together around the peace table.

Presented by David Zucker, of Great Neck, Long Island, regional vice president for Israel affairs, the resolution also recommended that our Government seek the cooperation of the Soviet Union to bring about a relaxation of tensions in the area.

Mr. Speaker, that resolution passed at the New York Regional Conservative Movement conclave shows the support that many of our constituents have for the state of Israel. They, like I, want peace in the Middle East.

My statement to the conference of the Israel Affairs Committee of the New York Metropolitan Region of the United Synagogue of America was passed out to all delegates.

My statement declared:

> Peace in the Middle East depends on one factor—the willingness of the Arab states to recognize Israel's existence.
>
> Recent events have again shown that the Arabs are determined to destroy the Jewish State. Recognizing that they are not now ready to defeat Israel in open warfare, the Arabs, led by the Syrian regime and the Palestine Liberation Organization have resorted to guerrilla raids—sabotage, terror and murder.
>
> It is the Arabs that we must ask why there is no peace in that troubled region. It is Syria, which encourages terrorism; Egypt, which is waging war in Yemen and bombing Saudi Arabia, Iraq, which continues to fight its Kurdish minority.
>
> We Americans cannot be silent while Israel is threatened and the prospect of open warfare draws nearer. As citizens you have the right, and the moral duty, to petition your government, to write your elected representatives and to insist that our government act decisively to stop the drift towards war. As a member of Congress I have made my position known. I will continue to do all in my power to ensure that Israel is secure and free from attack.
>
> Our Government has been much too diffident in challenging the Arab war against Israel. All too often it has seemed to equate the aggressor and the victim by a posture of neutrality. In the recent Security Council debate, it has ignored Arab attack while censuring Israel's reply to that attack.
>
> Both principle and the reality of the crisis in the Middle East require our Government to take the lead in condemning Arab violations of the UN Charter and in demanding a peaceful solution, through direct negotiations, of the Arab war. If the international community voices this demand loudly and clearly the Arabs will be unable to withstand it. They will have to abandon their dream of reversing the Partition resolution of 1947, of regaining what they refused to accept in 1948 and what they lost by going to war against Israel.
>
> The call for peace must be reinforced by action. Israel needs the strength to deter any Arab attack. The United States should provide Israel with this deterrent capability. Last year we took a welcome step by allowing Israel to purchase the Skyhawk bomber. If the Soviet Union continues to supply the Arabs more and deadlier weapons, the United States must assist Israel in coping with its tremendous defense burden. In this manner we can convince the Arabs that the arms race is useless as well as wasteful.
>
> Last year Congress voted against using our contributions to UNRWA for the care of refugees who are being trained to destroy Israel. But Commissioner General Michelmore's alternative proposal for a special fund to provide $150,000 to feed and house these terrorists is a shocking compromise which must not be accepted. Our UN delegation should call on other nations to reject this proposal and work towards the settlement of the refugees by their absorption in the lands in which they live.
>
> The moral fabric of our society is guarded by the religious faith of our people. As synagogue representatives you have accepted the task of reinforcing and guiding our heritage. American policy in the Near East can benefit greatly from your advice and counsel. With it perhaps the words of the Prophet: "peace shall be unto Isreal" shall be realized in the near future.

Mr. Chairman, the delegates at the conference did accept the task of reinforcing and guiding the Jewish heritage and of building spiritual bridges between Israel and the United States.

They passed a second resolution which read:

> The Conservative Movement always has maintained a position of support of Israel even before there was a Jewish Homeland, for the Land of Israel constantly occupies a position of centrality in the Jewish religion. We therefore call on all our members to learn about Israel, its history, people, achievements and problems.
>
> We urge every member of our Conservative Movement to visit Israel at least once. We ask our members to aid our movement's Building Spiritual Bridges projects, and to develop the American Student Center in Jerusalem. And finally, we hope that every American Jew will realize that Judaism as a religion is boundup with the homeland of the Jewish people, Israel.

Also at the conference, Rabbi Nahum Cohen, regional director of the New York Metropolitan Region of the United Synagogue of America, spoke to the delegates, declaring:

> We should no longer react to crisis in the Middle East, but rather act to prevent a crisis from happening.

The New York rabbi also added:

> Our efforts should be concentrated on building both a physical and spiritual center for the Conservative Movement in Israel.

It also gives me great pleasure to insert here some of the remarks of David Zucker, of Great Neck, Long Island, regional vice president for Israel affairs. Mr. Zucker told the delegates to make their voices heard in support of the state of Israel.

Said Mr. Zucker:

> Look what we on the Israel Affairs Committee have established so far:
>
> Already, our Israel Affairs Committee in the New York area has published "Facts and Distortion," and "Arab Propaganda on the Campus." These brochures, which deal with Arab propaganda, have been distributed nationally.
>
> Already, our committee has placed a message in the New York Times calling for a U.N.-sponsored peace conference between Israel and the Arab States. This message was placed with the knowledge that something had to be done to sensitize American public opinion to the open hostility of the Arab states along Israel's borders and to achieve permanent peace in the tense Middle East.
>
> We still have a long way to go. We have to urge our members to learn about Israel. We have to encourage travel and study in Israel, so as to build spiritual bridges between Americans Jews and the people of Israel.
>
> I am convinced that we in the Conservative Movement, which has given so much to American Jewish life, can do this and more. And with your help, Israel will become an integral part of our total synagogue program.

At the conference, a new program and educational manual which was written for Israel Affairs Committee chairmen was distributed. An art exhibit, featuring works by members of the United Synagogue Youth Movement was displayed.

Natural Gas Pipeline Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues in expressing interest in considering the administration's bill on this important matter of natural gas pipeline safety.

There are about three-quarters of a million miles of natural gas pipelines in the United States. The question of whether this represents an adequately safe container or just one long fuse to disaster will be before Congress shortly.

I believe that it is imperative to establish and enforce minimum safety standards for the installation, operation, and maintenance of these vital arteries in a key industry of this country.

Some of the interstate gas pipelines now in use have been in the ground since 1886. The more vast and complex system of distribution gas mains, which lie under our cities and growing suburbs, is literally a big question mark as to condition and date of installation. Some of the technical hardware on that system was installed to serve an entirely different kind of gas which has not been used in most areas, for many years—manufactured gas. Yet, few, if any, changes have been made to adapt to the demands of the newer natural gas.

We, of course, can wait until the loss of life and property reaches epidemic proportions, or we can act to prevent potential disasters. We will shortly have before us a bill which would enable us to take the latter and wiser course. I welcome the opportunity to consider such a bill which would insure the safety of the public with regards to a vital utility of the Nation.

The natural evolution of the pipeline industry is emitting the same danger signals you might witness when the fuses in your home begin to blow. You would not stick your finger in the socket to see if the current is flowing, and likewise, we should not have to smell the gas to detect a pipeline failure. Unfortunately, however, this has too often been the case.

Thousand of Americans in the last decade have experienced untold prosperity. With it has come new television sets, electric toothbrushes, and the discovery that many homes simply were not wired to carry the load.

The miles of interstate natural gas lines are carrying 25 billion cubic feet of gas daily to the American public. This gas travels at a speed of from 10 to 25 miles per hour at from 700 to 1,000 pounds pressure per square inch.

Like electric wiring, it stands to reason that pipeline constructed several decades ago was not built for the load it is required to carry today. One pipeline failure reported last year indicated corrosion had diminished the thickness of the pipe from 25 to 40 percent.

Many new technological advances have been made by industry in the last few years in pipeline construction and maintenance. Better coatings and cathodic protection have been devised. New welding techniques provide stronger joints. Radiographic inspection aids in detecting potential pipeline failures. The catch is, however, these new developments have not always been applied to pipe already in the ground.

The more than 1,260 pipeline failures in the last 15 years indicate the seriousness of the situation. It only takes the smallest gas leak to cause the largest explosion or fire. In the 1965 gas explosion in Natchitoches, La., a pilot light in a very innocent-looking cooking stove was enough to ignite the gases. Seventeen people died, five homes were demolished, and the 2,500-degree heat melted cars and even rocks.

The industry's American standard code for pressure piping has been beneficial in prescribing new and better safety measures. But they do not apply to already buried pipeline.

The industry is now in the difficult dual role of judge and jury of its own safety practices. However, where the lives of people are concerned, and where the possible destruction from a pipeline accident depends so greatly on the adequacy of safety standards, it is only reasonable that the public should have the last word in setting reasonable minimum safety standards.

I am confident that Federal safety standards would provoke the finest talent in both Government and industry to provide the highest standards of natural gas pipeline safety.

I welcome the opportunity to consider the administration's bill which would enable action to be taken now.

Congressman Horton Marks Anniversary of the Sinking of the "Maine"

SPEECH
OF
HON. FRANK HORTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, February 15, 1967, marks the 69th anniversary of the sinking of the battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor, a naval disaster that plunged the United States into the Spanish-American War under the popular slogan "Remember the Maine."

The Spanish-American War grew out of the Cuban insurrection against Spanish rule that began in February 1895, an insurrection fought ruthlessly and ferociously by both sides. Pressures for American intervention were resisted by President Cleveland, and his successor, President McKinley, followed the same course during the beginning of his administration. A settlement seemed in prospect when the destruction of the *Maine* led to great anti-Spanish feeling in the United States. On April 11, 1898, the President sent Congress a message asking for authority to end the civil war in Cuba. On April 19, Congress passed resolutions recognizing the independence of Cuba, demanding that Spain withdraw from the island, and authorizing the President to use the Armed Forces for these purposes; another resolution disclaimed any American intention of annexing Cuba. On April 25, Congress declared that a state of war had existed from April 21.

Rescued from the *Maine* was a midshipman who later became an admiral. Writing of the sinking of the *Maine* in his memoirs, Adm. W. T. Cluverius recounted:

> Shortly after three bells, I finished my letter. As I rose from my desk, I heard a sharp sound . . . Immediately there followed a terrifying explosion.

The explosion that sank the *Maine* led to a war which diplomatic historians consider to be the beginning of the emergence of the United States as a world power.

The Spanish-American War was fought by volunteers. Over 5,000 died, many more from disease than in battle. There are very few of them left. We assure them, and the memory of their comrades of long ago, that we still "Remember the Maine." Especially do we salute the only Member of Congress who is a Spanish War veteran, the Honorable BARRATT O'HARA, of Illinois.

Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM STANTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, there are 3 million people living in a province of the Soviet Union that once was the proud independent nation of Lithuania. Now reduced to a position of vassalage and subject to the whim of their tyrannical masters, the Lithuanians remember with sadness their lost freedom and recall that in times past they were entitled to the respect and consideration due to a sovereign country. As we celebrate the anniversary of Lithuanian Independence Day we wonder if the people of Lithuania realize our concern for their welfare and we wish that they could share with us our heartfelt desire for their return to the assemblage of free nations.

But, Mr. Speaker, we do not forsake all hope of their eventual emancipation. At times in their history, the Lithuanians have overcome their conquerors and regained the freedom they cherish. The anniversary we celebrate on February 16 depicts the Lithuanian story only too well. Lithuanians had waited a century for the reestablishment of the nation after succumbing to the power of czarist Russia. The new-found freedom was lost in 1940 and we can be assured that the Lithuanians are waiting for the opportunity to declare their independence anew. We join with our Lithuanian friends around the world in remembering the anniversary of Lithuanian Independence Day.

American Advertising Federation

SPEECH
OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure to have had an opportunity to participate last January 6 as a witness to the signing of an AID grant to the National Association of the Partners of the Alliance, Inc. A number of my colleagues were in attendance on the occasion of the signing of this grant by Vice President HUMPHREY and Mr. Edward Marcus, president of the national association, at a ceremony held in the Indian Treaty Room of the Executive Office Building.

I met Mr. Marcus on that occasion and know that the great talents and skills that he brings to bear on the national U.S. Partners program will be impactive and far reaching in Inter-American affairs.

It is my understanding that on Tuesday of last week Mr. Marcus met with the leadership of the newly formed American Advertising Federation to discuss possible collaborative activities in the future. Mr. Donald A. McDonald, advertising manager of the Wall Street Journal, was elected chairman of the board of the new American Advertising Federation. I feel that the statement of Mr. McDonald on the new American Advertising Federation may be of interest to Members of the Congress.

Under leave to extend my remarks and to include extraneous material, Mr. McDonald's statement follows:

Since the AFA and the AAW are now merged into the new AAF all comments will be inclusive for the new organization with no attempt to separate activities by now historical organizations.

Both organizations have long, proud histories. Both organizations at the time of the merger were 63 years old. Both organizations served their purposes well. Both organizations survived changing times with vary degrees of success.

Over the past few years it became apparent to all of us who were intensely involved in these organizations that new direction was needed; a stronger organization was needed. A national organization was needed. It became evident that challenges were now national more than local. It will be to the everlasting credit of all officers and board members of both organizations that they recognized in time the gradual erosion taking place in our strength both from the standpoint of effectiveness and also financial.

It is with distinct pleasure I can say that over the past year our financial house has been put in order. Our structure has been strengthened and clarified and our manpower availability is probably at its highest interest level.

Our time is best spent discussing the future of our new organization for it is the future that will measure the wisdom of today's activities.

We could devote many hours passing out well deserved kudos to so many people responsible for moving us to our present position of solidarity. Having worked with them all and knowing them all so well, I know they will all applaud me for accepting my thanks and the thanks of all members of the association as a group rather than individually. It should also be a great comfort to you to know that all of those concerned will be on hand in the future to respond as needed.

While advertising's place in the free economy has changed little over the years, the climate in which it operates has chilled somewhat. In view of this in July 1966, the AFA instigated a program which was later approved by the interim Board of the new AAF. It is called "Partners-In-Advertising Progress". Highlighted here are the basic points for our direction and future measurement.

1. To safeguard advertising against needless, unfair, and unwarranted restrictive legislation at the national, state, and local levels, that would unjustly and detrimentally curb proper advertising from accomplishing its highly essential and long-needed function in our free enterprise society.

2. To improve advertising and the environment in which it operates as a means of building greater public, government, and business confidence in advertising. To champion truth in advertising at all times and to provide leadership in the development of action programs throughout the federation to implement these objectives.

3. To promote better understanding of advertising's function and its contribution to our economic growth, so that the public, academic centers, business and government will have a clearer perspective and greater appreciation of advertising's role in an expanding economy.

This "Partners-In-Advertising Progress" program has received great support from the advertising clubs and the coporate members. The increased communications occasioned by this program has caused a feeling of positive direction to be generated throughout our organization and gives a positive basis for future implementation as time goes by. In December 1966 at the New York Advertising Club with the permission of the Interim Board of the AAF, your Chairman issued "A Call for Unity in Action" to the affiliated associations of the AFA and AAW. It seems fitting to reissue it now.

We sincerely believe advertising, in all forms, is the voice of free enterprise and free choice. We believe good advertising has helped make this country economically great. Advertising is primarily a communications vehicle, but paradoxically, we do not communicate *on our own behalf*.

We have taken the posture of passive resistance. Each segment under attack reacts as the feudal lords did when their own particular small domain was threatened—they raised the drawbridge.

Our voice has been so muted, the legislators and general public would have difficulty hearing our side of the story with the most powerful amplifier. Yet we must take action. New legislation is constantly being proposed which is a detriment to advertising.

Taxes are being levied against advertising.

Consumers complain about it.

Authors, economists, and educators speak and write against us.

When politically-oriented, anti-advertising and anti-marketing government voices talk, they speak almost in unison and receive fantastic news coverage to the point where some of their names have become household words.

When advertising speaks, it speaks to itself, and the news coverage is limited primarily to our own trade press. What nationally respected champion of advertising and marketing appears and with logical and studied remarks, answers unfair attacks upon our very existence?

Is there no national figure in business we can call forth to do battle for us? We are being bested at our own profession and in our own arena.

Yet from every side is a call for action.

But present action of existing advertising associations appears to culminate in everyone stampeding in the same direction and winding up in a pile or in opposite directions alone. The ANA has an economist's study on the Turner Proposal. The AFA has an economist's study on the Turner Proposal, and I under the 4A's am also having a study made.

Wouldn't it be far better if the advertising industry as a whole had one study made—and that one a masterpiece—and a planned line of usage that would put the facts before the public and government in their proper perspective and expose any serious fallacies uncovered by the study?

This program, plus the *idea* of an open channel for communications, has been extremely well-received by our membership, and, I hope, by all affiliated associations.

To those less informed than yourselves, we could detail our many mutual achievements in creating and endorsing the American code of business practice, or the current educational advertising service which will give 600 colleges and universities direct access to a full selection of advertising materials provided and financed through the various AFA affiliated groups, or our sponsorship of the Harvard Seminar, and the proposal for a similar seminar at a midwestern university, or the numerous occasions when dedicated leadership, from our advertising clubs and affiliated associations, provided truly heroic action for us across the country against unfair and adverse legislation.

As the newly elected interim chairman of the American Advertising Federation, the organization emerging from the combination of the Advertising Federation of America and the Advertising Association of the West, I invite the affiliated associations to *join us* in support of a truly unified Washington nerve center, and a unified national program.

"Federation" in our name is not there by accident. It was present in the old AFA name, and retained in the new to describe accurately the potential of an organization made up of your organizations, plus 180 advertising clubs, 35,000 advertising club members, and 1,000 company members. It represents an opportunity for advertising to truly speak as one voice.

This is not to say one association will sepak for all, but to establish that all associations can speak through one. By its historical structure and its capabilities, the new AAF can unselfishly serve as your vehicle for coordinated communications in Washington. The structure of the American Advertising Federation is now such that it reaches as members:

1. A geographically balanced advertising population throughout the country.
2. Constituents who have access in home states to the legislators of this country.
3. Practitioners in all segments of advertising.
4. Other associations—as an integrated and necessary part of it.

The proposal in brief was:

1. Expand the Washington Office with the support of the affiliated associations.
2. Seriously study the possibility of retaining a registered lobbyist or registering one of our own.
3. Issue Washington Reports specifically tailored to the needs of participating associations.
4. Create a Study Committee made up of the leaders of our industry to study and then recommend lines of action. This allows us to multiply the thoughts of our best thinkers.
5. Create an Action Committee to implement the recommendations for the Study Committee.

The key word of our new association must be "Action."

Legislative Action.
Educational Action.
Craft Improvement Action.
Action for Truth in Advertising.
Cummunicative Action.

Action at the Local Level.

Action at the National Level.

You have selected me as your first Chairman and I thank you for the honor. I will try to serve you well. In so doing, I must ask for your support. We must make it known that we are in being and intend to prosper.

We have structured the most potentially powerful force for the good of advertising ever created. We must now add meat to the bones.

We must make known that which we stand for and that we stand together.

Thank you!!

The 49th Anniversary of Lithuania's Rebirth of Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, the American people feel very deeply about the subjugation of any people. I rise to assure the people of Lithuania that we have not forgotten the desire of her people for freedom. The United States properly maintains a policy which recognizes the right of Lithuanians to self-determination . As we greatly prize our own freedom, we are fully aware of the importance of freedom for others. I feel certain that my colleagues persist in their concern for the 3 million people of that ancient country who were incorporated into the Soviet Union against their will.

I wish to congratulate the Lithuanian American organizations for keeping fresh in our minds the fate of these people, so that the world will not forget their cause.

The following is a letter from the president of the Lithuanian American Council, Inc:

Lithuanian American Council, Inc.,
Chicago, Ill., February 2, 1967.

Dear Congressman: February 16, 1967, is the 49th anniversary of Lithuania's rebirth of independence. For many years, Congressman Daniel J. Flood of Pennsylvania, initiated in the House of Representatives, a commemorative ceremony on this day, leading with a discussion of Lithuania's oppression by the communist government of Russia.

Through the years we have found that our Congressmen are familiar with communist expansion around the world and the tactics used by the Soviets. We have noted your true American stand that the principles of freedom and democracy apply not only in our country, but for the people of captive nations as well.

Mr. Congressman, we kindly request your help in our fight against communism and enslavement of the country of Lithuania. We ask your support of Congressman Flood's opening remarks on February 16, 1967, with your own extension of remarks on the unlawful occupation of Lithuania by Soviet aggressors, and by the insertion of your comments into the Congressional Record. The nonrecognition of the incorporation of Lithuania into Russia is the official position of the U.S. Government, as stated in U.S. Dept. of State publication, "Status of the World's Nations", pages one and nine.

We extend our deepest appreciation and respect and are grateful for all you have done in the past to keep the hope of freedom alive for Lithuania and other subjugated peoples.

Sincerely yours,
Lithuanian American Council, Inc.,
Anthony J. Rudis, *President.*

Extending the GI Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, we talk of support for any proposal as bipartisan if it encompasses the view of the major political parties in our Nation. I feel sure that the proposals made by President Johnson on January 31 in his message on veterans benefits will be in the biaprtisan category.

There is no party line when a program envisions fulfilling obligations that a nation owes to its fighting men and its veterans. I am pleased at the reception of the proposals here on Capitol Hill; I am pleased at the fine response that I have had from my constitutents, and am confident that all of the others here have likewise received; but I am deeply moved by the universal support given to the proposals by the press of this Nation.

This editorial in support of the President's proposals appeared in the Hartford Courant on February 6, 1967:

[From the Hartford (Conn.) Courant, Feb. 6, 1967]

EXTENDING THE GI BILL

Although officially no war is going on President Johnson has taken cognizance of the realities of the situation. He has asked Congress to grant wartime benefits to all servicemen both in Vietnam and on the homefront. He also proposed fatter pensions for needy veterans and higher payments to ex-servicemen attending college under the 1966 GI Bill of Rights.

All of these measures seem to be certain of passage as the only Republican criticism was that the improved benefits should have come sooner. The educational benefit for servicemen following the Second World War and the Korean conflict has proved to be an excellent thing, not only for the men concerned but for the country as a whole.

The original G.I. Bill of Rights was a break-through in American education. It opened up the colleges, universities and professional schools to thousands of young men and women who would not have been able to attend on their own. The result has been a tremendous influx into the professional and managerial classes of the country. This came at a time when jobs in the lower skills were drying up and the demand for skilled technicians and professional workers was growing.

This situation still exists. It is a fine thing for the country to take care of ex-service men educationally when they have finished their term of service. But it is also a good thing for the country. The stability of this country rests on the solid base of a large, stable middle class. There is no country on earth that has as many people who consider themselves economically as middle-class. And that is one reason why we are still functioning under a Constitution that is now nearly two centuries old.

Keep Our Word or Lose Trust and Respect

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. J. RANDALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, in the pursuit of the recent elusive peace feelers, it is well that once again there be a restatement of why we are in Vietnam together with a clear statement of the objective of our fighting in southeast Asia.

An editorial appeared in a recent issue of the Kansas City Times which is the morning edition of the Kansas City Star, under dateline of Friday, February 10, 1967, headed "U.S. Stands by its Word in Fighting for Vietnam." The writer takes issue quite rightly in our opinion, with the theme of a book by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbright], entitled "The Arrogance of Power," which the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee referred to in a speech at Columbia, Mo., the home of the University of Missouri.

This editorial warmed the heart of some Members of the Missouri delegation in Congress when it suggested Mr. Fulbright has no special military background and is hardly an authority on defense matters.

It is a privilege to represent a portion of Kansas City, Mo., which is the home of a newspaper that has consistently supported our country's effort in Vietnam by its repeated recitations that if we do not keep our word in southeast Asia, we would find ourselves no longer trusted or respected by any of our allies.

I have asked this editorial be included in the Congressional Record in order that it may be shared with other Members. The way the editorial blasts Senator Fulbright's theory of our present involvement is equalled only by the excellent statement of the objectives of our fighting in Vietnam.

The editorial follows:

[From the Kansas City Times, Feb. 10, 1967]

UNITED STATES STANDS BY ITS WORD IN FIGHTING FOR VIETNAM

Viet Nam, it seems to us, has a much wider meaning than that narrow interpretation given to it by Senator Fulbright. In a speech at Columbus, Mo., the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee again has stated the theme of his frequent speeches and of his new book, "The Arrogance of Power." Fulbright maintains that the U.S. stake in Viet Nam has become pride rather than the protection of American security.

Fulbright has no special military background and is not a recognized authority on defense matters. He does not even seem to recognize that present U.S. strategy does *not* hold Viet Nam itself to be essential to this country's security. Sufficient bases off the Asian mainland will remain available to the United States regardless of the outcome of the Viet Nam fighting.

The version that distorted national pride accounts for an American presence in Viet Nam is a view that Senator Fulbright may not have invented. But he has worked at expounding the theory. In fact, however, pride has nothing to do with the determination of the Johnson Administration to stand by a commitment that was originally made by Dwight D. Eisenhower and reaffirmed by John F. Kennedy. The Government of South Viet Nam is based on authority that was awarded by the Geneva Conference of 1954. The United States has agreed to help the people of South Viet Nam keep their independence. The regime of North Viet Nam and its Viet Cong front have undertaken to seize control of South Viet Nam by force.

If the Communists succeed in Viet Nam, all around the periphery of that country other independent states—Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Burma, Indonesia and Malaysia—would be open to further intimidation. In addition to placing these states in jeopardy, the surrender of Viet Nam to Communist violence would represent a future threat to the world-wide complex of nations that depends on the United States and regional defense arrangements for its security. The United States would find itself no longer trusted or respected by its allies.

To Senator Fulbright, the attitude of his government is no more than "the pride of arrogance." But to America's allies and others, it signifies the intention of the United States to stand by its obligations in Viet Nam or wherever else the U.S. is committed to resisting Communist force with force. The Fulbright viewpoint ignores the kind of a world it would soon become if the Communists were allowed to march to power undeterred.

Public Housing and Vandalism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the increase in crime generally in this country has been appalling, but the increase in senseless acts of vandalism is perhaps the most obviously self-destructive aspect of the crime situation.

This is particularly true with respect to public housing and the spectacle created by vandals in the Valley Green public housing project in Southeast Washington is a case in point.

As stated in the following editorial broadcast by station WMAL here in Washington during the week of January 15, 1967, long-range solutions, to get at the roots of violence, cannot get underway until the immediate problem of vandalism is solved.

The editorial follows:

PUBLIC HOUSING AND VANDALISM

"The ultimate answer to violence is not more stringent police power, but the eradication of the roots of violence in poverty and frustration."

This quotation is from a sermon last Sunday by the Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Jr., Suffragan Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Washington. We believe that Bishop Moore has put his finger on the long-run solution to violence. But we must also deal—right now—with current problems of crime that threaten the entire fabric of our society.

A small example of a widespread problem is the Valley Green public housing project in Southeast Washington. Vandals are destroying this publicly-financed, low-cost housing. Buildings are pockmarked with broken windows. Vandals roam the halls, destroying the interiors and terrorizing residents. At this rate, Valley Green will soon be a ghetto.

Valley Green is a project meant to help the poor. Thus, civil rights and anti-poverty leaders have a vital stake in its success. They must support police efforts to stop this vandalism. Then they can practice what they preach in the way of long-run solutions. Anti-poverty programs of education and job improvement and better housing cannot work in an atmosphere of self-destruction.

Commemoration of Spanish-American War

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, throughout our history, America has responded to acts of aggression with a special courage and will to succeed which have become legendary in the annals of history.

Regardless of the strength of our adversaries, those who have challenged us have been defeated or deterred. Often, we have made allies of former enemies. And there have been individuals and governments wise enough to join in the ancient and enduring struggle for peace and liberty.

America, itself, symbolizes many things to the people of the earth. Of all these symbols, perhaps our greatest strength lies in our ability to sustain countless irresponsible acts of aggressive conduct with patience and prevailing wisdom. On occasion, however, other nations have misjudged our patience for cowardice and indecision.

Such an error in judgment led Spain into believing we would not defend our interest in the Caribbean. On February 15, 1898, the battleship *Maine* was sunk in Havana Harbor.

Before the world had time to digest the news, the United States had reacted swiftly, surely, and with great strength. Our war with Spain involved some of the bloodiest and most individually gallant sacrifices in our history, yet they were in our American tradition. In the end, our just cause prevailed.

Although 69 years have passed, we have continued to demonstrate our strength and our determination never to yield when the price is the loss of liberty for ourselves or our allies.

Those in other nations who would wish us harm had best be reminded of our willingness to bear any burden to secure liberty for all those men who seek it and who will join in fighting alongside us to obtain it.

The men who fought at San Juan Hill, at Bunker Hill, at Pork Chop Hill, and the countless hills and gulleys of the jungles of Vietnam earned us the right to live in peace with one another and the world.

We would do them a grave injustice if we failed in our historic defense of the self-determination all men seek.

On this 69th anniversary of the sinking of the *Maine*, it is an honor to stand with a veteran of this gallant action, my colleague and friend, Congressman BARRATT O'HARA, and commemorate the heroism and the devotion to liberty which made our country resolute and invincible, not only in this action, but in all conflicts since that time.

Pelly Calls Tuna Boat Seizures Acts of Piracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, earlier today I announced to the House the seizure by an Ecuadorian vessel of three American tuna fish boats. I am now in receipt of further details which I include for printing in the RECORD following these short remarks. I will also include a copy of a letter I have dispatched to Secretary of State Dean Rusk, protesting this act of piracy.

Need I repeat, Mr. Speaker, as I said in the letter to Secretary Rusk, the prestige of our Government throughout the world has hit a new low when we allow former American naval and Coast Guard vessels to be used by foreign government to illegally seize the persons and property of American citizens on the high seas. As I said in addressing the House earlier today, the policy of paying fines illegally imposed on American vessels and then filing claims which are ignored only encourages these reprehensible acts.

Following is a summary of pertinent facts together with information received by radio by Mr. August Felando, of the American Tunaboat Association, and likewise a copy of my letter to the Secretary of State:

FEBRUARY 16, 1967.

Yesterday afternoon Mr. August Felando received a high seas radio call from Mr. Tom Santos, Master and part owner of the tuna vessel Ronnie S. He reported that around noon Ecuador time, an Ecuador naval vessel, the Quayaquil, designated #LC 72 and recognized as a former U.S. Coast Guard cutter, grey steel hull, about 95′ in length, intercepted, stopped and seized three vessels, the Ronnie S and the Ranger of San Diego, and the Determined of San Pedro. Location of the seizure was approximately 24 to 28 miles off the coast. The coordinates, as provided by the navigator of the Ronnie S and confirmed by the skippers of the other two vessels, gave position as 81 degrees 08 minutes W. Longitude, 03 degrees, 27 minutes S. Latitude. In addition to taking sights, Mr. Santos took radar bearings from the coast. According to their findings, they were located approximately 24 to 28 miles off the Peruvian coast. The Master of the Ecuador naval vessel claimed that the vessels were sezied off Ecuador coast, approximately 10 miles above the imaginary line that separates Ecuador and Peru.

The vessels were clearly far beyond the 12-mile limit—there is no dispute about this. Dispute is as to whether they were off the Ecuador coast or off Peru, according to designation of the boundary line.

The Master of the Ecuador naval vessel attempted to persuade Tom Santos to sign a paper admitting that they were seized off Ecuador coast. Mr. Santos refused to sign the paper. We think the same thing happened with skippers of the other vessels. Armed guards were placed aboard all three vessels. The Ronnie S was having main engine difficulty, so the Ecuador naval vessel proceeded to escort the Ranger and Determined to the port of Salinas, ordering the Ronnie S to follow as soon as possible. At the time Mr. Santos was talking to Mr. Felando, he was under orders by the two armed guards aboard his vessel, a Lieutenant and a sailor both armed with 45's, that he was not to use the radio to contact San Diego. He told the armed guards that regardless of the consequences he was going to use the radio.

We don't expect to hear from Mr. Santos unless he is permitted to use the radio when he arrives in Salinas. Everyone aboard is okay. All vessels expected to arrive in Salinas about 3 a.m. Thursday (today).

There were seven other vessels in the vicinity. Mr. Santos was unable to give a clear explanation as to why the others were not seized. All three of those seized had gone into the port of Talura and had purchased Peruvian licenses. At the time of the seizure, Ronnie S was in a set (fishing), as were the other two.

The expected fine, or total amount of money required to be paid Ecuador for the release of all three vessels, will be approximately $32,000. If the formula provided in Ecuador is applied, the fine will be equal to $48 times the net tonnage of each vessel as indicated in the ship's marine document. In addition, each vessel will be required to pay another $12 a net ton for the purchase of a license as a further condition of release of the vessel. The total net tonnage of all three vessels is 547 net tons. If they did not have matriculas, they will have to pay an additional $200 each.

CONGRESS OF THE
UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., February 16, 1967.

Hon. DEAN RUSK,
Secretary of State,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am informed that a high-seas radio report came through from Mr. Tom Santos, master and part owner of the fishing vessel Ronnie–S. He reported that the Equadorian naval vessel Quayaquil, formerly a U.S. Coast Guard cutter, intercepted and stopped three fishing vessels, the Ronnie–S, the Ranger, and the Determined. The location of the seizure was approximately twenty-four to twenty-eight miles off the coast of Peru.

I strongly protest this illegal seizure and am requesting that the House Subcommittee on Fisheries be fully informed of any action taken by the State Department on this matter. I think that this act of piracy indicates the futility of our American policy of paying fines to foreign governments and following up by filing a claim which is ignored. The fact that our own former Coast Guard and Naval vessels are being used to apprehend U.S. fish boats on the high seas indicates also that the loans of any such vessels should cease. The Constitution provides that citizens on the high seas are entitled to protection and I think that the Administration and State Department should review their so-called good neighbor policy which has brought American prestige throughout the world to a new low.

Awaiting an early reply, I am,

Your very truly,

THOMAS M. PELLY,
Representative in Congress.

Astronauts Perished of Smoke Inhalation, Inquiry Board Finds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post of February 4, 1967, carried a review of the first preliminary report of the tragic accident which took the lives of three of our Nation's astronauts. It seems important to point up those articles which recount the thorough investigation now underway to identify the cause and make the necessary corrections to allow our national space effort to continue with confidence and strength. The article follows:

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 4, 1967]

ASTRONAUTS PERISHED OF SMOKE INHALATION, INQUIRY BOARD FINDS—UNMANNED FLIGHT IS STILL SCHEDULED, NASA ANNOUNCES

The space agency, issuing its first report on the Cape Kennedy tragedy eight days ago, said last night that the three Apollo I astronauts died of asphyxiation, but that the cause of the space craft fire is still unknown.

"The official death certificates for all three crew members list the cause of death as asphyxiation due to smoke inhalation due to the fire," said Robert C. Seamans, Jr., deputy director of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

In a four-page "preliminary report" to NASA Administrator James E. Webb, Dr. Seamans said that a nine-man board of inquiry had no idea as yet to the fire's cause. Finding the cause, Seamans said, "is a complex task demanding the complete attention of the Review Board" as well as the "many elements of government, industry and universities involved in the Apollo program."

At the same time, the space agency made public Dr. Seaman's report, it also announced that its first three-man orbital flight will be a voyage of essentially the same type of craft that would have flown Feb. 21. No date was announced for the flight.

The space agency indicated that while the spacecraft built to fly next is equipped to dock with another spacecraft it will not do so. NASA has elected just to launch the spacecraft.

NASA made no changes in the launching of three unmanned Apollo flights for this year. These are:

An unmanned flight of the Lunar Excursion Module (LEM) in the second quarter of this year. This is the "space bus" that will carry two astronauts to the lunar surface from the Apollo spacecraft as it orbits the moon.

The first launch of the giant Saturn V moon rocket, also scheduled for the second quarter and slated to orbit an unmanned Apollo spacecraft, minus the LEM.

A second launch of Saturn V in the second half of this year, also due to carry an Apollo spacecraft (minus LEM) into earth orbit.

For the first time since the day after the accident, NASA broke what has amounted to an official silence about the details of the fire.

Dr. Seamans, who just yesterday returned to Washington from Cape Kennedy, disclosed that the fire was first detected in the spacecraft while the ground crew was attempting to "improve communications" to the craft. This confirmed, in a way, the reports that communications had been difficult.

Seamans also cleared up the confusion as to whether the spacecraft was running on electricity supplied from the ground or on its own power.

"The fuel cells in the service module were not in use," Seamans said, "and the so-called internal power was being supplied by batteries having the same characteristics as the fuel cells but located external to the spacecraft."

The spacecraft was in what space officials called a "plugs in" mode—that is, it was plugged in to a ground source of power and not its own power source. "There is no evidence at this time," Seamans emphasized, "that the source of power whether simulated internal or external was related to the accident."

Seamans reported that the first report of fire came from Pilot Chaffee, who was sitting in the extreme right side of the astronaut couch. At the same time Chaffee warned of fire. Senior Pilot White's heart beat started to rise.

Seamans explained that White was the only astronaut of the three who was instrumented for heart rate and respiration.

Barely one second after Chaffee's cry of alarm, said Seamans, the crew apparently began to move about. A second later the "cabin temperature began to rise."

Six seconds after Chaffee's warning, White "repeated the previous report saying that there was a fire in the cockpit." At the same time, the cabin pressure began to rise and the crew apparently was vainly struggling to escape.

From Seamans's account, it appears that White—in the center seat—was reaching over his left shoulder to actuate a handle that would start to release the hatch. It also appears that Grissom, in the left seat, might have been helping White to release the hatch.

Nine seconds after Chaffee's first alarm, reported Seamans, the cabin temperature rose rapidly and Chaffee reported that "a bad fire" was burning in the cabin.

At this time, Chaffee apparently actuated the internal batteries to turn up the cabin lights. "No other intelligible communications were received," said Seamans, "although some listeners believe there was one sharp cry of pain."

A few seconds later, said Seamans, loss of radio signal occurred and oxygen supply to the astronauts began to dip. "Fourteen seconds after the fire was first detected," he said, "the cabin pressure reached a level of approximately 29 pounds per square inch (up from 16 psi) and the cabin ruptured."

Hon. Gordon Browning; Distinguished Tennessean and a True Servant of the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM R. ANDERSON
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, you and many other Members of the House will recall as your friend the Honorable Gordon Browning, of Tennessee, who served with distinction in the House of Representatives during several terms some years ago and who later served so ably as Governor of Tennessee. Military men and civilians alike will recall the great record of military service of Gordon Browning during both World War I and World War II. He is a man who has devoted himself since childhood to serving the people—service in the most honorable and dedicated form. I share the pride of millions who have been inspired by the selfless devotion to public service of this great American. His heart and his courage are as big as Tennessee itself, from Smoky Mountains to Mississippi plain.

Some who have not seen Governor Browning for some years might bring forth the question, "What is Gordon Browning doing now?" And then, those who know him well would realize that this question has but one answer, "Gordon Browning is serving the people." He is today, despite pain and physical affliction, in contact, town to town in Tennessee, delivering to thousands a valiant message on the responsibilities we all have to God and country, and as Democrats, to our party and to its ideals. As a fellow Tennessean, I salute him.

Mr. Thomas Bernatz and Jerry Brady

SPEECH

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, in this period of disillusionment with national objectives and vocal attacks on the Nation's military activities in Vietnam and elsewhere, it is encouraging and gratifying to find examples of individuals who are, in their own small ways, recognizing the sacrifices our servicemen must make and are patriotically giving support to those young men who have donned their Nation's uniform and accepted the challenge and responsibility of representing the Nation in the defense of freedom and the pursuit of assuring our allies, large and small, that we will come to their aid and support. Thomas Bernatz and Jerry Brady are two such Americans.

Mr. Bernatz is a veteran who proudly served his country in time of national need and he continues to render patriotic service as a member of American Legion Post 267, La Habra, Calif. Mr. Bernatz and Mr. Brady, as public-spirited businessmen and fine Americans, serve all servicemen, at no charge, who patronize their two fine restaurants in La Habra and Whittier, Calif. I believe that for the hundreds of free meals these individuals have graciously provided at no cost, we owe these two businessmen official recognition.

Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson Presents Awards of Excellence for Conservation of Natural Beauty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, today, at the White House, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson presented awards of excellence to distinguished Americans who have contributed to the conservation and enhancement of natural beauty through their work in highway construction.

At this ceremony, Mr. Laurence S. Rockefeller, Chairman of the Citizens Advisory Committee on Recreation and Natural Beauty, made the following speech which I commend to your attention:

REMARKS OF LAURENCE S. ROCKEFELLER AT RECEPTION HONORING CITIZENS ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON RECREATION AND NATURAL BEAUTY, THE WHITE HOUSE, FEBRUARY 16, 1967

Mrs. Johnson, friends of beauty from far and near: The Citizens Advisory Committee wishes to thank you, Mrs. Johnson very much for honoring us here today. This is another gracious occasion where you have inspired those who share your concern for a more beautiful America.

I would like also to express the appreciation of the Committee and, I believe, that of most Americans for a far more significant debt of gratitude.

We thank you and the President for your efforts to help achieve a better and more beautiful America. Your dedication and concern have struck a responsive and vital chord. Your words and your actions have stirred the hearts, the minds and the hands of citizens across the land. We are at work—as the organizations represented in this room attest.

Three years ago at the University of Michigan in outlining his hopes for America and for a Great Society, the President warned of the threats to the natural beauty of our country. He pledged himself to action and challenged the nation to join him in meeting this and other crucial problems. He said:

"Let us from this moment begin our work so that in the future men will look back and say: It was then, after a long and weary way, that man turned the exploits of his genius to the full enrichment of his life."

From that day there has been a heartening wave of progress. There was the Task Force on Natural Beauty, the White House Conference on Natural Beauty, and three special messages to the Congress. The Congress has responded with farsighted legislation. The federal agencies and state and local governments have responded with vigorous programs.

But perhaps most significantly of all, people across this country have taken heart and taken action. They are beginning to believe that we can have both a prosperous and a beautiful America. They are becoming convinced that we can have clean air, clean water, and healthy open spaces and that these assets are the building blocks of a healthy society. There is citizen action as well as words. The voters, when they have the choice, are casting their ballots for beauty even when it hurts their pocketbooks.

In state after state they have voted to authorize bond issues for parkland acquisition, water pollution, and other measures for a more beautiful America. Last November, for example, the voters of New York authorized a $200 million bond issue for park development and acquisition, and this was the fourth in a series of bond issues over five years for a better environment. All had bipartisan support. Another example: In Berkeley, California—where protests get more publicity than progress—the voters approved a bond issue to put the rapid transit system underground through their community so it would not be blighted by overhead rails.

In essence, conservation, outdoor recreation, urban planning, pollution control, highway design, and all othe other things which the President has dramatized with the term "natural beauty" are emerging as a new major goal of our society. There is a growing public conviction that what is at stake here is something vital—the total quality of our environment and thus the quality of our lives.

The people in this room today, for example, represent directly three million outstanding adult leaders of this land. Eleven major youth organizations with twenty million members have adopted beauty and conservation as a major thrust this year and they are represented. If you add in others who have a stake in the nation's environment—such as the 45 million fishermen who care about clear water—this group today represents a substantial segment of the American people.

I believe the President's hope can come true. If we persevere, this time may indeed be marked as that day when Americans decided to protect and enhance their environment rather than to degrade or despoil it.

There is much yet to be done, but the American people want action and they are willing to help. Thanks to your leadership we are on our way toward a better and more beautiful America.

Judge George C. Sweeney

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I was greatly distressed and deeply touched to learn of the passing on November 5, 1966, of the Honorable George C. Sweeney, for years an outstanding judge and chief judge of the Federal district court at Boston.

I had known Judge Sweeney during most of my lifetime and held him in highest regard, esteem, admiration, and affection.

His brilliant career is a great monument to him—a tribute to his great ability, fine legal training, wonderful spirit of dedication and his many outstanding contributions to the public interest.

Judge Sweeney started from humble beginnings, and by virtue of his ability, ambition, courage, personality and forceful character, rose to one of the topmost judicial positions in the Nation.

He was an American of the finest quality, who, at an early age, joined the colors and gallantly served our country in World War I with great credit.

He was the youngest mayor in the history of his beautiful, native city of Gardner, Mass., in my district. Veteran, mayor, lawyer, distinguished right arm of the U.S. Attorney General as head of the important Claims Division of that high office, learned, wise and respected judge, admired and loved by all who knew him, Judge Sweeney was indeed a great American.

His service on the bench was particularly meritorious and praiseworthy. He enjoyed the high esteem of bar and bench, of his able and distinguished colleagues, and of the members of our great legal profession. He held the admiration and love of all who knew him.

His lifetime of outstanding, devoted faihtful public service of a rare kind stands out like the Washington Monument.

Judge Sweeney was a man of amiable, personal qualities, noted for his fairness and kindliness toward others, his sound judgments, his compassion, and his loyalty to his friends and to the many fine causes which he supported throughout his life. He was truly beloved by his learned judicial colleagues and by all who knew him.

In every sense, he was a great American and his long, valuable outstanding service to his country, to his community, State, and Nation in so many important posts of duty will long be remembered by his distinguished colleagues on the Bench, members of the bar, and by a grateful people, not only in his native city of Gardner, but wherever he was known.

I am personally deeply saddened by his unexpected, untimely demise, and I join with his beloved family, his dear ones, colleagues and friends in mourning his untimely passing, and I extend to them all my most heartfelt sympathy for their great irreparable loss, a loss which I very keenly feel.

The memory of Judge Sweeney will long remain in our hearts.

May he find peace and rest in his eternal, heavenly home.

Mr. Speaker, the day before Judge Sweeney passed away, I dictated a letter to him upon learning that he was ill, which I held after I heard of his death. Under unanimous consent I include the letter in the RECORD as part of my remarks on the passing of this great and beloved jurist:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., November 4, 1966.

Hon. GEORGE C. SWEENEY,
330 Beacon Street,
Boston, Mass.

DEAR GEORGE: I hope you are feeling better these days and that you will take it easy for a while. After all, you have had a very busy life over a long period of time now, and your admirable work on the Bench has been extremely taxing at times.

In public life these days, the problems seem to grow and become more complex and the work load increases almost at a geometric rate.

To be sure, it is not at all like the old days, when there was some more leisure time for family life, diversion, recreation and comradeship.

Our tasks in the public service have changed a great deal since earlier days, and so far as I am concerned, it seems that I can never get out of the salt mines and I know that you must have had the same kind of a situation in the Courts.

One thing is certain, and I must mention it to you, because no one in the entire history of this country has made greater contributions in any judicial role for our federal system of justice, for our courts or for our country than you have done.

Indeed your career is a great monument to you, a tribute to your great ability, your legal learning, your wonderful spirit of dedication and your complete willingness to give of yourself unselfishly and wholeheartedly in the sterling performance of your heavy responsibilities and important duties.

One of the finest things about your service, George, is that in the eminence, distinction and high standards you have achieved, you have always kept your balance, and you have been noted, not only for your mastery of the law, your dignity, your fairness and kindliness toward others, but also for your consistent, sound judgment, compassion for others and the down to earth realism and kindness which you have always shown in the conduct of your important work as well as in your personal relations.

There are so many things I could mention about your contributions—the personal qualities that endeared you to so many of us and that have marked you as a true, genuine, friend, your instinctive concern for people, and the constant loyalty of your friendship which, Lord knows, stands out like a beacon light. To enjoy such high esteem of the Bar and Bench, of the fellows of our great profession and the admiration and love of all who know you, is surely a great thing even though your own inherent modesty might prompt you to evaluate it somewhat differently than we do.

They say that the past is prologue, but you certainly can look back on it as a gleaming reflection of outstanding, devoted, faithful public service of a kind that we seldom have these days and that stands out like the Eiffel Tower or the Washington Monument.

In any event, I just want to have this opportunity as an old friend and admirer, to commend and thank you as well as to congratulate you and your lovely family upon your extraordinarily brilliant career on the Bench and your superb contributions throughout the years. Veteran, Mayor, lawyer and distinguished right arm of the Attorney General, learned, wise and respected Judge, admired and loved by all, you and your dear ones, your friends, and all who know you, may well be proud and grateful for your tremendous achievements for God and country.

I also want to thank you for your invariable kindness to me and your strong, inspiring, loyal friendship. Truly you are in a class by yourself—a great American.

I wish for you and your dear ones all choicest blessings in the time to come, and well-being, happiness and peace together for many years to come.

Please do not hesitate to call upon me anytime.

Warm regards and best wishes,
Sincerely yours,
PHILIP J. PHILBIN.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and condtions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective departments or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Anniversary of Lithuanian Independence

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, we citizens of the United States know what a precious essence liberty is. We have but to recall the dramatic accounts in our history books of the courage, determination and self-sacrifice of the American Revolutionary Forces. We realize the great price these early patriots paid in physical suffering and mental anguish to set us free. Freedom of the individual is a basic tenet of our American Government. Thomas Jefferson called it an inalienable right. Woodrow Wilson restated this idea in his speeches expounding the right of all people to self-determination.

History was kind to the Americans. The years following our liberation found us isolated from would-be aggressors and free to direct our energies toward building a strong and unified nation. This has not been true for the people of Lithuania. Their proclamation declaring themselves an independent state was permitted to stand only 22 short years before German and Soviet aggressors besieged Lithuania's eastern and western boundaries. Although the stalwart Lithuanians had repelled attempts at colonization many times, these courageous people could not defend their country against a major onslaught by two mighty countries. The defeat of Hitler's forces left the struggling Lithuanians in Soviet hands. The clever Soviets, who had employed their covert subversive tactics to undermine the independent structure of the Lithuanian Government since Russian troops had entered Lithuania in 1939, were quick to absorb the ill-fated citizens. Without deference to the Lithuanian sovereign state, the Soviets moved in and engulfed the free territory.

Soviet domination has endured for 23 years. Propaganda from the U.S.S.R. would assure the West that the Lithuanian people are delighted with their satellite status; that Soviet methods of farming and industrial techniques have brought about economic growth never dreamed of in Lithuanian history. Soviet educational systems and social reforms have fostered a cheerful and grateful Lithuanian people, we are told. Citizens of the free world know that this is a sham. We know that the people of this once proud land are struggling in bondage, yearning to be free. The spirit of Lithuanian independence is not dead, nor even does it lie dormant. It exists as an indestructible flame in the hearts of its people. Mr. Speaker, today we pause to honor and to salute these brave people, with the hope that they will again know the indefinable joy of human liberty.

Death of Sgt. Robert F. Starbuck, U.S. Marine Corps, of Charleston, S.C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 17, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, Mr. Edward Hunter is the founder and editor of the excellent magazine, Tactics, a journal devoted to the analysis of Communist propaganda maneuvers. In his current issue he departs from his usual format to pay tribute to a young hero from South Carolina, Sgt. Robert F. Starbuck, U.S. Marine Corps, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Starbuck, of Charleston. Sergeant Starbuck, who was a hero even though he disclaimed the title, died of wounds received in action in Vietnam, February 4. As such, he is symbolic of the sacrifice American manhood is making in Vietnam. I recommend Mr. Hunter's tribute, entitled, "Symbol of Finest Manhood," to the attention of Senators, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the tribute was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

His Spirit, Not His Death, the Symbol: Symbol of Finest Manhood

The artist who designed the jacket for my book, "Attack by Mail," is a deeply motivated woman. I have known her for some years. So I naturally know about her younger brother, Bob. He joined the Marines when 19, about five years ago. He was the type of young man one means when referring to "the typical American boy." He was clean-cut, with a countenance that projected ruggedness and boyishness. Other parents saw their own son or son-in-law in him. He looked the ideal young man.

He was the ideal young American man. He was a football star at high school in Montgomery, N.Y. When 16, he raised a Guernsey cow that won a first prize at the Orange County, N.Y., fair and he went on to the state fair at Syracuse with his blue ribbon cow. He enrolled in Orange County Community College at Middletown, N.Y., but enlisted in the Marine Corps in his first year.

Upon graduation from boot camp at Parris Island, S.C., he was selected as the outstanding recruit of his class. He asked for sea duty, and was assigned to the guided missile, light cruiser Little Rock on a voyage to Cuba and the Mediterranean. About a year later, he was made a drill instructor at his old base, Parris Island. His father received a letter from the commanding general saying that Robert was an inspiration to both enlisted men and officers, and was meticulous in his performance of duty. He won a number of medals for excellence in marksmanship and other military activities. His men liked him; so did the girls.

But he was not satisfied. A little more than a year ago, he told his sister, Shirley, that he did not feel he was fulfilling his responsibilities as a Marine and an instructor by staying at Parris Island and training others to go abroad and face enemy fire without having done so himself. He requested combat duty.

The rest of the story is simply told and all too brief. But it is the story of the kind of man who is the backbone of our military establishment and of our nation. He was a man of convictions. He believed in the cause for which he was offering his life. His picture does not appear in the pages of newspapers except rarely, because he is not news. He is the average, good, young American who feels and apprecates the values of our way of life. The space goes to those who are "news" because they are the exceptions—they are the beatniks, the vietniks and the peaceniks and their kind.

He went abroad to fight at his own request, after receiving some last-minute training at Camp Pendleton in California. He was a sergeant, the backbone of our military.

EVERY ASSIGNMENT A MOST DANGEROUS ONE

The next heard of him, his base was at Chu Lai. He was in the thick of it near the Viet Nam border to the north, leading a rifle platoon through the impossible kind of terrain other Americans see on television. He was wounded in the fighting near the demilitarized zone that the enemy uses as a base and a pathway to the south. Pieces of schrapnel cut into both knees. He was hospitalized only a couple of weeks.

A period without mail was interrupted by a visit to his parents, Maria and Sidney Starbuck of Charleston, S.C., by marines who had been friends of his at the base, who asked whether any news had come of him. His father is of early New England ancestry, of those who settled Nantucket Island. The family made its mark in maritime history, and produced some of our most noted whaling shipowners and skippers. The author of "Moby Dick" picked the name, Starbuck, as his first mate's, because of its salty background. His mother is a direct descendant of Elder William Brewster and John Alden.

The elderly couple sensed that something had happened. Bob wrote about being wounded only after he was back in action. Briefly, he had an interval—apparently convalescing—protecting Vietnamese from Viet Cong terrorists during the period of the very successful election. He wrote his sister that it was a great victory for Premier Ky and our side.

He was given a 10-day leave in Malaya from where he phoned his parents. Next, a letter dated Jan. 4 contained the following: "Am in a new outfit now and the one which I have been trying to get into for the last year or so. I might be going to England soon to Commando school and sure hope. A lot of good schools such as jump school, scuba school, Ranger school, special warfare school and quite a few others—have to run now . . . Love, Bob."

This letter was postmarked Jan. 7 and reached Shirley Jan. 12. A few days later, a letter to his parents told of his being dropped with reconnaisance groups from helicopters. His address was: Sgt. Robert F. Starbuck, A Co., 1st Recon Bn, c/o F.P.O., San Francisco, Calif. 96602.

"WE ARE DOING A GOOD JOB"

A letter dated Jan. 30 reached his parents on Feb. 4, a Saturday. It read: "We are behind the Viet Cong lines and we are doing a good job. We have them on the run. Don't repeat this as I don't want to be thought of as a hero"

He was just doing his duty. He was assuming that this is what all Americans strive to do.

Saturday night, Shirley couldn't sleep. She tossed about restlessly in bed until 6:30 Sunday morning. She got up at 9 a.m. for church. At 4:30 p.m. the phone rang in her home at the Wyoming, 2022 Columbia Road N.W., in Washington, D.C. It was her 16-year-old daughter, Susan, calling from Charleston, where she stays with her grandparents while attending school. She was sobbing. The words she barely could force from her throat were: "Mama, it's Bobby . . ." Shirley understood at once . . .

A Marine auto had come to the house at 3:45 p.m. Susan was home alone. She looked out of the window, and sensed at once. A major and a chaplain came with the news. The body would be home in about a week for burial at Parris Island. Additional details followed. On Feb. 3, shrapnel hit him on the back of his head. The next day, Feb. 4, he died.

He had enlisted in the Marines at 19 for a three-year stint, and re-enlisted when 22 for six years. He would have completed his sixth year in the Marines on March 9. On July 17, he would have been 26.

A BEGINNING AND NOT AN END

This is the simple story, much as it is for an increasing number of mothers, fathers, wives, daughters, sisters and other relatives these days. A sergeant who loved life but put patriotism and his convictions first. A man whose adherence to discipline was keeping our country safe in spite of the corrosive permissiveness that enables the enemy to fight us on the home front.

This ordinarily is the end of the tale, but it would be untrue to Bob to leave it at this point. One should not merely have a good cry, and then pull oneself together again, saying, "I'm all right now." There should be more to it, for now is when our responsibility to the Robert F. Starbucks of the country begins. They must not be dying in vain, or needlessly. He is a symbol, and a beautiful one.

His death could be the most worthwhile gift with the most wonderful results imaginable. The way we pursue the war in Viet Nam can save our nation from the agony of an all-out military conflict that would embrace our land all the way from Washington and California to Florida and Maine, and save the world from a holocaust. His life was given so that untold hundreds of thousands—even millions—of Americans will not have to die later on. This is the crucial meaning to the Viet Nam warfare, and Sgt. Starbuck knew it. Bob went into this war to win it. No-win was no part of his makeup. He went behind enemy lines in order to help bring about this victory. We owe it to him, and to the others who likewise have died or are to give their lives, to cherish this intent, and to carry it forward to fulfillment.

Sgt. Robert F. Starbuck believed in his country enough to die for it. He knew that its institutions are intrinsically good, the best ever on earth. The possibility for improvement is the greatest asset of the good, and he laid down his life so we may reach this ideal—again and again and again.

Death itself is never partisan, and should not evoke partisan feelings among us. What it should call forth are questions we can ask ourselves, all of us, inside and outside government. Are we playing fair with these young men? Do they and their mission get all-out or only partial support? Are we making each assignment in the theater of war the best that can be thought out, never as a cover for what could be done more effectively if it were not for some unstated motivation or limitation?

U.S. Trade Policy—Wars of National Liberation

SPEECH

OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, the Soviet Union holds the key to peace in Vietnam. House Concurrent Resolution 210, which I have introduced today, urges our country, through this Congress, to recognize that trade can also be an effective weapon for bringing about peace in Vietnam.

House Concurrent Resolution 210 declares it to be the sense of Congress that—

> The Government of the United States should only consider further expansions of trade, educational and cultural exchanges, and other related agreements with the Soviet Union and its East European satellites when there is demonstrable evidence that their actions and policies with regard to Vietnam have been redirected toward peace and an honorable settlement and when there is demonstrable evidence that they have abandoned their policy of support for so-called "wars of national liberation."

The Soviet Union holds the key to peace in Vietnam because it and its East European satellites are now providing more than 80 percent of the strategic war materials furnished to North Vietnam.

Of all the military strategy approaches available to the United States for bringing about an honorable and successful conclusion to the war in Vietnam only two have been utilized. Thus far, the ineffective bombing of various installations in North Vietnam, and a steady and massive escalation of American troops in South Vietnam have not resulted in a settlement of this war.

It is difficult to understand why the administration is willing to escalate the war by bombing in the north but is unwilling to escalate through the much more humane method of utilizing trade as a weapon of war.

It is my hope that the administration will support and implement legislation introduced by Congressman GLENARD LIPSCOMB, of California, and me, to establish a Select House Committee on Export Control. Trade with Communist nations is often less in consumer goods than it is in machine tools, computers, and other advanced technology which enables those governments to support North Vietnam directly.

The facts prove that the Soviets and their satellites—presently supporting North Vietnam to the tune of better than $1 billion annually—are far more involved in this struggle than are the Chinese.

I would hope that the Johnson administration would finally take the American people into their confidence and admit that the Soviets are the main props of North Vietnam, not the Chinese.

While the Communist nations of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union persist in their direct support of so-called wars of national liberation, such as the war in Vietnam, it makes no sense for the United States to consider further trade and other related agreements with them. Let us build our bridges after this bloody jungle war of "national liberation" in Vietnam is settled and the Soviet Union shows a desire to live in a world at peace.

The resolution follows:

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 210

Whereas it is the policy of the Congress and the desire of the people of the United States that an honorable peace be secured in Vietnam; and

Whereas the Soviet Union supported by its East European satellites holds the ultimate key to such a peace as the principal supporter of the Communist war effort now providing more than 80 percent of the strategic war materials furnished to North Vietnam; and

Whereas the Soviet Union and its satellites are making positive overtures to governmental and priviate leaders of the United States to effect a further increase in trade and an expansion of credit between the respective countries; and

Whereas the Soviet Union and its satellites support the regime of North Vietnam at relatively low cost to themselves, particularly when compared to the mental and moral anguish and physical and economic cost which the people of the United States are forced to bear in support of a free and independent South Vietnam; and

Whereas, of all the military strategy approaches available to the United States for bringing about an honorable and successful conclusion to the war in Vietnam, only two have been utilized thus far: ineffective bombing of various installations in North Vietnam, and a steady and massive escalation of American troops in South Vietnam; and

Whereas trade and cultural and educational exchanges are powerful tools not only for promoting international peace and goodwill, but also as recognized weapons for preventing or prosecuting war: Now therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that the Government of the United States should only consider further expansions of trade, educational and cultural exchanges, and other related agreements with the Soviet Union and its East European satellites when there is demonstrable evidence that their actions and policies with regard to Vietnam have been redirected toward peace and an honorable settlement and when there is demonstrable evidence that they have abandoned their policy of support for so-called wars of national liberation.

Our Great Companions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 17, 1967

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I recently came into possession of an editorial entitled "Our Great Companions," written by Mrs. Virginia Weldon Kelly and published by the Independent Press-

Telegram, of Long Beach, Calif., on Sunday, December 25, 1966.

While the message contained in the article was particularly appropriate at Christmastime, it is also appropriate throughout each day of the year. I therefore ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR GREAT COMPANIONS

(By Virginia Weldon Kelly)

There is a Holy Land legend of a king going into battle who dreamed Jehovah said, "I will give you 10 armies or I, Myself, will accompany you." The king replied, "I choose you, Lord, because I need a Great Companion."

At Christmas, the hallowed and gracious season, Christians contemplate life's meaning; our origin and destiny. The answer comes when we know God as our salvation and refuge in life, the loneliness of dying, and in eternity. Christ is the beginning and end of our quest. Saint Paul said, "For me to live is Christ."

Heidegger, Gide and Sartre have said that to admit God's being would limit their freedom. In contrast, John Wesley wrote the glorious hymn "Come, Thou long expected Jesus, born to set Thy people free."

In the 11th Century Roscelin said God is dead because abstract concepts have no reality. Eight centuries later Nietzche wrote "God is dead. We have slain Him, you and I." Tolstoi warned that this philosophy would lead to man's annihilation.

"You do not know what hope is until you have lost it," T. S. Eliot said. Without hope, atheists defy ego. Each believes the universe rests upon him.

Significantly, Judaism and Christianity prescribe joy, praise and thanksgiving as a means toward glorifying God, righteousness and life's fulfillment. Jesus said, "I am come that they might have life and have it more abundantly." The birth of Jesus, His teachings and triumphant resurrection are indeed "The Good News."

Our Christmas wish is that God will lift you to the joy and tranquility of spirit where you will know that He and the Christ Child are your Great Companions.

Vietnam Vets Entitled to Equal Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, since President Johnson proposed his Servicemen and Veterans' Act of 1967, many citizens and organizations throughout the country have voiced support of its worthwhile provisions.

The act promises to surpass education bills enacted previously—for veterans of World War II and the Korean war—because the Government has already ironed out problems that arose during the administration of these. I have supported the new bill wholeheartedly from the beginning.

We must provide our soldiers in Vietnam with every benefit possible. They are giving up an important part of their lives to fight for their country. There is nothing we can do that would be too much for them.

I am proud to be able to insert into the RECORD an outstanding example of support for the new bill from the Buffalo Courier Express, Buffalo, N.Y. The editorial which follows was printed on February 4, 1967:

VIETNAM VETS ENTITLED TO EQUAL BENEFITS

President Johnson has asked Congress to increase educational and other benefits for veterans of the war in Vietnam. He wants these benefits to equal those granted veterans of the two World Wars and the Korean War. He pointed out that because of certain gaps in the law today's veteran and his family are ineligible for a number of benefits other war veterans receive.

"It is only right that these loopholes be closed," he said.

It certainly is, even though the program the President is requesting is expected to cost $250-million a year. The war in Vietnam is not a declared war, but the distinction is one which means nothing to the men who are fighting it. The risks they run and the casualties they suffer are all the reasons Congress should need for enacting legislation to make sure that there is no discrimination against Vietnam veterans as against veterans of our other wars in the matter of benefits.

Retirement of John E. McClure as County Extension Agent for Daviess County, Ky.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THRUSTON B. MORTON

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 17, 1967

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, the tremendous contribution of the county extension agent in building our Nation's agricultural production capacity and his dedicated leadership in making rural America a better place in which to live and work are among the most significant achievements in our farming history.

One of these completely unselfish and devoted gentlemen, Mr. John E. McClure, retired on December 30 after serving Daviess County, Ky., for 44 years. On January 26, more than 550 persons paid tribute to Jack McClure at an appreciation dinner in Owensboro for achievements which will have lasting effect on the people and community he served.

I ask unanimous consent that an article describing the appreciation dinner and Jack McClure's many accomplishments, published in the January 27 edition of the Owensboro Messenger & Inquirer, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JACK MCCLURE IS HONORED FOR MANY ACCOMPLISHMENTS

They lauded Jack McClure Thursday night.

They praised his greatest accomplishment in their eyes—"he brought the farmers out of the darkness and into the light." This was McClure's part in bringing rural electricity into the county in 1938.

The 550 persons at the Sportscenter to honor Jack McClure after 44 years as county agent also listed his other credits. The credits were numerous.

The audience was made up of farmers, sons and daughters of farmers, rural people of all ages. And they, in Jack McClure's eyes, are his greatest accomplishment. They were people he had helped train and guide during their lives—and their success is his proudest achievement.

But there were more than just friends from the country. Scattered among those coming to break bread with McClure and his family were many friends living in the city.

McClure recognized the diversity of the audience and stated that he had never recognized the imaginary boundary that divides the city and the county.

Checks that have been presented the McClures as gifts have totaled more than $3,500. They also received several silver dishes, a plaque and other items.

But McClure quietly hit the proper perspective. "The gifts are materials things which may not survive," he told the audience, "but your friendship will live as long as I do."

The story of Jack McClure and men like him isn't just a Daviess County story, or a Kentucky yarn; it's a tale that has affected all of America.

As a young college agricultural graduate in 1922 riding a train into Owensboro, past flooded fields lying idle and useless, McClure decided he had to "sell" himself and his new ideas to the local farmers.

McClure has been one of the many unheralded county agents across the nation who built agriculture in the United States into the most productive system the world has ever known, Burl St. Clair, principal speaker, told the audience.

And, said the speaker, agriculture is a key component in free America. "It didn't come about by accident that our farms produce enough to feed the nation, and other nations. It has been men like Jack McClure who have earned the credit for this accomplishment."

St. Clair, the principal speaker, is a former president of the Kentucky Farm Bureau Federation.

McClure retired Dec. 30 after serving more than 44 years as Daviess County extension agent. During this time he was accorded several signal honors, including:

Being selected as the only extension agent to represent Kentucky in 1939 for the 25th anniversary celebration of passage of the Smith-Lever Act which established extension work programs to be held in Washington, D.C., with representatives from 48 states.

Being elected president of the Kentucky County Agents Association in 1957.

Winning a distinguished service award from the National Association of County Agents in 1939.

Being elected to Gamma Sigma Delta National Honorary Fraternity in 1957 for important contributions in agriculture.

McClure's accomplishments in agriculture in the county are almost too numerous to list. St. Clair spoke at length on them noting:

McClure originated projects for farmers such as a program of lime phosphate and grass for cattle in 1928, urged shifting emphasis from dark to burley tobacco, and in 1936 initiated action of a rural electric cooperative and led the work until the cooperative was organized.

In 1933, the county had just over 3,300 acres of burley and when farmers accepted the change, the county burley allotment got as high as 8,100 acres, adding millions of dollars to local income over the following years.

McClure was a leader in organizing the Milk marketing cooperative and has served as an adviser since.

He organized the Harvesters Club—the only one in Kentucky.

The county agent organized and led the program testing cattle for tuberculosis in 1926, and that placed Daviess County on the modified, certified TB free list, where it remains today.

He led the program for area testing for brucellosis and Daviess County is now accredited.

McClure played a key role in the organization of the Daviess County Farm Bureau, and its unit for young persons. He aided in developing the corn production of the county and state by securing research projects on corn development in the county for the past 18 years.

The agricultural expert promoted land use, particularly through development of more and better pastures. He organized and operated the soil testing laboratory service—testing about 1,200 samples annually.

By demonstrations and other methods, he promoted soybeans as a cash crop, which now amounts to a 600,000 bushel crop each year. Daviess is the leader is the four main bean producing counties of Kentucky.

Beginning in 1922 with a "Better Sires" campaign, he promoted improved livestock and production methods, including the Dairy Herd Improvement Association, and beef performance testing.

McClure was a leader in organizing and advising in the Artificial Breeding Cooperative which breeds about 1,700 cows each year to quality bulls.

He had a significant part in programs to secure federal aid to rehabilitate Panther Creek, and in 1939 promoted the growing of nut trees.

For 15 years, McClure conducted a daily radio program on timely topics and the program was rated one of the best in the state.

In addition to the radio show, he conducted a Tri-State TV program for 11 years, and promoted interest in the Kentucky Life Museum. Daviess County has contributed more articles of early Kentucky life for the state museum than any other Kentucky county.

In recognition of such services, McClure was honored in many ways over the years:

He was elected to Epsilon Sigma Phi in 1932. This is the National Honorary Fraternity of Extension Workers. He served as chief of the Kentucky chapter and received the chapter's Meritorious Award for Outstanding Service.

McClure was presented with an automobile in 1948 by the county residents. He was the first county agent in the United States to receive such a gift.

The Farm Bureau honored him for service to the organization in 1948. Three times McClure received the top award for publicity work in the extension field in Kentucky.

McClure was born in Montgomery County, Ky., on May 13, 1897 and earned a degree in agriculture from the University of Kentucky in 1918 at the age of 20.

After farming in Woodford County for four years, McClure came to Daviess County as assistant county agent in 1922.

Transportation was a major problem at that time, and McClure frequently had to rely on train service to travel from town to town in the county as in rainy weather the mud roads were impassable by car. His circuit included 1,069 miles by auto and 22 walking miles.

One of the phases of his job involved leadership training for youth, and McClure concentrated on this phase and enjoyed it.

"I am proudest," he said, "of my part in getting rural electric established almost more than any other single thing—outside of working with young people to train them in leadership roles."

He has been active in 4-H clubs and numerous adult groups. McClure believed in "selling" himself to the farm and rural residents. One case of "selling" involved a fractious mule.

"One spring about five years after I came to the county," said McClure, "I was driving by the George Thompson farm and noticed several men trying to put bridles on some unbroken mules. They weren't having much success.

"I looked on for awhile and asked Ben Hawes, who owned the mules, to let me try. 'You know how?' he asked. Taking an old, gentle saddle horse, mounting and riding into the pack of mules, I slipped bridles on all of them."

McClure said Hawes was skeptical at first, but after the demonstration turned into a life-long friend.

"Blueprint for Peace" Has 400 Suggestions for a Better World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 31, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, two articles appearing in the Saturday Review of January 21, 1967, point up one of the most valuable paperback books to come out last year. It is "Blueprint for Peace," by Richard N. Gardner, professor of law and international relations at Columbia University.

Professor Gardner has highlighted more than 400 suggestions coming out of the White House Conference on International Cooperation Year.

I have unanimous consent to have these articles printed in the RECORD as follows:

[From Saturday Review, Jan. 21, 1967]

PLANNING FOR A BETTER WORLD

Blueprint for Peace: Being the Proposals of Prominent Americans to the White House Conference on International Cooperation, edited by Richard N. Gardner (McGraw-Hill. 405 pp. Hardbound, $7.95. Paperback, $2.95), offers more than 400 suggestions for improving world relations, made by the various committees convened by President Johnson in 1965. George N. Shuster, currently director of Notre Dame University's Center for the Study of Man, has been a member of the pioneering Committee of the Division of Cultural Relations, Department of State, and a U.S. representative on the Executive Committee of UNESCO. He is an honorary trustee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

(By George N. Shuster)

White House conferences are now well-established media for enabling citizens to comment on what their government is doing or presumably ought to be doing, as well as fairly effective launching pads for trial balloons in which an incumbent Administration is interested. Richard N. Gardner, in his spirited and reflective introduction to *Blueprint for Peace*, correctly surmises that the Conference convened by President Johnson during the autumn of 1965 to consider the possibilities and problems of international cooperation may well have been unprecedented in terms of scope and participation. His book summarizes the discussion and presents a great variety of recommendations derived from the experience and intelligence of the participants, many of them well-known men and women.

Though Adlai Stevenson's query whether the human race "really knows how to run a civilization" remains unanswered, here are more than 400 suggestions for improvement. As one might have anticipated, many of them are merely hoped-for addenda to the chores which the government of the United States is already more or less diligently performing. Thus the Committee on Peacemaking Operations offered fourteen proposals, closing with the wish that "when time and circumstance seem favorable" the United States will "make a contribution on the order of $25 million" to the now unbalanced peacekeeping budget of the U.N. On the other hand, some committees strongly endorsed private initiative and pointed with pride to achievements it has triggered.

One of the brightest pages in the story of contemporary international cooperation has been written by trade, industry, and banking. This has, of course, been an effort of the free world, with the United States pretty solidly in the driver's seat. The accomplishment is heartening, however necessary the additional momentum urged by some members of the pertinent committee may be. The Committee on Labor, perhaps inevitably, limited its discussion to an endorsement of the work of the American Institute for Free Labor Development in fostering "the promotion of free enterprise and the elimination of Communist infiltration throughout the free world."

Much less optimistic are the reports of the Committees on Disarmament and Peacemaking. Though they announced substantial progress in the reconciliation of Russian and Western views, especially the test-ban treaty and its important sequel which vetoes the use of space exploration for military purposes, they were compelled to reckon with other perils. Those that grow out of the unsettled German and East European situation date from Yalta and Potsdam; but others, particularly the proliferation of nuclear armaments, are new and ominous. The report provides a satisfactorily realistic appraisal of the existing situation, but unfortunately some of the recommendations seem little more than wishful thinking. The plea that "the United States attempt to bring the People's Republic of China into a genuine dialogue on disarmament and other security matters" may, however, be more relevant ten years hence.

Special stress is placed on recently developed or planned forms of international sharing in scientific achievement. The scientists conjure up a potentially radiant future of conserved resources and human betterment. The threat arising from uninhibited population increase, especially in some blighted economic areas, is dealt with sanely and perceptively. The more "idealistic" programs designed to promote international conciliation—those concerned with human rights, education, and cultural exchange—remain much more nebulous, though improvement in schooling for the world's poor has made rather substantial progress. But what can anyone say about human rights except that the United States should ratify a number of proposed conventions against discrimination, in the hope that the good example thus shown will prove contagious? The present situation is bleak, even if some pockets of suppression in the Western world are gradually disappearing.

A number of the committee reports are disappointing. The one dealing with the crucial problem of agricultural production tills hardly any new ground at all, and the one having to do with education discusses matters of peripheral interest, at least so far as that part of the public not engaged in schoolmastering is concerned. Those who discussed assisting economic development deserve thanks for not having neglected the highly important "private sector," but their recommendations do not improve in any notable way on material long in print on this elusive subject. Obviously, however, government experts were able to make grateful use of the discussion to air some of their frustrations.

As a whole the book will be unusually helpful to those—and, hopefully, they will be found in goodly numbers—who wish to gain some insight into the many complex and diverse problems with which the contemporary world is wresting. It covers a lot of ground succintly and provides a considerable amount of authoritative comment which is only rarely couched in the special language of the social scientist. It can aid in making American public opinion aware that the sum total of the problem of peace is no greater than its parts. The job to be done is great and baffling, and it will not succeed if there should be any waning of public support. Mr. Gardner's introduction, though quite personal in temper and perspective, is probably the best part of the volume he has edited.

[From Saturday Review, Jan. 21, 1967]

PICK OF THE PAPERBACKS

"I'm neither a hawk nor a dove. I'm a 'dawk,'" said thirty-nine-year-old Richard N. Gardner, a senior adviser to U.N. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg and professor of law at Columbia University. "I believe in combining power and purpose. Power without purpose is evil; purpose without power is futile." Gardner's books *In Pursuit of World Order* (Praeger, $1.95) and *Blueprint for Peace* (McGraw-Hill, $2.95) are the results of his preoccupation with international peace. *In Pursuit of World Order* was written while Gardner was working for the State Department during the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. A vigorous defense of the United Nations, it has not only been translated into eight languages, including Hindi and Chinese, but was adopted by the Sorbonne for a course in international relations. *Blueprint for Peace*, edited by Gardner [see page 42], contains proposals by distinguished Americans to the important White House Conference on International Cooperation, which took place in November 1965. Among the brains consulted were those of Isidor Rabi, George Meany, Erich Leinsdorf, and *SR's* Norman Cousins. At his office in the United States Mission to the U.N., Gardner reflected upon the achievements of the Conference. "In my talks at the U.N. I've been encouraged by the response to the '10-Point Peace Agenda' outlined in my introduction," he said. "I think it's time to go beyond near-peaceful coexistence to peaceful cooperation." The recommendations of the Conference contained many specific suggestions not only for peace but also for prosperity: population control, conserving world resources, positive use of atomic energy. "One of the main proposals—a treaty governing outer space and the celestial bodies—has just been concluded with the Soviet Union and other countries, despite the war in Vietnam. I hope this year will see agreement on other proposals—on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, expanded East-West trade, broader intellectual and cultural exchange, and increased efforts on behalf of the less developed countries."

When Gardner, who lives with his wife and two children in a Manhattan apartment, is not cogitating about peace, he is playing games, or, more accurately, inventing them. With his father-in-law, Bruno Luzzato, a State Department official, Gardner has created "Trio," which he insists combines the best of bridge and scrabble. Though the game has not yet been commercially produced, Gardner claims scores of adherents around the globe. He didn't suggest it as an answer to the problems of world peace, but he did say, "Maybe if people spent more time playing Trio, they'd have less time for fighting."

The Consular Convention Between the United States and the Soviet Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 17, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, this morning Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, professor of economics at Georgetown University, testified before the Committee on Foreign Relations on the Consular Convention with the U.S.S.R.

Dr. Dobriansky is chairman of the National Captive Nations Committee and, as such, has a particular interest in this convention. His statement addresses itself to every salient argument that has been advanced in support of the convention and provides, I think, a sound refutation of all these arguments. I commend this statement to the attention of Senators and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the testimony was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE UNITED STATES-U.S.S.R. CONSULAR CONVENTION: SYMBOL OF A POLITICO-CULTURAL LAG

(Testimony of Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, professor of economics, Georgetown University, chairman, National Captive Nations Committee, before the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, Feb. 3, 1967)

Mr. Chairman and distinguished Members, I'm most grateful for this opportunity to testify in opposition to Senate ratification of the US-USSR Consular Convention My statement addresses itself by way of refutation to every salient argument that has been advanced in favor of the treaty, and it raises several additional objections to it, along with a little known contradiction in State Department thinking regarding our relations with the Soviet Union. On the scale of careful politico-diplomatic calculation the treaty definitely does not rest on a quid pro quo basis—indeed, it exposes us to a grave net disadvantage and grants a windfall to imperio-colonialist Moscow—and, from a positive viewpoint, should be replaced by a concrete alternative which, on net balance, really upholds the principle of reciprocity and mutual advantage.

Contrary to the remarks of Secretary Rusk and others, this treaty is far more than just another consular convention. We're not dealing in arrangements with Zambia or Chad; instead, we're dealing with the power and survival base of the entire Red Empire which challenges us on every major continent and, considering its relatively inferior resources, has done an historically phenomenal job, in the instant time of fifty years, to negate the principles of national independence and freedom. It would be naive of us to consider and evaluate this treaty merely in the vacuum of "little difference" from other consular conventions. For, in content, it contains an unusual diplomatic immunity privilege that no other existing convention does and, in terms of political and security ramification and implication, it stands uniquely alone with all the net disadvantage it would heap upon us. In short, the treaty cannot be considered in void of realities both within the USSR and here, the Cold War struggle itself, as well as principle and even morality, Viet Nam, the East-West trade issue, and our own serious politico-cultural gap in understanding the Soviet Union.

By its own textual evidence the treaty is a pitiful product of this gap in our knowledge and understanding of the USSR. Though it wasn't consummated then, it is a vestigal remain of the 30's when similar illusions were generated in this country about the great transformation and economic changes taking place in the USSR, about "the great Soviet experiment" in what was and, in some quarters, still is foolishly called "Russia", about the "good Communists" in America who join in humanitarian projects and work for "world peace", and about increased trade and understanding with "Russia", which was one of the illusory arguments in support of diplomatic relations with this empire-state. This vestigal remain was revived in the 50's, when an over-abundance of lip-service and timidity caused a realistic policy to remain stillborn, and now is being pressed for acceptance under shopworn vagaries of "windows in Russia", "mutual understanding", "improving communications" and "normalizing relations".

The basic, ideational structure of the treaty is not new; it is stale, unimaginative, maladjusted to evolving reality, and highly disadvantageous to us, both politically and morally. The treaty is based on the archaic, preconceptual notion that the USSR is "Russia", and its branch principle of consularism, extended to Leningrad today but tomorrow, once general Senate consent is in the pocket, to Riga or Odessa or Tbilisi or even Tashkent, defies the multinational, governmental reality of the USSR and plays neatly into colonialist Moscow's hands. Though well known to some scholars long before, one would think that the massive disclosures of World War II about the deep and invincible multinational drives for independence and freedom by the captive non-Russian nations in the USSR would have made some imprint on the framers of this treaty. Indeed, they might have even profited from the Senate's own study in 1965, *The Soviet Empire*, and have deduced to what extent this treaty really places its blessings on Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism wthin the USSR, truly an imperium in imperio.

LEGAL INVALIDITY

Clearly reflecting this false, conceptual structure of the treaty are the patent expressions in its very contents. The treaty is studded with the notion of a Soviet national, a Homo Sovieticus or Red Moscow's equivalent of "Russian". Throughout you read "a national of the sending state", the "national flag of the sending state," "the national coat-of-arms of the sending state" and so forth. If you will permit me the lingual luxury of some Brooklynese, there ain't no such political animal in existence as a Soviet national or a national of the Soviet Union. Nor are there such objects in existence as a "national flag" of the USSR or a "national coat-of-arms" of the USSR. These concepts are applicable to the United States, which is a nation-state, but they are myths as concerns the USSR, which is an empire-state made up of numerous captive, national republics. Whoever wrote up this treaty, either has never read the USSR Constitution, the plethora of official pronouncements on Russian/non-Russian relations, and the United Nations' output of both Ukrainian and Byelorussian delegations or, if he has, then is vulnerable to a number of conjectures, one of which is the impress of outmoded preconceptions.

In logic and reason this fact alone invalidates this convention. Because of its gross misrepresentation of the other party, if such a contract were brought into a court of law, one doesn't have to be a lawyer to know what the judge's decision would be. Mythical beings and objects would scarcely be deserving of serious judicial thought, and the contract would be thrown out of court. So, here, you as Senators and some also as lawyers are asked to judge this contract, this treaty. Can you in rational conscience agree to a treaty that in its very wordage and concept entertains mythical objects?

This is not a matter of mere sematics. Words have meaning, and in an issue as serious as this, in time they can have tragic meaning for us and also for half of the population of the USSR. Let there be no mistake about it, such myth-making on our part, at that gratuitously prooffered, serves Moscow well in its dual policy of projecting a Soviet national, a "Soviet" like an "American," and accomplishing its cultural and other types of genocide of the non-Russian nations. Of course Moscow welcomes this treaty and its fantastic conceptual contents, even to the extent of making a so-called concession regarding the arrest of Americans in the Soviet Union, for the treaty is in essence a diplomatic affirmation of Moscow's imperium in imperio and an encouragement for its subtle, genocidal policies.

BRANCH CONSULARISM: ONE COUNTRY MYTH

Reinforcing and reflecting the underlying myth that the USSR is a nation-state is the branch prinicple of consularism, the instrument that supposedly attests to the "national" integrality of the USSR. Aside from the utter legal defectiveness of the treaty, State Department spokesmen make a great point of the distinction between the treaty, with even greater emphasis on the touted notification and access provision, and the subject of further negotiations for the location of consulates. This is more for the easy sale of the treaty and its ratification, evading objections on grounds of the non-Russian nations in the USSR, than serving any real, intelectual point. For obviously, on the basis of the conceptual framework of the treaty as shown here, negotiations will go beyond Leningrad to Odessa and so forth where Americans travel, too. In fact, a ratified treaty would justify such further negotiations, logically forcing them into such non-Russian national directions regardless of the forms of national sovereignty involved in each and every non-Russian republic.

Mr. Rusk is on record admitting that a dilemma would arise if consulates were set up in the Baltic republics. But there would be a simliar dilemma with reference to other non-Russian republics—not in terms of recognizing the free legations of the Baltic nations and refusing to recognize the latter's forced incorporation into the USSR, but in equally important terms of recognizing the distinctive national identities and historical credentials of these nations and refusing to reduce them to a populational and territorial expression deserving of only a consulate, a branch office of our Moscow Embassy. In two cases, the dilemma would be legal with our complete recognition of original Charter Members of the United Nations, Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Byelorussia; in all cases, the dilemma would be politico-moral when, on the one hand, our leaders talk about "friendship with *all* peoples"—"the fifth and most important prinicple of our foreign policy is support of national independence . . . the right of *each* people to govern themselves and to shape their own institutions. We follow this principle by encouraging the end of colonial rule—and, on the other hand, they would enforce a treaty that conceptually and instrumentally undermines this "most important principle of our foreign policy".

ADDITIONS TO THE NET DISADVANTAGE

In addition to these basic intellectual, legal, political, and moral aspects of the treaty, there are the security, economic, and general diplomatic features. Let's examine each briefly but essentially. Aside from the superficial selling point of protecting U.S. citizens in the USSR, much is made of the so-called Russian concession on notification and access. But is it really a concession? It is as much a concession as a thief giving up stolen property. This civilized provision should have been demanded long ago on the purely diplomatic, ambassadorial level, and on the principle of reciprocity. Applying this principle, there's no net gain here, as the treaty's proponents would have us believe. If we really believe in this principle, we should press for this provision now, at long last, within the present context of our diplomatic relations with the USSR and without paying the heavy price of net disadvantage in the convention.

Moreover, there is no guarantee in this make-believe concession that important U.S. citizens might not be arrested and held incommunicado by the Russians indirectly, namely by the police in Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and elsewhere in the outer empire. They work through their associates in other spheres of activity; they can make fitting arrangements for this type of activity. It is not the aggregate number of Americans who travel to the USSR that is important, the few important Americans for them is what counts, and this business can be undertaken on neighboring terrain.

We are also told that risks of espionage have to be assumed in our open society. Life is full of risks, but we don't recklessly assume them without, rationally, seeking the realization of net gain and advantage. In the narrow context of espionage activity alone, and although spying is a two-way street, only a relative disadvantage would be our lot here. One does not have to be a FBI agent to arrive at this estimate when one considers the dominant fact that exceptionally well spy-trained Russians would enjoy a larger pond to fish in here than we there. Also, to merely cite that no more than ten or fifteen Russian consular officers would be here overlooks the coefficiency of their spy effectiveness. Even in the broader context of the treaty's analysis, there is no sufficient aggregate advantage to offset this particular disadvantage.

The risks not only of espionage but also of coercion, bribery, blackmail of American citizens with relatives in the USSR, some of which the Rumanians have been engaged in, and even sundry political warfare tactics directed against ethnic groups here are accentuated by the most gratuitous provision in the treaty of diplomatic immunity for crimes beyond misdemeanors. Even our friends and allies don't enjoy this privilege and, as admitted by the State Department, this privilege would be sought by others on a most-favored nation basis, including other totalitarian Red governments. Guided by the Department's testimonies on these points, if I am correct in all of this, then trading for the so-called concession on notification and access our real concessions of politically slighting the captive non-Russian nations in the USSR, granting diplomatic immunity to consular officers, and accepting greater risks of espionage and political warfare activity in our open society renders the treaty a bum deal.

Concerning the economic aspect, Mr. Rusk has argued that the treaty would contribute to "increasing trade between our two countries". In 1965 I appeared before this Committee on the East-West trade issue and stressed the dangers of repeating our economic errors of the 20's and 30's in regard to the Soviet Union. This isn't the place to elaborate on them again except to say that as a trade wedge the treaty may have as much potential commercial value, not to speak of other values, as the expectations nourished by the British who today are accusing Moscow of reneging on its promises to buy more British goods, the purchases last year being lower than in '63. As to other values it appears quite irrational to really aid the USSR economy through trade while it chiefly supports the Red totalitarian ally in Hanoi to decimate Americans.

Finally, in support of the treaty we have heard about the inadequacy of our Embassy in Moscow, the need for mutual understanding, normalizing relations, improving communications, opening up more windows in "Russia," and pursuing the goal of peace. Good intentions and objectives are oftentimes marred and, in time, liquidated by imprudent means, lip-serviced principles, and timid accommodation. It is interesting that for years the Department has opposed the proposal for direct diplomatic relations with Byelorussia and Ukraine because it would mean more Communists here and yet, now, is prepared to allow for more through the consular medium. The net advantage of having this kind of windows in the Soviet Union—in Byelorussia, Ukraine, Armenia and even Kazakh Turkestan—is that all the good intentions and objectives mentioned would have the chance of being realized, all the glaring defects of the consular treaty would not exist, and all the accruing illusions about "Communism" tagged on an old broken-down record of the 30's would quickly dissipate. Aiming our diplomatic efforts at the captive non-Russian nations in the USSR, which is even accommodated by the USSR Constitution, is a new, fresh, more realistic alternative that this Committee should explore. Broken-down records about "changes in Communism," consulates in "Russia", understanding through trade and other familiar tunes of the 30's will not enable us to cope with the ever widening penetrations of Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism in the Free World, including even our own hemisphere. These penetrations are systematically executed through and by leaps over our Maginot wall of containment.

Marx, who in the last century had keener insights into the historic process of Russian expansionism, both overt and covert, than some of our experts have today, left us one which deserves our sober contemplation: "The prestige of Russian diplomacy and the renown of Russia's military strength can be maintained far more easily and securely in peace than in war . . . A system of intimidation is far less expensive than actual warfare".

A Tribute to Negro Americans Who Fought in the Spanish-American War

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 15, 1967

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to have the opportunity to join my colleagues in paying tribute to those Americans who fought so valiantly in the Spanish-American War. Today is the 69th anniversary of the sinking of the battleship *Maine*, the action which triggered the war which started the United States on its way to world leadership. Unfortunately on this February 15 there are few remaining veterans of this war alive to commemorate the occasion with the usual ceremonies. It is therefore most fitting that this body pause to recognize the men who fought triumphantly in the Atlantic and Pacific as part of an Army and Navy made up entirely of volunteer personnel.

I commend my esteemed colleague, the Honorable Barratt O'Hara, of Illinois, himself a veteran of this war, for taking this special order to remind us of the more than 5,000 Americans who died in this war. More than a million volunteers answered President McKinley's call for 125,000 men to defend the freedom of our country after the sinking of the *Maine*. I am proud to say that among these volunteers were many Negro Americans, including a Conyers who was one of the Spanish-American War veterans whose passing saddened the country during the past year.

I would like to pay special tribute to all the Negro American soldiers both living and dead who, as they have on so many occasions, answered the call to defend and protect America and all its citizens. For this reason I would like to insert the following excerpt from Merle Eppse's "The Negro, Too, in American History" which briefly describes the patriotism and valor of black soldiers in the Spanish-American War:

NEGRO SOLDIERS AT EL CARNEY AND SAN JUAN HILL

The Negro citizens were as enthusiastic to volunteer as were the whites, but our national military setup provides that the National Guard be mustered in first, and since only a few states have a Negro National Guard, the Negro was enlisted later. Dispute also arose over the commissioning of colored officers. Colonel Charles Young was the only Negro graduate of West Point and the sentiment was for all officers to be white down to second lieutenant. However, volunteer Negro troops were finally accepted from Alabama, Illinois, Kansas, Ohio, and Virginia. The Third North Carolina Volunteer Negro Infantry was called out by Governor Russell and assembled at Camp Russell. James H. Young, a Negro, was the commanding colonel. The Eighth Illinois Negro Regiment was officered by Colonel John R. Marshall, a Negro. This regiment did garrison duty in the province of Santiago for some time after the war. Colonel Marshall acted as governor of San Luis for a time. The Ninth Ohio Battalion was commanded by Brevet Major Charles Young, a Negro lieutenant in the regular army. The Twenty-Third Kansas Regiment was officered by Negroes with the exception of colonel and lieutenant colonel. Company L of the Sixth Massachusetts Infantry had the distinction of being the only Negro company that was part of a white outfit.

The four Negro regiments were among the first troops ordered to the front. Negro troops took a more conspicuous part in this war than in any previous war of the United States. At the first battle in Cuba, Las Guasimas, the Tenth Calvary distinguished itself by coming to the rescue of Theodore Roosevelt and his Rough Riders. The Twenty-Fifth Infantry took a part in the Battle of El Carney. The Ninth Cavalry, Tenth Cavalry, and the Twenty-Fourth Infantry, all Negroes, rendered heroic service in the famous Battle of San Juan Hill. The Eighth Illinois formed a part of the army of occupation and distinguished itself in policing and cleaning up Santiago.

The Negro played a most important part in the Spanish-American War. He was the first to move from the West; the first at Camp Thomas; the first at Chickamauga Park, Georgia; the first in the jungle of Cuba; among the first killed in battle; the first in the fight at El Carney; and the nearest to the enemy when they surrendered.

Two Negroes were appointed paymasters with the rank of major—ex-Congressman John R. Lynch and Major R. R. Wright, of Georgia.

Proposed Consular Convention Between the United States and the Soviet Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 17, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, Mr. Grover C. Hall, Jr., the distinguished southern journalist and former editor of the Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser, has recently taken over the direction of the editorial page of the Richmond, Va., News Leader. On February 14, Mr. Hall wrote a fine editorial dissecting the proposed Consular Treaty with the Soviet Union. I heartily recommend to the attention of Senators the editorial entitled "The Forgotten Consular Agreement," which was published in the Richmond News Leader of February 14, 1967. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

THE FORGOTTEN CONSULAR AGREEMENT

The issue of a consular treaty with Russia is not a simple one, nor is it the gravest issue of the times. The arguments for and against ratification of the treaty this month are so evenly balanced that responsible Republicans such as General Eisenhower and Senator Morton of Kentucky favor ratification and Senator Dirksen opposes it. And J. Edgar Hoover has glowered at the treaty, but testified that the FBI could, with extra effort, prevent amplified mischief by the Russians.

It might be argued that the consular treaty is a logical extension of the 1933 diplomatic recognition of Russia. Against that is the fact that it is paradoxical to sign a treaty implying friendship when Russia is the reason this country is having to fight a costly war in Vietnam that could not go on without Russian provisioning.

It is true that the West is on the threshold of some kind of new relationship with Russia. It may be that the Chinese convulsion has inspired apprehensions that are forcing new courses on Russia. Even so, it is a fact that America proposed this treaty and the Russian Presidium is in no haste to ratify it.

Above all is the basic consideration that treaties are only scraps of paper to the Russian. Indeed, on that basis Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina has made some compelling arguments against ratification. He has pointed out that Russia has in fact been committed to correct treatment of American nationals ever since 1933 and has never honored the commitment.

In 1933, Maxim Litvinoff, Russia's foreign minister, promised President Roosevelt that American nationals would have the same legal protection as nationals of the most favored nations with whom Russia had agreements. In that connection, Mr. Litvinoff cited the example of the 1925 agreement between Russia and Germany. That agreement, Senator Thurmond has observed, is almost identical with the treaty proposed 39 years later. It provided:

"Each of the contracting parties undertakes to adopt necessary measures to inform the consul of the other party as soon as possible whenever a national of the country which he represents is arrested in his district.

"The consul shall be notified either by a communication from the person arrested or by the authorities themselves direct. . . . In places of detention of all kinds, requests made by consular representatives to visit nationals of their country under arrest, or to have them visited by their representatives, shall be granted without delay."

Official papers have now shown that Mr. Roosevelt considered that the agreement was in effect from the first and he so wrote the Russians, alluding to "the right of a fair, public, and speedy trial and the right to be represented by counsel of their choice."

Needless to say, the Russians did not honor their commitment. They signed the present treaty in 1964 and it is notable, even though the treaty is unratified, that Secretary of State Rusk had to acknowledge in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that in the 30 months since, 20 Americans have been arrested in Russia, and:

"In none of these cases did the Soviet authorities adhere to the standard of notification and access provided for by this convention."

That, it must be acknowledged by all, is not promising. What the Russians seem to like about the idea of a new treaty is that they sought and obtained the insertion of a provision for diplomatic immunity for consular personnel.

There are now 425 Soviet diplomats in America and neither J. Edgar Hoover or anybody else is claiming that the addition of 12 or 15 more Russian officials is a peril. But what's the rush and compulsion to make a new agreement when Russia hasn't honored the still binding one of 1933?

Perhaps the whole issue is more one of attitudinizing than substance. If so, an attitude of growing skepticism is indicated by experience.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, complementing Mr. Hall's views is an article published in the Washington Evening Star of the same day. It was written by the nationally known columnist, James Jackson Kilpatrick. Mr. Kilpatrick discusses other aspects of the Consular Treaty. I ask unanimous consent that his article, entitled "Consular Pact More a Moral Than Political Issue," published in the Washington Evening Star of February 14, 1967, also be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

CONSULAR PACT MORE A MORAL THAN POLITICAL ISSUE

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

The pending consular convention with the Soviet Union increasingly is being seen more as a symbol than as a contract. Viewed solely on its merits, and divorced from Vietnam and everything else, the convention would not be cause for large concern. Viewed in the inescapable context of the war in Southeast Asia, the whole of the convention becomes more than the sum of its parts.

Most of the criticism directed at the convention itself has concentrated upon three points. The first of these has to do with opportunities for expanded espionage. The second, of smaller public interest, has to do with the status of the Baltic states. The third arises from the convention's Article 19, which says that all consular officers and employes who are nationals of the sending state "shall enjoy immunity from the criminal jurisdiction of the receiving state."

The talk of expanded espionage, as a consequence of this particular convention, is mostly hot air. Whatever the risks of expanded consular espionage may be, these risks already are present—for under existing law, the President has full authority to agree reciprocally to Soviet consulates in the United States, and to establish U.S. consulates in the Soviet Union. Until 1948, as a matter of fact, the USSR maintained consulates in New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco; we maintained a consulate in Leningrad. All of them were closed when the Kremlin got in a huff 19 years ago.

Considering the small number of additional Soviet personnel that would be attached to any new consulates, and further considering the ease with which Soviet espionage agents now enter the United States from Canada and Mexico, one is bound to conclude that the first criticism of the convention is groundless.

The second criticism arises from the fact that the United States never has recognized the seizure of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia by the Russians. These are "captive nations," in our view. But the pending convention speaks repeatedly in terms of "the sending state" and "the receiving state," and there is no question that the USSR understands that the terms embrace the Baltic states within the Soviet Union.

Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper, R-Iowa, once asked the State Department's top legal adviser, Leonard Meeker, what would happen under this convention if an American tourist were arrested in the Baltic and a representative of the proposed U.S. consulate at Leningrad came rushing down to help him. Would the U.S. spokesman rely upon the convention to gain access to the arrested American? And if so, would not this be tantamount to recognizing Russian hegemony?

Meeker's response was not impressive. In such circumstances, he said, the man from the Leningrad consulate would not make any statements about recognition de jure or de facto, but he would see that authorities of the Soviet government "in fact were in charge," and act accordingly. Secretary of State Dean Rusk also told Hickenlooper that "this convention does not affect in any way the question of recognition," but for whatever the point may be worth, the second criticism is probably quite well taken. This convention would weaken the American position vis-a-vis the captive Baltic states.

The sweeping provisions of Article 19, granting immunity from prosecution for all criminal offenses, were not in the first draft of the convention prepared by our State Department. This article was requested by the Russian negotiators. In Meeker's careful language, the immunity provision finally agreed upon "is not present in other consular conventions to the same extent." The provision in fact is unprecedented; but once it were ratified, 27 other nations with whom the United States has consular agreements could be expected to ask identical reciprocal concessions. The point is probably not worth cavilling over.

On the affirmative side, ratification of the convention presumably would afford significant benefits to the roughly 12,000 American tourists who visit the Soviet Union every year. And because this would be the first bilateral treaty ever ratified between the United States and Soviet Union alone, it presumably would contribute to President Johnson's bridge-building program.

Thus the merits of the case. The towering questions rise above the merits. Do we want to build bridges at all just now? At a time when Soviet weapons are killing American troops, does the Congress wish to embark upon any new gestures of friendliness toward the Communist East? This is more a moral than a political issue. It strikes at the inherent hyprocrisy involved in simultaneously sipping tea in Leningrad and spilling blood in Vietnam. Some of us on the anti-Communist Right may be "primitive" in the Fulbright-Kennan-Schlesinger view, but we would urge that the tea-drinking be postponed to another and better day.

Lithuanian Independence

SPEECH

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, for those of us who embrace the ideals of freedom and protection of human rights, February 16 holds a special place. On that day, 49 years ago, the independence of Lithuania was proclaimed. A nation whose history traced back to the 11th century, Lithuania had been thwarted time and time again from functioning as an independent state. Finally breaking the czarist shackle, Lithuania embarked on its role as a free nation, full of hope and promise.

For 21 years the people of Lithuania controlled their own destiny. Then Lithuania found herself in the middle of a power struggle, a situation so prevalent in European history, between the Nazis and the Soviet Union. In 1939 with the Hitler-Stalin pact consummated and the partition of Poland agreed upon, Lithuania was confronted with the threat of invasion despite repeated Soviet pronouncements of nonintervention. On October 10, 1939, Lithuanian representatives signed a mutual assistance pact with the Soviet Union at a time when Soviet troops had massed on the Lithuanian frontier, which sealed the fate of that brave nation as a cog of the Kremlin wheel of expansion.

Following the brutal fighting waged on Lithuanian soil during World War II, Soviet reoccupation of Lithuania was firmly established in 1944. Since that time Lithuania has not known independence.

A victim of Soviet territorial aggrandizement, Lithuania's independence was brief; yet, the history of that nation is marked with noteworthy social progress. Lithuania, for example, implemented the first land reform program of modern Europe, and it developed an education program which reduced illiteracy among its people to 15 percent after generations of foreign rule had left two-thirds of them unable to read and write.

These examples of responsible action by a legitimate government demonstrated that Lithuania could well function as a nation that would meet its people's needs, a nation that had sufficient compassion for its people to see that they would play meaningful roles in the affairs of state. Yet, Lithuania has been denied its existence.

It is clearly understandable, Mr. Speaker, as I mentioned at the outset, why the anniversary of Lithuanian independence is regarded by us a special day in the annals of man's quest for freedom. Our expressions today carry with them a recognition of that fact and a feeling of hope for the future for the captive Lithuanian people. It is to our credit that our Government does not recognize the Soviet takeover of Lithuania.

Russia, Enemy in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 17, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Saturday, February 4, 1967, edition of the Columbia Record, of Columbia, S.C., contained an editorial entitled "Russia, Enemy in Vietnam." Editor John Montgomery has quoted from a U.S. News & World Report article to support his succinct comments which place the blame for death and destruction in Vietnam where it belongs. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RUSSIA, ENEMY IN VIETNAM

While lulling United States policy makers with space treaties, airline pacts, trade expansion and consulate negotiations, the Soviet Union, not Red China, is turning out to be the major enemy of the U.S. in Vietnam.

This observation is made with supporting data in the lead article in the current *U.S. News & World Report*. Soviet-supplied armaments are primarily responsible for the thousand casualties a week suffered by American forces.

"A steadily expanding Russian involvement is causing this war to be the second most costly in dollars in American history," the news magazine says.

Eighty per cent of the sophisticated military hardware such as missiles, planes, helicopters and automatic weaponry is being shipped to the North Vietnamese through Haiphong harbor, which is off limits to American bombers and defensive measures.

An average of one ship a day reached Haiphong last year. Six Soviet ships were docked there in the last two weeks.

The Vietnam War is part of the strategy of conquest promulgated by Nikita Khrushchev and promoted by his successors. It is one of Moscow's wars of liberation where help is supplied to indigenous Communist forces in an attempt to take over a small country and keep the forces of freedom off balance.

"The Russians, with the U.S. tied down, have made a major 'breakthough' in antimissile defense and are pushing ahead with that decisively important defense while the U.S. talks and delays because of money problems," says the magazine.

A senior officer was quoted as saying: "It is clear what the Russians are up to. They want to keep us tied up in knots out here."

"There no longer is any question about it," said another, "the Russians are at war with us in Vietnam in a very real sense."

"Top analysts," says the magazine, "insist that Russia's basic strategy for conquest in the world has not changed: to weaken the U.S. position wherever it can in the world, while the Soviets seek to strengthen their own."

It is time for the United States to recognize this fact and stop looking toward the Russians as peacemakers in a war that they do not want to end.

Oil in Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 17, 1967

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, the difficulties and rewards in the search for oil in Alaska are described in an article entitled "Cold Cache," which was published in the Wall Street Journal of February 16. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Feb. 16, 1967]

COLD CACHE—OILMEN BATTLE ELEMENTS TO TAP POOLS BENEATH ALASKAN WATER, LAND—HOW AN $800 MILLION GAMBLE BRINGS TRICKLE NOW, VISIONS OF HUGE PRODUCTION LATER—GULF OIL TAKES NEW LOOK

(By Peter R. Kann)

COOK INLET, ALASKA.—An exploration crew of a major petroleum company struck oil here recently. The home office immediately rushed through an order for a $10 million offshore drilling platform, in order to get it permamently anchored into position before ice floes a yard thick closed the discovery area south of Anchorage for the winter.

"Actually, we should have waited and done more drilling first to be sure we had found a major pool, but we didn't tell headquarters that," recalls an oilman on the exploration team.

"After ordering the platform, we drilled a second well west of the first one—it was dry. We tried one to the east—also dry. We sweated blood and on the fourth try we hit the jackpot," he says. "Top management never knew how bad it looked for awhile."

If executives had known, however, they might still have been willing to take the chance, for major oil companies are taking colossal risks in their push to bring oil out from under Alaska's frozen lands and icy waters. The oil industry is in robust health; many companies set production and profit records last year. "When things are going well we don't have to play the game close to the vest—we can gamble," declares an official at one big oil company.

AN $800 MILLION GAMBLE

In the past decade, his company and a dozen others have spent nearly $800 million tapping Alaska's oil pools. Their efforts so far have produced staggering operating costs and only a trickle of crude oil. But the companies are betting that Alaska can become a major U.S. oil producing state. They hope their efforts here will bolster U.S. oil reserves, help meet rising domestic petroleum demands, and reduce the nation's dependence on oil fields in the politically volatile Middle East.

"In the long haul the potential is here, but right now it's an embryonic risk situation," says a Shell Oil Co. official in Alaska. Vast, potentially oil-rich areas of icy wilderness have barely been explored by oil companies because they pose such formidable problems for drilling crews. And some oilmen believe the fearsome natural obstacles to offshore oil recovery here in Cook Inlet will seem rather tame when crews move southwest into Bristol Bay and the Gulf of Alaska.

Treacherous currents, 30-foot tides and crushing ice floes halt offshore drilling from barges and temporary platforms from November through April in Cook Inlet. Onshore, marshy ground prohibits drilling during much of the summer.

Last year Mobil Oil Corp. lost control of a permanent drilling platform before it could be anchored in place in the inlet. "It floated on those tides like a toy" until it ran aground on a shoal, recalls an oilman. Crews spent about a week hauling the 5,500-ton platform back to within 250 feet of its original destination, before they finally gave up and anchored the $10 million rig.

HIGH DRILLING COSTS

The high price of special heavy-duty drilling gear plus steep maintenance bills help push exploratory drilling costs in Cook Inlet to about $1.5 million for a 10,000-foot offshore well and about $500,000 for an onshore well. Comparable discovery wells in California cost only about $350,000 offshore and $250,000 onshore. A permanent drilling platform capable of year-round operations costs up to $15 million in the inlet, compared with about $4.5 million off the California coast and only about $2 million in the shallower waters of the Gulf of Mexico.

Nearly all equipment and most skilled laborers must be brought in from the "South 48" states, as they're called here. Transportation costs within Alaska are high, too. Companies often must build their own roads to exploration areas or else airlift heavy equipment to drilling sites. Wage rates in Alaska generally run about 40% above those paid to California oil crews.

Divers who lay stout, spiral-ribbed pipelines along the inlet floor each receive about $4,000 a month. The pipe crews work blind in the silt-laden water, wearing steel faceplates over their diving helmets for extra protection from the treacherous currents. It sometimes takes them several days to make a single connection.

Far from being discouraged by high operating costs, oilmen are increasing their investments in Alaska. Oil companies' capital spending this year is expected to rise from last year's total of about $175 million. Union Oil Co. plans to spend about $50 million in the state in 1967, double its 1966 expenditures.

GROWING OPTIMISM

"We anticipated the costs would be darned high, and they are, but we're more optimistic now than ever," says a vice president of one oil giant, Gulf Oil Co., which sank a dry hole in the Bristol Bay area three years ago and then pulled out of the state, is "taking a new look" at Alaska's oil potential and "doesn't rule out returning to Alaska in a big way," says a Gulf vice president. But he says Gulf still thinks that "some companies have been overly optimistic in their outlay of money and effort in Alaska.

Richfield Oil Co. (now part of Atlantic Richfield Co.) led the oil companies into Alaska in 1957 when it struck oil east of Cook inlet. The discovery area, called the Swanson River field, is still the state's only fully developed oil field. Standard Oil Co. of California operates the field for itself, Atlántic Richfield, Union Oil and Marathon Oil Co., producing about 35,000 barrels of crude oil daily.

In 1959 Alaska opened its offshore waters to oil exploration. And oil companies got a push in that direction from Federal officials who tightened restrictions on oil imports to encourage U.S. companies to increase their domestic reserves.

So far, four large offshore fields have been discovered in Cook Inlet. All are in early stages of development, but their reserves have been estimated to total about 760 million barrels of oil (making the inlet potentially one of the nation's biggest oil producing areas.)

Where only fishing boats and an occasional whale were seen a few years ago, seven big permanent drilling platforms rise out of the inlet's waters, pumping oil from a dozen wells. William Bishop, Alaska division manager of the Western Oil & Gas Association, a trade group, predicts that by the end of this year at least 50 wells will be producing there.

Five dual pipelines carry oil from the drilling platforms to a new dockside terminal where ocean tankers fill up with oil for California refineries. A second tanker terminal is slated for completion this summer. A half-dozen pipelines carry oil from 50 onshore wells to the terminals. Alaska's only refinery is a small Standard of California plant at Nikisi. It processes about a third of the state's output, making heating oil and jet fuel for Alaska military bases and civilian markets.

Most oilmen aren't predicting how many more years it will take for Alaska's oil output to make a significant contribution to the annual U.S. production total. Last year the state contributed only about 50,000 barrels of oil a day to the nation's 8.3-million-barrel daily average. Some oilmen believe Alaska can be producing 200,000 barrels daily by 1970, a significant output although still a a trickle alongside Texas, which last year poured out 2.8 million barrels a day.

Oil already is making hefty contributions to Alaska's underdeveloped economy. It is providing a major new revenue source for a state that traditionally has been almost solely dependent on military spending and a small fishing industry. Besides what is pumped into Alaska's economy by payrolls and local purchases, the oil companies have made $140 million in direct payments to the state, mostly to lease drilling tracts.

Oil company geologists are looking for indications of oil at Bristol Bay and the Gulf of Alaska, and some companies expect the state to open bidding on oil leases there as early as 1968. The two offshore areas are expected to present drillers with most of the problems encountered in Cook Inlet, plus rougher weather and high sea swells. "They could offer the toughest drilling conditions in the world," says one drilling contractor.

Some oilmen believe Alaska's richest oil country may turn out to be the huge Arctic slope—the 45 million acre area stretching across the top of the state on the north side of the Brooks Range of mountains. A score of major oil companies own land on the Arctic slope. But fewer than a dozen wells, all dry, have been drilled by the companies.

There are major obstacles to tapping reserves that may lie beneath the Arctic Circle terrain. Drilling isn't possible during most of the summer, when the frozen tundra thaws and becomes marshland. The area is accessible only by air. Some oilmen believe that to transport crude oil from the slope a heated, 700-mile pipeline costing $175 million would have to be built to an ice-free ocean port.

Along with oil, three large natural gas fields have been discovered in the Cook Inlet areas. * * *

[From the Wall Street Journal, Feb. 16, 1967]

WARY TYONEK TRIBE SPENDS ITS OIL REVENUES CAREFULLY

TYONEK, ALASKA.—Among the biggest beneficiaries of Alaska's oil boom are some 200 Tyonek Indians on their 29,000-acre reservation here on the west shore of Cook Inlet. Oil companies paid the impoverished tribe $12 million, plus production royalties, for exploration and development rights to half the reservation.

The Tyoneks wrested control of the windfall from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), which sought to hold the purse strings. Tribal leaders quickly assembled a stable of investment counselors—attorneys, bankers, accountants and a BIA agent. They spent $4 million replacing the village's flimsy shacks with modern homes and invested most of the rest in business and real estate ventures.

The Tyoneks currently own three Anchorage office buildings and are large shareholders in a bank and utility company. They control the construction company that rebuilt the village and required it to hire qualified tribesmen and provide on-the-job training for unskilled Tyoneks. The tribe also is helping finance native organizations' efforts to improve the lot of Alaska's 50,000 poverty-striken Indians and Eskimos.

The bonanza, of course, brought a swarm of schemers, beggers, peddlers and chiselers who wanted to share the wealth. Finally the tribe barred uninvited visitors from the reservation, warning outsiders in an Anchorage newspaper ad: "The scalp you save may be your own."

Tribal leaders now are beginning to think about when they should lease mineral rights to the other half of their reservation, and what they will do with the next windfall.

Vulnerability of ICBM System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 17, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Friday, January 27, 1967, issue of the State newspaper of Columbia, S.C., contained an editorial entitled "Meeting the Threat." Editor William D. Workman raises the question which many Americans are now asking: "Is our ICBM system now dangerously vulnerable?" If this country had moved forward with the development and deployment of the Nike-X antiballistic missile system, the answer to this question would be a resounding "No." But this has not been the case, although Congress approved funds last year for such steps. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Meeting the Threat

National defense is the more common term, but national survival is what really is involved in one of the toughest decisions facing the Johnson administration—the question of providing this nation with an effective defense against intercontinental missiles.

The President's budget message contained a request for $375 million for beginning production of the anti-ballistic missile (ABM) weapon known as the Nike-X. Some observers, however, think this is a feeble gesture—nothing more than a sop to military men and the militants in Congress who have been demanding construction of a protective screen against Communist intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM's).

It is easy to see why the President and Defense Secretary McNamara hesitate to commit $40 billion—the total price tag—to a project which all Americans hope will never be needed.

And yet an ABM system is one of those things that it is better to have and not need than to need and not have. Today America is virtually defenseless against an all-out ICBM attack.

It is becoming increasing apparent that McNamara and his Presidents have been gambling at high stakes—and dealing from a position of weakness. They seem to have been depending more on diplomacy than armament to protect America. As a result, the United States may have fallen behind—perhaps tragically—in the missile race.

U.S. officials have strong evidence that Russia is constructing ABM sites around Moscow. Other insiders think that additional missiles are being deployed around Leningrad and elsewhere. High military leaders reportedly are worried that Russia has made a major anti-missile break-through and left the U.S. in the dust.

Perhaps—we emphasize perhaps—a possible Soviet lead in this area helps explain some strange policies of the Johnson administration. Assuming the Russians have such a lead, America may be faced with the prospect of a wildly expensive crash program that would permit us to leapfrog into the next missile generation. Even this would take years.

Rather than attempt this, some people believe, the Administration is depending on trade and diplomacy. This could explain the President's great desire to build economic and cultural bridges to Eastern Europe in an effort to reduce Russia's revolutionary *elan* (a Washington phrase).

This also might be an effort to buy time. The same might be said of the President's hopes for negotiations with Russia over missile deployment.

The missile gap also might explain the Pentagon's present Nike-X plans—a limited system (costing around $5 billion) for protection against a possible nuclear threat from Red China in the mid-1970's. In other words, it seems we are keeping our guard against Russia down.

Furthermore, the President said plans call only for defensive rings around our own offensive ICBM's—our counter-punch. No effort is being made to defend cities. This gives rise to a question that is horrible to contemplate: Is our ICBM system now dangerously vulnerable?

This is no time to panic, even though the situation could be critical. Neither is it a time for continued Administration efforts to pacify the public with meaningless assurances. We have the unsettling suspicion that past indecisiveness by President Johnson and Secretary McNamara may now be catching up with them.

We just hope that they will no longer stand in the way of our catching up with the Russians.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the Record.

Appendix

The Next 25 Years in the Electric Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, the next 25 years in the electric industry was discussed by Federal Power Commission Chairman Lee White last month in the 25th anniversary issue of Public Power magazine. Predicting the expanded use of electricity, partially due to advancement of the electric mass transit system and the potential of electric vehicles, Chairman White emphasized the necessity of low-cost electricity and reliability of service.

Chairman White cited the importance of the pluralistic nature of the electric industry, stating:

> Even the best of regulation is not a perfect substitute for competition in our free enterprise system, and the municipalities, the cooperatives, the public utility districts, and other publicly owned systems have helped to keep the diverse sectors of the industry alert to change and to efficient, economical operation.

I commend the entire article to Senators and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NEXT 25 YEARS

(By Lee C. White, Chairman, Federal Power Commission)

Much of the activity of the Federal Power Commission during the past few years in exercising its responsibilities under Parts II and III of the Federal Power Act has been related to problems of concern to municipally owned electric systems. In that time, we have become familiar with the work of the American Public Power Association and with many of its members. On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of its official magazine, Public Power, I am pleased to extend congratulations to the Association and best wishes for its continued success.

The electric power industry is such an integral part of our nation's society that we sometimes forget that it is less than a hundred years old and that most of its growth has occurred in the last 25 years. During this period, investment in utility plant in service has increased more than four-fold and the increase in kilowatt-hour sales and revenues has been even greater. Today the industry stands unchallenged as the largest in America. There is every reason to believe that the next 25 years will see a continuation of the growth and vitality of this industry.

ELECTRICITY VERSUS POLLUTION

Loads are increasing rapidly as our affluent society demands the comforts and conveniences which electricity can make possible. We can expect to see more high-speed trains and local subways which will operate electrically, and as gasoline and other internal combustion engines continue to pollute the air, the electric car appears to be becoming something more than just a promise. There is reason to anticipate further development of electric precipitators to help clean the air, and electrically powered sewage disposal systems to arrest water pollution. Virtually every day we read of new developments in the use of electric power in computer applications, in the use of more complex machining tools, and in other phases of manufacturing and service.

Municipal electric service started in the 19th Century when the industry was in its infancy, when systems were isolated from each other, and small systems were frequently as economical as large ones. But the economics of isolated operation has been undergoing rapid changes under the impetus of the technological revolution in generation and transmission. Staying independent has not been a simple matter for all small systems. Nevertheless, the fact that there are more than 2,000 local public power systems in operation today is evidence that there has been a great deal of good operation over the years, and this is a tribute to the publicly owned segment of this industry.

THRIVING IN PLURALISM

As pointed out in the National Power Survey, the electric power industry is of a pluralistic nature, and it is thriving in that pluralism. Even the best of regulation is not a perfect substitute for competition in our free enterprise system, and the municipalities, the cooperatives, the public utility districts, and other publicly owned systems have helped to keep the diverse sectors of the industry alert to change and to efficient, economical operation.

With recent advances in technology, and the ever-increasing demands for more power, the difficulties of isolated operation are rapidly multiplying. Interconnection of systems and pooling of bulk power have become essential to economical and reliable service. This is obvious when we look at the power pools in operation today, as we see more joint ventures for the construction of giant nuclear plants, mine-mouth plants, pumped storage plants, and as we look forward to even larger thermo-nuclear and MHD plants. Joint planning is also becoming more common in the construction of transmission lines which must operate at higher voltages to carry these ever-increasing amounts of power.

BENEFITS OF INTERCONNECTION

As part of this trend there is a growing recognition on the part of municipal systems that in order to maintain their place in this rapidly expanding industry they must obtain their power supplies at the lowest possible cost consistent with sound operation and adequate reliability of service. Some of the larger municipal systems are already members of power pools, and many systems, large and small, have some form of interconnection arrangement with their neighboring suppliers. However, there are still many small systems operating in virtual isolation which, because of legal, psychological or other barriers, have not yet taken advantage of the benefits of interconnected operation. Eliminating such obstacles to the orderly growth of the electric power industry must be an item of high priority.

It can be foreseen that some of our more complex regulatory problems in the future will involve the appropriate relation of municipal systems to the various types of pools, as well as the propriety of terms and conditions covering services under interconnection agreements.

Some of these problems are contained in cases arising from complaints already filed with the Commission. In one of these, the Crisp County Power Commission against Georgia Power Company in Docket No. E-7120, the Commission recently issued its tentative opinion in which it proposed to order an interconnection and prescribed its terms and conditions. In this opinion the Commission recognized that "interconnection between large and small systems need not, and in fact cannot be a one-way street with all the benefits thereof flowing to the small system." The Commission believes responsibility for prescribing reasonable terms and conditions of the arrangement must serve the dual function of ensuring that the smaller system's relative lack of bargaining power will not result in less than adequate coordination or discriminatory or otherwise unjust or unreasonable charges thereof, and also that the large system will secure reasonable benefits from the arrangement.

Those municipals which do not generate their own power, or generate only part and purchase the reminder have sometimes been handicapped in the past by wholesale power contracts which placed restrictions of various kinds on their resales. I would anticipate that we can look forward to the elimination of any unreasonable practices of this sort.

In a recent case involving 50 municipalities, the Commission found that the restrictions on the size of the loads that could be served by the wholesale customers in this case were unjust, unreasonable, and unduly discriminatory.[1] The Commission's opinion states that although there may be circumstances under which load limitations are justified, it is not normally consistent with the public interest for a wholesale supplier of electric power to restrict the manner in which the customer may resell the power.

RATE FILINGS INCREASE

Three years ago, only about one-third of the Class A electric utilities had all their wholesale power contracts on file with this Commission. Active enforcement of the wholesale rate filing requirements under the Federal Power Act during this three-year period has resulted in a considerable increase in compliance with the filing requirements. At the present time about 85% of the Class A companies have all of their wholesale power contracts on file. The Commission can now focus more sharply on the substantive problems of fair and reasonable rates, terms and conditions in these contracts.

The job of meeting the rapidly expanding demand for reliable electric power will require the combined efforts of all those engaged in the business of power supply including the local public power utilities, cooperatives, privately owned companies and agencies of the Federal Government. Each of these groups has an important role to play, and the next 25 years should see increased cooperation among them.

I am confident that the local public power producers of this nation will continue to carry their full share of the industry's responsibilities. The record of achievement has been commendable, and I believe the continued success of the local public power organizations in working for the public interest is assured.

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[1] Opinion No. 487, Georgia Power Co., March 30, 1966.

Brig. Gen. Charles "Monk" R. Meyer Says Dissenters Here in the United States Might Have Blood on Their Hands

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, February 3, Brig. Gen. Charles "Monk" R. Meyer, former commanding general, Qui Nhon Support Command, South Vietnam, addressed the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco on the subject "Dissenters Here in United States Might Have Blood of American Soldiers on Their Hands." The flashes from this address, as published in the Commonwealth of February 13, follow:

"DISSENTERS HERE IN UNITED STATES MIGHT HAVE BLOOD OF AMERICAN SOLDIERS ON THEIR HANDS"—MEYER

(From address by Brig. Gen. Charles "Monk" R. Meyer, former commanding general, Qui Nhon Support Command, South Vietnam)

"In 1960, Ho Chi Minh decided that the political struggle in the south must be aided by a major armed effort. At the Third Congress of the Lao Dong (Communist) Party in Hanoi in September 1960, two major tasks were set forth: 'to carry out the socialist revolution in North Vietnam' and 'to liberate South Vietnam.'

"The Party Congress called for formation of a 'broad national united front.' Three months later this became the well-known 'National Liberation Front.' Despite Hanoi's contention that the National Liberation Front was formed by, and represents, the people of South Vietnam, it is undeniable that the Front was Hanoi's creation and is neither independent nor Southern.

"PROPAGANDA, A MAJOR WEAPON

"The Communist regime in Hanoi directs, controls, and supplies the political and military effort to conquer the Republic of Vietnam. All control—political and military—comes ultimately from the Central Committee of North Vietnam's Communist Party, which maps out broad strategy. In addition, Hanoi's Central Research Agency maintains an elaborate intelligence network in South Vietnam and directs the extensive undercover activities of the Vietcong.

"Military elements of the Vietcong rely mainly on guerrilla tactics, operate generally close to their home areas, and depend on the local population for logistical support.

"The Vietcong use propaganda on themselves as well as on their enemies.

"The front-line Vietcong soldier is propagandized to the extent that he may remain as a front-line effective fighter for a longer period of time and in doing so inflict greater casualties upon American soldiers. Indications of non-solidarity in our policies provide a ray of hope and nourishment to the Vietcong on the battlefield and give them inspiration to continue. This, to me, contributes to the loss of American life.

"To put it bluntly, dissenters here in the U.S. might well have the blood of American soldiers on their hands.

"The core of the Vietcong training system is discipline. The individual soldier is required to memorize and adhere to basic codes of conduct which put him in the position of a hero, a patriot, a friend, and a protector of the people. He is never allowed to foregt this role.

"KOREANS GIVE LIE TO VIETCONG LINE

"Perhaps the most effective reminder is his unit's daily indoctrination and self-criticism session. His indoctrination is continued and reinforced, his supposed motives are reviewed and discussed by the group, and he is told by his leader what his future actions will be. After this, he must explain his reactions, and he must publicly confess and criticize his own shortcomings and weaknesses in thought and deed.

"The Vietcong very ingeniously and cleverly attempt to use propaganda to sway the Vietnamese people. Until recently one of their strongest propaganda lines was to denounce the Americans as imperialists who had come to Vietnam for no other purpose than to exploit and encroach upon the Vietnamese people.

"However, with the presence of Korean forces, a third party, this adverse trend was turned around to the benefit of the Free World Forces.

"With the presence of these Korean Forces it was relatively easy to shoot down Vietcong accusations with reference to American imperialism by telling all levels of Vietnamese people that Koreans were indeed grateful for the American support in saving South Korea from International Communist domination and that the Americans never interfered with the internal affairs of South Korea and were certainly not imperialistic.

"There are presently some 46,000 Korean military personnel in Vietnam who are not only making a significant contribution to the Free World effort on the battlefield but are aiding materially on winning the minds and hearts of the Vietnamese people.

"In tactics, the simple but effective code of the Vietcong is: 'When the enemy advances, withdraw; when he defends, harass; when he is tired, attack; when he withdraws, pursue.' All Vietcong tactics and techniques are simply embellishments on this basic theme. Emphasis is placed on speed, security, surprise, and deception. The Vietcong at all levels exhibit great skill in exploiting any weaknesses they uncover in the enemy.

"AMBUSHES MOST EFFECTIVE

"Vietcong tactical doctrine is based on one factor more than any other: careful preparation. Operations are planned in great detail, and are based upon careful and thorough reconnaissance and up-to-date intelligence. Careful and slow preparation is made in all aspects of the operation. Once a plan is made and rehearsed, the Vietcong seem reluctant to depart or deviate from it, thus indicating a certain inflexibility.

"One of the most effective Vietcong offensive tactics, and certainly the most famous, is the ambush. The normal Vietcong practice is to ambush along roads, trails, streams, and other natural routes of enemy movement. Here, the Vietcong ability to wait patiently and quietly is most apparent; units establishing ambushes have been known to remain in place for periods in excess of ten days.

"TURN OVER ANY ROCK

"The Vietcong consistently take advantage of any laxity of security on the part of their opponents. They will often feign retreat with one unit in order to draw the enemy force into an ambush position prepared by another Vietcong unit. The ambushes themselves are generally short, violent action, with intense fire delivered on critical points, followed by rapid withdrawal.

"The Vietcong make extensive use of rear guard personnel whose mission is to delay the pursuing force until the withdrawal of the Vietcong main force is accomplished. At other times, the Vietcong attempt to evade pursuit by hiding or blending in with the local civilians.

"Hiding places used by the Vietcong are almost limitless, although underground locations appear to be the favorite. Perhaps the most unique kind of underground hiding places are the tunnel systems, of which many are quite extensive and unbelievably complex. They are usually built in a zigzag, multi-level form, often under an entire hamlet, with plenty of entrances, exits, ventilation holes, and traps to delay searching enemy forces.

"CHOPPERS TRIP BOOBYTRAPS

"Vietcong tactics also include many types of actions which are peculiar to unconventional warfare, such as terrorism, sabotage, and the like. For actions such as these, the Vietcong favor use of a variety of booby traps and mines, cleverly emplaced in locations of heavy travel or concentration, and designed to harass, slow down, confuse, and kill the enemy forces. Booby traps with trip wires are adapted to fit almost any situation where they will be tripped by personnel, vehicles, and even helicopters.

"Besides grenades, the Vietcong's favorite device for a booby trap is probably a sharp spike or series of spikes. The spikes may be sharpened bamboo sticks, or they may be barbed wire or metal spikes emplaced in wooden, concrete, or metal blocks. These spiked devices are generally placed in holes along routes of movement and are carefully camouflaged to prevent detection.

"VIETCONG BEATEN—IN OWN RING

"The weapons used by the Vietcong consist of a mixed group of French, American, and Communist Block individual and crew served weapons. The individual weapon of a guerrilla is likely to be a fairly modern rifle or carbine of Chinese Communist manufacture, although there are many American carbines and M–1 rifles still found among the Vietcong. A wide variety of machine guns are available to the weapons squad. The mortars and recoilless rifles are often captured American pieces or copies of these weapons.

"The Vietcong soldier is well trained, organized, and equipped for his mission. He is an elusive and determined foe. He digs in well and is a master at using camouflage and the art of deception. He moves mostly at night and prefers to fight under cover of darkness. He plans his operations thoroughly. He can be beaten and he has been beaten badly. And the American soldier in Vietnam is more than his match, even on the Vietcong's own ground."

ANSWERS TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS FROM FLOOR

Question. Effect bombing cessation would have on U.S. forces' morale and enemy infiltration?

Answer. Constant Hanoi cry for bombing cessation indicative they are being hurt. Much disease and desertion among Communist troops.

Question. Our intelligence on Vietcong?

Answer. Very good. We've ways of obtaining data for a quite accurate mosaic of intelligence.

Question. (Edwin Berl). Are Russian "volunteers" operating anti-aircraft missiles?

Answer. Don't know. Despite struggle in Red China, I've seen no attenuation of Vietcong effort. Leads me to think Russians are doing lot of supplying.

Question. How determine whether a particular Vietnamese is Vietcong?

Answer. Extremely difficult, especially for Americans. It's easier for Orientals: For example, two old women were cooking rice. Vietnamese decided they had too much rice for just two women, and flushed out hiding Vietcong. Korean forces do good work.

Question. (Hilary H. Crawford, Sr.). Bomb Russian Migs sitting in plain view on North Vietnam airfields?

Answer. From a military point of view, any lucrative target should be destroyed. I can't weigh other aspects.

Question. (Dr. Von-T. Ellsworth). Military training of Vietcong soldiers?

Answer. Extremely good, much of it by North Vietnam forces. Their discipline is top-notch and hardships are overcome by discipline.

Opposition to Foreign Aid Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Again, the Big Squander Bill," published in the Norfolk, Va., Ledger-Star of Monday, February 13, 1967.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AGAIN, THE BIG SQUANDER BILL

This newspaper is opposed to the government's foreign aid program, as all of our steady readers must surely be aware. But not for the reasons President Johnson gave in his annual request for the dole, tribute, handout or whatever one wishes to call the international arrangement for the dispersal of American assets.

Mr. Johnson says some people may be against foreign aid because of the war in South Vietnam. Some people may be; but others were against our foreign aid program before France ever left Indochina. And this newspaper questions our foreign aid policy for precisely the reasons Mr. Johnson says we must continue to contribute $3 or $4 billion a year to rich country and mendicant country alike.

The President, in one of those statements that widen the credibility gap, would have us believe that foreign aid will "reduce the chances of future Vietnams." Only the incredibly naive will be taken in by this kind of claim, else why are we in Vietnam at all? The record shows that we had spent $100 billion in foreign aid before Mr. Johnson escalated the fighting there from 10,000-plus soldiers early in 1964 to 400,000 early in 1967.

But let it pass. The chief reason to oppose the foreign aid policy of this country is that, far from preventing wars such as Vietnam, the policy invites the kind of intervention that has us so deeply involved in Vietnam.

The policy invites intervention, because the long list of those receiving our economic or military aid, or both, numbers 70. We have an interest in every country that receives foreign aid from us. Usually we are told that it is something called "enlightened self-interest," which quite readily translates into a nonsensical myth called "mutual defence." Seventy countries?

Now it goes without saying that a wise and truly enlightened foreign aid policy would not only actually be in the self-interest of the United States, a policy of that sort would almost be mandatory. But the nations that would qualify would number fewer than you can count on one hand. Perhaps, in unusual circumstances, one or two more. But 70 countries?

So the President wants $3.1 billion this year, or $200,000,000 more than Congress gave him last fiscal year. The country does progress, in a way, for there was a time when foreign aid used to command $4 billion or more from an obeisant Congress.

We suggest that Congress reduce it again this year, and every year thereafter until a pragmatic approach to foreign aid is adopted by the government. What we are doing now is ridiculous, wasteful and dangerous to the extent that it continuously involves us in the economic affairs and military ventures of those we aid and invites our intervention in their quarrels.

Let's Tax All the Wealth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the answer to any tax raise awaits merely the approval of Congress. No tax increase against the worker, the builder, or the productive citizen is needed. Simply remove the exemption from the tax-free foundations.

Billions of dollars, earned by the sweat of the American workingman or as profits from the American consumer are now accumulated in tremendous funds—withdrawn from our economic system—given preferential no-tax treatment, and in many instances turned loose to finance anti-American programs. Some have gone so far afield in guided objectives that they would attack and destroy the foundations of the very system which accumulated their tremendous wealth.

No plausible reason can be offered as to why these financial giants should not be brought under congressional control and made to pay taxes like any other responsible person or corporation.

Weighing pros and cons as between taxes on the workingman or collecting taxes from these plush, diamond-studded corporations which operate on wealth exploited from the common man, what choice can there be? Little choice, or even reason for hesitancy. The tax-free foundations must pay their equal share, the American way.

I want all my fellow colleagues, faced with the problem of solving the tax problem, to be able to read Mrs. Elizabeth Osth's commentary on "Foundations Finance Subversion." Therefore, under unanimous consent I include her commentary following my remarks:

FOUNDATIONS FINANCE SUBVERSION

Congressional hearings investigating activities of certain large tax-exempt foundations concluded, in the mid-fifties, that grants were frequently used by recipient organizations for destroying our form of government and this country as established by the Founding Fathers. In a House speech on August 10, 1956, the late Committee Chairman, Carroll Reece, recited examples. One involved a Ford Foundation grant in the amount of a million dollars to the American Friends Service Committee, which, in turn, sponsored the World Youth Congress, a Communist front, and sent a delegate to the World Youth Festival in Prague in 1947, an admittedly Communist affair. It also advocated Red China's admission to the United Nations.

Another devious grant involved the Alfred Sloan Foundation financing public-affairs pamphlets, some of which, said Congressman Reece, were the next thing to Communist leaflets. They were sold in Communist bookstores but were also distributed to libraries and frequently were used in high schools.

Congressman Reece concluded almost eleven years ago that the evidence is plain that the leftist movement in this country has penetrated the foundation world as consciously and intentionally as did the Communists. He said it was incontrovertibly established that the American Communists were directed by Moscow to infiltrate American foundations and to use their funds to promote communism in the United States.

I mention this old speech today because it is imperative for taxpayers to realize these foundations not only are financing revolution in the United States through grants to some of the most radical of the civil rights groups, but at the same time are paying for seminars and publications provided by organizations which, from their inception, have been designed to destroy patriotism and to abolish this nation under the United States Constitution in order to bring about a complete socialist world government.

Foundation grants today have a double purpose. On the one hand they finance revolution on the streets of America, and on the other hand they finance efforts to tear down our love of country and our pride in being an American.

If organizations using foundation grants were not tax-exempt themselves, the grants would not be forthcoming. Then they could never reach the American people with their vicious propaganda. Those of you who have tried to raise funds for enterprises you have thought important know quite well that without the money you cannot succeed.

There is a publication called *Foundation News*, a Bulletin of The Foundation Library Center in Baltimore, Maryland. It reports bimonthly on foundation grants over the sum of $10,000. Scanning through the issues of last March, July, September, and the current one for January 1967, one can't help but notice the huge sums given to organizations established to change this country into something resembling the Soviet Union at worst, or socialist England at best. Our forefathers left the "Old World" to find independence and freedom here. Will we lose our heritage by ignoring the dangers inherent in many tax-exempt foundations? Will we permit tax-exempt organizations to finance Red revolution in the United States? According to law no organization receiving tax-exemption may use its funds for political purposes. Yet types of organizations I speak of are very frankly political. They are also subversive to our form of government.

Such recent grants include, for example, the Taconic Foundation granting $33,744 to the League for Industrial Democracy; $10,000 to the Southern Student Organizing Committee granted by the New World Foundation; $375,000 to the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty granted by the Ford Foundation; $50,000 to CORE granted by the Albert A. List Foundation; Field Foundation gifts to the South Carolina Council on Human Relations in the amount of $17,000, to Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference in the amount of $33,750, to the Tennessee Council on Human Relations in the amount of $25,000, to the U.S. National Student Association in the amount of $70,000. These are only a few samples of many that could be cited.

The League for Industrial Democracy, just mentioned, has been frank in its advocacy of socialism. It is avowedly socialistic and has openly operated as an educational arm of the Socialist Party. Congressman Reece discussed it in his 1956 speech because it had long been a recipient of Foundation money. He explained that the foundations which provide funds to such organizations as the

League for Industrial Democracy are exempt from paying taxes, and in turn these smaller organizations like the LID are also exempt from paying taxes. So we have a situation of large foundations financing smaller ones.

Other organizations I mentioned, such as Martin Luther King's SCLC, and the Southern Students Organizing Committee are also small tax-exempt organizations. How do you feel about their not having to pay taxes when you know perfectly well from daily news that they are involved in revolutionary political activities? They send out pleas for funds and stress the fact that financial gifts may be deducted from one's income taxes.

Speaking of such "intermediary organizations" as these, Congressman Reece said they, as well as the great tax-exempt foundations themselves, have come into the control of those consciously and actively to the left politically. While most people think of the term, subversion, to describe activities of the out and out criminal Communist conspiracy, Mr. Reece went further and explained this use by the foundations for the promotion of socialism is subversion. The Committee investigating foundations was severely criticized by the whole socialist-communist complex in the United States for so accurately describing the term, subversion. Reece declared that the Socialist in the United States prefers to have this term confined to Communist penetration. But, he continued, the term, "subversion," denotes an undermining, a chipping away. In this sense the promotion of socialism is clearly subversive of our institutions. In fact, it was his opinion that subversion through socialism offers us a far greater internal danger than the threat of communism.

Carroll Reece explained that statement. He said, "There is no doubt that socialism and communism go hand in hand. The Socialist may hate the Communist, but the Communist loves the Socialist. The Communist knows that if the Socialist is able to get the upper hand and to destroy a capitalistic system, the Communist can quickly take over."

We need more careful explanations like this so people will understand the danger from socialism. Mr. Reece said, "There is much misconception about the relationship of socialism and communism. They are the same and identical thing except for one single difference—the Communist believes in establishing the Socialist order by force, while the Socialist is generally content to achieve it through subversive methods—by perverting a democracy."

The foundations, in addition to financing revolutionary civil rights groups, also provide funds for radical so-called religious groups, two examples being the Sunnen Foundation granting $20,125 to Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State, and $20,000 to the American Friends Service Committee. The POAU was organized by socialists and one of its main operations has been to split and divide Christianity by attacking Roman Catholicism. Many fundamentalist Christians have supported the POAU because they have been led to believe Roman Catholicism can be equated with Red Communism in wanting to take over the world. They have failed to look into the founders and supporters of the organization to see they have followed the Marxist rule of divide and conquer: split all religions, cast aspersion upon them, divide them, then eliminate them all. As to the American Friends Service Committee, religious Quakers, (or Friends, as they are known) have tried to make it clear they want no part of this Committee which deals in radical political themes rather than in religion as such.

Now as to the huge tax-exempt foundations financing subversion through grants to one-world type organizations—those which would abolish our Constitution and merge these United States into one socialist world—here is the Rockefeller Brothers Fund giving $19,500 to the United Nations Institute for Training and Research for preparation of papers of Ralph Bunche. Doubtless this research will not include the 49-page paper Archibald Roosevelt, son of President Theodore Roosevelt, sent to Harvard President, Dr. Nathan M. Pusey. This cited chapter and verse the Marxist record of Dr. Ralph Bunche and the Communist front organizations in which he choose to involve himself for many years. It seems Dr. Bunche was being nominated for the Harvard Board of Overseers in 1959 and Archibald Roosevelt, as a 1917 graduate, was having none of it. Now when anyone brings up the matter of Ralph Bunche's past, that gentleman calls the person "part of the lunatic fringe, sick in the head." (1) Just why a U.N. Institute is going to favor us with Dr. Bunche's "papers" at this time is a mystery unless he needs a publicity build-up to run for Senator Jacob Javits' Senate seat if Javits decides to run for Vice-President in '68. This rumor was in the air back in May of 1962 when Ralph Bunche spoke to the United Auto Workers Convention in Atlantic City and called any who criticize the UN, "rightist detractors and other lunatic fringe groups." (2) Apparently his vocabulary in this regard is somewhat limited.

Other grants to organizations in the world government complex include the Old Dominion Foundation's giving $45,000 to Atlantic Council of the United States, the Ford Foundation's giving $935,000 to Institute of International Education, the Ford Foundation's giving $1,000,000 to the Foreign Policy Association, and the Lehman Foundation giving $50,000 to the Council on Foreign Relations. One could devote hours simply reciting the grants given by large tax-exempt foundations to smaller tax-exempt intermediaries to use in subverting our form of government.

The answer to this problem is the lifting of the tax-exempt status of these organizations by the Treasury. This will never be done so long as Congress bows down to political expediency, allowing itself to be pressured into remaining silent in regard to these vital areas. With the new, more conservative, Congress now at work, perhaps a joint committee of both Houses could be persuaded to investigate tax-exempt foundations and their strange grants, with an eye to eliminating their tax-exempt status. So long as these revolutionary, subversive organizations have millions to hand out to destroy us, just that long we will continue to be led down the road to dictatorship. Unless Congress exerts its prerogative in this respect it may truthfully be said that foundations have now become more powerful than the legislative branch of government.

Resource Conservation and Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, last week I had the privilege of joining the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCARTHY] and several other Senators from both sides of the aisle in cosponsoring S. 852, a bill to permit the Secretary of Agriculture to cost share in carrying out plans for works of improvement of recreation on fish and wildlife developments in resource conservation and development projects.

Some have asked, What is a resource conservation and development project? This question was answered very clearly in an editorial in the January 18, 1967, issue of Western News, published in Hamilton, Mont. This is a report on the first annual meeting of the Bitter Root Valley resource conservation and development project, in Montana. The editorial is entitled "A Challenge to Citizens." It states in part:

> The approach of involving all segments of the county's population to solve local problems is spearheaded and guided by the supervisors of the Bitter Root Soil Conservation District. The supervisors are assisted by a coordinator. The program has the backing of the Ravalli and Missoula County Commissioners and many civic organizations.
>
> There is nothing new or original in the concept of the Bitter Root Valley Resource Conservation and Development program. Democracy was conceived and founded on the principles that the public be kept informed and that the people aggressively exercise their rights and privileges as citizens by actively participating in decision making and in solving local, state, and national issues. People gather strength and enthusiasm when applying democratic processes.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A CHALLENGE TO CITIZENS

It was a heartening experience to observe lay citizens at the first annual meeting of the Bitter Root Valley Resource Conservation and Development program discussing procedures and policies for tackling solutions of problems at making the Bitter Root valley a better place in which to live.

The approach of involving all segments of the county's population to solve local problems is spearheaded and guided by the supervisors of the Bitter Root Soil Conservation District. The supervisors are assisted by a coordinator. The program has the backing of the Ravalli and Missoula County Commissioners and many civic organizations.

It is sound that this program had its origin in a conservation-oriented organization. Undoubtedly this was because of a realization that an expanding economy can never be built on a rapidly declining natural resource base of agriculture, water, forest, and grazing lands.

At the meeting it soon became evident that determination and courage existed to develop and improve both human and natural resources. There was no evidence of exploitive motives. There should not have been any question on the part of those present that in the Bitter Root there are many problems awaiting solution. It was made clear that solving these problems requires the talents and skills of all residents of the area. There was no doubt expressed about bringing people and problems together—or whether this approach was popular. It was accepted as being right.

There is nothing new or original in the concept of the Bitter Root Valley Resource Conservation and Development program. Democracy was conceived and founded on the principles that the public be kept informed and that the people aggressively exercise their rights and privileges as citizens by actively participating in decision making and in solving local, state, and national issues. People gather strength and enthusiasm when applying democratic processes. It is obvious that this process has injected new life into SCD supervisor structure.

Residents of the valley should be grateful to the sponsors of the RC&D program and to a few local citizens who have cooperated to revive democratic processes and put them to work to improve economic, social, cultural and other aspects of life in the Bitter Root valley.

A vacuum has too long existed in procedures that require an above-the-board approach which brings local citizens, their agencies and their elected representatives together. The RC&D program provides a format for dealing more effectively with conservation, economic and social problems affecting the interests of all people in the valley.

It is most fortunate that local SCS supervisors assumed leadership in devising a program for filling this vacuum. It could have been filled long ago by any imaginative and courageous private or public organization genuinely interested in public causes.

It was repeatedly emphasized that success of the RC&D venture hinges upon the willingness of lay citizens to sacrifice precious time and energy to work with technically trained people in analyzing information made available to them to make the Bitter Root valley a better place to live.

This first annual meeting where a few representatives of schools, churches, businesses, agencies met with representatives of city and county governments was too poorly attended. Surely, everyone who did attend caught a glimpse as to how the many frustrating problems confronting school administrators, local representatives of city, county and federal agencies and even businesses could be brought to the light of day. No problems are ever solved by sweeping them under the rug.

Happy Birthday, Jimmy Durante

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to submit herewith an editorial written by Mr. Abe E. Eisenstein for the East Side News, a local weekly published for and widely read throughout my congressional district, on the occasion of the 74th birthday of that well-beloved Jimmy Durante.

The editorial follows:

HAPPY BIRTHDAY, JIMMY DURANTE

(By Abe E. Eisenstein)

Jimmy Durante is one of East Side-New York's famed beloved native sons. He is one of America's truly loveable great star comedian and entertainer of stage, screen, radio and television. He is an exceptionally generous human being, young at heart, a genius in his own way, and a great American of Italian parentage.

The warm-hearted troubadour with that famous Cyrano de Bergerac proboscis, son of Bartelemo and Rosa Millino Durante, was born on Feb. 10, 1893, at 90 Catherine Street and raised in what was then one of the toughest slum districts on the Lower East Side, The Five Point Section. His beloved mother, Rosa, died in 1921. His father, a kind and gentle lover of humanity, owned a barber shop at 112 Cherry Street. Bartelemo died in 1940, at the age of ninety-three.

James Francis Durante, five foot seven, weighing 155 pounds, has blue eyes, a prowling walk, a husky voice and incredible energy, is the youngest of four children, three boys and a girl. Jimmy was baptised at East Side's famed St. James Catholic Church at 23 Oliver Street. He attended P.S. 1 and sold newspapers after school in City Hall Park, where it is said he had the loudest newsboy's voice. Each of the four children played a musical instrument. One of his brothers, Albert, in later years, became a policeman. He had a beat near the old Forsythe Street Baths.

The former "Ragtime Jimmy, King of Harlem," first worked for his father in the barber shop. He began his career in music as an entertainer in Diamond Tony's and at Carey Walsh's in Coney Island, at Harlem's Alamo, and in Chinatown's Chatham Club on Doyer Street.

"Schnozzola" later organized a small Dixieland band, and, in 1915, met Eddie Jackson, the high hat cakewalker and baritone, with whom he teamed up to open the Club Durante and was joined by the late Lou Clayton, one of vaudeville's top shoe dancers, to form the famous trio.

Jimmy Durante found success in the movies when the trio act broke up. He made his first film, "Roadhouse Night," in 1929. He starred in Broadway hits like "Ziegfeld Show Girl," "Show Boat," "Strike Me Pink," "Jumbo," "Stars In Your Eyes," and the "New Yorkers." He made his debut in television in October, 1950.

Composer of songs ("I'm Jimmy, that Well Dressed Man"), and member of ASCAP, Durante is the recipient of the George Foster Peabody Award, The Newspaper Guild of N.Y. Special Page One Award, the B'nai B'rith Plaque, and other honors. On Feb. 1, 1967, he received the highest award from the Catholic Youth Organization of New York, "The Club of Champions Gold Medal."

Jimmy Durante married the former noted actress Margie Little on Dec. 14, 1960, at St. Malachy Church in New York. They have an adopted daughter, Cecilia Alicia Durante.

East Siders, New Yorkers, friends everywhere, Salute and Congratulate you, Jimmy Durante (who brought sunshine and laughter into the hearts of all listeners, viewers, and Durante fans) on your 74th birthday.

The Teaching of Morality Has Not Been Tabooed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Teaching of Morality Has Not Been Tabooed," written by David Lawrence, and published in U.S. News & World Report of February 13, 1967.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEACHING OF MORALITY HAS NOT BEEN TABOOED

(By David Lawrence)

It seems clear that to order the recital of prayer in the public schools—or scriptural readings—is subject to challenge by the courts as unconstitutional. Because we have varied religious sects, there is a fear among some of them that, if the principle of prescribed prayer is once accepted, we may ultimately find ourselves with "an establishment of religion," which is specifically prohibited by the Constitution.

However beneficial religious exercises or prayers could be as a part of the curriculum in the schools, the Supreme Court has ruled against them. The practical problem now is how to attain in a legal and constitutional manner some equivalent of that which is being prohibited in a formal way in the schools.

It cannot be denied that there is a greater need than ever for teaching school children a code of good behavior in the community. We are hearing on every side the claim that juvenile delinquency, adult crime and many of the other unpleasant occurrences in our social life are directly or indirectly attributable to an absence of religious training or at least to a failure to teach morality during a highly impressionable period in human life.

To understand what is permissible teaching in this controversial field, we must not overlook a significant footnote in the majority opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States rendered on June 25, 1962. This was the famous case in which the High Court struck down a prayer prescribed by New York State for its public schools. The footnote reads as follows:

"There is of course nothing in the decision reached here that is inconsistent with the fact that school children and others are officially encouraged to express love for our country by reciting historical documents, such as the Declaration of Independence, which contain references to the Deity or by singing officially espoused anthems which include the composer's professions of faith in a Supreme Being, or with the fact that there are many manifestations in our public life of belief in God. Such patriotic or ceremonial occasions bear no true resemblance to the unquestioned religious exercise that the State of New York has sponsored in this instance."

The Court, moreover, has no by means repudiated the concept that, apart from formal religions or secretarian theses, a better understanding of morality can be taught in the public schools and thus promote better citizenship. It is pertinent, therefore, to refer to a statement of policy and position on religion in public education jointly adopted by the Synagogue Council of America and the National Community Relations Advisory Council, which says:

"Insofar as the teaching of 'spiritual values' may be understood to signify religious teaching, this must remain as it has been the responsibility of the home, the church and the synagogue. Insofar as it is understood to signify the teaching of morality, ethics and good citizenship, a deep commitment to such values has been successfully inculcated by our public schools in successive generations of Americans. The public schools must continue to share responsibility for fostering our commitment to these moral values, without presenting or teaching any sectarian or theological sources or sanctions for such values."

Hence, instead of becoming preoccupied with equivocal arguments about voluntary and involuntary prayer or about some formula for holding religious exercises, we shall make more progress by concentrating on the task of teaching morality in our public and private schools and in our colleges.

We can explain to children in the classroom why it has been declared morally wrong to steal another person's property. We can teach our youth why it is wrong to kill or to engage in violence. We can educate our future citizens on the importance of obeying the law and what disobedience means.

The controversy over the Supreme Court's decisions on prayer has reflected a widespread desire to see that our school children get the benefits of moral teachings. But it can be persuasively argued that these same benefits may still be achieved without sectarian doctrines being preached in the schoolroom.

It is a great disappointment, of course, that voluntary prayer is not being permitted.

Perhaps we have allowed our intolerance of other people's religions to supersede all else. But since the Supreme Court has made the rule, it must be obeyed.

Complete silence in the schools on the question of morality, however, would be tragic in its consequences. Already teachers are hesitant today to touch the subject. Since good behavior can readily be taught in the schools without reference to any particular religion, we should emphasize morality and good citizenship and make these topics an integral part of the daily calendar in the public schools.

Kentuckian Morris Has Every Congressman's Number

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. WATTS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call to the attention of our people an article which appeared in the February 11, 1967, edition of the Louisville Times, concerning one of our very dedicated servants, H. H. Morris, Postmaster, House of Representatives:

KENTUCKIAN MORRIS HAS EVERY CONGRESSMAN'S NUMBER

(By William Greider)

WASHINGTON.—Rep. L. Mendel Rivers, the influential chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, once called him, "the best man per pound in the U.S. Capitol."

For H. H. (Hap) Morris, that seems appropriate—he only weighs 122 pounds.

Morris is a jauntly little guy who wears a big grin and Ben Franklin glasses, and speaks with a genial twang that fairly sings "My Old Kentucky Home."

He came to Washington from his home town of New Castle, Ky., with the understanding that he would stay for two years. That was 35 years ago. Now everyone around Capitol Hill knows him.

His office wall is covered with the autographed photos of important people from John F. Kennedy to Adolph Rupp.

Arizona Congressman Morris Udall inscribed his picture: "For Hap Morris—that peerless, fearless sage, soothsayer, philosopher and master of the mails."

Morris is postmaster for the U.S. House of Representatives. He was duly elected to that position again this year by the 435 congressmen whom he serves.

He directs a postal service that in volume is roughly equivalent to the City of Lexington. His salary is $23,700.

"Somebody said one time that I was the highest-paid postmaster in the United States," Morris said. "I told 'em, 'Yeah, but I've got the most distinguished clientele, too.' "

From his basement office in the Longworth House Office Building, Morris directs an operation that is like no other post office in the country.

His crew of 83 sorters and carriers makes four deliveries a day to the three House office buildings along Independence Avenue—plus one delivery on Sunday.

"You'd be surprised," Morris said, "how many members come up to their office on Sunday just to read their newspapers. If they didn't have that Sunday delivery, they'd raise hell. The only day we shut down is Christmas."

PIECES OF MAIL, 27.5 MILLION

During a year's time, the House members will receive roughly 27.5 million pieces of mail—and they will send out even more to their constituents.

"This is their lifeline, more or less," Morris explained. "They complain a lot about getting an awful lot of mail, but I told these new members that, when it falls off and you don't get so much, that's when you should start worrying."

All of Morris' staff are patronage employes, appointed by senior Democratic congressmen. and so is he. He first was elected postmaster in 1955 by the Democratic caucus. With the help of the Kentucky delegation, he defeated a Mississippian.

"Noble Gregory (former Kentucky 1st District congressman) was on the Ways and Means Committee and he was sort of my campaign manager," Morris said. "It didn't hurt any when these new members came in to talk about their committee assignments. He could kind of sweeten it up for me."

If the Democrats lose majority control of the House, then Morris is automatically out of his job. But, as he says, "I've been awful fortunate in two things—the Democrats have been in a long time and I've got an awful lot of friends."

PATRONAGE WORKER SINCE 1932

He has been living happily with the perils of patronage since 1932 when he went to work as a doorkeeper at the House speaker's lobby, the ante-chamber where congressmen retire for a smoke or an informal caucus.

"I was at the University of Kentucky for two years," he recalled, "but I left the university like so many did—when the Bank of Kentucky went under."

(Morris' father, Joe W. Morris, had preceded him on the Hill as secretary to Congressman James Cantrell in the early 1920's.)

Morris went on to become an assistant in the Democratic cloakroom, another Capitol inner sanctum. Then in 1940, he went to work as office secretary for Virgil Chapman, who was then a congressman.

When Chapman was elected to the Senate in 1948, Morris followed him over to the other side of the Capitol. But, he said, "I didn't like it. I stayed six months and came back to the House."

For two years, he was assistant clerk of the House, then served as staff assistant to Congressman Tom Underwood and John Watts until his election as postmaster.

DOESN'T HAVE A FIRST NAME

Morris, incidentally, doesn't have a first name. The H. H. stands for H. H.

"My grandfather's name was Henry Harrison and my mother didn't like it so she cut it down to H. H.," he explained. "When I came up here, I told everyone it stood for Happy Hooligan. Then when Happy Chandler was up here in the Senate, he cut it down to just Hap." That is what everyone calls him now.

As postmaster, Morris supervises some unique services. For instance, if you address a letter simply "Congressman, Washington, D.C.," Morris' crew gets it to the right man. They check the postmark and deliver it to the representative whose district you live in.

Letters to an ex-congressman—and there are lots of them—will be forwarded for one year after he leaves office. After an election, Morris holds the mail for new members and delivers it in one whopping bundle when they take office.

"The election was on Nov. 8 this year," Morris said, "and the first letter we got in here was for Gene Snyder of Louisville (the new 4th District congressman)—and it came in two days after the election."

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD HEAVY BURDEN

The morning delivery for Morris' mailmen is always a heavy burden because of the bulky CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, which come out daily.

Each member is allotted 63 copies, which are sent directly to schools, libraries and others in the home district. But some congressmen have all of the copies sent first to their office so that they can stamp their name on the issue and mail them personally.

"We also get anything that has Capitol on it," he said. "Capitol Laundry or Capitol Theater—it all winds up here."

Morris, now 55, has seen a lot of changes in congressional styles. "When (Alben) Barkley was in the House, for instance, he hired a girl to come in maybe three times a week to answer the mail," Morris said.

Now most congressmen have an office staff of five or six—and high-speed electric typewriters which turn out letters automatically from a pre-punched tape.

But the way Congress legislates is largely unchanged, according to Morris.

"There's a lot of wheeling and dealing," Morris said, "I think it's all right. It goes good with our way of democracy."

Redwood Creek Park, Calif., Endorsed by New York Times

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, the New York Times yesterday published an excellent editorial endorsing the creation of a 90,000-acre national park in the Redwood Creek area of northern California, as proposed in S. 514, which I introduced on January 18 on behalf of 21 Members of the Senate. More than 30 Members of the House, led by Representative JEFFERY COHELAN, have introduced similar legislation in the other body.

Let me quote one paragraph from the Times editorial:

> The critical area is Redwood Creek Valley. It is not now protected in any way. It constitutes an adequate watershed. And it has by far the best trees, many 300 feet high and 2,000 years old. There are five times as many virgin redwoods in Redwood Creek as in Mill Creek. For $150 to $200 million, approximately three times the cost of the Administration proposal, a magnificent, 90,000-acre national park embracing Redwood Creek Valley could be acquired. This is a plan scaled to the grandeur of the redwoods; this is a national park worth fighting for.

I commend the Times for its editorial endorsement of "a national park worth fighting for." It is my hope that Congress will authorize the establishment of the park in the Redwood Creek area this year.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the New York Times editorial of February 19, be printed at this point in the RECORD:

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Big Trees, Small Plans

President Johnson has accurately described a redwoods national park as a "last chance" conservation opportunity. As he pointed out in his message on natural resources, "If we do not act promptly, we may lose for all time the magnificent redwoods of Northern California."

The Administration, however, is preparing some rather small plans for saving the world's tallest trees. The Interior Department is still laboring over minor revisions of the bill it supported last year. That bill would create a small park in Mill Creek. It is not a sound plan because most of the trees worth saving are already protected in two existing state parks.

Except for 7,000 acres of pure first-growth redwoods adjoining one of these parks, the lands to be purchased in Mill Creek have been extensively logged. As a result, the trees are second-growth and smaller, and there is a considerable admixture of other trees. Mill Creek is valuable as the watershed for the existing state parks, but otherwise it is not really of national park quality.

The critical area is Redwood Creek Valley. It is not now protected in any way. It constitutes an adequate watershed. And it has by far the best trees, many 300 feet high and 2,000 years old. There are five times as many virgin redwoods in Redwood Creek as in Mill Creek. For $150 to $200 million, approximately three times the cost of the Administration proposal, a magnificent, 90,000-acre national park embracing Redwood Creek Valley could be acquired. This is a plan scaled to the grandeur of the redwoods; this is a national park worth fighting for.

It is unfortunate that President Johnson, Secretary of the Interior Udall and organizations such as the Save-the-Redwoods League are not where they belong—in the front line of the struggle to establish a comprehensive redwoods national park.

Their self-defeating efforts to appease the lumber companies by excluding most of Redwood Creek Valley may fail if Governor Reagan of California, who has already obtained a three-month moratorium on action by Congress, decides to propose an even smaller park than they envisage. In view of this possibility, Senator Kuchel of California and other conservation-minded Congressmen who have gone along with the inadequate Mill Creek plan in the past have an obligation to re-examine their position.

The redwood lumber industry is certain to be united in opposition to any comprehensive park proposal. If these extraordinary trees are not to be sawed into fenceposts, those who believe in saving the nation's heritage will have to be equally united and determined.

Veterans Observe 69th Anniversary of Sinking of the "Maine" on Dewey's Famous Battleship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on the 69th anniversary of the sinking of the battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor, when we in the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States were giving fitting observance to the day, three veterans of the Spanish-American War held their service of remembrance on the old *Olympia*, now a historic shrine.

I am extending my remarks to include the following news article in the Philadelphia Inquirer of February 13, 1967:

War Vet Recalls Victory at Manila Bay

(By John R. Murphy)

On the morning of May 1, 1898, John R. Lynch was shoveling and sweating in the stokehold of the U.S. Cruiser Boston as the guns of his ship and other American men-of-war methodically smashed the Spanish Fleet in Manila Bay into oblivion.

When he got an infrequent break from his duties in the smoke-and-glare-filled inferno he reeled over to a porthole to watch his ship and Commodore George Dewey's proud, white flagship, the USS Olympia, rend and tear the enemy.

Lynch, who is 87, lives at 1552 N. 55th st., West Philadelphia, with the second wife he married last December. On Wednesday he'll look with pride again on the old Olympia, moored now as a historical shrine at Pier 11 North, at the foot of Race st.

He'll be one of three Spanish War veterans who will board the ship for Maine Day ceremonies at 10:30 A. M.

Somehow, the USS Maine, quietly at anchor in the harbor of Havana, Cuba, the night of Feb. 15, 1898, was blown to the bottom. The sinking precipitated the war with Spain that drew 20-year-old John Lynch and thousands of others into the Navy.

This week he reminisced about the Battle of Manila Bay:

"I was in the stokehold firing boilers and doing everything it was my duty to do to make the ship maneuver and take its place in battle. Once in a while I got a chance to look out a porthole and believe me, it was a hot time in old Manila that day. We were pouring it in."

Lynch served nine years in the Navy, then took his discharge to work as a watertender in the powerhouse at the Philadelphia Navy Yard. Later, he worked for 33 years as a stationary engineer for the Philadelphia Gas Works. He retired 18 years ago.

But, as they'd say in the old Navy, John never put away his "steaming shoes."

He became commander of the Charles Young Camp of the United Spanish War Veterans and president of the USWV Philadelphia County Council, posts he still holds.

There are about five members left in the Camp now. There were 200 to 300 when it was formed in 1906, Lynch remembers.

Many of the survivors are in the Veterans Administration Hospital at 39th st. and Woodland ave.

Lynch takes the bus and trolley there frequently to help the old volunteers of '98 in any way he can.

"I go up and down the wards and I've done it now for the last 13 years. I give them good counsel, keep them in courage and good cheer. I write letters and make telephone calls for them. Lots of them are older than I am and I go over to help them out."

Lynch lost his wife of 55 years, Minnie, in 1961. He took another bride last December, the former Lily Bell, the widow of a Second World War veteran who died of war incurred illness shortly after the war ended.

"With my know-how about veterans benefits, I helped her to get necessary benefits and we became friends," Lynch said. "She was a good friend to me and to my first wife."

Lynch recalls that all who served in the Spanish war were volunteers—there was no draft in '98—and he vows he and the fast-diminishing band will "hold it together. We'll hold it to the last man.

"We came from every corner of the United States. Most of us didn't know the butt from the muzzle of a gun.

"But they shoved us right into Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, even to China, and those men who came off the farm and the factory, did a good job."

A native of Virginia, Lynch is a member of the Cruiser Olympia Association, Inc., the group that maintains the venerable warship as a shrine.

He has taken part in every Maine Day ceremony for the last 13 years.

Increase in GNP Described as More Fat Than Muscle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, the following article by John Cunniff, published in the Washington Evening Star of February 17, brings out facts which we have long anticipated as to the inaccurate use of the increase in the gross national product. The rapid increase in the inventory in the last months of 1966 gives a very clear picture that the entire product has not gone into the trade but represents a material increase in inventory throughout the country. These facts, together with the announcement by the Federal Reserve Board that production in automobiles, home appliances, and so forth, has experienced the largest reduction in the last 2 years indicates that we are not headed into a production period which would furnish pressure for inflation, but rather deflation. This to me indicates that if the Government does not carefully weigh all of these facts in connection with their demand for higher taxes and curtailment in the highway construction, we can well find ourselves in an economic depression, while fighting the third largest war in our history.

Mr. Cunniff's article follows:

Increase in GNP Described as More Fat Than Muscle

(By John Cunniff)

New York.—The tremendous production of goods that the U.S. economy achieved in the closing months of 1966, it turns out, can be compared to an accumulation of fat rather than a development of muscle.

This production made the Gross National Product soar. The figure looked great. But some of the goods they represented merely accumulated. They were, sold. They went, instead, into inventories.

The biggest buildup of these inventories came last fall, coinciding very closely with the football season.

To draw an analogy, then, the Nation's tremendous productive capacity was like a ponderously bulky lineman chasing a scatback. The scatback, sales, slowed and shifted. The lineman, production, couldn't slow and went hurtling by.

As a result, the first half of 1967 is going to be a breaking period, a time of adjusting to a tremendous stockpile of goods. These will have to be sold before factories can dare step up production again.

That is why the big inventories now are being termed one of the most serious maladjustments of our economy, one that time alone can take care of. This mismatching of production and sales might even take some of 1968.

SLOWDOWN BEGINS

The resulting slowdown of production while this fat is worked off already has begun. The first signs were cuts in overtime and then reductions in work weeks. Now it is reflected in shutdowns and layoffs, most noticeably in autos but in large appliances also.

Various factors account for the buildup. Manufacturers want to avoid being caught short because of strikes or simply because of great demand and so they store raw materials.

Much of the buildup came, however, simply because anticipated sales were greater than actual sales. It takes a while for the production machinery to crank up to its limit. It takes as long to slow it down.

During much of last year the economy was rising to a six-year peak. Sometime during the last quarter it did peak. The demand for goods began to slow, but production's momentum sent it flying on by.

The automotive industry is the clearest example. Detroit erred on the side of optimism, it being the nature of the industry especially never to underestimate. Sales, however, fell far behind expectations through most of the year.

At one point automobile dealers had accumulated a two-month supply of cars, and ended the year with 1,379,000 vehicles on their lots, a 72½-day supply.

This was fairly typical of some other segments of industry also. The total of manufacturers' inventories was especially high, somewhere around 52 days.

THREE BIG SEGMENTS

Some retail inventories were less, however, and the excess for the three big segments of industry—manufacturing, wholesaling and retailing—was a bit more than 45 days as the year ended.

This high rate of inventory accumulation totaled $135 billion, an increase of more than $14 billion for the year. With sales prospects now less encouraging than a year ago, this will be difficult to work off.

Analysts now figure that much of this fat will melt like the winter snows and that by mid-summer the economy will be in much better shape. Not everyone agrees, however, and the possibility exists that some fat will be carried on into 1968.

Nevertheless, enough of the inventory accumulation is likely to be used up by midsummer to present the possibility of a new surge in production.

With this possibility will come once again the threat of inflation, followed by countermeasures, followed by an inventory buildup, followed by a slowdown. It needn't happen. But it could.

Daylight Saving Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, on February 8, 1967, I introduced H.R. 5063, to amend the Uniform Time Act of 1966 to provide that daylight saving time shall be observed only from the first Sunday following Memorial Day to the first Sunday following Labor Day.

The mail I have received indicates that most Iowans—opponents as well as proponents of daylight time—would accept this compromise. If we are to have this so-called fast time, it does not make a bit of sense to me that it should start in April and continue until the last Sunday in October.

The WHO radio and television stations in Des Moines have expressed editorial support for shortening the period when daylight time is in effect. While I question that most Iowans, do in fact, favor daylight time, as stated by the stations, I am pleased to call to the attention of my colleageus the following editorial which was broadcast by WHO radio and WHO-TV:

The State of Iowa should remain on Daylight Time for the purpose of uniformity with the rest of the Nation, and because it seems to be the desire of most Iowans. Most people in this state now live in the cities, and most city dwellers favor fast time because it gives them more opportunity for outdoor work or recreation. But Daylight Time should not be in effect for as long as the federal law now requires, virtually six months a year. A sizeable part of our population, including most farmers, view Daylight Time as a handicap. Farmers must work whenever conditions permit, not by the clock. Basically, they follow the sun. This means that when a farmer wants to go to the city to have an implement repaired, or shop, or attend a meeting in town, Daylight Time makes him one hour late. Often it makes him one hour too late. Daylight Time in the fall means rural youngsters have to wait for school buses in the dark hours of the morning.

The Iowa Legislature should ask Congress to shorten the period when Daylight Time is in effect. This would keep its benefits during the warm months most important to outdoor work and recreation, but would minimize the effect upon farmers and others who oppose it.

Threat to Our National Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker,, an outstanding jurist, member of the Philadelphia Bar Association, Mr. John B. Gest, speaks out for individual American liberty. I insert his report in the RECORD following my remarks:

THREAT TO OUR NATIONAL FREEDOM

(By John B. Gest)

On July 22, 1963, President Kennedy transmitted to the Senate, for advice and consent to ratification, the following three Conventions:

Supplementary Slavery Convention (Supplementary to the Slavery Convention of 1926). This provides for the abolition of debt bondage, serfdom, giving women in marriage for money consideration without the right to refuse, and certain kinds of exploitation of children under 18.

Convention on Abolition of Forced Labor. This provides for the suppression of compulsory labor as a means of political coercion or, as a punishment for expressing views ideologically opposed to the established political, social or economic system, or as a means of racial, social, national or religious discrimination.

Convention on Political Rights of Women. This provides that women shall be entitled to vote in all national elections and shall be eligible for election to all elective national bodies on equal terms with men.

In his letter of transmittal, President Kennedy states that United States law is "already in conformity with these conventions, and ratification would not require any change in our domestic legislation."

At the start we should emphasize the difference between a UN declaration and a convention. A declaration, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is a mere recital of supposed ideals without purporting to impose any obligation. A convention, or covenant, or multilateral treaty (these terms are interchangeable) is quite different. It obligates each accepting nation to comply with the terms of the convention. The Human Rights Conventions can be accepted in the future by any nation, be they hostile or be they friendly to us.

One may seach in vain for any good reason for ratification of these conventions. The International Law Committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York (recommending ratification) says "It would appear that a treaty, at a minimum, must have some relevance to the foreign or external concerns and relations of the United States." And in attempting to justify the conventions it states that "The purpose of the Conventions from the point of view of the United States is a foreign relations purpose—to encourage a particular pattern of behavior by other countries."

In President Kennedy's letter of transmittal, he also says: "There is no society so advanced that it no longer needs periodic recommitment to human rights."

Our recommendation for "recommitment" would be for Senators to recall their oath to support the Constitution to reread the Bill of Rights and to reflect on the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence that man is endowed by his Creator with certain unalienable rights, and that it is to secure these rights that governments are instituted among men.

So far as concerns the Convention on Political Rights of Women, eligibility of women to vote and hold office is a purely internal and domestic matter for each nation to decide for itself. Certainly "equality" with men does not mean identity of qualifications. And there is no apparent "direct relationship to external affairs."

The Supplementary Slavery and Forced Labor Conventions also deal with human rights which are domestic rather than external matters.

The whole idea of "internationalizing" human rights by conventions is a fallacy and against the plain meaning of our Constitution. Furthermore, the conventions all contain provisions under which any nation could bring any other nation, including, of course, the United States, before the World Court (International Court of Justice) in a dispute as to such nation's fulfillment of its obligations under the conventions.

The way for our nation "to encourage a particular pattern of behavior by other countries" is not to dislodged human rights from their divine origin in created nature, and to debase them to the status of contractual obligations with other nations, many of which nations have no sympathy with our philosophy of freedom. We should rather hold high our heritage of freedom as an inextinguishable light to the world.

Our gravest concern is not from consideration of these three conventions *standing alone*, but from the fact that they are part of a massive program of the UN and its agencies for internationalizing the entire field of human rights.

In 1948 John P. Humphrey, Director of the Human Rights Commission of the Economic and Security Council of the United Nations, said:

"What the United Nations is trying to do is revolutionary in character. Human rights are largely a matter of relationship between the state and individuals and, therefore, a matter which has been traditionally regarded as being within the domestic jurisdiction of states. What is now being proposed is, in effect, the creation of some kind of supernational supervision of this relationship between the state and its citizens."

The United Nations General Assembly, by resolution adopted December 12, 1963, designated the year 1968 as Human Rights Year. On December 20, 1965, the General Assembly adopted a resolution reaffirming the belief that the year 1968 should be devoted to intensified efforts in the field of human rights and stressing the importance of implementing the principles of human rights in the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and the Declaration on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination. The resolution then calls on members of the UN and its agencies and related organizations to take measures to prepare for Human Rights Year, with special attention to the abolition of racial discrimination and in particular, the policy of apartheid. It invites all member states to ratify, before 1968, the existing conventions concerning:

The abolition of Slavery and Slave Trade and Forced Labor; Discrimination in respect to Employment and Occupation; Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers; Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize; Discrimination in Education; The Crime of Genocide; Political Rights of Women; and all forms of Racial Discrimination.

The UN Resolution also decides to hasten the conclusion of the draft covenants concerning:—

Civil and Political Rights; Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; Elimination of Religious Intolerance; and Freedom of Information.

We have good reason to expect that many of these conventions and covenants will contain clauses for compulsory submission to the World Court (I.C.J.) of disputes not settled by negotiation.

There is attached to the UN Resolution an elaborate program of the Human Rights Commission for "ceremonies, activities and celebrations" to be undertaken in 1968 to "dramatize universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedom for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." The UN agencies will be working feverishly to have these conventions approved by the United States. Then the whole field of natural rights, including those set forth in our Bill of Rights, could become contractual rights with other nations.

As stated in the report of the New York City Bar Association Committee, "Under these Conventions any signatory state apparently can object to another signatory state's treatment of its own national even though the national himself does not bring a claim in an appropriate proceeding under his own domestic law."

If this program were successful, it could subject our matters of race, religion, civil rights, education, freedom of speech, in fact, our most cherished human rights, to the danger of disintegration by World Court decisions in disputes brought by unfriendly powers.

The UN Human Rights program is a threat to our national freedom.

Early Appropriations for Education Programs Necessary for School Planning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WENDELL WYATT
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, education is one of the most important aspects of our lives. Our jobs, our future, and the future of our children depend on the quality, type, and extent of our education and training.

Federal aid to local school programs is becoming an increasingly important part of our educational system. While local boards must maintain control over their school districts, Federal money can be, and is, used to upgrade and expand our curriculum programs.

With the increase in Federal aid to schools, however, the web of Federal bureaucracy has grown into a great tangled net. The redtape and confusion over where and to whom to apply for grants and aid, and the strings attached to the funds have reached an alltime high. Some schools have waited as long as 2 years before they discovered whether their requests had been accepted or denied.

There is much that should be done to streamline our Federal educational aid program. And, as with charity, the process begins at home—right here in Congress. Working out legislative ideas, amendments, and compromises is a knotty and involved problem. In each session it takes several months to work out the details in committee on controversial bills. Only after the committee reports on a bill may it go to the House floor for a vote. Each year for the past several years appropriations bills, bills allocating money for Federal programs, have been among the latest to pass out of committee. Despite the present administration's policy of bulling its fiscal programs through Congress, and contrary to much public opinion, the President's budget is not necessarily the final say on program funding. The House and Senate still have the final hold on the Federal purse strings.

No one seeking Federal funds can count on receiving money until Congress has finally authorized the appropriation of funds from the Treasury. Therefore, schools cannot plan their programs for the next fiscal year until after Congress has decided how much will be allocated for education appropriations. This situation is extremely unfair to school boards and local school administrators. To plan effectively for a coming school year, education officials must have knowledge of which programs will receive Federal aid. Even when the appropriations are passed it takes time for the Education Department to distribute the fantastic sum of over $3 billion to be spent on education this next fiscal year. Schools have to plan in advance. They must have budget figures and curriculum plans for the next school year laid almost before the present one is ended. School programs for fall must be roughed out in spring and completed by summer. For the past several years, however, Congress has not passed on education appropriations until very late in the year—September, or even as late as October for some programs. This creates havoc for local school planners, and utter confusion as to which programs will be funded. This is long after those programs should have begun or been scrapped.

This fantastic waste of time, money, and energy is a problem simply solved. I have introduced a bill in the House that would make it a rule for all House committees to have completed work and reported on educational appropriation legislation by the first of May preceding the fiscal year for which the funds would be appropriated. This would mean education money bills would come up for final passage in time for school officials to soundly plan their programs. Washington's bureaucracy has long since grown out of hand. When we in Congress can help cut some of the delay and confusion, it is our duty to do so. Education is such an important part of our lives that I feel it is a necessity for the House to pass my resolution. We owe it to ourselves, our schools, our children, and our Nation.

Maj. Edward F. Hinkle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. MORRIS of New Mexico. Mr. Speaker, very recently I was saddened to learn of the death of Maj. Edward F. Hinkle of Truth or Consequences, N. Mex. Maj. Hinkle was one of the few remaining survivors of the famed Lafayette Escadrille in France during World War I. I would like to present my colleagues with the opportunity to learn of this courageous officer. Therefore, I am submitting this obituary which appeared in the El Paso Times of January 22, 1967:

MAJOR HINKLE SERVICES PENDING

TRUTH OR CONSEQUENCES, N. MEX.—Funeral servces were pending Saturday for Maj. Edward Foote Hinkle (ret.), 90, resident of Truth or Consequences who flew for the Lafayette Escadrille in France during World War I. He died Friday.

Maj. Hinkle's body was turned over to the University of New Mexico Medical School as requested in his will, according to French Mortuary here. Following cremation, final services will be held in Spring Groves Cemetery in Cincinnati, Ohio.

A member of St. Paul's Episcopal Church here, Maj. Hinkle had no living survivors.

Maj. Hinkle received the French Cross of the Legion of Honor for his exploits in World War I "Lafayette Escadrille," a contingent of American pilots flying for France before the United States entered in the war.

He considered the short hitch in the Escadrille the high point of his 90 years. He had enlisted in the French Foreign Legion at the age of 40 to go into pilot training for the legendary unit.

Born May 22, 1876, in Cincinnati, Ohio, he was the son of a wealthy manufacturer. He graduated from Yale University in 1899 and studied architecture and design in the Ecole de Beaux Arts of Paris, returning to the United States in 1905 to set up architectural offices in New York City.

He was also a globe-trotter who found himself in the hot spot of Bucharest, Romania, when World War I began in 1914. He went from Romania to France as a freighter stowaway to support the French cause. He enlisted in the French Legion in 1917. After more than three months in the Lafayette Escadrille, flying the classic Nieuport and Spad biplanes, he was grounded due to chronic bronchitis caused by the severe winter in France.

Maj. Hinkle moved to T or C about 10 years ago seeking relief from the recurrent respiratory ailment he had contracted in World War I. Living in complete retirement, he was known here for his extensive library on World War I and on Western fiction.

President's Message on Protecting the American Consumer

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, the Congress has received today a message from the President requesting legislation to effect truth in lending.

Truth in lending denotes exactly what the title implies; namely, that those who loan money to individuals or institutions should be required to make absolutely clear and as specific as possible the approximate annual rate of interest being paid on that loan.

It would seem that such a simple and forthright requirement would be unnecessary because it is difficult to believe that lending would take place on any other basis. But, unfortunately, this is not the case. Mr. Speaker, unfortunately, some lending institutions today practice an evil and insidious practice that obscures, to the unwitting as well as the sophisticated, the actual charge levied on loans. The essence of the problem is not the amount of the charge or the terms of repayment but the absence of knowledge in the mind of the borrower of the rate of interest he paid.

The failure to provide a reasonably accurate percentage rate is widespread to a degree that is shocking. This practice is so firmly ensconced in the very fabric of our money system that it is incumbent on us all to support and vote for S. 5, the truth-in-lending bill.

We have had for many years truth in the securities market; we now have truth in packaging; we have required the advertising industry to discipline itself in its practices by requiring more truthful conduct of its affairs; and the Federal Drug Administration under the admirable direction of Dr. Goddard has moved the drug industry a long way toward veracity in its claims of remedial prowess. The truth-in-lending bill is similar to action and precedents set in these other important areas of American life. The need for action in the lending area is equally as important as past legislation in these other areas, because finance is, by its very nature, a complicated and baffling mechanical system. The individual is at the mercy of a complex and potentially deceptive system. Protection is needed and warranted.

A very simple example of a problem will illustrate strongly the reason for positive attention to the truth-in-lending bill, so eloquently supported by the President's message. Let us suppose that a man borrows $1,000 for 1 year at a stated rate of interest of 5 percent. Because this is likely to be an installment loan, he will be required to repay the $1,000, plus interest in a series of 12 equal monthly installments. With respect to the principal, at the end of 6 months he will have repaid $500. But there is no reduction to account for this prepayment of principal in the calculation of the interest paid on the entire loan. The lending institutions make no provision for the fact that $500 of the original loan is no longer owed. Five percent on $1,000 amounts to $50 a year. Fifty dollars a year is owed if the $1,000 is borrowed for an entire year, but in this example that I have set forth, $1,000 is not outstanding for an entire year because part of it is gradually paid off. The point here is that this $500 which is repaid in the first 6 months is treated as part of the outstanding loan for the last 6 months of the year in spite of the fact that it is no longer owed. This illustration boils down to the fact that on a $1,000 loan repayable in 12 equal monthly installments, there will be an average of $500 outstanding throughout the entire year. Five percent interest on an average of $500 outstanding amounts to $25 in interest charges. The lending institutions however charge 5 percent on $1,000 or $50 in interest charges. The net result is that, although the stated rate of interest is 5 percent advertised and noted to the borrower, 5 percent on an installment loan, as in this case, simply is not true.

The approximate of "true" rate of interest is somewhat more than double 5 percent, somewhere between 10 and 12 percent, depending on the terms.

Mr. Speaker, this is not a very easy thing for the average borrower to understand. Since Americans have taken out $74.7 billion in some sort of installment credit in 1966 and are innocent of the fact that in the vast majority of cases they are paying an interest load more than double the load they think they are paying, something must be done. Since the lending institutions have not seen fit to take the opportunity themselves to inject a sense of discipline and self-imposed integrity, it is incumbent upon the Congress of the United States to do this for them. A continuation of the current practice is intolerable. There is special need for action now since the explosion of credit both in total amount and in total number of people using credit makes this kind of situation dangerous.

The positive advantages of action on our part will find many expressions. For one, it should help institutions prevent losses resulting from the fact that a number of loans which are intrinsically bad may not be made when a truer rate of interest is known by the borrower. More effective competition by the lending institutions should result in many cases. Some lending organizations have been more scrupulous than others in the use of the lending charge. Some have chosen to bury the actual load in complicated discounts and varying payment scheduled while others have been more equitable and conscientious about their lending activities. This legislation will ferret out many of the abuses and place all these institutions on an equal footing, thereby supporting a freer and more competitive lending market.

The average borrowing consumer should benefit from this legislation because the resulting increased competition should be reflected in lower average interest rates. Finally, we will have a more effective built-in barrier to excessive demand expressing itself in unrealistic debt loads on the shoulders of our fellow American citizens. This should make less likely violent swings in economic cyclicality as there becomes less need for periodic liquidation of these unrealistic debts. In the final analysis, we will be relying on the individual consumer to regulate his own debt-carrying capability.

To those who would argue that this is yet another government control, we answer, you are correct, but no attempt to regulate interest rates. Regulation should be left with the States. Rather, this is Government control of an abuse. It is the elimination of the subterfuge, a clever and unscrupulous deception of the American citizen.

If the approximate annual rate of interest is such an embarrassment to the lender, if the real interest charge borders on the usurious, let the public know it. If these men are operating under the guise of integrity, stability, and respect and this is not the case, let the public know it. If there is an untruth involved here, and I submit that this practice is an untruth, let the public know it.

I endorse the President's consumer message which calls for the passage of a truth-in-lending bill and I exhort my colleagues to contribute their support, their efforts, and their votes for passage.

Monday Holiday Plan Favored by Columnist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, with permission, I wish to include an article written by Sylvia Porter, which appeared in the Buffalo Courier-Express, Buffalo, N.Y., February 20, 1967, commenting on the favorable aspects of a "Uniform Monday Holiday Plan."

As a supporter of such legislation, I am hopeful that the Committee on the Judiciary will take expeditious action in reporting this proposal to the floor of the House.

The article follows:

MONDAY HOLIDAY PLAN FAVORED BY COLUMNIST

(By Sylvia Porter)

This Wednesday, Feb. 22, we will celebrate Washington's birthday. It'll cut the week in half—meaning that we'll either get nothing out of the holiday because it's too short or we'll "cheat" by stretching it.

Since George Washington actually was born on Feb. 11—and it was the adoption of the Gregorian calendar by the colonies in 1752 which pushed it ahead 11 days—there's no reason why the 22nd should be "sacred." Why not move this holiday to the third Monday in February so we could have a welcome 3-day weekend?

This July, the 4th falls on a Tuesday—a signal for massive absenteeism on Monday and for tremendous losses to industry.

Since the Resolution of Independence was approved by Congress on July 2, 1776 and it took another 17 days before all members of Congress reported their approval, why should the traditional July 4 date still be regarded as sacred? Wouldn't it be better all around if Independence Day always was on a Monday?

This November, Veterans Day will fall on a Saturday. This promises to be a mess, because some will have time off on Friday, some on Monday and many of us will have no holiday at all. But Veterans Day, which originally marked the end of World War I hostilities, now has been broadened to commemorate veterans of all wars, making any set date historically meaningless. Wouldn't it be more reasonable to switch it from November, which is loaded with days off—to the first Monday in April which has no holidays?

Of course it makes sense. In fact, a major U.S. Chamber of Commerce survey last fall revealed that such a plan would be accepted overwhelmingly by business and employes.

Under the "Uniform Monday Holiday Plan" all major U.S. holidays (except Christmas and New Year's) would automatically fall on Monday.

To you, the employe, this would mean at least five extra three-day weekends in 1967. It would, in fact, create a new kind of "vacationette" between your regular vacations.

To you, the businessman, the plan would cut widespread absenteeism when a holiday falls, let's say, on a Tuesday or a Thursday. It would slash costly shutdowns for single midweek holidays. It would surely be a huge financial boost to tens of thousands of businesses connected with the travel industry because single-day holidays would become long weekends in which millions could "go someplace."

What then, is holding us back?

A first objection is that extra three-day weekends might increase our rate of highway slaughter on such holidays. However, some experts who have studied accident rates on three-day holiday weekends contend that despite nationwide press coverage of the problem, accident rates actually are lower than during single-day holidays when drivers are rushing to get "there and back."

A second big objection, obviously, is tradition. But look at the facts. In addition to the artificiality of Washington's birthday, Veterans Day and Independence Day, Thanksgiving Day has been changed several times over the years and Memorial Day, arbitrarily set on May 30 to honor the Civil War dead, was later broadened to honor all U.S. war dead.

Hopefully, the Chamber's survey will spark a new drive for federal, and later state, legislation to launch the Monday holiday plan. A Monday holiday bill has been introduced before—and this bill surely will come up again.

Whatever the outcome, I cast my own vote for the Monday holidays.

Democracy: What It Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, some time ago a young man by the name of Kent Dallmeyer was invited to write and speak on "Democracy: What It Means to Me." I heard this speech given by this young man. It was so well done I thought it would be worthwhile to share with as many as I could, so I hereby include it as part of the Appendix of the RECORD:

DEMOCRACY: WHAT IT MEANS TO ME

(By Kent Dallmeyer)

What is democracy? The word democracy is derived from two Greek words which mean rule by the people. Is it merely a word, or is it more than that? Democracy is not an institution completely, it is an idea—a spirit. Without a feeling for democracy in the heart and the soul, democracy cannot long survive.

Every American from the time of his birth is given certain rights and responsibilities. Every citizen of the United States is guaranteed the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The *Constitution of the United States* entitles each citizen to the liberty and responsibility of shaping his own career, equality before the law, universal suffrage, and education.

As an American citizen I have the right to differ with the opinions of others, but I also have the responsibility to respect their ideas. It is my moral and civic responsibility to obey the laws of this country until they are changed through legislative action.

One of the greatest responsibilities and opportunities facing American youth is education. School gives an American the advantage of learning of America's character and problems and of learning how to bring these problems to their solutions.

Take part in America's affairs while you are still a student.

The general elections that are held give a student an opportunity to have a hand in deciding who the representatives of the people should be. By reading newspapers, magazines, and listening to the various news media a student can become informed on the various qualifications of each candidate. Once he has decided that he wishes to support that particular party or candidate, a student can help campaign for the candidates by taking surveys, putting up posters, or helping get the citizens out to vote.

The United States is a country of free men and women where personal liberty is cherished as a fundamental right. Unless we keep alert, liberty can be easily lost. The warm natural enthusiasm of youth for a leader can be a menace to liberty.

It was the movements of misguided students under the influence of older and more cynical minds that provided the physical force to make Hitler the tyrant of Germany.

There are responsibilities about your home and in your neighborhood that you can assume.

School provides a student with activities in which he can take part. A student is faced with the decision of electing responsible class officers who will represent his class and school faithfully.

While you are still in school, try to learn the why of our country. We know how this country was made a democracy, but it is more important to know the purpose for having a democracy.

To assue each citizen his inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness was the why behind the establishment of this democracy.

Do not think that you are too young. Loyalty to principle, readiness to give of one's talents for the common good, and the acceptance of responsibility are the measures of a good American striving to keep our democracy strong and free.

Job Corpsmen Relate Values of Training at Sly Park

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, an article by Joe White appeared in the Placerville Mountain Democrat on January 5 describing the outstanding progress being achieved at the Sly Park Job Corps Conservation Center in the El Dorado National Forest. I have been very highly impressed with the fine job being accomplished by California Job Corps Centers, and I think that Mr. White's excellent article demonstrates this very well.

Mr. Speaker, I include Mr. White's illuminating and encouraging article and ask that it be included in the RECORD at this point:

JOB CORPSMEN RELATE VALUES OF TRAINING AT SLY PARK

(By Joe White)

"I hope now people realize what the job corps is," the young man said near the close of an interview during which he and another corpsman explained why they were at the Sly Park center and what it had done for them during their time in service.

He was seated in the office of new center director Bill Cotter with Eldorado national forest supervisor Doug Leisz, deputy forest supervisor Sam Hill, counselor Leo Lorenzo, corpsman Dave Bingham and a Mountain Democrat reporter.

George Valenzuela related how he had not started school until the fifth grade and was barely learning by the time he had reached the 10th. In the 11th, with the encouragement of a teacher, he joined the job corps, he said.

He accepted the difficulty that he had experienced in school realistically, explaining that the teacher did not have time to give individual attention to everyone and tended to spend more time with the group that was more advanced.

Finally, Valenzuela said, he met the teacher who suggested he join the job corps. She told him that she did not have time to go into the field to teach him how to run a tractor, to plow a straight furrow, or to learn how to read. And George wanted to learn.

He is from Cypress, near Anaheim, and had lived in southern California all his life. He is now 20.

When he arrived at Sly Park, in September of 1965, he was rated a level two reader, which is practically a non-reader, and level one in mathematics. He has progressed seven levels in reading and is now doing fractions in math.

Dave is also a high school dropout. He joined the job corps in March of this year in Laurel, Mississippi in order to "get off the street." He also had an older brother who was already in the volunteer organization.

The day he was interviewed he was a happy 17 year old as he had completed the mathematics portion of his training that day, passing the level 16 test. He has progressed from level five to level 11 in reading.

He said one of the most important things he has learned at Sly Park is to "put in a full, hard day's work." He also noted the problem of the slow learner in school, always "rush, rush," he commented and the help he has received since arriving at the center.

Quieter than George, Dave is a medic trainee at the center, working in the dispensary, and when he leaves Sly Park he hopes to join the Navy, continue his medical training or return to school.

He has also fought fires throughout the state, however, including one on the Mendocino forest where he was almost trapped when flames rushed down a hill and jumped a fire line the corpsmen were helping to build.

Understanding the purpose of the job corps program, Dave says that while some think because they only receive $13.49 every two weeks (after taxes), money sent home and funds saved, that it is not worth much, he realizes everything he does is part of his training.

He was discouraged when he first arrived at the center, he said, but resisted suggestions of leaving when he noticed that those who complained were still there. The program is voluntary and corpsmen may leave whenever they want.

Job corps officials said that the two youths represented two of three general types that arrive at the camp. George is one of those who worked from the time he arrived while Dave is one who comes not really knowing, but soon goes to work to learn.

The third type is one who just watches and then leaves. Better screening processes are eliminating more of these at the application level, officials said.

The purpose of the center is to give the boys the tools they need to compete in the world. Not the least of these is simply self-confidence, learning that they are able to work.

The two young men noted that they had learned this during their stays at the center, including a two week stint working with regular crews on the Pacific ranger district. In fact, they said that their habit of rising at six o'clock in the morning stayed with them and they found themselves up and busy when others were just coming to work.

This project and their firefighting experience seemed to be the most vivid of the boys' memories. The firefighting took them throughout the state, and as Dave commented, allowed him "experience that most young men don't have a chance to get."

It also taught them the value of protecting resources as George noted fire protection was needed because fires cause "timber to be wasted, mud slides and no protection for wildlife."

While he hopes to become a heavy equipment operator, George said that firefighting appealed to him and it would give him a chance to move into equipment operation.

He is a fire crew leader and also a corpsmen leader, a position that allows him to wear a white helmet that signifies his position among the corpsmen. He has shown his responsibility and is one of those who can be left in charge of a crew with the staff knowing the job will be completed when they return.

Corpsmen leader is one of four ranks the youths can obtain. The others are corpsmen, specialist and senior specialist. For promotion purposes, as well as for graduation from the center, the corpsmen are graded in their job performance, skills ratings, personal data and numerous other categories, such as cleanliness, safety, cooperation, punctuality, and personal appearance.

While not all the youths who enter the Sly Park center progress as well as the two who are interviewed, it is attitudes such as they have that are the goal of the staff.

Leisz commented that while there are many heartbreaks in striving to prepare the youths to work in the world, that the successes make it worthwhile, and that everybody connected with the center is satisfied that all of the effort is valuable.

In its year and one half of operation, almost 50 youths have graduated and returned to school, obtained employment or joined the military and another 32 have advanced to urban centers to apprentice in specific trades.

Many have dropped out, but the rate is declining, and as the purpose and function of the job corps is told by corpsmen who have graduated, the dropout rate is expected to decrease even more.

It is felt that perhaps some youths enter the jobs corps with a false impression of its operation (George expressed this view) and this situation is being corrected.

To help do this, George spent his Christmas holidays in the Los Angeles area explaining the program to young men who might be interested in joining.

He said that while there seems to be a misconception in this area of the purpose of the job corps, that in areas from which most of the corpsmen come, there is great respect for them.

"In east Los Angeles," he said, "where many boys get in trouble, the people really respect a corpsman for they see him come back after he has made something of himself."

In addition to all of the values that George and Dave pointed out, the staff members noted others that are perhaps more subtle and not as noticeable.

Lorenzo said the greatest were that they learned tolerance, restraint and pride. Most of them come from manipulative environments, he said, where they have learned how to live more by their wits than by work. Yet they soon become proud of hard work and even work harder than others who are being paid for it.

They also learn how to live with a large group of similar young men, to settle differences without resorting to the violence that many of them have learned, and they learn how to respect the differences in the personalities and temperaments of their peers, he said.

It is combination of all of these factors, those that the corpsmen and staff members mentioned, that is the goal of the job corps, the purpose that George expressed hope people would now realize.

And it should be noted that in closing, both of the young men stated that they had one more thing to say, and that was an expression of thanks to the staff members for the help and understanding they had given them.

Dollars and Cents and Rhodesia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Charles Bartlett's column in the Washington Star of Saturday, February 18, develops perhaps one example as to why our Government has gone along with the British Government in voting compulsory sanctions against Rhodesia. It is very difficult for me to agree that our industrialists like Edgar Kaiser would possibly back the actions taken by our Government in voting compulsory sanctions against Rhodesia when to enforce those sanctions will undoubtedly result in war. Mr. Bartlett's column follows:

DOLLARS-AND-CENTS AND RHODESIA

(By Charles Bartlett)

A highly practical dollars-and-cents explanation lies behind the failure of Congress to explode against the administration's support for the U.N. effort to isolate Rhodesia through sanctions.

The explosion was expected because the sanctions are a risky and uncertain device scarcely calculated to mollify American impatience with the stumbling missteps of the newborn African nations.

But the surprise is that the Navy's plan to land a U.S. carrier for a short refueling stop at Capetown generated more heat and emotion in Congress in less than a week than the sanctions against Rhodesia, an issue of far greater significance, have inspired in five weeks. Sputterings have been heard—a speech by Senator Eastland and some insertions in the Congressional Record—but no explosion.

The crusade against the Rhodesian policy has been inhibited by a startling economic fact. American investment in black Africa has mushroomed so rapidly that it has come to dwarf the American stake in the six apartheid nations occupying the southern extremity of the continent.

Consider the figures for 1965, the latest available. The direct U.S. investment in the southern six amounted to $606 million against $1.18 billion for the rest of the continent. U.S. exports to the southern six ran to $488 million against $736 million in sales to the rest of the continent. The U.S. exports to Rhodesia were only $23 million.

The implication of these figures is that U.S. business pressure on policy decisions regarding Africa will lean increasingly toward a course of conciliation with the black leaders and against any step that might encourage the Smith government in Rhodesia at the price of alienating the black nations. Men like Edgar Kaiser, who operates an aluminum plant in Ghana, have been warning the State Department that the consequences of such a step would be grave.

Similar business pressures, beginning to make themselves felt in South Africa, are expected to discourage the expansion of "normal commerce" that the Rhodesians will require if they are to surmount the sanctions. The Vorster government is encouraging investments in adjacent black countries in an apparent attempt to implement the Voerwoerd policy of establishing a modus vivendi much warmer than mere coexistence with the neighbors.

In pursuing this policy, Rhodesia in its present circumstances will be an embarrassment to the South Africans. They can live much more gracefully with their neighbors if Rhodesia returns to the course of gradual democratization envisioned by the 1961 constitution.

Few in the U.S. government believe that the sanctions will cut Rhodesia completely out of world trade channels. Although more of an inconvenience than a hardship, they must inevitably cause the Rhodesians to ponder more intently whether the adventure is worth it.

As motor companies like Ford and General Motors shut down and more skilled laborers migrate to South Africa, as the tobacco crop backs up in the warehouses, and as the pace of investment slows, the mood to seek a solution short of insurrection is bound to grow. A party in oppostion to the Smith cabinet is now being formed in Salisbury.

The British constantly interject themselves as intermediaries between the Americans and the Russians, and the time may now be ripe for the Americans to serve as a decongestant in the impasse between the Rhodesians and the British. All parties have been sitting tight, waiting for cracks in the wall to appear, since December. All dealings are frozen in a climate of hatred and distrust.

President Johnson, preoccupied with Vietnam, is disposed to leave the problem to the British. However, this is an area in which the United States has influence and in which resourceful diplomacy might work. The single factor of Rhodesian chrome ore gives Washington great cause to be anxious to end the stalemate. Support here for the Smith regime is not powerful enough to inhibit a constructive intercession by American diplomats.

Highway Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. WATTS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to present this letter for insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

HENRY WARD FOR GOVERNOR,
Louisville, Ky., February 6, 1967.

THE PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am not only a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor of Kentucky, but am a citizen of Kentucky vitally interested in the welfare of this state and am immediate past Commissioner of the Kentucky Department of Highways.

Kentucky succeeded, after a number of years, in developing a program for the letting of highway contracts so that the work could be done during the construction season, which runs from April through November. In order to accomplish this we had to convert financing from a fiscal to a calendar year program. Under this plan, contracts are let during the winter and early spring so that construction can be started beginning with the construction season in April. To accomplish this meant that we had to carry over from the previous fiscal year some funds that would enable the department to let contracts during the winter and spring.

This Kentucky program has been thrown into confusion by the order of federal authorities which froze the carry-over federal funds from the last fiscal year. This freeze order meant that approximately $30 million in federal funds which the state had accumulated July 1, 1966, is not available to apply to the normal construction program in accordance with the plan developed.

I am convinced that nothing is more important to the economy of our state and to the safety of the traveling public than the improvement of highways. It is my urgent recommendation that you direct the federal freeze order be withdrawn and that the State of Kentucky be permitted to proceed in an orderly manner with the planning and construction of highways.

Very respectfully yours,
HENRY WARD.

Medicare Program in Hawaii Meets Early Success

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I believe my colleagues in the House will find it of interest to read how well the medicare program has been functioning in Hawaii during the first 6 months the program has been in operation.

In a recent article appearing in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, it was reported that despite the initial complexities of the new program, there has been no serious dislocation in medical care, and approximately $1,752,000 has been paid out in medicare benefits since last July.

I think this speaks well of the able administration of the program by our hospital officials, and much credit for the smoothness of the operation must go to the Hawaii Medical Service Association for properly briefing the hospital administrators. It is especially interesting to note, too, that doctors report that this has been accomplished with little disruption of the basic doctor-patient relationship.

The article by reporter Tomi Knaefler, which appeared in the February 9, 1967, issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, is submitted for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

DURING FIRST 6 MONTHS HERE: $1,752,000 PAID IN MEDICARE BENEFITS

(By Tomi Knaefler)

A little more than $1,752,000 was paid out in Medicare benefits in Hawaii during the first six months of the program, which began last July.

The breakdown includes: About $1,500,000 for hospital and home health care and some $252,000 for doctor care.

Generally, hospitals and physicians report the Medicare program in the State is running surprisingly well, considering the complexity of the operation and the piles of additional paper work.

The hospitals in Honolulu indicate they're not running into the type of Medicare problems that are confronting some institutions on the Mainland, such as overcrowding and slow payments of claims.

An Associated Press survey turned up scattered reports of overcrowding caused by elderly patients and some cases of delayed payments.

FEARS UNFOUNDED

However, the survey uncovered no serious dislocations in medical care, as had been feared by opponents of the health plan, under which Social Security funds help those over 65 pay hospital and doctor bills.

In Hawaii, there's been no flooding of aged patients in the hospitals.

Richard D. Davi, immediate past president of the Hawaii Hospital Association, reports about a five percent increase in the hospital census as a result of Medicare.

He estimates the percentage will increase in the coming years because there will be more persons eligible for Medicare.

He said the program has been functioning well.

Sister Maureen, administrator of St. Francis Hospital, attributes the smoothness of the operation to "good briefing" by the Hawaii Medical Service Association, intermediary for the hospital phase of Medicare.

Will J. Henderson, head of Queen's Hospital, said the lag in payments is improving every month.

H.M.S.A. reports it takes about 10 days to process a claim completely.

While "satisfied on the whole" with the program, Henderson said "one of the real problems—as with all government agencies—is that we're not being reimbursed adequately."

He said the formula for payment used by Medicare actually covers only 87 percent of the charges and that the unpaid remainder has to be absorbed by the hospital.

The home care phase of Medicare, operated here by St. Francis Hospital and by the Health Department's nursing branch on the Neighbor Islands, is slowly building up.

St. Francis Hospital reports that home health aid has been added to the home care services.

As for the physician care under Medicare, even the doctors who led the opposition to the program, have few objections now.

Doctors report that there's been little disruption of the basic doctor-patient relationship.

They, however, are still fearful that Medicare would be expanded to cover all citizens. Many of them see Medicare as the foot in the door to a national health plan under which the government would pay medical bills for all age levels.

Aetna Life and Casualty, the administrative intermediary for Medicare's medical care claims, reports a minority of doctors here are doing the paper work for their aged patients and receiving payments from the Medicare system.

Most of the doctors, 85 to 90 percent, are billing the patients directly, which means that it's up to the patient to collect from Medicare.

One tricky detail in that system is that the patient can't be reimbursed until he has paid his doctor in full for a particular ailment.

An official noted that this places a tremendous financial burden on some patients with big bills because they can't get reimbursed until they can show they've paid in full.

Abraham Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, in the February 10, 1967, issue of the East Side News, there appeared an editorial written by the late Harry H. Schlacht commemorating the birth of our great President, Abraham Lincoln. The East Side News is a weekly newspaper with wide circulation in my congressional district and this particular editorial met with much comment throughout the district when it was originally prepared. I take pleasure in bringing it to the attention of this body.

Abraham Lincoln

(By the late Harry H. Schlacht)

One hundred and fifty-eight years ago a great soul beamed like a morning star on a troubled world. In a log cabin among the green-clad hills of Kentucky, and in an atmosphere that was similar in its humbleness to the birth of Christ, the first cry of the babe that was Abraham Lincoln fell upon human ears. Like Christ, he lived for others and sacrificed his all that humanity might live in a better world.

Carlyle said that in Dante ten silent centuries found a voice. In Lincoln America found hers, a voice that pleaded and thrilled and ultimately brought light and life to oppressed mankind. He was the great commoner of history. His homely, humble and honest humanity carried him to the heights of rare achievements. He was a child of the people.

There is no accounting for genius; it has neither ancestors nor descendants. Genius is the child of necessity. Lincoln was a product of a crisis, and a crisis gave birth to its savior. He was the personification of Americanism, a symbol of all that gives life and strength to the nation.

His worth is reflected in every impulse of his heart, and in every act of his life, and their splendor shone in one lustrous orbit. In the firmament of life he moved in a circle all his own, the course of which has never been paralleled. Lincoln said that "our reliance is in our love of liberty which God has implanted in us." Our defense is in the spirit which he prized as the heritage of all men everywhere.

He plucked a thorn and planted a flower. He caused in human beings the hardness to vanish, the pettiness and the cynicism to depart; and in their place he planted flowers of strength and power, love and human kindness. He knew and obeyed the higher sentiments of his soul. He traveled the upward trail, for he dedicated his energies to the common good of mankind.

To Lincoln, America was not so much a place as it was a people, not a creed nor a dream but a breathing thing with a magnificent past and a great future. Lincoln at Gettysburg was an immortal and soul stirring scene rich in solemnity and pregnant with historical significance. Neither the practiced hand of a Raphael nor the art and skill of a Praxiteles could adequately portray it in its original setting.

His Gettysburg address is the fountain spring of the American way of life. The truths set forth in historic speech are the fountain stones of free government. His was the summation of American ideals, a flaming torch for the oppressed peoples of the earth who seek the blessings of liberty.

"Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." These few words constitute the basis of the entire history of all mankind for human freedom.

"Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure." By these words Lincoln sought to emphasize that the supreme question was the survival of popular government, not only ours but "any nation so conceived and so dedicated."

He climaxed his speech with a plea for lasting democracy in these words: "That from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave their last full measure of devotion." Then followed 14 historic words: "That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain."

This was a declaration of the eternal and inalienable rights of man. Standing before the graves of our fallen sons, he told his silent witnesses and the world: "This nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Today we are standing on the frontier of the greatest period of our history. Our country is passing through another crisis. Liberty and the rights of man were at issue during Lincoln's day.

The same issues face us in our present day. Hear, Father Abraham, we shall not fail you. The "Battle Hymn of the Republic" is our marching song. It still stirs our hearts and steels our courage toward the task which destiny has placed in our hands, as we march forward to take our battle stations in our present war.

So, in the beautiful words Lincoln spoke of Washington, let us pay to him our tribute:

"On that name no eulogy is expected. It cannot be. To add brightness to the sun or glory to the name of Washington is alike impossible. Let none attempt it. In solemn awe pronounce the name, and in its naked deathless splendor leave it shining on."

America needs the spirit of Lincoln. It needs the rekindling of the love of liberty which will rebel against slavery and enslavement. The spirit of him must give the soul of America its rebirth.

To every generation of Americans is given the task of carrying forward the torch, of passing on to each succeeding generation undefiled the heritage of America's tradition—a tradition based upon the highest conception of mankind the world has ever known.

We are all the defenders of our faith. America united is America invincible.

Redwood National Park

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the February 19, 1967, New York Times published an editorial which places in proper perspective the various proposals to establish a Redwood National Park.

Congressman Cohelan has introduced a bill which would accomplish the plan advocated in the editorial. This bill would preserve the best redwoods, which are located in the Redwood Creek Valley.

I was proud to introduce a companion bill to the one sponsored by Representative Cohelan. This proposal will cost more money than some of the other proposals for a Redwood National Park. But the opportunity to establish a national park scaled to the grandeur of the redwoods should be seized before these magnificient trees are lost forever.

I include the editorial in the Record:

Big Trees, Small Plans

President Johnson has accurately described a redwoods national park as a "last chance" conservation opportunity. As he pointed out in his message on natural resources, "If we do not act promptly, we may lose for all time the magnificent redwoods of Northern California."

The Administration, however, is preparing some rather small plans for saving the world's tallest trees. The Interior Department is still laboring over minor revisions of the bill it supported last year. That bill would create a small park in Mill Creek. It is not a sound plan because most of the trees worth saving are already protected in two existing state parks.

Except for 7,000 acres of pure first-growth redwoods adjoining one of these parks, the lands to be purchased in Mill Creek have been extensively logged. As a result, the trees are second-growth and smaller, and there is a considerable admixture of other trees. Mill Creek is valuable as the watershed for the existing state parks, but otherwise it is not really of national park quality.

The critical area is Redwood Creek Valley. It is not now protected in any way. It constitutes an adequate watershed. And it has by far the best trees, many 300 feet high and 2,000 years old. There are five times as many virgin redwoods in Redwood Creek as in Mill Creek. For $150 to $200 million, approximately three times the cost of the Administration proposal, a magnificent, 90,000-acre national park embracing Redwood Creek Valley could be acquired. This is a plan scaled to the grandeur of the redwoods; this is a national park worth fighting for.

It is unfortunate that President Johnson, Secretary of the Interior Udall and organizations such as the Save-the-Redwoods League are not where they belong—in the front line of the struggle to establish a comprehensive redwoods national park.

Their self-defeating efforts to appease the lumber companies by excluding most of Redwood Creek Valley may fail if Governor Reagen of California, who has already obtained a three-month moratorium on action by Congress, decides to propose an even smaller park than they envisage. In view of this possibility, Senator Kuchel of California and other conservation-minded Congressmen who have gone along with the inadequate Mill Creek plan in the past have an obligation to re-examine their position.

The redwood lumber industry is certain to be united in opposition to any comprehensive park proposal. If these extraordinary trees are not to be sawed into fenceposts, those who believe in saving the nation's heritage will have to be equally united and determined.

Reducing Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, Ward Quaal, president of WGN radio and television in Chicago, was given a doctor of laws honorary degree at Northern Michigan University at Marquette at its midwinter commencement on Saturday, January 21.

Ward Quaal has been a citizen interested in the future of not only Chicago, but the entire country and the work which he has done with WGN demonstrates all of this. His comments are especially timely and I am sure my colleagues will be glad to review the editorial which was written and published in the Escanaba, Mich., Daily Press on January 24:

REDUCING POVERTY

Ward Quaal, an Ishpeming boy who made good in a great big way as president of WGN, Chicago, gave a talk that must have stirred many persons when he was given a Doctor of Laws honorary degree by Northern Michigan University at Marquette at its mid-winter commencement Saturday.

Quaal made an eloquent plea for individual effort as a way to the good life in his commencement address. He said that although unemployment in America has fallen to a low of 4 per cent, the government provides more and more make-work projects to employ the diminishing remnant of the jobless.

He expressed fear that Americans, softened by the idea that they are owed a living "are steadily relinquishing control of their own destinies through the acceptance of handouts . . . There is plenty of work; our problem is that we are driving the workers from the fields to the fireplaces."

This is a plaint of many businessmen and they can document it in substantial degree, we're sure, but the situation is not black and white. Quaal was certainly mindful that the university which was honoring him with the degree has a women Job Corps Center on campus and that it has an impressive record for its job training program, its study of rural poverty, its other efforts to improve the welfare of the public it serves, using the resources of government to help set a floor under citizenship.

We believe Quaal is substantially correct when he says "many social reformers reformers are so devoted to their particular projects that they assume balance of production and consumption will be maintained in the absence of incentives." And, yet American collegians today look upon business careers as sort of second best. They prefer the academic life, a role in government, professional status, to a well-paid job in industry although the other elements of society and the economy live largely on industry.

In the same week in which Quaal talked at Northern, Northern's President Dr. Edgar L. Harden told a Flint audience of sales executives, "The liberal arts teacher whom so many have written of as being the one to whom business should turn for their answers, generally avoids, as the plague, the idea of his students learning subject matter for practical use in the business world."

The views of Quaal and Harden are not opposed. They are pertinent comments on the relationship of the modern individual to the government, and they indicate the difficulty of defining the line where the government ends its services to the individual and he fends for himself. The essence of the determination, of course, is the quality of the individual. If he's a whizbang he doesn't want the government holding him back with its welfare and assistance programs and if he's having trouble getting along he wonders why the government doesn't do more for him.

Quaal was opposed to the suggestion by the National Commission of Technology, Automation and Economic Progress that government should guarantee a minimum income to all citizens.

The government official most immediately concerned with this area of welfare—John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare—would also settle for less than the union-proposed guaranteed annual wage or negative income tax or some other device to assure a living income to everyone. Gardner favors a standard national "floor" for welfare payments.

At the present time only 8 million of the 35 million Americans that the federal government classifies as poor are getting some kind of welfare aid. It costs an amazing $350 million a year to spend the $4 billion that the poor receive, because welfare case workers spend as much as 90 per cent of their time investigating eligibility for relief to balk the chiselers.

But most of these 8 million are reported unemployable—3.5 million are too young, 2 million are too old, 900,000 are mothers who can't leave their children, 600,000 are disabled.

One of the brightest phases of the government's welfare efforts is its vocational rehabilitation work. By spending $313 million it has converted 150,000 mentally or physically unemployables into jobholders. Eventually they'll pay back in taxes on their earnings more than five times what it cost to train them for employability. But there are millions of unemployables who have not been helped yet.

The welfare need is for government programs which rehabilitate, much better to spend more on vocational training in order to crack the ring of unemployability, of poverty, of chronic welfarism that holds millions of Americans, than to continue a dole that keeps them alive and impoverished.

A New Year's Resolution: To Be Like Chris Herter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the entire Nation has been saddened by the recent passing of the Honorable Christian Herter. I have commented on the floor before on his outstanding contributions to American statesmanship, but I want to call the attention of the House to an article that appeared in the January 5 edition of the Jewish Times in which Emanuel Goldberg, associate director of planning and development at Brandeis University pays his final tribute to Mr. Herter.

Under unanimous consent I include Mr. Goldberg's article in the RECORD:

A NEW YEAR'S RESOLUTION: TO BE LIKE CHRIS HERTER

(By Emanuel Goldberg)

The weekend is when I usually pour out 600 mortal words for Jim Kahn and the Jewish Times and during this past one I planned to devote a column to some 1967 personal hopes and aspirations for mankind—particularly in the realm of Vietnam, civil rights, the war on poverty, black power, politics, higher education, and the like. Readers will be spared this.

When the news came on Saturday morning, just before New Year's eve, that former Governor Herter had passed away the night before in Washington, thoughts about him preempted the entire weekend and my family.

I have written before about Chris Herter and don't want to bore readers with renewed comments about this writer's four cherished years spent on Governor's Herter's staff during the two terms on Beacon Hill.

But at a moment like this, when Herter's jovial smile, incisive mind and deep humanity have left us forever, it is impossible to tackle another subject.

Over the weekend, we received a telephone call from a dear friend, a profoundly religious man, who expressed his own sorrow about Chris Herter's passing and, asked whether there was ever much religious orientation in the Governor's life.

The thought had never occurred to me before. I mentioned that the memorial services for Mr. Herter in Washington and Boston were to be held in Episcopal Church settings and I knew that the Governor had tolerance and respect for all religions.

But what I was certain of was the hidden albeit intense force of character—call it moral drive or integrity, if you will—that really dominated Herter's mind and vied with his brilliance.

James Southwood, writing in the Boston Herald, said it simply in his report:

"His tall, lean frame plagued him in his youth and at the age of 71, Christian A. Herter was crippled with arthritis and needed crutches to support his six-foot five-inch body. His integrity stood alone."

Such men have always had deep reverence but in Chris Herter's characteristically quiet and restrained fashion, devotion was never paraded nor personal beliefs obtruded on others. All the same, anyone who even casually reads the Herter obituary or was fortunate enough to know him will surmise that the tall, stooped man walked humbly in the vanguard of those who recognize the Almighty and abide, day by day, by the highest, universal dictates of morality.

I treasure some hours spent last summer with Governor and Mrs. Herter at their summer retreat home in Manchester, just before he left for Geneva for the 'Kennedy Round' of tariff negotiations. Chris Herter worked in the public interest, as special international trade negotiator, until the very end and if he had to leave us now, it is consoling that he had been cheered, the day before he died, by Britain's announcement of the lifting of tariff restrictions among the European Free Trade Association, the Outer Seven—bringing nearer the Herter dream of free trade in the world.

I'm glad also that Governor Herter's oldest son could state to the press that the passing was 'very fast and peaceful' because the sudden illness of Mr. Herter two summers' ago had led to a difficult recovery period. Emphysema, as well as arthritis, added to the problems of later years.

When the immediate pangs of sorrow are assuaged, Chris Herter's death should strengthen all of us. President Sachar reminded us of the honorary degree which Herter received from Brandeis in 1955 and in the closing passage of that citation, there were these words: 'Herter moved through the jungles of politics without shedding principle or integrity.'

He also threw a shadow that has eclipsed smaller men, selfish ambitions, and the pettiness of the day, and he did this in a way that recorded, for all time, the fact that moral and intellectual integrity can be viable instruments in public and human affairs.

A chief is gone and something of all of us has perished with him. Truly, his likes will not be seen for a long time.

But something has also been added: the permanent inspiration of a Chris Herter that transcends New Year's resolutions and prophecies.

Dirksen Stands Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, as Senator DIRKSEN's Congressman, I was most happy to read a short editorial in the Peoria Journal Star under date of February 15, 1967, characterizing our senior Senator as a "giant among men," and it thrills me no end to see these accolades come to the Senator from some of those who have taken a very long time giving the Senator his due. The editorial speaks for itself. Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I include it at this point in the RECORD:

DIRKSEN STANDS OUT

Everett Dirksen has done it again.

Instead of falling back on the standard Washington dodge of howling that he was misquoted, the senator from the grassroots just plain apologized for some published remarks made in "short temper" about Sen. Case.

That's hardly a big deal, but it is the kind of thing that makes him stand out from the careful, spit-and-polish, nervous Nellies that crowd the chairs of "modern" politics.

Dirksen has emerged as "a giant among men" because he is a MAN. So many of those on the political stage are too busy polishing their carefully planned "images," wearing the same "uniform" to exude the "competent and sincere" look, and avidly studying the polls to see which way to part their hair.

Among all the ping-ponging heads of the mirror-watcher-poll-watcher set, a Dirksen who stands on his own two feet, his own 30-plus years of experience, his own unusual manner of speaking, his own basic good humor, and his own rumpled and wrinkled appearance with a "take it or leave it" aplomb does, indeed, stand out from the crowd.

Tribute Paid to Dr. Paul G. Bulger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Paul G. Bulger, who became president of the State University College at Buffalo, N.Y., on July 1, 1959, left this post on February 15, to become associate commissioner for higher and professional education in the State education department at Albany.

More than 500 civic leaders, alumni, faculty, students, and staff, attended a farewell dinner recently in Buffalo to pay tribute to this outstanding leader in the field of education.

Among the tributes to Dr. Bulger, expressing both regret at his departure from Buffalo State and joy at his good fortune, was that of Dr. Hollis L. Caswell, president emeritus of Teachers College, Columbia University, who likened Dr. Bulger's life to "the American dream."

Here we have a boy—

Said Dr. Caswell—

born into a small town in New York State, without exceptional opportunities, but a boy provided chances by the community who took advantage of them and moved ahead to become a leader in the field of higher education.

Dr. Bulger's achievements at the State University College have left an indelible imprint not only at the college but in our entire Niagara Frontier community. His faith in people, his deep sense of values, his unquestionable integrity, his devotion to democracy and to the institution of public education are all hallmarks of his character.

Although our Buffalo community will miss him, we wish him abundant success and satisfaction in his new post.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the tribute of Chancellor Samuel B. Gould, Millard C. Browne, and Arthur L. Bradford to Dr. Bulger presented in behalf of the entire State University of New York, the Niagara Frontier Community, and the Buffalo State University College to which Paul G. Bulger has given graciously and generously of his superior talent, insight, and leadership.

The tributes follow:

CHANCELLOR SAMUEL B. GOULD, FOR THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

I deeply regret that it is not possible for me to be with you on this occasion in your honor. It is an event of significance and certainly a fitting tribute to one who has become so much a figure in the Buffalo community, and in educational circles generally.

May I express to you my own and the State University's gratitude for your years of outstanding service to the College at Buffalo and to the University as a whole. You have taken your campus through a period of remarkable development and have clearly enhanced its position of prominence among New York State's institutions of higher education. At the same time, your service to the University has been varied and significant. I have enjoyed our personal association in all of these activities, and am most appreciative of all you have done for me.

We wish you well in your new undertaking which keeps you close to this State's higher education developments. We look forward to our new relationship with you as you take up your statewide duties.

MILLARD C. BROWNE, FOR THE NIAGARA FRONTIER COMMUNITY

No one at Buffalo State University College needs any onlookers from downtown to evaluate Dr. Paul Bulger's contribution to that busy, thriving, bursting campus in his seven years as its president. But when it comes to building bridges of understanding between the College and the community, let me say at least this: I can imagine no better interpreter, no stouter defender, no more impressive advocate and no finer exemplar of either Buffalo State or the State University as a whole than Paul Bulger has been from the first day he arrived in Buffalo.

And that, considering the fierce nature of the challenge he has bravely faced and calmly tamed, is no small compliment. Starting in the wake of the sputnik hysteria and ending in the age of the undergraduate riots—elsewhere—the Bulger Era at Buffalo State had the mission not only of shepherding the College through a fantastic physical growth but of transforming it simultaneously from a teacher's college into a liberal arts university.

Not the least of the qualities he needed—and demonstrated, happily, in ample measure—was the diplomatic poise to keep State moving smoothly through its most hectic growth period and developing steadily toward its full potential at the same time that the other campus on Main Street was unavoidably attracting the major share of community attention during its own troubled transition from private status into the State University's largest single unit.

To give Dr. Bulger a character reference in terms of the qualities that have impressed us most down at The News would doubtless be an exercise in redundancy for those who know him even better. But I'll stand on this editorial comment about him when his forthcoming departure was first announced: "He could not have proved more right for the needs of the post (which he now leaves) and the challenge of the times. He has presided with superlative skill and vision over rapid growth in student enrollment, physical plant, curriculum, community service and over-all academic excellence."

And he has also been, of course, a rarely human kind of human being—the kind who makes more of a point of visiting the Buffalo State locker room when its teams have lost than when they've won; the kind who faces outward ever ready to defend faculty and student body against every disparagement but who keeps everyone inside constantly reminded that there's a lot to do and "no time to waste." Paul Bulger, to me, is the kind of college president who is well epitomized by the fact that he keeps a former student's portrait of "Youth" constantly before him in his office—just to "keep reminding me of why we're all here."

ARTHUR L. BRADFORD FOR THE COLLEGE FAMILY

Notable college presidencies have always been marked by certain evidences of wisdom and educational statemanship. In our own complex age there are some very particular hallmarks of high executive competence. They are exemplified in Paul G. Bulger.

Primary among these qualities distinguishing the educational leader of first rank is faith in contemporary life and love of it. Paul Bulger's faith in his own time speaks clearly in all he does. The mid-twentieth century is not for him a tangled stretch of history somehow to be lived through, to be endured. He believes in his age, he trusts its best purposes and he plainly has joy in its challenges.

A contemporary man, Paul Bulger holds a philosophy of education that is organic. To him the university is not a mere depository of the intellectual treasures of the past True, the past lives more excitingly in the university than anywhere else. But the university is also an enterprise of the present and the future. Not to do only what plainly needs to be done now, but also to conceive what the public university ought to be doing about the future to make sure that imagination runs well ahead of present problems and strategies—such is the genius of the superior executive hand. It marks the administration of President Bulger.

Great leadership in contemporary education is alert to guard and save human values that in the process of explosive growth and transformation are always imperiled and may be lost. Getting and spending, building and transforming call for efficiency, for executive action that is crisp, timely, propelling. But personal values, too, cry to be protected. President Bulger always hears this call and heeds it. In the rapid evolution of Buffalo State University College, Paul Bulger has chosen to involve the faculty in all the problems of policy, and in a common travail of learning to foster its responsibility and protect diginity. Amidst the proliferation of facilities and undertakings, to see people first, to cherish the individual person—this is a sign of distinction in the contemporary presidency. Bulger's presidency bears this sign.

Finally, the awesome responsibility for decision, the trusteeship of great resources, human and material, sometimes seem to invest the administrator with an honor and an importance that have historically rested with the scholar and teacher. The administrative commission, great or small, is sometimes strangely misunderstood as pre-eminence. Paul Bulger knows better. By his honest veneration of learning and his insistence upon the centrality of the professor in the college, he has shown an executive wisdom and will with which the people and the interests of a university are secure.

Preventive Surgery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, federally assisted urban renewal programs have greatly improved the quality of housing in my home city of Pittsburgh. But public money and public effort alone cannot solve all the housing problems of Pittsburgh or any other city.

We are beginning to realize that the task of revitalizing our cities will require the concern and participation of private and public institutions, of business and civic leadership, and of all responsible citizens.

Action-Housing, Inc., of Pittsburgh has developed a plan to mobilize these essential elements in the rehabilitation of thousands of aging but basically sound houses in Pittsburgh's established neighborhoods. I think this plan offers great hope not only for Pittsburgh, but for all our cities.

One of Pittsburgh's fine radio stations, KDKA, discussed the Action-Housing, Inc., plan in a recent editorial. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the editorial in the RECORD at this point:

PREVENTIVE SURGERY

It does seem wasteful to wait until a house is a complete wreck before doing something about it. But up to this point, demolition has been the chief approach to slum clearance. Action-Housing, Inc. has come up with another plan that looks very promising. Our businessmen will have to cooperate to make the plan work, and we hope they will.

It is estimated that more than one-hundred thousand homes in Allegheny County are in bad repair. Unless someone invests money to fix them up, they will continue to decay, and if they are not slum property now, they will be eventually. As matters stand now, the government will then move in with an urban renewal program and tear them down. In the past 20 years, hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent on urban renewal in Pittsburgh, but we have only scratched the surface of the total housing problem. There must be a quicker and cheaper way.

To try and find an answer, officials of Action-Housing have proposed to organize a company that would rehabilitate thousands of old but basically sound houses. The company would start with a five-million dollar bankroll put up by business firms and some government-backed loans. The old houses would be reconstructed for sale to middle-income families. This is a pilot project, and there is no guarantee that it will work. But Action-Housing thinks it will, and it is inviting businessmen to give it a try.

We like this plan because it has something for everybody. For the investing companies, a chance for long-term profits and a new market for their products. For thousands of families, a chance to buy a good home in an established neighborhood at a modest price. And for Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, a chance to solve the critical housing problem on a massive scale.

Success depends on the willingness of our business leaders to invest in the initial program. We urge them to look at it very closely. It could be a golden opportunity to make Pittsburgh a finer place for everyone.

Crime Cures Take Time—The Public Is Impatient

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, Washington citizens are understandably concerned about the crime situation here. Like all members of the House Committee on the District of Columbia I have received many letters asking the Congress to take immediate and effective steps to reduce crime in the District.

I concur in the need to take measures to reduce District crime. Certain limited steps can be taken right away. But I hope the general desire to do something which will have immediate effect will not lead us to postpone the long-term programs necessary to make any really significant decrease in the crime rate.

Although measures such as a vast improvement in our schools will probably not result in much less crime within the next year, it will have a cumulative effect in the next several years and decades. And let us not deceive ourselves into thinking we can postpone starting the long-term programs simply because they will not take effect for several years—this can only result in us having to postpone the time when our Capital will be a safer city.

In connection with my remarks, I insert a column by William Raspberry which appeared in the Washington Post of February 19, 1967:

CRIME CURES TAKE TIME—THE PUBLIC IS IMPATIENT

(By William Raspberry)

The report of the National Crime Commission—like that of the D.C. Crime Commission that preceded it—makes two essential points.

The American people are genuinely and justifiably alarmed at the growing rate of lawlessness.

Nobody knows, over the short haul, what to do about it.

Members of the two Commissions share a belief that a major reason for crime, particularly among young Negroes, lies in society's failure to implement its ideal of equal opportunity.

Both talk a good deal, and in fairly specific terms, about methods of destroying the roots of crime—in poverty, injustice, poor schools, unstable family life.

But so widespread is the alarm among the American people—white and Negro—that such long-range measures are rather like talking about fire prevention to a man whose house is in flames.

Americans are becoming increasingly aware of this Nation's injustices. But they also know that if equality became a fact tomorrow it would be many years before the effects of past injustices—including crime and violence—began to disappear.

They want the fire extinguished now, and no one knows how to do it.

Consider the major recommendations among more than 200 made by the National Commission. These include assuring "all citizens full opportunity to participate in the benefits and responsibilities of society," streamlining court procedures, revamping the correctional system into small centers located in the communities they serve, launching a national campaign against organized crime, adopting measures to control the sale of firearms, and vastly expanded research into new ways of dealing with crime and criminals.

All of these things take a good deal of time, and few of them are likely to result in immediate and substantial lessening of the problem.

There is woven throughout the report the tacit recognition that when Americans talk about the crime problem, and unsafe streets, they are talking about Negro crime. No matter that crime is growing at a faster pace in the white suburbs than in the black slums; no matter that white-collar crime, including price-fixing, costs the public far more than it loses in hold-ups and muggings; no matter, even, that Negroes are far more likely than whites to be the victims of Negro criminals.

The alarm over the crime problem is over what "they," the miserable ghetto residents, are doing to "us," the frightened middle class.

The "us," in effect, turns out to be seven of the 19 members of the Commission who, in what amounts to be a dissent, expressed their worry over people going free because courts have "enlarged" the Bill of Rights.

"We do not suggest a departure from these underlying principles," the dissenters wrote. "But there is a serious question, now being increasingly posed by jurists and scholars, whether some of the rights have been interpreted and enlarged by court decisions to the point where they now seriously affect the delicate balance between the rights of the individual and those of the society."

The seven conclude that a constitutional amendment may be necessary to restore police interrogation and the use of voluntary confessions to what they view as their rightful place in law enforcement.

But even constitutional amendments take time. And time, so it seems, is the essence everyone is worried about.

What the whole commission seems to be telling us is that in light of present conditions and in the face of vast numbers of young people who soon will be reaching the "dangerous" age, we had best be prepared to endure a few more bad years.

Long-range measures begun now certainly will help to ease the problems of the future and make it possible to control crime more effectively.

We have to begin immediately, however, and on all fronts. Turning our cities into armed camps by instituting repressive and regressive police measures obviously won't work, as has been proven in those places (like Watts) where it was tried.

What we must do is to institute enough reform to stop feeding new criminals into our society, thus buying the time we need to permit the long-range measures to take root.

Don't be disappointed if this Commission has not put out the fire overnight. But it will be disappointing if something doesn't start awfully soon to stop adding new fuel to the flames.

The Sierra Club's Ironic Tax Exemption Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, the column by James J. Kilpatrick, on the

Sierra Club's tax exemption case, published in the Sunday issue of the Washington Star, illustrates the punitive control which can be exercised by the Federal Government over such organizations as the Sierra Club.

The Internal Revenue Service has not, to my knowledge, considered removing the tax exemption from other organizations whose primary purpose is to lobby for their organizations' use here in Washington but because the Sierra Club happened to put some advertisements in the paper which were contrary to the administration's views, then a branch of the Federal Government has endeavored to bring the organization to time by removing their tax exemption. In my view, this is rank discrimination and shows a punitive disposition on the part of the Federal Government against any organization or individual who opposes administration policy. Mr. Kilpatrick's column follows:

The Sierra Club's Ironic Tax Exemption Case

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

On June 9 of last year, the venerable Sierra Club spent $10,000 of its members' money on full-page newspaper ads opposing the Federal construction of two dams on the Colorado River.

On June 13, the Internal Revenue Service lowered the boom: Commissioner Sheldon S. Cohen announced that because of these ads, the IRS no longer would give advance assurance that contributions to the Sierra Club would be tax deductible.

In October, the 89th Congress adjourned with the dam fight still unsettled.

On December 16, the IRS made final its tentative action of June: "On the basis of our examination, we have concluded that you do not qualify (for tax exemption) under the applicable provisions of the law. Therefore, we propose to revoke . . ." In a 23-page letter, the IRS charged that a "substantial part" of the Sierra Club's activities was devoted to "attempting to influence legislation by propaganda and otherwise, contrary to prohibitions of the Internal Revenue Code."

Because of these highly-publicized actions by the IRS, the Sierra Club received virtually no voluntary contributions during the latter half of 1966. The club's loss from this source approximates $125,000.

On February 1, a news release came from the Department of the Interior. The gist of it was that the administration is withdrawing its support of the Hualapai and Marble Canyon dams. Secretary Stewart Udall said his revised development program "will meet the needs of the region and represent the best possible uses of its resources."

The multiple ironies in this sequence of events cry out for congressional investigation. Founded in 1892, the Sierra Club has spent most of its life attempting to influence legislation. It has lobbied—to use the dirty word—for Yosemite National Park; it lobbied for bills creating the Forest Service and the Park Service. It has labored for Kings Canyon, Olympic Park, Echo Park, and Dinosaur National Monument. It has been in the very forefront of every congressional movement toward conservation for 75 years. Now the Sierra Club has been clobbered for trying to save the Grand Canyon from the effects of the two proposed dams—and the dams may never be built at all.

In all the wonderland of the U.S. Tax Code, few provisions contain fantasies more wonderful than Section 501(c). The section identifies 17 classes of organizations whose income is viewed as tax-exempt. Sub-section (3) covers educational organizations, such as the Sierra Club. Sub-section (6) provides exemptions for business leagues, chambers of commerce, boards of trade and the like. But the curious thing is that only those organizations in sub-section (3) are prohibited from devoting any "substantial part" of their activities to "carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation."

As a matter of administrative practice, the IRS seldom has sought to revoke the tax exemption of an educational organization under sub-section (3). Such an action requires a bureaucratic interpretation of what is meant by "substantial," what is meant by "propaganda," and what is meant by "attempting to influence legislation." The words apparently mean what IRS chooses them to mean, and neither more nor less. In the case of the Sierra Club, the "overlying fact" was that the club retained a legislative representative in Washington. This was a reference to white-haired Bill Zimmerman, who occupies two tiny offices in a building off Dupont Circle. His is perhaps the least extravagant lobby in town.

With the Sierra Club thus hobbled in fighting the dams, the dam's supporters lobby along their tax-exempt way. Both the American Public Power Association (which registered five separate lobbyists last year) and the Central Arizona Project Association have their exemptions under sub-section (6). Their income is exempt from taxation willy-nilly.

What sense does it make to penalize the Sierra Club while the massive lobbies go untouched? The American Legion, the American Medical Association, the Farm Bureau, the Farmers Union, the National Council of Churches, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the AFL–CIO, the American Truckers Association—all these are tax-exempt in one way or another. Over the country as a whole, thousands of small associations receive contributions or dues that never are challenged for tax deductibility. Does any one doubt that in countless cases, these groups devote some substantial part of their time to influencing legislation?

The Sierra Club will survive. As one result of all the publicity, its membership has shot up since June from 34,000 to 47,000. It proposes to fight the revocation ruling. But the concept of equal justice under law surely suffers under the capricious and unfair system that now obtains.

Government Class of Macomb Senior High School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, recently I received letters from members of a government class of Macomb Senior High School in which they expressed their individual views on the war in Vietnam. I felt that it would be of interest to the other Members of the House to read the thoughts of our younger generation and, therefore, I am inserting in the RECORD some of the main statements from each letter:

I feel the loss of American boys. I feel they are losing their lives for a very unworthy cause. I have read quite a few of the available articles on this subject, but I still feel that the United States has no business in Vietnam. Would the results really be so terrible if the United States pulled out of the whole issue? Could it be any worse that it is now with all these boys losing their lives for no definite reason.

KATHY KITCH.

What is wrong with our war is the weapons we are using. We have been told that they are out-dated. If we are going to fight this war, let's fight it right.

BETTSY MILLER.

I don't believe that the United States is in the wrong by being in Vietnam, but it seems to me that they could get this over much quicker than the current pace. It is quite evident we have the power. But why don't we use it? I should think there would be an easier way of getting this war over so our boys would not have to die in great numbers for a cause many know nothing about.

MICHAEL HOFF.

How far can we let the Communists push? Will they stop if we pull out of Vietnam? These are a few of the questions we must ask ourselves before we state that it is none of our business what happens in Vietnam. It is our duty to America and all that democracy stand for to act now. True Americans can't stand by and do nothing when a major force overruns one country after another on route to world conquest.

JAMES HALL.

Any country having government difficulties is perfect bait for the Communists and they waste no time swallowing it, in the process the United States gets hooked as well because we must keep up our never-ending fight against those Communists. Just how many wars is it going to take to stamp out Communism? From what I've heard from very prominent figures, we could be still shooting it out as much as 20 years from now. Come on now—that is ridiculous.

RUTH FRANKLIN.

We are in Vietnam to build up the image of the United States not to save the world from Communism, not to end war. The men who are fighting are doing it for what they believe in—freedom, but the men who are in charge of it are trying to gain their ends, but they don't have to die for someones lies.

JULIE GUMBART.

The only major gripe that I have concerning the Vietnam crisis is the lack of substantial news that the public receives. What is needed is good, solid information that gives enough of the background of the situation so that you can understand the present one, news that tells you *why* and tells you the significance of the event.

RIJN LAY.

All I can see is that we are killing them and they are killing us and they have a lot more men to lose than we do.

JOHN WILEY.

If we are going to fight a war why don't we get out and fight it? Communism has to be stopped somewhere and Vietnam is as good as any.

GARY DANNER.

I think we should try to win more of the South Vietnamese people to our side. We could do this by giving them more economic aid. We should attempt to give them as much medical aid as possible through our hospitals. The more demonstrations we have against the war the more encouragement it gives the Communists.

ROBERT LOVELL.

We are just pussyfooting around, getting our men killed for no reason at all. We have to stop Communism before it starts and this is the best place to stop it because we are already in there.

DAVID SEARS.

The thought of dying for my country or any other reason doesn't appeal to me exactly, but I know that fighting over there is the only way out. I don't plan to raise my family under a government that thinks of itself and not my family. The U.S. isn't perfect, but it's the best there is.

JOHN SPRAGUE.

I think we should be over there to stop the progress of Communism, but not for an economical gain of our own. I don't understand why we limit our bombing so when the Communist forces aren't so lax with theirs.

PEGGY DERRY.

I know, as most people should, that the United States is fighting for a cause in Vietnam. This cause, stopping the spread of Communism, is of great importance not only to the U.S. and its society but to the world. For I believe that if Communism can be halted in Vietnam it will help and be a gigantic step toward abolishing the increasing Communistic spread. Right now, I am under the impression that this war could go on for years, and thousands of dead U.S. soldiers would be our only prize. We should put our powerful and expensive military forces into full swing.

KEVIN SMITH.

I know that we are over there to fight against Communist agression toward South Vietnam and that in the end we hope to curb all aggressions against the free world. Our men are doing a job vital to the United States and the free world on the whole.

JANET MCDANIEL.

I am not questioning anyone as to why we are there, but rather what are we doing now that we are there. We are in a war no matter what anybody says and to fight a war you can't fight half as hard as you can but rather you should fight twice as hard as you can. You can't put everything you stand for on a thin line and not support and reinforce it, you must uphold and stand up for your convictions. Wars cost money, integrity and most of all human lives. Why not end it as quickly and effectively as we can, while we can.

CRAIG FOXALL.

I think this war will probably be going on for several more years. More and more men are being killed and in the several years more will be killed, but still the war goes on.

CINDY GILKERSON.

I think that enough of our men and boys have been killed or wounded since the fighting started. In my opinion the Vietnam war would be short lived if the United States would send in her full strength and finish off the war for good.

REBECCA SOWERS.

The United States is in a very tricky position; if we go in and wipe out the Communists in Vietnam, they will call us aggressors and turn people against us; if we go ahead and pull out, the Communists would say that the United States is a paper tiger and humilate us in the eyes of other nations.

There isn't much use of fighting if you are afraid to win.

STEVE ROE.

I am not a historian, a politician, or a sociologist; I am simply a concerned American. I see America, bursting with strength, weapons, and determination, become shy, spineless, and stepped on. Americans have always fought to win, so why are we waiting? The possibility of foreign disapproval does not intimidate me. Many nations will grumble, gripe, and condemn our action, but no matter what we do, they usually do grumble, gripe and condemn. Our answer—if you disapprove of our action, kindly disapprove of our money.

JUDY NILLESSEN.

I strongly believe that our troops should be there, fighting for what this country was created for in the first place—freedom and independence. The only way that we can assure ourselves that our freedom will be preserved is by stopping the spread of Communism.

VICKY TATHAM.

The one thing that I can't understand is why a nation of our strength can't finish off a war with a country the size of North Vietnam. Another thing that I can't understand is why the United States is giving aid to countries which turn right around and give aid to the Viet Cong. Even some of our Allies or at least we call them allies, are giving aid to North Vietnam and are against our policy there.

BILL MCKEE.

I don't think we should get out of Vietnam, because we have to stop Communism somewhere. We can't wait until it has taken over most of the world then expect to stop it in the United States.

NADINE WISEMAN.

It is apparent the matter is not going to get any better and only our skilled diplomacy can end this conflict.

SUSAN ALBRIGHT.

I propose that we use all the conventional weapons needed to destroy all military targets and even large cities such as Hanoi and force them to surrender. Then we can go in and help the people with their government and other social needs.

GREG CARSON.

We are at war with North Vietnam and her allies, why don't we declare war on her? I feel more steps should be taken toward an outlook to peace. Both sides should try for peace talks.

ROBERT FARRAR.

I know we have to stay and fight; it's the American way. We want to keep these people free because we value freedom so much. But let's not use more men than necessary and try to get this war over as quickly as possible. America's image is important to the world. Let's not destroy it by being so hesitant and afraid. We've got to show the world democracy is important, important enough to die for.

LINDA FARNIOK.

It would be unwise for us to leave Vietnam now, after spending so much money and losing so many lives. But on the other hand, what is the use of spending if we can't win.

MIKE HOUSTON.

Since we are fighting over there but apparently aren't getting a heck of a lot done, why don't we step up the bombings in the North, move our troops in there, and clean them out. Don't get to thinking that I'm one of those students who oppose the war. I'm not, I would serve and fight if I get drafted. But sometimes I wonder if some of the people in Washington would.

STEVE DOLBEARE.

I know I will not have to endure the terrors of combat, but I may spend endless hours of anguish hoping and praying for the return of a loved one. If only everyone would stand for what is right, liberty and justice would prevail and we would be at peace.

KAY LOSDYCK.

I believe we are in Vietnam to support the right of dissent, right of free choice, and self determination. We are staying in Vietnam to protect that country from Communism. If we moved out now, the Communists would take over instantly.

LINDA TIMMS.

If the United States is going to fight a war—fight a war! Either fight or quit.

ROGER LUCAS.

Here we are the most powerful nation in the world and we let this war pass slowly and painfully on. One large bomb in the right place could end this war and bring our boys home. They've been through the hell of war long enough.

VICKIE HALTERS.

The United States, in my opinion, is wasting valuable time, money and men in trying to create a safer and more worthwhile world in which to live. I feel that instead of gradually gaining power by fighting and having our men killed one by one, we should gather all of our military force and attack.

SARA DERRY.

If I were the President I would withdraw all of the troops because we really don't have any business over there. I'm not saying all of this because I don't want to serve my country, I think every able-bodied American man should. What I'm trying to say is that we should either stay and end it fast or get out altogether and let them fight their own war. I believe in fighting Communism but not just fighting a war for economic purposes.

RON LOWDERMAN.

I think we are fighting for a good cause in Vietnam but I don't think we are making any progress because we are afraid to bomb important Communist areas. I think our soldiers are dedicated to the work they are doing. The solution most people give is just pull out of the war, this would help nothing except to show that we are not as strong as we used to be. The Communists would just move to another area and take it by force and the same thing would happen again.

MIKE COBB.

The problem that concerns me the most is that since we are over there to fight and end it, why don't we do just that. Cut out all this "hanky panky". If you try hard and end the war now it will not only stop the spread of Communism but also show the nations of the world that the United States will fight and help any other nation that is threatened with Communism.

ERICH WESTPHAL.

I beileve that the war should be stepped up, this would show the Viet Cong that we are serious in our intent. Also more money should be spent to protect our boys and to better equip them. I have heard that they are poorly armed and badly clothed.

CARMEN SCHAEFFER.

I am very concerned about the U.S. policy in Vietnam—that of playing cat and mouse. I am beginning to wonder if the U.S. plans or even wants to win the war. If it does, then why don't we fight a real war? This endless, petty fighting is both discouraging and wasteful. Why worry about if a few countries approve or disapprove they aren't even fighting or supporting our efforts.

CAROL VIDA.

Subversive Teaching in Our Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert at this point in the Record an editorial from yesterday's Bristol, Tenn.-Va., Herald Courier, which comments on the concurrent resolution which Congressman Wampler and I introduced last Wednesday.

I hope my colleagues and the readers of the Record will give careful consideration to the position of the editorial, and join the gentleman from Virginia and I in introducing this resolution to state the "sense of Congress" in regard to the recent decision of the Supreme Court relative to subversive teaching in our schools.

At the conclusion of the editorial, I am also inserting the resolution in full.

I would like to see immediate action taken on this resolution, and I urge my colleagues to join the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Wampler] and I in this endeavor.

The material referred to follows:

[From the Bristol (Tenn.-Va.) Herald Courier, Feb. 19, 1967]

A Time To Act

Congress ought to give speedy approval to a "Sense of Congress" resolution opposing a recent Supreme Court decision which could have the effect of opening the doors of public schools to teachers who are Communists.

But even if Congress rejects the resolution, a valued service has been performed by Congressmen William C. (Bill) Wampler and James H. Quillen, who introduced the measure.

"The states," they correctly declare in their resolution, "have an inherent right to protect themselves against forces seeking to overthrow the government."

Yet, in the face of this obvious truth, the Supreme Court has struck down a New York state law which would bar subversives from serving as public school teachers. The Supreme Court said the state could not fire, or refuse to hire, a person simply because he is a Communist.

This is folly of the highest order. We fully concur with dissenting Justice Clark that "no court has ever reached out so far to destroy so much with so little."

Unfortunately, this is not the first time the Court has wandered afield. It did so when it upheld the notion of atheist Madalyn Murray that devotional service, with Bible reading, should not be permitted in public schools. It did so when it struck down an innocuous little prayer composed for use in New York's schools. It has done so on other occasions when, under the guise of upholding rights guaranteed by one section of the Constitution, it trampled on rights guaranteed by other sections.

The Court, in the past 15 years, has largely ignored the precedents of past decisions, which form the building blocks of law. It has based its rulings not so much on what has gone before as on the personal prejudices of the majority justices. Along this pathway lies chaos, for it tends to create government of men at the expense of government of laws, which has always been the foundation of the American system.

It is already very late for Congress to reassert its role in that "separation of powers" written into the Constitution.

The Court, through a series of dubious decisions, has opened one Pandora's box after another. It has made law; it has abolished law; it has altered the spirit of law; it has created dangers which no society and no government are required to face.

Through it all, Congress by its silence, has played the role of "accomplice."

Now, Congress has an opportunity and an obligation to regain at least a measure of control over the legislative prerogatives usurped by the Court. It can do so by approving the "Sense of Congress" resolution introduced by Congressmen Wampler and Quillen.

If it does not do this, then Congress will have to share much of the blame for whatever evils derive from the Court's decisions. And if it does not do this, Congress will have admitted it is a lesser "power" than the Court.

H. Con. Res. 206

Whereas the government of each of the several States undoubtedly has the right under our Federal Constitution to protect itself against persons seeking to overthrow that government by force and violence or by other unlawful means; and

Whereas our Federal Constitution provides that the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government and protect each of them against domestic violence; and

Whereas public employment by a State government is not a right guaranteed to any individual under our constitutional system of government; and

Whereas the right of self-preservation inherent in the formation of every legally constituted State government transcends in importance the privilege of any individual to public employment under that State government; and

Whereas the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Keyishian against University of New York has virtually destroyed a precious right of each State—the right of self-preservation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Keyishian against University of New York (decided January 23, 1967) should be overruled in favor of the right of self-preservation inherent in the very existence of a legally constituted State government. It is further the sense of the Congress that each of the several States should continue vigorous efforts to preserve our constitutional system, including the establishment or continued application of qualification standards for public employment designed to exclude from such employment individuals who advocate or teach the overthrow of the government of that State by force or violence, or other unlawful means, and individuals who knowingly belong to groups or organizations which advocate such overthrow.

ZIP Code Use Gaining Popular Acceptance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the adoption of the use of the Post Office Department's ZIP code has had rough going, although most of us will agree that its basic concept is sound.

Increased efforts on the part of individuals and groups to encourage use of the ZIP code are commendable. I am proud to report that the people in our Buffalo community are cooperating in making use of the ZIP code. An editorial which appeared in today's Buffalo Courier-Express, Buffalo, N.Y., follows:

ZIP Code Use Gaining Popular Acceptance

Buffalonians are co-operating with the Post Office Department by making extensive use of the zip code. Washington reports that Buffalo is one of 28 communities which have achieved a rating of 60 per cent or better in making use of that form of mailing address. The city's rating of 65.3 per cent is somewhat bettered by Rochester's and 10 other communities, Hyattsville, Md., leading with 78.5 per cent.

Apparently popular indifference to the zip code is steadily being overcome by the Post Office Department's intensive promotion efforts along with the psychological effect of the force of habit.

The Department has its sights on the eventual introduction of automatic scanners capable of sorting at least all type-addressed mail by zip code, there appearing to be no equipment available to scan handwritten letters. Until the automatic-scanning system is installed, the zip-code number will continue to serve as a variation of the zone number. Its use, however, is indicated for the public as a progressive contribution to modernization of the postal system along lines of increased efficiency.

Vietnam: What Price Peace?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, at the invitation of the Foreign Policy Association, I have written a short article entitled "Vietnam: What Price Peace?" for the association's "Great Decisions" program. The article has been released across the country this week by United Press International.

As stated by the Foreign Policy Association, the article reflects my opinions, since "FPA takes no position on foreign policy issues."

The article represents the most up-to-date summary of my thoughts about the war in Vietnam, and I have permission to reprint the entire article in the Record:

What is the primary reason for our presence in South Vietnam?

Are we there to deter Chinese expansionism? The belief that this is our primary aim is implicit in most of the discussion about Vietnam. Although most Americans probably believe that China was responsible for starting the Vietnamese struggle, China was not the moving force.

In fact, if concern about China is uppermost in our considerations, an independent communist state under its own leadership in the long run could prove to be a buffer against China. At the same time it must be recognized that a communist Vietnam might apply considerable pressure against her neighbors, much as Cuba has actively proselytized in Latin America.

Some argue that we are in Vietnam to prove that aggression in the guise of liberation wars will not be tolerated, any more than conventional aggression is tolerated.

"Wars of national liberation" cover a wide spectrum of conflicts. It is unlikely that the outcome of Vietnam will affect the struggle in Guatemala. Generalizations about these kinds of wars are dangerous and misleading.

The most convincing reason for our presence in Vietnam is our desire to help the South Vietnamese. We would like to see them free to determine their own future. We know that a communist regime in South Vietnam would make short shrift of those committed to democratic values. We properly fear that such a regime would support efforts to overturn neighboring governments.

But if our aim is to help the South Vietnamese, in fairness to them we must realistically appraise the chances of success without imposing too high a level of physical and social damage on their nation.

Thus there are compelling reasons to consider a settlement of conflict. In addition to the uncertainties of gaining a "win," pressures exist for a settlement from within the United States and from abroad.

Any settlement short of a "win" must permit the National Liberation Front to retain something. Whatever they retain will pose a threat to the continuation of any government in Saigon. The Vietcong are clearly the most disciplined and most intensively organized political force in South Vietnam. Even if stripped of a military role, they would be a potent force. The prospect would remain that they might from time to time revert to terror or other tactics employing force or violence.

A settlement might provide internationally enforced free elections for a period of at least 10 years. The enforcement of free elections at the village, provincial and national levels might offer the best prospect for eroding the political appeal of the communists.

Such a settlement would be fully compatible with the legitimate concerns of the U.S.

Whether or not this kind of settlement could be achieved is unknown.

United States efforts to reach the bargaining table are being hampered by American insistence on treating Hanoi as the primary party. Efforts to bomb Hanoi out of the conflict or to the bargaining table compound the difficulty. The Vietcong are fighting in the south because of a commitment to an ideology shared with their brethren in the North. Through our bombing we, in effect, ask that the North Vietnamese abandon their comrades in the south who have carried the main punishment of the war. This is unrealistic.

To the extent that North Vietnam influences the action of the Vietcong, an end to bombing in the north would probably advance prospects for negotiations. The bombing might be cut back to areas close to the funnel to the Ho Chi Minh trail and near the 17th parallel.

The United States should continue to increase its troops in South Vietnam while it engages the Liberation Front in a dialogue aimed at negotiations. The Vietcong will settle only if settlement seems preferable to continued fighting. Settlement prospects would not be advanced by stabilizing force levels while we still have difficulty holding present ground. In the meantime we must continue our efforts at the social and political level.

There can be no doubt that any settlement short of a "win" would involve large risks to the future of South Vietnam. Yet these risks may be far preferable to the uncertain and traumatic road which lies ahead if we continue our present course.

The U.S. has had to live with many unsatisfactory solutions elsewhere in the world. We would do better to press for the more perfect solutions in those situations more susceptible to our power and in which the weight of international opinion supported the wisdom of our efforts.

University of Hawaii President Hamilton Holds Freedom of Dissent Vital in Search for Truth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, we are all aware of the controversies swirling across the campuses and academic corridors of colleges and universities from one end of this great land of ours to the other with regard to freedom of expression and freedom of dissent, and the attendant furors over so-called academic "disciplines." Although it is essentially true that order is indispensable to freedom, this is not to say that freedom depends on regimentation.

The president of the University of Hawaii, Dr. Thomas H. Hamilton, made some thought-provoking observations on the vital right to dissent in a recent talk entitled "A Position on Paradox," which he delivered at the Honolulu Lions Club golden anniversary banquet.

The Honolulu Sunday Advertiser printed Dr. Hamilton's talk on its editorial page on January 15, 1967, and I would like to bring his timely and perceptive remarks to the attention of my colleagues in the House by submitting the article from the Advertiser for inclusion in the Congressional Record:

Right To Dissent Held Vital

(By Thomas H. Hamilton, president, University of Hawaii)

As I have noted from time to time, any good university is usually beset by controversy. It may be controversy about very vital matters or it may be as silly as childish pouting about not being invited to the Rose Bowl. But controversy there is sure to be if the university is worth its salt.

In times of considerable local, national or international tension, perfectly well-meaning individuals may lose sight of the central fact that in order to be true to its nature a university must permit within the broadest possible guidelines freedom of expression and freedom of dissent. But it is also incumbent on the university, from time to time, to restate its position and the reason for it.

I should like to center this discussion around four matters: the matter of principle, the matter of law, the matter of aesthetics, and the matter of effectiveness.

The matter of principle seems to me a relatively simple one, and applies not only to a university but to society as a whole. It involves the recognition come by over many centuries that no individual, no organization, including the government, from a practical point of view, can have a monopoly on truth. In our more reflective moods our nation has recognized that if one eliminates the freedom of expression, the freedom to inquire, the freedom to question, one thereby diminishes the possibility that either the present alleged truth will finally be confirmed as indeed true or that it will be demonstrated false, and something true or at least less false will replace it.

MUST SEEK TRUTH

This seems to me to be true throughout our society, and we have very carefully built into our constitutional and legal framework protections for such questioning and such freedom. But it is even more relevant with a university, for a university must hold the seeking of truth, regardless of how difficult the truth is come by, at the vrey center of its activities.

This principle of freedom to express, to dissent, to question, while not absolutely unlimited, must be given a very broad range. One can not consistently say we can question A but not B, or that Group A is qualified to question but not Group B. All of this must be permitted even though at times the results are for certain individuals both unhappy and embarrassing. But this is a small price to pay for the assurance of a continuing healthy, democratic society.

Perhaps no one has better stated the reason for this principle than John Stuart Mill who said in 1854:

"If all mankind minus one were of one opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind. Were an opinion a personal possession of no value except to the owner, if to be obstructed in the enjoyment of it were simply a private injury, it would make some difference whether the injury was inflicted only on a few persons or on many. But the peculiar evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is that it is robbing the human race, posterity as well as the existing generation—those who dissent from the opinion, still more than those who hold it. If the opinion is right, they are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth; if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth produced by its collision with error."

LEGALLY NOT AT WAR

Let us view the problem now of freedom of speech from its legal point of view. Here, I think, we might as well take as an example the problem of freedom of expression regarding our policy in Southeast Asia and Viet Nam. It may be, in view of the facts, a ludicrous situation, but the fact remains that legally we are not at war in Viet Nam. Therefore, the measures which might be tolerable and legal in time of war can not be brought into play. There are some who recognize this but go on to say that, while dissent from our policy in that part of the world may not be illegal, it is immoral or unpatriotic and therefore should be suppressed by the University. But I fear that morality and patriotism are differently interpreted by different parties. And if such dissent is immoral and unpatriotic, then these same adjectives must be applied to a certain number of men in Congress and certain eminent journalists.

But the legal aspect of the matter goes beyond simply a consideration of the dissent over Viet Nam. What legal authority, in effect, does a university have over the students which it enrolls? This is an extremely complicated legal question, and I do not believe that all of the answers are in as yet. Up until a few years ago it was assumed that the in loco parentis doctrine still held, and in many colleges and universities a number of rules for the campus were based on this assumption. You may recall that this doctrine first was stated in the Berea College case in 1913 and essentially said that the relation of the college to its students was that of parent to child.

This particular opinion contains the following statement:

"The school, its officers and students are a legal entity, as much so as any family, and like a father may direct his children, those in charge of boarding schools are well within their rights and powers when they direct their students what to eat and where they may get it; where they may go and what forms of amusement are forbidden."

Four things need to be said about this. Much of the difficulty with students on American campuses stems from objections to rules which do, in fact, have the in loco parentis doctrine assumed either intrinsically or extrinsically. Second, it is for various reasons, it seems to me, a doctrine of very doubtful wisdom. Thirdly, it seems to me highly unlikely that a court in 1966 would render a similar decision. Finally, it can hardly be said to apply to all of the students involved on campuses in 1966 in any event, for many of the students involved are not minors and it would be a strange doctrine of law that grants to a college or university powers which are denied the parents themselves when a young man or woman has reached majority.

RIGHT TO ENFORCE RULES

However, I am not implying from a legal point of view that the University has no power over the students which it admits; I think it does. The state university, it seems to me, has the right to make and enforce rules needed to protect the fulfillment of his educational function. It can properly eliminate those who can not or will not meet its academic standards. And an activity which disrupted a class, made laboratory work impossible, or study in the library difficult would, it seems to me, be quite properly suppressed from a legal point of view because such activity would interfere with the university performing the function for which it exists. But again, in my opinion, the college or university is on very questionable legal grounds when it establishes and enforces rules that can not be related to the performance of its educational mission.

Let us turn now to the matter of aesthetics, for there are individuals who say they are quite sure that students as well as other citizens have the legal right to express themselves freely within certain broad outlines. Their behavior in so doing is neither immoral nor unpatriotic, but the way they do it is in bad taste. I would agree that from a personal point of view some of the things which have been done on the nation's campuses do, indeed, appear to me to be in poor taste. But so do many other things in our society, and yet I would not advocate that the university or any other agency be permitted to suppress those instances of bad taste.

BEATNIKS—19TH CENTURY

Taste is a highly subjective, personal matter on which there seldom is universal opinion, and which probably can not be legislated. And where there have been atempts to legislate it, such attempts do not come to any good end. The approach is going to have to be through educational methods and not by the making and enforcing of rules.

And I think some of these matters need the airing of historical perspective. A great scandal regarding college students in 1883 involved the fact that the senior class at Amherst had voted that for graduation they would shave off their beards and graduate clean-shaven.

The "Princetonian," obviously aware that the lack of a beard was the mark of a nineteenth century Beatnik, wrote huffly:

"Those of us without their golden circle can only conjecture whether all the hair elixer has given out, or whether it is an attempt to look young, and thus seem the more precocious at graduation. The next step will probably be a decree that all must provide themselves with a glass eye or cork leg."

We come, finally, to the effectiveness of the policy which the University is following as opposed to other policies which might possibly be enforced. It is the responsibility of the administration to see that the maximum opportunity for the University to perform its central mission is always present. It can never do this ideally for a number of reasons. One never has enough space, enough personnel, enough resources. But within the limits imposed on it, this is the task of the administration of a university. And a part of this is to cause a situation to prevail which is sufficiently orderly that the learning process not be disrupted.

At the moment, under the present policy, the learning process is not being disrupted by free expression. This is true because the students, recognizing that they have these freedoms, are content to respect the major function of the University and to arrange their affairs so as to not interfere with this learning function. But if one were to try to suppress this freedom, then many students who have no interest at all in the substance of any particular dissent would indeed have an interest in the fact that the right to this dissent had been suppressed. And inevitably it would be far more difficult for the University to go on effectively with its central mission.

UNIVERSITY IS HEALTHY

I do not pretend that the University of Hawaii, or any university, is handling these matters with all of the effectiveness that might be imagined. But I think our position is reasonably sound, and the condition of the University rather healthy. This seems to me to be true, as I have said above, because the position accords with the right principle, operates within the law, places the matter of aesthetics in proper perspective, and gives the greatest promise for permitting the University to perform its central mission effectively.

One of the distressing things to me is the statement made by our generation from time to time about how irresponsible and foolish youth is today. These words have a familiar ring, for they were once applied to my generation. So may I ask that those of us who are older please do not give up on youth. Of course this younger generation contains fools, irresponsibles, and those not so bright. So did our generation, and I would guess in about the same proportion. And it is not unusual that many of the young fail to see that over the years our generation has made some progress. Perspective ordinarily comes with years, if at all.

I can not see the justice of blaming youth for not being older. Most youth are deeply concerned about a world in which it does, in fact, seem increasingly difficult to live whether you are 18 or 50. Perhaps in time this generation may be able to come up with better solutions than we did. Opportunity to test their thinking on campus and to correct misconceptions through discussion and free expression should, we must hope, contribute to this end.

Sunny Side of Chicago's "Big Snow"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, Chicago will remember the big snow of 1967 for many years, and not the least of the reasons will be the manner in which it brought out the best and the noblest in human nature.

In the February issue of the Federation News, no ably edited by my distinguished constituent, Irving E. Klas, this is the article leading the editorial column:

A CITY OF HEROES

(The following statement by William A. Lee, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor and Industrial Union Council was adopted by the CFL–IUC Executive Board and was included in the minutes of the board meeting held Monday, February 6, 1967:)

It was man against the elements.

Twice snow created the most stupendous snarl ever experienced in our city, and twice Chicago fought back—and won.

The job was done by people . . . and machines . . . but mainly the skill, courage and dedication of men and women threw the snow and wind for a loss.

We pay tribute to the tireless people in the news media who kept the public alert to the dangers and provided vital information.

There were the police, firemen and many others in and out of government who quietly performed feats of endurance under the most trying conditions.

Several unions voluntarily set aside contract terms with management so people could be supplied with food, fuel and all other necessities of life.

There were the truck drivers and operating engineers who manned the equipment through long, cold nights and days . . . pitting their skill and will against the common enemy, and winning, twice.

We honor the men who guided vehicles of public transportation and communication . . . for hours and even days beyond the call of duty—often in conditions of danger—with unparalleled care and patience.

We praise the trained hands and warm hearts of those who tended the sick, the elderly, the lost and the troubled—giving, too, so much of themselves.

Yes—these men and women of labor—in all lines of work—in unions and the unorganized as well—brought Chicago back to life.

The Chicago Federation of Labor and Industrial Union Council is proud to be part of a community that cannot be defeated because its people will not be defeated.

"Courage, Generosity Overcome Fear, Selfishness," is the headline in the South End Reporter of February 1, 1967, over the following news article by Feature Writer Joyce Macey:

This is one woman's story of her harrowing experience during the height of last week's record snowfall. Her story, as told to Joyce Macey, is more frightening than some, less tragic than others and typical of many of the experiences of Roseland area residents who will long remember Jan. 26–28, 1967.

Mrs. Elmer Miller, of 14235 Lowe, Riverdale, left the South End Reporter last Thursday, hoping to beat the storm and get home to her husband and the comfort of her home. Mrs. Miller is a real estate and classified representative on the newspaper.

She boarded the South suburban bus on the corner of 115th and Michigan. Approximately 60 people boarded the bus with Ruth, all with the same intention of getting home to a warm house.

The bus driver managed to get the bus to 124th and Michigan. The vehicle stayed there, along with four other buses the remainder of the night.

A jovial air filled the bus for the first few hours, as people tried to make the best of the situation.

One woman shared a loaf of bread that she purchased from Gately's Bakery, and another woman had a bag of cookies.

Ruth said, "I never thought a slice of bread would taste so good."

Around 2 a.m. two men, who were Roseland residents, stopped to warm up on the bus. They had walked from Dolton, trying to reach their homes.

When the bus passengers heard the stark reality of the storm conditions from the two men, that people were literally stranded, for an indefinite period of time, a chilling silence came over the bus.

The thought of keeping warm was foremost in their minds, as the fuel in the bus had just about run out.

The passengers decided to leave the shelter of the bus, and approach the several residences in the area on 124th and Michigan for shelter.

Even making one phone call to worried loved ones would have been a great relief.

"You could tell the people were home," Ruth said, "They had been peering from the drapery earlier, we could see them."

The doors remained closed to the bus passengers as they sought temporary shelter from the few homes, that were not answering door bells. In vain, the people trudged back through the high drifts to await the early morning.

Friday morning, it could have been about 10 a.m. Ruth had lost track of time, since appointments were no longer important, Jack Miloneck, 27, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Jack Miloneck of 12476 Michigan, approached the stranded bus, and passed out cigarettes.

He informed the chilled and hungry passengers, that his parents home was open to anyone that needed it. At one time, that Fri. morning as many as 19 people, enjoyed the hot coffee and biscuits that Velma Miloneck prepared.

After a little warmth, some people decided to attempt to walk home. Ruth Miller and two other women, Mrs. Florence Gregg, and Mrs. Marion Baxter walked over to the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Ambrose Piraino at 12340 Michigan. Ambrose was once Circulation Manager for the South End Reporter, and Ruth knew she would be turned away.

The three women spent the night at the home. By this time it was Sat. morning.

Ruth managed to get to the train at 115th, and somehow she got to Riverdale.

Editorial broadcast over WIND by Edward Wallis, area vice president, points up how the big snow purified Chicago's air. The broadcast follows:

AIR POLLUTION COULD CREATE COMMUNITY OF RESPIRATORY CRIPPLES

We have referred many times to air pollution being a social disease. It is in fact, just that. It has been smothered in secrecy and buried by public indifference and kicked around from pillar to post by industry in general with the excuse . . . it's not my smoke-stacks—it's the guy's next door.

Well, we had the perfect opportunity over the last snowstorm or three, to assemble statistics that might never have been possible without the storm. The Chicago Department of Air Pollution found that almost total elimination of the harmful gases that pollute the air, was in effect during the period of January 26th through 29th; the exact time that the metropolitan area was snow-locked. Consequently, the use of motor vehicles was drastically reduced. The air pollution authorities say that during the snow-lock period, the total of all types of air pollution was reduced by 35% and that pollution from motor vehicle exhausts dropped more than 90%. An interesting aspect of the department study showed, that there was only a slight decrease in the amount of pollutants caused by the fuel-burning process—industrial use of coal and the like.

Perhaps in no other way than through a record-breaking snowstorm, could we have documented the deleterious effects of carbon monoxide from the motor vehicle—or separated the continuing effects of sulphuric dioxide, belched from the burning smokestacks. But the facts where there. Chicago lived through three plus days, of close to totally pure air during the infamous storm of '67. It may have taken a snowstorm to prove it but now it behooves the State Legislatures in Illinois and Indiana, to do something about it. We look to these State Legislatures and the Congress, to enact laws that will guarantee un-polluted air. We do not want to be swallowed up in our own funeral canopy, of sulphuric dioxide.

Plan Economic Development of Lowell Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, Lowell Technological Institute in Lowell, Mass., has long played a leading role in the economic development of the eastern Massachusetts area. Long famed as our most outstanding school of textile engineering, Lowell Tech has contributed mightily to the 20th-century industrial revolution in our area.

Lowell Tech is continuing to exercise this leadership and to seek new areas for growth and development. Recently a conference was held at the institute on economic growth at which time President Martin J. Lydon indicated Lowell's willingness to assume leadership once again in leading the Merrimack Valley in industrial revitalization. More efforts are planned in the future to determine how best Lowell Tech can match the skills of the available labor pool with the existing job openings in business and industry in the area.

Under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD two articles by Kendall Wallace of the Lowell Sun describing the recent conference and LTI's plans for the future.

PLAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF LOWELL AREA

(By Kendall M. Wallace)

LOWELL.—Lowell Technological Institute, through its president, Martin J. Lydon, yesterday pledged to make available its facilities to lead the Merrimack Valley in industrial revitalization.

Lydon, speaking at the opening of a near nine-hour seminar on Community Development and Business Expansion in the Merrimack Valley, announced that LTI stands ready to assume the leadership role so necessary to the development of the region.

Plans are under way, Lydon said, to establish a group within the LTI Research Foundation to assist communities in research and development.

The Institute President said that the Nuclear Center at the school could mean as much to Lowell as water power did 160 years ago. "It could put Lowell at the nucleus of far ranging economic development," he added.

With Community leaders and businessmen from throughout the valley present, Lydon said that the school stood ready to serve them in efforts to revitalize their communities.

"This is the kind of service we are designed and able to perform", he stated.

Principal speaker at what is expected to be the first in a series of seminars, was John J. Linnehan, federal co-chairman of the New England Regional Commission.

Linnehan was named to the post by President Lyndon B. Johnson only last month and his appearance in Lowell was the first in the entire New England region since being sworn into the new position.

Linnehan, during a well prepared, but brief address to the gathering, spoke on "The Future of New England."

In general terms, he outlined the goals of the New England Regional Commission and explained that a Boston office for the newest federal agency will be opened in the next two weeks.

Linnehan, who is a native of Haverhill, spoke of the importance of Route 495 to the area and urged that efforts be made to bring about the linking up of the roadway with Route 95.

He pointed out that New England lags behind the nation's growth and urged that the area attack its problems together.

"The Merrimack Valley, Massachusetts, and all of New England must be a place where our young wish to remain, where our workers are secure, where our children are well educated, and where the other basic requirements of life are met, and met well.

"It is well understood that if we are to attack our present problems, we must do it together. Our problems ignore city, county and state boundaries and defy the well-intended solutions of single units of government," Linnehan stated.

The main speaker said that what we want for New England's future is no different from all other regions or their people. "We want an end to poverty, to unemployment and underemployment, to polluted air and water, to inadequate schools, health facilities, recreational opportunities and transportation. We want an economy which produces abundance for all, and a society which provides the fullest opportunity for every human capability," he added.

He said that the New England Commission, created through legislation similar to that used to establish the Appalachian Regional Commission in 1965, must find out where we stand today and how we must equip ourselves to work toward the future effectively.

Linnehan pointed out that the commission was formally designated in Washington last March, at the request of the New England Senators and Governors, led by Senator Edward M. Kennedy.

The governors of all six New England states, along with Linnehan, make up the commission.

The joint federal-state partnership for the redevelopment of the New England region will be paid for fully by the federal government for the first two years. Later the cost will be shared equally.

"The commission's general responsibility is to co-ordinate a joint federal state effort to develop the economy of the New England states," Linnehan added.

"No one can look at this area or these six states and suggest that our economic life is in need of a massive federal program. But no one can say that this region has the promise of other areas or that our economic problems will disappear with time. The obstacles to our growth and future development are varied and are complex. We do have potentials for growth, but we do have in our presence persistent economic weak spots that can continue to hinder our potential," he told the gathering.

Linnehan pointed out that New England workers were highly specialized in their labor—but the dominant industries left. That the waterways were once local sources of power that were used for sanitation and now are highly polluted and that our transportation networks were built with little regard for the future.

Pointing out that New Englanders have an essential characteristic for trying the novel approach, Linnehan concluded by saying he was confident that "this tradition will guide the work of the commission."

LOWELL TECH READY

(By Kendall M. Wallace)

LOWELL.—There were a number of enlightening speakers, a lot of exciting talk and many encouraging words on the economic growth of the Merrimack Valley at last weekend's seminar at Lowell Technological Institute.

It was our opinion, however, that the really important words were not being spoken, but only implied.

Although no one said it in so many words, Lowell Tech is about ready to assume the mantle of leadership that is so necessary in leading the communities of the Merrimack Valley into a new era of industrial growth.

At the general assembly, during coffee breaks, at the noon luncheon, during the main address and at the workshops, the feeling was there. Lowell Tech is ready, willing and able to serve in the revitalization of the area.

Its President Martin J. Lyndon, its faculty and its affiliated Research Foundation now want to get deeply involved in the task of creating not only a new Lowell but a new Greater-Lowell.

The "new" Tech has already taken a big step in its move to rebuild the area by bringing to Lowell John J. Linnehan.

Linnehan is about to become one of the most important and powerful men in New England in his role as Federal co-chairman of the New England Regional Commission.

The commission is to serve as the focal point for the revitalization of all New England and without its co-operation all communities are going to find it harder to get federal assistance.

Linnehan's appearance at the program surely indicated to him that a lot of people are concerned with the problems of the area and want to do something about them.

This thought, which he no doubt took away from the seminar, won't hurt when federal officials are considering approval of programs for various New England communities.

Hawaii Viewed as "State of Love" by Prospective Resident

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, a charming exchange of letters between the Governor of Hawaii, the Honorable John A. Burns, and Mrs. Loye L. Guthrie, of Temple City, Calif., was printed in the "Letters of the Editor" column of a recent issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, and I would like to share this delightful correspondence with my colleagues in the House.

Mrs. Guthrie, in writing to congratulate Governor Burns on his new term of office, gave a unique description of that friendly and genuine spirit of aloha which pervades our islands and to which visitors from all over the world respond so warmly. Mrs. Guthrie aptly defined Hawaii as a "State of love" and said that she, at last, was succumbing to the call of the Islands and will shortly join her daughter, a "kamaaina"—native resident—of 6 months.

I join in welcoming the Guthries to Hawaii and in extending my aloha.

The clipping from the Honolulu Star-Bulletin of Saturday, January 14, 1967, follows:

HAWAII IS A STATE OF LOVE

The Star-Bulletin has received from the Governor's office the following exchange of letters:

"TEMPLE CITY, CALIF.

"DEAR GOVERNOR BURNS: Why is it that a traveler from the U.S. will visit a foreign country, wrapped in such a solid blanket of pride in his own home town, state, etc. that his eyes are blind to the merits of anything in that country? Yet, long before Hawaii became a state, that same traveler would try his level best, shortly after arriving in Hawaii, to be as 'Hawaiian' in every way as was possible, and he still does.

"Where in Paris, he will sit back and criticize its famous food, in Hawaii, dressed in an Aloha shirt, he will choke down the poi if it kills him. In London, he complains over the merest light rain, but in Hawaii will sit happily bare-footed in a cloudburst. In Rome, nothing he sees can compare with 'back home.' Even St. Peter's Cathedral often fails to measure up. But in Hawaii, he exclaims happily over every stick and stone. Once again in his home, the Florentine vase he brought back last year from Italy, at great expense, sits unheeded on the mantle while he fondles lovingly a little brown coconut shell he swiped from his last luau.

"To this puzzle I have given a good deal of thought. Especially since the recent visit here of my daughter. She moved to Hawaii only 6 months ago; a normal, pretty 22-year-old girl, raised in Southern California. She returned to us a radiant beauty, full of music, joy and health; spouting pidgin and sing-song phrases lige a kamaaina!

"She blessed her home of 20-odd years with a happy aloha smile and fled back to 'her' islands without a backward glance.

"What happens to people there, that happens nowhere eles on Earth? Well, many people will give many answers but my own answer is summed up in one word: love. Love, manifested in a thousand ways through all the senses—and each person to visit there responds and warms to it instinctively. I think that when the missionaries brought Christ's Word to the Islands, His love was already there and nothing through the years has dimmed it. From now on, whenever I a masked to tell about Hawaii, this will be my answer—that Hawaii is a State of love which has to be experienced and cannot be described.

"We have given up fighting the 'call' of the Islands and will be making them our permanent home shortly. We are most happy and proud that you will be our Governor. Much aloha to you as you start your new term.

"MRS. LOYE L. GUTHRIE."

The Governor's reply:

"DEAR MRS. GUTHRIE: Your most charming and perceptive letter of January 3, 1967, shows our people and our State in a comparative light that is original to me. While your viewpoint is especially kind to us, my own experience leads me to believe there is much truth in your suggestion that visitors to Hawaii are far less critical of the material surroundings they find that in other far-off places they visit. I believe your conclusion is sound—that our visitors are quickly conscious of the attitude of our people and wish to reciprocate, or perhaps to participate.

"You very aptly use the word love to determine the source of what we call Aloha, and I would agree that the love for his fellow man is the most important part of the wonderful Polynesian heritage we enjoy. I would further agree that something of the Divine Inspiration was in the Hawaiian people before the missionaries came.

"Your own attitude and the experience of your daughter will certainly equip you to enjoy life in Hawaii to the fullest, and we welcome you and extend our own Aloha. I hope you will not mind if I give copies of your letter to our newspapers, for it seems to me the feeling for Hawaii and the human warmth of your expression should be shared with our people.

"With warm personal regards. May the Almighty be with you and your always.

"JOHN A. BURNS,
"Governor of Hawaii."

Save the "Savannah"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I have this day received a letter from a prominent constituent, Frank O. Braynard, deputy mayor of Sea Cliff, Long Island, who is also an executive of the Moran Towing & Transportation Co., in which he states:

> I am distressed indeed with the President's proposal to lay up the Savannah. I was responsible for naming this ship Savannah and have looked upon her as the one bright light in our dismal and much neglected Merchant Marine. As one of our tug Captains said yesterday when he brought the Savannah into pier—They wouldn't rip up a pipeline after 5 years so why junk the Savannah?

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Braynard has voiced my sentiments and those of many of my colleagues, I am sure. The rate at which we have allowed our once proud merchant fleet to decline is shocking and cries out for correction. Under permission to extend my remarks I call to the attention of my colleagues the following articles which appeared in the Friday, February 17, issues of the Daily News and the New York Times:

WATERFRONT MOURNS MOTHBALL-BOUND A-SHIP

(By Henry Lee)

The world's only atomic merchant vessel, the 595-foot nuclear ship Savannah, sailed up the Hudson River yesterday. In the waterfront community, there was anger rather than joy. The 15,585-ton cargo liner, which cost $40 millions to build and $3 millions annually in subsidies, is scheduled to go into mothballs this summer as a government economy measure.

"She's not just a good-will thing," grumbled Capt. Harry Hennessey as his tug, the Patricia Moran, helped berth the Savannah at Pier C, Hoboken, opposite 16th St.

"They have to give her a chance to prove herself and make money. They wouldn't rip up a pipeline after five years, so why junk the Savannah?

"It's just like diesel before the breakthrough from steam—everybody was knocking it, but it's here today and steam is going."

"Look at that beautiful ship," keened Chief Engineer Alfred Hatfield of the Patricia Moran.

"Sometimes I think we're crazy! We throw away money on everything else. But we can't save the Savannah, and she's the ship of the future."

Aboard the Savannah itself, Adm. John M. Will, board chairman of American Export-Isbrandtsen Line, whose wholly-owned subsidiary is the First Atomic Ship Transport, said:

"The whole future of the American merchant marine lies in high-speed, big ships run by nuclear power, and the big advantage of nuclear power is fuel saving."

CHEAPER THAN OIL

Three such vessels even bigger and faster than the Savannah would cost $3.5 million less to operate than oil-fired ships of similar speed and size, he estimated.

The Savannah's master, Capt. A. R. Block Jr. of Cranston, R.I., whose four gold stripes are topped by an anchor surrounded by whirling atoms, spiked a waterfront legend.

"They say the seagulls never come near the Savannah," he said. "It's got nothing to do with radiation. We have no smokestack, and therefore no thermal drafts for gulls, like gliders, to ride on."

AN OLD SEA JOKE

Chief Engineer Fred Hirst, whose four gold stripes are topped by a propeller and whirling atoms, joked:

"There's another theory—an old one—if the gulls don't follow you, you're a hungry ship."

But, he quickly added, the Savannah is "the finest ship I've ever sailed in" during 30 years at sea, and he thought mothballing was for the gulls.

At 3:45 A.M. yesterday, the Savannah passed off Fire Island, virtually over the remnants of her namesake, which have lain at the bottom of the Atlantic since 1821.

And maybe she was jinxed right from the beginning when they named her after the vessel which, in 1819, was the first ship to cross the ocean aided by steam.

But the original Savannah was soon changed back to sail, because it didn't seem, in those days, that steam was here to stay.

SAVANNAH IS BACK TO A SAD WELCOME

PROTESTS GROW AT U.S. PLAN TO WITHDRAW VESSEL

(By George Horne)

When the nuclear ship Savannah tied up at Pier C in Hoboken yesterday, steamship officials and relatives of the 64 members of her crew crowded around the gangplank waiting to go abroad and talk about the subject uppermost in their minds.

Although the costly ship, the only commercial vessel in the world powered by nuclear energy, is scheduled to make more voyages in the spring and summer, her future is in doubt because the Federal Government has announced that she will be withdrawn later this year.

The homecoming of the ship from Mediterranean ports was like a wake. Her welcomers included members of a new "Save Our Savannah" committee, which has been formed among ship buffs and maritime unions to mount a major campaign of protest to the White House and Congress against the withdrawal.

John Rogers, an admiralty lawyer, and Theodore W. Kheel, lawyer and arbitrator, have been named co-chairmen of the committee.

There has already been a spate of protests, including several from members of Congress. Another was made yesterday.

The New York City Council on Port Development and Promotion made public a telegram to President Johnson, urging him to rescind the lay-up order.

Mayor Lindsay is chairman of the council, and Commissioner Herbert B. Halberg of the Department of Marine and Aviation is co-chairman.

The council's message makes clear the strong feeling among critics of the Federal plan that the withdrawal of the vessel would destroy one of the country's most effective gestures of international goodwill.

The Savannah represents a planning and construction outlay aggregating $83-million. It was planned and built to demonstrate the peaceful uses of atomic power, and has been visited by 1.5 million persons in her many voyages to foreign ports.

At present she is being operated—at a deficit—as an ordinary freighter under charter to First Atomic Ship Transport, a subsidiary of American Export Isbrandtsen Lines.

The message to President Johnson from the council said that "considering the benefits in improving the image of the United States," the cost of maintaining the ship was "miniscule."

Copies of the message, which the council voted unanimously to send at a meeting earlier this week, have been forwarded to the state's congressional delegation, Mr. Halberg said.

Mr. Halberg said in a statement that the council regretted that there was "no stronger way of making its views known."

"We fervently hope," he said, "that the Federal officials when receiving the telegram will realize that the council represents a broad and deep spectrum of port interests and is a body most competent to gauge the effects on the fate and future of shipping and of the Port of New York, arising from the retirement of the Savannah."

Mr. Kheel said last night that he was ready to take an active part in the campaign for the ship and was awaiting suggestions from the committee.

In announcing the vessel's withdrawal, the Maritime Administration of the Department of Commerce, said she was running a deficit of about $3-million a year. But experts have said that this figure was too high and that, in any case, the cost of laying up the Savannah might be half of this amount annually.

John M. Will, retired Navy Admiral and head of the operating company, has urged the Government to reassign the Savannah to make demonstration voyages to the Orient, where she has never been shown.

Strengthening the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, I take great pride in introducing a resolution to strengthen the peacekeeping operations of the United Nations. This resolution proposes to further the long-range development of the United Nations as a more effective instrument for building and maintaining peace.

Until such time as we can realize the existence of a permanent U.N. peacekeeping force, individually recruited by that world organization, I wholeheartedly agree with the immediate objective presented in this proposal.

Because of the swiftness with which most crises erupt, and the immediate need for dispatching specially trained and equipped peacekeeping forces, I am in favor of the earmarking of special units by the U.N. member states to be available for and readily placed under the command of the United Nations peacekeeping agency.

I believe that this country should be especially willing to assist with the facilities for handling communications, transport, and logistical support for U.N. peacekeeping operations. It is essential that these forces for preserving peace have at their immediate disposal adequate materiel for conducting their operations successfully.

All of these supporting measures are directed at the final goal of a permanent and impartial United Nations peacekeeping force—a goal which I believe to be not only in the interests of our Nation, but vital to world progress and peace. I feel that this resolution is a meaningful and important step in the proper direction.

Infiltrating the Campus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, for several years I have been urging that we establish a joint congressional committee to review the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency and all other units of the Federal Government engaged in intelligence work. The shocking revelation that the CIA has, for a number of years, been subsidizing the National Student Association is further and persuasive evidence, it seems to me, of the need for such a committee.

It may be that a Joint Committee on Intelligence Activities would have approved CIA's financial support and use of this leading student organization, although I doubt it. But at least this practice, and others like it, would have been subjected to the scrutiny and review of a broadly based panel of elected representatives. The safeguards inherent in such a continuing study and review would certainly be consistent with our belief in democratic institutions and an open society. It would certainly not be inconsistent with our own national security interests and would, in fact, I believe, advance them.

My own feelings concerning the "impropriety and folly" of permitting the CIA to subsidize the National Student Association are well described by the New York Times editorial of February 16, which I include for the attention and consideration of all Members:

INFILTRATING THE CAMPUS

The impropriety and folly of permitting the Central Intelligence Agency to subsidize the National Student Association cannot be mitigated by post-mortem rationalizing. It is absurd to suggest that, because the student organizaiton was too impoverished to take part in international meetings, the C.I.A. merely assumed the role of a benevolent patron of youth.

It is not the business or the habit of intelligence services to underwrite indigent good causes unless the beneficiary can be expected to pay off the debt, directly or indirectly. It was more reprehensible for Washington to let its intelligence service jeopardize a representative voice of the nation's college youth than it was for a few student leaders, in secret agrement, to succumb to the temptation.

At least as serious has been the breach of public faith by private foundations acting as go-betweens. The very existence of foundations is a privilege granted by the taxpaying public. The mandate that goes with this tax exemption is to provide nongovernmental support for worthy causes, not to serve as a cover for clandestine Government operations.

The sordid episode has dealt another serious blow to the credibility of American students and scholars abroad. Faith in their detachment already had been damaged by earlier disclosures of secret links between the C.I.A. and some American universities. A total ban on all C.I.A. underwriting of collegiate activity is plainly long overdue.

It will be tragic if the present effect is an undermining of the National Student Association's total record. Often under fire from the right, it has usually represented courageous liberalism. To discredit the organization because of the secret indiscretion of a few of its leaders would sap the strength of elected student governments across the country and endow New Left extremists with unwarranted power just when their hold on students is crumbling.

More is needed now than a halt in C.I.A. subsidies to the N.S.A. or other academic organizations. All such groups should open their books and sources of funds to their own membership and to public scrutiny. To permit a few student leaders to make far-reaching policy decisions without consent of the membership exposes them to pressures and temptations far beyond the scope of their political experience.

As for foundation activities, the penalties for engaging in undercover activities should be clearly established. The Patman investigations long ago made clear the need for reforms, and the President has promised to send to Congress this year proposals for stamping out abuses in foundation practices.

Most important, explicit guidelines should be laid down to regulate all policies of Government support of international activities of students and scholars. It is nonsense to suggest that, because they arouse suspicion abroad, public subsidies should not be offered. Virtually all nations offer such subsidy. The point at issue is how to provide the funds, without perverting the purpose.

A first step should be to speed the divorce, already suggested under the International Education Act of 1966, of international educational affairs from the foreign policy branches of the Government. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare is far better suited to sponsor educational exchanges than the State Department, let alone the C.I.A.

Beyond specific action, it is imperative to understand that academic freedom may be as severely threatened by secret covenants as by overt political coercion. Democratic institutions never thrive by using totalitarian devices to combat totalitarianism.

A Welcome to Mr. Bill Moyers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, we of Long Island are proud of our good fortune to have drawn Mr. Bill Moyers to this part of our country. From the onset of this administration he has occupied an unusual position. One gains extraordinary insight by being at the right hand of a President, and I am sure that Bill Moyers has had a perspective of the events of the world that cannot be duplicated. Seldom has the publisher and editor of any newspaper had this type of training. Since we here in Long Island pay a great deal of attention to the press, Mr. Moyers' coming will add a dimension to our lives. Therefore, we have a feeling of great expectation with respect to his coming career. And so I feel that I speak for all of the people of Long Island when I say to you that Washington's loss is Long Island's gain.

What Are We Trying To Do to the CIA?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Sunday Star of February 19 carried a sensible and needed editorial on the Central Intelligence Agency. It is entitled "What Are We Trying To Do to the CIA?" I believe it should be reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

(The article follows:)

WHAT ARE WE TRYING TO DO TO THE CIA?

It is just possible, if we all manage to work ourselves into a wild enough lather, that the current flap over the CIA can be escalated to the point where it will destroy the nation's intelligence organization. It almost seems that this is what some of the breast-beaters would like to do.

One day we have a disclosure that a student organization has been receiving covert funds so that young Americans can compete with young Communists at world student meetings. Then, suddenly, nothing will do but that every traceable operation of the CIA must be laid bare to public view, commented upon in tones of pious horror, investigated, sermonized, deplored and punished, until the terrible guilt of it all has been established for all time, for all the world to see.

And, what, precisely, are we guilty of?

Why, of using our wits and available means to complete in a battle just as real, dirty and deadly serious as any shooting war in which we could engage.

Confronted by adversaries who threw the full power and wealth of the state into the effort to mold and control world opinion, we did not abandon the field to them. Instead, we devoted some public funds to seeing to it that Americans could confront the totalitarians in the intellectual lists abroad, speaking their minds in representing the views of a relatively free society.

It worked, incidentally. A wide variety of Americans, most of whom never knew the source of the funds backing them, proved more than able over the years to hold their own in confrontation with disciplined, professional Communist agents. They prevented the takeover of numerous international organizations and established others which have contributed substantially to the global cause of freedom.

Consider, for example, the experience of Gloria Steinem, as interestingly reported in yesterday's Washington Post. A New York writer, Miss Steinem was director of something called "The Independent Research Service," which took CIA money to send several hundred young Americans to World Youth festivals in Vienna and Helsinki in 1959 and 1962.

Miss Steinem said she worked closely with CIA agents on the program, but that few of the students who took those trips knew that the CIA was picking up the tab.

"I never felt I was being dictated to at all," she said. "I found them (the CIA men with whom she worked) liberal and farsighted and open to an exchange of ideas. . . . They wanted to do what we wanted to do—present a healthy, diverse view of the United States."

She was backed up by Dennis Shaul, another spokesman for the organization, who said: "We had Minnesota schoolteachers who were further right than Bill Buckley as well as members of Students for a Democratic Society. Nobody told them what to do."

Bear in mind, except for such American participation financed by CIA funds, these festivals were completely dominated by Communists, all financed and controlled by their governments. Yet, says Shaul, "The Helsinki festival was a disaster from their point of view, and I think we can take a good deal of credit for that."

Well now, why not? Is this really something that has to be apologized for? Who is corrupted by such an operation? Who would have paid the Americans' expenses if the CIA hadn't?

"The CIA," says Miss Steinem, "was the only (organization) with enough guts and foresight to see that youth and student affairs were important." And here, the lady puts her finger on an important point.

Of course, it would have been better if this sort of thing could have been done without subterfuge. It is too bad that private funds were not available for these purposes. It would have been healthier lacking such private sources, for our government to have appropriated openly the necessary monies, through the State Department, U.S. Information Agency or some other "respectable" organization. Even though no such alternative may have been available when these programs were initiated in the early 1950s, it would have been advisable to switch them away from CIA support as soon as that became possible.

No one, moreover, can possibly defend all the details of any one of these operations. No doubt there have been messy procedures which, when exposed, prove embarrassing. There is, one inevitably recalls, a saying about making omelettes and breaking eggs.

What is beyond comprehension in all this, however, is the monumental naivete involved in the apparent shock reaction to these disclosures on the part of otherwise knowledgeable people. After all, what have the outraged gentlemen supposed was going on all this time on the sprawling acres out at Langley? Of all the endeavors of the CIA, the effort to create outlets abroad for the expression of American opinion must surely rank as one of the milder. This is not, be it noted, a tea party that we have been engaged in. This is a viciously contested undercover war against shrewd, dedicated enemies who happen to be quite unhampered by nice-Nellie scruples. The need to press this fight has all along been recognized by the top leadership of the country. The procedures that suddenly evoke such outraged reactions were not dreamed up privately by the CIA. They were directed from the top, and properly so.

The idea that an organization like the CIA can conduct its operations while restrained by a sort of daisy-chain of clergymen, den mothers and liberal politicians—such a notion is simply absurd. For our part, we hope that the present hysteria will be calmed with a rational inquiry conducted by responsible and realistic men who have some knowledge of the very serious problems involved. We are inclined to suspect that they, and the public, will end up concluding that the world has not, after all, ended—and that, in doing a job which had to be done, our intelligence organization has not done too badly.

Subversion by CIA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the recent disclosures of CIA financing of all kinds of domestic, as well as foreign, activities are not only shocking in themselves, but are unquestionably damaging to the reputation of the United States and of literally scores of American organizations whose integrity and independence have been brought into question.

There may be those who are saying that the damage was caused by the unauthorized disclosures, but surely those responsible for these farflung subsidies must have known that they could not be kept secret indefinitely.

One of the many tragedies of this affair is that obviously many of the organizations were entirely unaware of the source of the support they were receiving, and even in those cases where a few individuals knew the facts the vast majority of the rank-and-file members did not. Nevertheless, all have been tarred with the same brush, or at the very least embarrassed.

This mess—for it surely deserves that term—once again emphasizes the need for more effective supervision by the Congress of the operations of the CIA. In May 1965, in testimony before the Joint Committee on Organization of the Congress, I urged the creation of a joint committee, to be named by the Speaker of the House, the minority leader of the House, and the majority and minority leaders of the Senate, to provide the necessary oversight of the CIA. I now urgently renew that recommendation.

Whether or not those of our colleagues who have been responsible for overseeing the activities of the CIA to date knew of the CIA system of covert subsidies which have now been brought to light, it would seem clear that a new and broader system of congressional supervision is needed.

I include herewith a thoughtful and cogent editorial on this whole subject appearing in today's New York Times:

SUBVERSION BY CIA

> The disastrous effects of the systematic penetration of American educational, cultural and labor organizations by the Central Intelligence Agency daily become more apparent. The strength of these organizations, both in the structure of American society and in their relations with their opposite numbers in other nations, always has been their freedom from government domination.
>
> Now, through the deviousness of C.I.A. operations, thousands of scholars, students, unionists and professional leaders discover long after the fact that they have performed unwitting and undesired duty as secret agents.
>
> The integrity of pro-American positions, honestly taken by groups and individuals in the worldwide battle of ideas, has been undermined. The independence of America's private foundations has been brought into question. In short, faith in American institutions has been besmirched in a way that would have eluded the reach of any foreign enemy.
>
> It is no excuse to say that the C.I.A.'s decision to use a limitless range of philanthropic fronts to funnel its funds into youth groups, universities and other private institutions was designed to meet a very real problem of the cold war: the need for assuring that the Communists would not have an unchallenged field in the youth congresses and cultural conferences they were arranging—and subsidizing—on a global basis ten and fifteen years ago. That problem should have been met openly—by direct public subsidy.
>
> It should have been clear long ago to the C.I.A.'s overseers in the White House that the end effect of clandestine subsidies to groups representative of the detachment and diversity of a free society must inevitably taint the genuineness of their detachment. This would be true even without the charges that have now developed of the assignment of C.I.A. operatives to influence the policy statements and choice of officers of the National Student Association—a practice that may have extended to other organizations as well.
>
> The health of a democratic society depends on the certainty that is free institutions—its press, its educational and scientific bodies, its publishing houses and television networks, its unions and business organizations—are truly free. That does not mean government is barred from underwriting international exchanges or research study; it means that, where such support is appropriate, it must be given openly through its own public agencies.
>
> The worst part of the current mess is that the very nature of the C.I.A., with its mandate for espionage and subversion all over the world, rules out any thoroughgoing public inquiry into its activities. That means some residue of suspicion is sure to remain—both in this country and abroad—no matter how conscientiously the Cabinet Committee appointed last week by President Johnson seeks to formulate policies that will prevent the C.I.A. or any other Federal bureau from imperiling the "integrity and independence" of educational institutions.
>
> When a government finds it necessary to set up an agency to fight subversion with subversion everywhere, the tragic danger it opens up is that among the people it subverts are its own. The defense against such weakening of America's institutional fabric must rest with the President and Congress. Even with the recent broadening of Senator Russell's watchdog committee, Congress is not doing its part of that job.

Lithuanian Independence Day

SPEECH
OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, we Americans cannot console in any way or in any words a valiant nation that has lost its freedom to the forces of tyranny. But, Mr. Speaker, we can and do extend our deepest gratitude to the people of Lithuania for the magnificent example they have set for us and for other freemen the world over.

This example has many parts stretching across the centuries. Unified in 1253, annexed by Russia in 1790, proclaimed free again in 1918, and shackled by Soviet communism in 1940, by Nazi terrorism in 1941, and once more by Soviet communism in 1944, the Lithuanian nation does not cry out from anguish and almost unbelievable suffering nearly as much as it sings joyfully a ringing truth: freemen are always free in their hearts and spirit and hope.

From this truth all people of good will take rich nourishment by the use of which they can support human liberty, and all tyrants and tyrannies take warning of their own ultimate demise.

Thus, Mr. Speaker, let Americans pause reflectively and determinedly to commemorate 1967, the 714th anniversary of Lithuanian national unity, and February 16, 1967, the 49th anniversary of the founding of the Lithuanian Republic.

Watchdog Over the CIA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, an excellent editorial in the New York Times today supports the proposal to set up a congressional watchdog committee over the CIA. I have introduced such legislation in the past three Congresses. My bill this year is H.J. Res. 305. The editorial points out the danger of having a secret agency of government over which there is no effective congressional control. The New York Times states: "When a government finds it necessary to set up an agency to fight subversion with subversion everywhere, the tragic danger it opens up is that among the people it subverts are its own. The defense against such weakening of America's institutional fabric must rest with the President and the Congress. Congress is not doing its part of that job."

In view of the revelations of the past few days, I urge my colleagues to read and ponder the following editorial:

SUBVERSION BY CIA

> The disastrous effects of the systematic penetration of American educational, cultural and labor organizations by the Central Intelligence Agency daily become more apparent. The strength of these organizations, both in the structure of American society and in their relations with their opposite numbers in other nations, always has been their freedom from government domination.
>
> Now, through the deviousness of CIA operations, thousands of scholars, students, unionists and professional leaders discover long after the fact that they have performed unwitting and undesired duty as secret agents.
>
> The integrity of pro-American positions, honestly taken by groups and individuals in the worldwide battle of ideas, has been undermined. The independence of America's private foundations has been brought into question. In short, faith in American institutions has been besmirched in a way that would have eluded the reach of any foreign enemy.
>
> It is no excuse to say that the CIA's decision to use a limitless range of philanthropic fronts to funnel its funds into youth

groups, universities and other private institutions was designed to meet a very real problem of the cold war: the need for assuring that the Communists would not have an unchallenged field in the youth congresses and cultural conferences they were arranging—and subsidizing—on a global basis ten and fifteen years ago. That problem should have been met openly—by direct public subsidy.

It should have been clear long ago to the CIA's overseers in the White House that the end effect of clandestine subsidies to groups representative of the detachment and diversity of a free society must inevitably taint the genuineness of their detachment. This would be true even without the charges that have now developed of the assignment of CIA operatives to influence the policy statements and choice of officers of the National Student Association—a practice that may have extended to other organizations as well.

The health of a democratic society depends on the certainty that its free institutions—its press, its educational and scientific bodies, its publishing houses and television networks, its unions and business organizations—are truly free. That does not mean government is barred from underwriting international exchanges or research study; it means that, where such support is appropriate, it must be given openly through its own public agencies.

The worst part of the current mess is that the very nature of the CIA, with its mandate for espionage and subversion all over the world, rules out any thoroughgoing public inquiry into its activities. That means some residue of suspicion is sure to remain—both in this country and abroad—no matter how conscientiously the Cabinet Committee appointed last week by President Johnson seeks to formulate policies that will prevent the CIA or any other Federal bureau from imperilling the "integrity and independence" of educational institutions.

When a government finds it necessary to set up an agency to fight subversion with subversion everywhere, the tragic danger it opens up is that among the people it subverts are its own. The defense against such weakening of America's institutional fabric must rest with the President and Congress. Even with the recent broadening of Senator Russell's watchdog committee, Congress is not doing its part on that job.

Statement on the President's Civil Rights Program for 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson now has fastened our attention on the greatest piece of unfinished business in the field of civil rights ending racial discrimination in housing.

Adequate housing, like food, is a prime necessity of life, not only for every individual, but also for the development of sound families and sound communities. Furthermore, as a practical matter, equal opportunity for access to good housing is usually necessary to provide equal access to good schools or good jobs.

The nonwhite citizen who is denied the opportunity to buy or rent a home for his family that other citizens with simliar incomes can easily obtain may suffer triple injuries.

His family cannot live in a community with better schools.

He cannot live near places of possible employment for which he may be qualified.

He is forced to pay a higher price for the inferior housing to which he does have access. These are burdens an American citizen should not have to endure.

Ending discrimination in housing would mean that any family, rich or poor, would be able to buy or rent whatever housing it could afford to pay for, without regard to race.

To most Americans, this is no revolutionary right. It is perhaps the most basic and important right of all.

Let us therefore act now in this last major area of legal reform while the focus of public and world attention is still on our national record in civil rights, to complete the job and assure its success.

Joseph W. McIntyre

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. BATES

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. PHILBIN] on the well-deserved tribute he has paid to the esteemed Joseph W. McIntyre, whose sudden death at the age of 56 on December 11, 1966, was a great shock to all of us. Joe McIntyre, administrative assistant to Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY of Massachusetts, was one of he ablest and most admired veterans of Capitol Hill service.

It had been my privilege to know him for most of the years since I first came here in my present capacity. Joe was a World War II veteran and, at the time of his passing, a commander in the Naval Reserve; and during the years when both were members of the former reserve unit on the Hill, he was always an active and interested participant in our weekly meetings and contributed much to our program.

But Joe McIntyre will naturally be more widely remembered for his service with Senator KENNEDY and, before that, with former Senator Benjamin A. Smith II, also of Massachusetts. His Washington career started as assistant to his fellow resident of Clinton, Mass., the late Senator David I. Walsh and, after a period of outstanding service in other areas of government and private employment, resumed in 1951 when he returned as administrative assistant to another Clinton native, former Congressman James G. Donovan of New York.

A warm and personable man of marked ability and accomplishment, Joe McIntyre held the respect of people in all walks of life and on both sides of the political aisle. I am grateful for having known him, and my heartfelt sympathy is with his fine family and friends on his untimely departure from our midst.

Atoms Versus Coal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM R. ANDERSON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

ATOMS VERSUS COAL: A NEW ELEMENT OF COMPETITION IN ELECTRIC POWER PRODUCTION

(By Aubrey J. Wagner, Chairman of the Board, Tennessee Valley Authority)

Last June, the Tennessee Valley Authority announced a decision to build its first, and the world's largest, nuclear power plant at the Browns Ferry site on Wheeler Reservoir in Northern Alabama.

This announcement created much interest because of its advanced engineering, size of the two nuclear units, each of 1,152,000 kilowatts capacity, and the fact that a nuclear plant would produce electricity at lower cost than a coal-fired plant.

The announcement had an even deeper significance, however: it marked entry of a new form of competition in the electric industry with important implications for consumers.

True, other power systems in the United States had purchased commercially competitive nuclear-fueled generating plants ahead of TVA. But they were well removed from other fuel supplies, particularly coal: nuclear fuels had a distinct transportation advantage.

In the Tennessee Valley, however, nuclear fuels were competing with coal on coal's home ground—in an area where coal is abundant and easily mined. The two stand toe-to-toe, competing for TVA's future business, which will be considerable.

As part of its overall program to assist economic development of the Tennessee Valley region, TVA has responsibility for providing an abundant supply of power at lowest possible cost. It provides power requirements for nearly 1.9-million customers in parts of seven states. Its sales to municipalities and cooperatives, to Federal agencies, and to a few very large industries amounted to 77-billion kilowatt-hours in fiscal 1966.

Hydro-electric potential of the Tennessee River has been essentially developed. For 15 years, the region's load growth has been met largely by coal-fired, steam-electric generating capacity.

ONE-MILLION KWH INCREASE

Present generating capacity is 18-million kilowatts, of which 4-million is hydro, 14-million steam. Capacity must be increased by a million or more kilowatts each year to keep pace with the area's growth. Almost all the added capacity must be installed in thermal plants. Addition of the Browns Ferry plant will bring installed generating capacity to nearly 22-million kilowatts by 1971.

But indications are that some time in the 1980's TVA will need a 50-million-kilowatt system to meet requirements of the region! Investments which TVA and local distributors of TVA power must make to provide facilities for this huge system may well approach $11-billion.

During the last 15 years—a period of rising costs—the unit cost ($/kw) of new steam capacity was held about constant by taking advantage of savings resulting from use of larger generating plants and generating units. In 1951, TVA was installing units with ratings in the order of 125,000 kw. A coal-fired unit now under construction at

TVA's Paradise (Ky.) plant has a rated capacity of 1,150,000 kw.

A significant aspect of TVA's nuclear-coal comparison in the Browns Ferry case is the demonstration that economies of scale—that is, economies resulting from the large size of the plant—are even more pronounced where nuclear fuels are involved. Small nuclear plants will not compete with fossil fuels to the same degree as large nuclear plants.

Among large plants, however, the competitive picture is constantly changing. Even though investment per kilowatt for large coal-fired steam generating units has remained about constant, substantial improvements have been made in lowering cost of power they produce because of improvements in heat rates and fuel costs.

SIZABLE SAVINGS REALIZED

Decision to build a nuclear plant followed detailed engineering and economic evaluation of bids on nuclear units and conventional coal-fired units submitted in response to TVA's invitation late last March. Comparison showed the nuclear plant—a boiling water reactor (BWR)—will provide savings exceeding $8-million a year over the coal-burning alternative. This means a saving of some $100-million over the first 12 years of the plant's life. Savings of this magnitude cannot be overlooked. They are essential to maintaining low electric rates in the face of generally rising price levels.

On the other hand, advances in methods of producing and delivering coal are continuing and could exert a major influence on cost of power produced at conventional steam plants. Competitive factors could provide a stimulus to such advances. We expect for some years to come we will be making economic comparisons between nuclear and coal-fired plants each time we consider new units for the TVA system.

Thus, competition between coal and the atom does not end with the TVA Browns Ferry contract. It is just beginning.

FOR COAL, $120-MILLION YEARLY

TVA's use of coal, now nearing 25-million tons a year, will increase over the next five years to around 30-million. We will then spend more than $120-million a year for delivered coal. TVA is the nation's largest coal buyer.

TVA's decision to build a nuclear plant does not signify an end to dam building. This nation must husband its water supplies for many needs—for irrigation and navigation, for flood control and recreation. Where these occur, economical development of the power of falling water will be feasible and should be a part of any such project, not only to provide low-cost electricity, but to utilize a renewable resource in place of exhaustible mineral resources. It is simply good conservation.

But where waterpower could no longer meet growing power demands, TVA had to decide which type of thermal plant would best serve its requirements. To help make this decision, bids were invited on two types of nuclear plants—one with boiling water reactors, the other with pressurized water reactors (PWR)—as well as equivalent conventional coal-fired units. TVA compared costs of the nuclear units located at Browns Ferry with cost of a coal-fired plant near Cumberland City, Tenn. With present system capacity and projected power requirements this site was determined to be the best location for a coal-fired plant.

BWR POWER LESS THAN PWR

Comparison of coal-fired and nuclear plants showed power produced by the proposed plant would cost about $3 million less each year for the BWR than for the PWR and about $8-million less each year for the BWR than for the coal-fired plant. Cost of energy produced by the BWR plant was estimated as well under a fourth of a cent a kilowatt-hour, including operation, maintenance and fixed charges.

Estimated investment costs, including transmission, were somewhat lower for PWR than the other two plants: $244-million for PWR; $250 million for BWR, and $271-million for the Cumberland City plant. However, the plants differed slightly in size, and cost per unit of capacity was lowest for BWR: $116/kw for BWR, $121/kw for PWR, and $117/kw for the coal-fired plant.

SHORT CONNECTIONS NEEDED

Transmission system investment, as well as transmission losses, will be less for a nuclear power plant at Browns Ferry than a coal-fired plant at Cumberland City, because of proximity of Browns Ferry to loads which will absorb its output. For the Browns Ferry installation, only short connections will be needed for the 500-kv transmission lines nearby. Site of the coal-fired plant would have required much longer lines.

The same site was not used for both plants because, in this case, most economical site for a coal-fired plant was not the most economical site for a nuclear plant, and vice versa. For this comparison, the coal-fired plant site at Cumberland City offered the most favorable combination of coal transportation costs and transmission line investments and losses. For the nuclear plant, fuel transportation costs are not nearly so significant, and most economical location is clearly one with adequate cooling water close to load requirements.

In addition to investment for facilities, a nuclear plant requires large initial expenditure for the first fuel core—about $33-million for a BWR unit and somewhat lower ($25 million) for a PWR unit. The BWR core costs more because it is larger. But it will produce more heat and actually costs less per unit of heat output than the PWR unit. One fourth to one-fifth of the fuel in the core will be replaced each year on scheduled refueling dates. Expenditures for fuel cores are reflected in fuel costs.

Proposals received by TVA for fuel offered coal for a term of ten to 20 years and a nuclear fuel supply with a warranted cost through fiscal year 1982. Fuel costs were lower for the BWR than for the PWR or the coal-fired plant. For the BWR units, they ranged from 1.57 mills/kwh in 1970 to 1.09 mills/kwh at the end of the 12-year fuel warranty period. The weighted average fuel cost over the 12-year period was 1.25 mills/kwh. For the coal-fired plant, weighted average fuel cost over the same period was 1.69 mills/kwh.

Operation and maintenance costs are somewhat lower for a nuclear plant than a coal-fired plant because there is no coal-handling or coal-burning equipment.

Over the 12-year period in which cost of the nuclear fuel is warranted, the BWR plant would provide lowest cost energy—about 2.37 mills/kwh at the bus bar, compared to 2.83 mills/kwh for the coal-fired plant. This difference—a twentieth part of a cent—sounds small, but considering the many billions of kwh the plant will generate, it amounts to a saving of $100-million in that first 12 years.

TVA will design, build, and operate the plant. Site preparation is underway, but actual construction must await a license from the Atomic Energy Commission, a requirement for each nuclear plant constructed in the United States.

Nuclear power is not new to TVA. For over ten years, TVA engineers have been stationed at AEC installations throughout the country, participating in reactor studies and developments.

This nuclear plant will join other power production plants in providing an abundance of low-cost electricity, as the region continues its economic development.

Monetary Danger Looms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the striking parallels between monetary developments in the late 1920's and the present are set forth in a challenging editorial by Clarence K. Streit, editor of Freedom and Union magazine, February issue. He points to the largely neglected growth in short-term claims on the dollars in relationship with our dwindling gold supplies.

Text of his timely warning:

TIME TO UNITE TO END DANGER No. 1—A A WORLD MONETARY CRASH

(Clarence K. Streit)

The No. 1 danger to freedom and peace—No. 1 in importance, imminence and potential Communist gain—continues to grow ominously, while remaining alarmingly neglected. This danger is that the world monetary system will crash through the fall of its keystone, the dollar, with far worse consequences in economic depression and political dictatorship than swiftly followed the fall of the pound in 1931, when it was the keystone. Since 1963 we have repeatedly pointed in these pages to this threat, and told why it is nearer than the danger of atomic war to which the public continues to give much more attention. Let us note briefly our previous major articles on this monetary peril before turning to the worsening of it since we last dealt with it, and reasons why this may well accelerate in 1967 if the U.S. does not begin this year to turn the tide by the policy we have long urged.

PAST WARNINGS OF MONETARY PERIL

In October 1963 we reprinted from *Union Now* a 7-page play-by-play account—resulting from my experience in covering the 1931 crash for *The New York Times*—of "How Atlantic Disunion Broke the Gold Exchange Standard" then. It told the intricate story of how the current political and monetary situations combined to produce this crash as a by-product—as unexpected as it was catastrophic—of the decision to open the Geneva World Disarmament Conference in 1932 . . . how the maneuvering of the major Atlantic democracies to strengthen their position in it as regards the military arms they deemed most important to their national sovereignty caused an overlooked monetary factor—the short-term international debts essential to world trade—to turn suddenly explosive and wreck the world monetary system.

In November 1963 we ran an 11-page article, "The Danger to the Dollar . . . and How to End it." It documented the "ominous" similarities I found between the current situation and that of 1931, and why I believed that "the dollar is dangerously vulnerable as was the pound in 1931" from the same two basic factors: Potentially explosive short-term foreign debt and political maneuvering of the major Atlantic allies to strengthen their position as regards the nuclear arms of national sovereignty. This article also explained why the only certain way to prevent another 1931 crash it to transform the NATO alliance into a Federal Union with a common currency, market, defense force, foreign policy and citizenship. It told how the U.S. could still avert disaster, despite the obviously longterm nature of this transformation, by inviting its Atlantic allies to a convention with a view to agreement on federation as their eventual goal, and on a timetable and democratic machinery for speeding the transition stages.

We recurred to this subject in our March 1965 issue with an 8-page article, "The Monetary Menace—and Opportunity." In it I held it to be more realistic to expect Communist strategy to aim at bringing on another monetary crash rather than at launching atomic aggression, since it obviously could advance everywhere through another depression with none of the fearful cost and risk nuclear war involved. Lacking the monetary power to hurt the dollar itself, Moscow could hope to wreck it only by fostering disunion among the NATO allies who did have this power, exploiting tensions and distrust between them and the U.S.A., and adding wherever it could to the strain on the dollar.

I pointed out how effectively these aims were being advanced by Moscow's policy of allaying Europe's fear of war, and encouraging Washington to seek accommodation with Russia rather than with France—while also encouraging Hanoi to escalate and prolong the Vietnam war. The article stressed that the power the NATO nations alone have to ruin the world monetary system by disunion also enables them to end this danger enduringly by pooling their gold reserves—totaling $32 billion, if united—behind an Atlantic Federation's currency.

FEDERAL RESERVE CHAIRMAN'S WARNING

Three months later William McChesney Martin, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, gave a world-resounding speech, which we ran in July 1965, under the title: "Are We Facing a New 1929–31 Crash?" He noted: "Some eminent observers have recently compared the present with the period preceding the interwar economy, and have warned us of the threats of another Great Depression. We should take these warnings seriously enough to inquire into their merits . . . And indeed we find disquieting similarities . . ." Among the latter he pointed out:

"Then as now, international indebtedness had risen as fast as domestic indebtedness; American bank credits to foreigners and foreign holdings of short-term dollar assets have increased faster than in the closing years of the earlier period. Then, as now, the [international] payments position of the main reserve center—Britain then and the U.S. now—was uneasy, to say the last; but again, our recent accumulated payments deficits have far exceeded Britain's deficits of the late twenties.

"And most importantly, then as now, many government officials, scholars, and businessmen were convinced that a new economic era had opened, an era in which business fluctuations had become a thing of the past, in which poverty was about to be abolished, and in which perennial economic progress and expansion were assured." He added:

"Economic and political scientists still argue about the factors that converted a stock-exchange crash into the worst depression in our history. But on one point they are agreed: the disastrous impact of the destruction of the international payments system that followed the British deicsion to devalue sterling in September 1931. At that time, sterling was the kingpin of the world payments system, exactly as the dollar is today. . . . The fate of sterling shook the entire world.

"To this day, the French, Belgian and Netherlands central banks have not forgotten that the 1931 devaluation of sterling wiped out their capital; and much of the antagonism of those countries against the dollar as an international reserve asset should be traced to the experience of 1931 rather than to anti-American feelings or mere adherence to out-dated monetary theories."

DOLLAR DANGER DEEPENS

Since that courageous speech, which shook the markets of the non-communist world, Mr. Martin has not returned publicly to the subject. Certainly he would have, had he had anything soundly optimistic to report. Instead the dollar has continued—despite all the Administration remedies—to weaken, as I testified at the Senate hearing March 23, 1966, on the resolution to call a Convention to explore the possibilities of agreement on Federal Union as the eventual NATO goal. At the House hearing six months later I stressed the dollar's further decline. Since then the danger to it has continued to worsen—more than public reports indicate.

PRESS OVERLOOK EXPLOSIVE FACTORS

The press in dealing with this situation centers attention—as do too many official policy-makers—on the decline in the gold reserves of the U.S. and the continued deficit in its balance of payments. These are both important factors in the danger, but the volatile, explosive element—it cannot be stressed too much—is the *total amount* of short-term claims on the dollar held in foreign nations. This factor is too seldom considered, or mentioned.

Whatever deficit there is in the annual balance of payments adds to this total—but such figures give no idea of how great this accumulating total has become, nor of its ratio to the total gold reserve. U.S. repayment of any of this debt results in a corresponding loss of its gold—but this decline does not mean that the total debt has also declined, as one might assume. The fact is that for years the total of short-term claims on the dollar has been increasing while the gold stock has been decreasing—with the debt rising much more rapidly than the gold has been falling.

The Federal Reserve Board gives the total gold reserve every week; every month its *Bulletin* reports the total outstanding foreign short-term claims against it and how much is held in each important nation. These figures take more time to collect, and are always two months behind the gold report. Thus, the latest *Federal Reserve Bulletin* at this writing—the December issue—gives the short-term figures only down through October. It reports that in this one month of October the debt total rose by $1 billion. This startling fact—it was not seasonal for there was no such jump in October, 1965—becomes still more ominous when one digs further and finds there was a rise in October of half a billion in the short-term claims held by Britain, whose pound is much more vulnerable than the dollar and one of its major sources of danger. None of this, so far as I know, caused a ripple in the U.S. press; its eye was glued on the gold reserve, which dropped in October a mere $45 millions. (Since October it has dropped $152 millions, from a total of $13,311 millions then to $13,159 millions on Jan. 11.)

RATIO OF GOLD TO DEBT

Even courageous Chairman Martin's *Federal Reserve Bulletin* does not report, however, the ratio of U.S. gold to the total short-term claims on it each month, or year. Nor have I seen anyone else give this ratio, which alone can reflect the worsening of the danger to the dollar from both factors, and is the simplest way of measuring the degree.. One can work out this ratio, however, from the basic figures on gold and debt which the *Bulletin* gives each month.

Here are Federal Reserve figures showing the fall of U.S. gold and the rise in foreign short-term debt convertible in gold, together with the declining ratio of gold to such debt that can be calculated from them:

Year	U.S. gold (millions)	Short-term debt [1] (millions)	Ratio of gold to debt
1958	$20,582	$14,615	$1.41
1963	15,596	21,330	.72
1966 (October)	13,311	26,657	.50

[1] Excluding dollar claims held by the International Monetary Fund and other international institutions.

Thus in the past nine years the loss of gold (35 percent) has been accompanied by an even greater rise in short-term claims on that gold (82 percent). Result: the ratio of U.S. gold to the claims against it has fallen by nearly two/thirds (64.5 percent), despite all the measures taken to stop this.

WHERE DANGER LURKS

Clearly, as the ratio of gold to debt declines, so will confidence among the foreign holders of these dollar claims that the "dollar is as good as gold." This confidence is essential to international business for much of it is done through short-term dollars. At some point, if the decline continues—this confidence will turn to fear that Washington will do as London did in 1931 when faced with a rising tide of foreign demand to convert their paper claims on it into gold—devalue its currency suddenly, without warning, leaving its foreign creditors the losers to the degree of the devaluation.

Fear of this will hit some sooner than others, but will result in an increasing trend to cash dollar's claims before it's too late. This way of "playing safe" can well transform the trend into a run on the U.S. gold reserve, and precipitate the crash of the world monetary system.

In these conditions, the danger grows that, as in 1931, a crash may be triggered inadvertently in the political maneuvering by Bonn, London, Paris and Washington to strengthen or retain their general power position. The tensions among them are increasing, and seem to me more bitter than in 1931 when I saw the powers to whom monetary stability meant most succumb to the temptation to play with fire—and to their consternation set ablaze a forest that was tinder dry.

1967 MAY BE "CRUCIAL"

This year has started badly in both these regards. On the monetary side, the U.S. balance of payments deficit may well worsen. That of 1966 is now expected to approximate the $1.3 billion 1965 deficit, and would have surpassed it painfully had not the Federal Reserve Board's action in raising interest rates attracted foreign funds and offset the fact that U.S. imports rose twice as fast as exports. Now that U.S. interest rates are lower, an outflow of funds may occur. This would add to the payments deficit, as would the continued rise in imports because of Vietnam. Large orders already placed in Asia may speed loss of gold.

Robert V. Roosa, former Under Secretary of the Treasury warned on Jan. 18 of danger that the payments deficit will rise and "could make 1967 a crucial year for the dollar, and even for the standing and leadership of the U.S. in world affairs." On Jan. 23 Alfred Hayes, president of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, voiced "deep concern" over this deficit and asked that "urgent attention" be given to ending it.

RACE TO WOO REDS

On the political side President Johnson's State of the Union Message on Jan. 10 doggedly stressed continuance of Vietnam policies that have contributed heavily to European distrust of his judgment, and concern over their effect on the dollar. Though the heart of the monetary danger lies in Atlantic disunion, he brushed off NATO and Western Europe in three paragraphs more likely to increase than lessen it. He continued to give priority to East-West bridge-building—a policy that has led Paris and now Bonn to race with him in wooing the Soviet satellites and Moscow.

They all show no awareness of the fact that the 1931 crash came amid conditions far surpassing their fondest present hopes for "detente." No one then feared Russian attack; there was no need to build bridges to the nations of Central and Eastern Europe—all were tied to the West, none to Russia—all the world had renounced war in the Peace Pact. The theory that the only compelling reason for the free to unite is threat of war got the fairest kind of test then, and exploded. Already in 1931 swifter communications had made the Atlantic democracies so interdependent monetarily and economically that they needed a common government to govern these common concerns.

Their unawareness of this and their continued disunion led to the 1931 crash—which soon brought Hitler to power, replaced the 1932 Disarmament Conference with arms racing and produced World War II. No one would deny that since 1931 the monetary-economic interdependence of the Atlantic democracies has grown far greater. So too have the consequences of their continued unawareness that detente is doomed to disaster if not preceded by Atlantic Union.

NEGLECT THAT ALARMS

The most serious example of the general neglect of the monetary danger may be found in President Johnson's State of the Union Message. It made no allusion whatever to the world monetary problem—let alone the need for Union in this area. The President's position requires him, of course, to lean backward to be reassuring and avoid causing alarm when he touches on monetary danger. But the need of maintaining world confidence in the dollar also requires him to show that he recognizes the importance of the monetary problem by including it among the major issues to which such a Message is devoted.

His silence on it when so many in Europe share the concern that Messrs. Roosa and Hayes expressed was not reassuring, least of all to Europeans. Their continued confidence that the dollar will remain "as good as gold" is essential, and they have long stressed that the chronic U.S. payments deficit is a major threat to this confidence. No doubt the President will deal with the monetary problem later—but there is cause to doubt that he will deal with it adequately.

BEST CAUSE FOR HOPE

In this dark dawn of 1967 there is one strong ray of hope. It is the fact, reported on page 9, that the resolution to call a convention to explore the Atlantic Union answer to the monetary and other dangers will soon be re-introduced in Congress—and has already added to the impressive bipartisan strength it gained last year. Enough such support should convince so Congressionally-minded a President as President Johnson that the time has come to explore the one sure answer to Danger No. 1.

Tribute to James (Jimmy) Callan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, on the evening of February 14, 1967, at Antun's Restaurant in New York City, prominent citizens of the Greater New York food industry gathered to pay tribute to the memory of one of New York's most beloved and respected men within this large sector of the business world, James (Jimmy) Callan. The paramount purpose of this function was to set up scholarships for the children of James Callan, and I am happy to report that this endeavor was a complete success and a tribute to all who participated.

In the more than 20 years that I knew Jimmy, I observed that he endeared himself to all who came in contact with him. Serving as national sales representative of the late New York Mirror for over 15 years, Callan was on the scene to aid any humanitarian cause. No race nor minority was beyond his active support. A genuine humanist, Jimmy was awarded the highest honors by every religious denomination for his efforts. Although he sought neither fame nor favor for his efforts, he earned recognition and respect from every leader in our great State.

In the bloom of life, Jimmy was taken from his family and friends while serving as sales director of the American Broadcasting Co. This Nation and humanity in general was enriched by Jim. A great loss has been suffered by his passing.

Upward Bound

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the Upward Bound program under the Office of Economic Opportunity holds great promise. One impressive example is Project Double Discovery at Columbia University in New York City, which was developed by Columbia undergraduates and is supported by the City and the State as well as the Federal Government. This project was described by Mary Kelly, writing in the Christian Science Monitor last August 25.

Another Upward Bound project was the subject of an article by Lee Hickling in the Binghamton Sunday Press on August 7. The article described Upward Bound at Harpur College, the State University of New York at Binghamton.

Mr. Speaker, OEO approval for 1967 Upward Bound projects at both Columbia University and Harpur College is expected shortly. I believe that these two articles show what this summer's Upward Bound students can expect:

DOUBLE DISCOVERY BOOSTS HIGH SCHOOLERS

(By Mary Kelly)

Ten Negro and Puerto Rican teen-agers sat around a table at Columbia University. Eight weeks of intensive summer work were drawing to a close. Participants in Project Double-Discovery, these high schoolers are said to have an extremely good chance of getting into City University here.

The Double Discovery project was conceived by undergraduates at Columbia College in 1965 to help educate students from poor families who show "no sign of being able to get into college themselves on the basis of present work or motivation."

The federal government helps pay the bill under its Upward Bound program, but city and state also contribute substantially.

This summer 300 high school students are getting extra educational stimulus at Columbia University under Double Discovery. They were chosen from among the 1,200 students enrolled in City University's College Discovery program, who receive special help during the regular school year. Those who successfully complete their high school education will be admitted to a college in the city university system.

"Before this opportunity came, I was just going to try to finish high school and become a factory worker," 15-year-old Clementine Warren told me. "With college education, I think I can be a writer.

"I want to express my feelings about the people I know best and how they are striving to live."

Clementine is a Bronx girl who lived formerly in Harlem. Like others in the project she was being "unblocked," in the words of Moe Deutsch, executive director in charge of the summer program. With the authority of 40 years' experience in this city's public schools behind him, Mr. Deutsch, principal of PS 236, Brooklyn, said of the summer group:

"They were identified in their schools as under-achievers with high potential. Upon coming to Columbia they showed low aspirational hopes, but at the same time indicated promising ability."

Their eight weeks' course involved five hours' instruction in the morning and a two-hour study period in the afternoon for five days a week. On one evening a week students met for literary discussion. They lived and slept in dormitories—girls at Livingston Hall, boys at Hartley—in units of six, each with a counselor. Most of the counselors were undergraduates from Columbia College or Barnard.

This opportunity to live on their own has delighted the independent spirit of the students.

"It gives you a chance to decide things for yourself—for instance how much starch you want in your shirts," said Larry Sinkler, a neatly groomed fourteen-year-old Negro wearing a blue shirt.

"Some of these youths show incredible talent," commented P. Neugeboren, English instructor.

"I have taught classes of 30 to 40 students in private and public schools," Mr. Neugeboren said. "I find this summer group are all natively bright. They have a willingness to learn. We write one composition a day. We rewrite everything we write.

"At first some of them were afraid to try to write. I would ask for 300 words and they would produce one short paragraph after a struggle. Now their output is three or four pages. Sometimes they relate what they write to books of the day. One young Negro boy for instance compared his goals with those in the biography of Malcolm X."

The students have an urge to read. The busy well-filled room where counselors and teachers conferred with individual students had shelves lined with paperbacks.

A large bulletin board displayed the reports of the weekly literary discussions. A glance showed that among the books which had provoked the interests of these teenagers were: "All Quiet on the Western Front," "Cry, the Beloved Country," "Huckleberry Finn," "Lysistrata," "The Crucible."

At a lesson on new math, we met John Maldonido, born on the mainland of Puerto Rican parents. He hopes to be an engineer.

"I've learned new methods for working out old problems," he said. "In the ninth grade I knew equations but I didn't know the law until now."

In the class in English taught by Julius Trachton a debate was in progress.

"They're getting experience in how to speak forcefully," Mr. Trachton explained. "They are developing the ability to express a point of view with conviction, to speak persuasively. We've developed some experts here."

The experts who smiled modestly at being so described, had boned up on dance, fashions, Negro poetry, the New York Yankees, etc.

In this group sat Larry (the boy of the starched shirts) who hopes to serve in the Peace Corps and then teach in a junior high school.

"I'm getting a break this summer," he reasoned. "There are young people in Africa who don't get this break, and I'd like to help them."

UPWARD BOUND AT HARPUR

(By Lee Hickling)

"I wish school was like this," a 15-year-old girl told her counselor, after two weeks in the Upward Bound program.

She and 49 other students who will enter 10th grade in seven local schools this fall are spending eight weeks, including four weekends, going to school at Harpur College this summer.

They are working while most of their classmates are on vacation because they were picked for a new federally backed program, aiming to interest them in going to college and to get them more ready to go.

Five of the group are good students, with good school records. The rest, in general, are not.

But their teachers and counselors and the Upward Bound directors picked them, because they believed they had unused abilities or special talents that should not be wasted.

A federal grant of $71,750 is paying most of the cost of the experiment, one of a number financed through the federal anti-poverty agency, the Office of Economic Opportunity.

A pretty, 22-year-old college senior named Barbara Gross, of Baldwin, L.I., is the main reason the project is under way at Harpur this summer.

Miss Gross had transferred to Harpur from a two-year college on Long Island, spent a year at Harpur and dropped out for a year. During that time she worked as a counselor on one of the first Upward Bound projects, a pilot program at Columbia University last summer.

Her enthusiasm was ignited by the project and its success with 150 New York City students. She decided to return to Harpur last fall, and once on campus again, began urging that an Upward Bound project be started in Binghamton.

Craig Hathaway, an undergraduate who heads Services for Youth, the student volunteer organization to provide social and educational help for young persons, liked the idea.

So did a faculty member, Charles Z. Wilson of the Business Enterprise Department, and the administrator in charge of federally backed programs for the college, Associate Dean Herbert R. Kells.

The college decided to apply through State University for an Upward Bound grant, and William B. Mullen, principal of Vestal High School, agreed to act as director if the program won federal approval.

The first plan was to take 25 New York City students and 50 from Broome County. The OEO cut out the New York City group and approved the rest.

Mr. Mullen and college officials recruited a staff and started asking schools to suggest candidates. By the first weekend of last month the program was starting with an orientation day for student and parents.

Then the group settled down to three hours a day of classes, concentrating on English and mathematics, and a full schedule of other activities ranging from swimming and guitar lessons to discussions of current national problems and experiments in the college science laboratories.

Each student goes home on alternate weekends, and spends the rest of the time on campus, living in a dormitory, Digman Hall which has been turned over to Upward Bound for the summer term.

Miss Gross and a graduate student from Columbia, William Sales, supervise a staff of nine counselors. A group of teachers, recruited mainly from the schools the students attend, handles the morning classes and the counseling staff is in charge of most of the rest of the program.

The emphasis is on variety. Besides the time in class, students in a typical day may swim, play softball, hear a lecture on art, join a group discussing "black power" and civil rights agitation, dance in the dormitory lounge to popular records and see a movie in the college theater.

Weekends are for trips. Each weekend program is repeated, so the students who go home one week will be in on the trip the next week.

So far groups have gone to Corning, where they toured the Glass Center and say a summer theater play, and to Cortland, where they saw a planetarium demonstration. A trip to New York City is being planned, before the program ends Aug. 29, at the students' nearly unanimous request.

The counselors, who are all Harpur students, are pleased and proud of the response to the classes and activities.

"It's amazing what these kids can do, how many interests they can have if they're explored," one woman counselor said.

"I don't know what this is going to accomplish," another said. "I don't know what it's going to be like when they go back to school. But they're really enthusiastic now."

"It's not like school," one girl confided. "I don't know . . . in school it's a lot of dry stuff, and you have so much to cover all the time. No one listens to you . . . they're always telling you what to do."

The Upward Bound counselors listen, as well as advise. A visitor can see the liking that has developed between them and their charges, who on the average are only five or six years younger than the staff.

"They relate to the counselors very well," is the way Miss Gross puts it. And they respond.

"They are starting to open up intellectually."

One, a Binghamton boy, is writing verse, a dozen or more poems a week. Some have been printed in "The Upward Bound Chronicle," a dittoed newspaper the students are publishing weekly.

Part of one, about the moon and titled "Love Is Stone," reads:

I love the night in its hard, glaring expanse,
And the hard, shiny coins of evil
Dotting the black enamel finish
And the dark roads where people go.

They like the Harpur students they are meeting, and are beginning to revise their clothing and behavior styles on the collegians' models.

When they go back to school in the fall, they will keep in touch with Upward Bound through the teachers on the staff this summer, who will act as counselors during the winter.

The student counselors expect to stay in touch with their groups, too, and to offer them tutoring and other help, if they need it, with the aid of Services for Youth.

There are plans to bring the group back for programs during the year at Harpur—plays, lectures and so on.

If a new Federal grant can be obtained, the 50 will be between their junior and senior years of high school.

If there is enough money, another group will be started in a new Upward Bound project. It depends on whether the funds are available in Washington and on how successful OEO judges the program at Harpur has been.

"Of course it's successful," Miss Gross said. "Anyone can tell it is. When they see our reports, they'll have to give us the money."

Some of the students agreed with her.

"I'm really looking forward to going back to school," a boy admitted. "I want to really go to work this year—go out for football and get good marks. I'm looking forward to school."

A Tribute to National Brotherhood Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 7, 1967

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the cause of brotherhood has always had the blessings of many millions of conscientious, God-fearing people the world over. It also has been compelled eternally to labor against the forces of hatred, on the one hand, and apathy on the other. Standing alone, the forces of hatred are unsubstantial and of no particular account. United, however, hatred and apathy comprise a formidable power, overwhelming to the cause of brotherhood.

It is of the highest importance, therefore, that we celebrate, as an annual event, National Brotherhood Week—a tribute to the spirit of American democracy, in the true meaning of the term.

For in calling attention to the need for, and the benefits to be derived from, brotherhood, we strike a blow at apathy, without which hatred cannot stand.

Ours is a great country, surely capable of achieving even greater heights. We have the wealth, the intelligence, the economic leadership, and a burning spirit which cannot be denied except, perhaps, by internal discord. That is what we must prevent, if we are to continue our national climb to progress and achievement.

It is time, I believe, that we recognize, at last, that the spirit of brotherhood is not merely the frosting on the cake of democracy, but the heart and soul of democracy itself.

Our national reputation is in large part based upon our claim to being the land of equal opportunity. If we are to act in good faith, in this regard, we must promote the cause of brotherhood, at the expense of prejudice and apathy.

For so doing, the sponsors of National Brotherhood Week deserve the approbation of all Americans concerned for the reputation of our country in the eyes of the civilized world.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Dr. Stanley Wagner Delivers Opening Prayer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT TENZER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, I was privileged to act as host Congressman today to Dr. Stanley Wagner, rabbi of Baldwin, N.Y., who delivered the opening prayer in the House.

Dr. Stanley M. Wagner has served as rabbi of the Baldwin Jewish Centre, Baldwin, N.Y., for the past 6 years, and currently occupies some of the most important positions within the Long Island Jewish community. He is president of the Long Island Commission of Orthodox Rabbis, first vice president of the Nassau-Suffolk Association of Rabbis (Orthodox-Conservative-Reform), chaplain of the Nassau County Jewish Committee on Scouting, Boy Scouts of America, and Jewish chaplain at the South Nassau Communities Hospital. He also holds positions on the national executive boards of the Religious Zionists of America and Rabbinic Alumni of Yeshiva University.

Rabbi Wagner, ordained at the Yeshiva University's Rabbinical Seminary, holds five other degrees of higher learning, including a doctorate in Jewish history, having written a dissertation entitled, "Religious Nonconformity in Ancient Jewish Life." He served as an instructor for 4 years in the Department of Ancient Languages and Literatures at the University of Kentucky, while holding a pulpit in Lexington. In 1960 he was commissioned a Kentucky colonel by the Governor of the State in recognition of his outstanding community service. He was also selected to appear in the 1960 edition of Who's Who in American Education.

I know that my colleagues were inspired by the prayer offered by Dr. Wagner and the message he brought to this Chamber. Dr. Wagner describes the House as the great "Chamber of Words," words which when written into laws provided "equality and dignity for all Americans."

Mr. Speaker, this theme, so eloquently expressed by Dr. Wagner is worthy of being accepted as the theme for the 90th Congress.

I want to take this opportunity to thank Dr. Edward G. Latch, the distinguished and beloved Chaplain of the House for extending the invitation and for making Dr. Wagner's appearance possible and to my colleagues for joining in prayer with a distinguished clergyman from south Nassau County, the Fifth Congressional District, State of New York.

Mrs. LaMont Bell, Citizen of the Year in Madison County, Idaho

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CHURCH
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the United States is faced with vast social problems—this fact is known to everyone. Almost every day we can read of a new perplexity, or an old concern making new demands on our attention. At times, it may seem the easiest way to give up in despair.

Yet every now and then a few individuals attack a specific problem with more dedication than resources and attain success out of all proportion to their numbers.

The Upper Snake River Valley Association for the Handicapped, better known locally as "U Serve," is such an effort. The president and guiding force of this organization is Mrs. LaMont Bell, of Rexburg, Idaho. On January 29, Mr. Gene Shumate, of radio station KRXK, in Rexburg, in a radio editorial, announced the selection of Mrs. Bell as Madison County Citizen of the Year.

Mr. President, other such groups are at work, making steady progress in solving big problems. Many of them are led by people like Mrs. Bell. Most of them do not get public recognition, but all aim at constructive solutions to the Nation's social problems. Their efforts, added together, make a formidable assault in an area where final solutions are few.

Mr. President, as a tribute to Mrs. Bell and all other volunteer social workers, I ask unanimous consent that the radio editorial honoring her be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the radio editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

In 1957, as a part of the Editorial series, KRXK announced its first choice for Citizen of the Year.

The precedent became a tradition and tonight for the tenth straight year we again have a pleasant duty.

Our reason for attempting to single out one person each year in Madison County was not so much to repay as to thank the many individuals whose efforts make our world a better place.

It was about six year ago that the ten directors of the Chamber of Commerce requested that the KRXK presentation be made at the annual banquet, and we are pleased to do this because it brings an added measure of public thanks to those named.

During the course of the ten years, the people who have honored us all have been from most walks of life . . . business, church, legislative, farm, education, civic organizations and fraternal organizations.

One of the Citizens of the Year was a woman, Mrs. Lola Webster, chosen for her leadership in the creation of the fine library facilities we have in Rexburg.

This year's winner, again, is a woman.

A critical area in our nation's health is mental health. Most of us know that, but few of us do anything about it. Comparing our efforts and advances in mental health as against our efforts and advances in such things as a space program, we find that while we are among the stars in space, we are still in the jungle in mental health.

One part of the overall approach to mental health is the training of those who are already mentally retarded. In this one part, at least, Madison County is taking some steps out of the jungle . . . thanks mostly to the dedication of one woman.

To summarize progress very briefly, as recently as six years ago there was an informal class for the retarded in a basement room in Rexburg. And the school district was providing some facilities and a teacher at the Veterans Memorial Building. Now for those considered educable, there are two classrooms in connection with the school buildings in Rexburg and regular classes are taught by Mrs. Virginia Smith and Mrs. Edna Rytting.

But there is another group, called trainable but not educable . . . not adapted to a regular school atmosphere.

In 1962, Mrs. LaMont Bell had built—and did much of the work herself—a school room back of her house and provided it for the trainables. Then in 1964 the Association of which she is president moved the classroom to the Welfare Building behind the LDS Tabernacle, and for the first time could provide not only a classroom but a shop.

A Thrift Shop was set up, as a place to display and sell products donated to the school and made by some of the children and the parents. From the profits of this Thrift Shop, from donations by individuals, businesses and organizations, the Association last summer purchased a building on First North Street and rebuilt parts of it. It now has a Thrift Shop, a classroom, a workshop, facilities for kitchen training an eventually a recreation room. Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Rytting both take their classes to the building for a period of training and recreation each day. And in the classroom are the trainables, instructed by Mrs. Delpha Jensen of the School District 321 faculty.

Progress is being made—slowly but steadily—toward a true sheltered workshop, which would provide a learning place for the older handicapped.

The organization that has pioneered this work in Rexburg is the Upper Snake River Valley Association for the Handicapped, known better by the name U Serve. And the guiding force is the president, Mrs. Bell. Every member of the organization would agree that without her, the good work would not have been done by this time. Her work has consisted of 60 to 70 hour weeks, physical labor, vision, persuasiveness and devotion.

I think a typical act came Saturday night when the rains came and water from the street started running into the building. She and her husband worked until 2:30 a.m. to check the flood and save materials in the storeroom.

It is not only with pleasure, but with a deep sense of debt, that I announce the Madison County Citizen of the Year for 1966 is Mrs. LaMont Bell.

Good-afternoon, everyone. Thanks for listening.

Untimely Death in Montgomery Fire Disaster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, recently a most able legislative representative met a tragic and untimely death in the Montgomery fire disaster. Sidney Zagri was a legislative counsel for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and a veteran of the Capitol scene.

It was somewhat fitting that Sidney Zagri's funeral service should be conducted in the city of Washington in the presence of distinguished members of the Senate and House. Sidney Zagri fascinated by politics. He made his life here by choice and he expended great energy on Capitol Hill for the passage of all general welfare legislation which marks the last decade.

Sidney Zagri was a man of great intensity, of unusual energy and of great personal warmth. For him the work day stretched from the moment he awoke until late in the evening. He used his gifts tirelessly in the service of his fellow men. Caught up on the frantic and hectic political scene, constantly traveling across the Nation on the business of the union and the political action group which he brought into being, fostered, cherished and cultivated, he was always in constant touch by telephone with his beloved family with whom we mourn.

It is typical of Sid Zagri that when he acquired a peaceful cottage as a summer retreat, he had to immediately turn it into a massive rebuilding project. Thus, when a peaceful weekend occasionally beckoned, he could enjoy it all the more because he could plunge into the rebuilding plans for his cottage.

Those among his colleagues who worked with Sid Zagri found that they were expected to be available for long hours and for weekends whenever what he called the work required it. It was required often. Those who got to know him well under these conditions would try to persuade him to relax, to be satisfied with a little less than perfection, and to cultivate the reflective arts of life. He always rejected the suggestions by pointing out half a dozen other projects which he had not yet been able to get started upon.

Sid Zagri was proud that the political action group which he organized within the Teamsters Union was bipartisan effort. He saw the good qualities in men with whom he often disagreed in principle and, because of this, he frequently surprised the Senate or the House by coming up with support for a pet project from persons who were barely on speaking terms with each other.

Sid used to tell the story that a professor of his in college warned him "I am sorry, Sidney, but I am afraid you are condemned to success." What ultimate success he would have achieved had he been spared for longer days we shall never know. But success he certainly had achieved, even if he himself was not yet satisfied. It is a remarkable achievement for a trade union lobbyist to be eulogized in "Business Week" which is the voice of big business in journalism. Yet they published a story on Sid Zagri praising him for the energetic and capable job he was doing on Capitol Hill under far from easy circumstances. Sid Zagri's own political philosophy he kept largely to himself. He was far too busy for endless political discussion. But he worked and fought always for the little man. His idea of a true war on poverty was to raise the minimum wage to $2 an hour. He fought as hard as anyone for passage of medicare assistance to the aged. He saw many things which should be done to make our society more equal, more just and more gentle. And knowing the way that these things could be done, knowing how election victories are won and how legislative victories are slowly sculpted, he did not believe that he should be allowed to spare himself. He knew that he had abilities which are denied to most men, resources of energy, a keen mind, and an unparalled endurance. He never rejected an assignment and gave of his best to everyone. When the light burned at night in his offices, he never felt any envy for those people who went riding by bent on the desultory pursuit of pleasure. There was "the work" to be done. This task still lies before those of us who have a time before us to add our contribution to humane and social reform legislation.

National Engineers Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, this is National Engineers Week, a time when the Nation pays tribute to one of its largest professions. Engineers are putting the physical sciences to work to solve everyday environmental problems and to fulfill human needs. During this National Engineers Week we salute our country's engineers who have helped build our future through modern highways, electronic instruments and computers, research facilities, modern buildings, and many other developments. Engineering skills are behind every phase of our life today.

"Engineering—For the Human Environment" is the theme of this 17th annual observance. It calls attention to the increasingly vital role engineering plays in our aspirations for clean air, water, and land, and in the technological advances that carry traffic and mass transportation with greater efficiency, safety, and dispatch.

A noted authority on environmental pollution control and solid waste disposal practices has written an article for National Engineers Week on solid waste disposal problems. He is Wesley E. Gilbertson, director of environmental health for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and former Chief of the Office of Solid Wastes, U.S. Public Health Service. Mr. Gilbertson is a registered professional engineer and serves as a regional vice president of the National Society of Professional Engineers and chairman of that society's pollution control committee. His article deals with the challenge of solid waste disposal problems to the engineering profession. I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOLID WASTE DISPOSAL PROBLEMS TEST ENGINEERS' INGENUITY

(By Wesley E. Gilbertson, P.E., Chief, Office of Solid Wastes, U.S. Public Health Service)

One of the most critical environmental health problems of present-day society, one whose solution will require great resources and imaginative thinking by members of the engineering community, is what to do with this Nation's ever-increasing burden of solid wastes.

The very technological ingenuity that helped create our society and made it possible to produce and use things at an astonishingly rapid rate, must now face the task of figuring out how to dispose of the fruits of our labor without endangering human health and well-being or drastically marring scenic beauty.

At the present time Americans are piling up some 800 million pounds of junk and refuse each day on their already overly burdened trash heaps. For centuries the prevailing practices of solid waste disposal have been to burn and bury, but with such mountainous daily volumes, these methods are no longer safe or acceptable.

CONTAMINATION

Although burning and burying may succeed in removing unwanted articles from households, institutions and industries, they often produce massive environmental pollution and contamination. By establishing foul-smelling refuse dumps in our midst and scarring the countryside with junk, we contaminate the air we breathe, the ground we live on, and the water we drink and bathe in. And we create a fetid breeding ground of disease, crawling with rats, mice and vermin.

For the services of collection and disposal of solid wastes, Americans are paying an estimated $3 billion each year in direct costs, a figure second in municipal expenditures only to expenses for schools and roads. The indirect costs, such as medical bills, the need for increased air and water pollution activities, and effects on land values, increase this figure beyond reckoning. Application of newer and better methods of solid waste management will undoubtedly reduce these excessive costs, but most importantly, it can also remove major threats to our health and welfare.

We possess at the present time much of the technological ability needed to correct the situation, and it is the job of the engineer not only to play his traditional role of bringing scientific knowledge into practical application, but additionally to help society make critical decisions that will determine whether or not we are successful in meeting the solid waste problem.

LEGISLATION

The rapid growth of the solid waste problem, coupled with what it will increase to as the population expands and the per capita volume of wastes itself increases, has triggered an overwhelming response throughout the country. The Congress reacted by enacting legislation calling for a comprehensive national program of attack on the problem. This legislation, the Solid Waste Disposal Act, led to creation of the Office of Solid Wastes in the Public Health Service, charged to assist local, state, and nonprofit private agencies in developing and demonstrating new methods for the collection, reduction and elimination of our solid wastes either by returning them harmlessly to the environment or bringing them back into the economy in ways that are not detrimental to man and his environment.

MANAGING WASTES

This task represents both a formidable engineering challenge and one that will require Herculean energies. Immense scientific acumen will be required to develop practical and noninjurious methods for managing solid wastes, simply because the volumes of these materials and their often hazardous nature defies the imagination.

Correcting the situation will require:

Removing some 20 to 40 million automobile hulks now rusting in automobile graveyards throughout the country.

Disposing of nearly 30 billion glass bottles and jars thrown away in this country every year.

Discovering ways to reuse nondegradable wastes, such as plastics.

Elimination or re-use of more than 20 billion pounds of paper and paperboard items that Americans discard each year.

Development of methods for coping with nearly 6 billion metal cans and containers that are discarded yearly in the United States.

Processing millions of tons of sewage sludge that contaminates streams and rivers.

Intercepting the enormous volume of industrial wastes that are presently poisoning the entire environment.

To an age that has all but immunized people against surprise at new technological achievement, it may be a painful reality that we are now plagued by the solid waste problem. The impact of this situation has been to arouse responsible persons to demand of the engineering sciences new and bold approaches for the safe and salutary reduction, elimination, or recycling of wastes.

Since the passage of the Solid Waste Disposal Act numerous projects throughout the country have received support from the Office of Solid Wastes. The ingenuity of some of the projects being considered actually turns the table on the problems posed by the threats inherent in many solid waste problems. In addition to avoiding and preventing health, hazards, erosions of aesthetic values, and economic impairments, the solutions may make specific and tangible contributions to these very same fields.

In one project being supported by the Office of Solid Wastes, heat from incineration is being recovered to desalinate sea water, an age-old problem of man and one of increasing importance. This same project is eliminating the wastes in a manner that conforms to air pollution control requirements. A project such as this could satisfy all the requirements for noninjurious elimination of wastes and may additionally illuminate avenues toward solving a critical conservation problem.

USES OF WASTES

Other projects being supported are investigating possibilities for uses of the wastes themselves. These possibilities are distributed over a wide spectrum, including the recovery of eroded, barren, and swampy areas by filling them with reduced and compacted wastes; and the extraction of marketable products, such as tars, acids, alcohols and building material products.

In addition to actual demonstration projects themselves, the Office of Solid Wastes is providing assistance to state and local agencies for surveys of their needs and to plan waste management systems. This planning is essential because of the economic factors and complexities imposed by our burgeoning urban areas, in which a single area-wide waste management agency is dictated by practical problems.

At the present time our solid waste management efforts are frustrated by lack of planning between and within communities and political jurisdictions. The result of this splintering is inefficiency and duplication of efforts.

Training and developing manpower to apply new solid waste technology is also an important activity of the Office of Solid Wastes program. This facet is being achieved by awarding training grants to colleges and universities and by training programs within the Public Health Service. The Robert A. Taft Sanitary Engineering Center at Cincinnati is a major facility for such training.

If any word can characterize the program to resolve the Nation's solid waste problem, it is eclectic. The very nature of the problem is so complex that it requires a vigorous and comprehensive approach, soliciting support from specialists as divergent as those from the aerospace to the trash hauling industry.

Literally all engineering disciplines will be required to bring their skills to bear in resolving the present situation and it is an area in which the role of the engineer will increase in importance as we develop the ability to arrest the threats inherent in our affluent society.

The Job Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, on February 6 and 7 a highly significant event took place in Austin, Tex. I refer to the conference of Job Corps Urban Center contractors which was held at the Driskill Hotel and at the Gary Job Corps Center near San Marcos.

The contribution which the Job Corps contractors are making to the success of this phase in the war on poverty is as enormous as it is unprecedented—and Austin, as well as all of central Texas, was proud to play host to the many industrial leaders and distinguished educators who gathered at the conference.

Even more recent attention, however, has been called to the Job Corps because of a study of dropouts by pollster Louis Harris & Associates.

Boys and girls admitted to the Job Corps centers are certainly nobody's candidate for good citizen awards, and it is realistic to believe that because of educational deficiencies and emotional problems there could be a higher relation of "drop-out-ism" compared to, for example, colleges and high schools.

I believe the writer of the Washington Post editorial, "Job Corps Drop-Outs," has successfully interpreted Mr. Harris' numbers and percents in terms of human value, and I offer this editorial for inclusion in the RECORD.

At the same time, I take particular pleasure in submitting a news report from the Austin American-Statesman. The article provides a capsule report on the Austin conference and also includes a fine appraisal of the industry-education facet of the program by Dr. Harry Ransom, University of Texas chancellor:

JOB CORPS' DROP-OUTS

The Job Corps has no reason to be defensive about the study of its drop-outs by Louis Harris and Associates. Since the Corps deliberately mixed youths from Southern countryside and Northern ghetto, reports of racial hostility in the camps are not astonishing. Since the study was limited to the Corps' failures, it is not remarkable that it found some more demoralized after leaving the Corps than before joining. The Job Corps' retention rate is steadily improving. Up to last June, only 13 per cent of the youngsters persevered to finish the advanced level; in the next six months the figure rose to 26 per cent. The Harris study is the kind of analysis needed to raise the retention rates still higher.

The Office of Economic Opportunity was much distressed to find that the Harris report was in the hands of newspapermen. But the OEO makes a very great mistake in its occasional efforts of this kind to shield Congress and the public from the realities of the war on poverty. Most Americans understand that Job Corps, for instance, has deliberately chosen to work with very seriously deprived youths; too brilliant a success would suggest that the Corps was retreating from its original commitment to deal with the hard core of adolescent unemployment. The OEO is engaged in slow and difficult work of a highly experimental nature. Public understanding of the failures, like the Job Corps' drop-outs, is as important as public recognition of its achievements.

BY UT'S RANSOM—ASSETS SEEN IN JOB CORPS

(By Roland Lindsey)

The chancellor of the University of Texas Tuesday morning told business and Job Corps leaders here that the corps' ability "to effectively make connections between industry and education is one of its greatest assets and one of its greatest prospects."

Dr. Harry Ransom of the university was the speaker at a breakfast in the Driskill Hotel for the Job Corps urban centers contractors conference which began Monday night. The conference will continue through the day.

Ransom, pointing to the joint role of academic and managerial training, said the Job Corps has firmly indicated that education is a total function of citizenship, and that business has no less place in education than do academic studies.

Ransom said educators throughout the country are watching progress made by Job Corps centers, and suggested that the centers will soon "get lessons from those the Job Corps has taught."

The conference opened Monday night with talks by Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and by Governor John Connally.

In his remarks, Shriver asked the business leaders at the conference to study the problems of reducing costs and still providing adequate Job Corps programs, attempting to reduce the drop-out rate of the corps, and creation of an "environment of learning in which conflicts and tensions and the incidents produced by them are kept at a minimum."

Shriver called the partnership of industry and government a "vital dimension" of the Job Corps program. He highlighted the fact that the "new opportunity programs" are being "designed with local initiative, the funds are granted to local community agencies, both public and private, and they are run by local men and women."

Connally Monday night called the Job Corps "the best solution yet advanced to meet the growing problem of the unemployable youth of our nation."

"And I say to detractors that until a better way is found, an imperfect Job Corps is better than no effort at all," the governor said.

Connally told the conference delegates that "we must find ways of motivating the untapped minds that we are now losing through educational dropout.

"It will take the best kind of partnership effort of education and industry to meet the task. But the fruit of success can be a new level of productive citizen that is a credit to the highest purpose of both," Connally said.

Connally and Shriver also attended the Tuesday morning breakfast along with the national, regional and Gary Job Corps officials.

Two discussion sessions—one on cost effectiveness and the other on the placement and effectiveness of Job Corps men and women as employes—were held at the Driskill Tuesday morning.

Taking part in the discussion programs were W. P. Kelly, acting director of the Job Corps; Milton A. Fogelman, director of the contracts division of the OEO; Robert Bell, board chairman of Packard Bell Electronic Corp.; Roger G. Bensinger, president of the Brunswick Community Resources Division; James G. Hodgson, director of industrial relations for Lockheed Aircraft Corp.; and Leonard E. Wright, president of Tradewind Industries. The discussions were not open to the press.

The conference left Austin about noon for the Gary Center near San Marcos, for a luncheon and tour.

A press conference is set for 3 p.m., then a final discussion group on community relations and public affairs was slated for 4 p.m. Charles B. Thornton, board chairman of Litton Industries, will then speak on "What's In It For Us."

Shriver will end the conference with a talk at Gary Job Corps Center.

Soviet Union Does Not Desire Peace in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAM J. ERVIN, JR.

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD four editorials concerning a speech made in the Senate on Wednesday, February 15, 1967, by the distinguished Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], stating why he believes the Soviet Union does not desire peace in Vietnam.

The first editorial was published in the Southwest Virginia Enterprise, of Wytheville. The editor and publisher is James A. Williams, Jr.

The second editorial was published in the Chicago Tribune of February 16, 1967.

The third editorial was published in the Charlottesville, Va., Daily Progress of Saturday, February 18, 1967.

The fourth editorial was published in the Lynchburg, Va., Daily Advance of Thursday, February 16, 1967.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wytheville (Va.) Southwest Virginia Enterprise, Feb. 16, 1967]

BYRD DOESN'T BUY THE ARGUMENT FAVORING RUSSIA'S DESIRE TO END WAR

Yesterday afternoon Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr., delivered on the floor of the U.S. Senate a speech that should be read by every American—that is everyone who is sincerely interested in the true picture of the bloody Viet Nam war, and in the final analysis in the future well being of the United States. In simple language, but straight from the shoulder shooting, the Virginia Senator told the nation's lawmakers:

"I do not buy the argument being peddled around Washington and in the United Nations that the Soviet Union desires peace in Viet Nam. If this were indeed a fact, peace could come quickly. Russia, not China, is the main supplier of arms."

The Enterprise has been increasingly alarmed at the obvious belief, or the advancement of the ideas that everything is going to work out fine, and we can more and more turn to Red Russia for cooperation and aid. Just where can be found the proof in any concrete form that the tiger has suddenly lost all of his stripes? We are talking not of the Russian citizens, but of the dedicated leaders to the Godless atheistic Communism way of life and form of government. It has always amazed us that the United States plays the "sucker" when it comes to foreigners. Senator Byrd yesterday issued a warning that the "top brass" in Washington had better remove their ear stoppers and wake up.

The speech of Byrd is factual, replete with plain horse sense, a characteristic that is apparently missing, if the ideas and decisions that are made by many of the top federal leaders these day is used as basis of what is common sense, and what is idealistic dreaming.

The Senior Virginia Senator declared in what we term as one of the most significant speeches delivered on the Senate floor in many moons, that he was "convinced that the Viet Nam war is dragging along to the advantage of both the Soviet Union and Communist China." He said, "neither is losing men in Viet Nam." But every week approximately 1000 of America's finest young men are slaughtered on the battle fields of Viet Nam.

Byrd also wisely pin-pointed other facts—the Enterprise believes the entire population of the nation needs to be alerted, and know the truth. He told the Senators yesterday afternoon:

"As to economic costs, the Soviet Union spent two billion dollars in supplying equipment to the North Vietnamese during 1966. The United States, however, spent 20 billion dollars last year and will spend an equal amount again this year . . . a long war in Viet Nam is advantageous to the Soviet Union and to China.

"I am alarmed when I hear the argument that is so frequently made in official quarters that the Soviet Union would like to have peace in Viet Nam, but is prevented from doing so by Communist China.

"No real effort is being made by the American government to obtain effective help for the United States from the United Nations, or from individual members. In fact, those American officials most closely connected with the United Nations state privately, if not publicly, that of the 122 members of the World organization—perhaps less than 30 are sympathetic with the United States' action in Viet Nam.

"Has not the time come to remove the restrictions upon the American military commanders in Viet Nam to permit air and naval bombardment of meaningful military targets in North Viet Nam?

"I have put this question to our military leaders: If you were ordered to conduct the war in such a way as to bring it to an early conclusion with the least possible American military casualties, would you follow present operating procedures. The answer was NO. The military commanders would remove the restrictions on air and naval bombardment of vital military targets in North Viet Nam."

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Tribune, Feb. 16, 1967]

IF RUSSIA WANTS PEACE

If Russia really wants peace in Viet Nam, there is a clear and simple way to prove it. This, as Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr. of Virginia told the Senate yesterday, is for Russia to stop supplying war material to North Viet Nam.

Russia, not China, he said, is the main source of arms for the North Vietnamese. If Russia were to cut off the supply, "that in itself would bring the war to an end in a short time." Therefore, said Mr. Byrd, "I do not buy the argument being peddled around Washington and in the United Nations that the Soviet Union desires peace in Viet Nam."

Sen. Byrd's logic is all the more inescapable if we accept the report issued after the talks between Prime Ministers Wilson and Kosygin in London. Mr. Kosygin, it was stated, had urged the North Vietnamese to stop sending supplies to the south in return for a continued moratorium on United States raids on the north. This proposal was offered as evidence of Mr. Kosygin's sincerity.

According to this report, Hanoi did not even reply, and our raids were therefore resumed. If Russia continues to provide supplies in spite of this apparent slap in the face, it will be proof instead that Russia is determined to keep the war going. And why shouldn't it be, after all? As Mr. Byrd pointed out, neither Russia nor China is losing any men in it, while United States casualties are running at the rate of 1,000 per week.

All this is conveniently overlooked as the United States is denounced anew for resuming the raids. Our detractors, domestic and foreign, have persuaded themselves that we are the villain, and they are going to let neither facts nor logic deter them.

[From the Charlottesville (Va.) Daily Progress, Feb. 18, 1967]

RUSSIA AND THE WAR

Virginia's Sen. Harry Byrd is due thanks for placing Russia and the war in Vietnam in the proper perspective.

Speaking to the Senate earlier this week, Sen. Byrd declared that he does not buy the argument that the Soviet Union wants peace in Vietnam. He cited a basic fact that China is supplying North Vietnam with small arms and food; Russia is providing fighter aircraft, heavy artillery, anti-aircraft weapons, surface to air missiles, radar, a steel mill and most of the oil to move the North Vietnam-Viet Cong war machine.

If China were to withdraw its support, the war effort would be hurt. But if Russia stopped sending its vast amount of war materiel, the war would end in short order. Those who are trying to take over South Vietnam would have little left with which to keep on trying.

The truth is, as Sen. Byrd pointed out, that Russia and Red China both desire the United States to continue shedding its blood and treasure while they watch from the sidelines. The $2 billion in equipment and supplies that Russia sent to North Vietnam last year was no doubt a drain on Russian resources but hardly sufficient for Moscow to give much thought to stopping the flow.

If Moscow sincerely wants to halt the fighting it can do so quite easily—simply halt the movement of ships, trains and planes loaded with supplies that are being sent to Hanoi. The end would come quite quickly.

[From the Lynchburg (Va.) Daily Advance, Feb. 16, 1967]

SENATOR BYRD ON VIETNAM

President Johnson has promised us a "long, costly war" in Southeast Asia before "victory" is finally achieved.

While present U.S. policy doesn't delight the "doves" to the extent of assuring an early pullout in South Vietnam, it promises a frustrating stalement and no-win situation, complete with mounting casualties and a staggering increase in costs.

Our senior senator doesn't buy this alternative.

In one of the strongest statements on our Asian dilemma yet made on the floor of the U.S. Senate, Senator Byrd yesterday spelled out in unambiguous fashion what many American citizens have intuitively felt since the outset of this struggle:

> A long war in Vietnam is playing directly into the hands of the Soviet Union.

Senator Byrd has concluded—quite rightly, we think—that our government is sorely misjudging the intent of the Soviet Union and its threat to world peace. And he bases this conclusion on an impressive array of facts.

"Too often do we hear from top officials that were it not for Red China, peace could be attained in Vietnam . . . this ignores a absic fact: The Soviet Union, not China, is providing the major military support for the Vietnam war. The Soviet Union is providing: MIG-fighter aircraft, heavy artillery weapons, anti-aircraft weapons, the SAMS (surface to air missiles), radar equipment, a steel plant, most of the oil.

"Thus, all of the sophisticated weapons are being supplied by the Soviet Union. China is providing small arms and food for North Vietnam . . . This is important to the North Vietnamese war effort—but it does not compare with the military aid being supplied by the Soviet Union . . . If China were to cease supplying the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong, the war effort of those two groups would be hurt. But if the Soviet Union were to stop supplying war material, that in itself would bring the war to an end in a short time."

Has not the time come, the Senator asked, to remove the restrictions upon the American military commanders in Vietnam to permit air and naval bombardment of meaningful military targets in North Vietnam? Should we continue increasing the number of American ground troops in South Vietnam yet simultaneously prevent the military commanders from hitting the important military targets . . .?

Senator Byrd said he put this question to our military leaders: If you were ordered to conduct the war in such a way as to bring it to an early conclusion with the least possible American military casualties, would you follow present operating procedures? The answer is NO. The military commanders would remove the restrictions on air and naval bombardment of the vital military targets.

We are alarmed, as Senator Byrd is, at the frequent argument that Russia would like to have peace in Vietnam but is prevented from doing so by Red China. Balderdash! The contribution being made by the Chinese to the war effort is peanuts compared to the estimated $2 billion invested against us by the Soviets last year.

That "long, costly war" LBJ promises us is bound to be advantageous to both the Soviet Union and Communist China. Neither is losing men in the struggle while our casualties are running at the rate of about 1,000 a week.

It is late in the day, but not too late to face up to the realities of this conflict and get on with the task of achieving a military victory. At the moment we are fighting the Reds' war, and it is little wonder that Moscow, Hanoi and Peking have no interest in sitting down at the peace table or putting their guns away.

Fiscal, Monetary Policy Now Coordinated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of the Congress the excellent article by Business Editor Hobart Rowen which appeared in the Monday, February 20, edition of the Washington Post. Effective coordination of monetary and fiscal policy by the administration, the Congress, and the Federal Reserve Board is absolutely necessary for economic stability, and Mr. Rowen outlines the degree to which it is currently being pursued.

Many of us who are involved in reading the economic "tea leaves" will find the Rowen analysis useful and informative. As those interested in continuing a growth economy know, it is often difficult to obtain authoritative information on the policy decisions of the "independent" Federal Reserve Board.

The recent vote soundly defeating a recommital motion to remove the historic 4¼-percent limit on long-term Treasury bonds showed that this Congress will not tolerate high-interest-rate monetary and fiscal planning.

Mr. Rowen says: "It would be a mistake to assume that because the Fed has—properly—led the way toward 'easier' money, the supply of money and its price are now at desired levels. They are not."

A Government that financed the Second World War and the Korean conflict at 1- and 2-percent interest rates, is currently paying 5 percent in the bill and bond markets. The Congress must not permit the money markets to "bottom out" at these levels.

The article referred to follows:

FISCAL, MONETARY POLICY NOW COORDINATED

On the economic news front, events sometimes sneak up on us. The record of fiscal and economic decisions isn't revealed with the clarity of happenings on the battlefield—or even in the sports arena.

If Cassius Clay—forgive it, Muhammad Ali—whips Terrell, the world knows about it at once. A new speed record on the flats in Utah—a 17-foot plus pole valut—that's easy to absorb.

But how about the fastest turn-around from a tight money policy to an easier money policy? Try to get the average news editor excited about that.

Yet, the Federal Reserve Board's change of policy last fall was one of the sharpest reversals of form in history, and the reason it hasn't had much attention until now is that it was done quietly, almost secretly.

Significantly, despite all of the talk of a "deal" between President Johnson and FRB chairman William McC. Martin—according to which the President's demand for a tax increase was the "price" of an easier money policy—the Fed moved toward that policy well before it could have possibly known with certainty what the President was going to recommend on taxes.

As far back as Sept. 13, 1966, as the recently-released minutes of the Fed's Open Market Committee show, the monetary authorities began to hesitate about their then tough money policy.

Steadily, they moved toward liberalization, until an "overt" seeking of monetary ease was decided on during the Nov. 22 meeting.

This column can say with assurance that the Presidential decision to seek a tax increase wasn't made until after New Year's Day. Key advisers did not known before then "which way the cat would jump."

Thus, it is more logical and in keeping with the known facts to suppose that President Johnson felt safe in moving toward a slightly tougher fiscal policy, knowing that the Fed was easing up on monetary stringency, than the other way around.

Actually, it is clear that the exchange of intelligence by both he fiscal and monetary powers has been better in the past few months than it was earlier in 1966. And Fed Chairman Martin is the leader of a five-man bloc on the Board now pursuing monetary ease.

It is too bad that it took a near financial panic in the late summer and fall of 1966 to assure a co-ordination of fiscal and monetary policy.

But at least, it is here now, and one should be glad for current favors.

What is even more essential is the continuance and extension of an easier money policy. It would be a mistake to assume that because the Fed has—properly—led the way toward "easier" money, the supply of money and its price are now at desired levels.

They are not.

Things look good by comparison with six months ago. But even the 5½ percent "prime rate" offered by the Champion-Rockefeller Chase Bank in opposition to the more prevalent 5¼ percent rate is too high.

It is just a shade off from the historic peak levels that had prevailed.

Many of the most sophisticated New York money market men think that inteerst rates have come down "most of the way," and may even have "bottomed out."

This is one reason why the Administration is almost desperately trying to get its tax increase of some 5 to 6 billion dollars. It isn't so much that it would reduce the deficit by that much (it would) or help pay the cost of Vietnam (it would by that much).

Put in most simple terms, it would be that much less the government would have to borrow—that much less pressure on the money market—that much more prospect that money rates would come down.

It will take a while, economic affairs being what they are, to sort out how things will actually happen. People will pay more attention to the prospective resignation from the Board of Governors in April of Charles N. Shepardson, who runs into the "automatic separation" clause of the Civil Service regulations (past 70 years of age with 15 years of combined civil and military service).

Will LBJ appoint a liberal to succeed the conservative Shepardson (who fills the requirements for representation of the agricultural community?) Will he reappoint Martin as chairman of the Board?

My hunch is that the President will reappoint Martin as chairman. He has three years left of his regular term as a member. As a world-wide symbol of fiscal integrity, he's too valuable to lose. The only reason for him to go would be failing health.

Shepardson is likely to be replaced with a middle-roader, from the Dallas district, if possible. That would leave J. Dewey Daane as the lone conservative at the moment.

Daane, it should be remembered, was appointed by the late President Kennedy on the assumption that he would satisfy most New Frontier requirements. He has often been a balance wheel between the more conservative and the more liberal members. But his current role is a reminder that no president can be sure of making or re-making the Fed in any image: Reserve Board governors act with a high degree of independence, and are no more predictable from their past records than are Supreme Court justices.

Encouraging Industry To Curb Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, the urgency involved in fighting air and water pollution becomes more manifest every day. It also becomes more and more evident that we are not going to have the cooperation of industries involved unless we provide tax and other incentives for them.

Passing legislation to force these industries to exercise pollution control will cause ill will on the part of the industries—unless the Government sees fit to lift certain taxes and offer definite incentives that would assure a profit for industries practicing pollution control.

Along these lines, I would like to put into the Record the following excellent editorial which appeared in the Buffalo Courier Express:

ENCOURAGING INDUSTRY TO CURB POLLUTION

Efforts to clean up pollution of air and water by punitive measures against industries that are the sinews of the economy obviously are self-defeating. As a consequence, the only road to sensible pollution control is one of providing incentives by which industries may profit from their participation in control programs.

The need for tax incentives to promote the drive for control of pollution was emphasized in a proper light by Frank J. Nunlist, president of the Worthington Corp., in a talk before the Purchasing Agents Assn. of Buffalo. One of the most significant points he made was that industry itself would develop ways to fight all kinds of pollution once tax incentives were applied as a means of reducing basic costs.

Reductions in taxes for participating industries certainly would be preferable to the general taxpayer, instead of the expense of maintaining the "large police forces" that were envisioned by Mr. Nunlist as necessary to apply any legislative measures that might be adopted to enforce pollution-control laws.

As matters stand, it is possible that plant improvements undertaken to control industrial pollution at its source will add to an industry's tax obligation, a situation which obviously is inimical to the interests of the tax-collecting community as well as those of the industry. As Mr. Nunlist intimated the attitude of the tax assessor needs to be changed so that the installation of pollution-control equipment will be appraised as a contribution to the welfare of the community in which a business operates and be exempt from taxation.

The co-operative arrangement between the City of Buffalo and industries along the Buffalo River to increase the flow of water in the river was cited by the Worthington official, a New Jersey resident, as an example of skill and know-how by which "many of our great national problems" can be solved.

Unless positive inducements are offered to industries participating in pollution-control endeavors to develop realistic measures of their own, it is inconceivable that the air and waters of the land are going to be cleansed to any considerable degree of industrial pollutants.

Bombing Protects Our Fighting Men in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. J. RANDALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, nearly every newspaper in America has made editorial comment about the recent bombing pause and whether or not the President was right in his decision to resume bombing North Vietnam.

The metropolitan paper which serves the Kansas City suburbs and west central Missouri which it is my privilege to represent is the Kansas City Star. In its evening edition of Wednesday, February 15, the lead editorial of that paper, entitled "The Time for Candor as Bombing Resumes," hits the nail squarely on the head and is the best analysis of the reasons for resumption of bombing we have seen anywhere.

This excellent editorial points out that the President had no alternative but to reach the excruciating decision to resume bombing. It points out that the enemy violated the most recent truce even more promiscuously than those of previous holiday periods.

The point of the editorial which deserves greatest attention is when it states the President wanted to sustain the hope for peace as long as there was the slightest basis by prolonging the halt as long as possible. But when our reconnnaissance photographs showed the North Vietnamese were funneling supplies south at a rate five times greater than when under bombing the President decided he had to protect our fighting men knowing so well there are more than 400,000 Americans embattled there.

The editorial quite properly concludes the President must now be frank and candid with the American people, and is summarized by the thought that the time for reticence has passed and the time for candor has arrived.

The editorial follows:

THE TIME FOR CANDOR AS BOMBING RESUMES

Facts are with President Johnson in his excruciating decision to resume bombing North Vietnam. As he explained, the United States had no alternative. Like the two halts in bomb raids during the Christmas-New Year season and the pause that stretched out to 37 days a year ago, the latest suspension of attacks on the North produced nothing. It only enabled the Hanoi government to itensify re-supply efforts of its troop invasion in South Vietnam.

Thus the latest hope for a move toward negotiations seems to have faded. Prime Minister Wilson's announcement that he has a secret agreement with the Soviet Union on how to end the war suggests only that the door has not been entirely closed. Nor, as far as we can see, did the resumption of the bombing in itself close the door. For Mr. Wilson was speaking of reciprocal action by both North Vietnam and the United States. And while we did, for a period, halt the bombing—the U.S. condition in his agreement—there was no evidence that Hanoi had halted the flow of arms, or the "murder in the south," which would be Hanoi's *quid pro quo*.

The North Vietnamese showed no visible trace of interest in shifting from the battlefield to the peace table. Their side had called for a truce over the lunar new year, and their appeal was accepted. Then the enemy proceeded to violate the truce even more promiscuously than it had done during such holiday periods previously.

As for the renewal of the bombing after nearly a week, we assume the administration was convinced that peace talks were beyond reach at this time. Much had been said about peace feelers and maneuvers the past couple of weeks.

There were hints of "third party" contacts between Hanoi and Washington, of a possible moderation of Hanoi's position, of signs of Communist interest in appeals by Pope Paul and U Thant of the United Nations, even of a go-ahead signal on negotiations extended by Peking to Hanoi. Then there was the week-long visit by Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin as a guest of Britain, with the Wilson report that came yesterday. But the formal truce period, on which hopes were centered, has disappeared into history.

Even so, President Johnson would surely have prolonged the halt in bombing had he not been forced to resolve his dilemma. He wanted to sustain the hope for peace as long as there was the slightest basis for doing so. But he also had to protect the fighting men of our six allies in Vietnam and of the more than 400,000 Americans embattled there.

The Reds were using the pause to strengthen their combat position. With no U.S. bombers flying, reconnaissance photographs showed that North Vietnamese vessels and trucks were funneling supplies south at a rate five times greater than normal wartime ratios. Bombing had been unable to stop this infiltration, but it has slowed and reduced the flow. The longer the bombing was stopped, the harder it would have been to resume it. There would be pressures from a world opinion that tends to ignore the practical considerations of warfare.

The question in all minds is what happens next. The early possibility of secret negotiations toward peace cannot be ruled out entirely. But the Johnson administration must recognize that the hopes of many people for a settlement have slipped away. In these circumstances, it seems to us, President Johnson either should submit to Congress the postponed report on Vietnam that he mentioned in his state-of-the-Union message in January or speak directly to the American people in full detail. The time for official reticence on the costly war effort has passed. The time for maximum candor by the White House has arrived.

Tribute to Chairman Emanuel Celler

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT TENZER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday evening, February 12, 1967, I was privileged to attend the B'nai Zion testimonial dinner honoring the distinguished dean of the House of Representatives and chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, the Honorable EMANUEL CELLER.

Chairman CELLER received B'nai Zion's 1967 American-Israel Friendship Award at the dinner. The organization used the occasion to announce the construction of a building to be named in memory of the chairman's late beloved wife, Stella Celler, to be a center for the care, treatment, and education of retardates in Israel.

We know the achievements of B'nai Zion in agricultural settlement, afforestation, medical service, and youth centers in connection with Israel's efforts to absorb the persecuted and deprived Jews of many lands and make them part of a thriving democratic society. A few years ago, this American fraternal Zionist organization turned its attention to Israel's retarded children.

In "adopting" retarded children, B'nai Zion has undertaken to assist Israel develop a chain of services for children underprivileged by virtue of their mental endowment. Israel's Ministry of Social Welfare has created a special service for the retarded to provide total care for these children.

B'nai Zion has forged a partnership with Israel to bring about an expansion of rehabilitation programs for the retarded. The number of children in the care of Israel's service for the retarded has risen by 270 percent in the past 5 years. The goal of B'nai Zion has been set at half a million dollars for six new buildings to expand the B'nai Zion home at Rosh Ha'ayin fourfold. B'nai Zion has most certainly found a cause worthy of its high ideals.

The selection of Chairman CELLER as the guest of honor for the 59th annual B'nai Zion order day dinner was a fitting one. The remarks of William H. Crook, Acting Director of VISTA, Office of Economic Opportunity, in tribute to our beloved and respected "MANNY," set the tone for the evening which brought together over 1,200 guests who admire and respect the dean of the House. Under previous permission, I wish to include Mr. Crook's remarks at this point:

REMARKS OF WILLIAM CROOK TO B'NAI ZION EMANUEL CELLER TESTIMONIAL DINNER, FEBRUARY 12, 1967, NEW YORK HILTON, NEW YORK, N.Y.

Mr. Chairman, Congressman CELLER, distinguished Members of Congress and honored guests of B'Nai Zion:

It is, of course, a great pleasure to be here with you tonight. I'm honored to add Mr. Shriver's voice and my own to the chorus of well-earned praise that resounds tonight in behalf of an outstanding American whom we have gathered to honor.

It would, I believe, be most interesting to speculate for a moment on just how large this already-expansive hall would have to be if it were really to hold all of the countless thousands who have very specific and very personal reasons for wanting to pay tribute and give thanks to our distinguished guest of honor. And it would also be interesting to speculate for a moment on the disparity of that array.

Actually, it is probably just as well for some of us that they are not, in fact, with us tonight. For, if the truth be known, their presence would make some of us less than comfortable.

For the Army of those who owe thanks to Emanual Celler is not exactly a black tie crowd. Their ranks would include:

—every American who is or has ever been poor;

—every citizen who has been inadequately housed because of racial discrimination;

—every person who has been denied a job, or a vote, or a courtesy, because of his race;

—every senior citizen who has ever lacked adequate medical attention;

—every American who once roamed the world as a displaced person;

—every immigrant whose entry into this promised land was eased by enlightened immigration laws.

Their ranks would include all these and many more. And, in one way or another, they would include every one of us. They would include every American who has ever benefited from any piece of humanitarian legislation passed since New Deal days. And his support has been the deciding factor in many issues.

It is positively frightening to think of all the enlightened legislation that would not now be on the books if the people of Brooklyn had not sent EMANUEL CELLER to Washington in 1923 and had not returned him with heavy majorities in more than 20 elections since.

Congressman CELLER, Sarge Shriver asked me to tell you just how sorry he was not to be able to be here tonight to pay personal tribute to your unparalleled record of accomplishment as a statesman—and as a human being. Sargent Shriver asked me to bring you this message:

"I am deeply sorry to miss your gathering tonight. For many months I had looked forward to this evening: to the honor I would have had in speaking to you and sharing the privilege of honoring Congressman Emanuel Celler.

"As a 'people of the book,' B'nai Zion has in its bloodstream the feeling of care for one another. Your organization continually fulfills the exhortation of the Mosaic law: to care for the poor, the widows and orphans, the handicapped and the sick.

"In his long career in Washington, Emanuel Celler has followed the example of Moses in being a leader of community action. He has been a poverty warrior in the tradition of Amos. He has fought for the oppressed as persistently as Joshua.

"As the Prophets of Israel knew in their day and as Congressman Celler knows in our day, serving the poor is not charity, but justice. Down the years, Manny Celler has been on the side of justice. This has assured him a place in American history. But more important, it has assured him a place in our hearts."

To this I would add a thought that is, I am sure, familiar to all of you:

"If I am not for myself, who will be for me? But if I am only for myself, what am I?"

I cannot think of a single living American whose career better demonstrates his thorough understanding of, and belief in, Hillel's golden rule of personal conduct than Emanuel Celler.

I come to you tonight as a representative of one of the most civilized of all civilized efforts—President Johnson's war on poverty. If I may I would like to give you an extremely brief report on the progress and promise of that war. In the early stages our drill sergeant counted a fast cadence and some thought that the effort was out of step with the will and purpose of the country. People conditioned to success and prosperity were traumatized by the sudden knowledge of 34,000,000 fellow human beings living in subhuman poverty. The immediate response of the country, while understandable, was not always commendable. Thousands reacted with suspicion, cynicism, and irrational hostility. But that period is, I strongly believe, fast coming to an end and a new phase of public acceptance is beginning. The evidence for this are many, but our time is too brief to discuss them. More than evidence, however, leads me to such an optimistic affirmation—I base my prediction that America, once aroused to human need, will not close her eyes on the knowledge that this country would have to deny her moral character to turn her back on millions of deprived citizens. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, an Act that Congressman Celler and others here helped to write, states, "It is the policy of the United States to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty." It is as inconceivable that this country would now renounce that bold policy as it is that she would denounce the Bill of Rights or the Emancipation Proclamation.

I am also happy to affirm that the particular arm of the Office of Economic Opportunity which I have the honor to direct, is moving forward with deliberate pace and enthusiasm. The tide of voluntarism in America is running full. Dr. George Gallup has measured the volunteer potential of this country and concluded that millions of Americans are now asking what they can do for their country. Since its establishment, VISTA has put 6,000 full time volunteers in the field—men and women willing to work at the poverty level among the poor. More than 160,000 inquiries and applications have come into our VISTA mail box. An additional 15,000 part time volunteers are now at work on VISTA projects ranging from work with the mentally retarded to living among the migrants, Indians, and in the slums and ghettos and forgotten places of America. By the end of the summer VISTA will have 50,000 part time volunteers at work in America—and we will have just begun to tap the reservoir of citizen concern and compassion!

We are, in fact, already planning a program that could harness the voluntary time and energies of at least 1,000,000 American citizens. And what an Army that will be, Mr. Congressman. When the world hears their marching feet it will know our answer to the Red Guards and understand again the force of revolution—American style.

But I have talked too long. Really I came here to say just one thing. A former rabbi of the 18th century once said, "If you want to raise a man from mud and filth, do not think it enough to keep standing on top and reaching a helping hand down to him. You must go all the way down yourself, down into the mud and filth. Then take hold of him with strong hands and pull him and yourself out into the light."

Mr. Congressman Celler, you have been down amongst us hauling us out into the light all your life. We thank you for it.

Mr. Speaker, the B'nai Zion affair was indeed a success and was a worthy tribute to our distinguished dean who has served as a guiding light for Members of the House and a statesman among his colleagues in this Chamber. I was privileged to be present and to join in this deserved tribute to our most distinguished Member.

Speaker Davoren Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include therein an article from a recent edition of the celebrated Worcester Telegram which has reference to a recent testimonial, of the Worcester area chapter of the Massachusetts Heart Association tendered to the able, distinguished, outstanding speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, the Honorable John F. X. Darvoren, of Milford, Mass., in my district.

On this occasion, Speaker Davoren was presented the Heart Humanitarian Award for his exceptional contributions to the work of the Heart Fund.

As the very brilliant, young dean of Boston College Law School, Mr. Francis J. Larkin, of Milford, stated at the dinner, Speaker Davoren has performed magnificent work for the retarded children also, and, as we know, he has been associated with many fine causes to which he has brought strength and success in finding viable solutions, effective remedies, and progressive techniques.

I heartily congratulate my esteemed and dear friend, Speaker Davoren, and his gracious wife and family, upon the great honor conferred upon him by the Heart Association, and I wish for him continued, good health, success in all his endeavors and objectives, and real happiness and peace with his family for many years to come.

Speaker Davoren is a natural-born leader of vision and courage, and it is not surprising that he should stand out in great humanitarian work, as in every other field of forward-looking government in which he is so wholeheartedly and significantly engaged. Such devoted and inspired leadership is one of the greatest needs of our time.

The article referred to follows:

HEART AGENCY'S TESTIMONIAL DRAWS 700 TO CITE DAVOREN

MENDON.—An estimated 700 persons attended a testimonial dinner honoring House Speaker John F. X. Davoren of Milford at Lakeview Ballroom last night.

The dinner, sponsored by the Worcester Area Chapter of the Massachusetts Heart Association and by the Milford Heart Fund, honored Davoren for his contribution to campaigns against heart disease.

Davoren was presented the Heart Humanitarian Award by Dr. Heinz Lorge, superintendent of the Worcester County Sanitorium.

"The citizens of Milford have been most generous in their financial contributions to Heart," said Dr. Lorge, "and it is to Mr. Davoren, as the exponent of our cause, that we are rendering tribute and respect. Mr. Davoren has always lent his name and considerable influence to the Heart Fund and was personally co-chairman of the Heart Fund campaigns during the years of 1958–1960."

LARKIN SPEAKS

Speaker at the testimonial was Francis J. Larkin, associate dean of the Boston College Law School and a member of the new state Democrate Advisory Council.

Larkin traced Davoren's interest in heart association week. He said the speaker served as state chairman of public affairs of the Council of the Massachusetts Heart Association.

Larkin noted Davoren's "magnificent work" as vice chairman of the Retarded Children's Commission of the Legislature and said this commission was "the fundamental mainspring" for much of the recent legislation on mental retardation.

Larkin added: "In the case of our guest of honor of the evening, we have a man who, in his early age at St. Mary's Central Catholic High School and later at Holy Cross College, in the Pacific during which he served for five years, receiving several decorations for bravery at the battles of Saipan and Tinian, and in his early legislative years, showed that he was a man of integrity, a man who never ran out on either the principles in which he believed or the people who believed in him."

Seated at the head table with Speaker Davoren and his wife were John J. Casey; Bennett Wilson, board chairman of the Worcester Chapter of the heart association; Mrs. Mary Costantino; Dr. Walter Abelmann, president-elect of the Massachusetts Heart Association; Joseph Rosenfeld, honorary dinner chairman; Rep. Nathan Rosenfeld; Dr. Lorge; Mrs. Rachel Chappell; Louis Bertonazzi, chairman of the Milford selectmen; Arthur Le Blanc, and toastmaster Joseph G. Hyder.

Subversion by CiA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, in an editorial today the New York Times discusses the very serious implications of CIA subversion of supposedly free and open institutions.

The text of that editorial follows:

SUBVERSION BY CIA

The disastrous effects of the systematic penetration of American educational, cultural and labor organization by the Central Intelligence Agency daily become more apparent. The strength of these organizations, both in the structure of American society and in their relations with their opposite numbers in other nations, always has been their freedom from government domination.

Now, through the deviousness of C.I.A. operations, thousands of scholars, students, unionists and professional leaders discover long after the fact that they have performed unwitting and undesired duty as secret agents.

The integrity of pro-American positions, honestly taken by groups and individuals in the worldwide battle of ideas, has been undermined. The independence of America's private foundations has been brought into question. In short, faith in American institutions has been besmirched in a way that would have eluded the reach of any foreign enemy.

It is no excuse to say that the C.I.A.'s decision to use a limitless range of philanthropic fronts to funnel its funds into youth groups, universities and other private institutions was designed to meet a very real problem of the cold war: the need for assuring that the Communists would not have an unchallenged field in the youth congresses and cultural conferences they were arranging—and subsidizing—on a global basis ten and fifteen years ago. That problem should have been met openly—by direct public subsidy.

It should have been clear long ago to the C.I.A.'s overseers in the White House that the end effect of clandestine subsidies to groups representative of the detachment and diversity of a free society must inevitably taint the genuineness of their detachment. This would be true even without the charges that have now developed of the assignment of C.I.A. operatives to influence the policy statements and choice of officers of the National Student Association—a practice that may have extended to other organizations as well.

The health of a democratic society depends on the certainty that its free institutions—its press, its educational and scientific bodies, its publishing houses and television networks, it unions and business organizations—are truly free. That does not mean government is barred from underwriting international exchanges or research study; it means that, where such support is appropriate, it must be given openly through its own public agencies.

The worst part of the current mess is that the very nature of the C.I.A., with its mandate for espionage and subversion all over the world, rules out any thoroughgoing public inquiry into its activities. That means some residue of suspicion is sure to remain—both in this country and abroad—no matter how conscientiously the Cabinet Committee appointed last week by President Johnson seeks to formulate policies that will prevent the C.I.A. or any other Federal bureau from imperiling the "integrity and independence" of educational institutions.

When a government finds it necessary to set up an agency to fight subversion with subversion everywhere, the tragic danger it opens up is that among the people it subverts are its own. The defense against such weakening of America's institutional fabric must rest with the President and Congress. Even with the recent broadening of Senator Russells' watchdog committee, Congress is not doing its part of that job.

Air Pollution Could Wipe Millions from Earth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure and personal pride to present to the House one of the winning entries in the 42d Annual Oratorical Contest sponsored by the Latrobe Rotary Club, Latrobe, Pa.

This entry was entitled "The Gray Enemy" was delivered by Vincent Quatrini, Jr., of Latrobe High School.

This subject is particularly timely and of the utmost importance since the Nation is beginning to realize the grave consequences of allowing the present conditions to exist as they are or even worse to expand.

As sponsor of the antiair pollution bill it gives me a personal interest in this fine presentation of this serious subject and I wish to share it with my colleagues and ask that it be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and recommend its reading to all Members:

AIR POLLUTION COULD WIPE MILLIONS FROM EARTH

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Today, The Bulletin is publishing the final winning entry in the

42nd Annual Oratorical Contest. Sponsored by Latrobe Rotary Club, the competition was held at Greater Latrobe Senior High School. The fourth-place entry, entitled, "The Gray Enemy," was delivered by Vincent Quatrini Jr.)

(By Vincent Quatrini Jr.)

Approximately four hours ago New York was wiped from the face of the earth. Millions of our friends, our relatives, and our neighbors were killed. St. Louis, Philadelphia, and even nearby Pittsburgh are losing thousands by the day. The enemy is not the Russians, nor the Chinese—it is a suicidal enemy—air pollution. A fairy tale? Today it might be. But what about tomorrow or the next day? Yes, this fairy tale is near reality. We don't have to strain our memories to recall an all out alert in New York City just two months ago. Just two months ago, a so-called smog blanket, termed as a change in wind conditions, created a temporary pollution. And temporary pollution or permanent pollution—the fact remains that millions of human lives were in a perilous position.

In addition to the deaths this once problem, now crisis, causes, it has a definite bearing upon heart disease and other respiratory ailments. Major D. Olmes Jr., president of the Pennsylvania Tuberculosis and Health Society Board of Directors stated, "It is an established fact that air pollution has many adverse effects on the health of the exposed population." The disease attached directly to the effects of smog is emphysema—a clogging of the breathing passages until suffocation finally results. Number of death? The American Medical Association revealed that emphysema, an ailment unheard of in earlier years, is runnerup in the number of deaths per year. Imagine, it is second in line only to the deadliest of diseases—cancer.

HEED WARNING

We heed the warning on cigarette packages. Caution: Cigarette smoking may be hazardous to your health. But what have we done to the air we normally breath? It might not be filled with tar and nicotine; however, the exhaust fumes of our automobiles, the sulfur dioxide residues from coal burning, the debris from backyard fires—all pollute our air to a far greater degree than cigar fumes fill our lungs. What are we doing about it? Very little, my friends. Air pollution is fatal. Look at nearby Washington County in the little town of Donora. In 1948 the famous—or infamous—Donora smog took the lives of 20 people in that locality of the Monongahela Valley. Another example is the London smog of 1952 which caused over 2,000 deaths and casualties. And who knows what city will be next? Latrobe?

The National Council on Air Pollution opened its sessions with grim predictions. Among them the fact that all life on earth could be eliminated unless air pollution is brought under control. And this is no fairy tale. Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey addressed the council reiterating experts' opinions on the need for smog control. John W. Gardner, Secretary of the Health, Education and Welfare Department warned that if immediate steps were not taken the future of the human race was in grave danger. The Vice President, Secretary of the Health Department—these voices are enough to awaken me. How about You? Do you want to leave to your children a world where they will suffocate in their own gaseous wastes?

I can see only one legitimate argument against an all out war on smog. Cost! I agree that it is an expensive undertaking. What worthwhile cause isn't? If money bothers you, let's express its detrimental effects in dollar signs. The national estimate is 65 dollars per person, in all—11 billion dollars. Or, in national figures, one tenth of the national budget, and even this figure is illusionary for we cannot price the effect smog has on airports and turnpikes in the number of accidents. I feel that an element with such great bearing on our national economy deserves a top spot among national expenditures.

I hope you are not among those who are under the impression that if let alone this problem will go away. If so, you are drastically mistaken. Thomas Williams, director of the Public Health Service's Air Pollution Division defines most accurately why it won't go away. He says, "Smog is a social disease—the product of people and their activities, and like a social disease, if not dealt with, it only gets worse."

Let's get the ball rolling. We need a revamping of our national life. I have presented conclusive arguments to prove there is a war. And not enough is being done about it. Of the 7,300 communities that have the problem of air pollution, only 130 city, county, and regional air pollution programs are being conducted. And compared to $65 per person in damages only 35 to 40 cents is being spent per capita for prevention. These statistics amount to fighting the Vietnam War with sticks and stones.

TV COMMERCIAL

Perhaps you have noticed the television commercial, concerning air pollution. It puts forth a really true to life comparison. The advertisement states, "You can wash your windows, or your car, or even your hair, but you cannot wash your lungs." Think about it. Then do something about it. A united effort is the only approach. Everyone must do something. It takes the dedication of all United States citizens to destroy this newest and deadliest enemy.

Los Angeles is a model for our nation in its growing struggle against air pollution. This city began the war nineteen years ago, developing a commission on air pollution. And, by a recent decision of the California Supreme Court, industry now complies to the orders of the commission. To show how definite they have become, if a person wishes to paint his house this summer in Los Angeles, he must use paint which meets the requirements set by the county. Why don't all the 7,300 communities afflicted by smog enforce such legislation?

How about Latrobe? Are we a bed of germs for this social disease? A Latrobe Bulletin editorial defined our district as "an area tailored-made to be enveloped by air pollution." And through efforts of the local paper, Latrobe Boro Council initiated a study into the immediate dangers. No results have yet been disclosed but whatever findings are reported it will take the complete cooperation of all Boro citizens to make the study worthwhile and effective.

It is the strategy of teamwork and combined effort, the knowledge of what the problem is and what to do about it, and a get-the-job-done attitude, nothing withholding, that will defeat this mortal foe. Realize, Americans, that your life rests with the air you breathe. Oxygen is one of the mainstays of life. We won our Independence, Two World Wars, a Korean War, and a war on water pollution. Let's not quit now. Let us aim both barrels at air pollution and defeat—the gray enemy.

Memo to the Council of Economic Advisers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following item from the February 4 issue of the Minneapolis Tribune for the benefit of the President's Council of Economic Advisers:

An 11th grader summed up his economics course in a year-end test: "If your outgo exceeds your income, your upkeep will be your downfall.

Fairplay for Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID E. SATTERFIELD III

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. SATTERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, when President Johnson sent his message on veterans' affairs to the Congress recently, I endorsed his proposals immediately in a report to my constituents. The President's recommendations, with few exceptions, endorse the goals we have been striving for in the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs. This mutual interest reflects, I believe, the desire of the people to fulfill the obligation of a grateful nation to those whose sacrifices in the service of their country have helped to preserve the freedom we cherish. We must move to fulfill our debt not only to the men in Vietnam, but to those who have met the call of our country in earlier wars. It was gratifying, therefore, to note this same deep interest expressed in a recent editorial in the Richmond, Va., News Leader. Under permission to extend my remarks, I include the editorial at this point in the RECORD:

FAIR PLAY FOR VETERANS

President Johnson's message last week on veterans' benefits unfortunately got lost in the burial of the astronauts, the news from Peking, and the tribulations of Bobby Baker. This was a pity, for the President's recommendations in this area merit wide understanding and public support. His program would do much to relieve the sacrifices of men in Viet Nam and to improve the life of those who live on military pensions.

The astonishing fact, as the President pointed out, is that veterans, their dependents and their survivors now number nearly 94 million persons, or almost one out of every two persons in the nation. The great bulk of them, of course, are now indistinguishably a part of the civilian population. Most of them have used or waived their GI benefits; they have outgrown or overcome the handicaps of military service. Yet 1.4 million veterans, widows and dependents are living on military pensions, and new thousands of young men are moving to and from the Vietnamese conflict. A grateful nation owes them fair and compassionate treatment.

In his message, Mr. Johnson recommended a series of measures to bring current benefits more in line with past procedures and with current costs.

Men who serve in Viet Nam already are entitled to most of the benefits earlier made available under the GI Bill of Rights, but a number of gaps and inequities remain. Mr. Johnson would bring the veteran of the Mekong Delta and Chu Lai fully in line with the veteran of Pork Chop Hill and Iwo Jima. This would mean equal disability compensation, equal death pensions for widows and children, and enlarged educational benefits for the boy who enters military service before completing high school. One section of the President's bill would raise the monthly college benefit for single veterans from $100 to $130, with proportionate increases for married veterans with children.

Another attractive feature of Mr. Johnson's program would increase the amount of available Serviceman's Group Life Insurance from its present maximum of $10,000 to a new maximum of $30,000. For veterans now on the pension rolls, he proposes a general increase of 5.4 per cent in benefits, effective in July; and he would see to it that no increases that may be voted in Social Security benefits would operate so as to reduce a veteran's pension.

These are modest and reasonable steps. Under the sometimes capricious operation of Selective Service, many youngsters are drafted into compulsory military service before they fully understand what education is all about. Others volunteer, out of patriotism or apprehension, or because they see career opportunities in the armed forces. For all of them, the low pay, the long hours, the lost years, the dangers and the hardships of military life never can be compensated fully. But the Congress can try—and to its credit, the Congress has not done badly by the serviceman and veteran in recent years. Under the President's bill, the Congress would try a little harder to repay an obligation that all of us owe.

Anniversary of Lithuanian Independence

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, Lithuania has been a state for more than 715 years. For the past 26 years she has struggled bravely to regain the freedom she lost in 1940, when German armies invaded her, and the Soviet Government forcibly annexed her territory.

It was 49 years ago, on February 16, 1918, that Lithuania gained independence following subjugation by Russia, and the occupying German armies, during World War I, for more than 120 years. Her freedom was almost immediately challenged by the Soviet Union. She lost some territory to the Soviet, but by her heroic resistence she forced them to recognize Lithuania as a sovereign state in 1920.

Again, during World War II, she found herself occupied by German armies and, repeating earlier history, the Soviet Union resumed a reign of oppressive occupation, which still continues.

There was an all too brief period—22 years—following her declaration of independence in 1918 when it appeared she could continue as an independent nation. She entered into diplomatic relations with the major European powers, and demonstrated a capacity, and ability, for self-government. Many social reforms took place in Lithuania during this period, as well as improved transportation, education, and land reforms. Great strides forward were taken, only to end once more in disappointment and sorrow.

We must never forget the fight waged by the Lithuanian people to reestablish their complete independence. As Americans we enjoy the blessings of freedom, and we shall continue to strive for the same blessings for all men. I extend my warmest wishes to my many Lithuanian friends here in the United States that the day will come soon again when their friends and families in Lithuania can be, as we are, freemen.

Mrs. Kelly Fights Discrimination

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, in reading the February 10, 1967, issue of the Jewish Press, I was most happy to read an endorsement of H.R. 767, which was introduced by my very dear friend and colleague, Mrs. Edna F. Kelly, of the 12th District, Brooklyn, N.Y.

To someone else, this column and the editorial might have gone unnoticed. However, because Edna Kelly has had a vital interest in religious freedom and the dignity of man she has been fighting discrimination of all kinds whether it be race, color, or religion, for all her constituents, in her district, in the State, and in the Nation.

H.R. 767 would provide time off for government employees to comply with their religious obligations. At this point, Mr. Speaker, I would like to place in the Record for the benefit of my colleagues the editorial mentioned above and excerpts from a column urging its enactment:

JOB DISCRIMINATION DESK

Since December 9th, 1966, the Jewish Press has been publishing the Job Discrimination Desk. It took a lot of courage to tackle major corporations and even the United States Post Office, charging religious discrimination. But we had pledged ourselves to serving the community by exposing any and all forms of discrimination from the very start. We felt that highlighting such infractions, action by our legislators would be forthcoming. Our supposition was correct! Last week a number of Senators and Assemblymen from the New York State legislature met with members of our staff to discuss ways and means by which they could help write and develop legislation to make New York State an even greater state than it already is.

This week we received correspondence from Congresswoman Edna Kelly of the 12th District in Brooklyn, who implied that our Job Discrimination Desk column had captured her interest and as a result wrote a piece of legislation that would help correct any discrimination against government employees who must comply with their religious obligations. (See Job Discrimination Desk this week, page 3).

We are eternally grateful to the New York State legislators who have taken such great interest in our views, and to Congresswoman Edna Kelly who has dedicated herself to eliminating any form of discrimination, regardless of how subliminal it might be.

JOB DISCRIMINATION DESK

(By Sheldon David Engelmayer)

The Jewish Press, in an effort to sustain fair play in employment practices involving Sabbath Observers, will accept complaints from readers who feel they have been discriminated against because of their religious practices. The Jewish Press Complaint Desk will investigate all complaints and those found to be valid will be processed in accordance with the laws of this state.

* * * * *

Any reader who feels they have a case for the Jewish Press Complaint Desk should include all the information in a letter to the Jewish Press Complaint Desk, 2427 Surf Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11224. Do not phone. Please include your home address and phone number for our purposes.

CONGRESSWOMAN KELLY INTRODUCES FEDERAL ANTIDISCRIMINATION BILL IN CONGRESS

For the past several weeks, this column has been dealing with discriminatory employment practices against the Sabbath Observer in the New York Post Office. The Post Office is a federal agency and, therefore, federal legislation is the only remedy.

Congresswoman Edna F. Kelly (D.-N.Y.) has introduced such legislation in the House of Representatives. The bill, designated H.R. 767, would provide time off for government employees to comply with their religious obligations. This bill, if passed, would clearly solve the problem of the Sabbath Observer employed in the New York Post Office or any branch of the Federal Government.

A similar bill has been introduced several times before in the halls of Congress. Opposition to such worthwhile legislation was so great, however, that the bill died in committee and never reached the floor of Congress for a vote. This must not happen again.

We urge the readers of the Jewish Press to fill out the coupon below and mail it to House Speaker John McCormack, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Speaker, We support H.R. 767, and all such legislation which would allow the Sabbath Observer to remain in the employ of the Federal government without having to compromise his religious beliefs. We urge passage of H.R. 767, or similar legislation.

Name ----------------------------------
Address --------------------------------
City--------------- State-------- Zip-----

We are hopeful that the Congress and the President will see the needs for such legislation and that, with the help of the readers of the Jewish Press there will soon be a Federal Law prohibiting discrimination against the Sabbath Observer in the Post Office or any branch of the Federal Civil Service.

H.R. 767

[In the House of Representatives]

A bill to provide time off duty for Government employees to comply with religious obligations prescribed by religious denominations of which such employees are bona fide members

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, notwithstanding any other provision of law, the head of each department or independent establishment in the executive branch of the Federal Government and the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia shall grant under regulations prescribed by the President with respect to the executive branch and the Board of Commissioners with respect to the District of Columbia, to employees under their respective jurisdictions, to the extent compatible with the exigencies of the public business and the performance of essential services, time off from duty (without charge to any leave otherwise authorized by law and without loss of compensation and other employee benefits) to comply with religious obligations prescribed by religious denominations of which such employees are bona fide members. Any such time off shall be predicated on a written answer employee concerned under appropriate regulations of the authority concerned. Any denial of such time off shall be predicated on a written answer of the authority concerned which shall state the reasons for such denial and shall be transmitted to the employee concerned.

Mr. Speaker, I commend Representative EDNA F. KELLY for her dedication to the cause of civil rights and for her efforts to correct practices which have resulted in discrimination against Government employees. I urge my colleagues to review and lend their support to H.R. 767.

Posies or Progress?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, it is my understanding that joint hearings will be conducted by the Public Works Committees of the Senate and House on President Johnson's ordered cutback in highway construction funds and that these hearings are scheduled to start on February 27 and run through March 2.

Many of my colleagues have introduced resolutions such as mine, House Concurrent Resolution 86, expressing the sense of Congress that the Federal-aid highway program should be carried on without delays or cutbacks. In this connection I have noted an article by commentator Paul Hope, entitled "Cuts Called No Way To Run a Road," which appeared in the Washington Evening Star on February 29, 1967. I include this Paul Hope article at this point in my remarks so that his comments on this situation may be brought to the attention of my colleagues before the scheduled hearings get underway:

CUTS CALLED NO WAY TO RUN A ROAD

(By Paul Hope)

A congressman complained the other day that it won't be of much benefit to a person killed in a highway accident that he enjoyed looking at "posies" before the crash.

What Rep. William C. Cramer, R-Fla., was all worked up about was President Johnson's decision to curtail federal spending for highway construction, while at the same time asking more funds for getting rid of junkyards and prettying up the landscape along the roads.

It is becoming apparent that the highway fund cutback ordered last November is one of the President's more unpopular moves.

Not all are quite so caustic as Cramer but protests are pouring in from governors, state highway officials, contractors and House and Senate members.

Even Georgia's new governor, Lester Maddox, who hadn't been to the White House since the last time he picketed against federal racial policies, carried his protests against the road fund cutback directly to the President a few days ago.

Some complainants who have researched the record have come up with what might be called a presidential credibility gap on highways.

In August 1964, while signing a highway bill, Johnson said:

"For much too long, the man who owns and drives an automobile has been treated like a stepchild. We require him to pay for the highways he uses and we require him to pay in advance. We divert his taxes to other uses but we delay the building of the roads that he deserves. . . . .Eight years ago we set out on a 16-year program to catch up with ourselves—catch up through the Interstate Highway System. . . . In every respect it has met our hopes. It has put more than one million Americans to work. It is already saving 3,000 lives a year and, by 1972, it will be saving 8,000 lives a year."

The way Cramer and others see it, those words don't jibe very well with the $700 million cutback ordered by Johnson last November and his hint in January that an additional $400 million reduction may be in the works.

Johnson ordered the 17½ percent reduction (which opponents say actually works out to a 25 percent reduction) as a move to curb inflation.

There are some who argue that taxes should have been increased last year to curb inflation and that the road-fund curtailment was just another gimmick by an administration that didn't want to raise taxes in an election year.

The value of the cutback as an anti-inflation measure is doubted by many. It doesn't affect projects already under construction and by the time it does curb road building some months hence it may be that the economy will need a shot in the arm rather than a depressant.

Even if the cutback accomplished what Johnson said was its purpose, the opponents claim it still is a heck of a way to run a road.

Highway officials figure that each mile of interstate highway saves one life each year. Cramer estimated the November cutback could cost 200 lives.

Some other effects: Delays mean increased construction costs. State highway departments, geared up to a certain level of work, probably will have to discharge personnel. Some road contractors may have to go out of business. And when the program gets back to normal, skilled people will have to be recruited again.

There also is a sneaking suspicion among some opponents that the President is going to use some of the funds taken out of the highway program to help finance Mrs. Johnson's beautification program and other Great Society programs.

Actually, the law says that none of the money that goes into the federal highway trust fund (which comes from gasoline and other taxes paid by highway users) can be appropriated for purposes other than the federal-aid highway program. But there apparently is nothing to keep the administration from "borrowing" whatever surplus there might be.

Cramer, a member of the House Public Works Committee, says it "seems clearly to be the intention of the administration to continue and to increase the highway cutback and to borrow the resulting cash balances. . . . The administration has found a way to divert highway user taxes to other programs without congressional approval.

In other words, the opponents think the President has pulled the road right out from under the states, the contractors and the long-suffering motorists.

Depositories of Hope

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. G. V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues a sermon delivered by Dr. Walter R. Courtenay, from the pulpit of the First Presbyterian Church, Nashville, Tenn. This sermon was forwarded to me by the Honorable L. L. Martin, of Macon, Miss.

The sermon follows:

DEPOSITORIES OF HOPE

(I Peter 1: 1–9, 13–16)

In seeking a title for today's message I considered three words, *cradle, reservoir,* and *depository*. *Cradle* I rejected because it suggests infancy, helplessness and total dependence. *Reservoir* I put aside because it suggests impounded water behind a man-made dam. *Depository* I kept because, like a checking account, it suggests values placed in reserve for later use.

The new year of 1967 has five depositories that I would have you consider.

The first is *ourselves*. We are all experienced people, even though some of our experiences are memories that "bless and burn." We all have knowledge of things as they are and could be if we wished them otherwise. In us there are ideals as yet unrealized, dreams not yet fulfilled, and goals not yet achieved. A new year is a good time for us to think about our yesterdays and our tomorrows, to face up to what we are doing to ourselves and for ourselves, and to decide if we are using our talents, time and opportunities as wisely as we should. Surely this is good time for us to set for ourselves targets of accomplishment for the months ahead.

I think it can be said of most of us that we live rutted lives, lives that follow the ruts of the customary, which again and again prove to be the ruts of the casual way. The past has taught us that it is not easy to leave the ruts that have determined our direction and our movement, but to follow ruts simply because they are there, or for fear that the alternative will be worse, is contrary to all that is best in man.

I have never liked ruts, and I have known many. In summer they used to fill the air with dust and the car with rattles. In winter they made me prisoner for many a Georgia mile. Often they represented the only way, and one was compelled to use them. But highway departments have created roads to defeat the ruts, to give us new alternatives, and to make our progress richer in freedom, safety and pleasure.

What highway departments have done for roads, Christ has done for human life as a whole. He, too, is a road builder and a defeater of ruts. He offers all of us improved highways to a better selfhood, to improved vocations, to richer associations, and to a variety of ways whereby we may serve better both God and man.

Not only do His signs on the highways give us correct directions, but He also empowers us in daily life to achieve what our hearts desire. The roads the Master builds, and bids you follow, will not reduce your freedom nor overcharge you at the toll gates; rather they will encourage you to move ahead, remembering the rules of the road that bless, and the laws that bring you safely home.

A second depository is *our homes*. Here programs of improvement are always in order, and here is where it is always wise to open the doors and windows, and let in the fresh air of God's larger world.

Homes are shapers of souls and destinies, and the reshapers as well. Homes never leave us as we used to be or are, but work continuously to alter us for better or for worse, and it takes a great deal of prayer and patience, faith and forgiveness, love and laughter, to direct the changes homes are constantly making in all of us.

Houses never become homes simply because they are newer, roomier, better located, and more tastefully furnished. Houses become homes only when those who dwell therein become the wise custodians of hearts as well as rooms. Nothing is of greater worth here than love evidenced, appreciation expressed, and pride-of-belonging raised like a scarlet banner above a castle tower.

Homes to be Christian require the presence of Him who began His ministry by blessing a wedding. Homes, to be more than occupied space, demand practices that help a family become in truth a vital part of God's larger household. Trite as it may sound, let me reaffirm my conviction that without Bibles read and valued, prayers offered and believed, church life honored and used, faces expressing affection, voices shouting encouragement, and attitudes manifesting goodwill, no home can honor Him who has so marvelously honored homes. Wherever we find a house that contains a Christian home we find affection that expresses unity, togetherness that betokens love, and a oneness that speaks of our loyalty to Him who would have every house owned by Christians to contain a Christian family.

In recent years many of us have built and moved into better houses, located in lovelier surroundings, and better equipped to express our personalities and meet our needs, but have we filled these new houses with better people? When all is said and done, surely a better family is of more importance than a better house.

Christians, of course, may well have both, but let it be said that no Christian is worthy of a better house who is not vitally interested in filling it with a better household.

A third depository is *our national economic system.* We speak of it, as the Free Enterprise System or the Profit Motive System, and many today deny its value. Because of this the system is under heavy pressures, pressures that would sink it rather than press it upward toward more productive levels. We must be concerned about what is happening to the system simply because it is basic to the welfare of all Americans and to the world at large.

Let it here be clearly stated that the system is not free from weaknesses and blemishes. Being man-created, it bears in its fabric the weaknesses of man, but as a sign once shouted from an office wall, I say to you that while it may not be the best system in the world, it is far ahead of whatever is in second place.

It is my hope that 1967 will mean a decrease in the erosion of this system which has done more for more people than any other yet conceived. Not only has it blessed our people, and the world's people, far beyond man's worthiness, but it has done so while granting maximum freedom to the individual, and releasing him from doing obeisance before the whims of political mismanagement.

For the past half century we have been tinkering with the system, and the system has many times been faced with the fate of an alarm clock in the hands of a small boy. It is a system that rewards the creative, the aggressive, the talented, the industrious, and the loyal. It tends to serve best those who serve best, while not forgetting those whose talents are less and whose creativeness does not lift them to life's higher echelons of compensation. Under the system, all who are willing to learn, to work intelligently and hard, will find in the system a source of rewards.

It is a system that will not work without considerate employers and employees, and a fair distribution of the rewards of the system. But the system works best when guided by business men who are themselves successful in productive enterprises, men who know the basic economic laws of the material world, yes, and the values of the spiritual world, and who understand not just the power of the dollar, but its value. While I respect the views of many professors of economics, and of social planners, from amongst whom come many who value the system I defend this day, I trust to a larger degree business men who know firsthand the problems of employment, production, distribution the importance of saleable products, and the necessity of profits. They, too, are human, and selfishness is not an unknown trait among them, but they at least know that manpower and moneypower cannot be wasted, poorly used or stupidly expended, without dire results to the business being operated. For us, as a nation, to continue to support theories that are about as American as the Russian Constitution, amounts to dereliction of duty on one of the major battlefields of modernity.

I personally have great hopes for the system. It has blessed my life and has permitted me to be a greater blessing to others. It has done more for the American Christian Church and church programs, as well as for education, athletics, citizenship, improved social life, and the meeting of world needs, than any system man has ever known. All that we really need is a program to help our people understand it, appraise its virtues and contributions, and to see wherein it has been basic in our nation's rise to affluence and power. I have heard all the criticisms men have aimed against the system, but the fact remains that it has done more for more people than its creators ever dreamed would be possible. To lose it would mean the rise of a society that would be little more than a distant relative to the America we have known and loved.

A fourth depository is *our national heritage.* That there is a strong drift away from the political concepts of the Founding Fathers no informed person can question. Our Constitution increasingly becomes a managed-document, and its managers see to it that their interpretations of it support their philosophy of what American society should be.

More and more we become a people who cannot differentiate between what is best and what is merely popular. Going along with the crowd is one of the clearest marks of our decline. To be on the bandwagon, to support the so-called new, the different, simply because it is new and different, is becoming one of the major problems of our time. In order to extend blessings to some, we do not hesitate to seriously limit the freedoms of others. In order to enlarge the ranks of those who must of necessity exchange votes for handouts, we move in strange directions and talk as if our resources were inexhaustible and the recipients of our bounty worthy of all sacrifice. Some leaders in Washington constantly act like senile grandparents who feel that their dependents can do no wrong, especially if they vote correctly.

Here I pause to say that if Congress permits Adam Clayton Powell to retain his chairmanship, and to retain his seat in Congress without legal procedures, simply because of his color, it will be a disgrace to his people who have worked so hard to achieve equality before the law. If Powell escapes punishment, then no man has any right to be sentenced to prison for wrongdoing.

This situation is the result of what I call vote-ulism. A few years ago, fear of the disease of botulism swept our community, a disease of the digestive system resulting from contaminated foods. But what about the disease of vote-ulism which creates all kinds of digestive problems in the body politic, vote-ulism being an overdose of support for programs which while worthy in concept are so often rotten in execution.

This is a good place to say that there is a place in our system for head-start programs, programs of retraining workers in new skills, programs that reduce school drop outs, and salvage salvageable people for our nation's good, but even here the good programs tend to become vote getting procedures, under the authority of the wrong people for wrong reasons.

I take great pride in my country. I would serve no other. Her virtues far outnumber her vices, and her successes are as Mt. Everest above the valleys of her failures. Given even a halfway chance, she will yet fulfill the dreams of those who gave her birth.

In this new year I would urge you by the quality of your citizenship, your scale of values, and your Christian commitment, to encourage those in public office to give us their best, and to write into the history of the new year those principles that are both Christian and American.

In our day there is much attention given to those we now describe as the Deprived. That there is in our nation a large group of needy people we must admit, although not many of us have any close-up contact with them. I am not sure they are the deprived, because that suggests that someone has prevented their bettering their condition and has forced them to be what they are where they are. The emphasis on these people today is great, and maybe it is well, but I feel that we should not be so carried away with this emphasis that we forget the other people, those who have created our industries, our businesses, our banks, our best institutions and our vast philanthropies. If it be true that the emphasis in the past has been lopsided on the sides of the Haves, let it now be said that we are now in danger of becoming lopsided in behalf of the Havenots. Let it also be said that the majority of the Haves in America today were once Have-nots, but by developing their abilities, by being creatively industrious, by taking advantage of the opportunities offered, they left the ranks of the Have-nots to take their places amongst those we now label the Privileged. In such a group members of unions take their stand with business executives, and employees stand side by side with employers. Those who are today the Haves are, in the main, people who did not shirk the sweat of self-improvement, nor failed to accept the challenge of the upward climb. It is as true today as it was in ancient Rome, "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves, that we are underlings."

Let us as a nation do what honest and generosity demand to the end that our American heritage may live vitally in our children and our children's children. Let us work diligently for those who need help and guidance that they may leave their levels of gloom and stand in the light of better days. Let us be compassionate, but let us also be wise dispensers of compassion.

The fifth depository of our hopes is *the church.* What is the church supposed to be save God's custodian of the grace vouchsafed to men through faith in Jesus Christ as Lord! What is our task save that of telling our neighbor and the world of Him who came to give new and eternal life to men! What is our task but that of interpreting for modern man the Book which is God's message of hope to all mankind!

In a world of many books we have but one. From it we draw our concepts of deity and dignity, good government and good people, worthy men and worthwhile programs. From it we draw the commission Christ once gave to His disciples, admonishing them to so live, so love, and so serve, that, through them, their Master would in time become the Master of the world.

As we talk to men about our Lord, we must not place Him lower than the Eternal Son of the Eternal Father, nor accord Him any worship save that of repentant men before a sinless Saviour, nor walk in any path save that which leads to the Father and to the Father's House.

The New Testament task given to believing men concerned evangelism, the bringing of men and women into the closest possible fellowship with Him who saves. That is still our task, and to say what many say today, namely, that all social programs are evangelism, and that what men need is better sociology rather than more New Testament instruction, is to evade the final commandment of our Lord to men.

In many of the church's programs today the name of Christ is absent, and men are not reminded that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners. Sociology can help us see the inequities in our society, and sociology may well help us find answers to many of them, but from a New Testament standpoint, sociology is not in any sense equivalent to what the church calls the salvation of men. Humanism, the mother of much sociological planning in our day, is a de-Christianized philosophy. To teach men to trust only themselves, and to trust no other, is exactly what all communists teach. If Christianity were not a continuing vital force in America today, humanism would die within a decade. It is the church that enables it to live at all.

But what really is the situation in the church today? At times she seems a cornucopia of confusion, a whirlpool that moves in mighty sweeps, but moves not onward. And why? Is it because we no longer trust God as men once did? Is it because the Bible is no longer the authoritative word from above? Is it because we no longer feel that men need a Saviour, and that that Saviour is Christ?

Those who belittle the Scriptures and Jesus Christ as Saviour would have us fall down and worship a Golden Calf, made by their hands, which is for them a better symbol of virility than either the Cross or the Open Sepulchre.

Let me say here that picket lines will never bring in the Kingdom of our God. Sociology, poorly related to God and church, will never heal the brokenness that is so basic in human nature. To teach that our need today is gobs of money spent by do-gooders under the authority of the Federal government is to contradict every teaching of the New Testament, and every teaching of the historic church. If sociology is our salvation we are a doomed people.

The 1967 Confession of the United Presbyterian Church, given much publicity in our community during the past week, is a case in point. The Confession was created for one purpose only, to give confessional standing to the social and racial programs of modern churchmen. Whatever words are used to describe the reason for the Confession one fact seems pertinent, it is nothing more nor less that Fabian socialism in the clerical garb of the Presbyterian Church.

At the regular winter meeting of Nashville Presbytery this month, we will be asked to give our financial and personal support to what is called Project Equality. Churchmen will be asked to sign a document promising to confine their purchases to those concerns which carry out the Federal government's program of fair employment. One would think that discrimination in employment was the sin against the Holy Ghost. A man might be a cheat and a liar, but as long as he does not discriminate, he is acceptable. Another man might be the epitome of integrity, but because, for his own reasons, he hires only white Protestant employees, he must be treated as a leper. How absurd can we become?

Yet, in spite of the confusion that surrounds us today, I have great faith in the eventual rebirth of the Christian Church. The pendulum that now swings to the left will not always so swing. The church that now goes overboard on every crackpot scheme that men can contrive will not always prove indifferent to the deeper message of Scripture. The church which today refuses to hear the only authoritative voice it knows, and to follow the only tested rules we have, will one day hearken to the voice, and rededicate itself to the keeping of the rules.

Today everyone wants to be where the social action is. I want to be, and I want the church to be, where the spiritual action is. Some contend that the spiritual action is in Congress, in the streets, and in protest meetings, but this I believe, that before any such actions are spiritual and effective, men must find a chapel, a kneeling bench, and a confessional, and there acknowledge Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord.

Answers are needed, and many are those seeking answers, but as I see it, only those who honor New Testament teachings and fulfill their directives will bring to our day the answers that we need.

For a church dedicated to the study of the Bible as God's voice, I wait. For a church that sees its task as that of bringing men into the presence of the saving Christ, I wait. For the church that believes in prayer and not the jingle-jangle-jazz of gongs, drums and clashing cymbals, I wait. For a church that does its duty to its own members, affirming to them the truth shared by the Father, I wait. For a church that truly believes in Him who alone can forgive our sins, and encourages the rising generations to be loyal to Christ above all else, I wait. For a church that believes that God holds the whole world in his hands, I wait! I wait! I wait!!!

If the church continues as it is now moving, supporting every scheme men can contrive to convince men that their hope of heaven depends upon governments, unions, and the views of certain sociologists and educators, it is doomed to fail. Even Twentieth Century man is a sinner in the need of the redeeming grace offered him in Christ. Men are not saved until they know Him whom God did send, and find in His love their soul's salvation.

If we persist in acting as if all evil were a matter of social inequities, and that a poverty-free society is synonymous with the Kingdom our Lord lived and died to establish, we can only fall heir to a stronger form of governmental bureaucracy, with diminishing freedoms, and to find that the fruits of the labors of the energetic are confiscated, not to meet the needs of the worthy needy, meaning those who would take advantage of all self-help programs offered, but the unworthy needy, those who are content to live on the welfare roles of a generous but careless nation.

Here then are five areas that need your prayerful, zestful attention during this new year, *ourselves, our homes, our economic system, our national heritage,* and *the church*. As Christians, and as Americans, we cannot afford to lose our interest in any one of them, and least of all in Him whose life is the light of the world, whose death means our reconciliation with God, whose forsaken tomb is our strongest argument for eternal life, and whose living presence alone can help us triumph over all that decreases our enthusiasm, defiles our honor, and tends to defeat both our faith and our good intentions.

Lessons I Have Learned From Masons

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, the Imperial Council, Nobles of the Mystic Shrine for North America, conducted a breakfast on February 21 in the Regency Room of the Shoreham Hotel, which is an annual meeting honoring the memory of Frank S. Land, who perhaps more than any other one individual did more to promote the DeMolay. At this breakfast, William R. Henry, a member of the DeMolay, delivered an address on the subject "Lessons I Have Learned From Masons." His address follows:

LESSONS I HAVE LEARNED FROM MASONS

Dag Hammarskjold once said, "working at the edge of the development of human society is to work on the brink of the unknown".

There are today throughout the world, thousands of individuals who are working at the edge of the development of human society. These men are working through chapters of the Order of DeMolay. Members of lodges of Free and Accepted Masons are helping the young men of the world to a greater understanding of their duties and responsibilities as members of society. They aren't really working on the brink of the unknown, for Freemasonry gives to young men those virtues, those attributes, those qualities which have stood the test of time.

Qualities which have molded human society and which, through these young men will help make human society even better for those who come after.

In any consideration of the contributions others have made to one's development, it is decidedly difficult to specify any one individual or group of individuals as those most responsible for the opinions or views adopted. However, as I look back upon my life, I see many results of my contacts with members of lodges of Freemasons. I do not know the specific philosophy of Freemasonry, yet there are instances of philosophic tenets which I find almost universal, among Freemasons I have known. It seems to me that the most common philosophic tenet in those Freemasons I have had the pleasure of knowing is the belief that people are inherently good. When one smiles at a child, a child will usually smile back. This is a simplified example of the premise that people are basically trusting and good.

A more fundamental application of this theory is that by treating others with honor and justice one shall be treated with honor and justice in return. Honor, trust, and concern are the oils which help to lubricate the human relationships and to make them more productive and satisfying. Another philosophic tenet I have noticed in Freemasons is a deep personal belief in God. The members of lodges of Free and Accepted Masons I have known, have possessed a view of man's relationship with his God, which is rare in the modern world. God to these men, is present in everything they do and their commitment to Him is a powerful force in their lives. Peter Marshall once said, "If God is not in your kitchen, then something is wrong in your kitchen. If God is not in your work then there is something wrong with your work. If God is not in your life, there is something wrong with your life." Masons are men who show evidence of God in their lives.

Still another area in which I have observed Freemasons at work is in civic activities. I personally know Masons who are active in their lodges and their churches, their homes, fraternal organizations, service groups politics, Boy Scouts and DeMolay. All this in addition to holding down a professional 9 to 5 attachment at some commercial enterprise. Sometimes I think it would be interesting to take a poll of several hundred Masons and determine what percentage of these individuals are active in political life. I don't mean activity as candidates alone, but rather as candidates, voters, contributors, workers and opinion leaders. The percentage of men exercising excellent citizenship would be far higher among Freemasons than among any other similar group.

Masons have concern for our nation's young people. I don't think it was an accident that every one of my leaders in Boy Scouts happened to be a Mason. For Freemasons feel an obligation to help young men grow up to be decent human beings, and these individuals demonstrate their concern in almost every type of youth organization. I feel I speak from experience when I say Masons have taught me the fullest meaning of integrity, of honor, of fidelity, of justice, of concern and of responsibility. These lessons I have learned by observing their excellent example.

Masons are men in the best sense of the word. They are men who handle the problems they must face with honor and straightforwardness. A Mason lives a life in such a manner as to leave a memory that is an inspiration to those young people who follow. I have learned from Masons that life is lived best by those who respect it and who consecrate their efforts to improving man's lot here on earth. These men strive to aid meaningfully in the development of human society. But Masons aren't really working at the brink of the unknown, for Freemasonry offers to humanity the accumulation of centuries of experience in living life well.

New 3M System Produces Microfilmed Heart Data From Telephone Signals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

NEW 3M SYSTEM PRODUCES MICROFILMED HEART DATA FROM TELEPHONE SIGNALS

Heart signals transmitted by telephone can be recorded in minutes as microfilmed electrocardiograms with a new electronic system announced by 3M Co., St. Paul.

Developed by 3M research, the recorder was shown for the first time at the American College of Cardiology, Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C., February 15–19, 1967, in the 3M Co. technical exhibit, booths 121 and 122.

"With the frequent need for accurate diagnosis of ECG recordings by heart specialists located at points distant from the patient, this system has been designed to enable specialists to give a diagnosis quickly by telephone or by closed circuit television," said Dr. Marshall R. Hatfield, technical director of 3M's Microfilm Products Division.

"In addition, enlarged dry copies of the Microfilm images can be made in seconds. The original film can be duplicated quickly and inexpensively or can be used as the basis for future computer studies and as an aid to medical education," Dr. Hatfield said.

With the new system, heart data may be acquired in the home, at a clinic or in a hospital. It then can be transmitted to the 3M "1260" ECG Recorder for diagnosis by a specialist over direct cable lines, standard telephone lines or data transmission lines such as Bell Telephone's Data-phone system. With proper scheduling, several hundred ECGs can be recorded by the unit in a day.

Heart traces transmitted via telephone lines are received at the "1260" recorder as displays on the faces of cathode ray tubes. An electron beam which forms the trace has no inertia and forms a signal superior to conventional pen-and-ink strip chart devices, Dr. Hatfield said.

In addition to a monitor and the cathode ray tubes, the "1260" recorder console contains a microfilm processor-camera which photographs the image on the tube and completes the film processing in 45 seconds. The microfilmed images can be viewed immediately on a reader, or enlarged dry copies can be made in seconds on a reader-printer for the specialist to make a diagnosis.

By using multiple channel telephone transmission, the twelve leads of current produced by the heart can be transmitted simultaneously and recorded on the "1260."

Film produced by the processor-camera is mounted in a camera card, which is an electronic data processing card having a hole, or aperture, in which the frame of microfilm is mounted. Coded information such as patient identification and a cardiological diagnosis can be keypunched into the card. Duplicates of the original card can be made with 3M "086" copiers.

In addition to speed of transmission and diagnosis, Dr. Hatfield cited the following advantages for the system:

Time savings gained by eliminating the need to cut, mount and store the data as in conventional usage.

Space savings estimated at more than 90% can be gained by storing the data on camera cards and the recorder occupies about 1/20th the space required by conventional strip charts and associated records.

Cost savings of approximately 32 cents per ECG. (The "1260" records the data at a cost of 18 cents per card as compared with 50 cents in present applications).

Ease of retrieval.

Camera cards can form the basis for future computer studies and as an aid to medical education.

Ease in reclassifying the file.

Availability of records for reproduction and distribution to satellite locations.

With a minimum of system design, the "1260" can be integrated with future ECG computer diagnosis systems.

Social Security Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, much has been said about the need for increasing social security payments. On January 18, 1967, I introduced legislation in this body to establish a minimum primary benefit of $100 per month. If any Member of this House would like to hear eloquent testimony as to why this increase is needed now, I urge him to listen to this letter which I received today from a lady in Union City, N.J. The letter reads as follows:

Congressman DOMINICK V. DANIELS.

DEAR SIR: I agree Social Security benefits should be increased to $100 a month. I am 83 years old, live alone, what can I do with a widow's pension. Yes, it helps, but with rents and living costs so high, I must live economically or the little money I have will soon be gone. What do I see ahead. All I can say, I am glad I am as old as I am, there is nothing to look forward to. Hope this bill will go through fast.

Respectfully,

——— ———.

Mr. Speaker, is this the best that rich, affluent America can do for its senior citizens? Something is sick deep inside this abundant Nation when millions of elderly Americans can gain only consolation from the fact that the years they have remaining are few. I have taken this floor to argue in behalf of the forgotten Americans who are ekeing out a living on the tiniest kind of pensions. Once again, I raise my voice to correct this situation now.

Conservancy District Work Under Public Law 566 Moves Ahead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TOM STEED

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, the accomplishments of the upstream conservation program, being carried forward under Public Law 566 of the 83d Congress, seldom receive spectacular publicity. But steadily and quietly this program is remaking the face of many of our rural areas, saving the soil, providing badly needed water storage, and preventing flood damage to roads and highways.

I am proud of what is being accomplished under this work by the Soil Conservation Service and the locally directed sponsoring organizations. As cosponsor of the 1954 law, I have kept in close touch with its implementation. The Fourth Congressional District of Oklahoma, which I represent, has always ranked at the top in upstream conservation work.

Pontotoc County, Okla., stands near the top of the list, with several projects in varying stages of development covering almost the entire county except the immediate plain of the main stream of the South Canadian River.

On February 7 the Ada Evening News took note of the transformation in the following perceptive editorial, which I enter here in the hope it will encourage all who have faithfully given support to this work since its inception:

[From the Ada (Okla.) Evening News, Feb. 1, 1967]

WORK MOVES AHEAD FOR CONSERVANCY DISTRICTS

In the newspaper business, it is the continuing story that gets you in trouble.

You are inclined to pass it by, to rather take it for granted.

There is an excellent ease in point in this county. We refer to the programs being conducted here in relation to upstream flood control.

In the Clear Boggy project, in Sandy or in Muddy Boggy, a surprising amount of the total acreage of this county is covered.

Particularly Sandy and Clear Boggy have been forging steadily and quietly forward. Granted, we had a certain amount of fanfare when they were in their initial phases. And, it is true there have been systematic reviews of progress. But still we tend to take for granted such a long-term or continuing situation. We lose sight of what has happened.

And, a great deal has happened. The most obvious aspect is an economic one. The various lakes and control measures in place in this county have resulted in the expenditure of a great deal of money. It is fair to point out that these are funds not spent in lower Europe but here, right here in Pontotoc County, Okla. We are talking not about hundreds of thousands of dollars. We are talking literally about millions of dollars.

And this is only part of the story. In bottomlands along Clear Boggy and Sandy a great deal has happened. These lands are being utilized and developed where before they were not. Landowners knew that any program was bound to be subject to regular flooding and so little was done.

This is no longer true. Landowners have made heavy outlays in some areas. Great improvement has been made. And even more will be made.

There is a lot of difference in talking about something and seeing things in place, existing, a fact. The presence of dependable water storage has meant a great deal to many people. Such water storage in recent low-moisture years has been of great value.

But there are still other ramifications. We do not believe any really systematic attempt has yet been made to develop the water potential of some of these reservoirs. Rest assured, such attempts will be made. Rest assured that such attempts will also bear fruit.

Then there is the recreational aspect to consider. For a large number of people, additional places for wholesome outdoor recreation are provided. Here too, we believe the surface has only been scratched. As population increases, as pressure mounts for such areas, we believe they will even further demonstrate their worth.

And finally, and perhaps most important of all, land and water have been conserved.

Land above the retention structures has been placed under vegetative controls. The structures themselves have held back excessive runoff and the water is held and controlled on the land. Coil remains in place. It is not cut by the water and carried away, lost to everyone.

There are still structures remaining in the various districts. For one reason or another, these sites have not been cleared. In our relatively short experience, we can see already some of the dividends this program has yielded. In time, it should and will yield even more. It is to be hoped they will be cleared soon and the over-all programs can be completed.

Then the Soil Conservation Service, the local board members, the landowners involved can look back on a job well done. They can know they have truly had a part in something that has changed and improved the face of the land. They can know that this state, this county, is better for what they have done.

The First Lady of Kansas Newspaperdom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, Kansas has always ranked high among the States of this Union with respect to the number of prominent citizens it has contributed. We are especially proud of the outstanding women our State has produced. One whose talents and gracious ways continue to capture the hearts of all, Mrs. Mamie Boyd, of Mankato, Kans., can be found any day busily attending to the duties of her newspaper profession. A young 90 years of age, she can find no time to "take it easy."

In addition to her many accomplishments in the journalistic field, as told in the following editorial from the February 13 issue of the Topeka Daily Capitol, she has always found time to be in the forefront of political and benevolent activities and organizations, and to help promote the interests of her community and State at every opportunity.

In 1965 she was selected Kansas' "Mother of the Year" and later competed for the national honor in New York.

Yes, Kansas is proud of "Mother Mamie," and I am sure no one would deny us this pleasure. Mr. Speaker, I submit the article for all to enjoy:

HONOR TO DOWAGER QUEEN

It was to be expected that Mrs. Mamie Boyd of Mankato, bowing to the newspaper editor and one-time candidate for governor who cited her for journalistic merit at Lawrence recently, noted that his father, the late Clyde M. Reed Sr., editor, governor and U.S. Senator, was also one of her contemporaries.

Fact is, commented the 90-year-old dowager of Kansas' best known newspaper family, she has grown up with Kansas which was only a teen-ager when they first met. The former Mamie Alexander, born near Humboldt and daughter of a newspaperman, married Frank W. Boyd in 1905, publisher of the Phillipsburg Review until his death in 1947.

The Boyd men made it possible for her to qualify for the William Allen White Foundation citation, declared their mother and grandmother, since they stayed home and put out their newspapers while she was delegated to represent them at editorial conferences and public meetings. Her sons, McDill (Huck) Boyd of Phillipsburg, one time Republican candidate for governor, and Frank (Bus) Boyd of Mankato, former K-State basketball great, grinned at their mother's sallies. For Mamie Boyd has been an active newspaperwoman all her working days.

She still writes for the Jewell County Record. She drives her own motorcar, although she confessed she confines her do-it-herself travels to Mankato and has for three years. And she still serves as the Boyd family's official delegate, as she did at Lawrence.

On another occasion, Mrs. Boyd moved into the front row of an audience at Abilene when Dwight Eisenhower was to dedicate a part of the Eisenhower memorial. She knitted complacently as Secret Service operatives strung ropes behind which spectators were to sit to insure safety of the President.

Mrs. Boyd was well beyond the line. No one expected her to move, not even the Secret Service. The ropes swerved precipitately outward for the sole purpose of accommodating the first lady of Kansas newspaperdom.

Poised for Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the home office of the Prudential Insurance Co. of America and the South Side High School are both located in Newark and in my congressional district. I assume that one rarely comes into contact with the other—except for special occasions. And last month one rare and very special occasion occurred when the Prudential company honored South Side High's championship football team with the "Poised for Action" citation.

Poised for Action is a physical fitness program sponsored by the Prudential in cooperation with the President's Council on Physical Fitness and the National Football League. Its purpose is to instill in the youth of America a greater awareness of the values of physical fitness.

The affair was hosted by former New York Giant football star, Al DeRogatis, now a Prudential executive.

South Side's team won the 1966 City League championship with a record of 7–0. This was the school's first undefeated, untied season in its entire history. South Side was also co-State sectional champion, the first Newark school to win this distinction in 21 years.

In addition, the team had the best defensive record in the State, giving up only 19 points during the 1966 season.

The overall team record since 1961 is 35–8–41, which is a tribute to Donato "Pete" Del Guercio, who became head football coach that year.

The 40-odd team members were each given a trophy and Prudential presented a "Poised for Action" citation to the school, a copy of which is attached.

I salute South Side High and the Prudential company for making these distinctive and valuable contributions to the Newark community.

"POISED FOR ACTION" CITATION—PRESENTED TO SOUTH SIDE HIGH SCHOOL

The Prudential Insurance Company of America presents its "Poised for Action" Citation to South Side High School to recognize the outstanding achievements of its championship football team during the 1966 season.

"Poised for Action" is a physical fitness program sponsored by the Prudential in cooperation with the President's Council on Physical Fitness andthe National Football League. Its purpose is to instill in the youth of America a greater awareness of the values of physical fitness.

Prudential salutes the South Side High School football team for the high level of physical fitness, sportsmanship, and team spirit which it displayed in winning the 1966 City League Championship.

ORVILLE E. BEAL,
President, the Prudential Insurance Co. of America.

NEWARK, N.J., *January 13, 1967*.

"It Is Necessary"—Address by Congresswoman Leonor K. Sullivan to Propeller Club of Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, it was a privilege and a pleasure for me as ranking member of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries to speak to the members of the Propeller Club of Washington at their annual dinner last week, held in the Willard Hotel. In my remarks, I discussed the problems of the American merchant marine which are also the Nation's problems, and they are serious ones.

I also tried to explain how a Member of Congress from an inland city which cannot accommodate any ocean-going shipping would consider these problems important enough to the people I represent in the Congress to persuade me to remain a member through all these years of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries and to become so deeply concerned over the status of our American-flag shipping.

Mr. Speaker, because of the great importance of merchant shipping capability to national defense, I am, under unanimous consent, inserting my remarks before the Propeller Club of Washington in the Appendix of the RECORD with the hope that many of the Members of the House will have an opportunity to read of the alarming situation which has been permitted to develop on the high seas:

SPEECH BY CONGRESSWOMAN LEONOR K. SULLIVAN, DEMOCRAT, OF MISSOURI, AT THE ANNUAL DINNER OF PROPELLER CLUB OF WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 14, 1967, AT THE WILLARD HOTEL

I always enjoy being a guest at these affairs, but tonight you are making me sing for my supper—and I must admit that in this instance I enjoy that, too. Speech-making is usually more work than fun, because of the study which must go into the preparation of one's remarks, but in this instance I have been living for so many years with the subject matter of our merchant marine as a Member of the Committee of the House of Representatives which handles legislation in this field that I am glad to have the opportunity of this forum to share some of my thoughts with you.

From time to time, interviewers have asked me how in the world a woman Member of Congress from the heartland of the nation got herself involved so deeply in the issues of ocean commerce and deep-water shipping. I live on the most majestic river in the world, a river which bisects America and is usually referred to in terms of the "mighty" Mississippi—and it carries, let me tell you, a mammoth amount of water-borne commerce, but as far as being "deep water"—well, that isn't exactly what the Mississippi is.

Our biggest worry around St. Louis is to make it deep enough for the barges and tows to get into port because, while the channel is kept open by the Army Engineers, the docking areas are frequently left high and dry. So I certainly do not come from deep-water territory.

Thus my membership on the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries would have to be explained on other grounds, at least originally. When I came to Congress for my first term, it was not a year noted for sweeping Democratic gains in the House; instead, 1953 marked only the second time after 1931 that the Republicans were able to organize the House and elect a Speaker. So, as happens in such situations, there were not very many choice Committee assignments for freshmen Democrats. I had indicated my willingness to serve without complaint on the Appropriations Committee that year, or Interstate and Foreign Commerce—I wasn't going to be greedy and insist on Ways and Means right off—but I ended up a rung or two above the page boys, on a minor Committee which had about as much hotline importance to my District as the Joint Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers. No, I'll take that back; the Joint Committee on Disposition of Executive Papers would probably have had more importance to St. Louis because we have a very large Federal Records Center there, full of executive papers only some of which are ever to be disposed of.

Nevertheless, as a freshman Member of the House, I took to heart the late Sam Rayburn's advice to new Representatives that if you want to get along you have to go along, and I went along. Of course, I had no choice in the matter—there was no place else to go! I assumed I would eventually get off Merchant Marine at the first blush of any seniority, but in 1955 when I was placed on the Banking Committee, I was also kept on Merchant Marine and I found by then that I enjoyed it and appreciated the importance of the Committee's assignment and wanted to stay on it.

All of which shows that the operations of the seniority system in the Congress are wonderful to behold. Lack of seniority put me on this Committee originally in 1953; seniority now, as the ranking Member of the Committee, makes me your Valentine in 1967. As so often happens in Congress, the more a Member learns about issues which come before a particular Committee, the more of a partisan one tends to become on those issues. I don't mean partisan in the sense of party politics—most of us on the Merchant Marine Committee, Republicans and Democrats alike, see eye to eye on the basic issues of maritime policy; but we are strong partisans of a strong American flag merchant marine.

This may lead some people to think we are captives of the shipping industry. But as many of those here tonight well know, we tend to give the merchant shipping industry a bad time of it for not doing more to spotlight and dramatize the needs of that industry and the product it has to sell. Whenever an American flag cargo vessel leaves an American port less than full, or a liner flying the American flag sails away from the U.S. with empty staterooms, I feel that some people are not doing their jobs and should be ashamed of themselves.

Our annual export and import water-borne foreign commerce ran to nearly 350 millions tons in the most recent year for which we have completed figures—1965—or more than $30 billions, not counting Great Lakes shipping. American flag ships carried a puny 8 percent of that, even including the cargoes which, by law, have to go in American bottoms under the Foreign Aid programs.

Considering that American ships are the safest and the most reliable, operated by well-paid American seamen, keeping to schedule with remarkable faithfulness, and considering the fact that the *rates are the same* in nearly all cases whether the cargo moves under American or foreign flag, how can we possibly explain or excuse a less-than-fully-laden American flag ship? Perhaps I oversimplify—hard-headed businessmen, so-called, always say that women just don't understand such things—but I say it's often a case of poor salesmanship and lack of hustle. I have talked to many American exporters and importers, and few of them are even aware of how their cargoes move. No one has made a *strong* enough representation to them to voice a preference for U.S. flag ships in scheduling their cargoes.

One of the importers in my home city tried to do that and a lot of people in the business thought he was a little peculiar—one of those super-patriotic nuts or something. When I asked the Commerce Department to furnish him with some sort of printed stickers he could attach to his orders abroad indicating he wanted the goods shipped American, there were all sorts of high-level conferences about it, but the Commerce Department finally gave up and said in effect, that the problem was a little too big for them—that the General Accounting Office might not like it if they spent a few dollars on such things. So we sold the idea to the private lines, which should have thought it up themselves anyway!

But what an ordeal my constituent went through trying to get someone to pay some attention to an idea to help the American merchant marine.

I had the wonderful experience recently of sailing to South America on one of our fine, safe—but a little old by now—American flag liners. I enjoyed just about every minute of it, except for the time we spent becalmed in 14,000 feet of water with no air conditioning because one of the old boilers suffered a breakdown and had to be fixed at sea. But on the whole it was a fine voyage and pure delight. However, one of the young cadets aboard from the Merchant Marine Academy—and I always make it a point to get to know the officers and men on such a trip—innocently asked me why anyone would choose to go to South America by ship when you could get on a plane and be in South America in a matter of hours.

People who have to be in South America in a matter of hours should, by all means, fly; there is no question about it. But when a young man serving on a passenger ship wonders out loud why anyone would *choose* to go by ship, part of his vocational education has been badly neglected. I trust that after one voyage himself he finally had his answer—there is absolutely no better way in all the world to unwind and relax and recharge your batteries and enjoy peace and tranquility—even in rolling seas—than a clear-the-cobwebs cruise on a good, safe, well-run ship.

And if you're going to go by ship, then be smart enough to go by the safest ships afloat! We have taken action in the Congress to control and regulate some of the floating firetraps which gypsied out of American ports carrying too many Americans to fiery deaths at sea, but this is not to say that every passenger ship sailing from an American port meets American standards of safety. They don't, in a great many cases, American flagships do—they must. The food might not always be as exotic on an American flag liner, but you can be sure that it's pure and wholesome food and properly stored and prepared.

It is only recently that American shipping lines have mentioned some of these vital elements of superiority in their advertising. I would hit the theme hard in every ad—these are the safest ships afloat, and with the best-trained personnel. Sea disasters are rare; but when one happens, nothing is more horrible. It is more than just good luck that our ships have had such fine records for safety.

But unless something is done quickly and effectively to reverse the trend which began after World War II, the great, wonderful American flag merchant marine is going to be out of business and off the seas. The ships are fine, but they're getting old, and we're far behind schedule in replacing them. This is not the fault of the shipping lines alone, it *is* also the fault of the *people* of the United States, acting through their Government. We have allowed the merchant marine to slide downhill to the point now that only 13 subsidized new ships are scheduled for construction a year—instead of the 50 or more we should be building each year for replacement purposes alone.

What difference does it make? Well, for one thing, we are breaking the law in treating the merchant marine in this step-child manner. The law was written in 1936 and never repealed. It says *not* merely that it would be nice to build more ships, or a good thing, or desirable, or important; it says, and these are the first words of the law: *"It is necessary."*

Exactly what does the law say "is necessary"? It states:

"It is necessary for the national defense and development of its foreign and domestic commerce that the United States shall have a merchant marine sufficient to carry its domestic water-borne commerce and a *substantial* portion of the water-borne export and import foreign commerce of the United States." (I wouldn't consider 8 percent substantial, would you?)

It further states that it is necessary for us "to provide shipping service on all routes essential for maintaining the flow of such domestic and foreign water-borne commerce *at all times*" (but right now, with so much of our shipping tied up in Vietnam—including many of our best cargo ships, along with a lot of old "rust-buckets" from the reserve fleet—there is serious question whether we can hold on to routes elsewhere which were built up so painfully over the years in competition with every other maritime nation).

It is also necessary, according to the law—not merely desirable, but necessary—that our merchant marine be "capable of serving as a naval and military auxiliary in time of war or national emergency" and that it be "owned and operated under the United States flag by citizens of the United States, insofar as may be practicable, and be composed of the *best-equipped, safest,* and most suitable types of vessels, constructed in the United States and manned with a trained and efficient citizen personnel."

The laws says it is *necessary* that such things be done, and says that it is the *policy* of the United States to foster the development and encourage the maintenance of such a merchant marine.

We aren't obeying that law now when we authorize only 13 new ships a year. We are keeping in service so many overage ships—ships which should have been replaced—80 percent of our entire merchant fleet is 20 years of age or older—that if plain old age doesn't force them out of service soon, the threat of drastic increases in insurance rates will certainly do so. This threat is real, as many of you know.

We have the framework in our existing maritime policy. It takes only decisions by Government to make it work.

Ocean shipping will not disappear, of course—just *our* ships. This does not mean that we lack the technological skill to build faster, better, more competitive ships—just that we don't see any value to doing so.

As a woman who keeps house and, except for cooking, finds most of the chores dull and tiresome, I was interested in a recent Wall Street Journal article describing how electronic wizardry will transform life in tomorrow's homes. It predicted that sonic cleaning devices and air filtering systems will banish dirt and just about eliminate dusting, scrubbing, and vacuuming. Combination freezer-microwave ovens will make food preparation even simpler than it is now. Dishwashing will be a thing of the past; since disposable dishes will be made from powdered plastic for each meal by a machine right in the kitchen. Permanent-press clothing will do away with ironing.

Fascinating! And yet with the rapid advance of technology today, with which we are all familiar, none of us really doubts that these marvels, or others of similar import, will come to pass in the next few decades.

We have the know-how and we are exercising it in all aspects of American life, *including* the frequently maligned maritime industry.

I get a little impatient when I hear people in high places who should know better refer to backwardness in the maritime field.

One of our staff members attended a briefing given by high ranking officers of the Army and the Navy concerning the proposed Department of Defense Fast Deployment Logistics Ship Project, which they refer to as FDL. The briefing officer projected a chart on a screen which purported to show the much quicker travel time by an FDL ship from a point in the United States to a trouble spot overseas, compared with a "conventional" 20-knot merchant ship.

When questioned as to what kind of "conventional" merchant ship he was referring to, he said he was speaking of the types of merchant ships which would be newly constructed in the time frame of the 1970's.

To the best of my knowledge, very few, if any, American liner companies today are operating or designing new ships that are not capable of sustained cruising at speeds of 20 knots or more. The newer vessels employ a high degree of automation and other major refinements in cargo handling and design, which even now, remove them from the classification of "conventional."

Each generation of new merchant ship embodies progressive advancement. The more dramatic of these are vesesl concepts such as the Lykes barge carrier and the Prudential *Lash* ship—very large vessels flexibly designed to carry numbers of standard containers, commercial type barges, and with roll-on and roll-off features. The barge carrier designed is built around conservative service speed of 21 knots. But with alternate machinery, this type of vessel can be produced to operate at 26, and even 30 knots.

The new challenger class vessels operated by, or under construction for the United States Lines provide large capacity for containers operating at high speeds in the North Atlantic service.

American Export/Isbrandtsen Lines, working with United Aircraft Corporation recently conducted a successful demonstration of a container-helicopter delivery system, by which powerful helicopters would load and unload large vessels without need to resort to shoreside terminal facilities.

According to the best information I can get, the private American maritime industry can properly take credit for these advanced concepts.

The fact of their development negates the image of a backward industry resting on its laurels while being spoon-fed doses of Government subsidy.

Through the insistence of our Committee and its former Chairman, the late Herbert Bonner, the Government took the initiative with the development of the Nuclear Ship *N.S. Savannah,* and rightly so, with the myriad of unknown factors and the large development costs involved.

But now, when the *Savannah* has shown herself as a feasible tool of transportation, she is about to be laid up. This proposed action is coming at a time when one major operator is ready to invest large sums of its own money to prove its faith in the future of nuclear power in commercial water transportation and when most American steamship operators are expressing great interest in the potentialities of nuclear power in merchant ships of advanced design.

In the light of all these things, it seems to me that it makes more sense from the Government's standpoint to support the private merchant marine as an important part of our national economy and national security as contemplated—as required—by the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, as contrasted with the proposal for 100 percent subsidization of a relatively small number of extravagantly expensive floating warehouses, the loss of any one of which would perhaps immobilize an entire military campaign.

If the Department of Defense wants logistics speed, they can get it in new merchant ships, as it always has in the past.

If it wants cargo handling capability, it can get it in new merchant ships, as it always has in the past.

If it wants flexibility, which would include over the beach or roll-on, roll-off capability, it can get it in new merchant ships—the design possibilities are endless.

And it can get these things for considerably less profitable, or politically embarrassing to solutions.

The fact that we *can* do these things by building up our merchant marine is only half the story; to me the most important aspect of it is that, in keeping with national defense and national goals, we *must* do these things. In the words of the Merchant Marine Act, *it is necessary* that we do them. We have not repealed that law, except through neglect.

I do not want to see our Nation made dependent—*ever*—on the willingness of any other nation's shipping to serve our needs in time of peril. We cannot depend upon any other nation to do *anything for* us at *any time* if it is inconvenient for it to do so, or less profitable, or politically embarrassing to it at home, or puts that nation in an untenable position with a feared enemy. After all, when DeGaulle kicks our NATO troops out of France and consistently saps away our gold as a way of proving to us that France doesn't need us right now and intends to go it alone again—for awhile, anyway, and when India, which we are feeding, denounces our activities in Vietnam; and other countries let us know so clearly from time to time that while *their* problems should be *our* problems, *our* problems are *our* problems only—not theirs—we should know by now that, for the long push, our real security lies *as much* in our efforts as in any collective efforts, and perhaps more so.

I am no super-nationalist/isolationist—far from it. But just as I think the time is *not yet* when we can dismantle our Armies and Navies and Air Force just because there is a U.N. in existence, so also I think the time is not yet, and may never come, when we can *safely* depend upon Norway and Panama and Britain and Italy and Greece and the Soviet Union to provide us with the merchant shipping we may need whenever, and under whatever circumstances, we may need it. But if we disregard the *necessities* as spelled out in our merchant marine law—that's exactly the spot we will be in.

Thank you.

Auto Safety Standards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID E. SATTERFIELD III

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. SATTERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, as one who was involved, as a member of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, in the development of the Traffic Safety Act of 1966, I have been interested, naturally, in first, the motor vehicle standards announced by the National Traffic Safety Agency and, second, the public acceptance of those standards. As a supporter of the bill establishing the agency, it was gratifying, therefore, to note recently favorable comment on the automobile safety standards in a February 3, 1967, editorial, carried by the Charlottesville, Va., Daily Progress. In the assessment of the Daily Progress, the requirements are reasonable and "will provide more protection for the public." For the information of the Members of this body, who share my own deep interest in reducing the present traffic toll in our country, I place the editorial from the Daily Progress at this point in the RECORD:

AUTC SAFETY STANDARDS

Federal standards for vehicle safety as announced by the National Traffic Safety Agency Tuesday will produce some alarm in Detroit, which is understandably nervous about the whole thing. The standards represented what appears to be a rather fair compromise both in what is required and in time allowed to do the job.

The automobile manufacturers should be able to meet the standards by the Jan. 1, 1968 deadline, for most of the devices and safety features are already widely in use and most of them are on a great many cars that are being sold now. We do not believe Detroit has anything to fear if it makes an honest and conscientious effort to comply with the specifications within the time allowed. Both the NTSA and the public will be inclined to be reasonable if the industry has been asked to do too much in too short a time.

There is little doubt that the new safety standards will provide more protection for the public. How much of course remains to be seen.

One of the requirements is seat belts, including a strap across the chest, for all occupants, not just for two in the front and two in the back. What appeals here is that the extra passengers now in cars who do not have seat belt protection are usually children who should have that protection before anyone else. The problem now becomes one of inducing the public to use the seat belts regardless of for how short a trip. Unfortunately this is not something that can be legislated, although progress can be made with continuing education.

Other standards include energy-absorbing steering systems, stronger windshields, fuel tanks and door locks, better padding to protect against protrusions, improved windshield wipers, protection in case of brake failure and the removal of bright metal that can reflect into the driver's eyes.

Nothing was said at this time about standards for tires and wheel rims and the provision of headrests on seats to protect riders from neck injuries. It is expected however that the government will shortly announce minimum standards for tires. The present standards call for abolishing spinner hub caps and other wheel protrusions that could rip a pedestrian's leg to pieces.

The public will be interested in what the new safety features will cost for you may be sure the public will pay the bill. The standards will add about $60 to 1968 car costs but it is hoped the industry will attempt to hold down costs as much as it can. It should be remembered some of these features are standard now on cars and that others represent only replacement or refinement of features already on cars or available as optional extras.

It will be many years before the large majority of cars on the road will be equipped with all the new requirements, but at least a start is being made. Working together in understanding and cooperation, the public, the automobile industry and the Government can make a significant contribution toward reducing the nation's frightful death toll on streets and highways.

Recent Gasoline Price Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, I insert into the RECORD an article from the Wall Street Journal and one from the New York Times concerning the recent increase in gasoline prices.

Although I understand the increase has already been effected generally east of the Rockies, I think it is significant that it has not yet been placed in effect in the five southern States or Ohio, and at least one major firm has yet to announce any price change. It seems to me that this raises a serious question as to whether the price increase is really warranted, especially at this time when auto sales are lagging and steel buying is falling off. Certainly with the impact that gasoline prices have on the cost of living of every family, it is most important that the Government carefully review this price rise to determine if some appropriate Government action is justified.

I, therefore, fully support the action being taken by the Department of the Interior, as outlined in these articles, to consider the advisability of possible measures to roll back the gasoline prices, including the desirability of increasing the oil import quotas and taking other steps to expand the supply.

The articles follow:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Feb. 20, 1967]

Interior Agency Considering Steps To Roll Back Gasoline Price Boosts—Top Officials' New, Tough Approach Would Include Higher Oil Import Quotas

WASHINGTON.—Interior Department officials are seriously considering a broad array of measures to roll back recent gasoline price increases, including early and sharp increases in oil import quotas.

If persuasion and "appeals to patriotism" fail, a high official said, "the other thing that can be done is to increase the supply." Besides several methods of allowing increased imports of cheaper foreign oil, he said, the department could expand the supply by permitting greater production on public lands and offshore fields.

Oil company officials generally weren't available or declined to comment on the Interior Department's reported deliberations. Stanley Learned, president of Phillips Petroleum Co., which was a leader in the price increases, said: "The Government justified the oil-import control program as essential to insure a healthy oil producing industry in case of war. This certainly would appear to be a very inappropriate time for the same Government to toy with such an essential defense program."

The tough talk from top Interior officials represents a decision to override objections of lower-level aides who are said to be "industry oriented" and not inclined to tamper with import rules.

The staff people argue, among other things, that raising import quotas could hurt smaller independent U.S. producers and refiners while aiding many of the major domestic producers, who also have extensive overseas crude oil production facilities. But this appears to be a chance higher officials are willing to take for the sake of price stability.

Signaling an unexpected willingness to risk a politically hazardous intensification of their war of nerves with the industry, officials sketched four specific short-term moves and some longer-run actions that they could feasibly take unless the companies at least partially back off from their increases, intended to raise retail prices by one cent a gallon.

All the steps could be averted, they hinted strongly, if the refiners would rescind their 0.25-cent share of the increase while permitting harder-pressed wholesalers, or jobbers, to keep their 0.35-cent share and service station operators to retain their 0.40-cent portion. The full increase, officials said, would cost the public $750 million a year.

NO "HARD DECISIONS" YET

Whether the Government will ultimately resort to allowing import increases and whether they could be sizable enough to sway the industry is still very much in doubt, with the "hard decisions" yet to be made. Government officials harbor some hope that the price increase will "fall of its own weight" because the biggest company—Humble Oil & Refining Co., the major domestic unit of Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey)—hasn't yet gone along with the increase.

While Humble hasn't made any promises, Interior officials say its top executives told them last week that "unless conditions changed, they didn't intend to increase their price." At last report over the weekend, a Government man said, Humble was still holding the old price line "and we have no reason to think they will do otherwise." Moreover, in Ohio, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama and Georgia, he said, many dealers of various companies have either rolled back their prices or not raised them in the first place.

In Houston, Humble Oil said it had told the Interior Department that the company "had made no decision at that particular time to increase gasoline prices but the company made no commitment as to action in the immediate or long-range future."

Perhaps as important as the posted price increases, officials said, is that refiners generally have stopped chipping in to help local dealers in "price wars." The lack of this support, they reason, will make dealers "think long and hard before cutting prices" against competition and lends strength to the current price rise.

This complicates the whole price picture, officials say, and they concede they aren't sure how their apparent goal of a refinery-level rollback could be handled smoothly, as many wholesalers are owned by refiners. Because of this, too, they estimate, the refiners would get half the benefit of the price increase and independent jobbers and dealers would get the other half.

UNUSED IMPORT AUTHORITY

If any direct action is taken, the first step almost surely would be to start making use of the Defense Department's authority to import 30,000 barrels a day of petroleum products, officials said. This authority has been going unused to avoid aggravating the U.S. balance-of-payments deficit, which results from foreigners acquiring more dollars than they return in all transactions.

The most logical way to reinstitute this quota, officials contend, would be to add it to the 46,000 barrels a day allocated to private companies. This would have to be done on the basis of import shares in the base year of 1957, they said, which means Humble would be the biggest beneficiary. This would also benefit Standard Oil Co. of California, they added, which operates in the West Coast area where the current round of price increases hasn't been applied.

While the Pentagon quotas cover all sorts of petroleum products, officials said they think they would work out ways to assure that all the increase would be used only for gasoline. Caribbean area refineries could provide enough gasoline quickly to fill the added quota, they believe, and it's reasoned the companies couldn't resist the opportunity to bring in the cheaper foreign products. Even use of the full 76,000-barrel-a-day import quotas would be fairly small compared with U.S. consumption, officials said.

Officials declined to characterize the proposal as a threat, saying instead that since the industry finds the gasoline supply limited enough to support a higher price, it's appropriate for the Government to use existing powers to bolster the supply and thus help fight price inflation. None of the possible moves were discussed at last week's meetings with oil industry leaders, officials said, on the ground that the industry is aware that such steps are possible. If they had wanted to make threats, one official said, it would have been possible to bring up "tax considerations." He didn't elaborate.

The second most likely move, officials said, would be to approve a request made last fall by Commonwealth Oil Refining Corp. in Puerto Rico for an import allocation of about 14,000 or 15,000 barrels a day. For this to be effective, officials said, they would still have to be assured it would mean a net increase in imports of gasoline; total product imports of other companies would have to be reduced to make room for Commonwealth.

Officials said other possible steps, though not necessarily in the order they might be applied, include raising the estimate of total domestic production. In this way, the formula limiting imports to 12.2% of the U.S. market would automatically allow a more generous flow of foreign oil. "Some of the companies view the market demand as higher than we did," an official said.

Granting Hess Oil & Chemical Corp., Perth Amboy, N.J., permission to import from a new refinery in the Virgin Islands is being considered, too. While it isn't sure how soon Hess would be ready to act, officials said, such a step would have the extra advantage of enlarging volume of a company reputed to be "a price cutter." Moreover, they added, it wouldn't hurt the balance-of-payments position because the Virgin Islands are U.S. territory.

A Canadian plan to pump large amounts of crude directly into the key Chicago refining and consuming area could play into the Government's hands. While the impact would be far in the future, U.S. negotiators might be more inclined to permit the pipeline's construction at a time when the domestic industry is raising prices. At the least, outside observers reason, U.S. representatives, in talks scheduled for last Friday but canceled because of the price "crisis," would find it difficult to defend the domestic industry against a big influx of Canadian crude at this time.

PRESIDENTIAL PROCLAMATION

Without encountering any such diplomatic difficulties, the proclamation under which Interior Secretary Udall regulates oil imports could be amended by President Johnson to permit extra imports when U.S. prices are rising. At present, the Presidential proclamation requires the Office of Emergency Planning, a White House adjunct, to watch price trends. But officials said this suggests an original intent that the limits weren't designed to help U.S. companies raise prices.

Perhaps the most sweeping move in its eventual impact, some strategists said, would be to stop restricting oil output on Federally controlled lands according to limits that some states impose on output under their jurisdiction.

The percentage of capacity at which Texas and Louisiana authorities, for example, allow wells to operate is applied by the Federal Government to wells on public lands and off the shores of those states, officials said. With about 12% of U.S. oil production on the Federally controlled lands, and with the states often holding output to a fraction of potential, officials figure abandoning this Federal policy could add greatly to supply.

Partly because the impression was spreading that the Administration was becoming "soft" on price increases, and partly because of the impact gasoline prices have on the cost of living, officials have decided they must show they are serious about the current case. They also appear angry that the oil refiners were, as one top official asserted, "just taking advantage of all the problems we've got"—including massive military oil needs for the Vietnam war—to put through a price increase they "just didn't need."

Officials cite figures showing the oil industry in 1966 had record profits and that earnings in the first nine months last year amounted to a 12% return on equity investment, up almost steadily from 9.6% in 1959. The industry bases its case mostly on prices "sagging" since 1957, officials said, which both sides appear to agree stemmed from over-expansion of domestic facilities after the Suez Canal crisis temporarily hampered imports.

The basic difference, a Government man said, is that the industry "looks back 10 years" to a time when prices were unusually favorable for it and the Interior Department is "looking at the last few years" of sizable and rising profits. Interior officials said they find it hard to understand why the industry is raising prices at a time of seasonally slack demand due to adverse winter driving conditions and when inventories are heavy, two factors that usually tend to depress prices.

Taking part in meetings with major oil companies last week, it was learned, was Chairman Gardner Ackley of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, and Charles F. Luce, Under Secretary of the Interior Department.

[From the New York Times, Feb. 20, 1967]

United States Is Considering Gasoline Imports To Cut Price Rise—Plan Would Shift Quotas of Defense Department To Force 1-Cent Rollback

(By Edwin L. Dale Jr.)

Washington, Feb. 19.—The Government is urgently considering measures to increase imports of gasoline, thus adding to supply and helping to roll back the recent cent-a-gallon price increase.

The Administration, through the Interior Department, has publicly objected to the price increase and appealed for a rollback. Now it is considering action.

The increase was announced by all but one of the major oil companies, the exception being Humble Oil and Refining Company. It applies east of the Rockies. According to information reaching the Government, the increase has taken effect at gasoline stations in most of the territory concerned, exceptions being five southeastern States and Ohio.

ALLOCATION OF QUOTA

Interior Department officials disclosed today that the addition to gasoline supplies now being considered involved allocating to private importers the Defense Department's quota, now unused, for the import of refined products. This would be limited to imports of gasoline.

All imports of crude oil and refined products have been controlled by quotas since 1957. The Defense Department is not using its allocation because it has decided to buy domestically produced fuel to relieve the drain on the balance of international payments.

The amount involved in shifting this quota to private importers would not be large—about 30,000 barrels a day compared with domestic gasoline consumption of 4.5 million barrels a day. But in this competitive market even small additions to supply might affect the price.

PUERTO RICAN MOVE

A second move being considered would permit imports of gasoline from Puerto Rico produced by Commonwealth Oil Refining Company. The refinery is already built and the company has an application pending for import of about 15,000 barrels of gasoline a day.

A third, and similar, move would be to permit imports of gasoline from the refinery of the Hess Oil Company in the Virgin Islands.

The oil companies, one high official said, "feel we won't do anything and they may be mistaken."

The Government view is that the price increase is not necessary in view of the record profits of the industry and in view of retail gasoline price increases of 4 per cent in 1965 and 3.4 per cent in 1966.

The companies, in meeting with Government officials last week and in public statements, have argued that gasoline prices were depressed for years after 1957 because of an excessive production build-up following the Suez crisis in 1956. They believe a further price "recovery" is warranted.

They have also said that much, if not most, of the increase of a cent a gallon will help not their profits but the profits of independent oil jobbers and gasoline station retailers. The Government estimates that the split will average about 50–50, though it will differ by companies.

Officials concede that there is some case for improved profits for jobbers and retailers. But they say there is no case for an increase in price by the refineries.

Apart from the three moves cited to permit an almost immediate expansion of gasoline imports, other, longer-range, moves are also being examined.

The most controversial, and potentially the most far-reaching, would be to amend the Presidential proclamation of 1957 that established the oil import control system. The proposed amendment would permit adjustment of the import quotas in light of changes of domestic oil prices.

OFFSHORE POSSIBILITY

This would be resisted bitterly by independent oil producers and their allies in Congress. The "independents"—producers other than the large companies—have long been the stanchest supporters of the oil import control program.

Another possibility, also controversial, would be to increase production on the offshore oil properties owned by the Federal Government. Up to now, the Interior Department has kept production by its lessees on these lands in line with the figures set by Texas and Louisiana, the two states concerned.

Although officials declined to comment, another possibility for increasing supply would be to accept a Canadian request for permission to construct a new pipeline for Canadian oil into the Chicago area. Negotiations on this issue have been temporarily suspended.

Officials believe there is still a good chance that the price increase will be rescinded, with or without new Government moves. They are particularly heartened by the decision of Humble, whose 10 per cent share of the market is the largest, not to raise prices.

They are also heartened by the failure of the price increase to stand in some areas, particularly the Southeast. Even New England appears uncertain, they said.

The Kee Report: Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include this week's public service television and radio newscast, "The Kee Report." The subject discussed is "social security":

This is Jim Kee, bringing you The Kee Report.

The Congress is now considering a White House proposal to authorize the most far reaching revision of the Social Security System since its adoption more than 30 years ago.

The plan offered by the President would increase benefit payments to retired workers on the average of 20%. To offset the increased cost, the contributions of both employer and employee would rise gradually to a maximum of 5% over the next six years. During the same period, the wage base on which social security taxes are levied would be stepped up from the present $6,600 to a maximum of $10,800.

In considering this drastic revision of the insurance provisions of the present law, the Federal Government has two goals in mind. The first of these is to bring monthly payments to retired workers into line with present-day living costs. This is urgently necessary because prices have risen sharply in the three decades since the system was first adopted.

Many retirement plans operated by private industry have also found it necessary to increase financial contributions in order to increase benefits.

The second goal of the Government is to bring a measure of relief to the millions of elderly Americans who lack sufficient income to provide a decent living. This is a special problem of the second half of the Twentieth Century. There are twice as many citizens today over 65 years of age than there were 50 years ago. More than five million of these elderly folks have yearly incomes either at or below the poverty level. Because they have no prospect of future employment, their only escape from misery is an increase in social security payments.

The bill now being considered by the House Ways and Means Committee would increase minimum benefits to retired workers by nearly 60% from present levels. The new minimum would be $70 a month for individuals and $105 for married couples. If enacted into law, these higher payments would mean a healthy boost for the more than 2 million elderly workers who now receive the minimum. This new bill also provides an increase in special benefits paid to citizens over 72 years of age who have made little or no contribution to the Social Security System.

As a further aid to the elderly, this new bill would allow retired workers to earn up to $1,600 without reducing their monthly benefits. This is an increase of $15 a month over the present minimum.

The revision now being made by the Ways and Means Committee also envisions a change in the tax laws to give relief to elderly workers in the lower tax brackets. In his message to Congress, President Johnson pointed out that present regulations covering exemptions are so complex that many senior citizens are unable to figure out the deductions to which they are entitled. To correct this in the future, the Congress will probably enact a blanket deduction for elderly wage-earners in the lower income brackets.

Because of concern for the elderly, the revision of social security was described by one official as the most effective anti-poverty program this Congress can enact.

President Accepts GOP Proposals Relating to Plowshare Sharing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, under date of April 1, 1966, as chairman of the Committee on Nuclear Affairs of the House GOP conference I made a special report to that conference recommending that the U.S. share its technology with other nations on the peaceful uses of nuclear explosives. It was pointed out that the world much needs this kind of activity, that the matter should be considered in the context of the nonproliferation treaty now under negotiation at Geneva's 18-Nation Disarmament Conference and suggested that the existing limitations of the Limited Test Ban Treaty on Plowshare events be eliminated. The report was printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 31, 1966, at page A1869. The Plowshare portion of it is reproduced below:

"HAVE-NOTS" REALLY NEED "PLOWSHARE"

Actually, what the "have-nots" really need—and which neither they nor the Johnson administration yet have perceived—is in the plowshare area of peaceful atomic explosives.

The AEC is on the brink of producing practical and economic devices and techniques to put the atom's explosive power to work for mankind. They are sorely needed for such massive excavation jobs as creating a new canal supplemental to the congested Panama Canal. Other large-scale nuclear excavation needs soon will be felt to implement such bold proposals as the Amazon Basin project to turn into productive use vast South American swamps and jungles and NAWAPA (North American Water and Power Alliance) to regulate and divert this continent's rivers to meet burgeoning United States, Canadian, and Mexican requirements for water and hydropower. Much of southeast Asia and other portions of the globe also must depend on nuclear explosives for geographical face-lifting operations to reclaim land and provide an economic base for peaceful societies.

Underground there also are splendid economic potentials dependent on peaceful nuclear explosives. It is estimated the world's supply of natural gas can be doubled by nuclear fracturing of impervious gas formations deep beneath the surface.

These are but a few examples of the great future for peaceful nuclear explosives. The nuclear "have-nots" real loss from giving up nuclear development lies in the Plowshare area, not in weaponry.

UNITED STATES SHOULD SHARE PLOWSHARE

The United States not only should point this out, but should take the creative initiative of offering our Plowshare technology and devices on a fair-charge basis to any friendly country needing and wanting them. They also could perform tremendous service in our AID programs for global elimination of hunger and poverty.

In bilateral arrangements by which AEC officials retain physical custody and control of the nuclear devices until exploded, the strict provisions of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 prohibiting turning them over to others can be met. By using a dual firing key arrangement whereby a U.S. custodian would first activate the firing circuit and the foreign official finally close it to initiate the actual firing, the limited test ban treaty's general prohibition against U.S. releases of radioactive material on foreign soil would be technically observed.

AMEND LIMITED TEST BAN TREATY TO UNCHAIN PLOWSHARE

However, as pointed out in my February 8 memorandum to you, the unrealistic provisions of the limited test ban treaty precluding release of any quantity of radioactivity—no matter how small or harmless—beyond any national boundary now paralyzes Plowshare use.

This restriction bears no reasonable relation to the purposes of the treaty. It even bars releases over empty ocean water beyond the 3-mile limit and thus we cannot proceed nuclearly with the second Isthmian Canal because of it. Until the bar is removed benefits to mankind from most Plowshare possibilities will be denied unreasonably.

Here, again, is a fruitful area for creative initiative being neglected by the administration and which only GOP sources presently are initiating proposals.

I am pleased to note that the President, in his message today to the ENDC has adopted this Republican position in substance and hope that, as time progresses he will see fit to take steps to remove the Limited Treaty's inhibitions on Plowshare. The pertinent portion of the President's message is reproduced below:

I have instructed our negotiators to exercise the greatest care that the treaty not hinder the non-nuclear powers in their development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. We believe in sharing the benefits of scientific progress and we will continue to act accordingly. Through IAEA, through EURATOM, and through other international channels, we have shared—and will continue to share—the knowledge we have gained about nuclear energy. There will be no barrier to effective cooperation among the signatory nations.

I am sure we all agree that a non-proliferation treaty should not contain any provisions that would defeat its major purpose. The treaty must, therefore, cover nuclear explosive devices for peaceful as well as military purposes. The technology is the same. A peaceful nuclear explosive device would, in effect, also be a highly sophisticated weapon.

However, this will not impose any technological penalty on the participating nations. The United States is prepared to make available nuclear explosive services for peaceful purposes on a non-discriminatory basis under appropriate international safeguards. We are prepared to join other nuclear states in a commitment to do this.

More generally, we recommend that the treaty clearly state the intention of its signatories to make available the full benefits of peaceful nuclear technology—including any benefits that are the by-product of weapons research.

The Honorable James A. Burke Receives the Fifth Annual Brotherhood Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to inform the Members of the House of Representatives that our distinguished colleague, the Honorable JAMES A. BURKE, has received the Fifth Annual Brotherhood Award of the Milton, Mass., lodge and chapter of B'nai B'rith. Each year three awards for outstanding citizenship are bestowed upon those in the community who have earned this distinction.

It comes as no surprise to me that our distinguished colleague, Congressman JAMES A. BURKE, was the recipient of one of these awards. Those of us who have had the opportunity to watch Congressman BURKE's record and had the privilege of serving with him in Congress know he well deserves this recognition. His record as a Member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives for 10 years, and as a Member of the U.S. Congress, has been one of dedication and devotion to duty. He has been a leader in the field of civil rights, education, and veterans programs. While in the Maschusetts public accommodation law and responsible for enactment of the Massachusetts Public Accommodation Law and was a strong supporter of the Massachusetts Fair Employment Practice Act.

This honor bestowed upon him by B'nai B'rith is richly deserved.

I call the attention of my colleagues in the House to the following articles which appeared in the Milton Record-Transcript of February 9, and the Boston Traveler on February 10:

B'nai B'rith Honors Four With Brotherhood Awards

The Milton B'nai B'rith Lodge and Chapter will hold their fifth annual Brotherhood Awards Night on Wednesday evening, February 15, at 8:30 p.m., at Temple Shalom, Milton.

Michael Geller, Lodge President, and Mrs. Jack Clouse, Chapter President, have today named as this year's recipients of the "Most Dedicated Person" awards, four Greater Boston Citizens, all "Architects in Building a Better Tomorrow":

Congressman James A. Burke, Eleventh District, Massachusetts.

At a time when people are inclined to view the "Politician" with a jaundiced eye, Congressman Burke stands out like a great beacon in the fog. A Congressman who goes to his people personally more than any other representative in that body, has lent his great shoulders to all, regardless of color or creed. He not only listens, but often, at great expense to his health and finances, he eases the load. Because he has helped our legion, may his "stars" continue to shine.

Rubin Epstein, President, City Bank and Trust Co., Boston.

That Rubin Epstein has great compassion for his fellowman is attested in the fact that very few of his financial and personal contributions are publicly known. People of all faiths and color reaped the rewards of Rubin Epstein's determination to satisfy his inner soul without fanfare. As he journeys through life, may the Lord continue to "Light the Way".

Dr. Harold C. Case, President, Boston University, Boston, Mass.

It is an accepted fact that an institution of learning always reflects the personality of its President. One need look no further than the list of distinguished Alumni from Boston University to realize what Dr. Harold C. Case has contributed to our society. No college in this country has graduated more people of as many ethnic and racial backgrounds than B.U. No President of any university is more highly respected and beloved than this recipient. His guidance to the educational security of our country has made Dr. Case one of the greater contributors of our time.

Rabbi Jacob Hochman, Temple Shalom, Milton. Spiritual Leader (Deceased).

The true measure of a spiritual leader is in the depth of his understanding, compassion and philosophy. Rabbi Jacob Hochman had been with Temple Shalom for 13 years. Each year showed us a little more of his understanding and one realized that he was a man we could confide in. Each year showed us a little more of his compassion and one realized that this man was meant to be a Spiritual Leader. Each year one heard more of his philosophy and realized that here was a good human being because his personality and thoughts were good. The entire community is a better one for having had Rabbi Hochman to guide us.

The joint committee headed by Mr. Murray Reiser, Lodge Chairman, and Mrs. Harry Kane, Chapter Chairman, has completed arrangements for the evening and proudly announce that added to the list of outstanding recipients are outstanding participants: The Curry College Glee Club, Milton; Invocation by Rev. Donald E. Tatro, First Congregational Church, Milton; Presentation of awards by Rabbi Jerome Weistrop, Temple Shalom, Milton; Posthumous award to Rabbi Jacob Hochman, Temple Shalom, Milton, by Rabbi Sheldon Steinberg, Cong. B'nai Jacob, Milton; and the benediction by Monsignor Ralph Gallagher, St. Agatha's Church, Milton.

The public is cordially invited to attend. Refreshments will be served.

Milton B'nai B'rith Picks Four as "Most Dedicated Persons"

(By Henry Bosworth)

Four prominent figures will be honored—one posthumously—by Milton B'nai B'rith as "architects in building a better tomorrow."

Named today as recipients of the lodge and chapter's annual "Most Dedicated Person" awards and why:

U.S. Rep. James A. Burke (D-Milton): ". . . a Congressman who goes to his people . . . and . . . has lent his great shoulders to all regardless of color or creed."

Dr. Harold C. Case, president, Boston University: ". . . his guidance to the educational security of our country has made (him) one of the great contributors of our time."

Rubin Epstein, president, City Bank and Trust Co., Boston: ". . . has great compassion for his fellow man . . . very few of his financial and personal contributions are publicly known."

Rabbi Jacob Hochman, late spiritual leader Temple Shalom, Milton: ". . . this man was meant to be a spiritual leader . . . the entire community is a better one for having had (him) to guide us."

Names of the four winners were announced by Lodge and Chapter Presidents Michael Geller and Mrs. Jack Clouse.

AWARDS GIVEN ON WEDNESDAY

The wards will be presented at public invited ceremonies Wednesday, 8:30 p.m., Temple Shalom, Milton, Murray Reiser and Mrs. Harry Kane are cochairmen.

Adding to the spirit of brotherhood will be participants:

Rt. Rev. Ralph Gallagher, St. Agatha's Church; Rev. Donald E. Tatro, First Congregational Church; Rabbi Jerome Weistrop, Temple Shalom; Rabbi Sheldon Steinberg, Congregation B'nai Jacob, and the Curry College Glee Club.

The Plan To Share Our Tax Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, the Cincinnati Enquirer on Sunday, February 19, 1967, ran an editorial on the efforts of the Republican Party to institute a Federal revenue-sharing plan. The editorial mentions the efforts of my friend and fellow Ohio Congressman, the Honorable Robert Taft, Jr. Representative Taft has long been interested in revenue sharing and is chairman of the Republican Party coordinating committee task force on the functions of Federal, State, and local governments. Under his direction, the task force developed the revenue-sharing plan receiving so much nationwide attention.

For the information of my colleagues, I am submitting for the Appendix of the Record the Cincinnati Enquirer editorial of February 19, 1967, and exerpts from the statement presented by Representative Taft earlier this month before a joint meeting of the Ohio Senate Ways and Means Committee and the Ohio House of Representatives Taxation Committee as printed on the Enquirer's editorial page of February 19:

The Plan To Share Our Tax Money

Congressional Republicans are making a determined push for a Federal tax-sharing plan whereby the 50 states will get a rebate from federally collected income taxes—with few or no strings attached.

Although the plan is not a new one (candidates and spokesmen of both parties endorsed the concept in the 1964 presidential campaign), we believe the Republicans are acting with timely constructiveness in trying to get some legislation implementing tax sharing by the states. It is long overdue. Furthermore, polls indicate broad public support for just such a plan.

A number of governors and state legislatures are in the process of studying proposals to request Congress to act in the matter. Ohio is one of these states. On February 6, Rep. Robert Taft Jr., who last year headed a Republican task force that recommended adoption of the tax-sharing plan, testified on the matter before a joint meeting of the state legislature's Senate Ways and Means and House Taxation Committees. Elsewhere on this page are excerpts of Mr. Taft's remarks to the legislators, in which he gave sound, well-reasoned arguments in behalf of the plan.

As Mr. Taft mentioned, President Johnson, at the height of the 1964 campaign, said the Federal government "should help restore fiscal balance and strengthen state and local government by making available for their use some part of the great and growing Federal tax revenues over and above existing aids." These campagin words were not followed by action; somewhere in the Great Society lies buried this aspect of state-Federal partnership.

Mr. Taft, who directed his remarks in particular toward two proposals, one of them co-sponsored by Republican Sen. Stanley Aronoff of Hamilton County, which call for a minimum of 5% to 8% of income tax revenues to the states, said that amount is "probably a little rich in view of the current Federal financial situation." The task force last year recommended a sharing of 2% of individual and corporate taxes, with an annual step-up until the states' allocation reached 10%. These variances of formulated amounts can be mulled over and worked on until a reasonable, equitable percentage is reached. What is most important is that the principle of tax sharing be established, as Congressman Taft pointed out.

Joining with him in testifying at Columbus as a proponent of the concept was Dr. R. Eric Weise, assistant professor of political science at the University of Cincinnati, who said a tax rebate to the states would permit them "to exercise infinitely more flexibility in pursuing both national and state goals." We couldn't agree more with Dr. Weise.

Under the present system of Federal grants-in-aid the task of establishing priorities on public improvement programs is in effect virtually pre-empted by the national government. A local or state government has little choice but to go along, usually on a matching-fund basis, when a grant for a particular program is available—even though there may be needs of far greater importance in that locality or state.

Concomitantly, as matters now stand, public officials often are forced to promote certain programs simply because one-half of the necessary funds are available through Federal grants.

Tax sharing would alleviate these two related evils. Priorities for public improvement would be determined at the local or state level—and by those officials having best knowledge of the immediate needs of the area.

In the U.S. House of Representatives, about 40 GOP congressmen have joined Rep. Charles E. Goodell of New York in introducing bills for tax sharing, as called for by House Republican leader Gerald R. Ford in his "New Direction" speech of January 19. Congressman Goodell pointed out that the President's budget for 1968 calls for an increase of more than $2 billion in the grants-in-aid program so that a cutback there would provide needed funds for tax sharing.

The GOP proposal would allocate 3% of Federal income tax revenue for tax sharing, to be raised to 5% over a four-year period. Of funds allocated to a state 45% would be earmarked for local communities and the remaining 55% could be spent in any way the state chose. An estimated $2.2 billion would become available to the states under the plan.

There are now more than 400 Federal aid appropriations covering 170 separate programs administered by 21 Federal departments or agencies, 180 bureaus and 400 regional offices.

Whether the Republicans will be successful in getting a tax-sharing plan through the Democrat-controlled Congress remains to be seen. But all Americans who are concerned about ever-increasing concentration of power in Washington and who worry lest state governments cease to have any real efficacy pray that a step toward tax sharing will be adopted this year.

IT COULD MEAN $250 MILLION FOR OHIO: THE CASE FOR A FEDERAL REVENUE-SHARING PLAN

(By Representative ROBERT TAFT, Jr.)

I appreciate greatly the invitation to come to Columbus to testify relating to SJR No. 4, on revenue sharing. This resolution would memorialize the 90th Congress to adopt legislation requiring a return to Ohio, and every other state, of a portion of Federal income tax receipts. Your proposal for 5% distribution of income tax collections could bring in as much as $250 million a year to Ohio. Even more important it could nationally stregnthen our Federal system.

The idea of requiring such a sharing is not a novel one. When it originated, I don't know, but back in the 103rd and 104th sessions of this General Assembly, there were proposals made by various members and by Governor DiSalle calling for such a policy. For instance, in the 104th, I recall HJR No. 44. It called for a 1% return of Federal income tax collections to be used exclusively for educational purposes. Unfortunately, no such proposals have been acted on by the Congress to date.

Meanwhile, the financial plight of the state and local governments has deteriorated further until just this last week we hear a caution from the governor of one of our biggest states that Congress must act to preserve state governments from extinction.

A most important constitutional safeguard of our citizens against overpowering Federal domination could, thereby, be lost. The direct responsibility and participation of citizens in government could be greatly reduced if not eliminated.

During the 1964 presidential campaign, the candidates and spokesmen for both parties endorsed the concept of revenue sharing with a minimum of restrictions upon the use by the states of the shared revenue. Only guarantees against racial discrimination of programs financed by shared funds and a guarantee of continued state financial effort were to be imposed.

Unfortunately, the pledge to back revenue sharing has been ignored. Meanwhile, widely used, the Federal grant-in-aid device has continued to mushroom radically with the restrictions and controls that accompany it.

Last year, as chairman of a task force of the Republican Co-ordinating Committee assigned to study this problem, I participated in the preparation and issuance of a report adopted by the committee. It is entitled, "Financing the Future of Federalism: A Case for Revenue Sharing."

As is pointed out in that report, the grants-in-aid device has progressed from 18 grants with a total of $126 million in expenditures in 1934, to 140 different programs with expenditures in excess of $10 billion in 1964.

As the report states, "Typical of the grant approach has been a steady increase in controls and restrictions tied to the money. This has produced at one end an increase in the national bureaucracy and at the other a further demeaning of state and local governments and their officials."

The proposal of our task force was very similar to the proposed effect of SJR No. 4 now pending before these committees. It called for sharing of 2% of personal and corporate income tax collections, one half to be divided on the basis of state of origin and one half to be divided under a formula which would take into account equalization between states and other factors such as the states' own efforts.

A brief history of revenue sharing would be appropriate. The concept dates back to pre-Constitution days. One of the earliest instances was in the Northwest Ordinance under which land was granted to states for educational purposes and internal improvements.

An historic instance of such a distribution came later in the surplus distribution act in 1836. President Jackson had accumulated a $37 million Federal surplus from the sale of public lands and from customs receipts. Having virtually eliminated the public debt, he recommended and had Congress accept a proposal to distribute the $37 million to the states in four installments. The State of Maine, with a typically frugal Yankee atttiude, made a per capita distribution to its citizens of the Federal funds. The fourth installment, however, was canceled by the Federal government before its distribution because of a financial crisis, reflecting what could become a problem with regard to any future revenue sharing unless adequate safeguards are enacted.

While our task force report did not specify it, either constitutional or other certain priorities, excepting only national defense, might be desirable. The sharing should come from the top, not the bottom of the domestic budget.

Later examples of revenue sharing were the first Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862, and the second Morrill Act of 1890, grants for agricultural experiment stations in 1887, grants for agricultural extension programs in 1914, and the whole series of qualified grants-in-aid that began to build up in 1934.

These latter grants have assumed ever-increasing degrees of control through more precise definition of the aid to be provided, through tighter requirements of conformance to Federal standards, through state matching-fund requirements, and through review and audit by Federal agencies. Depending on point of view, some of these controls may be desirable and necessary. Others have become arbitrary and stultifying.

Since 1961, particularly, such grant-in-aid programs have increased the scope and activities of Federal grants and the restrictions accompanying them in such new fields as elementary and secondary education, manpower training, mass transportation, regional development, mental health, air and water pollution controls, urban planning and aid to the arts.

As mentioned, in 1964 President Johnson gave revenue sharing considerable attention, largely on account of the recommendations of Dr. Walter Heller and Joseph A. Pechman of the Brookings Institution. At that time, President Johnson, just six days before the presidential election, stated:

"At the state and local level, we see responsibilities rising faster than revenues, while at the Federal level average annual revenue growth of some $6 billion provides a comfortable margin for Federal tax reduction, Federal programs and more generous help to state and local units.

"The National Government, as a constructive partner in a creative Federal state, should help restore fiscal balance and strengthen state and local government by making available for their use some part of the great and growing Federal tax revenues over and above existing aids."

The performance, for one reason or another, has not matched the promise. Vietnam expenditures offer a temporary but not a total or logical answer, particularly when the scope and costs of a number of restrictive grants-in-aid programs continue to expand. The open opposition of certain labor leaders has materialized and may have had some effect.

. . . Against this general background we should review the arguments for revenue sharing. They could be summarized as follows. It could:

Reinvigorate the Federal system by giving state and local governments more control over their public expenditures.

Provide closer and more co-operative relationship between Federal, state and local officials.

Provide broader and more flexible aid programs which could be designed to meet the diverse needs of various sectors of the economy.

Give more reliance on direct Federal relationship.

Provide opportunity to work through new types of structure such as area-wide regions and public-private administrative units.

Reward states and localities who are doing the most to help themselves.

Give states and localities more discretion over their own spending.

Give some type of help to those states and localities who through no fault of their own are especially poor.

Perhaps, before acting upon your joint resolution, you might want to consider some comparative proposals aimed at the same objective. Some basic differences between the plans will have to be resolved. These center around the following questions:

Should taxable income or actual taxes collected be the basis for determining the amount available for distribution?

Should the money be set aside in a trust fund or be subject to annual congressional review via appropriations?

What formula should govern distribution of the funds among individual states? Should it be population or the source or revenue, or what other factor?

How much of an equalization factor is desirable?

What weight if any should be given to state and local tax effort?

Should part or all have to be distributed by states to local governmental units?

The formula which you have proposed, with a minimum of 5%, is probably a little rich in view of the current Federal financial situation, but it is important that the principle be established. When and if funds become available, the figure chosen could mean as much as $200 million a year or more to help in providing better services here in Ohio.

Arizona—Past and Present

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, we Arizonans are equally proud of our past and our present. There is one man on Capitol Hill who represents them both to us with honor and with dignity. Of course, I refer to the Honorable CARL HAYDEN, a most distinguished member of the U.S. Senate.

Senator HAYDEN represents the past because he served as our first U.S. Congressman when our State was admitted to the Union. Thoughout the 55 years since he took his oath of office on February 19, his actions and words have made Arizona proud of his service.

I have been especially pleased to serve with him as a member of the Arizona delegation since 1952. His leadership, knowledge and integrity are standards any Congressman would be proud to have as his guides. I wish him the best of luck and thank him for his tireless service, and his personal friendship.

Narrowing the Travel Gap

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, tourism is one of the great industries of my home State of California. Travel in the United States by foreign visitors has a great influence on the international balance of payments. We now experience a "travel gap," in which far more dollars are spent by Americans traveling overseas than by foreign visitors traveling in the United States.

Every effort should be made to increase foreign travelers in the United States. A recent editorial in the Journal of Commerce of February 9, 1967, encourages greater support for the effort of the U.S. Travel Service.

I heartily concur that we need to do more to encourage visitors from foreign lands. Greater effort can be made by the Government, as well as by the private tourism industry.

For the information of Members of Congress, here follows the editorial:

[From the New York Journal of Commerce, Feb. 9, 1967]

NARROWING THE TRAVEL GAP

Virtually unnoticed in President Johnson's recent Economic Report was an indication that the administration plans to step up its program to attract more foreign visitors to our shores as a means of reducing the balance of payments deficit.

In discussing the balance of payments problem the President said, "The most satisfactory way to arrest the increasing gap between American travel abroad and foreign travel here is not to limit the former but to stimulate and encourage the latter. I shall appoint in the near future a special industry-government task force to make specific recommendations by May 1, 1967, on how the federal government can best stimulate foreign travel to the United States. After a careful review of their advice, I shall ask the U.S. Travel Service and other appropriate agencies to take the steps that seem most promising."

Mr. Johnson's move is welcomed even though a substantial expansion of our efforts in this field has been long overdue.

We believe the attempt to attract more foreign visitors rather than restrict overseas trips by Americans is realistic. One of the characteristics of an affluent society, such as ours, is the desire to travel and learn about various cultures.

From the economic point of view, spending by U.S. tourists is a major source of dollars for many countries. This, in turn, permits greater purchases of U.S. products than otherwise would be the case.

As other nations improve their standards of living they too will desire to travel and learn about the "New World." We should effectively exploit this curiosity.

The economics of the situation demand that we do. For the so-called "travel gap" is a major component of our balance of payments problem and is growing proportionately each year.

For example, it is estimated that the nation's total travel gap last year was $1.8 billion. The total balance of payments deficit was estimated at $1.5 billion. In other words, if the travel deficit had been in equiliberium the nation would have been in a surplus picture last year. We don't for a moment think that the nation can get its travel expenditures in balance—not for many, many years at least. But we do think that much more can and must be done.

Here are some more statistics to put the picture in focus. Each year since 1960 the travel gap has exceeded $1 billion with the figures for the last four years over $1.5 billion. For 1966 and 1965 the travel gap exceeded the total payments deficit.

Against this background, government moves to cut into this deficit look sad indeed. The government took the first step to cut into the gap in 1961 when it established the U.S. Travel Service (USTS). Unfortunately, the Travel Service was not given the tools to do the job. The act setting up the USTS stipulated that the service could not get more than $4.7 million in any one year. This is a piddling sum by any stretch of the imagination.

And the service has never even received the $4.7 million. The most ever granted by Congress was $3.35 million in 1963. For the past couple of years the agency has received only $3 million annually.

This is considerably below what other nations are spending. For example, Canada last year spent $8.3 million; Ireland, $5.2 million, the United Kingdom, $6.5 million and Turkey, also $6.5 million. Mexico, Spain and Greece also outspent us as did France. When one considers the expenditures as a percentage of gross national product the comparison becomes even worse.

The U.S. is not going to cut the travel deficit without spending considerable sums. At the present time the load is being carried by private transportation (the bulk by the airlines). These promotional efforts by the private sector with the help the USTS has been able to give on its small budget have done wonders. Since 1961 the number of foreign visitors to the U.S. has more than doubled from 516,152 to an estimated 1,150,000 last year. This is an outstanding showing, yet the travel deficit since 1961 has grown from $1.2 billion to $1.8 billion.

Joseph W. McIntyre

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the work of our Government depends on many people and institutions. Elected representatives and appointed officials, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial branches all contribute to the democratic process of government. We all know that no one man is indispensible, but there are a few men who are irreplaceable. Joseph W. McIntyre was such a man. "Joe Mac" was a career man; he made a career of service.

He was not a man in the public eye. He worked for other men and for their constituents. He served three U.S. Senators from Massachusetts, Senator David I. Walsh, Senator Benjamin Smith, and Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY, helping to solve the problems of the people of Massachusetts. He brought with him years of experience, the element of compassion, and a real understanding of the legislative process.

I extend my heartfelt sympathy to his family and friends and join with his many admirers in mourning the loss of a good man and an outstanding public servant.

Elmer Winter Discusses the Responsibility of American Businessmen in Today's Social Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, an excellent article dealing with the social responsibilities of the businessman appears in the January issue of Kiwanis magazine. The article, "A Businessman Looks at Poverty," was written by Elmer L. Winter, president of Manpower, Inc., of Milwaukee, Wis. It should be of interest to all Members of Congress:

A BUSINESSMAN LOOKS AT POVERTY

(By Elmer L. Winter, president, Manpower Inc., Milwaukee, Wis.)

I recently ran across a guest editorial in *US News & World Report* by Allan McIntosh, publisher of the *Rock County Herald* in Luverne, Minnesota.

McIntosh bemoaned the fact that he was a "tired American" and went on to give a number of reasons why he felt this way. Said he:

"I am a tired American—choked up to here on this business of trying to intimidate our Government by placard, picket line, and sit-ins by the hordes of dirty unwashed who rush to man the barricades against the forces of law, order and decency.

"I am a tired American—weary of the beatniks who say they should have the right to determine what laws of the land they are willing to obey.

"I am a tired American—fed up with the mobs of scabby-faced, long-haired youths and short-haired girls who claim they represent the "new wave" of America and who sneer at the old-fashioned virtues of honesty, integrity, and morality on which America grew to greatness."

As I read McIntosh's discouraging editorial, I started to question whether we in this country can allow ourselves to become "tired Americans" because of the unpleasant actions of a small minority of young people who, in thir dissent, are struggling to find answers to many of the problems facing us today.

I don't wish for a moment to ignore the fact that some of our young people are presenting many serious problems. I am as distressed by their actions as anyone else. On the other hand, I'd rather take a positive approach and try to meet these problems head-on, to try to do something about them.

The businessmen of this country can and must play a strong role in the social revolution that is taking place today. They must dig in and come up with meaningful and pragmatic answers to the problems that face us. They can't become "tired Americans"; they must become "encouraged Americans," satisfied that they are meeting their responsibilities as they move our country forward.

Fortunately, I can report that many businessmen are seriously concerned with matters beyond the profits of their companies. These men are seeking new social goals. Henry Ford II, chairman of the board of Ford Motor Company, recently made a significant statement when he said: "To subordinate profit to broad social goals would be totally irresponsible. On the other hand, socially responsible behavior is essential to the long-term growth and profitability of the corporation. The cost of carrying out social responsibilities may be considered as the normal cost of doing business."

A survey by the National Industrial Conference Board confirms that trend toward social responsibility of management. Over 80 per cent of the more than a thousand firms surveyed have a public affairs function. Near the top of the list of socio-economic problems they consider important are air and water pollution, poverty, civil rights, and urban renewal. I believe strongly that the businessmen of this country have the expertise, the will, and the desire to go beyond the search for profits and solve some of these problems.

Recently, as I was flying home from a business meeting, the man in the seat next to me put down his magazine and said, "I have just read that the government is about to spend another billion dollars to fight the War on Poverty. As far as I'm concerned, this is money down the drain."

After thinking for a moment, I replied, "I can't share your point of view. I happen to believe that if there is poverty in any corner of this country, we, as businessmen, had better do something about it. If we don't, then, in all likelihood, the social planners will."

I suggested that we cannot sweep the problems created by poverty under the rug, nor can we say that poverty is no concern of ours. I said that I believe the same creative ability and energy that businessmen have displayed in organizing people for production and distribution can be redirected in a new dimension—into social action, with an efficiency and with an economy of motion that would be the envy of every government official.

Certainly we don't have to agree fully with the strategy adopted by the government in fighting the war against poverty, but on the other hand we cannot pass the buck and say, "The war against poverty is the government's war alone," or worse, pretend that poverty does not exist. It does exist, and like it or not, billions of dollars are being spent by the various government agencies. We in business would do well to make certain that these funds are spent to the best advantage. Here are a few suggestions as to how the businessmen of this country can develop their own strategies to help wage the war against poverty.

For example, in 1963 in my city, Milwaukee, we formed the Milwaukee Voluntary Equal Employment Opportunity Council to make certain that all Milwaukee employers would open their doors wide to all persons, regardless of their race, color, religion, or creed. We recognized that merely signing a pledge to provide equal employment opportunity was not enough. We now have in our council 165 employers who together employ over 200,000 people.

We have developed many programs designed to help our members hire, integrate, and advance minority workers in their companies. We work closely with the schools and the Urban League to help motivate our young Negro boys and girls to get additional training and prepare themselves to fill the jobs of tomorrow. We are reviewing employment testing procedures to see if they discriminate against minority applicants. We are taking a new look at the need for a high school diploma for certain jobs.

In the past it has been the policy of industry to require job applicants to meet rigid standards. With the shortage of qualified workers, wouldn't good business practice require a rethinking of our hiring practices? We can't say that we are doing our share in offering equal employment merely by saying we can't find competent minority applicants. Possibly our past employment practices have discouraged them from coming to our doors. We need aggressively to seek out minority applicants, to convince them that we now have jobs for them. Our council members recognize that it is the job of industry to provide training for the unemployed. It is our job to take them off of the relief roles and restore their dignity.

We believe in the voluntary method of bringing about equal employment. We believe that we can move our community forward without the need for government action. The business leaders of Milwaukee have chosen a "do it ourselves" course. We recognize that this is the desirable way to meet this problem, and that the effects can be far-reaching and lasting.

Many of the government programs in the anti-poverty war require, eventually, job offers. Who is going to provide these jobs? The answer is, obviously, "By and large, the employers—you and me." Let us make sure that the many vocational programs given our youngsters are properly geared to the future, so that we will be training people for the jobs of tomorrow.

Tens of thousands of young people are now being trained in Job Corps centers. While we may not like some of the things that appear to go on at certain centers, we must recognize that we in business have a stake in the training programs of these centers, and that tomorrow and the next day and in the years to come we will have at our doorstep thousands of young men and women who have been trained at these centers. Unless we provide jobs for these young people, we will be creating in them a deep sense of frustration and disappointment, feelings that may quickly erupt into violence.

As to our schools, can we as businessmen afford not to take an interest in them? We can say that we like the school situation as it has existed for years, and that we don't want it to change. But minority groups are not satisfied with segregation as it exists in so many of our schools today, nor should we be. Nor should we allow other educational problems to remain unsolved.

Again, as part of our activities, we must constantly review the school curriculum to make certain that we are training some of our young people along vocational lines. We must recognize that not all our young men and women are college material. Also, we need to develop technicians, office staff, service workers, and many others to help fill the thousands of jobs that are going begging across the country.

As we study our vocational schools, colleges, and universities, we must make certain that the doors of these schools are open to members of minority groups. If we are to train minority workers for tomorrow's jobs, they must be given the opportunity for training that will equip them to meet our ever-changing industrial needs.

And let's make certain that the courses offered in these schools are meaningful and needed. It is in our interest as businessmen to participate in the planning of these courses. Let's make certain that we are training people for jobs that are in short supply, where a real need exists. We must provide courses that are adequate, but not overly difficult. For if enrollees drop out of the courses, they may lose any sense of motivation they had.

We in industry must work much more closely with school guidance counselors, particularly those in predominantly minority-group high schools, to make certain that they understand fully the jobs that are opening up daily and that will be opening next year and in following years. We must give them new job information and job vacancy studies on a continuing basis. We must bring them into our factories and show them the changes that are taking place in technology. They cannot guide young people in a vacuum. We must provide them with the tools to do a more sophisticated counseling job.

We must be much more seriously concerned with the high school dropout problem. We must conduct research to determine why so many young people are dropping out of school in grades 7 through 12. We must develop new and dynamic techniques to help them to understand the importance of training for the jobs of tomorrow. Unless we do this these dropouts will be on the relief rolls.

Can we as businessmen close our eyes to the poor housing that is provided for many minority groups in our cities? Drive through a Negro area, for example, and ask yourself if we can expect the Negro community to be content, to have a sense of well-being, considering the wretched places that many of them have to live in. Isn't it our responsibility as leaders in our communities to help remove from them all forms of blight? Our employees are our most valuable asset. Can we expect minority employees to be highly motivated and job-oriented if their housing is inferior, if they live in slum conditions?

Again, we come back to the fact that many of our young people have turned to protest, to dissent, to picketing. We must ask ourselves, "Don't we share some of the responsibility for their leaving the fold? What can we do to change their attitudes?"

We find that some of our young people have already drifted quite far toward an anti-business attitude—one that defies easy understanding, but one that may have a deeper meaning for us. It is my feeling that if youth can see businessmen involved in social action in a new dimension and on an unprecedented scale, they will realize that they can put their trust and confidence in us, and will look to us for leadership.

Yes, we must expand our concern for our young people in their desperate search for new answers to the many new problems that face them today. Again, helping them to help themselves is a wide and challenging area in which businessmen can take the lead. We have the expertise; we are the motivators, the trainers, the leaders. It is our duty to point young people in the right direction, so that they will be well equipped to accept the responsibilities of tomorrow.

What can you do to help our young people help themselves? Let me give you a page from our company's book. We have been seriously concerned with the difficulties many teen-agers face when they seek summer employment. In 1964 we organized Youthpower, Incorporated, to serve as a job clearing house. This project, a nonprofit venture created by our company, was staffed by the youths themselves. We provided office space, equipment, advertising, telephones, and supplies, plus a paid director. The spirited response of youth to a program in which they can become involved as staff as well as clients has been remarkable. We now operate

Youthpower in nine cities, and next year hope to expand to twenty cities.

Though this program has paralleled government efforts to offer the same service, it is not an attempt on our part to duplicate what government does. We believe in offering youth an alternative consisting of private self-help as contrasted with government largesse, well-meaning as it might be. If youth is to choose it must have this real, live alternative.

I submit, businessmen today have a golden opportunity to guide America's millions in the proper direction. Our minorities are pressing forward, looking for jobs and advancement opportunities as well as for better housing, better culture, better education. We must make certain that they find it all within the framework of the free enterprise system, rather than in the direction of socialism or some other system. We must prove to them through our very act and deed that within our free enterprise system they have the greatest chance for improvement and personal freedom.

What should determine the direction in which we move? The same factor that determines the direction in which we move to design and sell products—namely, need. Today's business frontiers lie in the fields of job creation, training for higher skills, housing, transportation, ways of spending leisure time, and information about the world around us. Another frontier, one that might not be thought of, lies in the realm of closer personal relationships between the businessman and the rank and file of employees and the citizens of the community. People everywhere hunger for warmer, more meaningful relationships with one another. It has been said that "the best relations are close relations." Here, too, we must not abdicate or hide behind our desks, but recognize that leaders must be pace-setters, that they must set an example for others in order to build a stronger society.

Let it not be said that any businessman tried to sweep the problems of his community under the rug. Rather let him take his rightful position of leadership in his community. Let him wage his own war against poverty by making himself heard in his community—not in pious statements, but in answers to the many growing and serious problems facing the people of his country. Let him put as much thought, energy, and money into solving these problems as he expends in building his own business. Let him use his arsenal of good business judgment, advanced training techniques, and dynamic thinking processes to win the battles being waged in the social revolution going on around him.

Hope for Lithuania

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on February 16, 1918, Lithuania succeeded in casting off the fetters of external domination which had plagued her for more than a century. Throughout that protracted and painful period, Lithuanians had steadfastly resisted Russian efforts to destroy their spiritual and cultural heritage. Thus, when a democratic system of government was finally achieved, the country found itself readily able to adapt to the difficult requirements exacted by such a system.

The lack of justice in our world is no more clearly illustrated than by the callous and inhumane manner in which Lithuania was once again, in 1939, stripped of its sovereignty by the evil ambitions of avaricious dictators.

The intense devotion to liberty which has always characterized the Lithuanian people has been in no way diminished by the grim fortune that has befallen their homeland. Those of us who cherish freedom eagerly await the joyous day when their country is returned at last to a rewarding destiny of peace and liberty.

Oakland Coliseum Winner of Top Engineering Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, in my Eighth Congressional District of California a large sports complex including a coliseum and arena has been recently completed. This project represents such advanced engineering techniques in its design and construction that the American Society of Civil Engineers has conferred upon it an award of merit as one of the outstanding civil engineering achievements of 1967. An article in the February 13, 1967, edition of the Alameda Times-Star, which I am pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, sets forth the particulars:

OAKLAND COLISEUM WINNER OF TOP ENGINEERING AWARD

The multi-million coliseum complex, built as a joint project by the California city of Oakland and Alameda County has been named to receive an award of merit in the competition to name the Outstanding Civil Engineering Achievement of 1967. The announcement was made today by the Board of Direction of the American Society of Civil Engineers, the 58,000-member professional society which sponsors the contest each year. The Society is conducting a National Environmental Engineering conference in Dallas this week.

The Coliseum Complex and the Hanford Nuclear Power Plant in the State of Washington were runners-up to the St. Louis Gateway Arch which took top honors. The award winners are representative of the wide field of engineering endeavor encompassed by the civil engineering profession.

On its individual merit the Coliseum Complex was judged unique in the design and construction of its 420-foot diameter cable-suspended roof, one of the largest structures of this type ever built. Such a roof demonstrates a high degree of engineering skill and points the way toward greater use of this type of roof construction in future projects.

The $30 million Complex combines an outdoor sports stadium, an enclosed arena, and a connecting exhibit hall, designed to accommodate both indoor and outdoor athletic events, exhibitions, theatrical presentations and public meetings.

The circular stadium, home of the Oakland Raiders football team, is designed for baseball, football and soccer. It has an outside diameter of 770 feet with a playing field diameter of 490 feet. Seating capacity in the encircling grandstands is 50,000 for baseball and 53,000 for football.

Its companion building, the circular arena, is designed for basketball, ice hockey, circuses and other large gatherings, with a diameter of 420 feet and seating capacities ranging from 11,000 to 15,000. It serves as the home of the California Seals ice hockey team.

A connecting exhibit hall has 50,000 square feet of floor space and is directly adjacent to the arena floor. The exhibit floor and the arena floor can be used in combination to provide 110,000 square feet of contiguous exhibit space.

Competition for the Outstanding Civil Engineering Achievement is sponsored each year by ASCE which invites its directors from all over the country to submit recently-completed engineering projects in their area for consideration. Selection of the winner and runners-up is made by eight editors of leading engineering magazines and confirmed by the Society's Board of Direction. By honoring projects directly the top award recognizes the part played by all who are associated with them.

A Salute to Mr. Republican

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARRY BROWN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. BROWN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I was very deeply grieved to learn of the passing on February 11, 1967, of Clark W. MacKenzie, "Mr. Republican" in Kalamazoo County. His death at 86 ended six decades of activity in Kalamazoo's political, business, fraternal, athletic, and academic communities.

I had known Mr. MacKenzie since my undergraduate days at Kalamazoo College, where he was a close associate and friend of the athletes and coaching staff. His life, in my opinion, should be an inspiration to those who find it impossible to pursue the courses of higher education, for even though he never attended Kalamazoo College, he was named to the board of trustees at "K" in 1956, and was a permanent honorary member of the college.

He was an American of the finest quality, who once said proudly that he had not missed voting in an election since he was able to vote in 1901. And his lifetime of devoted, faithful public service, of a rare kind, stands out like the Lincoln Memorial.

Last year, when it was necessary for him to miss his first State Republican convention in 65 years, he was elected an honorary delegate to the convention by county GOP members. In 1962 he was named "Mr. Good American" at a testimonial dinner held in his honor.

In every sense, he was a great American and his outstanding services to his community, State, and Nation will long be remembered by a grateful people, not only in his adopted city of Kalamazoo, but wherever he was known.

I personally feel a great loss at his passing, and I join with his beloved family, his dear ones, colleagues, and friends in mourning his death and I extend to them my heartfelt sympathy.

The memory of Clark W. MacKenzie will long remain in our hearts. All of us will miss him—one of Kalamazoo's irreplaceable men.

Dominican Republic

SPEECH

OF

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, I had the recent good fortune to spend several days in the Dominican Republic, talking to high government officials and visiting different parts of the country.

I had previously been there 7 months ago to participate in the inauguration ceremonies of President Balaguer.

Briefly, I would like to describe what I found on my last trip and what I observed to have taken place in that country between my two visits.

Last July, Mr. Speaker, the country was gripped in the euphoria of successful elections and the inauguration of a new president who promised political stability and economic recovery.

I found on my first trip optimism about the future. But it was the heavily qualified optimism brought on by uncertainty. The Inter-American Peace Force had remained in Santo Domingo, and the people were not at all sure what would transpire after the force was withdrawn, scheduled for 90 days after the inauguration. The economy was left at a virtual standstill, and the people wondered how successful their new President would be in getting it moving again. The forces of extremism—both on the left and right—which had clashed during the Garcia Godoy interval were quiet, but the people were unsure whether they would emerge to clash in violence and harass President Balaguer once the IAPF presence was removed.

The situation today, Mr. Speaker, clearly demonstrates the preliminary success which President Balaguer has had in achieving his immediate goals. To be sure, he has some way to go before attaining the degree of stability which we all want to see in the Dominican Republic. President Balaguer, being a realist, would be the first to admit that he has a long road to travel.

But I found that what he has gained in the initial phases of his administration is impressive, and he deserves the full credit for this in the eyes of the world.

He has established a degree of political stability, which while not complete, is far greater than those of us close to the earlier situation had reason to hope for.

Through his austerity program he has brought the operating budget in line with current revenues, and during 1967 he expects to achieve a modest current revenue surplus which can be used in his development program.

He has checked the rise of living costs and had no serious problems with labor. And, of great importance and impact I think, he has brought about a new sense of confidence to the business community reflected in the demonstrated interest of national and foreign investors to undertake new projects.

I would make one further observation, Mr. Speaker. What has taken place in the Dominican Republic during the past 7 months shows again the wisdom and remarkable foresight of the hard decisions President Johnson made during those critical days in April of 1965. The Dominican Republic is back on the road of constitutional government, political stability and economic and social progress, because the actions of April and May 1965 preserved the option for the Dominician people to choose by free elections the men whom they trusted to guide their nation's destiny during the next 4 years.

It is time to salute President Balaguer, and is the time, also, to salute President Johnson for having made a most difficult decision with great courage and wisdom, a decision that brought peace and tranquillity to the people of the Dominican Republic and Latin America, and which brought hope to the world. And, perhaps most importantly, when the last soldier left the Dominican Republic, it lent new credence that the word of the United States is valid.

Valley Forge General Hospital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, today is a time for reflection on the part of every American. The birthday of George Washington, the Father of our Country, affords each of us an occasion to consider, if only for a few moments, our heritage as citizens of this Republic and our commitment to the freedom for which Washington and other courageous men fought so valiantly.

Valley Forge, just a few miles from my own city of Philadelphia, symbolizes that heritage. I am honored, therefore, to pay testimony here in the U.S. House of Representatives, to Valley Forge General Hospital, which today observes its 24th anniversary of service to the military.

Valley Forge General Hospital is one of the fine medical centers of the world. Founded in 1943, it was named to honor the epic stand by American forces in their deep-seated zeal to win independence and to proclaim liberty throughout the land. During the past 24 years, it has inscribed an enviable record of service to the men who fought in World War II, the Korean conflict, and those who are fighting in Vietnam.

In a sense, Valley Forge General Hospital is, in itself, a bulwark of freedom. In providing the finest medical care available to those who defend our country, it testifies to our determination to care for our own and to return them to full participation in our society. It is, indeed, testimony that we shall, in the words of the late President Kennedy:

> Pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

Therefore, I rise today to salute Valley Forge General Hospital for the enviable reputation it has won as an unsurpassed medical center. I congratulate the Surgeon General of the Army, the commanding officer and his staff at Valley Forge General Hospital, and wish them continued success and great strength in their mission.

Tribute to Samwell Well Deserved

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, last week saw the retirement of Mr. Philip R. Samwell as chairman of the board of directors of Friden, Inc. Mr. Samwell, for many years, brought his great talents and enlightened industrial leadership, which were so highly valuable to that corporation, to community projects for the benefit of all the residents of the city of San Leandro, which is within my district. I am, therefore, pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial which appeared in the February 2, 1967, edition of the San Leandro Morning News honoring Mr. Samwell:

> TRIBUTE TO SAMWELL WELL DESERVED
>
> San Leandro Chamber of Commerce directors' meetings are usually lively affairs—but today's luncheon gathering of the chamber board promises to be a super-special event.
>
> The occasion is "Phil Samwell Day," to honor P. R. Samwell, who recently retired as chairman of the Friden, Inc., Board of Directors and who over many years has rendered outstanding service to San Leandro.
>
> It is indeed fitting that the chamber's first "special event" of 1967 should be devoted to honoring Samwell. Despite his many duties with Friden, San Leandro's largest employer and the greatest firm of its kind in the world, Samwell has found time to take an active, civic-minded interest in the well-being and growth of this city.
>
> Today's chamber session will technically be another semimonthly meeting of the chamber's Board of Directors. But it will be far more than that—and the general membership of the chamber, as well as the general public, is invited to attend. City officials, headed by Mayor Jack D. Maltester, will be on hand. To take care of the expected capacity crowd, the locale will be the Blue Dolphin restaurant on the San Leandro Marina.
>
> Samwell was named Friden controller in October, 1945. During the next score and more of years he advanced in position and responsibility. He has been a member of the San Leandro Manufacturers Association Board of Directors as well as of the San Leandro Chamber of Commerce.
>
> Salute to Phil Samwell!

A House Standards and Conduct Committee Is Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, at the direction of the unanimous action of the House Committee on Standards and Conduct in the 89th Congress, I spoke today in the Rules Committee for the adoption of a resolution, House Resolution 18, reconstituting the committee in the 90th Congress. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HAYS] was present when I spoke; and I am told that earlier today he spoke on the floor of the House about this committee and about my testimony which I will include herein.

The charge has been made that the Standards and Conduct Committee did not act promptly in handling the Powell matter. Congress and the country know full well that the able gentleman from Ohio succeeded in the last Congress in making it impossible for the House Committee on Standards and Conduct to exercise jurisdiction in this field by stripping investigatory powers from the the bill which established the latter committee. Now, as to the remaining functions of the Standards Committee, the committee did compile, with the assistance of a 100-percent volunteer and unpaid staff, a list of all statutes and resolutions dealing with standards and conduct of House Members and employees of the House; and as to recommendations as to the new legislation the committee report said:

> The committee has accumulated a large volume of material on the subject of standards and conduct of Government officials but has found that in the limited period of the life of the committee in the 89th Congress it is impossible prudently to recommend changes in existing provisions of law or to suggest new ones at this time. In the opinion of the committee such recommendations should be made after the full membership of the House is available for comments, recommendations, and hearings.

Before I close, I would like to say that from all I can find, the gentleman from Ohio and his subcommittee did an excellent job in the Powell matter, once they undertook to enter the field. They wanted an extremely long time to begin, but once they got started they seem to have done an excellent and speedy job. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD at this point the statement I presented to the Rules Committee this morning:

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN CHARLES E. BENNETT OF FLORIDA BEFORE THE HOUSE RULES COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION CREATING HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON STANDARDS AND CONDUCT, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1967

Mr. Chairman, I deeply appreciate the opportunity to appear before this Committee in behalf of H. Res. 18 unanimously recommended by the House Select Committee on Standards and Conduct, which had a short life—from October 19, 1966 to January 3, 1967.

The House Select Committee on Standards and Conduct was directed by Congress to recommend to the House "such additional rules or regulations as the Select Committee shall determine to be necessary or desirable to insure proper standards of conduct by Members of the House and by officers or employees of the House."

In its report to Congress (House Report 2338, 89th Congress, 2nd Session), the Committee asked that the Committee be reconstituted because there was not sufficient time in the closing months of 1966 to make such recommendations and because such efforts should be made while Congress is in session so that the full membership of the House could be available for comments, recommendations, and hearings.

The only new power asked, over what the Committee had in 1966, would be the power to make an investigation and recommend censure on a violation, by a Member, officer, or employee of the House, of a standard of conduct which had been established by the House by law or resolution previous to the act complained of.

The comparable Senate committee now operating has, incidentally, much broader powers than are requested here, as it is not restricted to recommending resolutions of censure, but is authorized in broad terms to recommend "disciplinary action to be taken" (Sec. 2(a)(2) of Senate Resolution 338 of the 88th Congress). It is believed that the ability to at least recommend resolutions of censure in a proper case is necessary for three reasons: First, to effectively handle any such matter that may arise; second, to help the Committee in getting the attention and assistance of the whole membership of the House in drafting workable and practical rules; and third, to reassure the public that any improper conduct that may arise will be adequately and promptly looked into.

I would like to call attention to the Washington Star article of February 2, widely circulated by some Members in an effort to show that the Committee on Standards and Conduct should not be reconstituted.

A group of women reporters asked me to appear before them; and they interviewed me. I quickly sensed that they felt this Committee was being set up as a "white wash" Committee. I felt that such an impression on the press would further unfairly damage the image of Congress with the public. In reply to a question expressing disbelief that any Congressman would be willing to present to the Committee any matter at all for investigation, I replied that in a case fully substantiated by competent evidence and reflecting on the Congress, it was my belief that 90 percent or all Members would be willing to do so in a serious case publicly reflecting on Congress.

The article gave the impression that 90% of Congress were waiting to present existing charges against other Congressmen. No other article coming from this well attended interview gave such an impression as far as I know.

Further, in answer to a question on how narrow or broad the fields of study of new legislation might be, I replied they could cover "all matters of impropriety" covered by legislation that might be introduced and assigned to the committee for study. The article as printed implied to many readers that the committee would have power to investigate charges under legislation not yet enacted. This is clearly untrue because the proposed bill would not allow any case to be investigated unless it were based on a statute or resolution previously passed by the House; and then only under the additional safeguards set up in the proposed bill before you.

As I stated in the first hearing of the Committee last year (and approved by the Committee); and I am reading from the minutes of the Committee of October 20, 1966, what I said: "I do not think a man's private life is detrimental to the House. No one is perfect; and if he privately has weaknesses, it should not be something that should be before this Committee, as it would not reflect upon the House."

Inaccurate press reports, and opponents of the Committee, have alarmed some Members; but the record of actual statements and actions of the Committee and its Chairman give no grounds for any fear of "witch hunts" or snooping of any kind. In fact, two complaints were received by the Committee during the adjournment (based on the Committee's ability to look into violations of criminal law); and in both, the Chairman refused jurisdiction because the complaints were not in writing and under oath, as the statutory history of the act required. Moreover, the full Committee would have to decide such matters, within the statute which empowers it; and clearly the legislative history as well as the terms of the statute rule out any abuses of the Committee in such matters.

Such an investigation could be made only upon receipt by the Select Committee of a complaint based on competent evidence in writing and under oath, made by or submitted to a Member of the House and transmitted to the Select Committee by such Member. Even when so formally presented, the Committee would have discretionary power not to act on the matter if it appeared to be trivial or otherwise improper. No such resolution would be effective unless approved by the House.

I would think there would be a very few complaints about the conduct of Members of the House, but if a serious case, reflecting publicly on the House, were substantiated by evidence, it is my opinion that 90 percent, or perhaps all Members, would be willing to submit it for consideration. The Committee would not be a snooping Committee looking into the private lives of Members. But serious charges, fully substantiated, reflecting on the U.S. House of Representatives, should be looked into. Moreover, the Committee would devote its efforts to preventing, rather than penalizing and publicity.

The main purpose of this Committee is to help improve the standards of the U.S. House of Representatives and also the public confidence therein.

The public image of Congress demands that the House establish a full, working, thoughtful Committee working solely in the field of standards and conduct. Sixty percent of those answering a recent Gallup Poll said they believe the misuse of government funds by congressmen is fairly common. Of course, we know that such abuses are in fact not common but we have seen a number of such damaging polls showing the people's lack of faith in the integrity of Congress.

There is a need for a vehicle in the House to achieve and maintain the highest possible standards by statute and enforcement thereof. This can only be done after thorough study by a Committee whose primary interests are in the field of ethics.

The House Select Committee on Standards and Conduct has wide support and adequate precedent for its reestablishment in the 90th Congress. It was the Rules Committee which brought the resolution to the floor in the 89th Congress and gave the Select Committee its first opportunity to help lift and maintain the standards of the House. This was the first time in history that the House of Representatives ever had such a Committee. Prior to that the Senate Selecte Committee on Standards and Conduct was established. A House Committee has been recommended by the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress. There are over 30 resolutions before the Committee which call for a House Select Committee on Standards and Conduct.

Mr. Chairman, I must add to this positive statement in support of reestablishing the House Select Committee on Standards and Conduct some comments concerning the recent action by the House Administration Committee. A Subcommittee on Ethics and Contracts was set up by the House Administration Committee apparently to kill the Committee which I am supporting today before your Committee—supporting along with dozens of other House Members.

I am not competent to look into the motives of this move, announced to the press as an action to "obviate" the broader House Select Committee on Standards and Conduct.

However, I do believe that neither a subcommittee of the House Administration Committee nor the mother, its full Committee, is in a position to do what the public has a right to demand and is demanding. In the first place that Committee has only jurisdiction in the field of House accounts and Federal elections matters.

According to the Rules of the House of Representatives (Rule XI), the Committee on House Administration can look into matters dealing only with elections, accounts and other housekeeping matters. There is one section of the rules which says the Committee can look into "Measures relating to the election of the President, Vice President, or Members of Congress; corrupt practices; contested elections; credentials and qualifications; and Federal elections generally."

The phrase "corrupt practices" in this section relates directly to elections, and cannot be construed to deal with Congressional ethics. The positioning of this phrase in the midst of provisions relating solely to elections is clear evidence of the legislative intent to restrict this phrase to election matters. Moreover, even aside from that, a long line of court decisions so restricts it. The only interpretation this phrase has ever had deals with elections.

The jurisdiction which the House Administration Committee does have is broad with regard to the expenditure of House funds, and I would assume for instance, that bills relating to nepotism in the House would continue to be handled by the House Administration Committee while ones of general application throughout the entire federal employment would continue to go to the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

Mr. Chairman, one of the main purposes of the House Committee on Standards and Conduct would be to reassure the public that matters will be handled promptly in the field in which it will have jurisdiction. Within the past two years the Committee on House Administration, by virtue of its supervisory administrative functions in House accounts, has had knowledge of a number of situations involving very questionable activity; and it has failed to act promptly. There may have been good and sound reasons for its failure to act promptly; but the records of the Committee speak for what was actually left undone, and cannot be reassuring to the public without explanation.

Illustrations of the slowness of the House Administration Committee to deal with matters within their jurisdiction are replete in the hearings of the Special Subcommittee on Contracts held December 19, 20, 21 and 30, 1966. For examples: The matter of not cutting off the pay of Mrs. Y. Marjorie Flores Powell when paid in violation of law (See Page 44); and the matters of travel pay and per diem costs (See Pages 16, 17, 22, 113, 114, 115, 191, and 193).

So despite the fact that there may have been good and sound reasons for these delays, the public could not be reassured by any action of Congress placing these new responsibilities in that same Committee, without adequately documented and understood explanations of its past inaction. Moreover, clearly any committee set up to do the broad task of raising and maintaining standards in the House should be a nonpartisan committee, with equal membership between Republicans and Democrats. The House Administration Committee is, of course, not so constituted; as it should be for this purpose.

In conclusion, there is a need for the new Committee on Standards and Conduct to be established, a broadly based Committee, but one devoted solely to the problems of raising and maintaining the highest possible standards in the House of Representatives. The House should come to grips with this need in an effective manner and in an important manner, and not just sweep the problems under the carpet. We can do no less for our country.

Long Live America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of pride I report to you today that a bright young constituent of mine, Miss Jacque Miles, has recently won first place in the Voice of Democracy contest.

The annual contest, sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars, is open to all high school students in the Toledo and Lucas County area of Ohio. I am deeply impressed by the patriotism and love for our country expressed by this young American's essay and I call this winning effort to my colleagues' attention:

LONG LIVE AMERICA

Next to God, the most sacred word, to me, in all the world, is America. When I hear it, something inside of my heart begins to sing and sometimes tears come and fill my eyes.

I am not ashamed of those tears, for in that one word—America—are enshrined all my loves, my dreams, my hopes, and my faith.

America is a strong country. My ancestors have left their blood on the greens of Lexington and the snow of Valley Forge, on the walls of Fort Sumter and the fields of Gettysburg, on the sands of Okinawa and on the bare and bleak Pork Chop hill.

A million and more of my countrymen have died for freedom . . . this country is their monument forever.

These men will live on in the triumph of a six year old as he reads aloud for the first time . . . . in the ringing of the school bell . . . . in the high school rendition of "Stars and Stripes Forever" . . . . in the first bite of peppermint ice cream on the fourth of July. They live on in the fields of corn and wheat . . . . in the milling of the cattle in the stockyards. They live on in the voice of the young Jewish and Catholic and Protestant children as they pray and sing.

Carl Sandburg, a great American author, wrote, "I know a Jewish fishcrier down on Maxwell Street with a voice like a north wind blowing over corn stubble in January. He dangles herring before prospective customers envincing a joy identical with that of Pavlova dancing.

His face is that of a man terribly glad to be selling fish, terribly glad that God made fish and customers to whom he may call his wares from a pushcart." America answered this mans call for happiness.

America offers freedom and opportunity as no other land before has ever known. America offers an education to you.

I will not ever doubt America, for if the stars should doubt, they would surely fade away—but I have tremendous and undying faith in the nation that has made these things mine.

There is a voice in every human soul that cries out to be free . . . . America has answered this voice.

Courage is a priceless ingredient of character. The will to do, the will to overcome all obstacles and finish the course, the strength to cling to ideals, are based in courage. America has courage.

Thomas Paine once wrote, "Our great title is Americans". Our citizenship in the United States is our national character. Our citizenship in Ohio is our local distinction. By the latter, we are known at home. By the former, the United States of America, we are known to the world. Yes, our great title is Americans. Our great nation is America.

Sesquicentennial of Frederick, Md.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, last month my hometown, Frederick, Md., observed its 150th anniversary as an incorporated city. Although Frederick Town was first settled in 1746, it did not become a corporation until its charter was approved by Governor Ridgely on January 14, 1817. Since then, Frederick has expanded and grown from a population of 3,640 in 1820, to 21,744 in 1960. Now, under the leadership of Mayor John A. Derr, this historic city stands on the threshold of accelerated growth as part of the Greater Washington metropolitan area.

To mark this sesquicentennial, the Honorable Edward S. Delaplaine, one of the city's most noted citizens and students of history, summarized Frederick's corporate history in an interesting article which appeared recently in the Frederick News-Post. I include his article in the RECORD:

FREDERICK CELEBRATES ITS 150TH BIRTHDAY

(By Edward S. Delaplaine)

Frederick is observing this month an important municipal anniversary—the Sesquicentennial of its incorporation by the State.

One hundred and fifty years ago the Maryland Legislature not only made Frederick Town a corporation but at the same time officially changed its name to "Frederick."

Frederick Town was laid out in 1745 on a tract owned by Daniel Dulany, the elder, and was settled in 1746 by a group of about 100 families led by John Thomas Schley, who built the first house in the community. More than seventy years passed before the citizens elected their mayor, board of aldermen, and board of common council.

The city's original charter was approved by Gov. Ridgely on January 14, 1817.

The starting-point of Frederick's original corporate limits was "the 44-mile stone on the Baltimore and Frederick Town turnpike road, about three quarters of a mile from the east end of Frederick Town."

The 45-mile stone is now, embedded in concrete at the corner of East Patrick Street and Middle Alley.

In the past 150 years Frederick has grown mostly to the north and west. The original boundary lines of the Corporation of Frederick were fixed by the General Assembly in 1817 as follows:

"All the lots originally laid out as Frederick Town with all additions thereto, including Bentztown. and Jacob and Michael

Buckey's dwelling house and tanyard, and Jacob Buckey's factory, at the east end of the town, and Stephen Steiner's dwelling and tavern stand on the west end, and Jacob Lease's on the north end of said town, also Ramsburg's Mill, also the English Presbyterian Church, and the lots fronting on the west side of Bentz Street, from Ramsburg's Mill to the aforesaid church, both inclusive."

"Bentztown" was the section of Frederick that grew up west of the bend on West Patrick Street and extended beyond Carroll Creek for some distance largely as a result of the business of Bentz's glove factory. It was a popular name for the street for more than a century.

Stephen Steiner completed his house at the top of the hill on West Patrick Street in 1807. He erected it on land which he had bought from George Ramsburg in 1799.

The Steiner house is one of the oldest houses in Frederick. It was purchased by the Frederick County Historical Society for $12,000 in 1944, and was sold by the society to the Frederick Civic Club for $13,000 in 1962.

As the residents of Frederick look back over the 150 years that have passed since the Legislature established our municipal corporation, they can feel gratified by the city's steady growth and improvement.

When the first Census was taken in 1820 Frederick had a population of 3,640. The last Census of 1960 showed that the city's population in one decade had jumped 3,602 to 21,744.

THE MAYORS OF FREDERICK

How many Mayors has Frederick had since the Legislature incorporated it 150 years ago?

It depends on how we count the Mayors who served nonconsecutive terms.

Mayor Lloyd C. Culler for instance served three nonconsecutive times. Mayor Elmer F. Munshower served two nonconsecutive times. Incumbent Mayor John A. Derr served from 1954 to 1958, and after the administrations of Jacob R. Ramsburg and E. Paul Magaha, was elected again in 1966.

Grover Cleveland, after being in the White House four years was defeated in 1888, but staged a comeback in 1892 and is considered both the 22nd President and the 24th President.

According to this method, Frederick has had 38 Mayors in the century and—a half from the time of Lawrence Brengle, first Mayor of the city, to Mayor Derr.

This is a list of the City's Chief Executives, as compiled by Joseph F. Eisenhauer, 3d, who has the unusual record of having served under eleven Mayors as their Executive Secretary:

LIST OF MAYORS OF FREDERICK

Lawrence Brengle, first Mayor of Frederick, 1817. Hy. Kuhn in place of Lawrence Brengle, resigned, 1818–1820. George Baer, 1820–1823. John L. Harding, 1823–1826. George Kolb, 1826–1829. Thomas Carlton, 1829–1835.

Daniel Kolb, 1835–1838. Michael Baltzell, 1838–1841. George Hoskins, 1841–1847. Mathias E. Bartgis, 1847–1849.

James Bartgis, in place of Mathias E. Barthis, deceased, 1849–1850, James Bartgis, 1850–1856. Lewis Brunner, 1856–1859. William G. Cole, 1859–1865. Jacob Engelbrecht, 1865–1868. Valentine Ebert, 1868–1871. Thomas M. Holbruner, 1871–1874.

Lewis H. Moberly, 1874–1883. Hiram Bartgis, 1883–1889. Lewis H. Doll, 1889–1890. Lewis Brunner, in place of Lewis H. Doll, deceased, 1890–1892. John E. Fleming, 1892–1895. Aquilla R. Yeakle, 1895–1898.

William F. Chilton, 1898–1901. George Edward Smith, 1901–1910. John Edward Schell, 1910–1913. Lewis H. Fraley, 1913–1919. Gilmer Schley, 1919–1922. Lloyd C. Culler, 1922–1931. Elmer F. Munshower, 1931–1934.

Lloyd C. Culler, 1934–1943. Hugh V. Gittinger, 1943–1946. Lloyd C. Culler, 1946–1950. Elmer F. Munshower, 1950–June 1, 1951.

Donald B. Rice, June 1, 1951–1954. John A. Derr, 1954–1958. Jacob R. Ramsburg, 1958–1962. E. Paul Magaha, 1962–1966. John A. Derr, 1966.

Young Republican Leadership Training School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, I was privileged Saturday night to attend a meeting of the Young Republican Leadership Training School at which Gen. Curtis LeMay, USAF, retired, gave the principal speech.

General LeMay's speech was so forceful, pointing out in great detail why we are in Vietnam, what we are now doing there, and what we should be doing, that I commend it to all of my colleagues.

Under leave to include extraneous material, General LeMay's speech follows:

YOUNG REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP TRAINING SCHOOL

I have looked forward to speaking to you tonight for many reasons, but two really stand out in my mind. First, because I have not had the opportunity to speak to a group of young and dedicated Americans since I retired from the Air Force a couple of years ago. And second, because this is the first time in my life that I have spoken to a political audience. That was a luxury I could not afford during my days in the military. Since I have retired, most people now realize I am no longer an official spokesman for the Air Force or the Defense Department and that I am now free to express my own opinions.

I chose as my theme for tonight the topic you have had under examination for these last few hectic days—leadership. Certainly about the specific qualities of political leadership you are more knowledgeable than I. But I believe I have some competence to discuss the general qualities of leadership. During my career in the military I have both led and been led—and I have had considerable opportunity to watch men and women react to both situations.

Over the years I have come to regard three aspects of leadership as most important: First, goals—articulating your objectives and directing attention to them. Second, planning—making arrangements to realize your goals with the minimal expenditure of resources. Third, measurement of progress—demonstrating to the opposition—and, just as importantly, to your own personnel—that you are making progress toward your goal, that your plan is sweeping to success.

All leadership, I contend, must be judged by its success in these three areas. How clearly has the leadership stated its objective? Have they designed an efficient plan to realize it? Is the successful execution of that plan being communicated effectively?

These are the three big questions of leadership. And rather than discuss them in a vacuum—let's put them in a specific frame of reference. Let's consider the questions of leadership as they involve themselves in one of our primary problems—Vietnam.

I will leave it to you to determine if we have set adequate goals in Vietnam, if we have a good and successful plan, and what progress we are making.

I doubt that there has ever been a popular war. Not with the men who have to fight it, anyway. As a military man, I can tell you that. But I doubt if there has ever been a war more unpopular than this one. No one is satisfied with the conduct of the war. Neither the Doves nor the Hawks. But it's a real war . . . and we're in it.

It's real to the more than 6,000 American boys who have been killed there so far. And it's very real to their families.

It's a real war that—as far as we can tell—is costing us $2 Billion a month.

It's a real war to over 400,000 American fighting men who are there now. More men than we had in Korea. More men than went to France in World War One.

It's real—and it's tragic—and it's necessary. Worse, it's no closer to successful conclusion than when we started five years and 6,000 men ago. Maybe even farther away.

So what do we do . . . first, let's recall how we got there. Then, let's see what we're doing there, and why. Finally, the big question—how can we end it.

It is necessary first of all to understand that Vietnam is a part of a much larger and longer war . . . a war between the Communists and what we call the Free World.

This larger and longer war was declared by the Communists. It was declared by Karl Marx before a single country had come under Communist domination. It was declared by Lenin. It was waged by Stalin. And it has been carried on relentlessly by every Communist leader since. It is waged by the Communists according to their own timetable and on battlefields of their own choosing. Although this war has many facets, it has but one objective: Communist control of the entire world.

This is not my idea or your idea—it is their idea. It is not my definition of their goal. It is the Communist definition. They have stated it frequently and they believe it. And I believe it, too.

On the international scale, Communism is not a political party—it is a way of life. Their announced intention is to extend this way of life to every corner of the world, through guile if possible, by force if necessary. These are not scare phrases. These are strategic facts. And we must reckon with them.

At the end of World War Two, the United States was weary of war. We were the strongest nation in the world and highly optimistic about the future. We turned our strength and optimism to post-war problems. The rehabilitation of war-ravaged countries. The relocation of displaced persons. The application of wartime technology to peacetime uses to advance the world's standard of living. We were instrumental in putting together the United Nations. We were confident that we could maintain world peace through international cooperation.

As an American, I am proud that we assumed that kind of world leadership. But with the ink not yet dry on the United Nations charter, Soviet military forces barricaded the Communist-occupied world. They stripped Eastern Europe and Northern China of their industrial machinery. They set up puppet governments in the Eastern European countries. The Communists were following through on their on their announced plan of world domination. But we somehow could not believe it. These people were our allies! ! ! ! They were the heroes of Stalingrad!

It took Sir Winston Churchill in his famous Iron Curtain speech at Fulton, Missouri, to shock us out of our naive complacency. Clearly he explained the significance of Soviet actions. He warned of things to come. And America listened. A year later, when Greece was threatened with Communist-supplied insurgents and Russia was pressuring Turkey for control of the

Bosporus, our passive reaction to Communist aggression ended. We spoke with a new voice. We offered to the Greek and Turkish governments military and economic aid. The American President told the world of our determination. Quote: "To help free people maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against agressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes." end quote.

This was the Truman doctrine and it marked a major turning point for America. It announced our decision to defend the free world against the expansion of Communism. It was a beginning.

But the Communists kept coming. In the Spring of 1948, Czechoslovakia, the last free nation in Eastern Europe, fell to a Communist coup. In June of that year, the Soviet army blockaded Berlin. A year later, the Communist Chinese forced Chiang Kai-shek off the Asian mainland. And in 1950, North Korean Communists invaded South Korea.

But there we stood firm. And our determination in Korea served notice to the Communist world that overt aggression would not be tolerated anywhere. Our strength—and our willingness to use it—formed a strategic deterrent against Communist aggression. That deterrent was maintained by our unquestioned military superiority. And that deterrent enabled us to prevent the recurrence of any major overt aggression after the Korean conflict.

Time and again, the Communists tested our determination, to make sure our policy had not weakened. In Lebanon, in the Taiwan Straits, and in the Cuban missile crisis. In every case, we demonstrated our willingness to respond directly and positively to aggression.

It was time for the Communists to adjust their strategy.

Premier Khrushchev officially proclaimed the new, preferred method of advancing Communist control of the world . . . with his endorsement of so-called "Wars of Liberation." His statement—with the immediate encouragement from the leaders of Red China—gave new impetus to the upheaval then already in motion in Southeast Asia.

Normally, these wars of liberation take a recognizable form. They are low intensity wars fought by guerrillas—against the established government—using techniques perfected in China against the Japanese and later against the Chinese Nationalists.

The tactics involve a wide variety of engagements—some large, some small. There are border incidents—hit and run raids—sudden terrorist massacres—bloody ambushes—and a continuous flood of propaganda. The tactics work.

These tactics were used successfully in Cuba—where they brought Castro to power—and elsewhere—but nowhere were they more successful than when they forced the French to withdraw from Southeast Asia . . . creating a power vacuum still not satisfactorily filled and political chaos still not fully stabilized.

To counter this growing threat, we developed a new military concept known as *Flexible Response*. In implementing this concept, we put together a package of land, sea, and airpower carefully adjusted and limited to the given level of provocation. Not too little and not too much. It stresses global mobility. And because world tensions and international politics are involved, direct and specific control of all *military* action is retained by our national leadership in *Washington*.

It is this policy of *flexible response* that shapes our military activity in Vietnam today.

And why are we *there* today? We are there because we were *asked* to come. First to advise . . . then to assist . . . and now to *fight*. We were asked by the Saigon government of South Vietnam which was under heavy pressure from a war of liberation being conducted by the Viet Cong—inspired, directed, and *supplied* by the Communists to the North. It is *important to understand* this. This is not a *civil* war. It is not a *local* war evolving out of *local* issues. It is not a *peasant revolt*—any more than the Red take-over of China was a peasant revolt. The war in Vietnam is a typical and clearly identifiable part of current Communist strategy for world domination. It is a calculated act of *aggression*. It is an act of aggression directed against *you*. And *your* brothers, and your sons, and *your* husbands are fighting in Vietnam *for you*—against that Communist aggression.

What are they *doing?* What are *we* doing in Vietnam?

We are implementing our policy of *flexible response*. Let's see what that *means*. *Flexible response* introduces several new features to the use of American military power. Traditionally, the ultimate goal of military action is total defeat of the enemy. Even in Korea, despite severe restriction on the use of our air-arm above the Yalu River, there were no holds barred within the *combat* zone. Flexible response *changes* this approach.

Under this doctrine, military forces are still expected to eliminate their immediate adversaries. But only the *precise* increments of force believed needed to achieve limited objectives are committed to combat. The military objective is restricted to halting enemy aggression and punishing him enough to make him willing to negotiate.

The underlying idea is to make it plain that we could destroy the enemy if we wanted to—and that he would prefer to negotiate a settlement once our determination was clear.

Our leaders in Washington are attempting to apply military power according to this new concept. They establish *carefully controlled* campaigns with *limited* political objectives. They try to use military resources to apply *subtle pressures*—employing military power as a versatile and precise instrument. They want to bring the enemy to the conference table—without damage to our *image* in the mirror of world opinion.

Let us realistically appraise the results.

There are some *positives*. We have learned to fight guerrillas . . . and to inflict heavy casualties on a capable, secret, and swift enemy. We have developed ways to employ our superior technical and tactical weapons to give us mobility and deadly striking power. We have made it increasingly difficult and costly for the Communists to operate. And we have spent five years doing it.

Our objective has always been the same—to make it clear to the Communist that he can't win—and from our vantage point of obviously superior strength, to force him to the conference table through frustration and exhaustion.

And what is the *score* at the five-year mark?

Basically, I think it would be fair to say that the Viet Cong have gotten *stronger* . . . and *we* are the ones who are frustrated. The long, drawn-out conflict has created dissention and dispute in America . . . and a greater sense of determination and purpose in North Vietnam.

Every American instinct makes us want to jump in with both feet and get this unpleasant job over with . . . as quickly as possible.

Traditional oriental *patience* makes them willing to extend the struggle unto generation after generation, if necessary.

We are fighting the war with the commodity most *precious* to us . . . and held much *cheaper* by the enemy . . . the *lives of men*.

And toward what objective? *Negotiation*.

I submit to you that it is not *possible* for us to lose the *war*. We are too strong. But it is *more* than possible for us to lose the *negotiation*. And longer it is delayed, the more *likely* we are to lose it. After all, what *is* there to negotiate? The separation of North Vietnam and South Vietnam and the boundary between them has already been established by negotiation and the Geneva convention. Any concessions to the Communists . . . any abridgement of freedom for the people of South Vietnam . . . will *reward* the Communists for their aggression. We cannot *allow* aggression to be politically profitable. This would encourage political aggression in every corner of the world. I think Communist aggression *must* result in Communist *disaster*.

And you won't get *that* at the negotiation table.

We must never forget that the world *is* watching us in Vietnam. Our national leaders are very *right* about that. We have announced ourselves as the champions of free people everywhere . . . the ally of every country in the free world. And every country in the free world is watching to see just what *kind* of an ally we *are*.

Can we . . . and *will* we . . . join with them to *resist* Communist aggression? To resist it . . . and *repel* it. We are the only force in the world *capable* of giving any country the strength to remain free from Communist domination. The world is watching us in Vietnam to see if we will put our money where our mouth is.

It's just about that simple.

We are *not* engaged in a world-wide *popularity* contest with the Communists. In all candor I must point out that the *strong* and the *rich* are seldom the *popular*. They are sometimes *feared* . . . and sometimes *resented*, but they are usually *respected*—if they deserve it. So I thank God that we are *rich* and I thank God that we *are* strong. Because, I know, that it is for those reasons we are *free*. And it is our *freedom* and our strength and our *riches* that offer hope and encouragement to people everywhere.

So . . . how *do* we end the war in Vietnam?

The way to end the war in Vietnam is to *win* it.

We must revise our objective. Instead of *negotiation*, our objective must be to make the war so *costly* for the Communists that *they* will end it.

The Communists *started* the war. The Communists must end it.

We must fight the war from our *strength*.

We must fight it with the *least* cost to ourselves and at the *greatest* cost to the enemy. We must change the currency in this game from *men* to materials.

America's greatest strength in this military situation is our air and naval power. We must use it *strategically*. We must use it *decisively*. We must use it *now*.

I also think it is important that we tell the world about this change in objective—so the world can correctly interpret our motives and evaluate our results. And we will also tell the *Communists*.

We will tell them that we are going to destory increasingly costly targets in North Vietnam. *They* can decide how *much* they want to pay. First, we must destroy the ability of the North Vietnamese to wage *war* and then, if necessary, their *entire* productive capacity.

We can pinpoint the targets we will hit—and warn the nearby civilians in advance to evacuate. In modern warfare . . . with modern warning devices . . . there is little element of *surprise* in bombing raids.

Hanoi, for example, is ringed with far more and far better anti-air-craft devices than were ever in Berlin.

You will recall that North Vietnam is a rather *recent* arrival to Twentieth Century technology and industry. Her resources, by our standards, are meagre and hard-earned. They are more valuable to her, in many respects, than human life. And North Vietnam must be made to pay for this war with her *dearest* coins which are material things and not human lives.

The *harbor* at Haiphong . . . and the entire capacity to receive outside supplies. Eliminate it!

The *power* system that fuels every war-making facility.

The transportation system . . . rails, rolling stock and bridges. *Flat!* Every factory and every industrial installation, beginning with the biggest and best—and never ending so long as there are two bricks still stuck together.

The *irrigation system* on which food production largely depends. We must be willing to continue our bombing until we have destroyed *every* work of *man* in North Vietnam if this is necesary to stop the war.

We shall avoid the civilian population. And we shall *warn* the population. But we will *destroy* the *capacity* of that population to slaughter innocent civilians for political gain.

I do not think it will be necessary to use nuclear weapons to accomplish this task. But I would not rule out *any* strength that we have, if the situation demanded it.

Admittedly, there is one big question unanswered. If we adopted this policy, would Red China and Russia come directly into the fight? I don't think so.

The possibility, of course, exists. But in my opinion, Red China has plenty of internal trouble. And they don't have the weapon strength to attack us. Yet! The longer we delay, the stronger Red China becomes—and the more likely they might be provoked into direct involvement . . . later.

Soviet Russia has indicated more than once that she does not want to project herself into a showdown with the United States. Not now, anyway. I think we should also face the possibility that—should this strategy fail—we might have to mount a land invasion. But that is very remote. In my opinion, the Communists would seek an end to the war long before their country was destroyed. The Communists are realists. Much more so, I think, than we. They will not continue on a course whose only reward is total destruction.

And I believe that the course I suggest will end the war quicker—with less loss of life on both sides. I'm sure it will cost fewer American lives. And those are my primary concerns.

The policy I suggest will not result in compromise at the peace table. And it will not reward the Communists for their aggression. It will encourage our allies in all parts of the world. It will bolster the determination of free men everywhere to fight for their freedom.

But the end of the war in Vietnam will not end the war with Communism. They have already probably developed the the tactic to replace Wars of Liberation. And we will have to develop a counter-tactic to oppose that. For . . . like it or not . . . we ARE the leaders of the Free World. We are the world's one hope to contain Communism and Communist aggression—until it destroys itself.

We must not fail that hope. We must not fail in Vietnam. We must not fail our allies. We must not fail ourselves.

We must not fail the world.

Lithuanian Independence Day

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, it gives me pleasure to join with my colleagues today in remarks commemorating the 49th anniversary of the rebirth of independence of Lithuania. We have never recognized the incorporation of Lithuania into the U.S.S.R., and we should not. This small nation, however, lives under the oppression of the Communist government of Russia, but her people keep their identity and believe in freedom. I believe that one day they will be free again.

We who enjoy freedom should take time out and reflect upon the tragedy of the millions of fellow human beings who are not so fortunate as we. We must keep the torch of freedom alive for them, looking toward the day when they may carry the torch again.

I have many constituents who came from Lithuania and I am privileged to count great numbers of them as my friends. I know how they feel about their homeland and their loved ones who remain behind. To them and to all Americans I say "we will not forget nor abandon them."

Bombs Away

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, in my opinion there is considerable feeling in the United States that bombing of North Vietnam was resumed too quickly following the recent 4-day lunar new year truce. There is considerable feeling that alternatives to the resumption were not explored adequately in an effort to bring about peace negotiations.

This kind of thinking is reflected in the following editorial from the February 15 Minneapolis Star:

THE BOMBING RESUMES AGAIN

That was an abrupt ending to the suspension of bombing of North Vietnam. We feel it was too abrupt—that 41 hours and 17 minutes was hardly enough time for Hanoi or Washington to exchange any meaningful signals or intentions to end the fighting.

The Defense Department reported the North Vietnamese used the four-day lunar new year truce and the brief suspension of bombing after that to bring forward new supplies for Communist troops in the south. Because of this, President Johnson said, and because Hanoi failed to respond to peace overtures, there was "no alternative" but to resume the bombing.

We are inclined to think there was an alternative—one that carried some risks surely, but still was worth taking. This would have been continue the suspension of bombing for at least a week, to give U.N. Secretary General U Thant, Pope Paul and others a chance to prove their claim that an end to the raids would bring Hanoi to the peace table.

The brief suspension, then, has resolved nothing. Its abrupt ending only strengthens the argument of those who have been clamoring for a cessation of the bombing as the only way to peace. It also, however, strengthens those who can point to Hanoi's failure to respond as further reason to "bomb them into submission."

In the meantime, the search for negotiations goes on, with increasing attention focused on the ability of the Russians to budge Hanoi. With the growing estrangement between Moscow and Peking, Washington is expected to seek more Soviet help in eliciting the right kind of signal from North Vietnam. One of the prices we will undoubtedly be asked to pay for that help is a cessation of the bombing. We should be prepared to take the risk that involves.

Calendar of Events at the National Gallery of Art

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the calendar of events for March 1967 of the National Gallery of Art.

We are very fortunate to have this outstanding gallery in our Nation's Capital where visitors to this city, as well as the citizens of Washington, can go to see the fine exhibits, enjoy fine tours, lectures, and concerts.

I am attaching the article from the Washington Evening Star of Monday, February 20, 1967, regarding the outstanding acquisition by the National Gallery of Leonardo da Vinci's portrait of Ginevra de Benci. This fine example of the work of one of history's great artists makes a visit to the National Gallery more than worthwhile when the painting goes on view on March 17. March 17 is the anniversary of the opening of the National Gallery, and the end of the current 1-year celebration of the gallery's 25th anniversary.

The material follows:

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART GETS DA VINCI

The National Gallery of Art today confirmed that it has purchased the Leonardo da Vinci portrait of Ginevra de' Benci from the collection of the prince of Liechtenstein and will put it on display next month.

European sources have placed the price of the purchase, reported in yesterday's Star, at between $5 and $6 million. The gallery, as is its custom, gave no figure and its spokesmen evaded all questions on the point.

It is certain, however, that the price went far beyond the previous high for a single painting, $2.3 million paid in 1961 by New York City's Metropolitan Museum of Art for Rembrandt's 'Aristotle Contemplating the Bust of Homer."

SIX-MILLION-DOLLAR OFFER REPORTED

In the fall of 1965, Norton Simon, West Coast industrialist and buyer of Rembrandt's portrait of his son Titus for $2,234,000, was reported to have offered the prince of Liechtenstein $6 million for the Leonardo, a sum also mentioned when Canada was attempting to buy the picture.

Simon, according to Time magazine, was told then by the prince's brother that he doubted that the prince would sell the picture for $10 million.

Until its sale to the National Gallery, the portrait was the last Leonardo painting known to be in private hands.

A spokesman for the prince denied the sale yesterday, but confirmed it today. He would not disclose the price.

The gallery said the picture was bought through its purchase fund, made up entirely of private donations. It is assumed by art specialists that at least a good share of the money came from Paul Mellon, president of the gallery, and/or his sister, Mrs. Ailsa Mellon Bruce, the children of the gallery's founder, the late Andrew W. Mellon.

More important is the fact that the gallery does have the picture and it will go on view March 17, the anniversary of the gallery's opening and the end of one year of celebration of the gallery's first quarter-century.

The picture becomes the only fully acknowledged and mature Leonardo painting in any American collection.

The Detroit Institute of Arts owns a figure group from the workshop of Leonardo's master, Verrocchio. Some attempts have been made to attribute one of the figures to the young Leonardo, but the attribution has not been accepted by scholars.

The figure in question is linear in manner, more like Botticelli than Leonardo.

The same thing is true—although less true—of a Madonna and child in the National Gallery now attributed, "Circle of Verrocchio (possibly Leonardo)."

Of the Ginevra de' Benci portrait, there is no doubt whatever among modern scholars. There is also no doubt to the eye, according to everyone who has seen the painting, either in the prince's collection or in a London special exhibition some 15 years ago.

Executed between 1474 and 1478, when Leonardo was in his early 20s and already an established artist in Florence, the portrait anticipates some of the effects achieved almost 20 years later in the Mona Lisa.

There is the same bemused detachment in the face, the same beginnings of a mysterious smile. There is also the same sense that the every air is a palpable, tangible, paintable thing.

As in many of Leonardo's mature pictures, the background is opened so that it can be both immediate and distant. The spiky leaves of a close-in tree frame the head of the young woman. Seen in silhouette, they could be the leaves of a juniper tree, her name Ginevra being the Italian for juniper. Beyond is a placid landscape of hills, trees, a calm lake and what appears to be the sea.

On the back of the wood panel on which the 14½ by 16½-inch portrait is painted is an elaborate decoration, also painted by Leonardo and consisting of a laurel branch and a palm branch—traditional emblems of homage—surrounding a sprig of juniper and the motto, "Virtutem Forma Decorae," Latin for "Beauty Enhances Virtue."

National Gallery of Art—Calendar of Events

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 27, THROUGH SUNDAY, MARCH 5

Painting of the Week: Whistler. *The White Girl.* (Harris Whittemore Collection) (Gallery 67, Tuesday through Saturday, 12:00 and 2:00; Sunday, 3.30 and 6:00.

Tour of the Week: The World of Inigo Jones: the Baroque. Rotunda; Tuesday through Saturday 1:00; Sunday 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the Collection. Rotunda; Monday through Saturday 11:00 and 3:00 Sunday, 5:00.

Sunday Lecture: Art and Education in Contemporary Culture. Guest Speaker: Irving Kaufman, Professor of Art, The City University of New York, New York; Lecture Hall, 4:00.

Sunday Concert: Rosine Nocera, *Pianist.* East Garden Court, 8:00.

MONDAY, MARCH 6, THROUGH SUNDAY, MARCH 12

Painting of the Week: Gentile da Fabriano. *A Miracle of Saint Nicholas.* (Samuel H. Kress Collection) Gallery 4, Tuesday through Saturday, 12:00 and 2:00; Sunday, 3:30 and 6:00.

Tour of the Week: The World of Inigo Jones: Festival and Theatre, Rotunda; Tuesday through Saturday, 1:00; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the Collection. Rotunda; Monday through Saturday, 11:00 and 3:00; Sunday, 5:00.

Sunday Lecture: Baroque Architecture in England. Guest Speaker: Rudolph Wittkower, Professor of Art History, Columbia University, New York; Lecture Hall, 4:00.

Sunday Concert: Leon Lishner, *Bass;* Paul Berl, *Pianist;* East Garden Court, 8:00.

MONDAY, MARCH 13, THROUGH SUNDAY, MARCH 19

Painting of the Week: Cropsey. *Autumn on the Hudson River.* (Gift of the Avalon Foundation), Gallery 65, Tuesday through Saturday, 12:00 and 2:00; Sunday 3:30 and 6:00.

Tour of the Week: The World of Inigo Jones: Sir Anthony van Dyck. Rotunda, Tuesday through Saturday, 1:00; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the Collection. Rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11:00 and 3:00; Sunday, 5:00.

Sunday Lecture: The Inigo Jones Collection at Chatsworth: Guest Speaker: Thomas S. Wragg, Librarian and Keeper, Devonshire, Collections, Chatsworth, England. Lecture Hall, 4:00.

Sunday Concert: National Gallery Orchestra; Richard Bales, *Conductor;* Nancy Ellsworth, *Violin Soloist;* East Garden Court, 8:00.

MONDAY, MARCH 20, THROUGH SUNDAY, MARCH 26

Painting of the Week: Borgognone. *The Resurrection* (Samuel H. Kress Collection), Gallery 20, Tuesday through Saturday, 12:00 and 2:00; Sunday, 3:30 and 6:00.

Tour of the Week: The Exhibition of Festival Designs by Inigo Jones. Central Lobby, Tuesday through Saturday, 1:00; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the Collection. Rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11:00 and 3:00; Sunday, 5:00.

Sunday Lecture: Inigo Jones and the Stage Designs of the Stuart Period. Guest Speaker: James G. McManaway, Consultant in Literature and Bibliography, The Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C. Lecture Hall, 4:00.

Sunday Concert: National Gallery, Orchestrma, Richard Bales, *Conductor;* José Echaniz, *Piano Soloist,* East Garden Court, 8:00.

Inquiries concerning the Gallery's educational services should be addressed to the Educational Office or telephoned to 737–4215, Ext. 272.

All concerts, with Radio Picture of the Week intermission talks, are broadcast by Station WGMS–AM (570) and FM (103.5).

New exhibition: *Festival Designs by Inigo Jones* from the Collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth. Central Gallery. March 19 through April 23. Circulated by the International Exhibitions Foundation.

New publication: Catalogue. *Festival Designs by Inigo Jones.* 135 pages, 8½'' x 10'', with foreword by Roy Strong, 4 color plates, and 125 black-and-white illustrations. $3.75 postpaid.

Print exhibition: *Musical Subjects from the Fifteenth through the Twentieth Century.* Ground Floor, East Corridor.

Radio picture of the week: *a History of Western Paintings* is the subject of the third Radio Picture of the Week series broadcast over Station WGMS during the intermission of the Sunday evening concerts. Twenty National Gallery paintings, ranging from the era of Duccio to that of Picasso, will be discused in chronological sequence from February 5 through June 18. The talks will be rebroadcast on Wednesdays at some time between 2 and 4 p.m. over WGMS–FM. By ordering color reproductions, suitable for framing, listeners can follow the course at home. The reproductions, on 11'' x 14'' heavy paper, come with printed résumés of the broadcasts in a portfolio cover.

To subscribe send your name and address to Radio Picture of the Week, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 20565. Orders are taken only for the complete set of twenty. $5.50 postpaid; checks payable to N.G.A. Publications Fund.

The Gallery is open on weekdays from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. and on Sundays from 2 p.m to 10 pm. Admission is free to the Gallery and to all programs scheduled. The cafeteria is open on weekdays from 11 am. to 4 p.m. and on Sundays from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m.

Prompt and Accurate Information by the Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 2, 1967

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, accurate judgment is predicated on accurate information. Government, has an obligation to present information to the public promptly and accurately so that the public's evaluation of Government activities is not distorted.

Political pundits speak of the "credibility gap" in the present administration. Indeed, this appellation is so widespread that it has become a household word.

The Pentagon's recent revision of aircraft and helicopter losses in Vietnam is but another example of the increasing information gap between the Government and the people. I am inserting recent editorials in Chicago's American and in the Chicago Daily News which express the frustration of a confused public:

[From Chicago's American, Feb. 7, 1967]

The Pentagon's Faulty Figuring

After rechecking its arithmetic, the Pentagon has admitted it was slightly off in calculating American aircraft losses in Viet Nam. Instead of a total of 877 aircraft and helicopter losses from both combat and noncombat causes, we actually lost in excess of 1,700 aircraft—or nearly double the previously announced figures.

Why the Pentagon finally decided the American public is mature enough to stomach the full truth escapes us. But this is but another in a long list of examples of how the Johnson administration spoonfeeds the public only information it feels it will swallow without discomfort. We'll be charitable and assume the revised figures were released in an attempt to close the credibility gap. But we hope we have seen the end of such figure juggling, which has confused rather than enlightened the public, and has made official Washington announcements about as believable as some of those excessive commercial claims on television.

[From the Chicago Daily News]

New Strain on Credibility

In belatedly acknowledging that American aircraft losses related to the Vietnam war are much higher than previously admitted, the Pentagon has again shaken public confidence in its credibility. The discrepancy between total losses of nearly 1,800 aircraft and announced losses of 622 combat planes is big enough to cause more than a lifted eyebrow.

The Pentagon's defense is that it had confined itself to reporting only those planes lost in combat missions, either by ground or air fire. The Pentagon position is that it followed this course because newsmen inquired only about combat losses. But as The Daily News' William McGaffin has pointed out, reporters can prove they did ask for the over-all data only to be greeted by official silence until one of their numbers dug out the actual figures.

Some sympathy can be mustered for the Pentagon's desire to distinguish between aircraft destroyed in combat and those lost from other causes. But it is a distinction without much of a difference. The so-called noncombat losses run 2-to-1 higher than combat losses and all of them are connected in one way or another with war operations. These include planes destroyed on the ground by enemy saboteurs or mortar fire, others downed while on transport or artillery-spotting duty, and those ditched by pilots after running out of fuel.

The combat losses and the others must be added together in calculating the war's cost in lives and money. To try to cover up that cost is an act of deception unworthy of a government department that needs all the public support it can get to carry out its difficult task. Americans are wondering how much more the Pentagon is concealing.

The only way the Pentagon can put an end to such doubts is to substitute candor for coverup.

War Losses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 13, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, the recent revelation that the losses of our planes in Vietnam have been almost double of what we had been led to believe is a shocking disclosure.

As I have said time and time again, we can no longer withhold the truth of what is happening in the war from the American people, and we here in the Congress should certainly be told the read status of our forces and supplies.

In this connection, I include in the RECORD an editorial from the Kingsport, Tenn., Times:

WAR LOSSES

The recent figure on American plane losses in the Vietnam war is more than just bad news. It is confirmation of the fact that someone in government had been persuading the President—if he needed persuasion—that it would be better if all the harsh facts about the war were sort of toned down so as not to alarm people too much. This is called managing the news.

It may be that officials are really motivated by the idea that it is in the public interest not to hand out all the bad news. But those officials need not be surprised if people think the motive for such action is to avoid the necessity of making explanations and to avoid criticism. The government, that is to say officials of government, are always inclined to believe that criticism interferes with the orderly conduct of business. As one secretary of state was reported to have said to a reporter, "Why are you fellows always trying to make it difficult for us?"

What such people fail to see is that if they want people to have confidence in them they must have confidence in the people. The American people can stand the truth even when it hurts.

And the truth is that our losses have been high in Vietnam because we are not trying to win this war, but only to prevent the Reds from winning it. So we fight with one hand tied behind our backs. If we were free to go all out as we would in a "regular war" the operation could be more drastic and less costly. That is the considered opinion of the military people.

Shaping Our Urban Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, urban problems, of growing concern to the Nation today, are now within the jurisdiction of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The future of urban areas were discussed in an article by Secretary Robert Weaver of HUD, published in the 25th anniversary issue of Public Power magazine.

Secretary Weaver, noting the necessity of "innovation, new ideas, and new lines of action from every source," urged the acceptance of responsibility for solving urban problems by all segments of the Nation, citing the potential contributions by the power industry:

> And in this kind of responsibility, the power industry—particularly the public power groups with their basic commitment to the public interest—occupies a strategic position in this battle for urban living.

I would like at this time to insert the entire article:

SHAPING OUR URBAN FUTURE

(By Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development)

In the next quarter-century the population of the United States will increase from its present 190 million to 260 million. The great mass of these people will be living in our urban areas.

It is part of the mission of the year-old Department of Housing and Urban Development to look down that long and far from well-lighted corridor of the next 25 years and try to perceive what our urban areas should be by then. Nearly everything we do today will affect that future and that is particularly true since the nation is now committed to making great expenditures in the next 10 years for programs that will establish the main directions in which we will move.

But the urban community is not something you blueprint. It is something that grows.. It is a place that must offer many choices, many opportunities, many different kinds of life. Diversity is the essence of urban life.

Our cities have not been offering the kind of choices that people seek. They have become centers from which the affluent flee, and where the impoverished become trapped. We have tried various means to correct this, to improve housing, to redeem limited areas, and to ameliorate the human problems in our overcrowded sections. But blight and decay have continued to spread and the disadvantaged in large numbers remain in our embattled slums.

ATTACKING URBAN BLIGHT

Now we are mounting a far greater, more comprehensive attack on the urban problem than any we have previously conceived. We can no longer deal with the physical rebuilding of urban areas without regard to the human problems and the measures needed for human betterment. They must be dealt with jointly. We can no longer treat the older central city and the outlying areas of urban growth as if they were alien to each other. They are, as we know, interwoven in so many ways that the ills of one compound the difficulties of the other.

We know that there is no one answer, nor any separate set of answers, but many answers that must be combined in a rationally related effort to deal with the total urban problem.

This is the meaning of recent legislation, particularly the Model Cities program and the Metropolitan Development aids that were enacted in the 1966 Act. Here the human and physical needs of our cities have been brought into common focus, and the comprehensive planned development of our growing urban areas has been equated with the need to revitalize our inner cities.

But these are not measures that will give us the kind of urban life we seek through public moneys and public effort alone. It will require the concern and dynamic participation of private and public institutions, of business and civic leadership, and responsible citizenry.

ROLE OF POWER INDUSTRY

And in this kind of responsibility, the power industry—particularly the public power power groups with their basic commitment to the public interest—occupies a strategic position in this battle for better urban living.

Today we have new and more powerful program instruments to work with. As a result of legislation enacted in the past two years to achieve President Johnson's Great Society objectives, we can now undertake the type of comprehensive development and redevelopment our urban problems require.

These new means include:

More effective measures, such as rent supplements and a more flexible public housing program, to provide good housing to those of low income. . . .

New means and new methods for the rehabilitation of older structures and neighborhoods so that we can restore rather than uproot established older parts of our cities. . . .

New aids for urban beautification and recreational space and facilities to improve the quality of urban life. . . .

Measures not only to extend comprehensive urban planning, but also put those plans to work to meet the growing population needs of urban areas. . . .

Measures to help land development, develop new communities, provide basic public facilities, and create efficient mass transportation systems for the expanding urban population.

Accompanying these measures has been a strong complement of legislation to raise the levels of health, education, employment, and social adjustment of millions of our poorer people and bring them out of the ghettos into the functioning life of our urban society.

We are ready to undertake simultaneously a greatly expanded attack both on the problems of decay in our central cities and the pressing growth problems of our expanding metropolitan areas.

During the coming year, towns and cities in all parts of the country will be developing plans to carry out comprehensive changes in large sections of the urban community under the newly enacted Model Cities program. Through this program, all of the measures cited above, for structures and people, and many more as well, will be combined to deal with the deficiencies both of the city and the citizen stranded in these areas.

PUBLIC SUPPORT REQUIRED

This program will require not only Federal funds and support. Even more, it will depend on full use of public and private resources by the community itself. It will call for imaginative support from the economic and business community, as well as from social and governmental bodies.

One of the first needs to redeem these dark areas will be light and power—the light of hope and opportunity and the man-made light for living—the development of human power and of the physical energy that can bring better living to the people. We will need, for instance, to illuminate the dark back streets of crime and to provide well lighted playgrounds and recreational areas for long-deprived low-income people. We will need better, more livable housing, equipped with the conveniences that modern power can supply.

GRANTS FOR LIGHTING

We now have new programs to help meet thees needs. We have Federal beautification grants for improved lighting of our streets and public places. We have grants for neighborhood facilities to serve the recreational and social needs of these neighborhoods. We have grants to develop recreational and park areas in these crowded sections.

We need the technological imagination and know-how of modern science and industry to solve these problems in the blighted areas, and we need them on a larger scale, too. The Department of Housing and Urban Development has been actively enlisting this type of help from many sources, to develop answers to the problems of mass transit, of sources of employment and training, and of housing.

We welcome such ideas as the reapplication of electric power to urban transit needs, or the development of utility tunnels to better maintain the vital services that feed the modern city.

Beyond these central city problems, however, lies an even larger one—the pressing population growth going on in and beyond the suburban hinterlands. And here again, modern business and technology play a crucial role.

We already have a vast amount of comprehensive urban planning developed or under way for these growing areas. And planning for power is an essential part of planning for growth.

Under HUD's urban planning assistance program, more than $100 million in planning grants have been made for such planning in 190 metropolitan areas, in 5,500 smaller urban localities, and for 38 State planning bodies.

In the 1966 Act, we have gone another important step further. That Act has authorized supplemental Federal grants to put these plans into actual operation and construction, by helping to pay the local share of the cost of water and sewer systems, highways, hospitals, airports, open space, and other public works and facilities.

It is these plans, too, which will determine the future course and market for electric power for the growing area.

PLANNING NEW COMMUNITIES

The 1966 Act also for the first time authorizes Federal support for the development of entire planned new communities in these outlying areas, and this will call for power planning as well as many other types of planning.

A new town must grow in a relatively short time from bush and vacant land into a full community with all the services that perhaps 100,000 people require. How do you finance such a town, when there is no initial tax base and no taxpayers or public services? These are questions that we hope the business community will help solve, not only as a matter that affects the quality of our urban American future.

One of the most hopeful signs for our urban future today is the growing concern and participation of business and industry in the creation of a more livable, more productive and rewarding urban economy than we have yet achieved. We see this in the participation of private and business investment in the renewal of our cities. We see it in the pioneering undertakings in new community development, such as Reston and Columbia in the Washington-Baltimore area. We are seeing it increasingly in the housing field, where major suppliers and developers, such as U. S. Gypsum, the America Plywood Association, and the National Forest Products Association, ar seeking breakthroughs to the rehabilitation of good housing and the provision of good homes for low-income use. We see it in technological experiments that major corporations are carrying on in the field of urban transportation.

We need this kind of massive effort to make any real impact on our urban problems and our future needs. It will involve many solutions embracing many activities, many levels of government, many forces both private and public.

We need innovation, new ideas, and new lines of action from every source. Old patterns will not suffice. As President Johnson has said:

"Our existing urban centers, however revitalized, cannot accommodate all the urban Americans of the next generation. Unless they are to be casual parts of general urban sprawl, a new approach to their design is required."

Revitalizing the urban areas offers both challenges and rewards that are social and intellectual as well as economic and financial. We enlist the leadership of local communities and officials of locally-owned electric utilities in this effort which the President and the Congress have called the first domestic concern of the nation.

SBA Loans Boost Local Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, 6 years ago the Small Business Administration made a loan of $500,000 to the Hercules Packing Corp. of Alden, N.Y. Since that time, the company has added 100 new employees and more than doubled its plant facilities and sales. It has also been able to acquire a rubber products plant in Conneaut, Ohio, with more than 100 employees. Now the firm is among the top 10 in its field of packing materials, seals, bearing, ring, and other products.

I think this is a fine example of the SBA's cooperation with the private business sector. It has helped the Alden community, produced new jobs and strengthened the economy.

Hercules' loan was made by the Midland Capital Corp. under the SBA's small business investment company—SBIC—program in 1961. The firm is just one of an increasing number in the United States that are finding out that their chances for success can be greatly enhanced by the use of programs under the SBA.

Many small firms need assistance in one or several parts of their operations. SBA can give these firms management guidance, technical guidance, subcontractural opportunities—as well as financial assistance.

Often, the SBA has brought a sliding business to its feet again. Often, it has taught a small business to expand to a large business. I would like to take this opportunity to commend the Small Business Administration—for each small business aided by the SBA represents a significant boost in the overall national economy.

Charting the Course for America's Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED REINECKE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, the Newsday editorial of February 6, 1967, points up the need for some kind of national maritime policy to give direction to the Government's merchant marine programs and subsidies.

Last year President Johnson announced in his state of the Union message that a new national maritime policy would be forthcoming. In his state of the Union address this year the President did not even mention the problems of the merchant marine.

Mr. Speaker, the crisis in the merchant marine is that there is no chart with a course plotted. And the captain is asleep at the helm. With the permission of the House, here follows the editorial:

CHARTING A COURSE

A ship's captain who didn't know his destination would find it impossible to chart a course to get there. Currently the administration is proposing expenditures of $372,967,000 for a Merchant Marine subsidy policy that has neither direction nor goals.

The subsidy program is a continuation of a national policy dating back to the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. Its purpose, in general, is to assure the nation of a strong Merchant Marine. It has not been a success. In 1935, a year before the Congress enacted its well-intended Merchant Marine legislation, 31.7 per cent of the nation's waterborne foreign trade moved in American ships. Last year, the U.S. Merchant Marine carried only eight per cent of that trade.

Some rethinking of basic policy is clearly demanded. A year ago, in his State of the Union Message, President Johnson promised to develop a strong, new policy toward the Merchant Marine. Last month, in his message to the 90th Congress, the President did not mention the Merchant Marine. That promised new policy has yet to be enunciated.

The delay is easy to understand. The development of a strong, effective policy involves a strenuous course of decisions; some of them are money decisions of large dimension. The cost of creating a competitive Merchant Marine could run into the billions of dollars.

The first decision, therefore, is a basic one. Is it in the nation's interest to spend the money to make our merchant fleet competitive? We think it is. The Russians now have a fleet of 1,422 large merchant ships, and they are planning to spend $1 billion this year to construct more. The U.S. has an active fleet of 1,040, and 160 of them are so-called "rust buckets" reactivated from the reserve fleet to meet the needs of the Vietnam sealift. We will spend $143,000,000 to subsidize the construction of 13 ships this year; the Russians have 395 on order or under construction.

Adm. Emory S. Land, who guided the crash shipbuilding program during World War II, has estimated that the approximately $4.2 billion that will be spent to build a supersonic jet airliner would be enough to "largely rejuvenate" our merchant fleet. Therefore, if it is decided that the maintenance of a competitive Merchant Marine is a wise national goal, the President is going to have to set some carefully developed spending guidelines. To do that he is going to have to have a clear idea of the sort of fleet we wish to develop.

Today's maritime technology offers many alternatives. It is possible to build nuclear-powered ships and so-called containerships, which transport sealed metal containers of cargo that are easily handled and transferred to truck or train. There are also sea barge freighters, which carry smaller vessels within them. In addition, there are automated devices that reduce the manpower needed to run a ship or to load and unload its cargo. In any shipbuilding program costs will be cut if a series of similar ships are built because the shipyards will be able to apply the techniques of mass production.

An important element in a strong, new maritime policy, therefore, will be deciding the type and number of ships needed to produce a competitive fleet. It will take some study to arrive at wise decisions. But present research and development appropriations have been described by Adm. Land as "pitifully small, almost negligible."

The present national policy toward the Merchant Marine is a failure. Its goals never have been clearly defined; its methods are, at best, catch-as-catch-can. It is time, past time, for a new policy. Developing it involves a problem in navigation—deciding where we want to go and how we are to get there.

Electoral College Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the American Bar Association's recent endorsement of direct popular election of the President has spurred a valuable public debate on many aspects of electoral college reform. Some of the important political questions involved were discussed recently by Mr. Neal R. Peirce, political editor of Congressional Quarterly, in a recent essay in the New Republic.

In his thoughtful article, Mr. Peirce explored the implications of popular presidential elections for the principle of majority rule and for the influence of particular minority voting blocs. His comments merit our consideration, and I would like to include in the RECORD his essay, from the New Republic of February 11, 1967.

REPLY TO PROFESSOR BICKEL: THE CASE AGAINST THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

The proposal for direct popular vote for President, advanced by a special commission of the American Bar Association, was attacked by Alexander M. Bickel in the January 28 *New Republic* ("The Case for the Electoral College"). The electoral college deserves perpetuation, Mr. Bickel thought, because it magnifies the political power of minority voting blocs and urban party organizations in the nation's large, pivotal states.

Even if this were true—and I suggest that the case is grossly overstated—one might question whether partisan political considerations should come first in deciding how the President is to be chosen. A better criterion would be this: which election system best matches the standards of political democracy, and which system best guarantees that the popular will not be frustrated?

The humpty-dumpty electoral college was devised for a totally different age, for a thinly populated, 18th-century union of competing and jealous states where the franchise was far more restricted than it is today. Three times in the 19th century (1824, 1876, 1888) the system caused the man who won the most popular votes to lose. Mr. Bickel suggests that "it has not happened since, and is not very likely to happen." But in three other presidential elections in this century (1916, 1948, 1960) we have come perilously close. The popular will could be thwarted again in 1968, 1972 or 1976.

Mr. Bickel feels that the President, "while a national leader," should be "a particular spokesman for urban and minority groups." Would he want a man in the Presidency who had won the big states and thus the electoral college, but had been rejected by a majority of Americans? Compare such a position to Justice Douglas' in striking down the Georgia unit vote system in 1963: "The concept of 'we the people' under the Constitution visualizes no preferred class of voters but equality among those who meet the basic qualifications. The concept of political equality, from the Declaration of Independence to Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, to the 15th, 17th and 19th Amendments, can mean only one thing—one person, one vote." (The 15th Amendment prohibited the states from denying the ballot because of race; the 17th Amendment provided for direct, popular election of US senators; the 19th Amendment gave women the right to vote.)

Some conservatives defend the electoral college because they think it somehow preserves "states' rights." The obvious reply to them is that there are many better ways to strengthen the states—for one thing, by modernizing our state legislatures and getting the states to shoulder some of the social responsibilities many of them have neglected for decades. Similarly, some liberals would save the electoral college in the misguided belief it gives their big city allies some special advantage. One can answer that there are better ways of advancing liberalism than by perpetuating an undemocratic advantage in the election of the President.

The Bar Association's report points out that there is no way to guarantee the election of the popular vote winner other than by direct popular vote. Any other system can misfire. We vote directly for every other elected official in the United States, from town selectman to governor and United States senator. Why not for President? But let us leave considerations of constitutional equality aside for the moment and approach the problem as a cynical politician might.

Is it really true, that the present electoral college system guarantees a special voice for minority interests in the big cities, and that a direct vote for President would change all that? Whoever argues this stands on shifting sand. The "backlash" potential among big city minority groups could easily defeat a liberal presidential candidate in the very states he counted on before. Or a militant right-wing pressure group, like the John Birch Society and its allies, could suddenly seize the "swing" position in key states that Negroes, Jews and a multiplicity of hyphenated Americans have been said to occupy in the past. This may already be true in California.

Carrying the thought of electoral college backlash a step further, one wonders if Mr. Bickel would view with equanimity the prospect of a George Wallace winning enough electoral votes to throw the election into the House of Representatives. There, each state—Alaska and New York, Mississippi and California alike—would have a single vote, and a protracted deadlock might well result. The Wallace strategy is to accomplish just this, in the hopes of forcing one of the leading presidential candidates to sell out on civil rights as a price of victory. How would the interests of the urban minorities be protected in that event?

Mr. Bickel suggests that supposed urban overbalance in the electoral college is proper because conservative interests still occupy unfair bastions of power in the nation's legislative districts. "The Bar Association proposal," he says, "wildly overestimates the immediate impact of the apportionment decisions." He complains that the Supreme Court "has never insisted on mathematical equality of districts," or "tackled the practice of gerrymandering." One might share his disappointment that the reapportionment decisions have not effected instant Utopia in the state legislatures or the House of Representatives, but the fact of the matter is that exceedingly tough Supreme Court decisions are forcing virtually all the states to reduce inequities in districts to the vanishing point. The Supreme Court underscored the point a few weeks ago by disallowing three states' districting plans in one day, one with a maximum population deviation of no more than 10.4 percent from average. Forty-six of the 50 states now have legislative districts based substantially on population. To be sure, gerrymandering still exists. But it is practiced as freely by the liberals (California and Michigan are top examples) as by the conservatices (as in Texas and Ohio). We are told that "the electorial college represents the only effective hold on power in the federal government that the urban population centers have." Apparently that means that the college's latest product, Lyndon Johnson, is the big cities' only effective defender in Washington. I doubt it.

Actually, the apportionment decisions are only part of a basic transformation of the American political landscape which has come in the past decade. Direct President-to-people contact through television, ever-increasing population mobility, expanding suffrage for Negroes, reapportionment—all these are erasing the need for privileged preserves built into our political structure, or the need for an electoral college that is supposed to balance mysteriously the North against the South, big states against small, or the good guys in the city against those cynical rural slickers in control of the legislatures and Congress.

Nor will minorities lose their crucial, swing vote power in a direct election system. The newly enfranchised Negroes from Georgia and Alabama will be able to combine their votes with Negroes from New York, Illinois and Michigan, and constitute a formidable *national* voting bloc that the parties will ignore at their peril. As the population of the urban centers continues to multiply—and no demographer now suggests any other course—presidential candidates will surely make a major pitch for the urban vote in their campaigns.

There is no reason to believe that a direct vote for President would make any significant difference in the way that presidential campaigns are conducted today, or in the relative weight of various groups. But it would guarantee true democracy in presidential elections, guarding against the travesty of a popular vote loser winning the electoral college vote and thus seizing the presidency. Abolishing the electoral college would simply confirm a direct relationship of the American people to their President that most Americans think exists anyway.

NEAL R. PEIRCE.

(NOTE.—Mr. PEIRCE *is the political editor of* Congressional Quarterly.)

Can Gun Controls Cut Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article by Ray Vernon which appeared in the Dearborn Guide of February 16, 1967, entitled "Can Gun Controls Cut Crime":

CAN GUN CONTROLS CUT CRIME

(By Ray Vernon)

The President has leaped into the legislative gunfight over crime, adding Administration heat to an already hot controversy.

No one is going to object to most of his recommendations for curbing the rising crime wave in the nation's metropolitan areas. In essence, these hinge on devoting more money and effort to improving the entire criminal justice system, from lifting police morale to providing better treatment in correctional institutions.

But many in Congress object to his recommendations to impose strict regulations over the ownership and use of guns.

The debate over guns centers partly on the right of the private American citizen to keep and bear arms, a guarantee that was written into the Constitution.

Proponents of the Administration's measure, which has just been introduced by Sen. Thomas Dodd (D-Conn.), say this Constitutional guarantee is not absolute, that it can and should be limited.

Their chief weapon, as written into the legislation, would be required registration of all guns, with the system to be administered by a federal government official.

Opponents in some cases maintain that the Constitutional guarantee rules out any infringement on their right to keep and bear arms. Others are willing to compromise to some extent, and support other measures already considered by Congress, but object to strict federal control over all ownership and use of firearms. They argue that such control is a local rather than federal police function.

Is there really need for a federal gun control law, disregarding for the moment whether such law would be unconstitutional?

There are now more than 20,000 gun control statutes on state, county and local lawbooks. Thirty-five states have constitutional guarantees granting citizens the right to keep and bear arms for protection of home, person and property.

Opponents and proponents alike agree in many cases that any new federal law to limit a person's right to own a gun would face court tests because of these state provisions.

But look at that number again—20,000 existing laws on gun use and ownership all over the country. Generally speaking, that's a powerful lot of laws to live up to, no matter what they govern.

Opponents of federal control maintain that these laws generally provide enough control over guns and based on sheer weight of numbers, we're inclined to agree with them.

What really would a federal law do?

Dodd-bill supporters claim it would make guns harder to get, and therefore would decrease the number of major crimes. Opponents say this is not so—that it would make guns harder to get only for the law-abiding cititzen, leaving him without protection against a criminal who wouldn't observe the law in obtaining a gun any more than he would in using it.

Leading the fight against the Dodd bill is the National Rifle Association, an organization of 800,000 American citizens who own and use guns in hunting, target shooting, collecting, and for gunsmithing. This Association, which does not represent the manufacturers or dealers, but speaks for the average hunter or target shooter, has been widely labeled as a powerful lobby.

Leading the fight for the Dodd bill now is the President of the United States—the world's most powerful lobbyist.

For that is the role President Johnson is now playing to the hilt in this debate. His recommendations on gun control are essentially duplicates of a measure Senator Dodd could not maneuver through the Senate over the last two years. So they're not new, and Mr. Johnson's spelling them out is only an attempt to add Administration pressure for their passage by a reluctant Congress representing cititzens in all corners of the country.

There's no doubt that inclusion of gun control recommendations in a special Presidential message to Congress will add to the pressure for passage. But it will also add stiffening to the resistance to such a measure.

The National Rifle Association proves this. Since Senator Dodd began widely-publicized hearings on his first gun bill about four years ago, the Association's membership has jumped several hundred thousand, and the rate at which new members are signing up is growing constantly.

When you figure that there are almost 15 million licensed hunters in the country, and an unknown number of farmer-sportsmen who hunt on their own land and therefore don't need licenses, you can see the potential for new membership in NRA.

The Association is aiming for a million members by its hundredth anniversary in 1971. With the help of Senator Dodd and President Johnson they should have no trouble reaching this goal.

John R. Herbert Appointed Editor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the Boston Herald announced the appointment of John R. Herbert as editor. Mr. Herbert is a distinguished member of the journalistic community, now completing nearly 15 years of service as editor of the Quincy Patriot Ledger, and I feel sure that he will continue to make his superb contributions to the quality and freedom of the press on the Herald.

Because of Mr. Herbert's outstanding accomplishments in the field of international affairs, as a leader in the Inter-American Press Association and as a longtime member and former chairman of the Committee on International Communications of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, I wanted to share with my colleagues the article in yesterday's Herald outlining Mr. Herbert's record and achievements by including it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

JOHN R. HERBERT NAMED EDITOR OF THE HERALD

George E. Akerson, President and Publisher of The Boston Herald-Traveler, announces the appointment of John R. Herbert, prominent newspaper editor and leader in the field of international journalism as Editor of the Boston Herald effective Monday.

Herbert has been Editor of The Patriot Ledger in Quincy since 1952.

His international achievements are many and varied. He is one of the North American newspaper executives who helped to restore and to develop a free press in Latin America with the fall of such dictators as Peron, Perez Jimenez and Trujillo. Heading a special committee named by the Inter American Press Association to bring technical assistance to Latin American newspapers, Herbert developed a program that the Ford Foundation underwrote with a $950,000 grant. The organization, known as the Inter American Press Association Technical Center, Inc., of New York, elected him as its first president and he now serves as Chairman of the Board. He also is a lifetime member of the Executive Committee of the Inter American Press Association.

His leadership in bringing assistance to Latin American newspapers has brought Herbert two top honors:

In 1962, Columbia University conferred upon him the Maria Moors Cabot prize for his work in the "advancement of international friendship and understanding in the Americas." The previous year he won the Tom Wallace award, presented by the newspapers of Latin America for "untiring efforts to promote greater assistance to Latin American publications."

After the fall of Trujillo, the Dominican Government presented him with its highest civilian honor, the Order of Merit of Duarte, Sanchez and Mella.

In the Latin American field, Herbert participated in the 1961 UNESCO conference in Chile to find methods to combat illiteracy in the hemisphere; he was a member of the IV Seminar in Venezuela, sponsored by Harvard University and the North American Association of Venezuela to study the problems of that Latin American state; and he has lectured at CIESPAL, a training school for Latin American professors of journalism at Quito, Ecuador.

Herbert's international involvements, however, have not been confined to the Latin American field.

He is a long-time-member and former chairman of the Committee on International Communications of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. As chairman, he played a key role in setting up the intensive tour he and 11 other leading American editors made of the Soviet Union in 1962. During this trip the editors had a stormy two and a half hour session with Nikita Khrushchev, during which the then Soviet Premier announced that the Russians had an anti-missile missile so accurate it "could hit a fly in space."

Having had a long, hard look at the Soviet Union, the editors later sought permission to make a similar tour of Red China. Herbert is heading these negotiations and although the U.S. State Department has given permission for the trip, the Red Chinese have so far refused approval.

Herbert has served longer than any other editor as a juror for the Pulitzer Prizes awarded annually by Columbia University.

His usual assignment as a Pulitzer Juror is in the field of international news coverage.

Herbert was graduated from Boston University, where he studied journalism. His alma mater has honored him on many occasions, the latest being a "distinguished achievement" award when the 50th Anniversary of Journalism Education was observed by the University in 1966. He has received an honorary degree from Suffolk University for his leadership in the field of journalism.

He is a trustee of Thayer Academy in Braintree; Director and Clerk of the Corporation of the Quincy Cooperative Bank; a Director of the Quincy-South Shore Chamber of Commerce; Trustee of the Reuben A. and Lizzie Grossman Foundation; member of the National Alumni Council of Boston University; member and past president of the Quincy Rotary Club; member of the President's Advisory Council of Eastern Nazarene College; and a member of the International Press Institute of Zurich, Switzerland.

He is a regular participant in the Tufts College Assembly on Massachusetts Government.

Herbert was born in Boston and he lives in Quincy. He is married and has two sons. His older son, John A. Herbert, is with Scandinavian Airlines System in Europe and his younger son is a student at Columbia University.

As an Editor, Herbert believes today's world challenges newspapers to present a well balanced report on what is going on in the world, the nation, the state and the local community.

"Americans are scattered all over the world these days," he says, "some in the armed forces, some in the Peace Corps, others on business or governmental assignments. Editors realize there is no longer any such thing as 'foreign' news. Rather, we have to think about news from outside the United States as International coverage, but this kind of news can be very close to us here in Boston. For example, the fighting in Vietnam to many a Greater Boston young man may be only as far away as his local draft board.

"But our interest in the world cannot stop with the involvement of local people in its complexities; the atomic age imposes a responsibility for all thoughtful citizens to be concerned with an orderly world, if at all possible. Yet with this challenge in the international field, a newspaper must keep a close watch on the state and local scene so that readers may have an accurate and complete news report."

Retired Air Force General, Ira C. Eaker, Asks Some Questions of Mr. Harrison Salisbury, of the New York Times

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 26, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in the February–March 1967 edition of the Retired Officer magazine, a former Air Force general, Ira C. Eaker, asks some pertinent questions of the associate editor of the New York Times, Mr. Harrison Salisbury, concerning his trip to Hanoi.

I commend this article to the Members of this body as I know I for one would have liked to ask some similar questions of this gentleman. I would be interested if he makes any reply to them.

The article follows:

SOME QUESTIONS FOR MR. SALISBURY

(By Lt. Gen. Ira C. Eaker, U.S. Air Force, retired)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Lt. Gen. Ira C. Eaker, USAF-Ret., whose distinguished military career spanned more than 30 years of meritorious service, currently covers all phases of the world military situation in his weekly syndicated column for General Features Corporation. The Retired Office normally does not cover day-to-day controversial issues but felt the importance of this issue to many readers is such that we decided to publish this one. It is reprinted with permission of the general and General Features Corp.)

Mr. Harrison E. Salisbury, associate editor of the New York Times, recently completed a mission to North Vietnam. Apparently the purpose of his visit was to determine whether U.S. bombers have deliberately or carelessly struck populated areas and killed many civilians, as Red propaganda has charged. The Salisbury dispatches from Hanoi seem to confirm the Red charges since his casualty figures tally exactly with enemy propaganda.

Here are some questions for Mr. Salisbury which appear pertinent, timely and responsive to his recent enterprise:

Why do you suppose the Reds picked you for this mission? (They admitted you and turned down some others.)

Are you qualified to assess bomb damage? Can you tell whether a damaged house was hit by a U.S. bomb, a falling SAM missile or deliberately blasted by the Reds for propaganda purposes?

Were you permitted to travel freely as an experienced reporter would want to do, or were your movements limited and circumscribed?

Your articles from Hanoi appeared to support the editorial policies of your paper (critical of our presence, purpose and effort in Vietnam). Was this accidental, fortuitous or by design?

While in North Vietnam did you see our soldiers, sailors and airmen who are prisoners of North Vietnam? Did you make any effort to do so? If you saw them, how did they look? How have they been treated?

While in Hanoi did you ask your hosts, Ho Chi Minh, General Giap and associates what their troops were doing in South Vietnam?

Since the North Vietnamese and Vietcong have killed about 30,000 South Vietnamese civilians and since only a few North Vietnamese civilians have been killed by our bombs, what accounts for your especial concern for the North Vietnamese civilians?

Reconnaissance photographs I have seen show enemy oil dumps, weapons storage and antiaircraft and missile sites dispersed in heavily populated areas. Did you see any of these?

Since you have shown such concern for civilian casualties, can we assume you will soon be going to South Vietnam to check on the many reports of Vietcong atrocities there? If so, will you please investigate this report by an Army flyer recently returned from a tour in Vietnam?—"My helicopter was searching an area for Vietcong, when we came upon a group of them in the edge of a wood who were escorting about a hundred civilian captives chained together, many of them old women and children. As we approached, the Vietcong, apparently feeling that their captives would hamper their escape, shot all of them. They are not nice people, these Vietcong."

Is there a possibility that your mission to Hanoi may encourage the enemy to prolong his aggression? In that event would you feel any guilt for subsequent casualties?

On your next mission to Hanoi (you will be wanted again as the Reds must be jubilant over your last effort) will you ask your hosts how much encouragement they get from the U.S. critics of our Vietnam policies such as the draft card burners, the college sit-ins, the peace marchers and the newspaper editorials (like a recent one in the New York Times) which say that President Johnson does not really want peace?

In retrospect, does it appear that your dispatches from Hanoi aided the propaganda effort of the enemy?

If your dispatches from Vietnam aided enemy propaganda, how do you equate your mission to Hanoi with the efforts of Lord Haw Haw, Axis Sally, Tokyo Rose and other U.S. citizens or allied nationals who voluntarily aided the propaganda efforts of our enemies in earlier wars?

Lyle Guslander Sets Hawaii Hotel Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, one of the most dynamic and flamboyant innkeepers in the Nation, Mr. Lyle Guslander, is planning the official opening of his beautiful new 300-room Holiday Isle Hotel at Waikiki in April, and with this opening he will be Hawaii's first and only hotel operator to have inns on all the major islands.

Much of the credit for Hawaii's overwhelming success as a vacation paradise, and as a rest and recreation center for our Armed Forces personnel in Vietnam, is due to such famous Hawaiian hospitality as is extended by Lyle Guslander and his staff.

I salute Mr. Guslander, who is affectionately dubbed "The Neighbor Island Resort King," as he continues to provide better hotel and travel service for visitors to our 50th State.

I believe my colleagues in the House will enjoy reading about this "man for all islands," and I am submitting for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the story on Mr. Guslander by Reporter George West, which appeared in the February 14, 1967, issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin:

A MAN FOR ALL ISLANDS

(By George West)

On his desk in his small office in Waikiki, there's a sign that reads: "If you don't smoke, I listen better."

This is perhaps quite a happenstance for a man who once could not be separated from his cigar.

His cigar and his boxer dog, Happy, were among his chief identifying marks—like the late O. P. Soares who was never seen without his white suit of linen.

The marks of identification are gone. Lyle L. Guslander has doused the cigar for good. Happy died some years ago.

But the Guslander that remains is still the harried and flamboyant innkeeper that he was when he arrived in the Islands in 1947 to manage the old Niumalu Hotel, where now stands the sprawling Hilton Hawaiian Village.

He still seems impatient to get to the next place, or to the next assignment. He has come a long way. He is no longer a hotel employee but a hotel owner and travel agent of considerable influence.

SIGN NOTICED

When we talked with him in his office a few days ago, we whipped out a cigarette and happily puffed away. It was only after several inhales that we noticed the sign on his desk.

"Oh, go ahead and smoke. It's all right," said Guslander, who, dressed that day in a beige pullover sweater, looked like the athlete who never foresook the college campus.

Guslander got the itch to go out on his own in 1953 while he was manager of the Moana and SurfRider hotels, which were then owned by Matson Navigation Company.

He began with the Coco Palms Hotel on Kauai. When he acquired it—with some help from a rich Texan—it was in a state of neglect and a dubious profit-maker.

Then he began to spread out, starting with the Maui Palms, the Knoa Palms on the Big Island and the Pali Palms on Oahu.

This was 10 years ago. He was already the first to have hotels on all Islands. He was considered quite a success then. They dubbed him, "The Neighbor Island Hotel Operator," or, "The Neighbor Island Resort King."

Today he's still all of that and even more.

BETTER HOTELS

Although he no longer has the Pali, Kona and Maui Palms—he sold them to help finance the growth of his swank Hanalei Plantation on Kauai—he replaced them with more elegant hostelries.

And what's more he's come back to Waikiki this time as a hotel entrepreneur and travel agent.

When the 300-room, Holiday Isle Hotel on Kalakaua Avenue has its official opening on, hopefully, April 1, he again becomes the first and only hotel operator to have inns on all islands.

Roy Kelley is the owner of the largest number of rooms, but his empire begins and ends in Waikiki.

One of Guslander's latest acquisitions was the Royal Lahaina Hotel at Kaanapali, Maui, a fashionable resort with an unequalled ocean vista.

It cost more than $3.5 million to buy.

THE WINNER

There were several interested buyers. One of them was reportedly the Hilton people. When Guslander emerged the victor over his more financially-powerful competitors, his friends in the trade considered his success a feat of astuteness.

He has sometimes also been affectionately referred to as, "The poor man's Conrad Hilton."

When the poor man's Conrad Hilton took over the management of the Royal Lahaina, it had been, Guslander said, operating at a considerable loss for about five years.

It is a different story today. It is operating in the black, although, as Guslander puts it, "a small black figure."

"All that place needed was business," he recalled.

It is getting it. Business has increased by 40 percent, with the help of Guslander's travel agency, the Island Holidays Travel Service. It arranges complete package tours to the Neighbor Islands, for those who want to golf, swim, surf, sightsee and relax.

TRAVEL SERVICE

The travel service is a subsidiary of Island Holidays Resorts, the Guslander-owned company which operates the seven-hotel chain. It was formed in 1958 and Guslander put Mrs. Myrtle Lee in charge of it. She still heads it.

With its thriving business, it has become the second largest travel agency in Hawaii.

Guslander also credits the change at the Royal Lahaina From red ink to black to the managerial talents of Ron Barr, general manager, and Juan Acquinda, assistant manager. "They're terrific," he said.

Another who ranks high in the Guslander domain—beside the incomparable Grace Buscher who's been running the Coco Palms ever since it opened—is Jerry Glendenning.

Miss Buscher has often been credited for the "phenomenal success" of the Coco Palms which was transformed into a deluxe resort from a rundown lodge.

FROM SCATCH

When Guslander put her in charge in the beginning—taking her from an administrative job in a Waikiki store—she knew nothing about the hotel business.

Glendenning is the man that the hotel baron has chosen to oversee the new Holiday Isle. "He's a real outstanding man," remarked Guslander.

"It's going to be a lovely hotel," he said as he mused about the opening day. "It's going to be a fun place . . . We're going to have a dining room called, 'Gus's Steakhouse,' where you can have a $1.95 steak.

"And we're going to have a bar called 'Shipwreck Kelly' . . . no relation to Roy Kelley, of course," said he.

Guslander had hoped to have the Holiday Isle opened last December. Rains and difficulties with the piling work caused the delays. But because of the heavy influx of visitors, Guslander has had to rent some of the rooms of the uncompleted hotel to cope with the overflow.

About 75 rooms have had to be rented nightly.

Guslander is close to his new hotel. His office is on the second floor of an adjacent building. He works from this office from Mondays through Wednesdays. The rest of the week he checks in at his four Kauai hotels to see how they are doing.

They include the Coco Palms with 200 rooms (it grew from 24), the 50-room Waiohai, the 150-room Poipu Beach Hotel, and the Hanalei Plantation with 62 rooms. Then there are trips also to the 115-room King Kamehameha Hotel in Kona, and the 200-room Royal Lahaina.

ROOMS, 1,077

The seven hotels add up to 1,077 rooms, with a value easily in excess of $25 million.

From a staff of 150 persons 10 years ago, it has grown to one of 450.

Today, too, Guslander is the most formidable competitor of the man who brought him to Hawaii—Walter Child, founder of Inter-Island Resorts—which operates hotels on all Islands except Oahu.

Right now, Guslander has no thoughts about new hotels or other expansions. He's not even looking toward the Pacific or the Orient where tourist booms are foreseen.

"We have so much to do, and there are too many opportunities here," he said. The so much to do he speaks of includes finding chefs and other culinary arts personnel for the new hotel. The greatest shortage in the industry—and a critical one—is in the culinary arts, said he.

Happy, the dog which was the inseparable companion, is buried at Guslander's favorite retreat, Coco Palms.

Setting the Record Straight on the Gasoline Price Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, newspapers during the past few days have carried the story that the Department of Interior is threatening to increase imports of foreign oil in order to force major oil companies to roll back a gasoline price increase.

The logic of the Department of Interior spokesman is difficult to understand.

Most major oil companies would benefit from an increase in imports, because they would participate in the profits from these imports. They are not likely to be impressed by the Department's effort at persuasion.

The principal victims of an import increase would not be the big companies, particularly if the result were to be a rollback in price.

The real victims would be the small companies and independent domestic producers who do not have foreign oil holdings and would not profit from the import increases, plus the jobbers who are scheduled to share in the 1-cent gasoline price increase, plus the dealers who are a substantial part of American small business and have long waited for their share of the increase.

These three groups—the domestic producers, the jobbers, and the retail dealers—would be the real victims of the Department of Interior's threatened import increase, if it should be put into effect.

I cannot believe the Department of Interior, with its responsibility toward the domestic producers a fundamental part of its charter, will actually carry out the threats about import increases which have been printed in the press. Commonsense will surely prevail.

Completing the record on this point, I want to make available to all Members the views of two Oklahomans who are recognized authorities on domestic oil production, President Stanley Learned of Phillips Petroleum Co. and President F. Allen Calvert, Jr., of the Independent Petroleum Association of America:

[A news release from the Phillips Petroleum Co.]

THE STANLEY LEARNED STATEMENT

As a result of a story which appeared in The Washington Post today, Stanley Learned, President of Phillips Petroleum Company, sent the following telegram to Under Secretary of the Interior, Charles F. Luce, in Washington:

"The Washington Post this morning carried a story attributed to Interior officials listing a series of possible Federal actions that in their opinion could swell available supplies of gasoline or the crude from which gasoline is refined. I believe these actions will hurt the small businessmen of the oil industry, help the large refiners, and have a bad effect on the reputation of the Department of the Interior.

"As to the increases in crude imports may I say that the Government justified the oil import control program as essential to assure a healthy domestic oil producing industry in case of war. This certainly would appear to be a very inappropriate time for the same Government to toy with such an essential defense program. In addition, such action would further unbalance an already poor balance of payments position. Action by the Interior Department to grant the Hess Oil Company a quota for its new Virgin Island refinery or to Commonwealth Oil Refining on its pending application to increase gasoline shipments into the continental United States without complete hearing and consideration as has been required in other similar applications will merely make a shambles of the import control program and indicate a willingness on the part of the Department of the Interior to favor one importer over others without complete understanding and vindication. Any further increase of imports of crude oil from Canada will further unbalance the U.S. balance of payments position, which is critical at this time and injure the small independent producers.

"I assume that the Washington Post misunderstood Interior officials who they state 'challenged the 10 major oil companies' price boost on the grounds the companies themselves, rather than wholesalers and dealers, would get the lion's share of the increased revenue' from the recent price increase. Certainly there was no misunderstanding on this point in our discussion with you last week.

"All of the large refiners run much more oil than they produce in the United States and an increase in oil imports would benefit rather than penalize these large refiners. It would give them an opportunity to import their cheap foreign production in lieu of utilizing higher priced purchased domestic production.

"Inasmuch as most refiners are operating at nearly full capacity either additional import quotas or additional oil from offshore Federal lands will not hurt the large refiners but instead will have the result of penalizing the small independent producers and in most cases actually benefit the companies that the Government apparently wants to take retaliatory measures against.

"By the suggested actions the Government is moving most against the smaller oil businesses—the independent producers, and the jobbers and dealers who are the chief beneficiaries of the recent gasoline price increase and who need it to offset their higher costs."

[From the Independent Petroleum Association of America Information Service]

THE ALLEN CALVERT STATEMENT

TULSA, OKLA., Feb. 18.—A spokesman for the nation's crude oil producers today criticized actions by the federal government which he said "are directed at preventing petroleum prices from recovering from severely depressed levels."

F. Allen Calvert, Jr., president of the Independent Petroleum Association of America, said nominal increases in some crude oil prices in the past year as well as recent gasoline price adjustments "were long overdue and followed almost a decade of price erosion and cost-absorption by the petroleum industry."

He declared unauthorized government opposition to "any oil price restoration" ignores severely depressed economic conditions that have brought on a 10-year drop in domestic oil and gas exploration, drilling and development.

Calvert said the Department of Interior has been expressing concern as to declining oil exploration and drilling activity "for several years," and added:

"In the past two weeks that Department has received a comprehensive report, prepared at its request, which pointed to price conditions as a major factor discouraging petroleum exploration and drilling in the past decade."

He said Interior currently is conducting a broad study aimed at identifying problems involved in meeting greatly expanded petroleum needs in the next 15 years. "To find and develop new petroleum supplies on a scale anticipated by the Department," he said, "is going to require expenditures of funds that couldn't possibly be generated under the industry's present depressed price structure."

He said the idea of saving the consumer a few cents temporarily, "under the guise of avoiding inflation, is hardly worth the risk of not having the oil he will need in the future, and not having the oil the nation will need if it is to maintain a position of strength as to essential energy supplies."

Calvert said the nation's independent oil producers have been shrinking in numbers since 1957 "due to extreme economic hardship resulting in large part from depressed and eroding crude oil prices," and added, "an adequate crude oil price depends upon realistic petroleum product prices."

He said the petroleum industry generally, and independent procedures in particular, "far from contributing to inflation, have been victims of inflation for 10 long years."

Calvert cited the following "10 tests" which he said indicate that petroleum prices "are relatively low" by any yardstick:

1. An hour's wage (based on the average for all manufacturing industries) now buys 8.5 gallons of gasoline which is one-third more than ten years ago and 10 percent more than five years ago.

2. The biggest factor in the change in gasoline prices is Federal and State taxes which have increased by 1.7 cents per gallon or 20 percent during the past ten years.

3. In terms of prices to the industry, excluding Federal and State taxes, an hour's wage now buys 12.5 gallons of gasoline, 40 percent more than ten years ago.

4. The industry's price of gasoline at service stations has been consistently low in relation to the average retail price of all consumer goods. Today's gasoline prices are only two percent above the 1957–59 levels, in contrast to an increase of 15 percent in the cost of living as measured by retail prices generally.

5. The average wholesale price at refineries of the industry's four principal products (gasoline, kerosene, distillate fuel oil and residual fuel oil) also has been consistently low in relation to the general level of all wholesale prices. Wholesale prices for petroleum products are now 3 percent below the 1957–59 level, in contrast to an increase of 6 percent for all commodities.

6. The average price of crude oil declined by 22 cents per barrel, or 7 percent, from 1957 to 1965. Upward adjustments since 1965 average only 3 cents or 1 percent.

7. The price of crude oil, like the price of petroleum products, has been consistently low in relation to wholesale prices generally. Crude oil prices are now 3.5 percent below the 1957–59 level, in contrast to an increase of more than 6 percent in the average wholesale prices for all commodities.

8. Crude oil prices are also low in relation to the average price of other crude minerals. The price of these other minerals is 10 percent above the 1957–59 level, in contrast to a decrease of 3.5 percent in crude oil prices.

9. Crude oil prices are low in relation to costs. Average oil-field wages are 25 percent above the 1957–59 level; the cost of oil-field machinery is up 10 percent; and the cost of oil-field casing is 8 percent higher—vs. the 3.5 percent decrease in crude oil prices.

10. The "real" price of crude oil, expressed in constant dollars has dropped by 60 cents per barrel, or 20 percent, during the past ten years.

National Engineers Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, this week marks "National Engineers Week." As a registered mechanical engineer, one of the few in Congress, I wish to call the attention of the House to this distinguished corps of professionals.

The engineer is a builder: He builds bridges, buildings, roads and highways, power systems, water reservoirs. He is a designer: He designs computers, sound systems, water control mechanisms, spacecraft and rockets, ships and aircraft. The engineer is a scientist: He explores the sea, the air, the earth, he experiments with chemicals, explosives, armaments, and fabrics. The engineer is an explorer: He soars high into the stratosphere, he burrows deep into the earth, he sails under the polar cap, he builds under the sea, and on the sides of cliffs, and he harnesses the forces of nature.

The engineer is the man who takes the theory, the rough idea and translates it into a reality. He dreams a little, and builds a lot. He asks questions of nature, patiently and imaginatively. He chips away at the great ore of unmined truth about our world.

The engineer is interested in how the advances in science and technology affect people: individuals, communities, nations, the world. It seems to be assumed by many these days that technology and the engineer is the enemy rather than a friend of people. This is a shortsighted view. In the Western World, the engineer and his skill has been the major factor in lifting the lot of most people to relative affluence. The benefits to the world are almost incalculable. It is in those areas of the world where engineers are scarce that poverty and suffering still prevail.

The engineer has given us electricity, atomic power to light our cities, X-rays for healing, radio communication, automobiles for transportation, clean air and water, and a place in space.

Engineers have served our Nation in every capacity. They have been teachers, businessmen, civil servants, lawmakers, military leaders, inventors, miners, artists, and ambassadors. One great engineer even became President, the late Herbert Hoover.

Mr. Speaker, I trust that this week we shall keep in mind the gratitude we owe this Nation's professional engineers. And may we take this occasion to encourage the education of more and better engineers. Our country needs them, if we are to build a better world.

Let us search our country for the bright young men with creative ideas, give them a slide rule and a good education, and let them go to work translating dreams into a greater America.

The Dilemma of Our Wealth

SPEECH

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, George Bernard Shaw, in a moment of typical candor, once remarked:

We have no right to consume wealth without producing it.

For 6 years Americans have been producing and consuming wealth on a scale unparalleled in history.

In the last year American ingenuity and know-how increased the output of goods and services at a rate of almost $1 billion a week in comparison with 1965. Our gross national product swelled from $681 billion to $739 billion, or almost an 8-percent increase. This dollar rate of growth was greater than the aggregate dollar growth of England, France, Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, Germany, Italy, Korea, and Japan.

With 2,200,000 more workers on the payroll the ranks of the employed rose to 75 million. Unemployment dipped to a historic low of 3.7 percent. Not only are more people employed than ever before, but those working are annually increasing their productivity. In 1966 the rate of productivity per man-hour increased 2.8 percent. During the period of 1961–65 productivity per man-hour increased at an annual rate of 3.6 percent. Comparatively speaking, England, France, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands have a total working force that is one-third larger than ours. Interestingly, however, the gross product of this 115 million working force is about one-half the gross product of America's workers.

Personal income for most Americans has been keeping pace with the fast-growing economy. For example, an average family of four had from all sources in 1965 a personal income of a little over $9,000. Today, that same family will have an income of more than $10,000.

Americans are the world's greatest consumers. It appears that the more we have the more we want. It was not so long ago that ownership of a standard black and white television was the goal of most middle-class Americans. Today, color television sets are the hottest item on the market. Last year 4,500,000 TV sets were purchased. Conservative estimates indicate that Americans will buy more than 7 million sets in 1967.

Although there was a noticeable decline in auto sales in 1966, Detroit managed to make the year the second best in history, and sales for 1967 are expected to trail only slightly making it the third best year in the industry's history.

Our Government has been matching the mood of the people it represents. Federal Government spending for the fiscal year may range anywhere from $150 to $169 billion. The budget for the succeeding fiscal year will in all probability be the highest in history. State and local government budgets also stand at an alltime high approaching an aggregate expenditure of close to $100 billion. Our Federal expenditure has been reflecting our overall wealth. While the expenditure has been most assuredly going up, the momentum of the rate of our increase in wealth has been absorbing the cost. Today the average taxpayer actually pays less to finance a higher expenditure.

Let us again consider our average family of four. In 1947, a family of four with an income of $10,000 paid 18.6 percent of that income in Federal taxes. Today, the average family of four with an income of $10,000 a year pays 15.9 percent of that income to Federal taxes. This represents a percentage drop of 2.7 percent.

Certainly, the information I have just related presents no startling revelations. Certainly the membership of the House of Representatives is well acquainted with the state of our economy. Certainly we all realize that at this point in history the United States stands as the most abundantly wealthy, technologically advanced society ever developed.

What about our wealth?

I have attempted to demonstrate that the last 6 years have jettisoned our Nation into a position of material wealth that is virtually staggering to the imagination. But wealth, as Shaw so aptly pointed out, has no virtue in itself. Wealth must be used to be meaningful. No more meaningful use of wealth can be made by a society than investment in that society and that society's future. In the last 6 years the policies of both business and government have reflected the important investment nature of wealth. This wise approach toward investment has to a great extent been responsible for the continuity of our prosperity.

What have we been investing in? In the private sector businessmen have sparked the most dynamic element of a healthy economy by spending billions in capital investment and public improvement. More than $61 billion were spent in private capital projects during 1966.

In the public sector, both government and business have been investing in the human being and the quality of his environment. Our Nation's schools, roads, medical care, housing, water, natural resources, are but a few of the many areas that are beneficiary to the attention of a concerned citizenry.

Mr. Speaker, to this point I have largely been reviewing what has been, and what I would hope would continue to be: The public and private sectors of our economy committing the necessary wealth of our society in investment programs designed to overcome the many obstacles still before us.

Our great wealth, however, appears to be a double-edged sword. In reaching our present economic pinnacle, our present level of wealth and standard of living we face the danger of forgetting the severe problems that are still part of the very fabric of our society. We face the danger of having the dialog shift from what we do with our wealth to how we protect our wealth. We face the danger of considering the dividends of investment in society to be too far in the future to risk expenditures in the present.

The fabric of wealth has been woven in a tortuous pattern throughout history. Who is to amass, exercise, and distribute wealth has long been at the critical core of most of man's upheavals.

History teaches us that few societies used their wealth to deal with the ever present and prodigious public problems of environment, crime, unemployment, and the myriad other enigmas that have plagued men from the beginning.

Almost all wealth rotated to the very rich and highly positioned. This certainly is not an unusual phenomenon, even in modern times. The rich rarely reinvested their wealth into the public sector. In ancient Egypt, for example, extravagant sums were spent in building monuments for the dead. Approximately one-twentieth of the Egyptian population labored 30 years to build each one of the great pyramids.

All of those societies, and similar societies that manifest themselves today, were and are constantly subjected to chaotic internal disorder. Problems festered and became more acute, more aggravated. This cycle repeats itself daily in today's world.

I draw this analogy in history for the reason that the 90th Congress stands at a crossroads and historical perspective is critical. Shall we continue to consider as a legitimate use of our wealth investment in our society's future, or shall we stop, announce we can no longer afford such concern and devote our energies to preserving what we have?

I believe the answer is obvious. If we are to expect to have a continually dynamic and expanding economy, resulting in a society that offers the highest quality of life to all its citizens we must continue to invest. A nation as wealthy as ours can afford and is obligated to do nothing less.

Problems produced by our present wealth, and problems that have grown because they have not been dealt with sufficiently offer us our investment portfolio.

Investment in the education of all our young, clean air and water, and the replenishment of our natural resources demand much, but offer much more. Urban congestion, blighted housing, disposal and reusal of waste, efficient sanitation programs, recreational facilities, efficient urban and suburban transportation systems, job retraining and efficient crime control apparatus are problems that require our concern, and more important our financial investment in solutions that will make them issues of the past.

How wealthy does a society have to be in order for it to feel it can invest a portion of its wealth to deal with its problems? Our society is the wealthiest in history. Our gross worth is beyond mere human comprehension, and even the most conservative estimates predict that our worth will increase by another 6½ percent over the next year.

I believe we can affford to meet and overcome the numerous and deeply rooted problems that face us. If a nation with our wealth refuses to, or cannot make such an investment, there is little hope for the future of the rest of the world.

Exactly how much are we spending in dealing with these problems. Does 10 percent of our national output seem an unreasonable investment in the future of our future? At present the total expenditure in meeting the problems that have been mentioned here approach 10 percent of our national productivity. America's total investment in education, highways, natural resources, housing and urban renewal and welfare amounted to about $71 billion last year.

In other words, Mr. Speaker, this most important aspect of our economy, this reinvestment element amounts to about 10 percent of our total national productivity. And what type of dividend are we earning on this investment? Initially we are earning hope; hope that the future will be even better than the present.

We are earning progress. Inroads are being made into the problems of air and water pollution, urban blight, city congestion, school dropouts, and the scores of other areas that are receiving attention.

Eventually what is now hope and progress will be reality. If we make the investment now, future generations of Americans may live in clean, unpolluted, uncongested cities. The word ghetto may one day be nothing more than a historical footnote. Birth defects, cancer, and perhaps even the common cold will be nothing more than terms in a medical dictionary. And perhaps one day even poverty and hunger will no longer be the major elements in life for any American citizen.

I do not suggest that eventually our society will witness the elimination of all problems. Men have sadly learned that as a civilization progresses we encounter new problems.

I am confident that the problems our society now faces and will face will never be our undoing. A society that is concerned about its present and its future will endure and prosper. Our heritage is rich in this tradition.

Let us now agree that a future generation will not write of America the John Greenleaf Whittier passage "It might have been."

Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, I have requested permission to insert in the RECORD the following prize-winning essay on "Peace." This essay was written by one of my constituents, Miss Sheila Caldwell, a senior at Macon High School in Macon, Mo., and won the Macon Lion's Club Peace essay contest.

SHEILA CALDWELL'S WINNING EFFORT IN LIONS' PEACE CONTEST

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following is the winning essay in the Macon Lions Club's Peace Essay Contest. It was written by Sheila Caldwell, a senior in the Macon High School and has been copyrighted by the International Association of Lions Clubs with all rights reserved.)

In my seventeen years I have heard the word "peace" many times, but never have I seen peace in the world. I have heard eloquent statesmen expounding on "a workable plan for world unity", but never have I watched such a plan in action. I have listened to great orators loudly assuring people that "peace is attainable." IS peace attainable? I think it is.

First we must ask ourselves this question: What is peace and what requirements are necessary for world peace? Webster defines peace as: "the state of being free from war and civil strife." So far the world has never achieved this state. Next we come to the requirements essential for world peace. The first requirement, of course, is the settlement of the Viet Nam War. Many plans and strategies have been suggested for the peaceful end to this crisis. Bút today the end of this war seems a distant prospect.

Hanoi's refusal to have an unconditional discussion makes the situation seem almost impossible. They have clearly stated to the United States their terms for peace. These are:

1. That the South Vietnamese Government must be overthrown;

2. That the Liberation Front, the creature and agent of Hanoi, be accepted as the sole bargaining representative for the South Vietnamese people.

3. That South Viet Nam be put under the control of a coalition government formed by the Communists and from which the South Vietnamese government would be excluded.

Hanoi says also that these provisions MUST be accepted before they will even agree to a conference.

The United States has written a fourteen point list of terms for peace in Viet Nam, and they say that these terms should be accepted before settlement can be reached. These terms are:

"1. The Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962 are an adequate basis for peace in Southeast Asia.

2. We would welcome a conference on Southeast Asia or on any part thereof.

3. We would welcome 'negotiations without pre-conditions' as the 17 nations put it.

4. We would welcome unconditional discussions as President Johnson put it.

5. A cessation of hostilities could be the first order of business at a conference or could be the subject of preliminary discussions.

6. Hanoi's four points could be discussed along with other points which others might wish to propose.

7. We want no U.S. bases in Southeast Asia.

8. We do not desire to retain U.S. troops in South Viet Nam after peace is assured.

9. We support free elections in South Viet Nam to give the South Vietnamese a government of their own choice.

10. The question of reunification of Viet Nam should be determined by the Vietnamese through their own free decision.

11. The countries of Southeast Asia can be non-aligned or neutral if that be their option.

12. We would much prefer to use our resources for the economic reconstruction of Southeast Asia than in war. If there is peace, North Viet Nam could participate in a regional effort to which we would be prepared to contribute at least one billion dollars.

13. The President has said 'The Viet Cong would not have difficulty being represented and having their views represented if for a moment Hanoi decided she wanted to cease aggressions. I don't think that would be an insurmountable problem.'

14. We have said publicly and privately that we could stop the bombing of North Viet Nam as a step toward peace, although there has not been the slightest hint or suggestion from the other side as to what they would do if the bombing stopped."

So at the present time, although many people are working for a solution, the matter is at a standstill, and many Americans and Vietnamese die every day.

The United States is in a difficult position. We cannot withdraw from Viet Nam. We promised the Vietnamese aid and we must keep that promise. To break it would mean all countries losing confidence, trust, and respect for the United States, and the United States would lose much power. We do not want to lose world respect by withdrawing from the war. But we are losing respect every day by accomplishing nothing in the way of a conference or compromise while many of our men are killed daily. We must force the Communists to discuss terms of peace.

This is my plan for solving this problem. We must tell Hanoi that, unless she agrees to an unconditional conference the United States will have to give them an "either-or" ultimatum. If the Communists still refuse to talk peace, the U.S. must issue this ultimatum, stating that:

1. Unless Communist troops are withdrawn from South Viet Nam, the United States will use atomic warfare to accomplish the removal of these troops.

2. If further Communist aggression continues, the U.S. is prepared to be involved in another world war, providing that this is what is necessary to check the spread of Communism into weakened and defenseless countries.

I think the Communists will accept this ultimatum. Russia wants an atomic war as little as the United States does. She wants the United States certainly, but she wants its fertile valleys, plentiful natural resources, and rich metal deposits, not a burned mass of fallout and atomic ruins.

An all-out atomic war would probably mean the destruction of the world. Russia is smart enough to realize this and to avoid it. Once she realizes that she must "pick on someone her own size," I think that aggression will stop, at least for awhile. But the spread of Communism is not to be checked so easily. I think that issuing an either-or ultimatum similar to the one we gave Russia during the Cuban crises, we will at least be able to get Hanoi to a peace conference, at which a compromise settlement can be reached.

However, this is only a small victory in the battle for world peace. Mankind has been striving for peace since the beginning of the world, and never have we accomplished it. We have had many good organizations to help promote international good will and friendship, but these have all failed. To establish world peace, therefore, we must first set up a new, foolproof, organization; one that can not and will not fail.

How can we make sure that this new organization will not fail? The answer is very simple. Three of the main powers which have tried to control the world failed, each for a different reason. In this new world organization, which we will call the United Peace Command, the faults and weaknesses of the other powers will be corrected.

Let us look at these three powers and why they failed. The Roman Catholic Church ruled the world for centuries. It failed because it didn't have enough interest in world politics. The League of Nations failed because it couldn't enforce the laws it made. The United Nations is failing because it does not represent everyone. And by excluding some countries the U.N. is having many problems. It is so busy trying to solve these internal problems, that it has little time to settle any world difficulties.

Our new organization, the United Peace Command, will be similar to our United Nations today and Our League of Nations of yesterday. But there will be the following major differences:

1. Every country in the world will automatically belong to the U.P.C. It will be compulsory.

2. Every country belonging to the organization will have, not one, but a specified number of representatives.

3. These representatives will consist of:

A. A specified number of elected diplomats

B. A specified number of high religious leaders

C. A specified number of industrial leaders and business powers of each country

D. The highest political leader of the country (president, prime minister, etc.) must attend one meeting each week at minimum

4. The representatives will elect a Commander-in-Chief of United Peace Command. This man will be in charge of meetings and things of this nature but will not have any more power than the other representatives. He will not have the power of veto and will merely enforce decisions that the U.P.C. decides upon.

5. A three-fourth majority vote is necessary for all major issues, a two-thirds majority for minor issues.

6. The U.P.C. will be a permanent organization. It will be in session all the time and will not have a stationary headquarters.

7. This organization will be set up on a quorum basis, so that if one country is unable to attend, other countries can speak for it.

8. The major and most important difference in this new power will be the world police force. This will be a combination of the military powers of every country in the world, including the army, navy and air force, assembled as one unit, to help enforce, carry out, and if necessary, fight for the decisions made by the U.P.C.

There will, of course, be many other problems to be worked out in an organization of this type, but this is the basic outline of the United Peace Command.

With a strong, united force of countries, world peace can be a reality and not just a hopeless dream. But there is another very necessary factor in the fight for world peace. This factor is self-respect and without it, nothing can be accomplished. This self-respect involves not only pride in oneself, but pride and respect for one's fellow man. Man must learn to live with himself before he can live with others. He must respect himself before respect for others is possible. And he must want "liberty and justice for all", not for just a few. So the answer to the age-old question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" is an emphatic and united "Yes, I am!"

Is peace, therefore, attainable? Will there come a time when world unity is not just a remote possibility but a working reality? Can people live together in harmony and countries exist without fear of aggression? The answer most certainly is, yes. With pride in oneself, respect for one's fellow man and a strong, united force of countries defended and backed by the military strength of the entire world, peace is attainable.

Ralph Kiyosaki Named Hawaii Superintendent of Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, one of Hawaii's most able and distinguished educators, Mr. Ralph Kiyosaki, of Hilo, has been named by the Hawaii Board of Education as the new superintendent of schools, and I take pleasure in bringing this noteworthy appointment to the attention of my colleagues in the House.

The Honolulu Star-Bulletin featured an article about Mr. Kiyosaki in a recent issue, and described his success story as one in the true tradition of Horatio Alger. Born in the Maui plantation community of Paia, and the second of six children, Mr. Kiyosaki pursued his early education in Paia and at Maui High School, then completed his work for a Bachelor of Arts degree in 3½ years at the University of Hawaii. His graduate work later took him to Stanford and to the University of Chicago.

Mr. Kiyosaki recalled, in the article, his early days as an "all-American substitute teacher," and from that beginning in the field of education he has worked his way to this position of high responsibility in his profession.

This public-spirited citizen has served on many important community service projects, and his imprint on our school system is reflected in the many inovations and improvements he has made in his quest for excellence.

I have long been impressed by Mr. Kiyosaki's endeavors to promote educational opportunities and improve the educational system in Hawaii, and it is gratifying to see this true pioneer in the field of education have his efforts so appropriately recognized by being named as Hawaii's superintendent of schools.

The 6-foot, 2-inch educator is aptly described as a "big man in a big job," and we in the Island State can look forward to continued progress in our educational system under the enlightened administration of Superintendent Kiyosaki.

The very interesting article by Reporter Jack Bryan, which appeared in the February 11, 1967, issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, follows:

RALPH KIYOSAKI—A BIG MAN DESTINED FOR BIGGER THINGS

(By Jack Bryan)

HILO.—Living with Ralph Kiyosaki the last year or so has been like waiting for the other shoe to drop.

His Big Island admirers knew bigger things were in store for the tall educator.

And sure enough, the suspense ended like the denouement of a Horatio Alger novel Thursday, when the Board of Education named him superintendent of schools.

His neighbors, like Kiyosaki himself, received the news with mixed emotions.

They're proud of him, and happy to see him win the recognition they've long felt he deserved.

But they hate to lose a true pillar of the community.

For Ralph Kiyosaki has been totally involved in the Big Island, his adopted home, as he has been in the field of education.

He has long been at or near the top of the most-eligible lists for community service projects.

Some made severe demands on his time and energy.

For instance, he was the original chairman of the Hawaii Redevelopment Agency—the urban renewal organization born of the devastating tidal wave of 1960 and charged with the reclamation of the broad band of Hilo bayfront hit by the wave.

And he chaired the second Big Island Charter Commission in 1965–66, writing many sections of the charter himself and guiding the commission through a forest of controversy.

The charter, hailed by political scientists as an excellent blueprint for government, failed ratification by only 160 votes.

Kiyosaki, a tall (6 feet 2½ inches), solid (220 pounds), intense man behind horn-rimmed glasses, was born in the Maui plantation community of Paia on December 11, 1919.

He was the second of six children of Hideki Kiyosaki, a Japanese-born commercial photographer.

We went to school in Paia and later to Maui High School, where he was the classmate of State Senator Nadao Yoshinaga, Maui County Attorney Kase Higa, and other professional men in the Class of 1938.

He was a good student, winner of the American Legion award for scholarship and editor of the class annual.

But a head injury (suffered when he fell from an automobile when he was 15) kept him off the athletic field where his younger brothers later excelled. One, Tom, is now athletic director and vice-principal of Farrington High School.

Kiyosaki thinks his elder sister Cherry (Mrs. Richard Sakakaida) really should have gone on to the university.

But in the Oriental tradition that was still strong in the Nisei generation, he, the eldest son, enrolled at the University of Hawaii in the fall of 1938.

For a professional educator, Kiyosaki's higher education is something of a paradox.

Partly as the result of the collegiate speed-up of the war years, he completed work on his bachelor's degree in 3½ years, finishing in December, 1941, then put in his "fifth" year for a teacher's certificate by the following August.

But he never found the time to complete the formalities for a graduate degree.

He took graduate work at the University of Hawaii and later at Stanford and the University of Chicago, and still has the dusty manuscript of the master's thesis he never presented—a study of the assessment of teaching effectiveness—around somewhere.

It was not until he was well into his collegiate career that he decided on the field of education.

He first planned to major in sugar technology, but dropped that idea the year he entered school, and switched to engineering. An old friend and adviser on Maui, Mrs. Henry W. Baldwin, influenced him to switch to education.

Kiyosaki was classified 4–F in his original medical examination for the draft, because of his eyesight and an underweight condition, and he was rejected when he sought to enlist in the 442nd Infantry with his classmates.

The wartime transportation crisis also ruled out graduate study on the Mainland. As early as 1939, reservations on civilian passenger liners were required a year in advance.

But, spurred by the late Dean Benjamin Wist and Verne Sayers of the old Teacher's College, he plunged into his professional field.

After a year teaching at Lahaina on his home island, he became an intern supervisor, checking the work of his old classmates.

He recalls he was "an All-American substitute teacher" in those days.

It was in this capacity, in 1944, that Kiyosaki met a registered nurse from Honolulu named Marjorie Ogawa, who was working in the plantation hospital in Kohala on on the Big Island. They were married two years later.

Kiyosaki served as supervisor of practice teachers at University High School and instructor of education until, in 1954, he decided to get his growing family out of Honolulu.

He investigated an offer as instructor at the fledgling University of Hawaii Hilo Branch, then housed in the venerable Hilo Boarding School.

But he didn't like the prospects, and he looked in on Ernest de Silva, then Big Isle district superintendent of the Department of Public Instruction.

De Silva needed a field assistant in secondary education. Kiyosaki took the post.

Five years later, in March, 1959, he was named deputy superintendent, and a month after that he was named superintendent after de Silva's death.

He had, literally, a baptism of fire and water.

Early in 1960, a lava flow destroyed Kapoho School in Puna, and in May that year a tidal wave disrupted schools in Hilo for many weeks.

But he met those emergencies and later ones, and began building a record that marked him for consideration of the State superintendency as early as 1963.

Kiyosaki is no educational faddist; he dislikes "gimmicks" but does not reject an idea simply because it is new.

For instance, he was dissatisfied with methods of grading and reports, and developed the State's first uniform report card system on the Big Island.

His district also pioneered in in-service training and teacher evaluation programs.

He encouraged independent thinking and experimentation, as for instance the Keaukaha Language Project, the brainchild of the current district superintendent, Harry Chuck, in which English is taught as virtually a foreign language to children more at home with pidgin.

He also supported the "big room" team-teaching project of the late Kalanianaole School principal Henry Gouveia, which won national recognition.

State legislators have long drawn on his administrative facility in working up budgets and writing legislation affecting the Department of Education.

He helped work out program budgeting back in 1960, leading to the current lump sum budgets.

But he believes the crisis in education will not be solved simply by more money, more teachers, more training aids and gimmicks.

The new generation of students is considerably more sophisticated than those of a decade or so ago, he is convinced, and they must necessarily know more about space, electronics, nuclear physics, and the new sciences. The whole drift of educational philosophy has, in fact, been toward the coldly objective scientific approach, he believes.

And this has been at the expense of the more personal subjects, the humanities.

He wonders whether this may be at the root of the amoral trend of youth today, with its manifestations of juvenile delinquency and lack of involvement.

Is there time, in the normal school day and normal year, for the student to absorb both the hard facts of science and the tempering subjectivity of the humanities?

Are the schools using the right materials? The right methods and personnel?

Kiyosaki intends to find out.

For the moment, however, he is concerned with running the Peace Corps Training Center in Hilo and the usual problems of getting ready to move.

The Kiyosakis have four children, Robert, 19, a student at the Merchant Marine Academy in King's Point, New York; Barbara, 18, a freshmen at the University of Hawaii; John, 17, who will graduate Hilo High School this spring, and Beth, 15, a sophomore at Hilo High.

Students, CIA Rate Praise, Not Probes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the current furor over the real and alleged activities of the Central Intelligence Agency is a matter of reasonable concern to many Americans. What is not so reasonable is the hysteria with which these revelations have been greeted in some quarters. An editorial appearing in the Jackson, Mich., Citizen Patriot, February 18, 1967, reflects a mature reaction that is refreshing in an atmosphere that is so charged with sensation.

I am pleased to make these timely views available to my colleagues as I believe it will help provide a balanced appraisal of this controversy. The editorial entitled "Students, CIA Rate Praise, Not Probes" follows:

STUDENTS, CIA RATE PRAISE NOT PROBES

The current to-do about the joint operations of the Central Intelligence Agency and the National Student Association should make Americans blush.

Not because of the covert nature of the arrangement, but because of the naivete that shows through when such an association is bared.

The typical American response is that of the boy caught with his hand in the cookie jar, and it is a reaction peculiar to people of this country.

The Central Intelligence Agency is an espionage and counter-espionage organization created to work unashamedly in the international, and consequently national, interests of the United States.

Its work must be covert. Spies never successfully work in the open, and there would be no point of having an espionage outfit at all if it had to forgo the essential trappings of the trade.

As for the CIA's connection with the student group, it should come as no surprise to find that secretive spies had utilized the available weapons of their trade to carry out their assigned tasks.

The need for the association was brought about by the Soviet Union and its satellites who were pouring untold quantities of money into the effort of controlling international campuses of the free nations as well—the United States included.

One reputable source reports the students first approached the government for funds, and the CIA thus gained its toe-hold.

How it got started is really not the point. The point is that the CIA needed student help on foreign campuses in order to obtain data it felt useful for protecting the sovereignty of this country.

That the students who knew of the plans were in full agreement bolsters the CIA position. There is nothing inherently wrong with students volunteering to help their country any more than it is for non-students. They were not forced into the union, nor coerced into helping.

The only harm done by the arrangement is the revelation it existed, for now the cloak of anonymity is stripped from the individuals and what may well have been an extremely important listening post is lost.

While all of the screaming for investigation is going on there is a tendency to lose sight of one of the primary aims of the arrangement.

American students overseas were able to determine who was behind various movements on campuses back home, why and how they were organized.

That information, fed into the Federal Bureau of Investigation or other police agencies, could, and probably did, go a long way toward keeping foreign agents in sight, or at least knowing what they were up to.

The same persons who are weeping and wailing over the actions of the CIA overseas are strangely silent about delving into some campus groups in this country.

Time and time again reputable persons who are in a position to know, including the venerable spy-fighter, J. Edgar Hoover, have stated categorically that this or that campus outfit was in the business of trying to destroy the United States through subversion.

We are so naive as a nation that we yell with surprise when the CIA-campus ties overseas are brought to light, yet we tolerate the same thing—in this country when it involves foreign powers and their, or our own, students, J. Edgar Hoover notwithstanding.

The citizens of the United States must accept the facts of life as they exist: CIA spies are no different than other spies (except, we hope, more efficient), and the students they work with are patriotic volunteers.

In fact, the nation should cheer the students and former students who thought enough of their country to help out. There is nothing wrong with patriotism.

The Report on Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker—

> Taken as a whole . . . this wealth of knowledge and advice tells the country what it must now do to guarantee public order.

With these words, the Washington Post this week recognized the value of the report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice.

This distinguished Commission, aided by hundreds of experts from various fields, conducted a mammoth study of crime in America and our system of criminal justice. Its invaluable report, based on this study, outlines a national strategy for attacking crime.

I congratulate the Commission for a job well done and believe its findings and recommendations should be given the most careful consideraton by the Congress and throughout the country.

The editorial on the report, whch was published on February 19 in the Washington Post, follows:

THE REPORT ON CRIME

"If this report has not conveyed the message that sweeping and costly changes in criminal administration must be made throughout the country in order to effect a significant reduction in crime, then it has not expressed what the Commission strongly believes." In the several hundred pages preceding this sentence, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice describes in detail this country's obsolete and overburdened police, court and correction systems.

Law enforcement in this country has fallen into a situation very similar to that of the schools. The big cities have been changing, profoundly and rapidly, around the schoolhouse, the courthouse and the police station. But within those buildings not much has happened, except the spread of a pervasive pessimism as the old methods cease to work effectively. Not enough money has been spent on these particular buildings, but the essential trouble runs deeper. Police departments and courts, like schools, are usually highly ingrown organizations. New ideas and new technology are adopted only very slowly.

"There is probably no subject of comparable concern to which the Nation is devoting so many resources and so much effort with so little knowledge of what it is doing," the Commission observed. The Defense Department's systems studies can be applied to police administration. New communications equipment, and new weapons like the nonlethal gun, promise safer and more efficient operations. New methods of social analysis offer the country, for the first time, generally accurate information describing the true volume of crime and the sources of criminality.

The best of this report is its powerful demonstration that the crime rate begins with children. Here the correctional system is not working at all: "The more serious the first offense for which a juvenile is arrested, the more likely he is to continue to commit serious crimes. . . ." The Commission observes that, in addition to improvements in the police and court procedures, any realistic attempt to reduce juvenile crime must include deep changes in the schools and the welfare programs. Crime, the report makes very clear, is not the work merely of a deviant few; most Americans have committed crimes, and not always trivial ones, without detection. It is a characteristic of our society, and to change the crime rates we shall have to change, in some degree, that society. No amount of efficiency within the police department will make streets safe, without many other changes in the governance of the cities.

The worst of this report is the shocking "additional view" written by four members and concurred in by three others; it constitutes an open and explicit assault on the Fifth Amendment. These gentlemen, in their passion to catch criminals, appear to have forgotten that tampering with the Bill of Rights promises far worse evils than random robberies and larcenies. But these seven constitute, fortunately, a minority of the Commission.

Taken as a whole, standing beside the recent report of the District Crime Commission, this wealth of knowledge and advice tells the country what it must now do to guarantee public order. It will not be easy, for these recommendations violate many encrusted and cherished traditions. They will not be inexpensive. But the costs of criminality run far higher. There is the grevious cost in injuries to the victims of violent crime. There is the hidden tax, the equivalent of a sales tax of one to two percent, assessed on all retail trade by the high level of thievery. There is the incalculable cost, as the Commission eloquently explains, of the fear of crime; it is a corrosive fear that sets Americans against Americans to the great damage of the country. In this Commission's report, the country now possesses a clear and authoritative guide toward a remedy.

Reform of the Draft—Proposals of Representative Schweiker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, as we await the report of the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service, many of us are proceeding with our own reviews of the present draft system and its obvious deficiencies. One of the constructive critics of the draft is the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCHWEIKER], who recently advanced a number of sensible proposals to reverse the present age priorities of the draft, make student deferments more rational, and greatly improve appeal procedures. I am glad to be associated with his efforts, and hope that these recommendations will receive wide consideration.

In its lead editorial of February 13, the Baltimore Sun commended Congressman SCHWEIKER for offering "excellent suggestions aimed at making the draft both dependable and fair." As the Sun concluded, "Congressmen interested in improving the new law ought to look into these proposals."

The editorial follows:

DRAFT DEFERMENTS

Debate on the draft always gets around to student deferments. The present system is unfair. Young men who can afford college and post-graduate studies use the system not just to delay induction, but to avert it. A series of deferments leads to marriage and fatherhood, a draft haven, or to arrival at a draft-secure age. That's not what the system intended, but that's what it results in.

According to "informed source" leaks in Washington, the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service is planning to recommend gradual abolition of student deferments. That would deal with the draft avoiders in schools, but it would not allow conscientious young men to get an education before service—an education that would be an asset to them and the military.

A better idea is advanced by Representative Schweiker, a member of the Armed Services Committee. He suggests student deferments that are just that—*deferments*. A young man who was 1-A when he entered college would be 1–A when he got out, despite any new family status. Schweiker would have the draft take the youngest rather than the oldest 1-A's first. A 22-year-old college graduate who had been deferred since 18 would go into the 18-year-old pool at graduation, just where he was when he got his deferment.

Schweiker has apparently given the whole problem of the draft much study. He makes several other excellent suggestions aimed at making the draft both dependable and fair. The basic draft law expires this June. Congressmen interested in improving the new law ought to look into these proposals.

Hon. James A. Farley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, I am indeed a most fortunate individual. The reason I say this is because I am able to consider among my closest personal and political friends a great American and a great Democrat, Mr. James A. Farley.

I was most fortunate to have Mr. Farley serve as an honorary chairman on a committee for my reelection to the U.S. House of Representatives during the 1966 campaign.

As the Democratic national committeewoman from the great State of New York and as a Congressman from the 12th District of that State, I am happy to work for the commonweal with the wise counsel of Mr. Farley. I hope that we in this Nation and in particular we in New York State may benefit from his sound judgment and loyal support for many years to come. May we all work together in order to revitalize and rejuvenate the Democratic Party in New York State, so that we may better serve the public welfare.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I would like to place two articles in the RECORD, which were prompted by Mr. Farley's recent visit with our President, Lyndon B. Johnson:

FARLEY SEES L.B.J. WINNING 1968 ELECTION

James A. Farley, who has a pretty good record in calling elections, said yesterday that President Johnson is "bound to run" in 1968 and that "he's bound to win."

Asked who would be the Republican nominee, Farley said that "at the moment" the front runners were Gov. George Romney of Michigan and former Vice President Richard M. Nixon.

"It would be a great thing for the Democratic Party if either one was the nominee," Farley said.

The former Postmaster General and former Chairman of the Democratic National Committee made his comments at the White House after a call on President Johnson.

Farley is now 78 and board chairman of Coca-Cola Export Corp. Still ram-rod straight, he appeared to be in excellent health and spirits.

Asked about the recent criticism of the President by Democratic Governors, Farley said that their comments surprised him. Some of them owe their elections to the President, he said, and "they ought to show, in my judgment, more loyalty to the Democratic Party."

As to the conduct of the Vietnam war, Farley said the President had given "great leadership," and he noted that no President has ever been repudiated while the country was at war.

Farley was not so optimistic about the condition of the Democratic Party in New York State. Questioned about its difficulties, he said "time won't permit me to tell you what I think of that."

But he did criticize leaders of the Liberal Party and of organized labor for failing to support the party. He said he believed Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D-N.Y.) was working to rejuvenate the Democratic Party in New York.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Jan. 19, 1967]

JOHNSON WILL RUN IN 1968, FARLEY SAYS

(By Garnett D. Horner)

James A. Farley said today there is no doubt in his mind that President Johnson will run again in 1968—and will be reelected by a big majority.

The former postmaster general and veteran Democratic campaigner, remarkably agile at 78, talked with reporters after conferring with the President at the White House.

Farley said he and Johnson did not discuss the question of running again. But, Farley added, "he is bound to run and bound to win." He also said that no president "was ever repudiated as a candidate while the country was at war."

Asked who he thought the 1968 Republican candidate for president would be, Farley said that at the moment he thinks it would be either Michigan Gov. George Romney or former Vice President Richard M. Nixon.

"It would be a great thing for the Democratic party if either one was the nominee," he added.

Farley said he was "not disturbed" by polls showing a big drop in Johnson's popularity during recent months.

Despite criticism of the President's Vietnam policy, he said, he thinks Johnson has given "great leadership" in the Vietnam war and is convinced that a "vast majority of the people support our efforts there."

He said he always had thought that Johnson came to the presidency better equipped for the post than any president in history. And he said Johnson's administration had gotten more significant legislation through Congress than any before.

Farley said he is sure the things the President "has done for this country" have the support of most of the American people, and that this will be demonstrated at the polls next year.

Farley said he was surprised at the action of some Democratic governors last month in blaming Johnson for Republican gains in the off-year elections last November.

"The things for those fellows to do," he added, "is to realize they would not be where they are but for Democrats and that they should be more loyal to the party."

Governor Reagan Plans Citizen Involvement in State Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, Gov. Ronald Reagan of my home State of California is pioneering in a plan for greater citizen participation in State government. He began by having three of the top accounting firms in California make a complete audit of State finances. The audit did not cost the taxpayers one cent. But it showed that under the previous administration the State government was spending $1 million more a day than it was receiving in revenue.

The Christian Science Monitor of February 15, 1967, carries an informative article on Governor Reagan's plans to draw more heavily on the talent and creativity of the private sector of California's citizenry.

Here follows the article, for the information of House Members:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Feb. 15, 1967]

BUSINESS VOLUNTEERS: REAGAN REVIVES $1-A-YEAR JOBS

(By John C. Waugh)

SACRAMENTO, CALIF.—That old political throwback—the dollar-a-year man—is trying for a major comeback in California.

The new Republican Governor, Ronald Reagan, hopes to dust him off, remold him, reshape him, refit him, refine him, and let him burrow deep into California state government.

Governor Reagan and his running mate in the past election campaign, Lt. Gov. Robert Finch, stood at podiums around the state and dreamed aloud of enlisting the private sector heavily in the business of government. They dreamed it would be cost-free to the state.

In part it seems to be a dream coming true. Even before he took office, the new Governor persuaded three accounting firms to audit the state's finances. The three did so—free. They just finished telling the Governor that they find the state spending $1 million a day more than it takes in.

Not all the free help the Governor hopes to enlist is expected to produce such bad news.

Mr. Finch, right after the election, persuaded a Los Angeles businessman, H. C. (Chad) McClellan, to set up a statewide private job hunt for men on welfare. Now the McClellan project—at no cost to the state—represents the heart of the Governor's welfare program.

And shortly, Governor Reagan intends to bring some 150 businessmen into government for an intensive 32-week look at various state operations to see how they can be run better for less.

Eventually, Mr. Finch predicts, the state will enlist still other troops from the private sector to help govern the state. "We've got some things in mind," he says, "but I can't announce them yet."

Mr. Finch also says the Reagan administration hopes, after the present university budget-cut controversy dies down, to lure academic personnel in to do research for the state.

The Reagan administration hopes to pay for most of these things with a combination of free talent—donated by private industry—and foundation money.

The Governor even asked that state employees show up for work on holidays. On Lincoln's Birthday, however, the idea was overwhelmingly rejected when fewer than 200 workers out of 166,000 in the state went to work. A similar result is expected on Feb. 22, Washington's Birthday.

Governor Reagan is banking on involvement of the private sector in the business of government as the one thing that will perhaps most distinguish his administration. It's what he means when he talks loftly of a "creative society."

Volunteerism is a basic tenet in the Reagan political philosophy. He says he thinks government is best which is citizen-oriented. He said so over and over in the campaign, and his key appointments reflect this philosophy.

GRAND-SCALE TALENT AND PROBLEMS

His staff and departments are sprinkled with citizen types, mostly businessmen and young lawyers with little past political experience, on leave from their jobs. It's almost as if the whole government is on temporary loan from someplace else, including the Governor.

Mr. Finch thinks California is uniquely suited to this kind of grand-scale experimentation with the private sector. It has the private talent on a grand scale and problems on a grand scale.

"All the environmental problems we face are so vast today," he says, "that government alone can't hope to solve them anymore. It is not enough for a businessman, for instance, now to say, 'I paid my taxes, let government take care of it.' We've got to break out of that bind, beginning with the civil-rights problem. The private sector has just got to assume a greater obligation."

Since Mr. Finch thinks civil rights is the most pressing problem of all, this is getting major attention. It is what the McClellan drive to employ unemployed Negroes is all about. It is why Mr. Finch is heading a Job Opportunity Council to try to retrain unskilled workers on welfare—most of them Negroes.

California's other major experiment with the private sector—the plan to enlist a team of businessmen to put state government under a microscope—isn't unique.

Washington and Ohio have both done it in recent years. Washington state brought in businessmen to study various departments and recommend new ideas. The ploy wound up saving the state $75 million to $80 million the first year and about $60 million in recurrent years.

The same Chicago consulting firm that set up the Washington and Ohio plans—Warren King & Associates—has been called in to help California. Mr. King himself has been snooping around the Capitol staking out areas of potential study.

HOTEL MEN INVITED

California will launch its businessmen-in-temporary-residence program within the next month and a half. Then for 32 weeks some 150 businessmen will spread out in teams through Califoria government looking for ways to run things better and save money.

Since California, for instance, beds down more people than anybody else in the country, hotel men will come in for a look.

Sandy Quinn, a key Reagan aide, explains it this way: "We will say to a big hotel chain, for instance, 'Look, you have a trouble shooter who goes around to recommend how you can improve your operations and save money. Let us borrow him for 32 weeks.' "

The state is also a major purchaser of things. So purchasing experts from the outside will come in and tell the state how to purchase better for less.

The Reagan administration met with more than 100 corporation presidents and board chairmen in Los Angeles in early February. Those executive have since pledged among them more than 100 of their top-level people to the project—free of charge.

A big-name chairman to oversee the project will be picked shortly and will probably spend most of his time for the next six months in Sacramento coordinating the project. His salary: 50 cents probably.

Some things government does just don't lend themselves to business methods. They involve things more human and intangible than cost control, quality control, and the profit motive.

No matter what a businessman wants to do, he can't do much about hiring or firing or moving around a civil servant. Business measures can't define a needy child.

But the Governor's chief staff aide, Philip M. Battaglia, thinks some of the things now missing in government but present in business can be fused in for a more efficient operation. And that's what he intends to pay the new gang of dollar-a-year men to do.

"S O S: Help Save Our Past": A Proposal by the Friends of the South Street Maritime Museum

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, a very imaginative proposal has been made in New York City by a group called Friends of the South Street Maritime Museum. Peter Stanford, the chairman, has created considerable interest in this proposal which grew in response to an all-too familiar situation in the Nation's large cities—the threatened eradication of the heritage of our past in order to make way for the new.

New York City is preparing to tear down its historic Fulton Fish Market. There is a series of historic blocks adjacent to this site where buildings and wharves from the late 18th century remain intact. In this downtown waterfront area New Yorkers once watched such exciting and memorable bits of local history as the trial run of New

York's first steam ferry, the building of the Brooklyn Bridge, and the departure of many adventurous individuals for the gold rush.

In an effort to save this site, where many present-day New Yorkers spend time gazing and recalling the past or lolling on warm Sunday afternoons away from the rush of heavily populated areas, it is proposed to turn this area into a "living museum," of which the South Street Maritime Museum would be an integral part.

I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues an article by Emory Lewis, which appeared in Cue magazine on February 11 including a detailed account of the project. The article follows:

[From Cue magazine, Feb. 11, 1967]

SOS: HELP SAVE OUR PAST—NOBLE PLAN FOR FULTON STREET

To preserve or to destroy? This is a most pertinent question at the moment. New York's architectural and historical heritage has been disappearing in this city at a scandalous rate. We are—almost—a city without an observable past. However, a rare opportunity to preserve a bit of our priceless heritage is now available to New Yorkers who feel a city should honor its past as well as its present. This chance will not come again.

Nowhere in the city has such an unbroken facade of Old New York miraculously survived as the blocks adjacent to the soon-to-be-discarded Fulton Fish Market. From these historic blocks, in an area bounded by Fulton, Front, Beekman, and South streets, New Yorkers once watched the trial run of New York's first steam ferry, the building of the Brooklyn Bridge, and the sailings of the Yankee clippers on their fabled voyages to Hong Kong and the Gold Rush town of San Francisco. The houses were built in the period ranging from the late eighteenth century to 1811. Schermerhorn Row, on the south side of Fulton, from numbers 2 to 18, is particularly rich, architecturally. These houses may all disappear when the Fish Market goes. Or, miracle of miracles, they may become a metropolitan museum.

At the moment, a far-sighted group of New Yorkers calling themselves the Friends of the South Street Maritime Museum have banded together to save these threatened landmarks and open a living museum (see model on this page) in this choice enclave. The growing number includes publisher Bennett Cerf; landmarks expert State Senator Whitney North Seymour, Jr.; *Yachting* publisher C. R. Rimington; Edouard Stackpole, a former curator who brought Old Mystic, Conn., to national fame, and Howard Chapelle, curator of transportation at the Smithsonian. The Municipal Art Society, the State Legislature, and Governor Nelson Rockefeller have all given their blessings to this project.

The museum must become a reality, not only to save these architectural gems but at the same time to present the city with a seaport museum the equal of, say, the San Francisco Maritime Museum. This could be an urban Mystic Seaport with vintage vessels tied up on the waterfront as well as colorful indoor exhibitions. There are now available and in fine condition proud trading and fishing schooners and square-riggers built in the nineteenth century. The museum could also include restaurants and shops. Certainly that superb and venerable seafood restaurant, Sweet's, at 2 Fulton Street, should be included in the complex. And certainly the colorful curiosity shop of amiable Louis Cohen, the Eagle Bag and Burlap Company, which is chock-full of ivories, brasses, rugs, etc., from all over the globe, should be kept at its present location at 12 Fulton Street. Both the restaurant and the unusual shop are familiar and beloved tenants in Schermerhorn Row.

The next step is up to you. For one dollar, you can become a member of the Friends of the South Street Maritime Museum. Additional contributions are, of course, welcome. Send your monies and your support to the Friends of the South Street Maritime Museum, P.O. Box 3666, Grand Central Station, New York 10017. Or, if you prefer, simply write them for more information. Perhaps this preservation plan, if it becomes reality, might encourage several other landmarks projects in the downtown area of Manhattan.

Shall Old New York become merely a page in a musty history book? If we act now—when these historic Georgian houses are still available—we can assure a living museum in the downtown area for ourselves and our children.

—EMORY LEWIS.

Arvid Paulson—Man of Letters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, Arvid Paulson, my constituent, is world-renowned as the translator of the works of August Strindberg. His translations are not merely by rote, but are a labor of love, bringing to the English language the true essence, as well as the content and language of Strindberg and other Scandinavian authors.

The Scandinavian-American Bulletin of December 1966 writes of Arvid Paulson as "The Scandinavian of the Month," and I am privileged to bring this article to the attention of my colleagues:

THE SCANDINAVIAN OF THE MONTH: ARVID PAULSON: NOTED ACTOR AND MAN OF LETTERS

It has been said rather frequently, and with a great deal of justification, that the Scandinavian countries are fortunate in having so many cultural apostles active around the world. Aside from the more or less official spreaders of the gospel of the excellence of Scandinavian arts and letters, we have a large number of individuals who, because of their national background, through study or travel, or just a plain sense of identification, will go out and acquaint that sleeping giant, the Public, with the achievements of which the Northern peoples are rightly proud. And Sweden is indeed fortunate in having such an apostle in the man who has been selected as "The Scandinavian of the Month" for December.

Reading the last line some readers may object and say that it is only August Strindberg who has an apostle in Arvid Paulson. Whether that is so or not, the reader might suspend judgment until he has read this entire presentation of a man whose entire life has been devoted to literature and the theater. In any case, it will be agreed that Arvid Paulson has done yeoman work for his native land; the list of his roles on the stage and of his translations is as long as a yard-arm, and he has never tired in the effort to make Swedish and other Scandinavian literature and drama better known in ever widening circles, circles which take in the entire English-speaking world.

Arvid Paulson was born in the historical and progressive city of Helsingborg, and came to the United States at the age of sixteen. In those days teenagers had to toe the line, and the young immigrant began work with the Swedish-American newspaper Svea in Worcester, Mass., first as reporter and then as editor for a brief period. There he appeared in amateur theatricals, but as his ambition was for a professional stage career, he realized this could only be attained by going to New York. After appearing there in a number of plays in Swedish, he was during that time seen by the distinguished acrtess Carlotta Nillson in Charles Rann Kennedy's The Servant in the House. Through her he obtained a small but important role in The Beauty Spot, in which he won acclaim from coast to coast.

In 1914 he joined the Washington Square Players, an organization which later grew into the Theatre Guild. He appeared in the first Andreyev play seen in America, Love of One's Neighbor, in the pantomime The Shepherd in the Distance, and in two Hauptmann plays, Elga and The Weavers. His complete breakthrough as an actor, however, did not come until the spring of 1917 when he received the plaudits of public and critics alike for his performance in The Willow Tree. At this time he was also producing and directing a number of Ibsen and Strindberg dramas, both in English and in Swedish, among them, An Enemy of the People, In the Face of Death, Simoon, and The Stronger.

When the U.S. declared war on Germany in April 1917, Arvid Paulson was the first actor to volunteer and as a sergeant in the Corps of Intelligence performed valuable services in France and Germany. He returned to the stage, and also not long after presented dramas in a new medium: radio. On WGBS he gave two Scandinavian plays, Eyes that Cannot See by the Danish author Albert Gnudtzmann, and Ibsen's Peer Gynt, the latter in its world radio premiére. Paulson not only wrote the radio version but acted the role of Peer, and directed the play, which was given again over WEAF and, in 1932, over WOR, when he employed the largest cast ever used on radio, and a complete symphony orchestra. During his career he has appeared in no less than seven Ibsen roles.

In 1933 he appeared in Pigeons and People, in which George M. Cohan had written the part of Tokem especially for Paulson. Two years before Cohan had written the role of Saki with Paulson in mind, in his play A Well-known Woman, and in this performance The Philadelphia Ledger gave Paulson unstinted praise. During the next decade or so the theater-going public saw him in such varied plays as The Bat, Madame President, Electra, Ghosts, When We Dead Awaken, Macbeth, The Ghost Train, Mother Carey's Chickens, and Goin' Home. His last New York appearance was in The Innocent Voyage, in which he acted the role of a Swedish sea captain, a role he spoke entirely in Swedish.

Arvid Paulson has also appeared in a number of motion pictures (during his early years on the stage). During the Second World War he was asked to play one of the leading roles in a classified motion picture for the Army. And it was Paulson who coined that war poster slogan seen everywhere during the war years: "Loose lips might sink ships."

Following a very serious accident Mr. Paulson has in the postwar period concentrated on the translation of Scandinavian plays into English. And few men have been better endowed nor had a more valuable background for that particular task! Among the Scandinavian authors it is Strindberg who is his first love, and it is perhaps a rare occurrence in literature for a great writer to owe so much to one single translator. For Paulson has not only been productive, but has also turned out translations of the highest quality, in regard to style and the suitability of the translations to be actually performed on the stage. Among his Strindberg translations, most of which have been performed on radio, television or on the stage, are The Father, Miss Julie, The Great Highway, Lucky Per's Journey, To Damascus, The Ghost Sonata, and many others. His translations have been collected in several volumes, many available in paperback. Arvid Paulson has also translated Letters of Strindberg to Harriet Bosse as well as Strindberg's famous novel The Natives of Hemsö. Another Strindberg novel, The Scapegoat, will appear in 1967.

But Paulson has not confirmed himself to Strindberg, nor to Sweden. He has translated plays by Björnson, Ibsen, Alvilde Pryz, Gustaf af Geijerstam, Hans Alin, Prince Wilhelm, and others. He was also the founder and chairman of the Ibsen Memorial Committee of New York, established at Ibsen's centenary and reorganized later for the purpose of having a bust or statue of Ibsen erected at Lincoln Center. Would that some one would seize this idea and bring it to fruition!

In recognition of his efforts in promoting the cultural relations between the U.S. and his native land Arvid Paulson has been decorated by the King of Sweden; he was also the first to be awarded a gold metal by the Swedish Academy for translating Swedish literature into a foreign language. Among other honors to come to him are the Merit Award of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and an invitation to appear in readings of his translations at the Library of Congress. During a visit in Sweden last summer he was elected an honorary member of Gillet Gamla Helsingborg, a distinguished social and cultural society in his native city.

Still going strong as what others may consider a feverish pace, Arvid Paulson continues to produce translations unrivaled in their excellence and thus helps to bring closer together two worlds of thought and ideas—that of the United States and that of Scandinavia. The fact that they today are very close indeed is due to the work of men like Arvid Paulson!

The Future of the Federal Power Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. MOSS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 24, 1967

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall wrote an interesting and informative article in the January 1967 issue of Public Power. Entitled "Future of the Federal Power Program," the article discusses present and projected plans to meet the electricity needs of the Nation. Secretary Udall explained in the article:

> The role of the Federal Government in the Nation's electric power industry is changing—but its goal is not. The goal continues to be an abundant supply of low-cost power for all our people.

Citing the importance of joint action among electric utilities and the necessity of reliability, Secretary Udall predicted that in 25 years, the United States would still "have the finest, most efficient and most reliable power system in the world."

In one of his recommendations the Secretary states:

> The Commission (FPC) should have the power to assure that the giant new EHV transmission networks which are developing throughout the land are best adapted to the needs of the regions they serve, and that they do not become tools of discrimination against other utilities or service areas.

The provisions of my measure—H.R. 2311—would enhance, substantially, the orderly development to which Secretary Udall refers. The entire article follows:

FUTURE OF THE FEDERAL POWER PROGRAM

(By Stewart L. Udall, Secretary of the Interior)

The role of the Federal Government in the Nation's electric power industry is changing—but its goal is not. The goal continues to be an abundant supply of low-cost power for all our people.

In the past the Federal Government has developed multipurpose river projects, sold hydro power at wholesale to preference customers, and thus provided a yardstick for power rates and helped prevent monopoly.

We shall continue to develop new multipurpose river projects and sell power to preference customers. But the fact is that while electric loads are doubling every 10 years we are running out of undeveloped river projects to meet preference customer load growth. In the Columbia River Basin, for example, the Bonneville Power Administration has assured hydro resources to meet preference customer load growth only until about 1980, and possibly not even that long. BPA foresees a regional need for a one million-kw thermal plant as early as 1973, and a thermal plant that big or bigger each year starting in 1975.

SHARING TECHNOLOGY

In the future Federal hydro will be used more and more for peaking, and as the good hydro sites are developed, the Federal role in the West more and more will be to assure access for all to new technology as compared with actual provision of the energy in the past.

Fortunately, mounting pressures of load growth are quickening the pace of new technology and new techniques in the power field. Power pooling, both for planning and operating purposes, is the natural outgrowth of these pressures. To encourage establishment of pools and to participate in them in various ways increasingly is becoming one of the most important aspects of the changing Federal role.

If each public agency or cooperative which traditionally has relied heavily on Federal multipurpose projects could supplement its supply by building its own thermal plant, the problem might easily be solved. But this is not a practical solution. The most efficient thermal plants are big—one million kw and larger. Whether publicly or privately owned, few utilities acting alone can finance, build and utilize the output of a plant this size.

So the challenge comes into focus; how to bring together publicly and privately-owned utilities to plan, finance, build and share the benefits of the most efficient generating plants and EHV transmission lines American engineers can design; how to integrate these large new plants and lines with the valuable hydro peaking plants owned by the Federal Government; and how to accomplish all of this in such a way that the identities of individual systems, large and small, public and private, are not destroyed?

PATTERNS EMERGING

I believe the patterns are beginning to emerge, all over America but particularly in the West.

Just this past summer the Interior Department helped to work out a series of agreements with members of a new planning organization in the Pacific Southwest called Western Energy Supply and Transmission Associates. WEST, as it is commonly known, is now comprised of 11 private companies, eight public and municipally owned systems and three G&T cooperatives.

Under the auspices of WEST, two large 750-megawatt, coal-fired steam plants and over 1,000 miles of associated EHV transmission are being built by utilities in the Southwest. Additional steam plants are in the planning stages. Public agencies will share in the output. Negotiations are seeking to provide a basis for integrating WEST-sponsored plants with Federal hydro capacity.

Our agreements provide for water supply, utilization of Indian-owned coal and transmission rights of way across Indian and Federally-owned lands. For the first time in agreements of this nature, the utilities agree to abate air and water pollution caused by operation of coal-fired steam electric generating plants.

From the conservation standpoint, these are very important stipulations. But equally important, in terms of the Federal Government's changing role in the Nation's power picture, we did not agree to the arrangements until WEST broadened its membership to include additional public agencies and three REA-financed G&T cooperatives. We believe that consumer-owned utilities must have the opportunity to participate in the economies of large-scale generation and transmission projects.

Regardless of their ownership—public, cooperative or private—electric utilities have one basic job: to serve the people in the most economical, efficient and reliable way possible. Each system, each segment of the industry, has a very important job to perform, and the benefits of new planning techniques, new technologly, pooling and interconnections must be available to all.

IMPROVED POOLING

Happily, the concept of pooling of both generation and transmission is being accepted in the industry. During the past five years many significant pooling arrangements have been consummated. TVA has reached agreement with some 19 Southwest utilities for construction of 500-kv a.c. lines which will ultimately increase the load-carrying capability of both TVA and the combined systems by 1½ million kw. In the Upper Midwest the Missouri Basin Systems Group is a unique pool of over 100 preference systems and the Bureau of Reclamation. In much the same region we now have the Mid-Continent Area Power Planners (MAPP), which is another pool consisting of private utilities and some preference customers.

The Pacific Northwest-Pacific Southwest Intertie is another example of the changing role of the Federal Government in the Nation's power business. In that, the Nation's largest single transmission undertaking, the Bonneville Power Administration and the Bureau of Reclamation are joined by the City of Los Angeles and a group of privately-owned utilities in building four giant lines—two 500-kv a.c. and two 750-kv d.c.—that will spread power benefits through 11 western states. Some 250 publicly owned systems will benefit to one degree or another.

In this instance, the Federal Government is pioneering—along with the City of Los Angeles and Southern California Edison Co.—in direct current technology. To pioneer in technology will continue to be part of the Federal Government's role.

INTERCONNECTIONS AND RELIABILITY

Eventually the entire Nation will be interconnected. In early 1967 we will move closer to that goal, when the eastern and western power systems of the U.S. and Canada will be test-interconnected by the closing of three 230-kv interconnections and one 161-kv interconnection in the Missouri River Basin system (PUBLIC POWER, Dec., page 38). If serious problems are encountered, the ties will be reopened while the problems are resolved prior to going on a full operational basis.

A total of 209 major public and private power systems with capacity of nearly 245 million kw and 265,000 miles of main transmission line will be tied together when the interconnection is operational. This capacity will represent about 40% of the world's total and will form the largest interconnected power system grid the world has ever known.

But while these interconnections will represent an important step forward, we must recognize that they are merely the forerunners to the stronger ties needed in the future. It must be a national goal to beef up these small interconnections until they are as strong, for example, as the Pacific Northwest-Pacific Southwest Intertie will be.

The Northeastern blackout of November 9, 1965, marked a dramatic and rather sudden change of emphasis on strong interconnections from economy to reliability, although the former is still very important and strong interconnections are essential to both. Where the original National Power Survey of the Federal Power Commission was heavily oriented toward the economies of scale, it is now being updated with the emphasis on reliability aspects of the Nation's bulk power supply.

REGIONAL PLANNING

The blackout pointed up a lack of regional thinking and planning. While the Pacific Northwest and the Tennessee Valley have been planning their electric systems regionally for many years and several holding companies in the north central and southern states have been doing likewise, power planning until recently has been a rather fractionated, company-by-company thing. For example, the Northeast power failure revealed that the interconnected Northeast companies had no program for load-shedding or intersystem tie line tripping under emergency conditions. Vital decisions affecting proper service to one-sixth of the Nation were left in the hands of company dispatchers who had only moments to consider them and whose control room instruments could not be relied upon during those critical moments. This was hardly a regional approach to power planning.

Regional power planning, admittedly, is not easy. The objective, if each region is to have the most reliable and efficient electric system that engineers can design, must be that the many independent utility systems so coordinate their activities that they build and operate their electric properties as though they were, in fact, only one utility system. By no means am I suggesting the desirability of single ownership. Diversity of ownership improves the conditions for political liberty and this is a goal we place higher than efficienty and reliability. I believe we can have both.

We must plan and pool not only our generating and transmission resources but our financial strength, our know-how and in some cases our purchasing. We must provide mutual assistance—line crews, equipment, power supply—in time of emergency or catastrophe. There will be complicated problems of engineering, economics, finance, law and politics. Each utility, whether publicly or privately owned, may have to forego the exercise of part of its traditional sovereignty. The industry may have to seek advice and assistance from experts in other disciplines, for example, systems analysis experts from the space and aeronautical industry.

While I would be the last to argue that the best power planning for every region of our country can be done in Washington, D.C., there are important and essential types of planning that can be done on a National level. The division of the U.S. into appropriate regions for power planning, the establishment of criteria for reliable and efficient system design and operation, the encouragement of research and development work, the coordination of the work of various regional utility groups and studies of the advantages of interregional power transfers are examples of power planning that perhaps can best be done on a national basis.

ROLE OF FPC

The Federal Power Commission, which took the leadership in preparing the monumental National Power Survey, probably is the most logical Federal agency to provide leadership in organizing the National effort. I suspect that only a Federal agency could hope to bring together on either a voluntary or compulsory basis the many diverse and sometimes antagonistic elements of our Nation's electric utility industry.

The efforts of the FPC are particularly vital to the protection of the interests of small public agencies through wholesale rate jurisdiction which the FPC has, in the past several years, exercised with vigor. The Commission's power to order interconnections can also be a valuable tool in safeguarding the small utility. But this, like other areas of FPC authority, needs strengthening if the agency is to be of maximum effectiveness in protecting the public interest in an era of expanding technology and growing complexity in the electric power industry. The Commission should have the power to assure that the giant new EHV transmission networks which are developing throughout the land are best adapted to the needs of the regions they serve, and that they do not become tools of discrimination against other utilities or service areas.

NEW PATHS OF POWER PROGRESS

In the Pacific Northwest, where the Bonneville transmission system has served as the backbone grid for the Pacific Northwest Power Pool since World War II, some of the most important decisions affecting the future of the Federal power program are in the making. That region is just now beginning to plan for the transition from an all hydro power supply to one of hydro and thermal combined.

The Federal Government—BPA in this case—does not propose to build the necessary thermal plants. But BPA has the transmission and the hydro peaking and the reserves necessary to make thermal plants highly efficient and reliable. It intends to make these services available, under appropriate arrangements, to non-Federal builders of thermal plants. BPA also proposes to share in the output of the thermal plants built by others, either through exchange arrangements or direct purchase. In this manner BPA will be able to continue to serve the load growth of preference customers and industry in the Northwest; depending on the arrangements worked out, it could even continue to supply a portion of private utilities' loads if they so desire.

Precisely how all of this is to be accomplished is still to be determined. For public and private agencies there are important legal as well as technical and operating problems. Administrator David S. Black has appointed a Task Force within BPA to work with representatives of all the utilities in the region in solving these problems (Public Power, Nov, page 42). He also has signed a contract with a consulting firm, Battelle-Northwest, for a study of potential nuclear steam plant sites in the Northwest. So here, again, the Federal Government is exercising leadership and pioneering new paths of power progress.

NEW ERA IN NORTHEAST

While the role of the Federal Government in the development of the West is legend, there has never been a Federal power program in New England. Rates in New England are nearly 30% higher than in any other part of the country. But now the Dickey-Lincoln School Project on the Upper St. John River has been authorized as a Federal project, and we have $1.1 million for advance planning. This project will contribute about 800,000 kw of capacity and over one billion kwh of energy. It will provide between 75,000 kw and 100,000 kw of 8-mill energy to municipalities and cooperatives in Maine who now pay from 15 to 21 mills per kwh for their power supply. And while the first shovel of earth is yet to be turned for this project, the Federal yardstick is already being felt in New England. The utilities there are now busily planning big nuclear plants, pumped storage projects and interconnections, all of which promise lower costs of production. The Dickey-Lincoln School Project could open the way for development of an EHV system in the region, linking the hydro capacity of Canada's Maritime Provinces with New England and New York. With such a system there could be exchanges of energy, great diversity gains, improved reliability and opportunities to tap new resources, such as Churchill Falls in Canada.

DUAL-PURPOSE PIONEERING

The Federal Government is helping pioneer yet another promising field, that of gigantic nuclear-powered plants for the dual purpose of water desalinization and steam electric generation. We have agreed, subject to Congressional authorization and appropriations, to join in the construction of world's largest such plant at a site just off the southern California coast. With the Atomic Energy Commission and the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California we will participate in financing the desalting part of the plant. The Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, the Southern California Edison Co. and San Diego Gas and Electric Co. will finance and build the electric generating facilities.

The $444-million project is expected to produce 150 million gallons of fresh water daily at a delivered cost of about 27 cents per thousand gallons and 1,800,000 kw of power at costs competitive with alternative sources of power. The Interior Department is to put up $57.2 million toward capital and operating costs for the desalinization features of the plant and the AEC $15 million.

I view Intertior's participation as another example of our leadership role by assuming part of the risk in the application of new technoolgy. Never before has a plant of such magnitude been built, or even proposed. Interior is buying technical know-how by participating in a large-scale operation from which we expect to learn much. At the same time we expect this plant to contribute significantly to both the water and power needs of the region.

Joint participation of so many agencies permits a much bigger dual-purpose plant producing vastly more steam at greatly lowered steam costs. A project of this magnitude simply could not have been put together without the broad-based support it enjoys. Being part of a joint venture in this vast undertaking further is in keeping with the cooperative approach we urge on the industry, and which Interior intends to pursue.

There are many areas of the U.S. and the world where both water and power are in short supply. The marriage into a single operation of facilities to produce both water and power offers economic advantages to both, and the efforts of the Federal Government in this field will be intensified.

A MORE BEAUTIFUL AMERICA

There is another and more subtle challenge that our power programs must meet in the years ahead. It is the challenge to make the supplying of electricity to cities and farms compatible with a beautiful America. The people of our country have always been practical, first-things-first, developers. When most of the farms of America had no central station electric service and even the cities had unreliable and expensive service, our efforts were concentrated ou getting a reliable supply of low-cost electric power to every consumer. Now that job, as regards today's needs, is pretty well mastred—so much so that the public takes it for granted. But the public can be very demanding and today there is growing insistence that electric generating stations, lines and substations be designed so as not unnecessarily to mar the rural landscape or clutter urban areas. Increasingly there is public insistence that new distribution lines; and even some transmission lines, be placed underground in cities. Planning authorities are requiring better air and water pollution control measures at generating stations, and attractive planning for substations in suburban and business areas. From now on our programs and policies will reflect this basic concern for the protection and enhancement of our environment.

In this connection, I have recommended to the President a $30-million research and development program over a five-year period to advance the technology of placing power transmission lines underground. This proposed program grew out of the President's instructions to Cabinet members to review recommendations of the 1965 White House Conference on Natural Beauty for possible Federal implementation. I expect significant reductions in the cost of placing lines underground to result from this effort, and look forward to the cooperation of the entire utility industry and the manufacturers.

NEW METHODS

Finally, we must move into new methods of electric generation. Geothermal steam must be put to work and the development of fuel cells expedited. Other exotic forms of energy must be explored: thermoelectric generators, thermionic converters, magnetohydrodynamics (MHD), the fusion reactor. Solar energy research must be pushed.

How well the Federal Government performs its role will help determine where our Nation's power system stands 25 years from now. Will we then still have the finest, most efficient and most reliable power system in the world? The answer must and will be yes, for such a system is vital to our National security and the welfare of our children and generations yet to come.

Rhodesian Prime Minister Sees the Ideal in Separate Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, many of us who have opposed the unilateral declaration of independence by the Smith regime in Rhodesia have warned of the danger that Rhodesia could become another South Africa, with a rigid, dehumanizing apartheid system. The Smith government is the latest in a succession of increasingly repressive regimes which have governed Rhodesia. It would be a tragic mistake if this group of men, representing only 6 percent of the total population in Rhodesia, were to obtain permanent independence for their government.

The February 18 New York Times reports that Prime Minister Smith has stated that "separate development" for the races would be "the ideal" in Rhodesia. He has expressed similar views in the past about "separate development," a system which is very hard to distinguish from apartheid. I include the New York Times article with my remarks:

SMITH STRESSES DIVISION OF RACES—RHODESIAN SEES THE IDEAL IN SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT

SALISBURY, RHODESIA, February 17—Prime Minister Ian D. Smith said today that he believed some system of separate development for the races would be "the ideal" in Rhodesia.

"Without separate development the African can live under the wing of the European," Mr. Smith said in an interview on the Rhodesian radio. "But if the African is expected, for example, to develop his own areas, the tribal trust areas, then surely all the greater need is to educate him."

Mr. Smith's government declared its independence from Britain in November, 1965, rather than make constitutional provisions for eventual rule by the country's four million Africans.

Mr. Smith's reference to the tribal trust areas therefore was considered the most significant indication of thinking in the government.

Africans occupy land free in the tribal trust areas, which make up about half the area of Rhodesia and are occupied by about 60 percent of the African population. Greater authority for the chiefs and complete African control of the tribal trust lands apparently seem to be in Mr. Smith's mind.

He said he considered the chiefs more representative of the African masses than the Africans who are elected to Parliament, but stressed that there was no intention to raise the qualifications for voting and thus decrease the number of African voters.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TERMED AIM

"The evidence I have from Africans is that they prefer to live according to their customs, to live their own life in the same way the Europeans do," Mr. Smith said.

"What they wish to have is equal opportunity, and this, I believe, is the main problem we have to face, to insure that the African is given as good a chance in life as the European," he added.

Mr. Smith made his comments about the Africans while discussing a debate in Parliament on British Rhodesian relations.

Dealing with the possible declaration of a republic, Mr. Smith said he would regret the day such a step was taken. But he said it was increasingly difficult to argue against the main reason for declaring a republic which he said was Britain's failure to recognize Rhodesia's independence.

However, he said, there was no need for Rhodesia to become a republic until the introduction of a "new and lasting constitution." A commission was being set up to advise on the constitution, he added.

What Is a Cop?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, recently I received a letter from Mr. Jack Webb enclosing a copy of a speech entitled "What Is a Cop?" To my mind this clearly and succinctly pointed up the problems and difficulties of being a policeman and the sacrifices our policemen make in their public service. This short speech was not written from any ivory tower position but is down to earth.

The recent report of the President's Commission on Crime, visionary as it may be, will not protect a single person tonight, next week, or even next year. Our policemen are the first line of defense against crime and deserve our support and full backing. They will always have mine.

The speech follows:

WHAT IS A COP?

It's awkward having a policeman around the house. Friends drop in. A man with a badge answers the door. The temperature drops twenty degrees. Throw a party and that badge gets in the way. All of a sudden there isn't a straight man in the crowd. Everybody's a comedian. "Don't drink too much," somebody says, "or the man with the badge will run you in." . . . Or, "How's it goin', Dick Tracy? How many jaywalkers did you pinch today?" . . . And there's always the one who wants to know how many apples you stole. All at once you've lost you're first name. You're a "cop," "flatfoot," a "bull," a "dick," "John Law." You're "the fuzz," "the heat," . . . you're poison, you're trouble . . . you're bad news. They call you everything, but never a policeman. It's not much of a life . . . unless you don't mind missing a Dodger game because the hotshot phone rings . . . unless you like working Saturdays, Sundays, holidays . . . at a job that doesn't pay overtime. Oh, the pay is adequate. If you count your pennies, you can put your kid through college. But you'd better plan on seeing Europe on your television set. Then there's your first night on the beat. When you try to arrest a drunken prostitute in a Main Street bar and she rips your new uniform to shreds. You'll buy another one . . . out of your own pocket. You'll rub elbows with all the elite: pimps, addicts, thieves, bums, winos, girls who can't keep an address and men who don't care. Liars, cheats, con men, the class of Skid Row. And the heartbreak: underfed kids, beaten kids, molested kids, lost kids, crying kids, homeless kids, hit-and-run kids, broken-arm kids, broken-leg kids, broken-head kids, sick kids, dying kids, dead kids. The old people that nobody wants, the reliefers, the pensioners, the ones who walk the street cold and those who tried to keep warm and died in a three-dollar room with an unvented gas heater. You'll walk the beat and pick up the pieces. Do you have real adventure in your soul? You'd better have. You'll do time in a prowl car. It'll be a thrill-a-minute when you get an "unknown trouble" call and hit a back yard at two in the morning, never knowing who you'll meet . . . a kid with a knife . . . a pill-head with a gun, or two ex-cons with nothing to lose. And you'll have plenty of time to think. You'll draw duty in a "lonely car" . . . with nobody to talk to but your radio. Four years in uniform and you'll have the ability, the experience and maybe the desire to be a detective. If you like to fly by the seat of your pants, this is where you belong. For every crime that's committed, you've got three million suspects to choose from. Most of the time you'll have few facts and a lot of hunches. You'll run down leads that dead-end on you. You'll work all-night stakeouts that could last a week. You'll do leg work until you're sure you've talked to everybody in California . . . people who saw it happen, but really didn't. People who insist they did it, but really didn't. People who don't remember, those who try to forget. Those who tell the truth, those who lie. You'll run the files until your eyes ache. And paperwork . . . you'll fill out a report when you're right, you'll fill out a report when you're wrong, you'll fill one out when you're not sure, you'll fill one out listing your leads, you'll fill one out when you have no leads, you'll make out a report on the reports you've made. You'll write enough words in your lifetime to stock a library. You'll learn to live with doubt, anxiety, frustration, court decisions that tend to hinder rather than help you: Dorado, Morse, Escobedo, Cahan. You'll learn to live with the District Attorney, testifying in court, defense attorneys, prosecuting attorneys, judges, juries, witnesses. And sometimes you won't be happy with the outcome. But there's also this: There are over five thousand men in this city who know that being a policeman is an endless, glamorless, thankless job that must be done. I know it, too. And I'm damned glad to be one of them.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided*, That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of theHouse or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective departments or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

New York Retail Merchants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I had the opportunity of attending a luncheon given for Members of Congress from the State of New York by the Metropolitan New York Retail Merchants Association and the New York State Council of Retail Merchants on February 3, 1967, at the Biltmore Hotel in my district.

The luncheon had been arranged by Clifford A. Allanson, executive director of the New York State Council of Retail Merchants, who has long worked in legislative and other matters for the more than 2,000 department stores and other retail establishments which are members of the council.

Among other Members of Congress in attendance were: Congressman ABRAHAM J. MULTER, Congressman JACOB H. GILBERT, Congresswoman EDNA F. KELLY, and Congressman JOHN M. MURPHY.

Presiding at the luncheon was Lawrence Lachman, president of Bloomingdale's, the outstanding department store in the heart of my district. His talk emphasized the relationship between the retailers and the public, which in many ways is a relationship similar to that between the legislator and his constituent.

I am happy to bring this talk to the attention of my colleagues:

CONGRESSIONAL LUNCHEON, BILTMORE HOTEL,
FEBRUARY 3, 1967

Distinguished Members of Congress from the city of New York: This is the first time, to my knowledge, that we of retailing, the largest industry of both the City and State of New York, meet as a group with you who represent us in Congress. Us—and I hasten to add—some eight million other New Yorkers.

The fault is ours. This year and in times past we have broken bread and exchanged greetings—and ideas—with the members of the State Legislature; but we have left to national organizations the task of liaison with you members of Congress. I am pleased, and I know my colleagues—and competitors are likewise pleased—that we are correcting this error of omission.

I take pleasure in welcoming you here today in behalf of the Metropolitan New York Retail Merchants Association and its member stores. I welcome you also on behalf of the co-sponsor of this luncheon, the New York State Council of Retail Merchants.

To identify ourselves further, my name is Lawrence Lachman. I am President of Bloomingdale's and a past president of the Metropolitan Association. Eleven stores comprise its membership. They are known to all of you. In alphabetical order, these stores are: Abercrombie & Fitch Co., Abraham & Straus, B. Altman & Co., B. Gertz Inc., Gimbel Brothers, Lord & Taylor, Macy's—New York, Martin's, Saks Fifth Avenue, Stern Brothers.

All of these stores are well represented at this luncheon. All of us also work with the great number of the city's retail trade organizations, chambers of commerce and other trade and civic groups on matters of mutual concern. I should add that our eleven stores are also represented on the Boards of quite a number of these organizations.

The New York State Council of Retail Merchants represents more than two thousand department stores and other retail establishments. It is most ably represented here today by its dynamic and tireless Executive Director, Cliff Allanson, who I am sure needs no introduction to the members of Congress from the Empire State. You will be hearing from Cliff today—here—in a matter of minutes.

I propose to spend my allotted ten minutes to talk with you not about such vital matters as Viet Nam or the Budget, or even taxes. There are two subjects that I will mention. I think we're on your side in respect to both subjects. I hope you're on our side.

The first subject is jobs. The second is your darling and ours—the consumer.

We in retailing are for creating more jobs. In New York City, there are some 432 thousand employees in retail trade. The department stores employ 52 thousand of this number—not counting seasonal help—and the eleven member stores of our Association account for 33 thousand of the 52 thousand.

More jobs are the Number One priority in this city. We want to manufacture more jobs. We manufacture jobs when we succeed in making a sale at a profit—jobs not only in our own stores, but extending also to the factories which manufacture the products we sell; to the producers of raw and intermediate materials which go into these products; to the transportation industries that, through us, carry the products to the marketplace; to the banking and insurance people, the advertising people, the media of communications and the host of others who have a hand in facilitating the manufacture and distribution of the products we sell.

And now to the consumer. We think we know something about her—and him. After all, we've been dealing with him and with her for a long time. Six of our eleven stores have welcomed the consumer and served her—and him—for more than a century. The other five have been in business for more than a half a century each. I couldn't begin to estimate the billions upon billions of customer transactions which these eleven stores have recorded over the year . . . the billions upon billions of times that consumers have given these stores their custom and their confidence—their vote, if you please!

Associate Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes defined good will as the inclination to return to the place where you have been well treated. On the basis of this definition the stores in whose behalf I speak to you today have customer good will. And they've earned it.

They've earned it by a policy which you have heard expressed or seen in print, hundreds of times. It's simple: The customer is always right. We're earned customer good will by living up to the promise of that policy. We've earned customer good will by treating the customer fairly. We've earned good will by giving value. We've earned good will by making retailing an exciting adventure, by bringing to our customers the best that the United States and the world have to offer—bringing the best to them at prices which the customers thought fair. We've earned customer good will by tough and everlasting competition—as fine an example of competition as there is in our competitive system.

We would not be in business today if we failed the customer in any of these respects.

And when I say "we" I mean the overwhelming majority of retailers in the City, the State, and the Nation.

Now, please friends, don't get me wrong. We're human beings, not angels. We have our charlatans as what calling does not? We can, and we have, overstepped the line that divides right from wrong. The very competition that protects the consumer also results, from time to time, in practices that are detrimental to the consumer's best interests. We're all for guidelines, we're for rules of conduct, rules of fair play as between competitors, as well as between retailing and the consumer. We have laws on the statute books—city, state and Federal—that are useful in protecting the consumer.

On the other hand, I can assure you from a considerable experience, and my colleagues here can likewise assure you, that the American Consumer is far from the helpless individual which some in our contemporary life are picturing her—and him.

The consumer is no more helpless than the voter. And you know how helpless the voters are not!

We in retailing need the consumer's vote—not once a year, or every two years, four years or six years, or even fourteen years as in the case of State Supreme Court judges. We need votes—recorded on a cash register, or in a charge account—every minute of every day our doors are open for business. With us, it's a continuous election process.

We did not invite you here to urge you to vote for this and this measure, or to vote against this or that legislative proposal. But I do ask your leave to make a few observations which may be appropriate for your consideration of legislative proposals in the months ahead.

The New York Times carried a quote a few weeks ago which ran like this: "God bless the consumer. He never had more defenders and suffered more." The author of that quote is Edward P. Larkin, of the Public Service Commission.

I think you of the 90th Congress can serve the consumer and retailing very well by examining in that spirit legislative proposals affecting the consumer.

There *are* areas of need for action by the Federal government that affect the welfare of our nation's cities and particularly of our own city. We have our social problems in New York City, as who knows better than you who represent us in Congress. We have our cultural problems. But they are not *our* problems alone. They are also problems of the Federal government. Why? Money is one reason. The Federal Government annually receives billions in tax revenues from the people who live and/or work in the city and from the business enterprises located here.

If we are to contribute even more to the Federal and State and City tax revenues, we need to reverse the process of deterioration of our great city. And we require the help of the Federal government. We need urban renewal. We need better, and more, mass transit. We need help in carrying the great welfare load. We need assistance in creating the new and more sparkling and greater New York—this great city whose well-being is vital to the national interest.

In preparation for this luncheon I did a bit of homework by way of reading your biographies in the Congressional Directory, 1966. I find that most of the members of our Congressional delegation are lawyers. This is, of course, understandable. There are a few others. One has a master's degree in economics, in addition to his LL.B. Another majored in economics in college. A third received a B.S. in engineering at West Point. A fourth was a special correspondent for a New York newspaper. But none, so far as I could see, has made a career in retailing.

You are going to be asked to consider numerous legislative proposals affecting consumers and therefore, retailing. Some proposals considered in previous Congresses are apt to be revived in one form or another. New ones will surely be a part of the fifteen thousand or so bills that will be dropped into the Congressional hopper in 1967 and 1968.

Your hosts here today have made retailing their lifework. We think we know something about the business and how it can be made to work well. We think we know something about the consumer. Since our interests must be mutual, we offer our services, and those of our specialists, to consult with you on matters within our special experience and competence. Please do not hesitate to call on us. We'll give you the facts as we understand them, and our best judgment.

Thank you very much, distinguished members of the New York City Congressional delegation. We have gotten to meet you personally. I hope this luncheon advances mutual understanding.

Menace of Overprotection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the Forrest City, Ark., Times Herald of February 17, carried a most provocative editorial entitled "Menace of Overprotection." This editorial was written by Publisher Bonner McCollum and depicts the dangers of the enactment of multiplicities of laws, and as a result making big government even bigger. As Mr. McCollum terms it, "a proliferation of restrictive laws that are becoming much more of a menace than the proliferation of package sizes and weights."

When hearings were held on truth-in-packaging legislation in the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce last year it was my privilege to testify in opposition to the legislation as contained in bills then being considered by that committee. The committee reported to the floor of the House an innocuous bill which the House approved and was subsequently agreed to by the Senate. I commend the members of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce for striking out the more objectionable features of the original draft of the legislation. The Federal Trade Commission and the Food and Drug Administration have adequate authority under existing laws to protect full well the interests of the consuming public. The original truth-in-packaging bill is a search for an excuse to deprive people of freedom of choice. It would have placed additional hardships and harassments upon the American people as well as the food industry.

On Saturdays I do the grocery buying at my house. It is relaxing and a real pleasure for me. I get enjoyment out of spending money anyhow. I do not recall an instance in many years of buying groceries where I was misled by a label upon the package. The label clearly depicts what the package contains. The net weight can be found on the label even though it may be on the back of it in some instance. It is not at all objectionable to me to find "6 cents off" written across a can or jar in a store. There is no deception because it means that the price has been reduced by 6 cents from the regular price. Many times that is the case in the introduction of a new brand, such as instant coffee, or the like. I know what to expect from the name "Libby," "H. J. Heinz," "Campbell," and "Maxwell House." Those names mean a lot to me. The companies that sell the particular product zealously guard the quality of the food or other items contained in the package. Their reputation is at stake. They are engaged in a highly competitive business and seek to establish goodwill on the part of the buying public.

Mr. McCollum's editorial is a thought-provoking, forceful, and timely article on the so-called truth-in-packaging issue and it is incorporated below in its entirety:

MENACE OF OVERPROTECTION

Strenuous efforts were exerted in the last Congress to push through the so-called truth-in-packaging legislation. Many of the objectionable features of the legislation were modified in the closing days of Congress, much to the dissatisfaction of its sponsors, who had hoped to impose far-reaching new controls on the distribution system.

Supporters of truth-in-packaging laws feel there are too many different sizes and weights of packages. The inference is that consumers are incompetent to choose for themselves, in the free market, the items that best meet their needs. In short, the regulators and the lawmakers want to protect them from a proliferation of package sizes and weights.

This concern for the consumers is rather ironical. Nothing is proliferating faster in the nation today than laws and regulations. Between Congress and the state legislatures, thousands of new rules and restrictions are ground out by legislative bodies. Many are unenforceable, unworkable and are a headache to enforcement agencies as well as law-abiding citizens.

The so-called fair packaging and labeling proposal is a good example of proliferation of restrictive laws that are becoming much more of a menace than the proliferation of package sizes and weights. After all there are already laws on the books to protect the consumer from misrepresentation, unsafe or shoddy merchandise. Further, if the consumer does not like the way a product is packaged, he does not have to buy it. He's given no such choice when a new law goes on the statute books.

The House Will Be Judged With Powell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, how strong is the conscience of the House of Representatives? The American people are awaiting the answer, and I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the February 19, 1967, issue of the Tampa, Fla., Tribune:

Adam Clayton Powell and the American people will learn this week how strong is the conscience of the House of Representatives.

A nine-member committee (including Florida's Claude Pepper) which has been investigating Powell's conduct will recommend to the House whether the Harlem Congressman shall be denied his seat, or be seated with some form of censure.

There are amply grounds on which to lock him out.

The record shows multiple frauds by Powell against the Federal Government and contempt for its laws.

There is uncontradicted evidence of these facts:

Powell continued to carry his estranged wife on his office payroll, at $20,500 a year, although she was residing in Puerto Rico and a law effective in July, 1965, required Congressional employes to work either in Washington or in the Congressmen's home state.

Between 1963 and 1965 Mrs. Powell did about two hours' work a day, in translating Spanish-language letters, but from then until she was taken off the payroll last month she did *no work at all* for her full-time salary.

In six years *only four* of the monthly salary checks actually reached Mrs. Powell. The others were deposited in Powell's personal account with a forged endorsement. Mrs. Powell said she never authorized this practice.

Although Powell was pocketing the checks, his 1965 tax return showed he excluded his wife's salary from their joint income on the ground she was a "non-resident."

Powell and his current girl friend, Corinne Huff, who is on his office payroll, used government-bought tickets to fly from Washington to Miami en route to his Bimini hideaway at least 10 times in 1965 and 1966. Other persons with no official position, including Powell's son, used airline tickets purchased by Powell's staff with government funds. No government purpose was served by these trips.

Although Powell was invited to testify before the committee, he refused to answer any questions except those concerning his age, citizenship and place of residence. He and his seven lawyers contend that under the Constitution the House can judge only his legal, not his *moral*, qualifications.

He thus showed as little respect for the Congressional committee as he has exhibited toward the New York courts in litigation over a defamation suit against him. Judges have cited him for contempt four times and he faces a jail term if he shows his face in his own district.

Powell's course of conduct certainly constitutes the "disorderly behavior" for which the House is empowered by the Constitution to punish or expel a member.

Washington reports say most members of the investigating committee are reluctant to recommend that Powell be barred from the house. They fear protracted litigation over the issue, and are fairly certain that Powell's Harlem constituents will promptly send him back if an election is held for his vacant seat. Then the House would have to deal with the controversy all over again.

There is another factor we're afraid contributes to the reluctance to kick Powell out. That is the potential reaction from Negro voters across the nation. Republicans, who voted solidly against seating Powell pending an investigation, are said to be suffering some uneasiness about how their stand might affect the party in the Presidential election. The Democratic leadership plainly doesn't want to jeopardize its hold on the Negro vote by taking a tough attitude toward Powell.

All the evidence indicates that Powell is no hero to the mass of Negroes. Demonstrations called in his behalf have generally flopped; efforts to array civil rights leaders solidly behind him have thus far failed.

But whether Powell can sway crucial blocs of voters next year is, of course, totally irrelevant to the issue before the investigating committee and the House.

The question is simply this:

Is a man (of whatever color) who has committed the acts charged to Powell fit to help make the nation's laws?

The verdict of conscience can only be a vigorous No. American people will judge from the House's action this week whether it responds to the voice of conscience or that of expediency.

The Image of Crown Heights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that those of us who reside in various parts of New York City have overheard visitors to our city use the following phrase, "New York is a great place to visit but I could never live there." Mr. Speaker, I have lived in New York City and in particular the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn since 1928, when I married my late husband, City Court Justice Edward L. Kelly. Since his death in 1942, I have continued to live and rear my children there. I have been most fortunate to have represented this area in the U.S. House of Representatives since 1950. Crown Heights is just one of the many sections of Brooklyn, which compose the 12th Congressional District.

I was most happy to read in the February 1967 issue of the Kehillah News an article entitled, "The Image of Crown Heights," which was written by Rabbi Manfred Gans. The Kehillah News is published by the Congregation Machane Chodosh, which is located at 1032 Carroll Street, Brooklyn, N.Y. In this day when there is a flight to the suburbs, it is refreshing to read that the many residents of this area are proud of the neighborhood. It is an area rich with culture; endowed with many recreational facilities, and an area which has been fully integrated for many years.

At this time, Mr. Speaker, I wish to place in the RECORD the article by Rabbi Gans, which I trust will benefit Members of Congress and others toward a better understanding of the people of Brooklyn, N.Y.:

THE IMAGE OF CROWN HEIGHTS

"There is nothing permanent except change." A mere glance at the history of mankind confirms the thought Heraclitus expressed 2,500 years ago. While the principle of change can be applied to every facet of human endeavor, beginning with man, to civilization in general, this writing wishes to concern itself with neighborhood changes; particularly with Crown Heights.

Economic, social and anthropological factors, all have important impacts on neighborhood changes. The passing of time is naturally accompanied by the aging of housing facilities. This fact has an influencing effect on residents whose improved economic status permits them to seek more modern facilities, particularly at a time, when the supply has caught up with the demand. In addition, growing families in need of larger apartments, and the inevitable occurrence of death, create vacancies, setting into motion a chain of population shifts with a resultant deterioration of the neighborhood with each succeeding generation of residents, until a once-fine neighborhood is turned into a slum. The cycle is completed with the ominous sound of the wrecking hammer, heralding the construction of a new community, at which time the cycle can begin anew.

However, in addition to the above factors, a new, and perhaps more decisive one, has been added: Integration! Prejudice and fear are bosom friends, and the ramification of the two is frequently manifested by a panicky, mass exodus from a perfectly beautiful and desirable neighborhood. Residents thus fleeing may pay double or triple the rents which they paid previously with *no* guarantee, that the condition which prompted their exodus may or may not follow them into their new community. As a result of judicial and economic recent developments, even an ostrich will have to admit that the concept of the "Lily White" neighborhood, as well as the idea of sweeping the Negroes neatly under the rug, are things of the past.

Crown Heights is a neighborhood, much like other residential areas—*with an all important qualification.* Crown Heights is unique because it possesses integral intrinsic values which transcend the attributes of other neighborhoods: Its central location, its parks and cultural facilities.

Isn't it a pleasure to be able to reach the business heart of New York within twenty minutes? It's because one lives in Crown Heights!

Where can one find the most beautiful cherry blossoms, as well as flowers in every season? In Crown Heights, of course!

Where can one enjoy live, free concerts, indoor or under the stars, or row on a beautiful lake? In Crown Heights, of course!

Where can one find a library with nearly two million books, open every day of the week, for students of all ages? In Crown Heights, of course!

Where can children enjoy bicycling or horseback riding in a beautiful, scenic park; ice skate or roller skate, visit the zoo, see educational exhibits, all within a few minutes walking distance? In Crown Heights, of course!

When the leaders of Brooklyn decided to erect a monument to the memory of President Kennedy, they selected Grand Army Plaza, the entrance to Crown Heights, as the ideal location.

With so many cultural and recreational facilities to offer, Crown Heights, clearly, is more than a neighborhood—*it is an institution!* The image of Crown Heights, reflecting at all times the *positive attributes* this institution offers, will result in an inevitable and inexorable change—for the better!

Rabbi MANFRED GANS.

Legislation To Abolish Electoral College System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELIGIO DE LA GARZA

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker, today, on our first President's birthday, I have introduced a proposal which would abolish the electoral college system of electing the President and the Vice President of the United States. It would, however, retain the electoral vote.

In creating the electoral college system, the authors of the Constitution intended that each State should choose its most distinguished citizens as electors. Once the electors had been selected, by whatever means the State legislature desired, it was expected that they would deliberate and vote as individuals in choosing the President.

With the emergence of strong political parties, it early developed that electors were chosen to represent the parties. Designation as a candidate for elector by the party leadership was given as an honor to those who had served the party well. From 1800, independent voting by electors almost disappeared. In the few cases where electors have not voted for their party's nominee, they have normally given advance warning to the voters—as did the Bull Moose Republicans in South Dakota in 1912 and the States' Rights Democrats in certain Southern States in 1948.

In response to pressure in favor of popular control, the practice quickly developed in the several States of choosing electors by popular vote. Until 1800, most State legislatures retained the function for themselves, but by 1804 the majority had provided for direct popular election. By 1832, direct election was the rule in all States except South Carolina, which made the change at the time of the Civil War. In the newly admitted State of Colorado in 1868 and the reconstructed State of Florida in 1876, electors were appointed by the legislature. Subject to certain constitutional limits, the States retain the right to say who is authorized to vote in these direct elections.

The practice of giving all the electors to the party which wins the most votes in the States—that is, the "general ticket" system—is also a product of the early 1800's. At first, most popular election States provided that electors should be chosen in districts similar to congressional districts. Under this system, different districts were able to return electors representing different parties. Dominant parties in State legislatures soon realized, however, that they could furnish more electoral votes for their candidate—and prevent minority parties from getting any votes—if the party with the most votes in the State won all the electors.

From the start, the method of electing the President has been a subject of debate and discussion. At the Constitutional Convention, a few key members, including Madison, Franklin, and Gouverneur Morris, favored direct popular election. Others would have preferred to see the President elected by Congress or by State Governors. One of the main arguments for the electoral college system was that through the provisions for at least three electors regardless of population, it gave small States some protection against domination by large States. It was felt that if we were to preserve our federal system of government, this was an important consideration and this argument may have gone far in swaying the Convention. Another important argument was that it placed the choice of President in the hands of persons presumably able, as the mass of the people at that time were not, to become acquainted personally with the various presidential candidates.

Bearing all these factors in mind, I have introduced a proposal to abolish the electoral college but retain the electoral vote. My proposal would provide that the electoral vote in each State be apportioned among the presidential candidates in accordance with the number of popular votes they receive, so that each candidate who receives a plurality of the popular vote will not receive the State's entire electoral vote as he would under the present system.

As I have stated, my proposal would abolish the electoral college, but would retain the electoral vote. In each State, the electoral vote would be apportioned among the presidential candidates in accordance with the number of popular votes they receive, rather than in accordance with the winner-take-all system which we have at present. The candidate with the most electoral votes throughout the Nation would be elected President if he received a certain percentage—usually 40—of the total electoral vote. In case no person received at least 40 percent of the total electoral votes, the Senate and House sitting jointly would choose the President from the persons having the two highest numbers of electoral votes.

Mr. Speaker, it is my belief that adoption of my proposal would accomplish the following:

First. Reflect more accurately the popular strength of the various candidates, and come closest to electing a President by popular vote of the people while at the same time preserving each State's relative electoral strength in the election of the President.

Second. Under most circumstances, prevent the election of a candidate receiving a minority of the popular votes.

Third. As far as the present unequal weighting of States permits, it would give equal weight to individual popular votes cast in pivotal States and in States where one party is almost certain to win by a wide margin.

Fourth. Provide that accidental circumstances and fraudulent voting or vote counting would be less likely to defeat the choice of the people.

Fifth. Through eliminating the position of presidential elector, it would give the voters a more direct voice than they now have in the choice of the President.

Sixth. Strengthen the two-party system.

Seventh. Tend to help establish a more equitable balance of power among the States in presidential elections.

Whatever the virtues or disadvantages of leaving the control of voting qualifications to the States, there is reason to believe that no amendment opening the door to national control would be acceptable to the necessary two-thirds of the Congress and three-fourths of the State legislatures. Division of electoral votes in proportion to regular votes would not threaten the power of the States to regulate suffrage requirements. It would not alter existing State authority to determine who may vote.

From the start, the method of electing the President has been a subject of debate and discussion, as I have previously stated. It is my sincere hope that the 90th Congress will see fit to effect this reform. Thank you.

Gaining Ground in the Plan To Save a Mountain Range

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month I called attention to a national honor that has come to the Western Pennsylvania Conservancy in the form of an award from the National Wildlife Foundation.

Now I am happy to announce two important contributions to the Conservancy's plan to save a whole mountain range—the blocking out of an area to be known as Laurel Ridge State Park, which will extend for 57 miles from Johnstown to Ohiopyle. WJAC, Inc., which owns and operates WJAC-radio and WJAC-television in Johnstown, and Bethlehem Steel Corp., have each donated large tracts of land that will go a long way toward completing the project that will preserve for public benefit one of the most beautiful mountain ranges in Eastern United States.

In announcing a gift of 105 acres, Walter W. Krebs, president of WJAC, Inc., praised the conservancy effort with these remarks:

> WJAC is pleased to participate in this imaginative recreation and conservation project. This park, when completed, will certainly stimulate tourism in western Pennsylvania. But, perhaps more important, it will save a beautiful mountain range for the benefit of future generations. Our contribution to this project is in keeping with our public service responsibility to the people we serve and in accord with our desire to see adequate recreation facilities and conservation areas developed throughout the State.

When the Bethlehem Steel Corp. gift of 1,200 acres was announced several days later, Conservancy President Charles F. Lewis said that the acquisition assures the success of the Laurel Ridge Park project. Robert S. Waters, Johnstown Conservancy director, described the gift as "an endorsement of the conservancy's enduring philosophy that conservationists and industry can work hand in hand to achieve mutually desirable goals, conceived for the public benefit." He called Bethlehem's gift "an impressive manifestation of its corporate good citizenship and its continuing efforts to serve the well-being of the great Johnstown region, to the economy of which it contributes so greatly."

Mr. Speaker, the public spirit displayed by WJAC and Bethlehem is another tribute to the conservancy program. We look with enthusiasm and excitement to the development of beautiful Laurel Ridge Park, one of whose many features will be a hiking trail extending the full length of the project. It will provide breathtaking adventure for Pennsylvania residents and other visitors who will come to take advantage of the new accessibility to this region's incomparable beauty.

Lithuanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, February 16 marked the 49th anniversary of Lithuania's rebirth of independence.

Men and women of Lithuanian blood must wince when they observe new nation after new nation being admitted to the United Nations every year while Lithuania, with a background of hundreds of years of culture and history, suffers almost unnoticed under the Russian boot.

If a twinge of bitterness is felt by them, it is understandable when we look at the double standard of morality here and abroad, a double standard which sees thousands demonstrate against the alleged wrongdoing of the democratic United States while ignoring the proven wrongdoing of totalitarian communism.

Lithuania is not a make-believe nation. It has a long and distinguished history, dating back to A.D. 1009. It was the first nation in Eastern Europe to embrace Christianity.

Admittedly, Russian use of the techniques of deportation, execution, and colonization diminish chances of Lithuanian survival as a nation and as a people. But Lithuania has emerged from seemingly hopeless situations in the past. During the 120-year Russian occupation of 1795–1915, there were five insurrections. And when the chaos of World War I allowed Lithuania to break its chains, its people formed a free and independent government. This government lasted 22 years until once again Russia, in violation of treaty, invaded and suppressed the nation.

To people who care, the plight of Lithuania is a stark reminder of Russian expansionism and oppression. Among people who care, there is a strong conviction that the people of Lithuania, like the other captive peoples, remain nationalistic.

By our observance of Lithuanian Independence Day, we give notice to the world of our awareness that there are millions of people living in Eastern Europe who were subjugated by the Soviet Union.

No matter how much men of good will would like a permanent thaw in international relations, the history of the Soviet takeover of Lithuania and its neighbors must continue to put us on our guard. Let us continue to pursue world peace, but let us do it without illusions.

Emergency Travel Compensation for Military Servicemen Is in American Tradition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, in the 89th Congress, the Special Subcommittee on Commercial Air Transportation for Service Personnel of the House Armed Services Committee recommended legislation to provide Government-paid transportation for servicemen traveling on emergency or convalescent leave.

Believing that this legislation is sound and in the public interest, I am introducing it today, and I hope that it will receive early consideration in view of the many fighting men presently in Vietnam.

Briefly, this legislation would provide Government payment of travel and transportation expenses for military personnel granted emergency leave because of a family illness or death. It would also provide similar Government-paid travel for armed servicemen traveling on convalescent leave following wounds or illness sustained in a combat area.

The travel allowance would cover reasonable costs to and from a military duty station or medical treatment facility.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this legislation stands firmly on its own merits. The pay of many servicemen is not nearly sufficient to cover unforeseen emergencies requiring heavy travel expense. It is a matter of compassion and in the American tradition to help those servicemen called home from distant places due to a family emergency, such as the critical illness of a child, or the death of a wife or parent.

More than this, the legislation is wise in order to help rectify the present unfair travel treatment accorded to military personnel as compared to members of the Job Corps.

It has been reported that 8,546 Job Corps enrollees were flown to their homes this past Christmas at Government expense, and it cost more than $1 million. In 1965, it was similarly reported that 13,602 Job Corps men and women were flown home at a cost of some $1.8 million.

If our Government can afford this luxury for youngsters not in the service of their country, then it is only fair and proper that we attempt to lighten the emergency travel burdens of those who bear the arms of the United States, and who are increasingly compelled to risk their lives in the service of our country.

Federal Highway Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID PRYOR

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. Speaker, in recent months the President has proposed a cutback in highway expenditures. At the outset, this appears to be to some people a proper and valid way to reduce spending but further probing into the overall result of such a cutback will demonstrate that our highway program today is much too vital a project to curtail at this time.

I am concerned over the decision of the President to curtail the Federal highway construction program. I am particularly concerned over the effect of this cutback in Arkansas, and would like to direct the attention of my colleagues to the following facts.

Before the White House announcement last year of a $700 million reduction in highway construction funds the highway department of the State of Arkansas had tentatively planned to execute a $50 million program for fiscal year 1967. In view of the proposed cutback it is expected that the reduction may come to $25 million in Arkansas—$12½ million of Federal aid and $12½ million of State matching funds. The highway department has estimated that every dollar spent on highway construction results in stimulating an additional $4 in economic growth. In trying to assess the adverse economic effect of the cutback on the economy of Arkansas the highway department has, therefore, estimated a loss of $100 million.

I would like to submit the general comments of a group of Arkansas citizens who have expressed their views regarding the effect of the cutback. Their views were contained in a letter written by Mr. J. R. Henderson, a planning and research engineer of the State highway department, to Mr. Frank M. Potter, the general manager of the American Automobile Club in Little Rock:

> The buying of heavy road equipment has practically come to a halt. The only trading in heavy equipment is with contractors who already have contracts or who have small jobs, such as sodding. Most of the dirt work on Arkansas River projects has been completed.
>
> Practically all equipment purchases are financed; so the loss of construction contracts means that payments cannot be made on equipment contracts. In many cases, this will force small contractors out of business.
>
> The cutback in Federal funds has caused a layoff of a great many equipment operators. Some of the operators have been carried on the payrolls during the winter months in anticipation of new construction work after the first of the year. Because of the uncertainty as to when this work will start, the contractors can no longer carry them on the payrolls. In order to meet their obligations, a great many experienced operators will have to go to other fields of employment.

Thus the situation caused by the reduction in highway funds is very grave in our State. The progress of our interstate highway program has been one of the most outstanding achievements of the past few years, and it would seem to me that such a program should be considered a top priority one. I fail to understand, therefore, why the President, in his move to reduce Federal spending, has decided to delay the completion of one of the most vital of our domestic programs. I sincerely hope that these funds can be restored so that the interstate highway network can be completed on schedule.

Ohio Honors Miss Mary L. Sweyer—100 Years Old

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, on this coming Friday, February 24, the city of Lancaster, Ohio, will pause to honor the 100th birthday of one of its most famous and gifted citizens; Miss Mary L. Sweyer.

When a city celebrates its centennial, parades and gala parties are the order of the day. But for Mary Sweyer, this Friday will bring a different ceremony—a quiet gathering of appreciative friends. And it should be this way. For a life devoted to painting, music, and civic interests has left an indelible mark on this great person.

Mary Sweyer was born on February 24, 1867, the youngest of six children of Sam and Anna Catherine Lowrie Sweyer. She was educated in Hocking County schools. An aptitude for music was first discovered and during her teens, Mary was a church organist. But the brush and palette proved to be her real love.

Lancaster's great cartoonist, Richard Outcault—whose "Buster Brown," "The Yellow Kid," and "Hogan's Alley" color cartoons were daily features in the New York and other metropolitan newspapers—realized the potential of this gifted woman and accepted her as his student. When Outcault moved to New York, Miss Sweyer moved to Columbus, Ohio, where she became a student of Jack Hussey, who incidentally is still living in Columbus and is 103 years old.

As the years passed, Mary Sweyer's reputation as an artist grew. She is now affectionately known as "the Grandma Moses of Lancaster." Her paintings have been displayed in galleries across the country.

Mary Sweyer's life has spanned the years that have seen Ohio grow into a great State. The years have forged a person of immense talent and wisdom. Her life has been one of giving—constantly giving of herself that life for others might be richer.

The principles that have guided Mary Sweyer are principles we can well afford to emulate. Indeed she is a great American.

Thank you.

George Washington—The Uncommon Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, today we honor an uncommon man, the Father of our country, George Washington.

As we pay tribute to our first President, I think it is fitting not only to recall the words of his Farewell Address, but also to contemplate the qualities which led to Washington's greatness. Perhaps his most outstanding asset was that he dared to be an uncommon man.

I would like on this day to call to the attention of my colleagues and all Americans an editorial from the Greeneville, Tenn., Sun entitled "The Uncommon Man," and under unanimous consent I include it at this point in the RECORD:

THE UNCOMMON MAN

Back in 1942, Henry Agard Wallace said in a speech: "The century on which we are entering can be and must be the century of the common man."

That "common man" phrase was used as commonly as is the "Great Society" phrase today.

Mr. Herbert Hoover, our 31st President didn't especially fancy the phrase, and after taking a look at the growing pressures toward conformity in our society had something to say about it. What he said bears repeating today.

"In my opinion," said Mr. Hoover, "there has been too much talk about the Common Man. It has been dinned into us that this is the Century of the Common Man. The idea seems to be that the Common Man has come into his own at last.

"Thus we are in danger of developing a cult of the Common Man, which means a cult of mediocrity. But there is at least one hopeful sign: I have never been able to find out who this Common Man is. In fact, most Americans, and especially women, will get mad and fight if you try calling them common.

"This is hopeful because it shows that most people are holding fast to an essential fact in American life. We believe in equal opportunity for all, but we know that this includes the opportunity to rise to leadership—in other words, to be uncommon.

"Let us remember that the great human advances have not been brought about by mediocre men and women. They were brought about by distinctly uncommon people with vital sparks of leadership. Many of our great leaders were, it is true, of humble origin, but that alone was not their greatness.

"It is a curious fact that when you get sick you want an uncommon doctor; if your car breaks down you want an uncommonly good mechanic; when you get into war you want dreadfully an uncommon admiral and an uncommon general.

"I have never met a father and mother who did not want their children to grow up to be uncommon men and women. May it always be so. For the future of America rests not in mediocrity, but in the constant renewal of leadership in every phase of our national life."

Consumer Protection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in his message on consumer protection, President Johnson proposes that the Federal Government step between the unwary buyer and the unscrupulous seller.

I believe millions of Americans would welcome this kind of legislation. We have long been telling the buyer to beware. Now we have an opportunity to help him be wary.

To the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, the message is far from another "vote-getting assurance that Big Brother will guarantee a fair deal to one and all."

The editorial writer notes that the strong arm of Federal law would be thrust into areas such as consumer credit and investments to provide the buyer with fair assistance. He recognizes that the proposed laws would be against the thieving exceptions to the general rule of honesty. And we all know there are enough exceptions to warrant it.

Similarly, the Philadelphia Inquirer observes that no law can protect consumers from their own foolishness. But in the words of the newspaper, they have a right to be accurately informed on cost, quality and safety.

I ask that these perceptive editorials be made a part of the RECORD:

[From the Evening Bulletin, Feb. 18, 1967]

HELPING THE BUYER BE WARY

Protecting the consumer is an old and alluring political gambit. President Johnson's special message to Congress in this field cannot, however, be dismissed as merely another vote-getting assurance that Big Brother will guarantee a fair deal to one and all.

It is more than that because of at least two fields into which Mr. Johnson would thrust the strong arm of federal law. These are consumer credit, and such investments as interstate land sales, pension funds, and mutual funds.

These are all very big business, and in most cases scrupulously honest businesses. But there are always sharpers. Concealed charges in credit buying can double the purchase price. Shiny color photographs of a retirement land site can make a desert bloom in the buyer's imagination—and only there. Pensions can be fed back to a crooked management, and mutual funds can quite legally be rigged against the small investor.

It is at the thieving exceptions to the general rule of honesty that the Johnson message is aimed. He proposes full disclosure of credit charges and interstate land sales, and SEC regulation of funds.

The message does not stop with these. Mr. Johnson also would put the federal government more deeply into protecting the consumer on medical devices, meat, flammable fabrics; and he would add controls on electric power and gas pipelines. These latter proposals have appeal; but some of them are contestable on two grounds: they would greatly increase the already gigantic federal bureaucracy, and they would undertake to do what cannot really be done—protect the consumer from his own folly.

On the major matters of credit and investment, the approach is correct and potentially helpful—full disclosure. That's fair assistance to any buyer who has the sense to beware.

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Feb. 18, 1967]

FOR THE PROTECTION OF CONSUMERS

All of us are, in one way or another, consumers. The housewife shopping in the supermarket, the man looking over the latest models in autos or TV sets, the family making purchases in a department store—these are among countless examples of consumers in action. In the broadest sense, consumers are the public-at-large.

It is, in effect, the general public that President Johnson was talking about in his special message to Congress on protection for consumers. Many of his proposals—concerning regulations for natural gas pipelines and electrical power distribution, for example—are in the category of public safety measures. Other recommendations—proposing Federal standards for medical devices and X-ray equipment—are safeguards of public health.

For consumers who borrow money—or make purchases on credit—the President requests a law requiring that interest charges be clearly specified. Reputable business establishments and financial institutions make a practice of providing this information to customers but there should be effective legal protection against the shady, fly-by-night organizations seeking to saddle the unwary consumer with excessive interest rates and hidden fees.

In the past, credit control bills have been rejected by Congress—as they should have been—because of ambiguous wording and obscure intent. Credit legislation should be designed to protect consumers, not penalize them.

Numerous other proposals of the President are deserving of action by Congress—including measures to curb swindlers in real estate offerings, to prevent sale of dangerously flammable clothing and household articles, to modernize and improve meat inspection rules, and to guard against excessive charges in the sale of mutual funds.

No law can protect consumers from their own foolishness or poor judgment, but they have a right to be accurately informed on matters of cost and quality and safety.

A Commission for George Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, in the long and glorious military history of the United States, our Nation has seen fit to elevate nine of its greatest warriors to the rank of General of the Army: Ulysses S. Grant, Phillip Sheridan, William T. Sherman, John J. Pershing, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Omar Bradley, George C. Marshall, Douglas MacArthur, and Henry H. Arnold.

I note and call the attention of my colleagues to one glaring omission from this illustrious list, that of our first and one of our greatest generals, George Washington, whose rank was only that of lieutenant general.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is fitting and proper for this body at this time to recognize the great military contribution made by the Father of our Country.

I wish to introduce the following joint resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the President should posthumously commission George Washington as General of the Army:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, That it is the sense of the Congress that the President should posthumously commission George Washington, formerly a lieutenant general in the United States Army and General and Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United Colonies, as General of the Army in the United States Army.

SEC. 2. The President is hereby authorized to take the action described in the first section, notwithstanding any other provision of law.

Postmaster Wanted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, recently I, along with several other Congressmen, introduced legislation to take the Post Office out of politics.

In Iowa many post offices have been going without postmasters, apparently because of the inability of the political figures in the other party to agree on individuals to fill those vacancies.

The situation is particularly acute in Muscatine. The postmaster there died May 31, 1966. To this day an acting postmaster has not been named. This is an intolerable situation.

On February 10, 1967, the Muscatine Journal carried an editorial deploring this situation.

The editorial follows:

POSTMASTER WANTED

The postmaster's door at the Muscatine postoffice has been closed for almost nine months.

Why has there been the long delay in naming a new postmaster? Or an acting postmaster?

Postmaster John H. Hendriks always kept his office door open before his sudden death the night of May 31, 1966. He was readily accessible to anyone who wanted to walk in with a complaint or a comment.

In the months since the death of Mr. Hendricks, the postmasters door to the public lobby has remained closed—because both the office and title are vacant.

The assistant postmaster has carried on the operational duties of the office—efficiently, we believe—but it is not within the jurisdiction of the assistant postmaster to make policies. Obviously the postoffice can operate temporarily without a postmaster or acting postmaster—but problems of morale and service are bound to arise when the executive's office remains empty.

This district's former Congressman recommended a Muscatine man for the postmaster's job last year, and we understand that several possible candidates for the position have been investigated by postal inspectors, but Washington remains strangely silent while the wheels of politics grind exceedingly fine.

Isn't it about time that Muscatine has a postmaster?

George Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, today, more than ever before, we are pondering serious questions about what our country has done with and to the environmental heritage from George Washington's day.

On this, his birthday, we must face the facts that we as a nation and as individuals have destroyed many of nature's gifts. The beautiful open spaces and bountiful scenic vistas which characterized our land in George Washington's day in large part have been desecrated. Those small communities of revolutionary war days have exploded into monolithic cities exuding air and water pollutants, burying open spaces with the developers' bulldozers, and paving the fields with superhighways and freeways. Today, as we joyfully pay honor on the birthday of the Father of our Country, we mourn the damage we have inflicted upon our environment since his day.

Many tributes, traditions, and memorials attest the esteem in which we hold the Father of our Country. But, Mr. Speaker, I can think of no more fitting memorial or tribute to George Washington than the Mount Vernon estate complimented by preservation of the view from Mount Vernon across the Potomac River at Piscataway Park. This project is a living memorial and one which exemplifies the natural scenic virtues of our land which we hold so high. To maintain Mount Vernon and its view across the Potomac River in the same natural state as when George Washington was our President is a demonstration to the people of the Washington metropolitan region and the country that we are mounting an offensive against further desecration of our Potomac River, its shoreline and other naturally scenic areas which we must perserve.

We want people to know that we are going to hold the line against the vicious spread of unplanned and uncontrolled development into areas of priceless naturally esthetic beauty. The destroyer of green and open spaces must be put on notice that their heydays are coming to an end. They should be warned that if the local government is not capable of meeting the responsibilities for planned and sane growth, then the State governments will. And, if the States are incapable, then it is the duty of the National Government to provide the money and the tools and enlist the help of private landowners and concerned citizens to save our countrysides from the insanity of desecration and unplanned growth.

This is what we are trying to accomplish right now at Piscataway Park. This park, across the Potomac River from Mount Vernon, has largely been the success it is so far because of a dedicated coterie of private landowners, some of whom become very militant when frustrated by the slow-turning wheels of government. These conservation-minded citizens have worked hard to secure donations from nonprofit foundations of large parcels of land at Piscataway. They began a pilot program in land preservation, a partnership of the private landowner doing his share through donation of land and scenic easements and the National Government, doing its share, hopefully, through purchase of the essential acreage of the park. But so far the National Government has not been the best participant in this partnership, and it is this, too, that we should speak to today.

Mr. Speaker, efforts to preserve the view from Mount Vernon began more than 7 years ago and have resulted in two acts of Congress. Still, those Founding Fathers of the preservation partnership of landowner and Government are not able to decrease their efforts because the governmental partner has not yet completed its share of the bargain. What remains to be done at Piscataway Park is the appropriation and purchase by the National Park Service of several hundred acres at Piscataway Park. Once this is accomplished, and for the sake of making this park a reality it must be soon, once this is done we shall be able to sit back and take a close look at how effective this pilot program has worked. I still have faith in it as a new method of insuring that much of our naturally scenic areas will be saved from the bulldozer without the gigantic expenditures that otherwise would be required, but this preservation partnership is a two-way street necessitating cooperation by both partners.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, I strongly urge the Congress to act firmly and expeditiously to provide the tools for the National Government to meet its obligations at Piscataway Park before it is too late. We are already almost 200 years late.

Mrs. Eliza Wagner 100th Birthday Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, as important a day as today may be to the history of our Nation, it is at least as important to the district I represent and to one of the residents of that district for a very special reason.

Today marks the 100th birthday of Mrs. Eliza Wagner, who lives at 3211 Glenview Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Mrs. Wagner has seen in her lifetime a different kind of revolution from that which secured our freedom. One hundred years ago, she was born on a farm in the community of Holmesburg. Today, she still lives in Holmesburg, but the area is far removed from farmland. Around her has grown a city. The small patches of lawn there today are just enough to punctuate the ribbons of concrete streets and brick homes. Few farms remain.

Obviously this phenomenon is not peculiar to Holmesburg, to Philadelphia or to any other large city. It represents, instead, a kind of modern revolution that characterizes our present society.

Instead of being isolated today, Mrs. Wagner is very much the grand old lady of a thriving neighborhood. She is still very active at home and in her church. I am sure that Holmesburg Methodist Church also is very proud of her.

Perhaps most important of all she retains a keen mind and an equally keen interest in the affairs of Philadelphia, Pa., and the entire Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I join in the tribute to our great first President on this, his birthday. But I would like to pay tribute also to a great lady, Mrs. Eliza Wagner, on her most significant birthday.

An Exercise in Restraint

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE H. FALLON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, the Baltimore Sun in a recent editorial praises the restraint with which the administration has conducted the bombing raids on North Vietnam despite continuing attacks by extremists.

As the newspaper points out, President Johnson and Secretary McNamara have avoided the two obvious evils: fruitless cessation or irresponsible escalation.

The sense of restraint which Mr. McNamara shows, and which President Johnson has repeatedly stressed—

The Sun notes—

continues to be essential.

I have here the entire editorial for the RECORD:

LIMITS ON BOMBING

The implications of Secretary McNamara's discussion of our bombing operations in North Vietnam are reassuring in that they promise a continued exercise of restraint. The real danger of escalation exists in the bombing. That is, some persons suggest that if the present level of bombing in the north has been effective, the logical move is to do more of it—escalating, if you will, until the war is won.

This line of argument is countered by experience going back to World War II. Air power obviously is an important factor but there is good reason to doubt that it is a decisive factor—short of the use of nuclear weapons, which is unthinkable in Vietnam under present circumstances. In the case of North Vietnam, Secretary McNamara can support his claim that the bombing in the north has bolstered morale in South Vietnam (at least the morale of the government and army), and that it has hampered the movement of men and supplies from north to south. And as Mr. McNamara says, the effort of the North Vietnam Government to have the bombing stopped is a further clue to its effectiveness.

Yet the kind of war in which we are engaged must be won on the ground in South Vietnam, as Secretary McNamara says. Our aim is to assure the independence of South Vietnam, not to destroy North Vietnam. It would be possible to destroy North Vietnam from the air and still not attain our objective. It would be possible, also, to destroy North Vietnam from the air and find ourselves entering a much wider war, rather than securing peace.

At best, the conduct of the war in Vietnam is difficult, requiring a discriminating use of our great military power. The sense of restraint which Mr. McNamara shows, and which President Johnson has repeatedly stressed, continues to be essential.

Social Security and Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, in my mail, I recently received three letters from various parts of the country, including my own congressional district, pointing to problems of the married working couple under social security law and problems of the single individual under the tax schedules. Two of the letters were written in response to a proposal of mine to amend the social security law to permit working couples to draw benefits on their combined earnings. With social security and taxes a basic concern of the Nation, I insert these letters as an expression of views from the people:

BUFFALO, N.Y.,
February 2, 1967.

Representative MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MADAM: Enclosed is a clipping from a recent edition of the Buffalo Evening News. You seem to be the only member of Congress to recognise this injustice. Congress passed a welfare measure and raised the social security tax to finance it and gave working couples the privileges of paying it twice. Actually we pay it four times because our employers contribute an equal amount and our work must be worth the added cost to our employers. If we live long enough to collect we can only collect as two singles. This is discrimination.

We meet with more discrimination when dealing with the Internal Revenue Service. The deductable items allowed are the same as if only one of us was working. They act as if it cost nothing to earn the extra income. For example an individual with two jobs is allowed to deduct the cost of transportation to and from the second job. My wife is a nurse and I had to fight with the I.R.S. to get them to allow the cost of her car from school to school within the system where she is employed. Actually she has to have a car in good condition to perform her duties efficiently. The car has to be ready and able to go in any emergency. The I.R.S. will allow a deduction for each emergency provided the mileage is duly recorded and tabulated. When she started the job she had been a registered nurse for 19 years and had floor, operating room, and industrial experience but lacked some of the academic credits for certification and as a condition of employment had to study certain courses at the local university to make up the deficiency. These costs were disallowed because she had a temporary certificate. The legal advice on this was to pay it because fighting it was too costly.

If a bureau of the government can can inflict arbitrary and unjust decisions on the taxpayer knowing they are too costly to challenge we have lost some of our freedom. A taxpayer should be able to petition the courts at government expense for relief.

Sincerely yours,

NORMAN O. ROACH.

DETROIT, MICH.,
February 4, 1967.

DEAR MRS. GRIFFITHS: In an article by Van G. Sauter appearing in the Detroit Free Press "Detroit" magazine, Feb. 5, 1967, entitled "A trip into deepest poverty in the heart of Detroit", he states, "this neighborhood is the worst in Detroit. It has the lowest median family income, $2,735. This is below the recognized poverty level, and nearly $1000. below the next highest sub-community."

Doesn't anyone in Congress ever take a look at Tax Schedules? On Tax Table A for single persons, a single person making $2735. per year is required to pay $183. income tax. With one dependent they would still be asked to pay $76.

Why don't they use the poverty program money to up the $600. exemption rate to $1200, especially for the first personal exemption?

I know of a librarian who offered her services to the poverty program who was paid $150. weekly to read to children. After three or four weeks she admitted she had only read to three children. This is a foolish waste, the librarian was already making more than she needed on her regular salary.

I have an aunt, a widow, living in a tiny house, driving a tiny car, sixty-four years old and receiving her small pension, who is asked to come down to the office every year to have her income tax report examined.

On my approximately $2000. a year income I have had to go down once to have mine examined. (I have been taking care of an invalid father who died last summer, and he had enough income to take care of me).

I have been working on a book of photographs of old architecture of Detroit and Michigan, and have been into the slum areas taking pictures. At one place, a little auto repair shop, a grimy little man came out shaking his fists at me, hurling oaths at the government. When he found out I was not a government agent he calmed down and said he was being hounded by tax collectors who were insisting upon his keeping books. He was not in a positon to hire someone to do it for him, and obviously, from his broken speech, he was incapable of doing it himself. One look at him and his shop should have been enough to satisfy any tax agent that this poor man did not make in a month what his own salary was paying him a day to "bug" these poor people. Why not call your dogs off? A few salaries less to these excess investigators of the poor would put a great deal more money into the poverty program.

The plight of the day-working woman is very bad. They average about $10. per day, and, before their "bones" give out which usually occurs soon after they reach the age of Fifty, they work five days a week. This would amount to $2600. a year (below poverty level). Many of these women are single, and figuring but one exemption of $600., $2100. would be their tax total. On the 1966

Tax Table they would be required to pay $163. in income taxes. This represents over sixteen days of hard work for the single woman, draining her health, for a government which would consider $163 a mere pittance on a congressman's expense account. This is not only ridiculous, it is horrific!

One woman we had until a year or so ago was single, fifty, and paying $70. per month for the cheapest one room apartment she could find. I tried to figure out her finances: $840. rent per year, $780 for food, $130. carfare, $163. income taxes, would leave her the grand total of $687. per year for heat, light, household and personal supplies, bedding, doctors and dentists, not to mention clothes, etc. She would have loved to have had a T.V. set, but at that rate she would never be able to save up in a lifetime of working for even that small amenity. What does she get out of life? No car, no home, no security, nothing she can call her own, nothing but terribly hard work. How do they survive at all, or why?

I wish something special could be done for these women, but in the meantime I believe uping the exemption rates on income taxes would be a step in the right direction.

Thank you for listening.

Sincerely,

MARGARETHA WURST PETERSEN.

COLUMBUS, OHIO,
February 7, 1967.

Mrs. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS,
House Ways and Means Committee,
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE AND DEAR MRS. GRIFFITHS: No doubt, since the article written a week or so ago by Edmond Le Breton for the Associated Press, which appeared in one of our local newspapers, you have received volumes of correspondence regarding the unfairness of Social Security Laws to the "fairer sex." I am sure if proper study were to be made by many of us we would find this quite true.

But until those of us who have not yet reached the time for evaluating our benefits from Social Security, we are "bugged" by what to our way of thinking is also a very serious "unfairness." I say "we" because this topic has been discussed with many of my friends who are also unmarried, have no dependents, but still maintain a home for ourselves and others.

In other words as single individuals, earnings say in the $20,000 bracket, the income tax table shows the following:

Single taxpayer	$6,070
Head of household	5,220
Married (jointly)	4,380

So, while you debate the question of discrimination against the married beneficiary under Social Security, I sincerely trust you will consider the single taxpayer who will not be able to supplement her social security benefits with those of her spouse. And you might also bring to the attention of the Committee that a single individual maintaining a home should have the Head of the Household classification, since she has comparable maintenance expenses.

Respectfully yours,

MARIE J. NERNY.
Columbus, Ohio.

Air and Water Pollution Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY

OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, the shocking pollution of our waters and of the air we breathe is the subject of increasing national attention. Laws are already on the books to compel action to abate pollution of air and water, but what is desperately needed is a means of assisting and encouraging industry in the construction of these expensive and nonproductive facilities.

I am today joining my colleagues in a bipartisan effort by introducing legislation to apply a 20-percent incentive tax credit for the taxpayer who undertakes a construction program for air and water pollution treatment facilities. The credit would be applied to all costs of the facility—buildings, improvements, equipment, land, and machinery.

The taxpayer could amortize these expenditures during the tax year or over the next 4 years after the year of the actual expenditure.

So that the efforts of private industry will be consistent with State efforts and more effective in cooperation with other programs, the facilities claimed for tax credit must be approved by the State pollution control authority.

We have, as a nation, come to the point where action must be taken at once to preserve our air and water.

Within 20 years the U.S. water use will be doubled, but the available water will increase only slightly. Water, as a resource, is vanishing. The Public Health Service reminds us that "polluted water is nearly as bad as no water at all—sometimes it is worse."

We have reached a near-crisis stage because of such varied factors as the growth of urban areas, the use of pesticides and detergents, and the increased disposal of untreated industrial wastes.

The Public Health Service further tells us that the amount of organic industrial waste now going into our streams and lakes is about double the amount of municipal waste. This is not to say that America's industry has been lax in tackling this problem or in facing up to their public responsibilities. Firms in the soap and detergent industry transformed the chemistry of detergents so that sewage could be more easily broken down.

This is but one example of the type of approach we ought to be striving for. Instead of passing laws full of controls and regulations we should be seeking a way to assist industry in their efforts toward clean water and air. The burden on industry is a heavy one. Facilities are costly and the investment is a nonproductive one. Such apparatus requires high and nonproductive operating costs, primarily in the public interest.

Even greater problems exist in combating the pollution of the air. Air pollution strikes us even closer to home, since everyone must breathe. In recent years outbreaks of illness and death both here in America and in other countries attributable to unclean air has aroused public concern. Over 7,300 areas, housing 60 percent of the population, are confronted with air pollution problems. As our population and economy expand, an abundance of clean air becomes essential.

Unlike water, air once polluted cannot be treated and made safe. Consequently, efforts at keeping our air clean must begin by curtailing the discharge of pollutants. This makes the need for a program of assistance to industry, such as the plan I am proposing, even more urgent.

In the interests of time and efficiency, I believe that the tax credit approach is more effective than a system of Federal grants. It would enable industry, which has already demonstrated its willingness and eagerness to tackle the problem, to begin work at once. Costly delay and administrative redtape, implicit in any Federal grant program, would be eliminated.

I am hopeful that the growing support for this legislation will continue and that the Congress will take immediate action to solve these pressing problems by enactment of a tax incentive program.

Support From Clergy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, much has been made of religious groups who oppose the war in Vietnam.

Some would have us believe that all clergymen favor appeasement.

But an article in the Register, a national Catholic newspaper, convinces me otherwise.

A poll of 68,000 Catholic priests, says the Register, though not completed, shows a heavy endorsement of a strong Vietnam policy.

And one priest, Father John F. Cronin, S.S., calls it a gross caricature to ignore the many U.S. efforts to lessen East-West tension and label our officials as warmongers simply because they cannot produce an instant and honorable peace in Vietnam.

The complete text follows for the RECORD:

[From the Register, Feb. 12, 1967]

POLL LIKELY TO INDICATE CATHOLIC PRIESTS' SUPPORT OF VIETNAM POLICY IS HIGH

First indications of a national poll of Catholic clergy are that as high as 80 percent or more will support a firm stand by the United States in Vietnam.

All of the some 68,000 priests in this country were queried in the poll, sponsored by the Free Pacific Association, which has headquarters in New York.

It is too early, according to Father Daniel Lyons, S.J., of the association, to give exact figures on the number replying or the results. But the trend of the poll to date shows heavy endorsement for a strong Vietnam policy.

This was made known in the wake of a two-day vigil in Washington by clergy and laity, including Catholics, who want bombing ceased and immediate negotiations recognizing the Communist "National Liberation Front" begun toward a U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam.

In a major address to many of the 2,600 mass marchers, Father John F. Cronin, S.S., assistant director of the Department of Social Action of the U.S. Catholic Conference, spoke in defense of government officials.

Citing the proposed Soviet-U.S. Consular treaty, now before the Senate, continual attempts to lower trade barriers between East and West, and pleas to Congress each year for an adequate economic aid program for poverty-stricken nations, Father Cronin said:

"I believe that it is a gross caricature to ignore such efforts and label our officials as warmongers simply because they cannot produce an instant and honorable peace in Vietnam."

Lovers of peace, he said, may become so preoccupied with Vietnam "that we lose sight of other issues that make an enormous difference in terms of world peace."

He listed some of these as ". . . the prevention of the spreading of nuclear weapons, the establishment of nuclear-free zones in great regions of the world, the lessening of Cold War tensions in Europe, the possibility of more friendly relations between the U.S. and the several Communist governments in Europe, and similar opportunities to bring abount the beginnings of trust and understanding in the world."

A statement by U.S. Catholic bishops during their recent conference was repeated by Father Cronin. They called upon churchmen to make moral judgments—"not political decisions cloaked in the guise of morality," he said.

In this same context he said: ". . . I consider it a political judgment, not a moral decision, to insist that a particular course of action, such as halting the bombing in the North, will lead to peace negotiations."

He cautioned clergymen against reacting in extreme ways to what they consider extremist points of view—that the truth more than likely lies somewhere between or in another direction.

"I believe the clergy should strive to avoid a guilt complex in regard to our government and its elected and appointed officials. The Church has been attacked in the past when its officials have blessed weapons of war and have almost automatically invoked divine assistance for the armies of their nations.

"It is easy to react to this by going to the other extreme and routinely going into opposition whenever our government finds itself in an armed conflict."

Posing the question of what the proper role of the clergyman is in a highly disputed public issue he said:

"It is easy to don the mantle of the prophet, and thunder, 'Let justice be done even if the heavens fall.' But it is infinitely more difficult to give responsible prophetic counsel in complex situations where no clear solution is in sight."

Nearly 90 Catholics attending the two-day meeting formally rejected Father Cronin's opinions specifically taking issue with his statement on distinguishing between moral and political judgments.

Among those signing a statement drawn up by the New York headquarters of the Catholic Peace Fellowship were 46 priests, 4 Sisters and 37 laymen.

Hogwash Revisited

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, "Hogwash Revisited" is the title of an excellent, hard-hitting editorial by William J. Coughlin in the February 20, 1967, issue of Technology Week. I thoroughly agree with Mr. Coughlin when he says:

> The men charged with the security of this Nation either have consistently underestimated the capabilities of the enemy or they have consistently lied to the American people.

His editorial will not be greeted with any pleasure by Defense Secretary Robert Strange McNamara but I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

> The fiscal 1968 budget provides for substantial funding for an anti-ballistic missile system if the Administration decides one should be built. Secretary of Defense McNamara has made quite clear his belief that an increase in offensive strength is the best way to offset both an increase in Soviet ICBM's and deployment of a Russian ABM.
>
> He may be quite right. He also may be quite wrong. The difficulty lies in the attempt to apply logic to a situation which, if it occurs, will be both illogical and irrational—the use of nuclear ballistic missiles in a war.
>
> We are not gifted with the foresight to know whether the decision to procure a U.S. ABM system would be correct or incorrect. We do, however, have hindsight and would like to call attention to some of the things we have said in the past.
>
> In 1965, an arms control panel, opposing *Nike–X* deployment, reported to the White House: "In three years time, it may be possible, not only to see more clearly what strategic threat the People's Republic of China will and will not soon present, but also what the response of both the United States and the Soviet Union should be."
>
> We commented editorially: "What we are most likely to see in three years is a Soviet anti-ballistic missile defense. If the Soviet Union meanwhile heads off a U.S. ABM by convincing a bunch of addle-pated dreamers that the U.S. should tiptoe around such a project for fear of unsettling some mythical balance of power, then it has indeed pulled off a coup.
>
> "Much of U.S. policy of late seems to be based on a belief that the Soviet Union is willing to accept an inferior status in regard to the number of offensive intercontinental missiles deployed. Just where this naive assumption came from is unclear. There is no question of present U.S. superiority in ICBM's. But we fail to recall any Russian stating that the Soviet Union will continue to accept this. To the contrary, indications are that the Soviets are making every effort to close the gap."
>
> Early in 1966, Dept. of Defense officials declined to comment on the report carried in this magazine that large new structures dotting the countryside around Moscow and Leningrad were believed to house anti-ICBM missile radars.
>
> In mid-1966, when we reported that a buildup in offensive Soviet missile strength was indeed under way, the Defense Dept. refuted it.
>
> Last month, President Johnson told Congress and the nation: "The Soviet Union has in the past year increased its long-range missile capabilities. It also has begun to place near Moscow a limited anti-missile defense."
>
> In 1963, during the Senate debate on the nuclear test ban treaty, when we reported that U.S. missiles in their silos might be vulnerable to electromagnetic effects of high-yield Soviet warheads and charged the Administration with withholding this information during the debate, we were thoroughly castigated in DOD. However, there has been and is a strong effort to develop effective shielding against just such effects.
>
> Early this year, we reported that U.S. missiles might be vulnerable to X-rays from the nuclear warheads of anti-missile missiles and that corrective action was being taken. We now have the Federal Bureau of Investigation dropping around to ask questions about our sources.
>
> This harassment does not intimidate us. We feel strongly that the nation deserves honest reporting on one of the most vital issues in its history. This is a matter of national survival and if a decision is to be made *not* to build a U.S. ABM then it should be made with knowledge of the consequences.
>
> To date, the Administration has failed to deal frankly with the American public on this topic. In fact, every effort has been made to conceal the true state of affairs while carrying on a dialogue with the Soviet Union which to date has shown benefits only for the Soviet Union.
>
> More than six years ago, we reported that Red China had undertaken a program to develop a nuclear-tipped ballistic missile. In mid-1963, we said editorially: "The U.S. must concern itself with the possible development of nuclear missiles by the Chinese." DOD continued to scoff at these reports.
>
> After the first Chinese nuclear explosion in 1964, Secretary McNamara was asked about the development of short-range missiles by the Chinese and replied: "It will be years and years before they are able to develop those successfully." He acknowledged last October they had fired such a missile.
>
> We said editorially last fall: "It will be exceedingly dangerous for the U.S. to underestimate Chinese capabilities in this field." We warned then of a Chinese ICBM effort.
>
> In his posture statement last month, Mr. McNamara said the Chinese may launch a long-range ballistic missile before the end of 1967.
>
> We do not think the Administration record on this subject is a very proud one. The men charged with the security of this nation either have consistently underestimated the capabilities of the enemy or they have consistently lied to the American people. We will leave it to them to state which it is.
>
> We will stand on what we said editorially in 1965: "There is an axiom in business that when you don't know what your competitor is up to, the wisest procedure is to give him credit for maximum accomplishment." We hope the ABM decision will be made with that philosophy in mind.

Estonian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, for more than 30 years in this century, Estonia existed as an independent nation based on democratic principles and social justice. The Estonian people were enabled by the events of World War I and the Russian revolution to declare their independence on February 24, 1918, ending centuries of foreign domination. But the prize of freedom was not that easily gained. Soviet forces invaded Estonia in November 1918, and the valiant defense by the small nation was heralded throughout the world. Finally, with the aid of Finnish volunteers and a British naval squadron, the Estonians succeeded in driving out the Soviet aggressors. A peace treaty was signed between Russia and Estonia in 1920 by which the Russian Government recognized Estonia de jure and renounced all its claims to Estonian territory.

Tragically for the history of mankind, Estonia was to be one of those nations engulfed by the Soviet Union during the chaos of World War II. Realizing the danger of mass destruction in resistance, the Estonian Government concluded a mutual assistance pact with the Soviet Union which gave Russia the foothold it needed to draw the final curtain on Estonian independence. Yet confronted with the colossal strength of the Soviet Union, the Estonians had virtually no alternative.

On the anniversary of Estonian independence the free world bemoans the continued enslavement of the Estonian people. We express our deepest sorrow that their independence has not yet been restored and extend our heartfelt moral support to their unending struggle for its restoration.

Reimbursed Moving Expenses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, when a taxpayer's job requires a move from one place to another—the expenses incurred are often very high. And even though an employer will frequently provide part of the money needed—the employee must pay taxes on these costs.

Because I feel the Government has no justifiable claim on these moving costs, I am today introducing a bill to exclude reimbursed moving expenses from taxable income. The bill—originally introduced by Representative James A. Burke—would constitute an amendment to the Internal Revenue Code. Under it, money received from an employer for moving purposes would be excluded from consideration under the code as gross income of a taxpayer.

The bill would not be effective unless first, the taxpayer's new place of work is at least 20 miles farther from his former residence than was his former place of work; and, second, the taxpayer has been employed by the party paying the expenses for at least 1 year.

I am proposing the bill because I feel it is impossible to consider reimbursed moving expenses "income." The measure has been approved by business, labor, and tax authorities—and although it would call for a loss in governmental revenue, the Government has no right to the money in the first place.

Included under expenses in the new bill would be: Actual moving of household and personal goods; temporary storage of these; cost of traveling to the new residence; meals and lodging necessary for the employee and his family, and temporary lodging up to 30 days—60 if the taxpayer is coming from a U.S. possession or another continent.

These extra costs rightfully belong under the term "moving expenses" as they are a part of what it takes to move. It is the only realistic way to see that the taxpayer's moving problems are eased.

When I introduced this same bill last year in the House of Representatives, I pointed out that when an employee works hard and gets a promotion and a transfer—he usually suffers financially.

I think this is unfair and tends to penalize hard work, initiative, and ambition. I would like to see that this legislation is passed—to ease the financial burden of the hundreds of thousands of "organization men," salesmen, engineers, accountants, and others whose employers transfer them from one plant or office to the next.

Conservation Law Change Proposed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, an editorial by an eminent agricultural writer, Leland DuVall, appeared recently in the Arkansas Gazette which discusses a bill introduced by my colleague, Wilbur Mills, H.R. 3929, and an earlier bill, H.R. 1451, the author of which is Representative Jim Wright, of Texas. The legislation would amend the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act, as amended. While I have not studied the legislation and do not know whether I favor it or not, Mr. DuVall's editorial with respect to these bills is worthy of the consideration of the Members of the House. The editorial follows:

Conservation Law Change Proposed

(By Leland DuVall)

The restoration of depleted resources, like therapy for wasted muscles, is a slow and tortuous process and one problem that has hampered the conservation program has been a lack of long-term planning. Representative Wilbur D. Mills (Dem., Ark.) has proposed an amendment to the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act (Public Law 566) that would extend the time in which conservation practices could be planned and operated.

The proposal, known as House Resolution 3929, also would amend three other provisions in the basic law in an effort to make the watershed act more effective. The measure has been referred to the Committee on Agriculture.

PL 566 is the law under which complete land treatment and water management are undertaken for a specific watershed. The Soil Conservation Service provides the technical assistance and other federal agencies may work at specific assignments. The Soil and Water Conservation District (or a special organization set up by interested persons in the watershed) takes the initiative in asking for the program by making its appeal through the soil and water conservation commission or a comparable agency at the state level. The plan may include flood-retarding structures on the main stream or its tributaries, channel improvement or similar engineering work designed to control the floodwaters and protect the land.

Landowners within the watershed carry the conservation program "all the way to the tops of the hills" so that the water is under control from the time it falls until it has passed across the watershed and into a larger stream or until it is absorbed or evaporated. The present law, however, provides only for short agreements between the landowners and the government; the Mills proposal would open the way for long-term agreements.

The amendment would authorize the secretary of Agriculture "to enter into agreements which shall be based on a conservation plan with landowners, operators and occupiers * * * to be carried out during a period not to exceed 10 years * * * providing for changes in cropping systems and land uses and for the installation of soil and water conservation practices and measures needed to conserve and develop the soil, water, woodland, wildlife and recreation resources" of the lands.

The proposal spells out details of the agreements but the key feature is the fact that the contracts can cover a period of as much as 10 years.

This part of the amendment has a precedent in the so-called Great Plains Program where landowners in the semi-arid West are permitted to enter long-term agreements with the agency for work that cannot be completed in a short period. The advantage here is that the rancher can plan a more comprehensive conservation program than would be possible if his agreement was on a year-to-year basis.

A watershed protection program obviously is a long-term operation and Mills apparently believes the projects could be more effective if landowners knew in advance that they would be able to participate for as much as a decade.

Another section of the amendment would permit local sponsors of a watershed project to finance their part of the cost more easily than is possible under the law as it now stands.

Still another section would add "water quality" to the benefits considered when appraising a project.

The fourth part of the amendment would alter the procedure for obtaining approval of the program.

In general, the amendment would broaden the scope of PL 566, extend the period of co-operation between the landowner and the government, ease the task of local financing and smooth the path of new projects through the government maze.

Mount Vernon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, there are a few, if any, places within the area of the United States where George Washington's birthday is not honored and his memory revered. It appears fitting to comment on the progress that has been made in preserving the beautiful area across the Potomac River from George Washington's home of Mount Vernon. It has been a great experience for me to cooperate with so many patriotic Americans in this nonpartisan effort to preserve a part of the environs of Mount Vernon. Perhaps no other place in the country is so fixed in the hearts of the American people and this is manifested each year with the well over 1 million visitors who renew their acquaintance with history as they explore and reexplore this grand evidence of our heritage.

In 1954 over 500 acres on the Maryland shore of the Potomac were offered for sale. Within less than a year attempts were made to purchase much of this area for an oil tank farm. Patriotic individuals and foundations prevented this development by purchasing lands that would have been used for activities hardly consistent with the environs of this national shrine. Throughout the 1950's the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, residents of Prince Georges County, especially those living in this particular area, sought to achieve the preservation of this unique place. They attempted to use all the devices open to the citizens of a local community to achieve this protection. Because regional authorities and others did not view the necessity for this preservation in the same manner as did they and since these authorities did have the power of condemnation, preservation of the area could not be achieved at the local level.

It was in 1961, after having fought many a battle to keep the area in its undisturbed state, that these people presented their case to Congress. It was my great privilege to join the gentleman from Colorado, Chairman WAYNE ASPINALL, and the senior Senator from New Mexico, Senator CLINTON ANDERSON, in introducing the bill authorizing the Piscataway National Park, which was signed into law by President Kennedy on October 4, 1961.

This measure was unique at the time of its enactment and stands today as a landmark representing the cooperation of local citizens, private foundations, local government, State government, and the Federal Government. The legislation provided that the park would consist of 1,114 acres of which 500 acres were to be donated to the Federal Government. In addition, over half of those living in the area have donated, at no cost to the Government, scenic easements. This not only represented a considerable saving to the Government but it allowed the Government to acquire an asset that might not have been possible without this important contribution. Seldom has there been such public spirited cooperation in behalf of a national shrine.

The State of Maryland and Prince Georges County within that State is to be congratulated for providing incentives for its citizens to contribute land and easements in order to establish the Piscataway Park. The State of Maryland pioneered tax reform legislation to encourage the donation of these easements. Further, the county commissioners of Prince Georges County implemented this State action by passing a new tax ordinance, which was without precedence, to enhance the donation of easements to the Federal Government. The efforts of Congressman MACHEN in increasing the authorization and prodding the administration to get on with the business at hand has been of signal importance.

Despite these efforts, as has been the case in so many instances, the problem of escalating land values required an increase in the authorization of funds to be appropriated. The increased authorization was passed by the House and Senate without a dissenting vote and was signed into Public Law 89-513 by President Johnson on July 19, 1966. President Johnson has recommended this year that $2.7 million be appropriated for fiscal year 1968 and that $1 million be reprogramed immediately in order to initiate action toward the final completion of the obligation of the Federal Government. The reprograming is vital to this completion of acquisition because of the time element we are facing. I shall not detail the many errors of omission on the part of the Department, nor the failure to act with dispatch on the part of the Congress, for hopefully, such failures are behind us. There is but a final step in the realization of what has become a goal of the American people. The final step is the actual appropriation of funds now twice authorized by the Congress, which would permit the Department of the Interior to conclude its acquisitions.

The donations of land and easements to the Government have a 5-year period within which the Secretary of the Interior must certify that he has acquired substantially all of the land for a national park. If he is unable to effect this certification then the easements and lands revert to their former owners. As a consequence, the task would then have to be begun anew and all of these gifts solicited again. Mr. Speaker, the deadline for the Department of the Interior to act in behalf of the Government of the United States is August 7, 1967. If for any reason this becomes impossible, the Federal Government will lose land and rights to land valued by the Department at $11 million. Perhaps an even greater loss will be the loss of confidence in the Federal Government by those who have struggled for so long, those who have given of their time and efforts, those who have given lands, those who have given rights to lands, and those who believe the oft spoken words that private and local initiative should serve as a necessary catalyst to Federal action.

If, at this late date, we are unable to place a capstone on the efforts of so many that have persisted so patiently so long, then our attitude toward the entire concept of natural beauty and historic preservation must be redefined. For, if we cannot as a people, through our duly constituted institutions, save Mount Vernon—pray tell, what can we save?

A Governor Looks at the Proposed Federal-Aid Highway Cutbacks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, on Monday the House Public Works Committee will join with the corresponding committee from the other body to start 4 days of joint hearings on cutbacks proposed by President Johnson in the Federal-aid highway program.

In the past few weeks, many of my Republican colleagues on the Public Works Committee have joined me in my criticism of these cutbacks, which would amount to more than $1.1 billion. Now that the hearings are about to commence, I feel it is important to point out this is certainly not a partisan issue.

Many of my friends and colleagues from the other side of the aisle in the House of Representatives and in State governments across the Nation have made it clear that they share my deep concern about this cutback in Federal funds; that they also feel it is not only unnecessary in terms of governmental economy, but may actually be harmful to the economies of many of the States involved and to private contractors and businesses in those States.

New Hampshire's distinguished Governor, the Honorable John W. King, who has already announced he would testify at next week's hearings, is just one of the many members of the opposition party who has publicly expressed his concern over the President's plan.

Indicative of his concern is a speech he recently made on the subject to the New Hampshire Highway Users Conference at its meeting in Concord, N.H. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues as an indication of the problems facing State governments if these cutbacks are enacted:

ADDRESS BY GOV. JOHN W. KING, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, AT THE HIGHWAY USERS CONFERENCE, NEW HAMPSHIRE HIGHWAY HOTEL, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1967

Gentlemen:

I am genuinely pleased to be with you tonight on the occasion of your annual meeting.

I am fully aware of the meaningful contributions made by your organization over the years on behalf of all of us who utilize our highways.

Because of your devotion to this cause along with other interested organizations we are now building across this country a highway system that rivals that of any in the world.

We are spending enormous amounts of money to do this. Here in New Hampshire I think that few people fully realize that in state government our state highway department every year spends almost as much money as all the rest of our state departments together.

In the present fiscal year our gross state expenditures amount to $122.7 million dollars. Highway expenditures account for 51 million, or almost 50 percent of all state spending.

And yet in the more than four years I have been governor I cannot recall a single citizen complaining that we spend too much money on our highways.

I can understand this, because I believe the people of New Hampshire share with me the conviction that there is no single area of government that gives the taxpayer a greater return for his dollar than our highway program.

All of us directly experience the benefits of our highway program every day of our lives. We experience it in time saved—in money saved—in lives saved.

We experienced those benefits as we drove to this meeting tonight, and we'll experience them on our way home.

Further than that, we have all witnessed the dramatic effect our new highways have had on our state as a whole.

They have been a Godsend to our recreation business in the North Country. They have generated the development of scores of new recreational areas that proudly boast only one and a half hours' drive from Boston. No other single factor has had such an influence in the rebirth and resurgence of our North Country that has taken place over the past four years.

By the same token the construction of these new highways has had a vital effect on the explosive growth of our economy that has made us the fastest growing state in New England. The rapid access of product to market is always one of the key factors in the decision to locate a new industry, and because of this, I am certain that our highways have been a tremendous boon to our economic upsurge.

Finally, our new highways are a key factor also in the continual battle to hold down the terrible toll exacted by traffic accidents. The figures clearly demonstrate that controlled access highways are safer than conventional highways by a margin of at least three to one. And so the fatalities and injuries that we are preventing with our new highways are substantial and beyond any material price.

It is because of these tremendously important factors that I have been deeply disturbed by President Johnson's reduction of 17.5 per cent in highway construction projects announced in November and his announcement of January 11th that he is considering an additional cutback of another 12 per cent, or 400 million dollars, in federal highway projects.

I am deeply disturbed with the impact of these reductions in the economy of New Hampshire.

These cutbacks will mean substantial reductions of contractors' payrolls—substantial reductions in the purchase of equipment and materials, in trucking and transportation and related services allied with the construction industry. It will result in further unemployment in the construction industry that has already seen unemployment increase, due to the slowdown in the home building industry and the tight money available for all new construction.

Here in New Hampshire the cutbacks will seriously affect New Hampshire road builders who are small firms and very vulnerable to slowdowns in the program. I have been informed that if the cutbacks are sustained, at least two of our contractors will face liquidation.

I am certain that these proposed curtailments will have an equally serious impact on every one of the New England states.

Because of that I have today written to the governors of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island to join with me in seeking an appearance in person before the House Public Works Committee in Congress to make the Congress fully aware of the impact of these proposed curtailments.

I have no doubt that President Johnson's motivation in this action is the overall good of the economy and the nation.

And yet I am personally convinced that this is a situation where alternate solutions must be sought out. Certainly it deserves the deepest study, and I am hopeful that the congress will take a long second look at this proposed action.

Congress has stated in the past that it is its intent to maintain a balanced, orderly, properly financed program, and contractors have made long term commitments for plants and equipment, relying on the stated intent of the congress.

Stop-and-go or peak-and-valley construction always costs the owner more than a planned and orderly program, and in this case the owner is the public.

If I am concerned with the welfare of our New Hampshire highway contractors, and I am, I am much more concerned with the impact of these proposed cutbacks on the general welfare of all of our people.

I am concerned because of the great impact of our highway system on our recreation industry. I am concerned with its impact on our economic growth as a state. And perhaps most of all, I am concerned because well engineered highways play a key role in our continuing battle against traffic deaths.

This tremendous toll is rapidly reaching proportions that make it one of the most urgent problems facing this nation today.

It is an enormously complex problem that will not lend itself to a simple solution.

I was delighted with the passage of the National Traffic Safety Act of 1966, which, for the first time, brought the federal government into an area where federal action was urgently needed.

The State of New Hampshire is now actively engaged in developing a program to implement the federal legislation. We are preparing legislation for the General Court to meet the National Highway Safety Agency's standards.

At the same time we are developing a safety program for presentation to the National Safety Agency.

Federal funds to implement that program will amount to 165 thousand dollars for fiscal 1967—244 thousand in fiscal 1968 and a like amount in fiscal 1969.

These funds must be matched by a similar appropriation of state funds.

So with the federal government about to allot us some 600 thousand dollars for traffic safety over the next three years at long last we are on the road to realistically giving this serious situation the attention it deserves.

It is a program that is not only highly desirable, in my opinion, but one that we must get into because of the penalties if we don't.

There is a clause in the Highway Safety Act that states if our program is not acceptable our state will lose ten per cent of its federal highway funds which could mean an annual loss of two million dollars, so the program is a must.

By the same token it is also a must that we continue our highway program, which is an integral part of our safety program at the most rapid pace possible. I know your conference shares my concern in both areas, and I would urge your full support of both.

A Vietnam "Maginot Line"?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, I thought the idea of at least considering the possibility of sealing off the line between North and South Vietnam—as an alternative to the less than totally effective air attacks on the Ho Chi Minh Trail—had merit when I first heard of it, last year, and I accordingly inserted in the RECORD some material in support of that idea.

Since then, the situation has not changed very much. Our air attacks continue and, though they have undoubtedly had their impact, the infiltration of both men and supplies from North Vietnam into South Vietnam obviously continues, and we have had little success in reducing the scale of the conflict.

In the present impasse, there seems to be a dearth of new ideas being considered by either our people in the Pentagon and those in the State Department. Pretty much, we merely keep on doing what we have been doing, though at a rising cost in dollars and lives, and it is increasingly discouraging to have to contemplate this as an effort that may drag on for year after tragic year.

If there is anything new in the way of strategy—military or diplomatic—that anyone has to offer, we most certainly ought to look at it. This is why I was glad to see the following article indicating some renewed interest in a Vietnamese "Maginot line," as contained in the January 24 issue of the Christian Science Monitor, which—under leave granted—is set forth for the consideration of my colleagues:

MILITARY ASSESSES VALUE OF VIET "MAGINOT LINE"

(By John Dillin, staff correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor)

SAIGON.—The growing number of North Vietnamese troops pouring into South Vietnam has spurred renewed interest in erecting a jungle "Maginot Line" across Vietnam's 17th parallel.

But the problems of building and manning such a line are immense. And its effectiveness is doubtful.

In the past 18 months, North Vietnam's war efforts in the south have rapidly multiplied. Latest American intelligence reports indicate that nearly 100,000 northern troops filtered through the jungles to the south last year.

BARRIERS OBSTRUCTED

These northerners bolstered the sagging morale of the native Viet Cong, carried in crucial supplies, and enabled the Communist forces to flesh out their ranks to 280,000 men.

If this northern influx could be halted or drastically slowed, the Viet Cong would be dealt a staggering blow.

Most proposals for an armed line have called for the erection of a solid barrier of barbed wire and mines along the full 34 miles of South Vietnam's northern border. From there, it is suggested, the line of men and steel might be extended westward across Laos, or southward along the mountainous Vietnam border.

However, the extension across Laos appears to be impossible politically. And the other extension, along Vietnam's long, western border, seems nearly impossible physically.

Without one of these extensions, the defense line across Vietnam's northern boundary could be flanked to the west via the heavily traveled Ho Chi Minh Trail in Laos.

A look at a map of Southeast Asia shows that the easiest blocking line would be one extending directly across Laos to an anchor point in eastern Thailand.

However, the eastern part of Laos is under the direct control of the Communist Pathet Lao, one of three contending groups in that tiny country, and under the Geneva agreement of 1962—which has brought a delicate political balance to the country—the eastern area is supposed to remain under the Pathet Lao.

To ram a defensive line across eastern Laos would clearly violate the Geneva agreement and throw Southeast Asia into new turmoil, authorities say.

According to one expert, "It would jab a dagger point at what is a very uneasy balance of forces and governments in Southeast Asia. It could unzip the entire thing."

"North Vietnam's reaction and perhaps Red China's would be incalculable . . . but they probably would do something. They're not going to sit there watching a neighboring neutralist country being used in this way."

Advocates of running a defensive line into Laos contend, however, that Lao neutrality has already been thoroughly violated by North Vietnamese infiltrators into South Vietnam. Any American line would only be in response to this, advocates say.

The other possible defense line would stretch along Vietnam's rugged, often ill-defined, 862-mile western frontier.

The prospect of building a fortified line along this tortuous path makes military men gasp. The logistical and manpower requirements would send war costs spiraling.

Nevertheless, the infiltration problem remains a major one. Since last spring there have been direct "invasions" by North Vietnamese divisions across the demilitarized zone on the northern border. The traffic has been especially heavy in the western part. Several large, bloody battles have erupted near the DMZ which drained manpower reserves in the I Corps area and diverted troops from pacification work. In these battles the North Vietnamese troops have been at their best. With short, easy supply lines, their men have arrived at the battlefront rested, well-fed and well equipped.

In contrast, troops fighting farther south often go into battle poorly fed, discouraged, and with their ranks drastically thinned by disease.

Thus among military officials there is a growing interest in denying North Vietnam this easy route to the south, even if little can be done to avoid circumvention by way of the mountainous trails to the west.

There is a precedent for such a barrier in Vietnam's history. In 1627, with civil war raging between the northern and southern halves of Vietnam, the Nguyen rulers in the south ordered construction of a great wall across the narrow plain at Dong Hoi, 40 miles north of the present DMZ.

Today, rather than a wall, military tacticians probably would call for a cleared area some 300 meters wide running the full length of the DMZ. One plan calls for the cleared zone to be heavily laced with mines, strung with barbed wire, protected by artillery, and patrolled by perhaps two divisions of troops (30,000 men).

President's Consumer Message

SPEECH

OF

HON. DANIEL D. ROSTENKOWSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, in his state of the Union message, President Johnson said:

> I hope this Congress will try to help me do more for the consumer.

The President's consumer message is his blueprint for constructing an environment of greater safety and equity for all Americans.

The message, and the proposals it puts forth, will go down in history as the broadest, fairest, and best coordinated effort to give to the American people the protection they need in the complex technological and economic world of today. No group in our national life—the family, the worker, the farmer, the businessman—will fail to benefit from the protection contemplated in this landmark message.

Physical safety—to enjoy the comforts of modern technology in his home. Economic equity—to enable people to participate fruitfully in the great marketplace of our economy. In my judgment, the climate of opinion in this Congress is ideally receptive to new efforts to help the American people in their daily lives.

In the field of physical safety, there are three proposals which merit special attention. First, the establishment of a National Commission on Product Safety. Second, the establishment of a national fire safety program. Third, a broadening amendment to the Flammable Fabrics Act of 1953.

Anyone who questions the necessity for a National Commission on Product Safety need only look at the fact that accidents occurring in and around the home result in thousands of fatalities and millions of injuries every year throughout this country. The deaths alone amount to almost half the number of fatalities suffered on the Nation's highways each year.

A joint resolution to establish a National Commission on Product Safety has been introduced in the Senate by Senator MAGNUSON and Senator COTTON and in the House by Congressman Moss. As presently envisioned, the Commission would consist of seven members, chosen for their training and experience in this field, and appointed by the President.

The Commission would conduct a study of the protection consumers now have against the hazards of household products. The study would identify specific products which are determined to present hazards, examine the extent to which self-regulation by industry is working, look at the protection afforded by common law in the States, and review Federal, State, and local laws aimed at consumer protection in this area. In the course of the study, proprietary information would not be disclosed. The Commission would make a report to the President and the Congress within 18 months, including any recommendations for action. Certain products which have undergone recent congressional scrutiny would be excluded from consideration by the Commission. These items would include motor vehicles, products under the food and drug laws, products under the Hazardous Substances Labeling Act, and Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act, and the Federal Insecticide and Fungicide Act.

I would like to point out that the benefits of such a Commission are twofold: The users of products would benefit by being physically protected against the hazards of some of the products of modern technology. Manufacturers and businessmen, at the same time, could look forward to some assurance that they would not be subjected to a great variety of different State and local safety regulations, which might make mass production for mass markets almost impossible.

A national fire safety program, the second item I mentioned in the area of physical safety, could do much to reduce the yearly toll in human and material loss suffered as a result of fires. I would like to point out that what is contemplated is an expansion of existing public and private programs, wherever possible.

The proposed fire safety program would have four major elements. First. Factfinding and research on the causes, the frequency, and the severity of fires. Second. Education of the public on fire hazards, and education of firemen on techniques for fighting fires. There would also be included development of fire safety curriculums and courses for those who must cope with fires. Third. An information and data service on all aspects of fire safety. Fourth. Support for demonstration projects on improved methods for prevention and control, rehabilitation of people and property affected by fires, and improved fire services.

The third item in physical safety is an amendment to the Flammable Fabrics Act of 1953. The original act was passed in the aftermath of a spate of newspaper stories about torch sweaters, and other similar highly flammable items. The act accomplished its limited objective, but it did not affect the marketing of items of wearing apparel. At the present time, about 3,000 people a year die from burns involving clothing fires.

The amendments would authorize the Secretary of Commerce to revise the standards of flammability for wearing apparel. Flammability standards would also be issued for interior furnishings if such action was determined to be necessary. In addition, the Commerce Department, together with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, would study the causes of deaths, injuries and property losses resulting from accidental burning of furnishings and wearing apparel. Research would be conducted into the flammability of furnishings, fabrics, and materials.

Enactment of the great public-interest proposals outlined in the President's message will help cement the growing partnership of all segments of our population for the benefit of the entire Nation.

State Bills Introduced To Control Trading Stamps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, as I am sure the membership is aware, I have reintroduced my bill in the 90th Congress to establish a Commission on Trading Stamps, in order to establish orderly control and regulation of this industry. Its purpose is to eliminate the unscrupulous elements and to protect the interests of the consumer. The State legislatures are rapidly becoming aware of this problem and have begun to take action on it themselves. The time to act, to insure uniform Federal measures, is now.

Under leave to extend my remarks, therefore, I wish to include the following articles, the first from Women's Wear

Daily of February 16, 1967, and the second from Supermarket News of February 20, 1967, which fully bear out my contention.

The articles follow:

[From the Women's Wear Daily, Feb. 16, 1967]

MICHIGAN BILL TO CONTROL TRADING STAMP ACT

LANSING, MICH.—State representative Lucille H. McCollough has introduced a bill to require trading stamp companies to redeem their stamps for cash as well as for merchandise.

The bill is not considered as an attack on stamps, but intended to provide greater protection for consumers. The bill would become effective Jan. 1.

[From Supermarket News, Feb. 20, 1967]

TRADING STAMPS, PACKAGING BILLS CONTINUE TO GET STATES' ATTENTION

Bills on trading stamps, packaging and consumer protection machinery at the executive level are under consideration in State Legislatures.

In West Virginia and Arkansas, stamp bills have run into trouble.

A rundown of latest developments follows.

Salem, Ore.—House bill 1254 requires retailers offering trading stamps to make available a cash discount instead of merchandise if customers so desire.

The discount would be equal to the cost of the stamps to the retailer.

Charleston, W. Va.—A bill requiring redemption of trading stamps in cash on customer request has been defeated.

Another bill, introduced last week, would bring the State's packaging and labeling law in line, with the new Federal labeling and packaging act. The bill would require liquid commodities to be sold by liquid measure or weight. Non-liquid commodities would be sold by weight. The measure would ban from packaging the words jumbo, giant and full.

Little Rock, Ark.—House bill 189 to require trading stamp companies to keep records of the number of stamps distributed and dates of issue, has been withdrawn.

The House had approved the measure and sent it to the Senate. It was never brought to a vote in the Senate.

A Senate bill to outlaw stamps was recently defeated.

A House bill which would make stamps subject to cash redemption has been defeated.

Albany, N.Y.—Legislation has been introduced in the Senate calling for the creation of a consumer protection division in the Executive branch.

The division's commissioner would be appointed by the Governor.

The bill was referred to the Finance committee.

A similar bill was introduced in the Assembly three weeks ago.

Governor Rockefeller has called for $150,000 to establish mobile consumer protection and eduaction units, as outlined in a program under Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz.

The units would travel to various areas of the State which are not now easily accessible to consumer fraud services of the State Department of Law.

Oklahoma City.—Swapping of trading stamps may become possible under a bill introduced in the State House of Representatives last week.

House bill 663, introduced by Rep. Robert Hopkins, Tulsa, would require trading stamp companies to agree to the sale and exchange of their stamps as a condition to doing business in the State. Stamps could be sold over the counter by retailers as well as given with purchases, for instance.

A National Cemetery for New England

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, for several years I have fought vigorously for establishment of a national cemetery in New England. I have pointed out on the floor of the House many times that, while there are more than 100 national cemeteries in the Nation, there is not one in New Egland and never has been.

I have pointed out that Arlington National Cemetery, now the one closest to New England, was still 250 miles from the closest point in New England and some 500 miles from such northern New England States as New Hampshire.

This year I have reintroduced legislation to establish a national cemetery in New England and my bill, H.R. 3744, is now before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. But the few short weeks since my bill's introduction, its necessity has become even more acute, with the announcement that burials at Arlington will henceforth be limited.

Mr. Kenneth Whipple, editor of the Daily Eagle of Claremont, N.H., has summed up the arguments for a New England national cemetery in another of his perceptive editorials. I call his fine editorial to the attention of my colleagues as another exhibit in the fight for fairness to New England veterans:

NATIONAL CEMETERY AT RINDGE?

Under this editorial title, some seven months ago, we wrote in support of legislation introduced by Rep. James C. Cleveland (R–N.H.) of New London and proposing a national cemenery in New England.

Today, with word that Congressman Cleveland has introduced his bill, we renew our support for such a move.

The argument cannot be set forth more fairly, or more succinctly, than in Congressman Cleveland's own statement to the House:

"The right to be buried in a national cemetery, which we grant to all veterans, is being denied in many instances today by the lack of conveniently located facilities.

"The great distance from New Hampshire to the nearest national cemetery in Arlington, Virginia, almost precludes its use by the veterans from the Granite State.

"We owe it to the veterans of New England and their families to establish a new cemetery, appropriately located in our region, so that their loved ones will be able to pay proper tribute to their memories."

At the same time the New Hampshire Congressman renewed his suggestion, which we strongly second, that consideration be given to the Cathedral of the Pines at Rindge, N.H.—a non-denominational, privately supported, international memorial to the war dead of all nations.

Though there are well upwards of 100 national cemeteries in the nation, there has never been one in New England. Some 20 years ago the Army proposed one at Fort Devens, Mass., but this proposal failed to find favor.

Last year the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs had under study the inequitable distribution of existing cemeteries and the disparity between the number of persons now eligible for burial and the availability of grave sites.

It's to be hoped that the 90th Congress, through such committee or otherwise, will pick up such study and carry it to its logical conclusion.

For, as we wrote last year:

"It seems certain, whatever the course of the war in Vietnam, that use of national cemeteries and demand for their facilities will continue to grow over the years.

"If the system expands, as it obviously must, New Hampshire and New England should not be ignored."

K. D. W.

The Powell Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, recently 118 New York Presbyterian parishes asserted that when the House of Representatives decided to investigate the qualifications of a Member-elect before seating him that their action was camouflage, and another sign of white backlash. This together with other similar statements by religious leaders and groups has caused me great distress.

However, when I received the following letter this morning expressing differing personal views of another minister of God, my faith has been greatly restored.

Next week, Mr. Speaker, when the House is scheduled to act on this matter I intend to cast my vote on the basis of what is morally right without regard to race or politics.

The letter which I received follows:

To Episcopalians Who Are Members of the House of Representatives:

I address this to you as a fellow-Episcopalian to express my *personal* convictions concerning the action which the House of Representatives may take regarding the seating of Adam Clayton Powell and his chairmanship of the House Education and Labor Committee.

I disagree with the position of the New York Presbytery, announced in today's *New York Times,* recommending that Mr. Powell be seated and restored to his chairmanship. I oppose both such actions as not being in the national interest.

I hope that this case will be decided on the *moral* issues involved, and on the rights and needs of the *entire country,* not just those of the District which elected Mr. Powell. A Congressman, once seated, is a national servant, especially if he chairs an important committee.

Mr. Powell has violated the trust vested in him both by his District and by the Congress which gave him his chairmanship. He has not fulfilled his responsibility to either group and should, therefore, suffer the consequences of his failures. How can we call for high moral standards among taxpayers and among our youth if our Representatives violate so flagrantly the trust placed in them? Congress needs to act boldly to restore the public's confidence in it.

If other Representatives are violating the law, they, too should be brought to light. Do not let their misdeeds protect Mr. Powell, nor let his misdeeds protect them! We want justice to be tempered with mercy, but we cannot afford mild rebukes or a whitewash!

I am concerned that so many Negro leaders, especially clergymen, have come to Mr. Powell's aid because he is the first Negro to rise to such political power in America. I think they are wrong in this stance; he has hurt their cause irreparably. They must groom new leadership which will not betray them.

I hope that your vote will be based on what is morally right for the nation, not on the false issues of race and politics.

Sincerely yours,
The Reverend Richard Upshur Smith.

Arizona's Need for Water

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, since the beginning of the 90th Congress, I have received a number of inquiries from interested persons throughout the country seeking information about Arizona's need for water and the various proposals to furnish relief. The following letter, I feel, answers most of the questions about which people seem the most concerned:

February 21, 1967.

Mr. John W. Slocum,
University Station,
Baton Rouge, La.

Dear John: I welcome the opportunity to explain what the Central Arizona Project controversy is all about and hope that you will discuss the facts with your friends.

Many persons have become alarmed during recent years that Congress might pass legislation which would flood the Grand Canyon. Their fears stem largely from extensive, nationwide publicity disseminated by the Sierra Club.

Through its publicity, the club has warned that the Grand Canyon would be "flooded, ruined, destroyed, inundated" if the Central Arizona Project were enacted by Congress.

Nothing, John, is further from the truth. I love Arizona not only as my chosen home but also as the most beautiful land in the world. Foremost among its wonders is the Grand Canyon where I often have stood lost in the marvels of a creation that no man could hope to duplicate, a creation no man should ever be permitted to desecrate.

How could I or any other Arizonan or any othre Congressman say that he serves the people if he permits our most magnificent natural wonder to be marred by human hand? The attacks on the project, then, not only are baseless in fact but they are insults to the integrity of some of the nation's finest and most prominent legislators.

Last year, after hearing all witnesses, the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the U.S. House of Representatives had this to say about the club's "scare" publicity campaign:

"The American people have been given false impressions as to the effect of the proposed constructions. Articles such as 'Ruin for the Grand Canyon' in the READERS DIGEST and advertisements in leading newspapers have painted a picture of devastation and ruin wholly unsupported by the facts."

Arizona and most of the Southwest are in desperate need of water. But we do not seek our water in exchange for the beauties of the Grand Canyon. Through the Central Arizona Project, we have found ways to guarantee an adequate water supply while assuring continued, unmarred existence of the Grand Canyon.

Central Arizona presently uses about 4.5 million acre-feet of water per year. Rivers and surface sources provide 1 million acre-feet and underground pumping provides the remaining 3.5 million acre-feet. After use, about 1.3 million acre-feet return to underground lakes which leaves the area with an annual deficit of roughly 2.2 million acre-feet.

As a result of this deficit caused by the mining of water, our water table is dropping disasterously low.

Last year, the U.S. Commissioner of Reclamation pointed out, "There are lands going out of production. There will be many thousands of acres of additional lands going out of production even during the 10 years that would be required were this project authorized now and construction started immediately."

In the town of Eloy, for example, it was necessary to drill a well 159 feet deep for water in 1958. Just six years later in 1964, the water level dropped to 214 feet.

As the water level drops, the land itself subsides. In 12 years the land around Eloy settled 4.3 feet, causing deep crevices in the ground around the sinking land. It is much the same as a piece of pumpkin pie that has lost its moisture causing the filling to pull away from the crust.

None of the water which we seek would be used to develop new agricultural lands. Instead, it would be used primarily to make up for the loss of our underground water resources. It would assure water for municipal and industrial use for the city of Tucson, wholly dependent today on sub-surface supply.

Nor do Arizonans have any wish to take water from other water-hungry states in the Colorado River Basin. Our problems and needs are basically the same. In 1963 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that 7.5 million acre-feet of water per year be allocated to lower basin states in the following manner: 4.4 million for California, 2.8 million for Arizona and 300,000 for Nevada. The Central Arizona Project takes advantage of this allocation by bringing 1.2 million of these acre-feet into the central portion of our state.

The legislation which members of the Arizona congressional delegation introduced this year calls for construction of aqueducts to convey water from the Colorado River at Parker Dam and across central Arizona just as water today is carried to Southern California.

Our proposal includes construction of only one hydroelectric dam on the Colorado River at Bridge Canyon on the Hualapai Indian Reservation. This dam would provide the power to pump the water into central Arizona and additionally raise revenue from power sales to reimburse the Federal Government for expenditures advanced for the Project. The Hualapai (or Bridge Canyon) Dam is important as a way to finance the entire Project. However, as a multi-purpose unit, it would also create a scenic recreation area unparalleled elsewhere in the country, and benefit the Hualapai Indian tribe.

When the dam is constructed and the reservoir filled to capacity, the normal level of the river at the most extreme northwest boundary of the Park will rise only 90 feet within the inner canyon walls—more than 3,800 feet below the canyon rim. The depth, of course, would diminish progressively upstream for a stretch of 13 otherwise inaccessible miles of riverbed—at which point the increase would dwindle to zero.

More than 91 miles of the Colorado River within the Park would remain undisturbed. At no point would the water enter the Park itself.

As stated in the respected National Wildlife Magazine in February, 1967, "charges and counter-charges have been hurled with some distorted literature leading people to believe the Grand Canyon would be flooded to the extent that water would lap over the rim! In truth, the 90-foot rise in water level along the 13-mile boundary line would be scarcely perceptible to the tourist standing on the rim. The river is not even evident to the viewer from many of the most-frequented outlooks."

Last year, after lengthy hearings the Interior Committee concluded: "The dam will do no violence to the scenic beauty of the Grand Canyon National Park nor to adjacent portions of the Colorado River" . . . and that "the power and energy which will be produced is marketable on a long-term basis at competitive rates and will help to satisfy the needs of the Pacific Southwest region for 'peaking' power."

Other bills have been introduced to help provide water and power for the Southwest including an exceptionally-workable and worthwhile proposal by the Interior Committee Chairman, Honorable Wayne N. Aspinall of Colorado. And, I might ask, how could anyone question this distinguished gentleman's intentions, integrity and genuine desire to serve the people?

Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall also is interested in the Central Arizona Project and has made a proposal which would permit our needs to be satisfied, in part, by approving the aqueducts and with pumping power to the obtained from a thermal plant. Under this plan Hualapai Dam would be deferred. This, too, is receiving serious study by all concerned.

No one has disputed that Arizona and the entire Southwest is in desperate need of water. And, although our motives have been challenged by one radical conservationist organization, thoughtful conservationists throughout the nation will assist us this year in reaching a workable and satisfactory solution. We welcome their advice and respect their views.

As a result of this desire to work together, understanding each other's problems, I am optimistic that legislation can be enacted this year.

I hope this answers your questions. It is only through a candid exchange of information that we can preserve our beautiful heritage and resolve the problems which face the people of the Southwest.

Yours sincerely,
John J. Rhodes,
Member of Congress.

The Voice of Democracy Contest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, each year the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, and its Ladies' Auxiliary, conducts a Voice of Democracy contest. This year over 350,000 school students participated.

I am very happy to note that the winning speech from my State was delivered by David Mark Maloney of Tyndall Air Force Base, Fla. He is a resident of my district and I am very pleased indeed to ask that his speech be inserted in the Congressional Record.

Young Maloney and other winning contestants from the various States will come to Washington for final judging as guests of VFW at the time of that organization's inaugural dinner on March 7.

The winning speech by David Mark Maloney follows:

Democracy: What It Means to Me

(By David Mark Maloney, Rutherford High School, Panama City, Fla.)

The spirit of what democracy means to me is captured in the words of Abraham Lincoln, "I hold that while man exists it is his duty to improve not only his conditions but to assist in ameliorating mankind." Democracy grants us these privileges. We, the people under democratic governments, are free to help ourselves. By this basic characteristic of democracy we are raised from the level of the feeble, the incompetent, the inefficient, and directed by a democratic way of life, the privilege of assisting those plagued by the unyielding forces of evil becomes a moral obligation.

Democracy views the God-given rights for the masses and the individual on equal terms. Thus I am free to defend my rights without fear of being stereotyped. As an individual I possess the ability to promote myself and alleviate those around me from injustice. Only under democracy could this be true.

Not only in foreign relations does democracy provide for its subjects, but domestically as well. The basic bill of rights is indispensible toward the liberty we enjoy. Without it, our country could not have gained its present state of authority, status or prestige and this is but one fruit of democracy. Justice is for all—not the majority, the rich or the powerful. Under democracy we live our lives as we choose and we defend our beliefs without the fear of prejudice, debauchery and the pressures of a highly developed society. The popular judgment is allowed to be put into effect properly with no faction holding too much power. Under democracy decisions are made correctly because the wisdom, virtue and zeal of the leaders are brought out through popular acclaim.

In this age of fantastic progress, democracy has become more important than ever before. Standing on the threshold of self devastation the world controlled by the organized chaos known as political relations, depends upon democracy which remains as a lonely sentry, guarding the free world against the dangers of night.

On a smaller scale and more personal basis, democracy means choosing the college I wish to attend, going to football games and yelling for my team, or buying a product within my purchasing power.

The anathema of protest, of civil disorder and disobedience, presently sweeping the country, tramples freedom into the ground and democracy cries out. In the words of another, "Is life so dear—or peace so sweet?" Today I stand behind the policies of our nation not only because they are right but because it is my duty. I advocate the betterment of less fortunate people by means of our own support because democracy dictates it so.

Democracy means this to me, but in essence means the ability for all to be free, totally, absolutely, completely.

The Five DiSogra Brothers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, on February 18, 1967, Richmond County Post No. 248, VFW and Richmond County Council, VFW, gave a testimonial dinner honoring Charles A. DiSogra, post commander, 1949–50 and county commander, 1950–51; Michael F. DiSogra, post commander, 1950–51 and 1955–57 and county commander, 1955–56; Camille R. DiSogra, post commander, 1952–53 and county commander, 1960–61; James V. DiSogra, post commander, 1958–60 and county commander, 1966–67 and Frank P. DiSogra, post commander, 1966–67.

At the dinner I read a letter from William J. Driver, Administrator of the Veterans' Administration, extending his congratulations. Each of the brothers received a life membership in the Veterans of Foreign Wars and each received a statue of the Infant Jesus of Prague from the Ladies' Auxiliary of Richmond County Post 248.

Holt Meyer, borough planning director, read greetings and congratulations from Mayor John V. Lindsay.

Hon. Heyman "Sandy" Rothbart presented each of the brothers with the Department of New York VFW plaque commemorating their long and faithful service.

The principal address was delivered by Capt. George I. Garner, and I include this address, as well as the response made by Charles A. DiSogra:

Address of Capt. George I. Garner

1. Reading back through history we find that in 1492 a Genoese named Christopher Columbus discovered lands adjacent to our mainland which opened up for settlement and development the entire western half of the world. A Florentine explorer by the name of Amerigo Vespucci subsequently was the first to see the mainland of the North American continent. Although eminent scholars still argue whether or not Amerigo, did in fact, first discover the mainland, the fact remains that he left his mark in the form of his name on the entire Western Hemisphere. Another Florentine, Giovanni Verrazano, discovered Staten Island in 1524, in the course of an exploratory voyage along the coast of North America. A permanent settlement called Oude Dorp ("Old Town"), was founded by Dutch settlers in 1661 near the site of the present-day Fort Wadsworth. Until this time it was an all-Italian show, and I don't understand how the Dutch got in the act, but not for long, as we are about to learn because in this century Verrazano has a big ferry boat and a great bridge named after him, and Staten Island has discovered the brothers Di Sogra five. I am indeed happy to join with all of you in paying tribute to them tonight.

2. In addition to being an active family in civic endeavors since the 1930's, and acquiring splendid war records in World War II, they all returned to their home community to continue as civic leaders and veterans. They were the first four brothers to be elected to the office of county commander of Richmond County Post, VFW. As commanders they led the VFW to new heights of achievement in the areas of membership, influence and service. Having taken an active, unselfish part in public affairs, for their strong sense of charity, responsibility and integrity, a characteristic of their total life, the community must be pleased and gratified to share in this auspicious occasion.

4. Each of the brothers DiSogra represent all that is fine, high minded and meaningful in the true American tradition. They represent a new image that truly depicts the ideals and purposes of all who are dedicated to civic mindedness.

5. Tonight, it is my pleasure to make a presentation to Michael who is my top civilian administrative aid and the most dedicated, loyal and hard-working civil service employee I have ever known.

6. During the past twenty years—in addition to the many other elected and appointed offices—Mike has been known as the welfare and service officer for the VFW. During this time he has rendered aid to thousands of veterans, widows, and non-veterans who requested his assistance for advice, guidance and help. Mike has always stressed the fact that rehabilitation, hospital work, and service are the key to solving the many problems of veterans and for better community understanding. He has always emphasized the principle that is memorialized in the slogan of the VFW "To honor the dead by remembering the living."

Therefore, let us proudly salute a dedicated and able leader, Michael Francis DiSogra.

7. In paying tribute to Mike and his brothers I might add despite other family and business commitments, they found time to serve, to work, to lead, and to shoulder many burdens. These are the things that mean the most, and these are the reasons for the presence of their many friends assembled here this evening.

8. And now Mike we come to your presentation. On behalf of your many friends and associates I am most happy to present you with this "life membership card" in Richmond County Post No. 248, VFW, also I would be glad to sponsor your membership in my American Legion Post. Good luck and God bless you.

Response by Charles DiSogra

The five Di Sogra brothers are greatly appreciative of this unbelievable testimonial for our efforts over the past 20 years to aid Staten Island veterans, their widows and their families.

But as spokesman for Michael, Camille, Jim, Frank and myself we feel very humble, but thankful to our God that He has given us the wisdom and often the courage to carry on when our hopes were dim and our efforts seemed doomed to failure.

We feel we have given little more than should be expected from other comrades in arms. There are many veterans, who labor tirelessly for the same cause as we have. But what makes the Di Sogra's unique is that they have acted as a team.

This teamwork did not come by extensive planning. Each one of us had known the ravages and effects of war and experiences of veterans of earlier wars. We had personal knowledge that as soon as the hero of the conflict took off his uniform, he and his family were forgotten by those for whom he gave so much for so little. He faced a heartless world where the only future seemed despondency and despair.

As brothers we dedicated ourselves to a program of comfort and service, but we realized that in unity there was strength and so we decided that whenever possible we would act as a team, rather than on an individual basis.

During the more than a fifth of a century, we have attempted to serve, thousands of veterans and their families have come to us for all types of help and advice. They represented those who served in all wars; from World War I to the present Vietnam conflict. If we have aided but a small number, we consider our work rewarded.

In closing may I leave this thought:

The Di Sogra brothers will not be around forever. But they hope that when they leave, this God's earth they will have left a torch, which will be held high in a never-ending effort to aid veterans, their widows and their families. They will always need help, not charity, from the Government, veterans organizations and the more fortunate "buddies" who also served their country in time of need.

Thank you.

Appendix

Foster Grandparents Take Love to Retarded Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, the State of Minnesota has made significant strides in providing better programs to help the mentally retarded. One of the finest facilities in the State is the Brainerd State School and Hospital in the Sixth Congressional District.

Recently Mr. Les Sellnow of the Brainerd Daily Dispatch wrote an excellent report on the foster grandparent project at Brainerd. The project is sponsored by the Minnesota Association for Retarded Children. Mrs. Verna Geike of Nisswa, Minn., is the field supervisor, and Miss Margaret Klassen is the project supervisor.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to have inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following article which appeared in the Brainerd Daily Dispatch on February 2, 1967:

RETARDED CHILDREN RESPOND—ACTING GRANDPARENTS TAKE LOVE INTO STATE HOSPITAL

(By Les Sellnow)

A group of area senior citizens is bringing about some transformations at the Brainerd State School and Hospital.

A little boy who sat in a corner in his ward and wouldn't play or pay any attention to anyone or anything is suddenly a smiling, jovial playloving young lad.

A youngster whose face is scratched and marked because he is in constant scraps in his ward gives a 77-year-old man a tender hug and a kiss on the cheek.

A little girl who was somewhat hyperactive and would grab and clutch anything in sight now sits, much more demurely at an afternoon tea party.

Another little girl who was extremely shy now jumps and skips, laughs and shouts.

The reason for it all is the foster grandparent program which was launched at the institution in November.

The program, financed with federal funds, is designed to do two things; provide employment for senior citizens and offer some needed love and attention for young mentally retarded patients at the state hospital.

For five days a week these foster grandparents travel to the state hospital, spending two hours in the morning with one child and two hours in the afternoon with another.

Mrs. Verna Geike, Nisswa, is in charge of the program and she says it is working admirably. Not only are the grandparents providing the needed love and atention for the children, but the work is putting a new zest into the life of the older citizens.

"I'd say that 98 per cent of them have all but forgotten about the money," she said, "and are concerned mainly with their youngsters."

There are now 34 foster grandparents involved in the program with openings for several more on a fulltime basis and another six on a substitute basis.

"It is very gratifying," says Mrs. Anna Duda, Brainerd, one of the foster grandmothers. "We might be growing old and weak, but they need our strength and love."

Her afternoon child was very shy and quiet when Mrs. Duda first met her. Now she smiles, talks, hops, jumps and skips.

"I took her home with me one day," Mrs. Duda says, "and she was a perfect lady. Every day now she tells me it is her birthday so I'll take her home for another birthday party."

The little girl and her foster grandmother were part of a group around a table in the patients' cafeteria in the rehabilitation building yesterday afternoon, having a tea party.

One of the little girls twisted and turned on her "grandmother's" lap, but appeared to be completely under control. When she was first taken over by her foster grandmother, however, she snatched cups, glasses and everything else within reach from the table.

Also in the cafeteria were Mr. and Mrs. Alvin Dennehey from the Motley area with their boys for the afternoon.

Mrs. Dennehey's boy is a spastic patient and spends much of his time in a wheelchair. Mr. Dennehey's boy, who kept a grip on the older man's hand, is also a wheelchair patient. It is an adventure for both boys just to be pushed out of their rooms and down the corridors in their wheelchairs.

Mr. Dennehey had trouble with his forenoon boy when he first entered the program.

"He didn't want to come with me at first," he said, "and would hide under the table. After about the third day though when I arrived I say him watching out the window of the room and he started jumping up and down, saying, 'they're coming, they're coming.' "

One day Mr. Dennehey didn't make it to the institution and the boy cried for his "grandpa."

In a downstairs playroom in Building 8 yesterday, a group of the foster grandmothers played with, sat with, and talked with their young charges.

The youngsters cavorted about, some of them playing with little cars on the floor, one riding a little merry-go-round with the help of his "grandmother" and another blowing on a mouth organ.

In a room upstairs 77-year-old John Peterson was playing with a little boy whose face is scratched and marked from many battles on the ward. The boy was sitting on Mr. Peterson's knee, draping some strips of cloth around the older man's neck.

"He's really dressing me up today," Mr. Peterson said. Suddenly the boy reached up, clasped the man around the neck and kissed him on the cheek.

"He's been a fighter in the ward," Peterson said. "When he does something wrong here I just speak firmly to him and then he comes over and gives me a kiss."

It is obvious that the older man has formed an attachment for the boy.

"This summer I'm going to take him home with me so he can count the ducks. We've got some big pine trees on the farm for him to see, too," Peterson said.

A spry 77 years old, Peterson no longer farms actively, but he and his wife continue to live on the farm.

Another boy in the room had a bunch of keys on a string and was trying to unlock every door and drawer in sight.

"All we're doing today is unlocking things," said his "grandmother," Mrs. Agnes Erickson, Pequot Lakes.

Each day she brings him something to play with.

"Yesterday it was that big purse over there," she said. "He pretended it was his suitcase. He must have some happy memories of a suitcase—maybe of going home for a visit."

The youngsters in the program, however, have been home for few if any visits and receive just as few at the institution from their parents.

Any youngster who has frequent visitors is not a part of the program, Mrs. Geike points out.

There can be little doubt in the observer's mind that this little group of foster grandparents is dedicated to alleviate some of the loneliness felt by these retarded youngsters.

Most of them echo Mrs. Duda when she says: "The big problem is that there are so many who need our help. It makes you wish you could do more."

The story is not 100 per cent rosy all the time. There are some frustrations and setbacks. One woman approached Mrs. Geike with real concern in her voice yesterday.

"I lost my little boy for today," she said. "He just wouldn't have anything to do with me."

The youngster was in bed, she said, and later she planned to return and sit by him in an effort to restore what had been on the verge of becoming a close relationship.

But the successes are there and it seems apparent after watching these senior citizens at work that the successes are going to vastly outweigh the failures.

Democracy: What It Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD a speech written and delivered by Mr. Richard K. Robinson of Mannington, W. Va., which was judged to be the best entry in the State in the contest held annually by the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Young Mr. Robinson will participate in the final judging for a national winner here in Washington on March 7, 1967.

I am deeply gratified that the West Virginia winner is from the First Congressional District which I am privileged to represent. This is the second time since I have been a Member of the Congress that the winner from my State has been from my district.

Each year, the VFW and its ladies auxiliary conduct a Voice of Democracy contest. This year over 350,000 school students participated in the contest competing for the five scholarships which are awarded as the top prizes. First prize is a $5,000 scholarship, second prize is $3,500, third prize is $2,500, fourth prize is $1,500, and the fifth prize is $1,000.

Needless to say, on behalf of the people of my district and the entire State of West Virginia, we are rooting for Mr. Robinson, wishing him every success as he enters the final phase of this contest. The honor and distinction which he has already brought to our State make us very proud indeed of him, and we hope he will add to his achievement by emerging as the national winner.

DEMOCRACY: WHAT IT MEANS TO ME

On July 4, 1776, three million American colonists declared to the world that they would not surrender their liberties to any foreign power. John Adams declared, "We shall never submit." Almost two years later, the colonists ratified the Constitution of the United States of America, the finest document of its kind ever written. This Constitution, although purchased at a huge cost in money and blood, provides America with the backbone of its democratic system. And with this, Americans have built the greatest democracy of all. A country so strong that it has withstood the test of time, and has emerged victorious from a number of smaller conflicts and two world wars. In fact, America was called, during the 2nd. World War, the "arsenal of democracy."

This combination of patriotism, type of government, the Constitution, and the American spirit is the true meaning of democracy. Here we find the reasons which impel Americans to sacrifice everything, even life itself, for their country.

It is the responsibility of every American to carry on this great tradition. And what better way is there to do this than to educate oneself in the happenings of the past, present, and the future? James Madison commented that, ". . . a people who mean to be their own governors, must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives." Each day, in my studies, I am witness to the drama of history, the science of numbers, the wonders of chemistry, and the languages which enrich this nation. I feel that I am doing the best thing by staying in school and by building a foundation of knowledge for the future. In this way I will help not only myself but I will also help America by being able to make wiser decisions and to understand, in a clearer way, the events around me. We can, therefore, quickly see that our responsibility to America is to strive for a good education because education is the bulwark of freedom.

But our education should not end upon leaving the classroom or receiving a diploma. Our search for truth and facts must be a constant one. And we should use what we have learned in maintaining our democracy. We can do this by personal participation in public affairs—by taking a keen interest in topics of discussion and problems of community and state and by being tolerant and reasonable. Americans should not sit idly while problems of great importance are left to the decisions of a few.

However . . . in dealing with new and bold concepts we must also be cautious—for in the words of the Declaration of Independence, "Prudence . . . will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes." It is the duty not only of this generation, but also of subsequent generations, to guard our Constitution and its purposes with an eternal vigilance. We must not recklessly abandon the wisdom of our Founding Fathers.

Never before in the history of the world has one nation had so much power as this great country. What America does will directly or indirectly affect the policies of every government around the globe. This position makes it even more essential for us to be active and vigorous in seeking a greater America.

The time for rededication has arrived. Let us all remember that democracy is the single type of government which requires the courage and perseverance that has characterized previous generations. The American doctrine was devised by brave men for brave men. If the men are still brave, the doctrine wil continue to be good. But not otherwise. Think it over, Americans, and let this generation promise to strengthen and extend our democracy. But if we are not willing to accept this challenge, then we had better be thinking, deciding what we will tell our children. What shall we say was more important than democracy? They will want to know.

Appeal for Funds To Complete I-94

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Eau Claire Leader, Eau Claire, Wis., recently carried an excellent editorial appealing for funds for completion of Highway I-94 in the western part of the State. The editorial is a timely one, with joint hearings on the Federal highway cutback being scheduled for later this month.

As the editorial states, there is no rail passenger service in west-central Wisconsin. This puts an increasingly heavy burden on a very highly traveled and extremely dangerous road.

I am pleased to call the editorial to the attention of my colleagues, and to have it printed at this place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The editorial follows:

APPEAL FOR FUNDS TO COMPLETE I-94

Reduction in federal spending is always an excellent goal for taxpayers, but it rarely succeeds. This, obviously, is due to the desire to curtail spending except when it hits the taxpayers' own pet project.

If it were not for one factor, this could well be the situation in the Eau Claire Chamber of Commerce seeking restoration of federal funds to complete Interstate Highway 94 between Eau Claire and Tomah.

The one redeeming feature of the Chamber's appeal to our representative and senators is that there is no rail passenger service in West Central Wisconsin.

The other factors cited by the Chamber, delay will result in additional costs; the route is a prime highway for students; that driving hazards have been increased; is an interstate route connecting with Canada, and that the state is ready to let contracts are all valid. But they could pertain to many other sections of the nation which have also had their highway construction delayed.

The lack of rail passenger service looms large in the contention of the Chamber that an exception should be made in this case. Bus and plane have taken some of the burden off travellers, but without reliable train service the private automobile has been called more and more into use for trips to Madison, Milwaukee and Chicago. This does result in more and more travel over a section of highway that is inadequate to say the least.

That the rapid completion of the unfinished interstate section would be advantageous to this part of Wisconsin should go unchallenged, but undoubtedly there are scores of other sections of states throughout the nation which also have unfinished highways which would be advantageous to them were the concrete ribbons completed.

If government spending is ever to be reduced it must start some place. Where would you begin it? The space program, poverty program, aid to schools, or highway curtailment?

Crime in Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Evening Star on Monday, February 13, 1967, carried a full-page ad which included a letter to the President of the United States from G. B. Burrus, president and chairman of the board of Peoples Drug Stores. He also included an alarming list of losses due to burglaries and armed robberies in the Washington metropolitan area sustained by Peoples Drug Stores in the past 56 weeks.

I have unanimous consent to have it placed in the RECORD:

PEOPLES DRUG STORES, INC.,
Washington, D.C., February 9, 1967.

THE PRESIDENT
The White House
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I should like to endorse the letter sent to you recently by the District of Columbia Clearing House Association respecting crime in the District of Columbia.

There can hardly be any dispute as to the magnitude of the problem. The overall statistics on incidence of crime in the District tell the story accurately, but it is possible that the appalling significance of those statistics may be blurred by their generality.

As I realize only too keenly, "robberies per thousand population" translates into actual robbers in actual stores jeopardizing the lives of actual men and women. I attach a list of the robberies and burglaries committed in my company's stores in the District of Columbia metropolitan area since January 1, 1966. As you will see, in the past 56 weeks Peoples Drug Stores in this area have been the scene of 31 armed robberies and 62 burglaries, and the pace of these crimes is accelerating rather than abating.

The dollar loss to Peoples Drug Stores during this period—$116,000, none of it insured—is obviously heavy. But the threat to the lives and well being of our employees and customers is of a much more serious order. Every crime listed in the attachment carried the seeds of grave human tragedy, and in some instances violence did indeed occur.

Just this past week the assistant manager of one of our stores was kidnapped at his Maryland home, pistol-whipped, and bound and gagged by four criminals who forced him to return to our District store so that they could gain entry to the store and the safe and secure cash and narcotics. They left him, still bound and gagged, in his car. The very next day at another of our stores armed robbers, at 8:40 in the morning, forced 7 of our employees and 20 customers to lie on the floor and robbed the store of cash and narcotics.

Or consider our experience at a single store. On November 6, 1966, that store was robbed of $6,910.93. On January 8, 1967, the manager of the store was accosted at gun point by three robbers, forced to re-enter the store, open the safe, and turn over cash and narcotics. Upon leaving, the criminals knocked him unconscious. On January 22, 1967, this same manager, upon opening the store, was again faced by armed robbers who forced him to open the safe and to turn over cash and narcotics. Finally, on January 25, 1967, the police apprehended five persons burglarizing the store. The manager and all employees tendered their resignations and it was necessary to close the store permanently.

I cite these figures not because they are unusual, but because I have no reason to think they are not representative. Indeed, the burden of crime has not fallen as heavily upon my company as upon others in our community. We have been spared loss of life, but there are families whose breadwinner has been cut down by robbers. We are a large company, but there are small merchants to whom robbery and burglary has meant financial ruin.

I, and those who share my anxiety, are greately heartened by your demonstrated concern about crime, both nationally and in the District, where the federal government has a special responsibility. While I do not pretend to be equipped to evaluate the particulars of your legislative proposals or the recommendations of the District of Columbia Crime Commission, certainly your policy of a two-pronged attack upon both the sources and the effects of crime should command widespread support. If disagreements arise over particular ingredients of an anti-crime program, it is my hope that in any event those disagreements will not prevent the Congress and the community from uniting in unstinting support of those measures as to which there can be no reasonable dispute. The urgency of the problem surely demands no less.

I am confident that the stockholders, employees and customers of Peoples Drug Stores join me in pledging our cooperation in your efforts to give meaning in our community to the principle that, as you put it to the Congress, "public order is the first business of government."

Very truly yours,

G. B. Burrus,
President and Chairman of the Board.

Peoples Drug Stores—Losses due to burglaries and armed robberies in the Metropolitan Washington area

Store No.	Burglary or robbery	Date	Total
	JANUARY 1966		
165	Burglary	Jan. 2	$213.90
1	do	Jan. 3	130.80
70	do	Jan. 4	120.00
1	do	Jan. 9	51.25
5	Robbery	Jan. 21	80.00
27	Burglary	Jan. 26	119.46
3	do	Jan. 27	192.69
40	Robbery	Jan. 28	3,363.86
24	Burglary	Jan. 31	2,283.67
	FEBRUARY 1966		
126	Burglary	Feb. 13	$536.40
103	do	do	4,584.56
	MARCH 1966: NONE		
	APRIL 1966		
130	Burglary	Apr. 10	$250.74
233	do	Apr. 12	252.87
	MAY 1966		
191	Burglary	May 2	$1,614.37
151	do	May 4	2,743.39
27	do	do	405.47
249	do	May 5	1,793.61
27	do	May 11	25.80
233	do	May 27	881.72

Peoples Drug Stores—Losses due to burglaries and armed robberies in the Metropolitan Washington area—Continued

Store No.	Burglary or robbery	Date	Total
	JUNE 1966		
126	Burglary	June 12	$2,219.42
217	do	do	3,531.57
5	do	June 24	490.39
	JULY 1966		
18	Burglary	July 1	$25.75
75	Robbery	do	339.00
89	do	July 3	5,750.53
133	do	July 5	202.62
25	do	July 6	174.00
88	Burglary	July 8	99.00
74	do	July 9	707.94
191	do	July 14	90.24
161	Robbery	July 15	630.00
18	Burglary	July 20	243.11
161	do	July 28	4,020.81
	AUGUST 1966		
25	Robbery	Aug. 8	$1,913.86
90	Burglary	do	180.29
42	do	do	82.93
10	do	Aug. 25	1,506.82
107	do	Aug. 27	674.47
155	do	Aug. 28	776.55
89	do	do	611.47
146	do	do	794.82
	SEPTEMBER 1966		
255	Burglary	Sept. 2	$16.00
236	do	Sept. 6	645.65
1	do	Sept. 8	240.00
107	do	Sept. 9	369.01
90	do	Sept. 16	283.00
158	Robbery	Sept. 19	2,405.31
11	Burglary	Sept. 20	1,057.00
237	Robbery	Sept. 23	50.00
233	Burglary	Sept. 24	1,484.15
200	do	Sept. 25	924.56
23	do	Sept. 26	71.18
	OCTOBER 1966		
15	Robbery	Oct. 1	$1,012.52
3	Burglary	Oct. 5	1,003.35
90	do	Oct. 12	283.00
233	do	Oct. 13	149.51
27	do	Oct. 17	160.23
133	Robbery	Oct. 25	5,800.00
	NOVEMBER 1966		
77	Robbery	Nov. 6	$6,910.93
10	Burglary	Nov. 9	2,148.82
15	do	Nov. 15	2,446.98
245	Robbery	Nov. 21	2,538.76
42	Burglary	Nov. 23	485.92
27	do	do	955.68
	DECEMBER 1966		
150	Robbery	Dec. 3	$3,749.30
27	Burglary	Dec. 5	567.24
19	Robbery	Dec. 11	149.41
15	do	Dec. 16	585.55
42	Burglary	Dec. 22	668.94
2	Robbery	Dec. 23	1,045.77
120	Burglary	Dec. 29	388.40
27	do	Dec. 30	100.00
237	do	do	2,111.00
75	do	Dec. 31	2,600.00
	Total, 1966		88,117.52
	JANUARY 1967		
42	Robbery	Jan. 3	$6,035.04
75	do	do	60.00
24	do	do	2,600.00
9	do	Jan. 4	380.00
27	Burglary	Jan. 5	57.48
[1]	do	Jan. 7	349.18
77	Robbery	Jan. 8	2,366.72
82	do	Jan. 19	1,188.22
237	do	Jan. 20	99.00
114	do	do	2,291.85
201	Burglary	Jan. 21	171.34
77	Robbery	Jan. 22	4,047.65
75	do	Jan. 23	380.00
237	Burglary	Jan. 24	47.38
77	do	Jan. 25	10.31
90	do	Jan. 27	52.78
17	Robbery	Jan. 29	3,003.28

Peoples Drug Stores—Losses due to burglaries and armed robberies in the Metropolitan Washington area—Continued

Store No.	Burglary or robbery	Date	Total
	FEBRUARY 1967		
133	Robbery	Feb. 2	$3,000.00
25	do	Feb. 3	2,000.00
	Total, 1966-67		116,257.75

[1] Warehouse.

Rising Imports of Dairy Products

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, I am concerned, as are many others about the increasing volume of imports of dairy products into this country. These imports are competing unfairly with our domestic milk production and thereby adversely affecting dairy farmers' incomes.

A few days ago I introduced a bill designed to help alleviate this condition. I recognize that passage of legislation of this nature requires considerable time. We intend to press hard for its passage.

However, the Congress has already armed the executive branch with authority to deal effectively with imports adversely affecting a domestic industry. The antidumping legislation and section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act give specific direction and broad authority for the executive branch of our Government to deal with the current dairy import situation. I strongly urge the executive branch to make use of such in behalf of our dairy industry.

I was pleased to note that the Farm Bureau has requested action under the provisions of existing law. I hope Secretary of the Treasury Henry H. Fowler and Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman will take prompt action under the authorities vested in their respective Departments.

Mr. Speaker, insert in the Record at this point copies of the letters sent by Charles B. Shuman, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, to each of these gentlemen:

American Farm Bureau Federation,
Washington, D.C., February 16, 1967.

Hon. Orville L. Freeman,
Secretary of Agriculture,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Secretary: The American Farm Bureau Federation, representing 1,703,908 member families in 49 states and Puerto Rico, is seriously concerned over the rising imports of dairy products and the injury that may be caused to the U. S. dairy industry.

Imports in milk equivalent rose from 900 million pounds in 1965 to 2.6 billion pounds in 1966. This dramatic increase has continued, and the U. S. Department of Agriculture now estimates that the 1967 import level will exceed 3.5 billion pounds in milk equivalent.

A substantial part of these increased imports is in the form of butterfat-sugar mixtures which are designed to circumvent the import quotas established under section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act.

Increased imports also have been in the form of a cheese very similar to cheddar but imported outside of, and in addition to, the cheddar cheese import quota.

You will recall that on May 2, 1966 Farm Bureau opposed the increased quota on cheddar cheese which you had proposed to the President. Although the Tariff Commission has made its report in regard to this matter, no action has been taken or announcement made in regard to cheddar cheese quotas. We recommend that an immediate announcement be made that plans to increase this quota have been canceled.

In addition, we recommend that section 22 be implemented to prevent the circumvention of existing quotas on dairy products. For example, all butterfat, whether imported in the form of butter, butter oil, or butterfat-sugar mixtures, should be covered by the same import quota. Import quotas imposed under section 22 are intended to prevent the disruption of the farm programs involved. Present quotas are not achieving this objective.

We believe an immediate investigation by the Tariff Commission is necessary to achieve effective limitation of dairy imports and that you should call for such investigation under section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act.

Very truly yours,
CHARLES B. SHUMAN,
President.

AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION,
Washington, D.C., February 16, 1967.
Hon. HENRY H. FOWLER,
Secretary of the Treasury,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: The American Farm Bureau Federation, representing 1,703,908 member families in 49 states and Puerto Rico, is seriously concerned over the rising imports of dairy products and the injury that may be caused to the U.S. dairy industry.

Imports in milk equivalent rose from 900 million pounds in 1965 to 2.6 billion pounds in 1966. This dramatic increase has continued, and current estimates of the U.S. Department of Agriculture for 1967 are for an import level of 3.5 billion pounds of milk equivalent.

A substantial part of these increased imports is in the form of butterfat-sugar mixtures which are designed to circumvent the import quotas established under section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act. Our information indicates that some countries are selling this product for export to the U.S. at a price considerably below the price being charged in their home markets. For example, products containing as much as 44 percent butterfat are being offered for export by countries at a price of approximately 20 cents per pound when the domestic price support level for butter in such countries is as high as 65 to 70 cents per pound.

Under the U.S. Anti-Dumping statute (19 U.S.C. 160), the Secretary of the Treasury is given the responsibility to investigate such situations to determine if a "class or kind of foreign merchandise is being or is likely to be sold in the United States or elsewhere at less than its fair value."

We believe that the current situation warrants such an investigation and that Anti-Dumping duties should be applied to such imports if the findings justify.

Very truly yours,
CHARLES B. SHUMAN,
President.

Democracy: What It Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MARK ANDREWS

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, the song "America" is more than a patriotic hymn to Stuart J. Dogger, 17-year-old senior at North High School in Fargo, N. Dak. The meaning of its words served as the theme for his essay "Democracy: What It Means to Me," which won first award in the Voice of Democracy contest in North Dakota.

I am sure that Stuart's family and his teachers are proud of his achievement, just as I am proud that he is a constituent of mine.

Nearly all the Members, I am certain, are familiar with the Voice of Democracy Contest sponsored nationally by the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and its ladies auxiliary, and I respectfully insert Stuart Dogger's essay in the RECORD:

DEMOCRACY: WHAT IT MEANS TO ME

(By Stuart J. Dogger, Fargo, N. Dak., senior, Fargo North High School, age 17)

The song, "America", is known to almost all citizens in this great nation. The tune is familiar. Everyone knows the words. But do they understand? Within this song the basic principles of America are set forth in simple, but inspirational words. And with understanding comes meaning and feeling. So I find. For these words have given me the basis with which to tell, what democracy means to me.

"My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing."

My country is America, America, the paragon of democracy. It is indeed a sweet land, a land full of the bounty of nature, a land rich in the fruits of the earth, and a land majestic with wondrous beauty endowed by heaven. This alone is often enough to swell a man's heart with pride and love for his country. But America is much more than this. Overhead in the vast blue expanse an eagle flies. The very sky is his domain and he is free to wander wherever his whims may lead him. And here below, the earth teems with people. And each man is an eagle. Each man seeks, and if he searches long enough, he finds what he is seeking. For this land is great, this land is sweet, this land is plentiful . . . this land is America. The eagle is part of the sky, for that is where he lives. Every American is part of America. America becomes a land of the individual, but also a land of unified individuals, bound not by any force beyond their will, but joined by common love for a gracious land, and a land wherein they are free, a sweet land of liberty. And I rejoice that I am an American. America, 'tis of thee I sing.

"Land where my fathers died, land of the Pilgrim's pride." Two-hundred years ago the small voice of America cried out in the great and frightening darkness of oppression. There was fear in the voice, but still it cried out. And as it pierced the gloom, a small light flickered into life. Though it is true that what may be seen in the light is more to be feared than the darkness, surely somewhere there is light. And so our ancestors lit the candle. A hand reached out to quench the tiny flame, but was compelled to withdraw from the burning heat. In that moment tinder was found. The flame leapt higher. A great bonfire now was started. The heat grew, the light grew, and the fire spread. Now the man who owned the restraining hand followed its retreat. The glowing spirit of our fathers was so intensified that never again could it be smothered. But many paid the ultimate, and death followed quickly. When the revolution ceased, the ever-growing light revealed a body-littered, blood-soaked battlefield. But that blood became the fuel, the everlasting fuel of that eternal fire, the fire of God-given freedom. And farther still in the dim recesses of history, this fire had started. But it was hidden in the souls of men, men in turn enshrouded in the darkness of oppression. For the Pilgrims were not allowed to speak their hearts to God. The darkness was too heavy and too great. And so they fled, and when they could run no more, they found a new land, the land of America, the land of light at last. The fire of freedom burned brightly and cast its warm glow over all. And the salvation of the fire within their souls was not forgotten. With humble hearts they turned their minds to God and gave Thanksgiving amidst the abundance and the plenty, and, above all, the freedom of America, land of the Pilgrim's pride.

"From every mountainside, let freedom ing." It is not enough just to be here in America. Let us shout the greatness and the Beauty of our country. Let the world know the joys and happiness we have, we the sons of freedom. And if we do, let that shout echo down every valley, roar down every river, resound over all the hills and forests, and, indeed, ring its glory from every mountainside. And let us not forget that freedom is of God. "Our fathers' God, to Thee, Author of Liberty, to Thee we sing. Long may our land be bright with freedom's holy light; protect us by Thy might, great God, our King."

Wendell L. Willkie

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, if he would have lived, Wendell L. Willkie would have been 75 years old this month.

It does not seem long ago when the chants, "We want Willkie, we want Willkie," drowned out all other at the Republican National Convention and Wendell Willkie carried our party colors.

Willkie, with his large crop of black hair hanging over his forehead, went home to the small central Indiana town of Elwood, Ind., to give his acceptance speech.

Thousands of Indiana residents listened to his remarks with tears in their eyes—because he was one of them. Willkie was a Hoosier.

He might have been flamboyant, he might of been unorthodox, but he was a great American.

He left his mark on our country for all time.

He was a humble man, an honest man, and a believer in American justice.

I am proud to take this time to honor a great Hoosier and a great American.

Louis C. Hiner, Veteran Newspaperman, Dies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, I want to take a minute to pay tribute to a great journalist, a great Hoosier and a great American.

Louis C. Hiner was associated with the Rushville Republican for 63 years. He was 71 years old when he died last week.

Mr. Hiner was a man who proudly served his community, State and country. A small town like Rushville, Ind., needed Lou Hiner. His newspaper nursed the town's ills, boasted of its victories and moaned its defeats.

He began his work on the Rushville Republican when he was 9 years old as a newspaper carrier. At the end of his career he was editor and president.

Not only did Mr. Hiner leave Rushville with a real newspaper tradition. But he left two fine sons who will carry on his tradition. His son, Lou, Jr., is the Washington correspondent for the Indianapolis News. His other son, Richard, is sports editor of the Rushville paper.

To these sons and the rest of the family I extend my sympathy.

Hiner was past president of the Indiana Republican Editorial Association and a member of the Hoosier State Press Association and founded one of the State's first papers in the 19th century at Rising Sun, Ind. Mr. Hiner's brother was the late Allen C. Hiner, editor of the New Castle Courier-Times.

Mr. Hiner will be missed. But he will be remembered by many Hoosiers and they are all better off for knowing him.

The following article appeared in the Republican following Mr. Hiner's death:

LOUIS C. HINER, VETERAN LOCAL NEWSPAPERMAN, DIES

Louis C. Hiner, 71, editor of The Rushville Republican for the past 39 years, died suddenly at his home, 1023 North Harrison, at 3:30 o'clock Thursday afternoon.

Although he had been ill with a throat ailment for the past several weeks, his death was unexpected. It occurred shortly after he returned home following an examination at the Indiana University Medical Center, Indianapolis.

Connected with the newspaper business for more than six decades, Mr. Hiner began his long career as a carrier boy for The Republican at the age of nine.

Later on he began his employment here as a reporter and sportswriter. Mr. Hiner was appointed editor in 1928 and then was made president of The Republican Co., Inc., in April of 1950. He still retained both of these positions at the time of his death.

Mr. Hiner was one of the pioneer writers of high school basketball in Indiana and he also authored one of the state's first hardwood columns, "Hittin 'em and Missin' 'em," in The Republican.

Despite his declining health, Mr. Hiner continued to come down to his desk every morning. Wednesday was his last day at the office.

A resident of Rushville most of his life, he lived briefly in Roswell, N.M., and Astoria, Ore., where he also was employed on newspapers in his younger life. .

He was born in Rushville on April 30, 1895, the son of Robert J. and Clara East Hiner. On May 13, 1916, he was married to Rubye M. Isaacs, who died on October 15, 1946.

Mr. Hiner was graduated from Rushville High School in 1914.

Journalism was deeply rooted in the family's heritage. His grandfather, William Gregory, was a pioneer Hoosier journalist who founded one of Indiana's first newspapers at Rising Sun during the 19th century. His two sons also are in the newspaper profession.

A past president of the Indiana Republican Editorial Association and a member of the Hoosier State Press Association and Sigma Delta Chi, professional journalism society, Mr. Hiner was a member of the Main Street Christian Church and the Rushville Elks Lodge. He was a charter member of the local Kiwanis Club.

Surviving are two sons, Louis C. Hiner, Jr., of Falls Church, Va., who heads the Indianapolis News Bureau in Washington, D.C., and Richard G. Hiner, R. R. 4, sports editor and assistant editor of The Republican, and four grandchildren.

His brother, the late Allen C. Hiner, was once editor of the New Castle Courier-Times.

The Rev. Richard Merriman will conduct funeral services at 3:30 p.m. Saturday at the Wyatt Moore Memorial, where friends may call any time, with entombment following in East Hill Shrine Mausoleum.

The Need for Firearms Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, everyone recognizes the fact that crime in our streets is rapidly increasing and has become a national disgrace. In an effort to bring a halt to this blight, the administration has requested, and many of my colleagues have introduced, firearms legislation designed to make traffic in guns more difficult for the criminal.

Mr. Speaker, in my estimation much of this proposed gun legislation makes it difficult for the law-abiding citizen to bear arms as guaranteed in the Constitution while it places very few actual restrictions on their use by criminals.

I believe the greatest deterrent to crime is the fear of punishment so I therefore wish to introduce the following legislation which would impose a mandatory sentence of 25 years in prison for anyone using a gun that has been transported in interstate commerce in the commission or attempted commission of any robbery, assault, murder, rape, burglary, kidnaping, or homicide.

The bill follows:

H.R. —

A bill prohibiting use in the commission and attempted commission of certain crimes of firearms transported in interstate commerce

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That whoever, during the commission or attempted commission of any robbery, assault, murder, rape, burglary, kidnaping, or homicide (other than involuntary manslaughter), uses or carries any firearm which has been transported across the boundary of a State, the District of Columbia, or a territory or possession of the United States shall be imprisoned for twenty-five years.

Cal Farley's Living Legacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on February 19, the Panhandle of Texas lost a friend, a man who was known and loved by hundreds. Cal Farley was fatally stricken while attending chapel at his beloved Boys Ranch near Amarillo. Wes Izzard of the Amarillo Daily News has expressed the loss we all feel at the passing of Cal Farley in the following article:

CAL FARLEY'S LIVING LEGACY

(By Wes Izzard)

Three things there were that made Cal Farley great.

He had a God-given insight into what makes boys tick.

He had a powerful sense of dedication that drove him to do something about those boys in whom the ticking was off-beat.

And he had an instinctive grasp of the mechanics needed to do this job on a big scale—organization, salesmanship.

The world is full of men endowed with one of these gifts. There are a few who possess two of them.

But rare indeed is the man who has all three.

Cal Farley was a persuasive man. It was hard to say no to him.

He had a talent for making others see the boy problem as he saw it. This talent was not cultivated. He took no courses in salesmanship. He read no books on how to influence others. It was just that his earnest common sense and concern were eloquent and unanswerable.

Those of us who knew Cal through the years found him a warm and witty friend, as well as a dedicated hero of the wayward boy. He could have been a great sports writer, or radio personality.

He attended the World Series several times, and sent back to this newspaper stories that rivaled the baseball tales of Ring Lardner. And some of the most colorful sports broadcasting ever heard over an Amarillo station was wrapped in the excited, knowledgeable voice of Cal Farley.

It is a time of shock for his friends. But the mourning need not be for long.

While his quiet counsel will be missed—perhaps desperately, for a while—his job was all but finished. He had carried the building of Boys Ranch to a point from which it can go on indefinitely.

The region and the nation should be grateful that he was spared for this.

He has achieved an immortality that few men attain. It lies in the regeneration of 2,000 human beings who passed his way—2,000 boys, some rebellious, some lost, some just bewildered.

His influence thus becomes a living legacy that will go on through all generations to come.

To repeat, Cal Farley knew boys. And as he was wholly articulate on the subject, his conversation and speeches teemed with quotable observations. Here are a few:

"A boy is the only thing God can use to make a man."

"A good man dies when a boy goes wrong."

"Who wants to hit a home run if nobody is watching?"

"Our nation is no stronger than the boys who walk its streets."

"If you want your child to love you, teach him to mind."

"In most homes when you take the father out you take out the police department."

"There's no new romance in milking a cow at 6:30 in the morning, but it's a sure way of getting your breakfast."

"Give a boy enough rope and he'll bring home a stray dog at the end of it."

Statement by F. Allen Calvert, Jr., President of the Independent Petroleum Association of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OMAR BURLESON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following:

Statement by F. Allen Calvert, Jr., President, Independent Petroleum Association of America, February 21, 1967

The United States Congress should act immediately to investigate the threat of Interior Undersecretary Charles F. Luce, obviously acting at the direction of higher authority, to undermine the security-oriented oil import program as a political power play to prevent a partial and fully justified restoration in oil prices.

Actions threatened are questionable as to achieving the ends sought as well as to their legality. Congress has delegated no price-fixing authority to the Administration. Lacking such authority, the Administration proposes to misuse a law designed for one purpose and one purpose only—to preserve the nation's security.

The actions proposed are illogical. They would penalize domestic independent producers who by any yardstick have suffered direly the past ten years, and whose participation in domestic exploration and drilling is vital to our future oil supplies. The need to find additional oil supplies in the U.S. is well known to the Government.

In addition to the questionable legality of these threats, and lack of assurance that they would work, actions to increase foreign military purchases of petroleum products and import additional gasoline supplies would aggravate our chronic balance of payments problem, in which oil imports already are the largest adverse factor.

Such action is inconceivable when government has at is fingertips facts which show that oil prices for a decade have been going down while prices generally have been going up. In addition, industry has annually absorbed higher wages, increased costs for materials and additional taxes. Oil is one major industry that has not contributed to inflation. Now that its prices are moving toward nominal recovery, the industry is to be politically horsewhipped.

Lastly, such actions would destroy confidence in a program which has been admirably administered by those responsible for import regulations in the Interior Department. The nation's security as to petroleum supplies makes it essential to maintain the integrity and effectiveness of the import program.

When Should We Buy Antiballistic Missile Defense?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, our system of defense has recently been based upon a so-called balance between the United States nuclear capability and the Russian nuclear capability. It has been fairly clear as to what weapons systems are on our side of the scale. Our space satellites and our intelligence agencies have attempted to give us a reasonable glimpse at which is on Russia's side of the scale. We now know beyond a doubt that an ABM defense is being deployed around Moscow.

In the meantime the Johnson administration is taking a grave risk in timing in order to avoid the cost, and hopefully the need, for such a defense system.

One thing is certain, we cannot place the Nation in jeopardy by relying on just the words of the Communist military leaders. The balance can only be maintained by knowing for a fact that Russia is keeping any agreements which we may reach. An inspection-type agreement would probably be necessary in order to have some reasonable assurance that our Nation is secure.

Under unanimous consent I include an editorial from the Peoria Journal Star, February 21, 1967, in the Record at this point. This editorial gives an excellent assessment of our present situation.

The editorial follows:

When Should We Buy ABM Defense?

The name of the game is strategic dominance.

That's the game we're playing in the world today, mostly against the Soviet Union.

It's a simple game. The nation that has strategic dominance can say, "This is the way it is going to be." The other nations must say "Yes sir," and they must say it quickly, before the dominant nation blasts them off the face of the earth.

Right now, it's a tie between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. We both have massive striking forces, almost over-powering offenses. But—and this is the point that is the biggest worry to the Defense Department—the Russians are developing an antiballistic missile system. And we're not.

The argument, advanced by the State Department at a recent seminar for editorial writers, is this: If the Soviets perfect an antiballistic missile (ABM) system and we don't, they can say "your missiles cannot get through to destroy our country, and ours can get through to yours—therefore you will do as we say, and our first command is that you do not attempt to build an ABM system." And we will answer, "Yes sir."

If this possible disaster exists why don't we build an ABM system immediately? Answer, by the Defense Department, because they are so horribly, almost prohibitively expensive. How then can the Russians build one? Because they are only building one around Moscow—so far, at any rate.

Secondly, says the Defense Department, if we can delay committing ourselves till the last moment, we can develop a superior ABM system—and this is a method that has always paid off. For instance, the English in World War II produced a superior fighter plane to that of the Germans because they developed one later.

We could, Defense says, order an ABM system immediately. We have researched them and are familiar with them, they say, but we have not bought—we're still shopping around. American corporations have the know how and can go ahead when the President gives the word. But the question is, when should we give the word?

The Soviet missile capability is going up. Their ABM system, which will be effective by 1970, will protect the Soviet Union heartland. The U.S., even if it started now, couldn't have one by then. So the question gets more pertinent every day. How much lead time can we give the Russians?

Thus President Johnson worries and moves closer to giving the go-ahead to ring the Continental U.S. with an ABM system even at the staggering cost of $40 billion.

Indeed, the President has asked Congress for $375 million to get ABM going, using the proposed Nike X system. He hedges by saying he will not give the construction order unless he cannot reach agreement with the Russians on a ban of ABM systems.

This ban, like all such agreements, is based on the idea of keeping the one-to-one relationship. If you and I we say to Russia, build ABM systems we'll still be tide to strategic dominance, but we'll both be nearly bankrupt trying to pay for them. Let's save ourselves the money and agree not to build ABMs.

But—and this is where the difference of opinion in this nation comes to a focus—the Russians already have started, indeed have Moscow pretty well protected against any missile attack. Secondly, how can we trust them not to proceed covertly?

Congress itself leans toward buying the ABM at once. Every year it hopefully appropriates some money for this defense system which could tip the balance in strategic dominance—but Defense Secretary McNamara refuses to spend it.

The Defense Secretary, in addition to thinking it best to wait till the last moment to buy ABM, also leans toward the view that we should build bigger missiles, ones that will penetrate the Soviet ABM. And, he adds, how about sticking some decoys on these missiles to throw their ABMs into utter confusion? We'll get through somehow with our massive power, says offense-minded McNamara.

Other top military strategists, however, fear we might not have the power to deter nuclear war or survive it, unless we have an ABM system. They fear, too, that a deal we make with the often-tricky Russians on an ABM ban is a feeble basis for our security.

This is the argument for and against antiballistic missile systems. More, much more, will be heard of it in 1967. The matter of ABM system is a matter of timing and trust—and in the end will be a judgment decision by the Congress.

Chattanooga Center Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, the problem of mental retardation, and the establishment and improvement of adequate treatment facilities, is a very real challenge to any State government operating with limited revenues. The work of the Orange Grove Center in Chattanooga has been particularly noteworthy, and was recently recognized as such by our Governor's planning committee. An editorial in the February 14 issue of the Chattanooga Times tells the story of this outstanding project.

Under unanimous consent I include it in the Appendix to the RECORD:

ORANGE GROVE'S MODEL PROGRAM

The Governor's Planning Committee on Mental Retardation in Tennessee has cited Orange Grove Center here as the state's outstanding example of programs for the mentally retarded.

City and county schools have contributed significantly also to work among the mentally retarded. Both systems operate special classes for the educable mentally retarded.

Special attention, however, was given the fact that a higher percentage of both the severely and educable mentally retarded are reached in Hamilton County than in any other part of the state. The committee's evaluation of that fact gave a large measure of credit to the excellent results achieved at Orange Grove and the consequent stimulation of parents to seek help for mentally retarded children they may have previously sheltered in the privacy of the home.

Orange Grove Center director John J. Barnes passed the credit on to the community because it has had what he termed "the courage to attempt new teaching techniques and is willing to provide the support and hard work necessary to make these techniques sucessful."

The state-wide recognition of what has been done here should merely point the way to how much more can be achieved. Orange Grove is moving in this forward direction with plans for a $3.5 million complex to be financed jointly by a federal grant and local contributions. Having now been singled out as a model venture of its type enhances the already impressive credentials Orange Grove can put before the community when it begins its campaign for the private support the new complex will require.

Two Columns by Satirist Arthur Hoppe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, the great satirist, Arthur Hoppe, of the San Francisco Chronicle, has written two columns on modern subjects. The first one "Elbie Jay Makes a Sacrifice," was published on February 15, and the one "Watching the China Watchers," was published on February 19.

The two columns follow:

ELBIE JAY MAKES A SACRIFICE

(By Arthur Hoppe)

Howdy there, folks. How y'all? Time for another tee-vee visit with the rootin'-tootin' Jay family—starring ol' Elbie Jay, a kindly, gentle soul who loves peace so much he's willin' to fight for it. Year after year after year.

As we join up with ol' Elbie today, he's havin' a peaceful breakfast with his pretty wife, Birdie Bird. And, my, he sure seems to be enjoying the paper this morning.

Elbie: Everybody knows I'm a gentle, peace-loving man, Bird. And nobody who hints that I'm not is a dirty, mangy, lying, thieving, no-good . . .

Birdie Bird: Please, dear, stop eating the paper. You know how it gives you indigestion.

Elbie: I can't help it, Bird. Imagine implying I'm not giving my all for peace. Why, the no-good, low-down, double-dealing . . .

Birdie Bird: Which is it this morning, dear, the Viet Cong or Bobby?

Elbie: Him and his fancy Parisian peace feeler. Why, I've thrown away a hundred better peace feelers than that. But look at the space he gets. It makes me look bad. Me! Well, like I keep saying over and over, "We will go anywhere at any time to talk to anyone in the cause of peace." My, doesn't that bring a lump to your throat?

Birdie Bird: Yes, dear. And that reminds me, you got another invitation this morning to come talk about peace.

Elbie: We will go anywhere at any time to talk to anyone in the cause of peace. Who's it from, Senator Fulbright again?

Birdie Bird: Hanoi.

Elbie: Oh.

Birdie Bird: Of course, you can't go there to talk about peace. You might never come back.

Elbie: (thoughtfully): Not come back? Now, hold on, Bird. When I said we'd go anywhere, I meant we'd go anywhere.

Birdie Bird: (paling): But Hanoi? The enemy stronghold: Oh, Elbie, you couldn't. It's too dangerous.

Elbie: (lifting his chin): We must ignore danger when duty calls.

Birdie Bird: (wringing her hands): But it could mean imprisonment.

Elbie: (grimly): And torture. Pulling out your fingernails one by one, hanging you up by the thumb bones, or even (shudder) refusing to let you make a public speech.

Birdie Bird: (playing her trump card): Just think of not being here for the '68 convention?

Elbie: (bravely): Oh, no country ever asked a greater sacrifice of a man. But when I said we'd go anywhere, I know I was speaking for all Americans. And when your country calls, you got to go (picking up the phone and smiling nobly). Leastwise, I'm hoping that's the way Bobby's going to feel about it.

Well, tune in again folks. And meantime, as you mosey down the windin' trail of life, remember what Elbie's ol' granddaddy used to say:

"To be a leader, you firstly got to make a heap of personal sacrifices. And secondly you got to pick the right persons to sacrifice."

WATCHING THE CHINA WATCHERS

(By Arthur Hoppe)

With but a single question on everyone's lips these days, I was fortunate enough to obtain an exclusive interview with the distinguished China Watcher, Dr. T. Pettibone, D. OCC. And you can rest assured that I put it to him point blank.

No sooner had I caught my breath after climbing the 17 flights to the stone turret high above Capistrano Beach from which he watches than I asked him point blank:

"Which side should we root for in China, Doctor?"

Dr. Pettibone put down his telescope, removed his heavy bifocals and rubbed his eyes tiredly.

"Always the same question," he said irritably. "Why don't you ask me about my work? You think it's easy being a China Watcher? Eight hours a day, 40 hours a week, peeping through little cracks in the Bamboo Curtain. A glimpse here, a glimmer there, once in a while an inkling. . . ."

I said I was sure it must be trying, but . . .

"And the smog!" he said. "Most days I can barely make out Catalina."

Yes, but as a leading China Watcher, surely he must be able to tell a waiting public which were the good guys and which were the bad guys in the current power struggle.

"Oh, certainly," he said. "The forces of that dedicated Communist revolutionary, Mr. Mao Tse-tung, whom we have feared and hated for years are definitely the bad guys. And, of course, the moderate, practical, get-along-with-the-world forces of President Liu Shao-chi are obviously the good guys."

Well thank you doctor, I said, putting on my hat, I will advise a confused public to root for the good guys.

"Good heavens!" he cried. "That would be unwise. Should President Liu and the good guys win they would immediately make peace with Russia. The crack in the Sino-Soviet bloc would be mended and they would be able to devote their joint energies to supporting North Vietnam."

A catastrophe, I agreed. Then we must root for Mr. Mao and the bad guys as a matter of practical politics.

"Most impractical," he said. "Our only hope in Vietnam hinges on continued unrest in China. Mr. Mao appears to be winning and once he wins, the unrest will be over."

Then to keep the power struggle going, it is clearly our duty, I said, to root for whichever side is losing at the moment. But it would seem awfully odd to be always rooting for the losers.

"Nonsense," said Dr. Pettibone with dignity. "That's been our State Department's traditional China Policy for generations."

I thanked the noted China Watcher for his incisive analysis and wise advice and in parting I asked if he had any hints for distinguishing the Chinese good guys from the Chinese bad guys in the future.

"Frankly," he said, squinting once again through his battered telescope, "from here they all look alike to me."

More Facts on the Gasoline Price Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, both the Members of Congress and the public are entitled to read both sides of the story with reference to the gasoline price question and the reported efforts of the Department of Interior to force a rollback on a recently announced price change on gasoline.

During the past few days it has become increasingly apparent that the principal need for this price change is found among the jobbers and service station operators who will receive most of the benefits of the increase.

It has also become increasingly apparent that the Department of Interior's announced threat to increase petroleum imports is not likely to have any real effect upon the major oil companies—most of whom control oil reserves outside the United States and would actually benefit from import increases.

Some of the facts with regard to the situation of the jobbers and the dealers are brought out in the material which follows—all of which has been brought to the attention of the Department of Interior.

Surely the Department will revise its thinking with reference to the price change in question, in view of the facts.

Following is a telegram sent to the U.S. Department of the Interior by M. C.

Newsom, president of the North Carolina Oil Jobbers Association:

February 22, 1967.

The published reports of your Assistant's telegram to various petroleum companies relative to the recent increase in the price of gasoline is extremely disturbing. The increase will result in an increase in margins for thousands of jobbers, distributors, and service station dealers who have been caught up in a deathly squeeze between higher costs of labor and equipment and no improvement in their operating margins. As a result they have found it impossible to maintain pace with the ever-growing economy, and many, particularly among the service station dealers, have closed their businesses. The jobbers and distributors in growing numbers find it impossible to continue and either have, or are contemplating, selling out to major supplying companies.

The recent price increase amounts to only approximately three percent. Gasoline prices have remained relatively stable during the last decade in spite of the pressures of higher wages, shorter hours, and increased social security tax payments that have been required of employers. The jobbers, distributors, and service station dealers make up a substantial part of the small business community of this country. It is inconceivable to me that any department of the federal government wishes to add to their burdens and speed their demise, but any discouraging note as to the recent price adjustment is bound to have that effect.

I suggest that a study be made of the history of gasoline prices the petroleum marketing structure, and the beneficial effects of the recent actions by some of the supplying companies. Criticism which is not based upon a studied knowledge of all pertinent facts does not deserve to be called either intelligent or constructive. The price increase has been hailed by thousands of "Little People" in the petroleum industry as their only hope of continuing in business. Your department's hasty criticism does not indicate that you have the concern for the small man that we Democrats have historically claimed to have had.

You are urged to reconsider your action. If you wish me to furnish you with facts and data concerning the business operations of jobbers, distributors and service station dealers that will aid you in seeing their true situation and the business dilemma in which they have found themselves, and which the price increase is designed to help solve, I will be glad to do so.

Next following is a telegram sent by Nebraska Petroleum Marketers, Inc., to Charles F. Luce on February 11:

The oil jobbers and dealers of this country must keep the recently acquired margin increases in order to survive. Constantly rising cost and overhead, brought on in part by big government, has all but extinguished the life from petroleum retailers. This increase in margin is the first since the mid fifties.

Today gasoline is being sold for less than it was 45 years ago—only the taxes have continually increased.

In view of the fact that most all other facets of our economy, except petroleum retailers, have had increases in recent years we are today urging in Nebraska petroleum retailers to ignore any attempt that would have the effect of reducing their margins.

We respectfully request an appointment for our representative to make a factual presentation to you, which substantiates the necessity of this increase.

Next following is a telegram sent to Charles F. Luce by Oklahoma Oil Marketers Association:

We urge that you do not discourage the attempt by oil companies to provide a slightly improved margin for oil jobbers of 35/100 of a cent per gallon. This is the only increase the jobber has had in more than twelve years. During those twelve years you are undoubtedly aware that the jobber's cost of doing business have risen by more than 20 per cent. Consequently, this raise hardly begins to compensate for these rising costs. The jobber has already absorbed far more than his share of past inflation. The jobber is a small independent businessman—in many cases extremely small. We urge you to give him somewhere near equal consideration with other segments of our nation's economy.

These are typical of expressions from other State associations. Following is a telegram sent today to Charles F. Luce, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, by the Society of Independent Gasoline Marketers of America:

The Society of Independent Gasoline Marketers of America whose members operate approximately 5,000 independent private brand gasoline service stations in forty-eight states urgently ask your reconsideration of your request to major oil companies to rescind recently initiated price increases. We are small business concerns and cannot continue to absorb increased costs such as recently enacted, F.L.S.A. coverage, Social Security, local, state, and governmental taxes as well as high replacement cost of our equipment, insurance, etc. Statistics indicate that the suggested one cent per gallon increase would cost the average motorist only six to seven dollars annually. However, it is definitely needed by each independent private brand gasoline marketer to preserve his status in the market place and protect the livelihood of our members' approximately 25,000 employees. Further in the February 20th issue of the Wall Street Journal it is indicated that in a move to pressure major oil companies to cancel such retail gasoline price increase, additional import quotas would be granted for crude oil and/or finished product. Action of this nature would without a doubt further improve the position of the international major oil companies and enhance their profits. Unless we are included in the group to be granted an import quota, we vehemently oppose this action.

Following is a letter addressed to Acting Secretary Luce, dated February 16, Colorado Service Station Association, Inc.:

This association, representing over 1,500 major service station dealers in the State of Colorado, would like to add its forces to that of its jobber neighbors in supporting the recent increase in dealer tank wagon prices.

This stand may appear to be somewhat inconsistent with the usual policies expected of a dealer organization, however, in view of the fact that the jobber occupies such an important place in the petroleum industry, any move that will strengthen his ability to cope with the manifest problems facing both he and the dealer segment, is in our opinion, a favorable move.

Our dealers recognize that a healthy jobber contributes to a healthy dealer and that weaknesses on either level will lead to a deteriorating market. Here in Colorado, we have proven that educated dealers and jobbers can provide a stable market without fear of gas wars.

We sympathize with your desire to maintain prices at historical levels, but we would point out that these same historical levels have been partially responsible for the reprehensible mortality rate in the service station industry.

For years the jobbers have held the line on prices. They have asked for relief and received none. Now, for the first time, the major companies have passed on an increase to be shared by this most integral segment of the industry.

We urge you to join us in viewing this increase as long overdue and most welcome. We would also remind you most respectfully that even with the increase, today's motorist will be paying about the same price for gasoline that he did ten years ago. The taxes, however, have increased about fifteen per cent in the same period.

Following is a supplementary statement of the National Oil Jobbers Council to the Assistant Secretary of the Interior:

Supplementary Statement of National Oil Jobbers Council to Assistant Secretary of the Interior, February 17, 1967

The recent increase in gasoline prices goes largely to the nations 12,000 independent jobbers, with 340,000 persons depending upon them for their livelihood, and the 214,000 independent service station operators employing over 500,000 persons who are similarly affected. The jobbers, as a segment of the American economy, have not received a margin increase in nearly a dozen years. Operating on the same margin, in light of the increasing costs of doing business during this period, has put a strain on this segment of petroleum distribution for which some recourse has to be forthcoming.

Let's examine gasoline prices for the period 1957 to 1966. A gallon of regular gasoline sold at service station price (*excluding* taxes) for 22.11 cents in 1957, and for 21.57 cents in 1966. This constitutes a *decrease* of 2.4% in this period. During this same period federal and state taxes on a gallon of gasoline went from an average 8.85 cents in 1957 to 10.51 cents in 1966—an increase of nearly 19%. The federal tax alone went from 2 cents in 1956 to 4 cents a gallon in 1960. While the service station price of gasoline (the price excluding taxes) decreased from 1957 to 1966, the cost to the consumer rose 3.6%. This increase is entirely due to taxes. During that period the jobbers margin remained the same.

Also, while other wholesale costs have gone up (i.e. according to the wholesale, price index *all* commodities increased 9.5% in 1964 over 1955), the tankwagon price of gasoline (excluding taxes) *decreased* 8.4% in the same period. The service station price of gasoline, as compared to changes in the consumer price index, 1955–1964, decreased 6.8% while *all* items increased 15.9%.

But, while the jobber's margin remained unchanged for the period, he has had to contend with the increasing costs of business. Wages and overtime rates have consistently increased during the past decade, as have employee benefits generally. For example, Social Security payments by employers have more than doubled since 1957, assuming maximum payments. The rate itself has increased about 100%. Also, Insurance rates—all types—have increased, those for vehicular insurance increasing 87% and more. Fire protection has increased 27%. Loan rates have increased over 21% since 1957. The recent IRS ruling regarding semi-monthly tax deposits, to affect the jobbers soon, constitutes another increase in business costs. Equipment costs have risen, truck prices having increased 21%. Land prices for service station sites have increased in the past 10–12 years by 80% in many areas. The cost of living has increased about 17%. All of these factors, along with increased federal and state corporation taxes, have placed the jobber, operating on unchanged margin, in an almost untenable position. Aside from all of these factors, the jobber has had to contend with increased competition from other businesses. For example, large retail organizations, operating on the principle of one-stop shopping, have established their own gasoline outlets. The jobbers' share of commercial account business has steadily decreased. And in the course of his business the jobber gets no volume discounts from his supplier, nor does he get any federal subsidies.

In the face of all these economic factors acting to his detriment, while operating on a 10 year old margin, what has the jobber done to keep his head above water? First, he has increased his efficiency and kept his costs down. Jobbers have attempted to increase their profit picture by going into or expanding peripheral operations—sales of tires, batteries and accessories, tune ups and many other services. Jobbers have had to invest some of their capital in other activities where they could expect at least a fair rate of return on their investment. According to surveys conducted by the National Oil Jobbers Council over the past several years (1961–1965) the jobbers profit averaged between 2% and 4% after taxes. Jobbers are forced into other areas of investment aimed at improving their financial posture. This works toward further centralization of sales by a few large refiners which in turn reduces the number of retail competitors. The jobber is an independent businessman, consumer oriented, who has achieved a high degree of efficiency. But efficiency alone cannot overcome the increasing costs of doing business which have taken place over the past 10 and more years. Jobbers need, and have needed, some increase in margin to remain positive competitive participants in our economy.

The cost to the average passenger car owner for this price increase is about 55 cents a month. Since the cost of gasoline, *excluding* taxes, has actually decreased to the consumer during the past 10 years, this single increase during that period amounts to about four-tenths of one percent a year. Compared to the wholesale price index and consumer price index during this period, as noted above, this small increase is almost unique.

We, in view of these facts, ask you to reconsider your request of the oil industry to roll back prices.

WILLIAM A. FLUHR,
Chairman, Government Affairs Committee.

Larger U.S. Role in Air Pollution Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, environmental pollution is properly recognized as a pressing health problem. Air pollution itself is particularly a problem—literally it may soon become a life-or-death problem.

On February 7, 1967, the Kansas City, Mo., Times discussed the problem directly and informatively.

Under unanimous consent, I place the Times editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD.

LARGER U.S. ROLE IN AIR POLLUTION CONTROL

Federal action alone cannot control air pollution, President Johnson told Congress in his recent message on this subject. But that isn't keeping L. B. J. from giving it an all-out Texas try on stepping up the federal abatement role. His proposed Air Quality Act of 1967 would give the secretary of health, education and welfare sweeping new powers to move against air pollution. Heretofore the government approach has been a mixture of encouragement and threat, providing aid grants for state and local pollution agencies to set up their own programs, with the prospect of federal enforcement action if they don't. This plan just isn't getting the job done fast enough.

So the recommended new law would authorize the HEW department to designate polluting industries, consult with them and then issue its own emission control levels, to be applied where the states failed to adopt similar or stronger restrictions. Also, the new measure would create regional air quality commissions—representing all levels of government—to deal with interstate pollution problems not accountable to handling by present local agencies. Some of the worst air pollution areas cover more than one state, yet there are as yet no effective interstate programs operating.

The President also asked for federally-assisted state inspection programs on the vehicle pollution control devices which will be mandatory on all 1968 model cars. In California, a pioneer in this field, many such devices are proving to lose their effectiveness in use unless periodically examined.

Mr. Johnson, in fact, is as worried as a lot of scientific men that the sheer increase in the number of motor vehicles—the worst pollution source—may frustrate every control effort in the next decade or so. So he seeks increased research funds to look into new types of internal combustion engines—perhaps even totally new propulsion systems for motor cars.

Aside from respiratory ailments and other health threats, air pollution is estimated by the Public Health service to cost the nation 11.5 billion dollars a year (it was only 7 billion in 1960 and may go to 20 billion by 1975). As one senator commented, the proposed sharp increase in federal authority over air pollution may evoke a squawk from the states' righters. But clearly the protection of our national environment against intolerable poisoning has to make more effective advances soon—by whatever means necessary.

Paul A. Raushenbush, Dean of Unemployment Compensation, Retires

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, Paul Raushenbush is known, nationwide, as the dean of unemployment compensation, to recognize both his seniority and his many contributions to the unemployment compensation program. He retired after 35 years of outstanding service as the director of the Wisconsin unemployment compensation program.

Paul helped to plan and to draft and to secure passage of Wisconsin's pioneer unemployment compensation law. He has helped to administer it, ever since.

Mr. Speaker, without the leadership and pioneering efforts in this field by Wisconsin, other States would not have progressed as rapidly or as well as they have. For the benefit of my colleagues, I would like to give just a brief background of Paul Raushenbush and his career.

Mr. Speaker, Paul Raushenbush was born in Rochester, N.Y. He attended Amherst College, and then the University of Wisconsin. There he met and married Elizabeth Brandeis, who has shared his consuming interest in unemployment compensation. As students and colleagues of John R. Commons in the twenties, they absorbed his pioneering ideas on this subject.

In 1930–31, at the request of Philip La Follette, they worked with Harold Groves on planning and drafting a new unemployment compensation bill, based on those of the twenties but with significant improvements. Then they went on to build support for the new bill's enactment. The outcome was the 1932 Wisconsin unemployment compensation law, the first in this country and the only unemployment compensation law passed before 1935, when the Social Security Act provided powerful incentives for State action in this field. On that Federal act, too, Paul left his mark by helping to draft the unemployment "tax credit" device.

Over the years, under Paul's leadership, the industrial commission's unemployment compensation department has achieved a nationwide reputation for effective and economical administration. He has also worked, for three decades, with administrators from other States, to encourage better and stronger unemployment compensation programs.

He has always championed responsible State action, and Federal-State cooperation, with a minimum of Federal compulsion. Here at home, under his guidance, Wisconsin's Labor-Management Advisory Committee has played a major role in keeping the law in tune with changes in the State's economy and the needs of its citizens.

Mr. Speaker, Paul Raushenbush retired last month, after more than a third of a century of devoted and inspiring service to the program and to the State of Wisconsin.

Swift Efficiency Marks K–9 Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, as the rate of crime in our country continues to mount, more attention is being focused on ways and means to combat it. One of the combatants might well be the increased use of dogs in police work.

The importance and value of dogs are emphasized by Lt. Thomas W. O'Neil, commander of the Buffalo, N.Y., Police Department's K–9 Corps, and I can agree with him that his well-trained corps has performed a real service in our city.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an interesting article by H. Katherine Smith, which appeared in the Buffalo Courier-Express on February 20, 1967, on the effectiveness of the patrolman with his dog.

The article, entitled "Swift Efficiency Marks K–9 Corps," follows:

(By H. Katherine Smith)

No man can match the efficiency and swiftness of a dog in certain police jobs. Lt. Thomas W. O'Neil, commander of the Buffalo Police Department's K–9 Corps, and Patrolman George E. Nelson, trainer of the dogs, are in complete agreement on that statement. The dog has two important advantages:

1. His keen nose enables him to find a burglar hiding in a building or track an

escaped prisoner or fleeing suspect over miles of woods and fields.

2. The criminal or fighting gang, confronted by a dog, recognizes the large, strong animal's potentialities for inflicting pain, yet cannot ascertain his intentions.

Obviously, the symbol K–9 stands for the word canine.

K–9 Corps Patrolman Don Mix with his dog, Robbie, was passing a house late one evening when the owner, who had just returned, told the officer he suspected that an intruder was in his home. Patrolman Mix and Robbie entered the house and in a few minutes the dog tracked a burglar to a closet.

Satan, another K–9 Corps dog, tracked a car thief through heavy brush in South Park and held him until his master made the arrest.

When Patrolman Nelson was summoned to a tavern that was selling liquor after hours he encountered a gang, 50 strong, and ready for a fight. He sent his 120-pound German shepherd dog, Big Mike, into the crowd and the confusion and noise subsided instantly.

These are typical of the jobs our 13-dog K–9 Corps does.

Patrolman Nelson has been training the dogs since 1960, the year the K–9 Corps was organized. He plans to double the number of dogs in the near future. The next training session will be held in the spring in Chestnut Ridge Park.

Every police officer who works with a dog must volunteer for the job. He must own his home, have a fenced yard, like animals and be young and agile enough to walk for miles following a dog on the trail of a suspect. Before the start of training, the dog is required to live six weeks in his master's home.

During that period, the two are expected to develop mutual understanding and affection. After seven weeks of obedience training, the dogs are trained 40 hours a week in search and attack for an additional seven weeks. They are taught to obey 13 commands—but only when spoken by the master's voice.

At the command "get 'em" the dog attacks the man he is pursuing. He holds the culprit's arm firmly in his teeth, biting through the flesh at the first move to escape. In addition to verbal commands, the dogs obey hand signals.

Our police decline offers of trained war dogs.

"They are killers," Nelson said. "Our dogs will hold their man with their teeth, but will not kill him."

Several men of our K–9 Corps have young children. The dogs are gentle with the youngsters of the household, but no neighbor or visitor is permitted to touch them. Any of these dogs can be walked on leash by his master through a crowd so dense that he touches the people in passing. In such a crowd, no one is bitten, no one is in danger, and not a growl or snarl is heard.

Although usually hostile to other animals, Patrolman Nelson's dog, Big Mike, has developed a close friendship with Sassie, the family cat.

With their masters, the K–9 Corps dogs patrol the streets on eight-hour shifts. Big Mike enjoys his job. The moment he sees his master take his uniform from the closet, Mike becomes eager and enthusiastic.

On one occasion, Patrolman Nelson took Big Mike to North Collins to track a thief. He and his dog have demonstrated their work before local groups and in Cleveland.

Every dog of our K–9 Corps receives three refresher courses each month. Even without this precaution, the dogs remember their training. Mr. Nelson discovered this when, two days after an illness of eight months, he exhibited Mike's work before a Boy Scout troop. The dog functioned flawlessly.

Six centuries ago, dogs were used for public protection in France. In 1899, the first training school for dogs in police work was established in Belgium. Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy and England use dogs in police work.

The first American K–9 Corps dogs were trained in England. With the exception of New York City, which maintained a canine corps from 1907 to 1951, most large American cities use dogs as police adjuncts. In Buffalo, the city provides the animals' food and veterinary care.

Our police accept donated dogs that meet the department's specifications. They must be large male German shepherds between the ages of 1 and 2½. This breed is chosen because of its keen nose, strength, intelligence and willingness to obey a master's commands.

Patrolman Nelson has owned and trained German shepherds for 20 years. Until 1960, when he became trainer of the first dogs of the local K–9 Corps, his work with dogs was limited to training in obedience and for the show ring.

He took a course in training German shepherds for police work from the trainer of the K–9 Corps of the Rochester police.

Seven years' experience has convinced Lt. O'Neil and Patrolman Nelson that the dogs of our K–9 Corps perform a service of inestimable value in this city.

What Democracy Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY A. TAYLOR

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased that the North Carolina winner in the annual VFW Voice of Democracy Contest is one of my constituents, Miss Lorna Frady, of Hendersonville.

Following is her prize-winning speech, which I gladly commend to my colleagues:

WHAT DEMOCRACY MEANS TO ME

(By Lorna Frady)

Democracy is the absence of arbitrary class distinctions or privileges. It allows me to be free in thought, word, and deed; and to be free from the shackles imposed by the rule of one man or one society. It frees me to do as I will within the limitations of the moral and social requirements of society. In such a society I am required to answer or confess to no one except to myself and to my God. I am able to fashion and create my own life. My God has given me free will and knowledge of right and wrong; democracy enables me to exercise these gifts and allows me to make my own choices.

Democracy is a feeling, a feeling that has been experienced since the beginning of time—man's inward urge to be free. As a student I realize that democracy is an inherited obligation, a hard earned privilege for which my forefathers fought and died.

It is a bitter cold day during the Revolutionary War. There has just been a crucial battle. On the field lies a dying American soldier. In the few brief moments before death, the young man asks himself for what cause he is giving his life. He is answered as a vision enters his mind; a vision of America in the future, a free America upholding democracy for all.

He sees a rich strong nation giving equal opportunity to all its citizens; a nation whose citizens are encouraged to develop their talents and express themselves. Insufficient funds will not hinder a man in this country. For if he is willing to work he may attain his highest goal.

He sees a united government headed by an elected President. Working with the President are representatives elected by the people who vote on proposed laws. Enforcing the laws is the Judicial branch of the government which guarantees an accused citizen the right of trial by jury and acknowledges that he is innocent until proved guilty.

He views democracy as manifested in the hopeful faces of young children at school, a public school supported by the government. A child raises his hand and asks a question knowing that the teacher will help him if she can. All children have the freedom to learn and to search for truth. When older they may choose their life's work, that which is best suited to them.

In the distance he hears the chimes of many churches representing different faiths. There is a peaceful bond of friendship among the people. In this America there is religious freedom, freedom to worship as one chooses.

With this vision of democracy the soldier dies in peace.

Through the years the soldier's vision has become a reality. However a democracy cannot stand unless its citizens are strong and loyal.

Much can be done by my generation to strengthen democracy. First, we young Americans must thoroughly inform ourselves before drawing conclusions. We must develop our moral courage and denounce the evil actions of the irresponsible. We should take a more active part in our government, inform ourselves about candidates and issues and then exercise our right to vote when we are eligible.

I want to do my part in preserving our democratic society. I want to uphold the sacred truths of democracy. I want to be able to say in truth that I have helped make America what it is, the greatest democracy of the world—the land of the free and the home of the brave.

U.S.S. "Seminole" Does Shore Duty at Children's Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the war in Vietnam is making unique demands upon our Armed Forces there. They are charged with the dual responsibility of winning both the guerrilla war and the "other war," the struggle for the support of the Vietnamese people.

This kind of humanitarian service is not confined to Vietnam, however. In Los Angeles just recently, the sailors of the U.S.S. *Seminole,* during their shore leave, visited the Children's Baptist Home of Southern California. These fine young men painted and cleaned the home and, more importantly, became close companions of the children. I believe that these men deserve our praise and commendation.

As a tribute to the crew of the U.S.S. *Seminole* and the wonderful service they performed, I insert in the RECORD the following article from the Inglewood News-Advertiser of October 20, 1966:

U.S.S. "SEMINOLE" DOES SHORE DUTY AT CHILDREN'S HOME

(By Jean Durfee)

The Children's Baptist Home of Southern California, 7718 Victoria Avenue, said good-bye to sailors of USS Seminole which has been berthed at Terminal Island for the past three months while undergoing overhaul.

SHIP-SHAPE

Twenty-six members of the ship's crew have spent their liberty time scrubbing down walls and ceilings and painting them, as well as playing "buddy" to the children after a day of hard work on their vessel, chipping and painting from the waterline up, both inside and out.

In addition to providing money-saving labor for the Baptist home, the Navy men played with the children much as a father or older brother would—they played ball or "rough-housed" with the boys, played checkers or some such game with the girls and read stories to groups of boys and girls.

JAPAN ORPHANAGE

With the help of USS Peidmont in carving the wood and molding the metal, the crew made and hand painted a plaque of their ship's emblem, which now hangs in the foyer of the home's administration building.

The crew of Seminole is currently financially supporting an orphanage in Japan, but wanted to contribute their time and labor to a children's charitable institution in this country.

The public affairs office at the Naval Station, Long Beach, contacted several similar homes who would have been delighted to have the assistance of Seminole's men.

The Baptist home was the nearest to Terminal Island and was chosen by the sailors because the shorter transportation time would mean more time devoted to benefitting the children.

INTERIM RESIDENCE

The Children's Baptist Home of Southern California is an interim residence for 50 to 70 children from broken homes, homes in which the parents cannot or will not care for the child. The children attend the Inglewood public schools during a period of adjustment, which may take from one to four years of counselling, guidance and psychiatric treatment.

WANT ANOTHER SHIP

The child is then placed in a foster home under normal home conditions with a couple licensed by the state.

The home is a non-sectarian, protestant institution founded and maintained by the American Baptist Convention.

The overhaul work on USS Seminole is nearing completion. She will be returning to San Diego, her homeport, shortly.

The staff at the Children's Baptist home hope that another ship of the U. S. Navy will "dock" at the home. The crew? They are already looking for a children's home in San Diego.

A War Episode

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Feliciana Lodge No. 31, Free and Accepted Masons of St. Francisville, La., will celebrate its 150th anniversary this August 27—1817–1967.

Chartered in 1817 under the Grand Lodge of Kentucky, its members have played a heretofore silent role in the lives and community history of the west Florida parishes.

Rich in the American tradition of individual liberty under God, the contributions of its votaries in the affairs of men can be readily traced to the West Florida Rebellion, West Florida Republic and thence on into the liberation of our neighboring State of Texas, whose proud flag contains the lone white star of the West Florida Republic, called the Bonnie Blue during the Civil War.

Yet the incident during the Civil War, the Masonic burial of a Union gunboat commander by a Confederate cavalry officer, is the most heartwarming episode of all. The story involves Masons from the States of New York, Indiana, and Louisiana. As a tribute to the sesquicentennial of Feliciana Lodge No. 31, I insert the story, "A War Episode," in the RECORD.

A WAR EPISODE: THE SQUARE AND COMPASSES, NEW ORLEANS, LA., JULY 1908

The publisher of this journal received an invitation to be present at the celebration of the fifty-ninth anniversary of the raising to the degree of Master Mason of Bro. Wm. Town, in Feliciana Lodge No. 31, in St. Francisville, La., on May 21, on which occasion this brother was presented with a silver loving cup. R. W. Bro. Wm. W. Leake, a Past Master of the Lodge and Past Grand Junior Warden of the Grand Lodge, whose membership extended to fifty-five years, was likewise remembered.

We availed ourselves of this courtesy extended us to pay a visit to this, one of the oldest lodges in our state, and while we were in that town, we were made acquainted with an incident which transpired there during the Civil War. It evidenced the strength of the bond of our brotherhood, which even the strife and bitterness of that fierce struggle could not weaken.

In this incident, R. W. Bro. Leake was the chief actor, and we made use of the opportunity of our personal meeting with him to learn from his own lips some of the facts in the case. They are of such nature that they will prove of much interest to our readers, and we take pleasure of recording them in the columns of our journal so that they may become acquainted therewith.

The town of Saint Francisville is situated on the left bank of the Mississippi, about fifteen miles above Port Hudson, the siege and final capture of which, by the Federal forces, is one of the important happenings of that sanguinary war.

Among the vessels engaged in the investment of that stronghold of the Confederate forces was the U. S. Gunboat Albatross, in command of Lieutenant Commander J. E. Hart. That officer died on board of his vessel, on June 11, 1863, while it was opposite St. Francisville. He had been a Mason, and among his brother officers were also members of the Craft. It was their desire to bury their Commander on shore rather than consign the remains to the waters of the river, and a boat was sent to town under a flag of truce to ascertain if any Masons were there, with a view of securing a Masonic funeral.

There were at the time two Masons living near the banks of the river, two brothers, named Samuel and Benjamin White. The first named was owner of the ferryboat, and the other owned the steamboat "Red Chief," engaged in commerce with Red River. They had come to the town some years before, and, being Masons, had visited the lodge repeatedly, but retained their membership in their mother lodge in Indiana. To them the mission of the visitors was made known and they answered that there was a lodge in the town; that its Master, W. Bro. S. J. Powell, subsequently Grand Master was absent, serving his state in the Confederate Army, and its Senior Warden, Bro. W. W. Leake, acting Master, was likewise engaged, but that he was in the vicinity and they would endeavor to reach him and refer their request to him.

Bro. Leake's headquarters were in the saddle, but he was found and made acquainted with the visit of these enemies and their request. He was also informed that the Lieutenant Commander and the Surgeon on board the vessel were Masons and would vouch for the Masonic standing of the deceased Commander.

Bro. Leake replied that he was an officer in the Confederate Army. As a soldier, he considered it his duty to permit the burial of a deceased member of the army or navy of any government, even if, as in the present instance, there was war between that government and his own. As a Mason, he knew it to be his duty to accord Masonic burial to the remains of a Bro. Mason, without taking into account the nature of their relations in the outer world.

He called together three or four members of the lodge (all he could find), was joined by Bros. Samuel and Benjamin White and met the funeral cortege which landed under a flag of truce. The remains were carried to Grace Episcopal Church cemetery, where they were interred in the Masonic plot with the usual Masonic funeral rites, Bro. Leake officiating as Worshipful Master.

The death of Capt. Hart was communicated at the time of its occurrence to his father-in-law, Abram A. Van Vorst at Schenectady, N.Y., by the Executive Officer of the U.S. Gunboat Albatross, (in part), as follows: ". . . He was buried with Military and Masonic honors. The Episcopal service was read by the Rev. Dr. Lewis, Pastor of Grace Church of St. Francisville. A certificate of his burial will be sent to you, and the remains can be sent for by communicating with the Lodge mentioned in the certificate.

"Respectfully,

"Signed, T. B. DuBois,
"Executive Officer, U.S. Str. 'Albatross.' "

[NOTE—On the margin of this letter is written: "Feliciana Lodge No. 31, St. Francisville, La., Wm. W. Leake, S.W., acting W.M."]

Brother Hart had been a member of St. George's Lodge No. 6 of Schenectady. When the lodge became apprised of his death and the manner in which his remains had been buried, resolutions were passed in reference thereto of which the following, in part, is a copy:

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Lodge are due, and we hereby tender them to our Masonic Brothers of Feliciana Lodge No. 31 of St. Francisville, La., for their fraternal kindness manifested at the funeral of our deceased Brother. We recognize in their generous conduct another evidence of the universality of the principles of our revered Institution and cherish the hope that these fraternal bonds which bind all true Masons together may become a powerful agency in the restoration of the bonds of our common Union.

"All of which is duly certified.

"(Signed) THOMPSON DEALTRY,
[SEAL] *"Secretary."*

A few years ago several letters passed between Bro. Leake and Bro. A. E. Hart, a son of Capt. Hart, whose remains are at rest in our Southland. They exhibit a depth of feeling and convey sentiments which we believe to be a fitting finale to this interesting episode and we append them herewith:

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO.,
August 25, 1906.

WILLIAM W. LEAKE, ESQ.,
St. Francisville, La.

MY DEAR BROTHER LEAKE: The letter which Brother J. R. Matthews sent to Brother E. P. Huffered, Secretary of Tejon Lodge No. 104, of this city, has been given me, and upon reading and re-reading it, every line is imprinted on my mind. I have read few letters in my life which have so impressed and filled me with emotions as this of his. In it he said, "I'm sure that Brother W. W. Leake will be delighted to hear from Brother Hart, and he will appreciate it, for he is a zealous Mason and is now quite an old man."

It is my pleasure and delight to write to you, and although forty-years have passed since father's death, and countless changes have taken place since that time, yet the love of humanity and the ties of brotherhood have remained unchanged and unaltered and the honored grave in that dear churchyard, in your city, is a testimonial of kindness and brotherly love which cannot be told of in words.

Brother Hart, a little boy of seven when his father died, then tells briefly of himself and family, and closes his letter with expressions of appreciation:

"To the Daughters of the Confederacy I owe much, more than I can express, and with a prayer that I, a poor sinner, may be heard, ask God to bless them for their loving kindness to me and mine. And to you, Brother Leake, and my Masonic brothers, although you will say it was your duty to do as you have done, I say this: it was the seeds of Masonry and Religion planted in 'good ground,' in the hearts of brave, good men."

Fraternally yours,

A. ELLIOT HART.

ST. FRANCISVILLE, LA., *September 2, 1906*.

MR. A. ELLIOT HART,
Colorado Springs, Colo.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Your letter of the 25th. ult., teeming with sincere expressions of gratitude for services rendered at the grave of your distinguished father was very much appreciated by me and by the members of our Lodge.

I will take pleasure in communicating to the Daughters of the Confederacy your gratitude and prayers for their loving kindness to you and yours.

In 1863 our Lodge had 50 members. Of that number, only three survive, Brother W. Town is 85 years old, and I have passed my seventy-third year.

If you should ever visit our sunny South come to see us. The members of Feliciana Lodge will greet you as a brother and afford you every opportunity to judge of the hospitality of our people.

Yours Fraternally,

W. W. LEAKE.

On Sunday, January 8, 1956, the Special Committee on Burial Places of Past Grand Masters of the Grand Lodge of Louisiana, Hippolyte Dabezies, Chairman, and represented at the ceremony by a member of the Committee, Past Grand Master, Paul B. Habans, unveiled a monument which briefly cited the story of the burial and stated "This monument is dedicated in loving tribute to the universality of Free Masonry." The monument covers the entire grave space of Commander Hart and the former marker has been used as a headstone. Among those in attendance who took part in the ceremony were Dr. Louis A. Legett, Grand Master of Louisiana, Brother Eugene W. Baxter, Worshipful Master elect of St. George's Lodge No. 6, Schenectady, N.Y., Mrs. Camilla Leake Barrow, daughter of Judge Leake and Grand Secretary Emeritus of the Order of Easter Star, and J. R. Matthews, Past Master and oldest living member of Feliciana Lodge. The three principal officers of Feliciana Lodge, Charles Allen Sheets, W.M., Joseph J. Daniel, Jr., S.W., and James S. Ritchie, J.W., were also in attendance.

Democracy: What It Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, each year the Veterans of Foreign Wars and its auxiliary sponsors a "Voice of Democracy" contest. A best entry is selected among the submissions in each State.

The winner in Missouri is William A. Muir, of Kansas City, which I represent.

His essay is persuasive and well written. The future of our country may be looked forward to with confidence, despite all the severe problems besetting us, as long as the Muirs of America show such a good grasp of democracy's meaning.

I place Mr. Muir's essay in the Appendix of the RECORD:

DEMOCRACY: WHAT IT MEANS TO ME

A light glimmered on the vast, dark sea of human suffering and with that glimmer a theory was born—a theory then, nothing more—based on the assumption that all men can rule themselves—that all men have the God-given right to choose their own course. Democracy had been born.

So was developed a limited concept of democracy by the Greeks over two thousand years ago, but only in the past two hundred years has this concept, in a more advanced form, become a reality in our country. Tolerance of the views of others, a sense of justice and the theory of mass education have made this philosophy of government come alive. Democracy has succeeded here despite the minority of intolerant, unjust and shortsighted citizens who, unfortunately, may be with us always. But so long as they are the minority, democracy will remain the most effective system of government that mankind has ever known.

Democracy is proving itself today. It is a stabilizing—an equalizing—force in American society. Certainly, there are differences of opinion within a democratic framework, but it is a virtue, not a fault, that this framework is flexible enough to allow these disagreements. In the most recent Congressional elections the American people tended to balance the base of power throughout the nation. By voting as they did they indicated that they sought a less liberal policy in the Federal government. In contrast, the desires of the people are never discussed publicly in a country with a totalitarian government. Voltaire defended the right of free public speech when he said, "I disagree with what you say, but I shall defend to the *death* your right to say it."

Ideally, injustice would not exist within a democratic system, but we see examples of injustice in the newspaper every day. As Reinhold Niebuhr pointed during World War II, "Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible, but man's inclination toward injustice makes democracy necessary." Remember that democracy is not perfect, for, not unlike other governments, it can be no better than those who control its machinery. Only democracy, because it is of the people, can utilize the best that every individual has to offer.

As an American citizen, I *do not* choose to let this form of government degenerate because of my negligence and disinterest. Instead, I firmly resolve to keep democracy vibrant through my active participation in its function. I do not choose to let others have a greater voice in governing than I. Rather, I prefer to exercise the *sacred right* to vote, to serve my country's armed forces willingly—in short, to give all of myself for democracy.

You and I cannot allow others to destroy neither the heritage for which thousands have died or the future for which thousands will live. Together we must lead others, that they might take advantage of the opportunities that only democracy can give them. For in reality is democracy any more than hope for every man who seeks something better in life? Said Thomas Wolfe, "So, then, to every man his chance—to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunity—to every man the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him—this, seeker, is the promise of America." This, too, is the promise of democracy.

Sidney Zagri

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked at the tragic death of Mr. Sidney Zagri, chief legislative counsel for the Teamsters Union, who died in a fire in Alabama a few weeks ago.

While Mr. Zagri and I did not always agree on specific issues, I had great respect for his integrity and ability. On the numerous occasions when I discussed legislation with Mr. Zagri, I was always impressed with his realistic approach, his sincerity and dedication to the cause of the workingman and, in a broader sense, the welfare of the country. I know that many of my colleagues join me in my sorrow over his untimely death and in extending regrets to his bereaved family.

Last week, Mr. William Loeb, publisher of the Manchester Union Leader, New Hampshire's statewide daily newspaper, wrote a most perceptive and thoughtful editorial in which he traced the outstanding but tragically short career of Sidney Zagri. I commend this editorial, which follows, to my colleagues' attention:

SIDNEY ZAGRI, 1913–67

(By William Loeb, publisher)

Many of our readers understand the terrible shock of losing a beloved parent, relative, close friend or business partner and associate from some utterly unexpected tragedy. One day you see the individual well, happy and smiling—and the next day he is gone.

The tragedy is heightened when such an individual is of most unusual talents, abilities, character and devotion to the highest ideals of mankind. Such men and women are seldom, if ever, replaced.

This was Sidney Zagri, chief legislative counsel of the Teamsters Union, who was burned to death in the horrible restaurant fire in Montgomery, Ala., the news of which shocked the nation yesterday morning.

In the field of Washington lobbyists and representatives for big business or labor unions, or church groups, Mr. Zagri was most unusual, in that he was a completely dedicated individual. To him the cause of the plain men and women in the street, many of them union members, was a sacred cause. He was always on the side of the downtrodden and those who had fewer advantages than the rest of us.

Hours of work meant nothing to him, as those who were associated with him, both in an official capacity and as friends, long ago learned to accept. A telephone call at any time of the night was a usual occurrence if he was working on a particular problem at a particular time. He always thought everyone else worked as hard as he did.

One happy, summer evening, at an occasion for which many congressmen and senators had gathered for dinner on the balcony of the Teamsters' Building overlooking the Capitol, and for the showing of some films dealing with truck and auto safety, this writer remembers Sen. Cotton jokingly saying to Mr. Zagri that when he, Mr. Zagri, was as old as Sen. Cotton—at 65—he would feel differently about his approach to life. Mr. Hoffa, who was sitting at Sen. Cotton's right, laughingly interjected and said: "You don't have to worry about that, senator. Sidney is never going to live to be 65, the way he works."

Certainly Mr. Hoffa had no idea that his prophecy would be fulfilled in such a terrible fashion.

Unlike many reformers, Mr. Zagri was not a blue-nose. There was always a smile on his face and he loved a good meal. On one occasion he was having a physical check-up at the Lahey Clinic. When Dr. Robert Crozier was setting up his diet and giving him his calorie count. Sid listened and then said: "Why, doctor, I couldn't even get through breakfast on that number of calories."

This was a man who loved life and all its creatures. Unlike the narrow-minded liberal who has no use for anybody except other liberals, or his conservative counterpart, Sidney Zagri was tolerant of people and their faluts, but he never lost sight of the fact that mankind has a Divine Destiny. From the days of his graduation from Harvard Law School, he did everything he could from a practical standpoint. Understanding the realistic limitations which confront legislators and erring human beings, he did his best to do his bit to nudge mankind a little further along a higher path towards greater goals than we have yet achieved.

Mr. Zagri will not only be missed by his family and friends. He will be missed by the great causes for which he gave so generously of all his energy and talents—and possibly, in the end, for which he gave his entire life.

Social Security and the Debt Limit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, on February 4, 1967, the Merrill Daily Herald, a newspaper in my congressional district, published an editorial entitled "Social Security," which commented on the public statements of some administration officials concerning the alleged impact a failure to raise the debt ceiling would have on social security payments, veterans' pensions, and other obligations of the Federal Government.

So that all of my colleagues might have an opportunity to read this editorial, I insert it in the RECORD at this point.

The editorial referred to follows:

SOCIAL SECURITY

Being in the newspaper business, we have been particularly interested in government and politics for sixty years. About the cheapest political chicanery that we have ever known was when the Johnson administration this week asked for a seven billion dollar increase in the debt limit and if Congress did not grant it, it would put the social security payments and veteran's pensions in jeopardy.

Sending this kind of warning out to elderly people, a large percentage of which are one hundred per cent dependent on their social security payments and veteran's pensions, is like telling them to do what we want or take this dry crust of bread and this glass of water. Within the last ten days, President Johnson has come forth with a political bait suggesting an increase in social security benefits up from twenty to fifty per cent. And now a few days later one of his aides says that in order to maintain the present payments, without any increase, the debt limit must be hiked to seven billion dollars.

Why do they say that social security and pensions are jeopardized? Isn't it simply to send a stab of fear into the hearts of these elderly people. The administration didn't say anything about cutting down on the luxury air travel of members of the administration and their families at government expense. They didn't say anything about cutting down on foreign aid. They didn't say anything about retrenching and the disgraceful waste of money in the poverty program. They didn't say anything about the thousands and thousands of $25,000 a year or more salaried government bureaucrats, or of cutting down on their salaries. They didn't say anything about cutting down on the foolish waste of money on the race to the moon. No mention was made of cutting down on the cost of the Great Society, President Johnson's pet scheme to get votes.

And if it wasn't such a serious proposition, we'd say to the elderly people, tell the President, "we'll call your bluff," and see the bureaucratic heads start rolling down the hill. When the heads of our government get so arrogant, so heartless and so belligerent that they'll tell the elderly do this or do that, or we'll take your livelihood away, it is time that the thinking men in Congress and voters all over the United States understand what kind of people are running our government today. When we think of what the government has threatened to do, we get a feeling in our stomach like we have eaten some spoiled food.

Don't worry, you elderly people, we have faith that there are enough decent thinking Americans still left in our government that will not stand for any such action that has been suggested.

The CIA and the National Student Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. DENT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, since the revelation last week of the CIA's association with the National Student Association, I have been shocked by the energy devoted by many to disclosing other, additional associations which the Agency has with various groups. At the outset, let me say that I do not want to believe for one minute that the CIA has subverted, distorted, or maligned either the students of this country or our academic and educational structure. The CIA's involvement with NSA was a small response to a direct propaganda challenge from the Communist bloc. The funds granted to the student association were not great when compared to the millions of dollars expended by the Communist bloc to directly utilize students and student organizations for subversive purposes. This does not necessarily justify our doing the same, but the cold realities of this age do.

What is happening now, however, is absolutely frightening. All news outlets have taken up the disclosure of last week and now appear to be engaging in enthusiastic competition to see who can expose the most about our intelligence service. The Washington Post of Saturday, February 18, 1967, is a good example. No fewer than three separate front-page articles appeared, associating the CIA in one way or another with national and international groups. One article amplified the NSA story. Another tied business leaders to the CIA's covert operations, and listed a number of foundations apparently used by the Agency to filter money into selected operations. Still another article boldly announced that the American Newspaper Guild has accepted nearly $1 million in CIA subsidies since 1961 for use in a broad international program.

Not to be outdone, The Evening Star of that date told of how a local Latin study group was controlled by the CIA. It also gave priority coverage to the student association story. Since then, each day has brought out new and detailed disclosures.

Mr. Speaker, I grant that the CIA makes good news copy. It is likewise obvious that it makes an ideal target, since it has a history of silence in response to attack and criticism.

There must, however, be some self-imposed limit on the extent to which the activities of this agency can be protected from public disclosure. The people are represented by the congressional committees that oversee the operations of the CIA. Surely, they need not be exposed for all—including those against whom they are directed—to see.

If some insist on categorically listing every group or association affiliated in some way with the CIA, why not then make it doubly simple and list the individuals involved, too. List the scores of Americans here and abroad who give selflessly, and without recognition, in this defense of their country. List also the hundreds of foreign associates who provide information and conduct operations, whether for profit or conviction, in the interest of the United States. Why not open the book up wide, and expose the soul of the organization established and maintained for the purpose of supplementing our national defense.

Mr. Speaker, one of the realities of the cold war—indeed, all war and peace—is the system of espionage developed by each nation for its own protection. The everyday life of our opposition is nearly clouded in secrecy. The intelligence activities of our opposition, therefore, are beyond our obvious gaze. Ours, on the other hand, operating in a free society, are quite naturally less free of discovery. But this does not give every curious entity or individual the unquestioned obligation to illustrate, for all to see, the mechanisms of our service. This information is dear to the national interest and should be accorded proper regard and handled with the utmost of delicacy. The CIA expends tremendous amounts of time and energy in penetrating the opposition's intelligence network, but the opposition can now do an effective job of penetrating ours for the price of a daily newspaper.

Mr. Speaker, the necessity for covert organizations in this world is a distressing reality. But, as I have repeated, it is a reality. The CIA is subject to a great deal of review and overview. The people and institutions of this country are amply protected with educated care and yet, we are not willing to afford the same degree of protection to an organization committed to our security. This is an irony that smacks of irresponsibility. I hope it may be resolved before the breach widens.

Small Business Development Program Moving Along Well

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to report that the small business development programs provided under the Economic Opportunity Act, which are now administered by the Small Business Administration, appear to be moving along quite well.

Small Business Administrator Bernard L. Boutin, in a letter dated February 20, 1967, reports:

> You will recall that I indicated last month that we would have a much more meaningful report on the new SBA Economic Opportunity Loan Program after our first full quarter of operation. I am delighted to provide you with the enclosed detailed summary of our operations since President Johnson signed the 1966 Amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act early in November.
>
> There are two aspects of this compilation that are of particular interest: first, Economic Opportunity Loan applications are now being processed in every State; and second, the total volume of the anti-poverty Title IV loans from 1964 through October of 1966 was 2,476 loans, totaling $25,296,230. You will note that the new program has produced 478 loans totaling $5,249,912 in three months (November and December 1966, and January 1967). I am personally gratified at our initial success, and I pledge that our efforts to improve and expand the program will continue.

Mr. Speaker, the detailed summary to which Mr. Boutin referred is as follows:

	EOL I	EOL II	Total
Number of loans	227	251	478
Dollar volume	1,962,110	3,267,802	5,249,912

Items	EOL I[1]		EOL II[2]		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Type of business:						
Retail	86	37.9	103	41.0	189	39.5
Wholesale	8	3.5	11	4.4	19	4.0
Manufacturing	12	5.3	11	4.4	23	4.8
Service	110	48.5	100	39.8	210	43.9
Other	11	4.8	26	10.4	37	7.8
Race:						
Minority	99	43.6	77	30.7	176	36.8
White	128	56.4	174	69.3	302	63.2
Type of loan:						
Direct	205	90.3	199	79.3	404	84.5
Guarantee	15	6.6	29	11.5	44	9.2
Participation-bank	7	3.1	23	9.2	30	6.3
Businesses:						
New	75	33.0	89	35.5	164	34.3
Existing	152	67.0	162	64.5	314	65.7

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[1] Business loans to individuals whose income does not provide basic needs.

[2] Business loans to individuals having experience, education, or training that indicates strong managerial ability who cannot meet the basic requirements for regular SBA loans.

I was the sponsor of the provision in the Economic Opportunity Act Amendments of 1966 under which this program was switched from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the SBA. Under OEO, economic opportunity loans were available only in 44 selected communities throughout the country. I thought it was unfair that many small businessmen, both those in business and those who desired to start out on their own, who did not live in these communities, were excluded from the program. Additionally, it was my contention that SBA would be able to greatly reduce the administrative costs of the program, which, under OEO, were running about 20 cents for each dollar of loans.

I think that the SBA has done an outstanding job in rapidly implementing this expanded program. Economic opportunity loans are now available to eligible persons throughout the country, and the volume of loan applications and approvals is increasing. Thus, in only a little over 3 months, SBA has picked up this program and turned it into an effective antipoverty operation.

Meanwhile, I am also pleased to be informed by OEO that it has made a $115,850 grant under the small business development centers program to help finance, during the next 6 months, the operation of a SBDC operation in Detroit, Mich. The funds will be used by TAP—total action against poverty—to encourage and assist target area residents to enter into or to improve their businesses. I am sure that TAP will find SBA most willing to cooperate in its endeavor to assist worthy persons in this target area of 158,808 residents.

Upward Bound Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, one of the worthwhile efforts in our beginning skirmish against poverty is the so-called Upward Bound program. The Office of Economic Opportunity has recently begun to announce funding of these local programs that will begin this summer. Last summer an Upward Bound program benefited about 50 youngsters in my home of Kansas City, Mo. I place in the Appendix of the RECORD this appealing and well-written story by Mr. Pearman of the Kansas City Times which was published last June 30:

ARTICLE BY ROBERT PEARMAN

Fifty high school boys and girls are spending the summer where some had hoped, but few really believed, they would ever be—on a college campus.

For the most part at home they live between the river and 39th street and next year they will be juniors at Westport, Lincoln, Manual and Northeast high schools.

Starting June 19 and lasting through August 12 they will live and work and play on the campus of the University of Missouri at Kansas City. Sixty students are attending Rockhurst under the same poverty war program, labeled "upward bound."

Donald Tindall, 16, who was elected president of the group, gave up a summer job to study and live on the campus. He is paid $8 a week like the others out of project funds. Sometimes, he says it doesn't stretch. But he's sure he is doing the right thing.

"I'll be working the rest of my life anyhow," said Donald, who will be a junior at Manual next fall.

"I know I'm getting a break here," he said. "And I wanted to take advantage of it."

The U.M.K.C. project was funded by an $85,000 grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity (poverty war). It provides for a staff of 22 persons to work with the boys and girls in the summer sessions and on Saturdays through the academic year.

Basically the program is designed to encourage the students who have the intellectual equipment but lacked the money or motivation or both to go on to college.

Their work on the campus begins with physical exercise at 6:30 in the morning.

What does running a mile have to do with getting ready for college?

"It's a short range type of tangible goal, something they are going to see," said Jack McNally, who conducts the physical education program.

It is a varied group of students who participate in Upward Bound at U.M.K.C. Some are from the Northeast area, some are from the central core and others from the West Side.

A BIND THAT TIES

Yet they have three things in common. That is why they were selected.

They come from homes that meet the standards to qualify for programs under the war on poverty. In school they were not doing as well as their teacher thought they could, and they were not particularly motivated to go on to college.

"For the most part they don't see college as a reality for them," Donald F. Cheadle, director, said.

"The purpose of the program is to provide them a setting in which they can become interested in going on to school and the training to be successful once they are there."

Cheadle says that he is learning, too. Some students he has found are one thing on paper and something else when you see them work.

Cheadle encourages almost all enthusiasm and spontaneous action. When the group became miffed over a headline in the University newspapers that referred to them as "poor students," the group elected to start their own paper and Cheadle agreed.

It will be called "The Bounder."

COUNSELOR TOLD HER

Vickie Venable, 16, of 416 South Cypress, a junior at Northeast first learned about the program through her student counselor.

An effort was made not to advertise the program. Upward bound was looking for students who didn't want, or didn't think they could, go to college. Vickie was one of them.

"I didn't think I could go because my family couldn't afford it," she said. "I had an older brother and an older sister and they didn't get a chance and I didn't think I could go either.

"I just didn't want to come out here at first. I didn't like leaving my friends all summer. But now I like it here. I'm getting more interested in things."

Vickie hopes to find a career where she can have something to do with math and perhaps be a secretary.

"I'd thought about it (college) but I never thought I could get to go, because I knew my family couldn't afford it," said Floyd Curry, 15, of 2302 Bellefontaine, a junior as Lincoln next fall.

FEARFUL OF CHANCE

He wants to be a construction engineer.

"But I didn't think I had a chance," he said.

The mornings are spent mostly in academic work. The mathematics instruction, Floyd said, is doing him a lot of good.

The Upward Bound program was the subject of sharp debate in the protracted arguments over the city's applications for poverty funds.

Miss Loretta Johnson, representative of Poverty area 2, voted against Upward Bound when the matter was brought before the Human Resources corporation.

"We don't want the Upward Bound program. We don't want any part of it," she said.

A TASTE OF HONEY

"We don't want to give children this little taste of honey only to be taken away when the summer is over."

Actually the exposure to the collge campus will continue on Saturdays throughout the winter until the project ends next June.

"Taste of honey," or not some of the students are giving up something for a chance to participate in Upward Bound.

"This lady told me that I would be giving up some things, and I am," said Eddie Hernandez, 16, of 2341 Holly, who will be a junior at Northeast in the fall.

"Sure I miss not having a summer job, and playing basketball at the Guadalupe Center with my friends and the Mexican fiestas. But I just told her that I would give up anything. I know that I need to come to this school now."

Eddie wants to go to college and be an engineer, but there are seven in his family. He thought he might be a good enough basketball player to get an athletic scholarship, but he concedes he is, perhaps, too short.

LIKES IT NOW

Irene Carrillo, 15, of 2125 Belleview, a junior at Northeast next fall, was afraid of going to school, she said.

"The thought of going to college frightened me," she said. "But now that I'm here I like life on the campus.

A part of the program is aimed at showing the students the part of the city that many of them have never seen—the public library, the city museum, the Nelson Gallery.

For some of the 50 on the campus this summer at least, or ideally for all of them, Cheadle and his staff hope that the "taste of honey" will whet the appetite for the jar.

The Carrier "Roosevelt"—A Crewmember's Reaction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, 2 weeks ago the U.S. Aircraft Carrier *Franklin D. Roosevelt* steamed out of Tablebay Harbor, Capetown, South Africa, leaving great controversy in her wake.

I am sure my colleagues have read the numerous press reports regarding the *Roosevelt's* 3-day stay there. I am sure we are all familiar with the reasons, both official and otherwise, given as to why her crewmembers were not allowed shore leave at Capetown, where they were scheduled for what would have been their first major port shore leave after 8 months of combat duty off Vietnam.

While views both official and unofficial, were plentiful; and while many columnists and commentators discussed in great detail the diplomatic reasons and results of the move, there has been little said about the reaction of crewmembers to the whole affair.

Thus, I was pleased this week when I received a most interesting and informative letter from a member of the *Roosevelt's* crew, Ralph J. Cutting, who is also a constituent of mine from Concord, N.H. Cutting's letter showed great insight into the many problems faced by the *Roosevelt* in Capetown, concerning crew morale and diplomacy.

I feel it is one of the most perceptive comments on the situation I have come across since the decision was made not to allow shore leave to the crewmembers. Because it is such an important adjunct to the volumes already written, I am inserting it in the RECORD and recommend it to the attention of my colleagues. The letter follows:

U.S.S. "F. D. ROOSEVELT,"
FPO, New York, February 10, 1967.

Hon. JAMES C. CLEVELAND.

DEAR SIR: I debated writing you about this subject, but since there are very few "New Hampshire" boys on this ship, I feel that you deserve to know the truth about the Capetown incident, and from a competent source.

The Roosevelt had been at sea for over two weeks when she pulled into Capetown for three days of well-deserved liberty. As you probably know, Capetown is a most convenient port stop because it is in line with the shortest possible route home from Viet Nam. Also, many consecutive days at sea cause boredom and restlessness, and therefore liberty is also a morale factor. It was a clear-cut, concisive fact that the Roosevelt would pull into Capetown for three days and this was acknowledged by Port Authorities in Capetown so we all were looking forward to it. Of course, as in the past, we sailors would respect the laws and customs of the foreign country which we are visiting.

In India, an American sailor would consent to give a cow the right of way on the street. We had been to Japan where there are many strange customs, so the apartheid policy of South Africa was just another policy which the crew could only be gracious enough to accept.

The day finally came when the "Rosie" pulled into Capetown, and a port had never looked any better than Capetown looked at this moment. Thousands of people lined the pier, anticipating the departure of 3700 men, and waiting to show us the warm hospitality that we had heard so much about, but almost refused to believe. Now it is reality, and the people of this great city had opened up their hearts to us and offered us the enjoyment of their own city.

Suddenly, the word was passed that there would be no liberty. The crew was stunned, completely stupified and the people were hurt, disappointed, and humiliated. What was the cause of this sudden turn-about? Was the American government being overly cautious or maybe radical in explaining that the racial policies of the two countries were incompatible and that liberty would be granted on an integrated basis only? Weren't these facts taken into consideration beforehand? What could be more frustrating than 3 days restriction on board ship while it was moored at one of the greatest ports in the world; at least, it's the best I've ever seen. However, the entire crew took it in stride as we are used to setbacks, even though the setbacks are rarely of this nature. Also, we could at least look forward to returning to the states.

One consolation which eased the burden imposed upon the crew and the people of Capetown was that the ship was open to public visiting. This proved to be a tremendous success as many thousands of visitors flocked aboard to view a great novelty, the U.S. Aircraft Carrier Franklin D. Roosevelt, the greatest and most versatile ship in the U.S. Navy. It was indeed obvious that these people were impressed with the jets and other planes aboard. The airman had worked long, hard, hours in the previous two weeks in getting the "birds" in the best possible shape and had also given the flight deck and hanger bay an immaculate appearance. Many other crew members had painted the exterior of the ship to give it a most presentable appearance for a 21-year-old carrier.

The people of Capetown and others, who had driven from as far away as Johannesburg, had invited many sailors to impromptu gathering and dinner at their homes. Dances, parties, and many other types of social gatherings had been organized by these gracious persons. This crew had never seen such hospitality at any other port. Although the situation was a pathetic one, these people brought much goodwill to the ship and to the crew as they proved to be extremely friendly as well as genuinely interested in the ship and the United States Navy. We were pleased to be able to escort the people around the ship, because we felt very proud of our accomplishments of the past six months of Viet Nam. Ironically enough, our visitors had a great deal more to show us, but they could only speak of it with a feeling of dismay.

Sir, I hope that I have been helpful in giving you an account of the Capetown incident. I am not complaining or rebelling against U.S. foreign policy but I believe that this incident was a damaging blow to U.S.-South Africa relaitonships.

As we continue our long trek homeward to the states, I wonder if our friends and loved ones will remember that we have been gone for eight months, defending the freedom of their lives, and receive us with as much graciousness and admiration as the people of Capetown.

Very respectfully yours,
RALPH J. CUTTING,
CYNSN 904-45-07, (Communications Yeoman), CR Div.

Relating Federal Educational Legislation to the Needs of Mankind

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr., of Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, Ill., has prepared a study of Eastern Baptist College at St. David, Pa. Because of national interest in education and because of the study's contents, I include, under unanimous consent, a part of the first chapter, entitled "Relating Federal Educational Legislation to the Needs of Mankind," in the RECORD:

RELATING FEDERAL EDUCATIONAL LEGISLATION TO THE NEEDS OF MANKIND[1]

INTRODUCTION

We are in a moral crisis that is ever changing, but all changes reveal one constant factor. The moral life of mankind is continually in the embarrassment of realizing that the absolutes of Biblical and rational norms—which enjoin responsibility for the neighbor's welfare—can never be perfectly fulfilled, either by the use of or abstention from any of the instruments of community or conflict. Yes, we should deplore war as contrary to God's intention for His children. Christians should never lose their capacity to care, and they should express to the responsible national leaders their desire that nothing be neglected that might bring about a "meeting of the minds" that would promote a peaceful, honorable, and just solution of the current crisis in Southeast Asia. Finally, we should be concerned about eradicating the causes of war and planting the roots of peace wherever possible. U.S. Senator Wayne L. Morse of Oregon stands high in this area, but, unlike most statesmen, he also is a giant in promoting needed Federal legislation in the realm of public education. This article is thus dedicated to the proposition of reviewing the major issues involved in relating the educational needs of mankind to the Great Society via democratic philosophy.

We are living, in Sir Winston Churchill's phrase, amidst "a security which is the child of terror and a survival which is the twin brother of annihilation." Leo Rosten has said: "We must learn to meet fanaticism with courage, and idealism with great care, for we must be skeptical of what is promised even by virtuous men, but has not been provided." Yes, in these hectic days that try men's souls, when the fundamental principles of brotherhood are being openly flouted by the politically oriented Communists, we often think of the strong man of mythology whose strength was renewed every time he touched Mother Earth. By the same token, our strength is renewed and our courage goes forward when we make contact with free people.

Our Founding Fathers did not bestow upon us a system of freedom, finished and fine. Rather, they set us upon the road that leads toward freedom; they lighted a lamp for us, and they gave us a Constitution as a vehicle; but it has been up to those Americans who came after them to make the long journey. The failure of imagination, the torpidity, the placid indifference of many people to the social challenges of our day is not likely to be overcome without extending our structures. It is thus imperative that we initiate and maintain a sane dialogue in the academic community.

The good citizen finds the causes of our social disturbances and contributes his best efforts toward eliminating them. The time has come for Christians of this country to lead the greatest demonstration in history. By careful planning and effective teaching, we must demonstrate against the forces of lawlessness, indifferent citizenship, and moral deterioration. We thus must testify to our profound love of our Nation and humanity.

Yes, we who count ourselves in the company of the Judaeo-Christian tradition believe that faith in a sovereign God "who bringeth princes to naught and maketh the judges of the earth as vanity" is a source of immense and incalculable wisdom. A country which knows that there is a Lord whose majesty dwarfs the pretensions of even the most powerful nation is one which may not be destroyed by its own vanity. Or, expressed in another manner, if there were only 1,000 people in the world, under the percentages that now exist, there would be 60 Americans and 940 people representing the balance of the world. Those 60 Americans would possess half of the income, the other 940 the other half. Five hundred of the 940 would never have heard of Jesus Christ. More than 500 would be hearing about Karl Marx, Lenin, Stalin, and current Communist leaders. The 60 Americans and about 200 others of the 940 throughout the world would be relatively well off, but most of the others would be uneducated, poor, hungry, and sick.

Never has there been greater need for this kind of unselfish neighborliness. As Christians, we welcome new knowledge, and work in the world in attempting to include love. Yet, the American families spend at least $850.00 annually for military defense, but less than $4.00 per year to share their faith with the other people of the world. Sometimes in middle-class America we pretend that life is nothing but achievement and well-being is everything, but then the "Brookses" and the "Gowsters" come into focus, because they are found in our cities. The Gowsters are public school students who terrorize the teachers, refuse to study, speak a dialect of their own, and consider "whitey" the enemy. The Brookses are trying hard to get an education, and get along well with the whites, which is one reason the Gowsters hate them.

The academic community may try to hold itself apart from the fear, despair, and disorder of the times. It may, unwittingly, contribute to the turbulence, or it may overtly try to help distinguish the landmarks by which a course can be steered through present oversized dangers and alarms.

To avoid catastrophe in our world, the United Nations is at work helping to channel both know-how and capital from the rich industrial countries to the poor undeveloped. Of every 20 U.N. employees, 17 are engaged in these programs of social progress and economic growth.

THE DIGNITY OF CHALLENGE

Today, as ever, we need light and challenge. Long ago Christ came into a generation which needed these. Under his influence he persuaded a little group of ordinary men to take the light they possessed and put it on a candlestick, and then came the revolutionary consequences. We must not do less than this in our time.

Christians are recognizing the challenges and problems. Dr. John R. Rice, one of the greatest Bible scholars of our time, has said: "I think that desegregation was inevitable sooner or later." Inherent in the idea of equality before the law is the concept of equality of opportunity. This we commonly refer to as free enterprise—the right of every individual to choose his trade or calling, his right to engage in fair competition, and to succeed or fail in accordance with his skill, training, experience, incentive, and desire.

Reinhold Niebuhr has exercised vast influence on American social and political thought as he has attempted to show how the Christian view of man is able to account more satisfactorily for the heights to which he (man) can aspire and the depths to which he sinks. America will continue to progress in dignity and freedom so long as our people cherish liberty, justice, truth, honor God and continue to take positive steps to help all people secure these conditions.

It is important to remember that most of the world is nonwhite. If we had a sample of 100 people that would accurately represent in proper proportion a cross-section of the population of the globe, we would have one from Australia, New Zealand, or the South Pacific; five from the U.S. and Canada; six from the U.S.S.R.; eight from Africa; nine from Latin America; fourteen or fifteen from Western Europe; and fifty-six from Asia.

Historically one of the greatest single events of this decade will be the political liberation of Africa. This continent is about four times as great in area as the United States, fifty per cent larger than U.S.S.R. and larger than all of North America. It is almost 5,000 miles long and 4,500 miles wide. It has an area as large as the U.S., Western Europe, India and Red China combined. Ninety-seven percent of the two hundred and forty million people are of African origin and they speak seven hundred languages or dialects. Approximately eighty-five percent of the people cannot read or write, and sixty-two million of the eighty-three million children of school age are not in school. The average annual income of $132.00 per person is less tahn that of any other continent.

Our unwillingness to take more initiative in Africa is all the more remarkable because it is the one area of the world in which the United States has more freedom of action and fewer constraints on its foreign policymaking than in any other. The administration seems to have accepted as applicable to Africa, the Kennan-Lippmann thesis on the limitations of U.S. capacity to influence the direction of affairs in distant areas of the world.

As the African leviathan rouses from his slumber to shout his resentment against the tyranny of his former colonial masters and of the white man, he knows that at the same time he is overwhelmed by the necessity of striding, in a mere decade, from a condition of primitive illiteracy into a technological culture which is unbelievably complex and sophisticated. He has neither the time nor the desire to develop the political institutions on which government, or the consent of the governed, can be based. Regardless of the time or the complexity involved, he is determined to take his place under the sun.

One result of our policy of self-abnegation is that the desire of the newly independent states to widen their relations, and to dilute the influence of their former colonial masters, is being ignored, and the conditions for their continuing dependency are being nurtured. This promotes the image of neocolonialism and African "stooge" governments ripe for national liberation, as propagated by Communist China and radical nationalist African states, such as Ghana.

EDUCATION AS A TOOL FOR PROGRESS

Benjamin Franklin once said: "An investment in knowledge pays the best in-

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Footnotes at end of speech.

terest." Also, Edmund Burke of England noted: "The public interest requires doing today the things that men of intelligence and good will would wish, 5 or 10 years hence, had been done." People are thus free to the extent that their productive and creative activities are unimpeded. The educator must find the causes of our social disturbances and contribute his best efforts.

Our remarkable phenomenon of today, especially of the last two decades, is the increasingly high value American society has placed on knowledge—the production, acquisition, and dissemination—and thus on the inquiring mind. The refreshing new value judgment is apparent on many levels. Education today, more than ever before, has the responsibility for preparing individuals with the inner strength and intellectual understanding to enable them to cope with life in an age pressured not only by constant and rapid change but also where instant annihilation of whole populations is an ever-present possibility.

Pope John XXIII said it rightly: "Beloved children, must we repeat and exalt the principle of human solidarity and remember and preach loudly the duty of those communities and individuals who live in plenty to reach out to those who live in want?" America is the richest Nation history has known, yet millions of our people are trapped in the dead-end street of poverty through illiteracy, lack of basic skills, racial discrimination, broken homes, age, and ill health.

We Americans find it difficult to realize that hunger stalks the world. Let us consider our neighbor to the South as just one example. It is estimated that only 50,000 of Haiti's 4,500,000 people are actually wage earners. The annual per capita income of Haiti is only $75.00. Population density there is greater that in India or China—430 persons per square mile. The life expectancy is only 35 years.

More than half of the world's people suffer from chronic malnutrition, and the hunger problem is getting worse. If drastic measures are not taken soon, it is estimated that the diet of two out of every three people in the world will deteriorate. The reason is not hard to guess. It has taken 100,000 years for the world's population to reach its present level of three billion people. In thirty-five years, between now and the end of this century, three billion more people will be added.

Lloyd Boyd-Orr once said: ". . . hunger is the worst politician." You can't digest Karl Marx on a full stomach. There are two other things that must disturb Christians. The one is that the mass of the hungry, are, by and large, the so-called "colored people." And the mass of the well-fed are, by and large, the "white people." Also, the well-fed are normally Christians. We find nothing in Holy Writ that links obesity with sanctity.

Today's war on poverty is attacking poverty where it starts. We are recognizing that America's great system of free public education is the most important ingredient in her enormous economic growth and power, hence the current war on poverty is geared to wipe out inherited poverty, by making certain that each child has a real educational opportunity, and by helping those who missed out on education to make up the deficiency.

THE DIGNITY OF LIFE

Perhaps the Old Testament character, Nehemiah, provides a relevant Biblical illustration of tension. Nehemiah, you will recall, was the highly placed Jew in the court of Artaxerxes, the fifth century B.C. Persian monarch. Nehemiah returned to Jerusalem as Governor to lead in the rebuilding of the city's walls, which had been lying in ruins ever since Nebachadnezzar destroyed them in 586 B.C. While the construction was proceeding, Nehemiah's enemies, certain non-Jews, gathered round the city, ridiculing his efforts and, threatening to attack.

Later, in our own Nation, Abraham Lincoln's fight for human rights was generated in Alton, Illinois, from the spirit of the great martyr of freedom, Elijah P. Lovejoy. Since that time, many pioneer trails have been developed in this area. A modern lady for this current critical era is Lena Horne. She has written one of the best autobiographies of this age. It is about one of the greatest ladies in history. This worthy book comes at a very appropriate time. Yes, the excellent book, "Lena," provides the background and understanding of the non-white problem. The world is a cynical old place, but now and then our faith is restored when fortune smiles in the right direction. "Lena" is not only the true story of one of the greatest Americans who is known, admired, and loved around the world, but it has great depth in the areas of psychology, sociology, and human relations. The greatness of Miss Horne is recognized in all walks of life, but one proper setting for her is found in "One Blood."[2] The principles of the book, "Lena," are these:

1. Right to Equality:[3] "I was never taught by them that I was not as good as any white person and I figured if this was true for me it was true for all other Negroes as well."

2. Right to Safety:[4] "What I remember clearly was the surge of fear that was almost palpable in our car, and the sudden, shocking change in my mother's mood from one of holiday to one of terror. It was the first time I had ever experienced fear like that. I was to learn more about it in the South as I grew older."

3. Right to Human Dignity:[5] "I suppose it seems a small point, but to me it seemed a denial of my right to share a group activity with my associates. For in school here, as in other Southern schools, I was set apart by my color and my Northern accent."

Later:[6] "There was talk about me for months in Hollywood and it finally culminated in a protest meeting. I was called 'an Eastern upstart' and a tool of the NAACP and I was forced to get up and try to explain that I was not trying to start a revolt or steal work from anyone and that the NAACP was not using me for any ulterior purpose."

4. Right to Christian Love:[7] "But when I was young, there was nothing at all militant about the church. The people used it as a refuge, if not from life, then certainly from the white man. It was a pacifier. And it was also the one place where the white man never, never interfered with the lives of Negroes. He could trust the minister to keep them happy, and in turn, the church made the white man happy. It assuaged his guilt to see the happy, docile Negroes going to Church on Sunday, apparently content with their lot."

5. Right to Domestic Happiness:[8] "Negro women, no matter what their age or background or understanding of the problem, have to be terribly strong. They cannot relax, they cannot simply be loving wives waiting for the man of the house to come home from work. They have to be spiritual sponges, absorbing the racially inflicted hurts of their men. Yet, at the same time they have to give courage, make him know that it is worth going on, worth going back day after day to the humiliations and discouragements of trying to make it in the white man's world. It isn't easy to be a sponge and an inspiration. It doesn't leave enough room for love to develop. You both become victims of the system you're trying to fight. The strain on a marriage is incredible."

6. Right to Personal Happiness:[9] "When a Negro woman marries a white man it is yet another put-down of the Negro man. It wounds his already deeply wounded vanity and masculinity. For a hundred years the system has decreed that he takes the worst jobs, the worst education, that he not be able to give his family as good a home and neighborhood as a white man of the same status. Then he sees a Negro woman marrying a man of the race that has oppressed him, and it's impossible for him to believe that it was a purely personal decision. In fact, he is unwilling to concede her the right to make such a decision."

Later about a friend:[10] "Perhaps, he wanted to see if they could learn to see me as he saw me—as a woman first, a Negro second. If they could do that, then maybe they could see him as a man and all of us as individuals."

Still later about her future husband:[11] "The thing I noticed first about Lennie was not the color of his skin, but the fact that he was a musician. They were the ones, white and Negro, with whom, all my adult life, I had been able to be easy and relaxed. Music was, and perhaps still is, the area of my life where the question of color comes second and the question of whether you play good or not is the one you have to answer as a test of admission into society."

7. Right to Christian Ethics:[12] Whenever I made a general statement of belief or commented on some injustice that did not directly involve me, I felt as if I were reacting like one of Pavlov's pups, responding not because I chose to, but because I had been conditioned to do so, whatever my true feelings." Later[13] "It would be equally false for me to attempt a role like Jimmy Baldwin's on the one hand or Dick Gregory's on the other. I had to go on being me. And that meant that I must find ways to contribute to life as it was happening now—to the cause—without losing my self in it, without being false either to it or to me."

A BRIGHTER TOMORROW

Our supersonic flights, our explorations of matter, our Early Bird satellite have provided us with new dimensions of human togetherness, but at the same time, they have provided us with the possibility of new dimensions of manipulation and tyranny.

A world that is already three billion in population, and racing toward six in the predictable future, thus must be viewed in something other than white skins or residing within the three-mile limit of the coast line of the U.S. Either we must choose to shrink from this prospect in fear because of its immensity, or we can strive to understand it and realistically plan toward it in the kind of world in which we hope to survive.

So long as lawyers, public officials, and State courts in the South continue to distort the process of public power so that Negro citizens may not enjoy the legal equality promised them or exercise the liberties assured them by the Constitution, Federal authority must continue to make itself felt.

The U.S. Supreme Court's reapportionment decisions in June, 1964, rank as one of the most far-reaching series of decisions since the beginning of judicial review, and few decisions will help public education and social welfare more. The Court, utilizing the "equal protection of the laws" clause of the 14th Amendment, embraced a one-man, one-vote principle.

Finally, in these hectic days that try men's souls when the fundamental principles of democracy are being openly flouted by many, our Nation, after carefully considering the historical philosophy, must move ahead educationally in 1966. With a wise educational program suggested by President Johnson, America can expect Senator Morse, "Mr. Education of the U.S. Senate," to once again give the imaginative and progressive leadership necessary to guarantee to all mankind the quality education so needed in this critical era. After the Congress has responded,

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Footnotes at end of speech.

there is just no predicting the extent of what Christian America can do.

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[1] A report prepared by Dr. and Mrs. Reuter for U.S. Senator Wayne L. Morse's Subcommittee on Education, January, 1966.

[2] George S. Reuter, Jr., August M. Hintz, and Helen H. Reuter, One Blood (Exposition Press: New York, 1964), p. 39.

[3] Lena Horne and Richard Schickel, Lena (Doubleday and Company: Garden City, New York, 1965), p. 117.

[4] Ibid., p. 24.

[5] Ibid., p. 31.

[6] Ibid., p. 137.

[7] Ibid., p. 84.

[8] Ibid., p. 82.

[9] Ibid., p. 205.

[10] Ibid., p. 143.

[11] Ibid., pp. 193–194.

[12] Ibid., p. 233.

[13] Ibid., p. 287.

Inner Space

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, a Texas State Highway Department core driller routinely bored a test hole in Williamson County, Tex., in 1963 and not-so-routinely discovered the newest and one of the most significant caverns in the Southwest.

The cavern—hidden until its discovery by the highway crew—is located in the Comanche Cretaceous formation from the Mesozoric Era. Estimated at about 100,000 years old, the limestone cave was hollowed out, according to geologists, by the actions of an ancient sea which once covered the southwest area of the United States.

The significance of such a discovery, in my opinion, should not be minimized.

Spelunkers and paleontologists who have entered the cavern have discovered the remains of prehistoric mastadons, camels, horses, Glyptodons, and Sabertooth tigers.

And while these remains are estimated to be only 10,000 to 20,000 years old, the cavern itself has provided vital information to paleontologists and geologists about the climate and landscape of this area during the ice age.

There is no doubt that the cavern will yield more prehistoric evidence as more and more of the subsurface rooms are explored and charted.

Aside from the scholarly aspects of the discovery, the cave—Inner Space, which is operated by the Georgetown Corp.—has become one of Texas' prime new tourist attractions.

Sculptured by nature for uncounted thousands of years, the colorful world below ground is filled with exotic cones of incrustations.

Just how much time was required for nature to form the breathtaking shapes found within the colorful rooms below ground is anyone's good guess.

Nature's work, however, has produced a wonderous profusion of cave formation—not only stalactites, stalagmites, columns and flowerstones common to many caves—but also cave pearls, and a fantastic array of rare "soda straws" and hetictites, such as are found only in caves of exceptional beauty.

And while I do not claim to be an authentic spelunker, I have had the opportunity to visit firsthand these underground passages, and I found the experience to be fun and educational.

Stamp Urged To Finance Olympic Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I have again this year introduced a bill to authorize the Post Office Department to issue a semipostal stamp to assist in financing the American participation in the Olympic games. It is H.R. 633.

Essentially, the bill authorizes the Post Office Department to issue a special stamp which would sell for 10 cents. Five cents of the price would be the postal value of the stamp and would be for Post Office revenue. The other nickel would be turned over to the congressionally chartered U.S. Olympic Committee.

The Olympic games have become more than a battle between contestants to show physical prowess. Victory in the Olympics has become a symbol of national prestige.

It is for this reason the tin cup financing used by the United States in its approach to the Olympics has reached the proportions of a national disgrace. The committee must rely on inconsistent donations for financing all its activities.

Approximately $4 million is needed by the Olympic Committee for each Olympiad. Over the last few years, income has little more than equaled expenditures, making any type of athletic development program impossible.

Out of 30 sports categories in the Summer Olympics, the United States can expect to finish near the top in only 15. According to Olympic Committee statistics, Americans can expect their athletes to finish near the bottom in five categories.

The United States has always been proud of its showing in the Olympics. We have always been proud that our athletes are not professionals, as they are in some countries. The time is not far off, however, when the financial aid other countries give their athletes will result in the United States being pushed farther and farther down the final Olympic standings.

With the Post Office Department providing only the vehicle from which revenue may be realized, the United States can easily have the best of both worlds—amateur champions and adequate financing.

When you stop to realize that during this Olympiad France financed its Olympic effort to the tune of more than $60 million and Canada is giving $10 million a year toward her Olympic participation, the U.S. budget of only $4 million seems small indeed.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, it is my hope that this Congress will seriously consider this legislation and give the U.S. Olympic Committee the support it needs and deserves.

Mr. Speaker, I include with my remarks statements and tables prepared by Arthur Lentz, executive director of the U.S. Olympic Committee:

AN ANALYSIS OF OLYMPIC DEVELOPMENT NEEDS

One of the most painful revelations experienced in recent years is the realization that the United States no longer can depend upon superior success in a few Olympic sports to obtain or maintain international prestige as a strong, forceful nation. The purposeful drive of the Soviet Union and the concerted efforts by other nations to utilize athletic prowess as support for their ideological goals is slowly but surely diluting the United States' image in the world.

To the many emerging nations in particular, prowess in *all* sports is taken as an indication of national vitality and, unless the United States demonstrates that it can excel in anything it attempts, it stands to lose the respect of those who look to our way of life as the one to emulate.

Time was when victories in track and field swimming and diving, basketball and figure skating were sufficient to establish the United States as the top athletic nation. Now, with 30 sports on the Olympic summer and winter games programs, with more than 200 championship possibilities, the proportion of U.S. successes is meager indeed.

Let's take a look at the record:

Since 1948 and through 1964, the United States has topped all others in men's track and field, men's basketball, swimming and diving, and figure skating, consistently. Intermittent success has been achieved in rowing, shooting, weightlifting and yachting. From then on, there's nothing much to brag about.

Consider the international rankings compiled from actual performances in the Olympic Games since 1948.

These international rankings were determined by the usual informal point scoring system popular with sportswriters, i.e., awarding seven (7) points for each first place won and, in sequence, five (5) for second place, four (4) for third place, three (3) for fourth place, two (2) for fifth place, and one (1) for sixth place. The points thus earned in all events of a specific sports classification then were tallied and the nations ranked in order of total points earned. This procedure was followed in each of the sports classifications on the program.

[Legend: (*)—denotes tie for position. 0—did not place for points, X—did not compete. EL—eliminated in pregames regional competitions.]

Sport	Total medals			U.S. ranking					Remarks
	Gold	Silver	Bronze	1948	1952	1956	1960	1964	
Athletics—M	61	37	27	1	1	1	1	1	Can hold rating.
Athletics—W	8	3	3	5	*7	3	3	*4	Can be contender.
Basketball—M	5	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	Never has lost a game.
Boxing—M	11	2	4	7	1	3	2	4	Armed Forces hold key.
Canoeing—M	2	2	0	3	7	0	0	0	Needs intensive program.
Canoeing—W	0	1	1	X	X	X	0	*3	Can improve rating.
Cycling—M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Needs intensive program.
Equestrian	0	3	0	*2	6	*10	7	4	Can be contender.
Fencing—M	0	0	1	*4	8	*6	6	0	Needs intensive program.
Fencing—W	0	0	0	4	*3	4	0	0	Do.
Field hockey—M	0	0	0	0	X	*11	X	EL	Do.
Gymnastics—M	0	0	0	7	8	6	5	7	Do.
Gymnastics—W	0	0	1	3	15	9	9	9	Do.
Judo—M	0	0	1	--------	--------	--------	--------	*7	Not on 1968 program.
Modern pentathlon—M	0	3	2	2	4	2	3	3	Can improve rating.
Rowing—M	10	3	5	*3	*1	1	3	*1	Can hold rating.
Shooting—M	5	5	4	*1	8	*9	2	1	Do.
Soccer—M	0	0	0	X	X	X	EL	EL	Needs intensive program.
Swimming and diving—M	31	21	16	1	1	2	1	1	Can hold rating.
Swimming and diving—W	21	18	14	1	2	1	1	1	Do.
Volleyball—M	0	0	0	--------	--------	--------	--------	9	Can improve rating.
Volleyball—W	0	0	0	--------	--------	--------	--------	5	Do.
Water polo—M	0	0	0	0	4	5	7	*9	Do.
Weightlifting—M	17	12	4	1	1	1	2	4	Must regain former drive.
Wrestling (free style)	6	4	4	4	4	*5	2	6	Can improve rating.
Wrestling (Greco-Roman)	0	0	0	X	X	12	0	10	Needs intensive program.
Yachting—M. & W	6	4	6	1	1	2	3	1	Can hold rating.

WINTER GAMES

Sport	Gold	Silver	Bronze	1948	1952	1956	1960	1964	Remarks
Biathlon—M	0	0	0	--------	--------	--------	6	0	Needs intensive program.
Bobsledding—M	1	2	3	1	3	3	--------	4	Do.
Figure skating	6	4	5	1	1	1	1	*2	Can reach top in 1968.
Ice hockey—M	1	2	0	X	2	2	1	5	Needs intensive program.
Skiing—M (alpine)	0	1	1	0	7	6	*5	3	Can improve rating.
Skiing—W (alpine)	3	5	1	3	1	7	1	3	Do.
Skiing—M (Nordic)	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	Needs intensive program.
Skiing—W (Nordic)	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	Never has drawn entries.
Speed skating—M	2	4	0	4	3	6	*4	*3	Can improve rating.
Speed skating—W	0	0	1	--------	--------	--------	6	*4	Do.
Luge—M. & W	0	0	0	--------	--------	--------	--------	0	Needs intensive program.

RECAPITULATION

Can hold top rating	Can contend for medals	Can improve 1964 rating
Athletics—M.	Athletics—W.	Volleyball—M.
Basketball—M.	Canoeing—W.	Volleyball—W.
Rowing—M.	Equestrian—M. and W.	Water polo—M.
Shooting—M.	Modern pentathlon—M.	Wrestling (freesytle)—M.
Swimming and diving—M.		Weightlifting—M.
Swimming and diving—W.	Figure skating—M. and W.	Speed skating—W.
Yachting—M. and W.	Skiing (alpine)—M.	
	Skiing (alpine)—W.	
	Speed skating—M.	

Needs intensive program	Best effort during 1948–64
Boxing	5 gold medals in 1952.
Canoeing—M	2 gold medals, 1 silver in 1948.
Cycling—M	7th place individual scratch race 1948.
Fencing—M	Bronze medal in foils in 1960.
Fencing—W	4th place foils, 1948, 1952, 1956.
Gymnastics—M	17th place individual all-round 1956.
Gymnastics—W	3d place team all-round 1948.
Soccer	Eliminated in regional playoffs 1960 and 1964.
Wrestling (Greco-Roman)—M	4th place individual class 1964.
Ice hockey—M	Won championship in 1960.
Luge—M. & W	Sport started in 1964.
Biathlon—M	Best individual 14th in 1960.
Skiing (Nordic)—M	5th place in jumping 1948.
Bobsledding—M	1 gold, 2 bronzes in 1948.

What has happened—what is wrong? Actually, we've made no concerted effort, except to concentrate on what we term popular sports.

True, we have kept ahead of the rest of the world in these traditional sports of ours by improving virtually every phase. Look only to track and field and to our emergence as a power in long-distance running, an area never before explored with planning and dedication.

It is a sad commentary that the United States has the best athletic potential in the world but fails to put it to overall use. It has the best economy; it has the best diet; it has the most leisure time. Yet we never give to the other sports on the Olympic program the same dedication, the same importance, or the same support that our favored sports have enjoyed.

Given the same dedication, the same importance, and the same support, all of our Olympic sports efforts would be crowned with success.

What makes a sport great? First, it must have a wide base of participation. From that wide base of participation springs a more competitive effort, with the ultimate being a higher peak of achievement. This is a fundamental law of physics: the broader the base, the higher the apex. The more participants, the greater the competition, and through this, the greater the end product. As Baron de Coubertin so aptly stated, "The stress and strain, the buffeting and battering of keen competition, will produce the better individual."

Next, the sport must have adequate facilities, it must provide the best coaching and instruction, and it must attain a national importance which will motivate every youngster to participate in it and strive for Olympic excellence.

Again, let's take a good look at all of our Olympic sports from a national standpoint. Why are we successful in so few sports on the Olympic programs? What is keeping so many more from Olympic standard?

Is it lack of facilities? Is it lack of an extensive national program? Is it a lack of motivation? Is it a lack of adequate instruction? Let us look at all of our Olympic and Pan American sports from this viewpoint. How do they rate?

From ratings made through the past five years by qualified national and international observers from studies conducted at the request of U.S. Olympic Committee, here is the picture:

(The ratings are based on the number of individuals involved, on the extent and range of national programs, the availability of proper facilities, the availability of high caliber coaches and instructors, rankings in international competition, and, finally, public acceptance of the sport itself.)

POINT TABLE

Five (5) points—Excellent. Equal to Olympic and World standards.

Four (4) points—Good. Adequate, but more time and effort needed.

Three (3) points—Average. Holds promise but needs vigorous management and direction.

Two (2) points—Poor. Needs expansion and financial support.

One (1) point—Very weak. Planning and support badly needed.

None (0) point—Nonexistent. Holds no promise at present.

RANKINGS

Excellent—27 to 30 points.

Good—21 to 26 points.

Average—15 to 20 points.

Poor—8 to 14 points.

Very weak—1 to 7 points.

Nonexistent—0 points.

Analysis

Sport	Participating base	National progress	Available facilities	Available instructors	International rank	Public acceptance	Points	Ranking
Archery—M. & W.[1]	5	5	5	5	5	4	29	Excellent.
Athletics—M	5	5	5	5	5	5	30	Do.
Athletics—W	2	1	5	2	4	4	18	Average.
Baseball—M.[2]	5	5	5	5	4	5	29	Excellent.
Basketball—M	5	5	5	5	5	5	30	Do.
Basketball—W[2]	2	2	5	2	2	2	15	Average.
Boxing—M	2	3	4	3	3	3	18	Do.
Canoeing—M	2	2	3	2	2	2	13	Poor.
Canoeing—W	2	2	3	2	3	2	14	Do.
Cycling—M	2	3	2	3	2	2	14	Do.
Equestrian—M. & W	3	4	4	4	4	4	23	Good.
Field hockey—M	1	1	2	2	1	1	8	Poor.
Gymnastics—M	3	3	3	2	2	2	15	Average.
Gymnastics—W	3	3	3	2	2	2	15	Do.
Judo—M	3	3	3	3	3	3	18	Do.
Modern pentathlon—M	4	4	2	4	4	3	21	Good.
Rowing—M	5	4	4	4	5	5	27	Excellent.
Shooting—M	5	5	4	5	5	4	28	Do.
Soccer-football—M	3	3	2	2	1	2	13	Poor.
Swimming and diving—M	5	5	5	5	5	5	30	Excellent.
Swimming and diving—W	5	5	5	5	5	5	30	Do.
Synchronized swimming—W.[2]	2	1	4	2	5	2	16	Average.
Tennis—M. & W.[2]	4	4	5	4	4	5	26	Good.
Volleyball—M	3	3	4	2	2	3	17	Average.
Volleyball—W	3	3	4	2	2	3	17	Do.
Water polo—M	2	2	4	3	2	2	15	Do.
Weightlifting—M	3	3	4	4	4	3	21	Good.
Wrestling (free style)	4	4	4	4	2	3	21	Do.
Wrestling (Greco-Roman)	2	3	4	2	1	1	13	Average.
Yachting—M. & W	5	5	5	5	5	5	30	Excellent.
WINTER SPORTS								
Biathlon—M	1	1	2	2	2	1	9	Poor.
Bobsledding—M	1	2	2	2	3	4	14	Do.
Figure skating—M. & W	4	5	4	4	5	4	26	Good.
Ice hockey—M	3	3	3	3	3	4	19	Do.
Luge—M. & W	1	1	2	2	1	2	9	Poor.
Skiing (Alpine)—M	4	5	4	4	4	5	26	Good.
Skiing (Alpine)—W	4	5	4	4	4	5	26	Do.
Skiing (Nordic)—M	1	1	2	2	1	1	8	Poor.
Skiing (Nordic)—W	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	Very weak.
Speed skating—M	3	4	2	3	3	4	19	Average.
Speed skating—W	3	4	2	3	2	3	17	Do.

RECAPITULATION

Excellent	Good	Average	Poor
Archery—M. & W.	Equestrian—M. & W.	Athletics—W.	Canoeing—M.
Athletics—M.	Modern pentathlon.	Basketball—W.	Canoeing—W.
Baseball—M.	Tennis—M. & W.	Boxing—M.	Cycling—M.
Basketball—M.	Weightlifting—M.	Gymnastics—M.	Field hockey—M.
Rowing—M.	Wrestling (free style).	Gymnastics—W.	Soccer-football—M.
Shooting—M.		Judo—M.	
Swimming and diving—M.	Figure skating—M. & W.	Synchronized swimming.	
Swimming and diving—W.	Ice hockey—M.	Volleyball—M.	Biathlon—M.
Yachting—M. & W.	Skiing (Alpine)—M.	Volleyball—W.	Bobsledding—M.
	Skiing (Alpine)—W.	Water polo.	Luge—M. & W.
		Wrestling (Greco-Roman).	Skiing (Nordic)—M.
		Speed skating—M.	
		Speed skating—W.	

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[1] Approved Olympic sport but not on program.

[2] Only on Pan American Games program.

Oddly enough, these ratings without much variation parallel the actual performance in Olympic Games competition.

It is clear then what we must do to improve a sport, to raise it to Olympic level. For some, it may be only the establishment of more facilities. For others, it may mean a lend-lease in reverse, that of bringing to this country the master instructors in those sports in which we are not up to Olympic standard. But whatever the reasons, let us give to all sports the same emphasis, the same opportunity to excel, that we have so generously provided the sports of basketball, track and field, swimming and diving.

The Governor of Pennsylvania Pays a Tribute to Brooklyn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, on February 4, 1967, a group of distinguished persons gathered to pay tribute to outstanding leaders in Brooklyn, N.Y. Among those honored were our distinguished colleague, now retired, Representative Eugene Keogh; Mr. Patrick Scanlan, the editor of the Brooklyn Tablet; and Dr. Paul D. Shafer, a notable educator and president of Packer Collegiate Institute.

On that occasion, the Governor of Pennsylvania, the Honorable Raymond P. Shafer, addressed the gathering and joined in the tribute being paid to his brother, Dr. Paul Shafer. I am pleased to submit the address of Governor Shafer for printing at this point in the RECORD:

THE GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA PAYS A TRIBUTE TO BROOKLYN

I am deeply grateful for this opportunity to be with you tonight.

You have done the Shafer family a double honor.

First, by adding my brother's name to your Hall of Fame, along with the names of these distinguished men of Brooklyn.

Second, by inviting me here and permitting me to share this fine event with you.

By honoring these men tonight, you honor the excellence of their individual citizenship that has made Brooklyn a better community.

They have achieved excellence in the most difficult of times, when many men settle for mediocrity.

Men and nations have become great only when they have shown a true understanding that there first must be excellence.

What is excellence?

It is that state of being, which is as difficult to possess and achieve, as it is rare.

It is that elusive quality which perpetually gives men hope that they and their world are perfectible.

It is the individual's pride that he will settle for nothing less than the best that is in him.

Sadly, our history is filled with failures to seize those rare moments when excellence can be achieved.

And most of these failures occurred because there was among the people a willingness to settle for mediocrity.

Our world today has taken us one step further. The willingness to settle for mediocrity could possibly destroy us.

And that very fact, which each of us lives with daily, has made our world a stranger to history. For there is no lesson to warn us of total destruction. There has always been survival.

This fact brings us to the brink—a brink where we must now find a new resolve in our affairs.

I suggest that resolve should be a quest for excellence that begins in the soul of each man, spreads through his community, his nation, and his world.

The fact that you are here tonight honoring excellence is abundant evidence that Brooklyn is engaging in that quest.

I found exciting proof of this in John La Corte's letter inviting me here.

John enclosed a pamphlet of the Better Brooklyn Committee, which contained this slogan:

"A better world begins with Brooklyn. Now is the time to start with ourselves."

This, my friends, is not just a provincial slogan for Brooklyn. It is for all the communities of the world.

It recognizes the critical problem of our day, regardless of location on the globe.

And that problem is that men and women must first be responsible and creative citizens in their own communities before they attempt to meet their responsibilities to the world.

There is nothing more important today, as far as I am concerned, than the re-establishment of a sense of community in our people.

Too often this sense is diluted, or destroyed, as we rush toward urbanity.

Too often there is an impersonal coagulation of human needs in the massiveness of it all.

Too often the spirit of individualism is weakened, or lost, through indifference and apathy.

The American Dream has been a great dream because our people have kept alive their faith in the perfectibility of man.

We must keep that dream alive. And we will do that by doing what the Better Brooklyn Committee suggests: "Start with ourselves."

And to do that we must re-evaluate where we are in that dream.

Our land we have conquered from ocean to ocean.

Our world we have shrunk to a matter of minutes, not miles.

Our resources we have wasted because we adjusted too easily to abundance.

Our science we have allowed to speed too far ahead of our social ability to solve the problems it creates.

Our idealism we have allowed to diminish so its flames are not exciting the souls of men still trapped by brabarian minds that have the modern mechanical capacity to destroy.

Our daily lives have become overwhelmed with the thousand and one distractions that make it easy to escape the real issues before us.

For the first time in history, man is confronted with a world that can't expand anymore, except for those who want to ride in space ships.

And we are a long way from building a space ship that can replace Noah's ark.

So, men are now confronted with themselves and what they really are—not what they can escape to be.

They can destroy completely or live in a world of communities that exist in peace.

Walter Lippmann more than a decade ago told us this would be the American burden.

"For America," he wrote, "is now called to do what the founders and the pioneers always believed was the American task: To make the New World a place where the ancient faith can flourish anew, and its eternal promise at last be redeemed.

"To ask whether the American nation will rise to this occasion and be equal to its destiny is to ask whether Americans have the will to live. We need have no morbid doubts about that."

We will be able to carry this burden only if the citizens of our communities are willing to be creative and responsible—the kind of citizens you honor here.

Thank God, that you here tonight are part of a community that knows if the American Dream is to live, then, we must begin where a better world starts—within ourselves.

Thank you.

The Late Joseph W. McIntyre

SPEECH

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, it is rare indeed in the history of this or any legislative body, that a subordinate staff person is so possessed of the qualities of excellence that he commands the respect and admiration not only of those for whom he works, but of all who come in daily contact with him.

Yet, such a man was the late Joseph McIntyre of Massachusetts who, at the time of his sudden and untimely passing in December, was Administrative Assistant to the senior Senator from Massachusetts, Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY.

Such were Joe McIntryre's talents and capacities that he is mourned by all who shared in the dedication, the deep and unwavering commitment, and the energies that were flagged only in death. He is mourned by men of both bodies and both parties and his passing has diminished the arsenal of weapons with which this Congress seeks to battle the problems of our time.

It is with a heavy heart indeed that I add my own voice to those of my distinguished colleagues who are privileged to serve the great Commonwealth of Massachusetts to express my own personal sense of loss and to extend my deepest sympathies to the surviving family.

Joe was a true professional in every sense of the word. Although he contributed distinguished service in other areas of Government from time to time, his career was focused primarily in the Senate and always among members of the Massachusetts delegation. He began in 1932 on the staff of the late Senator David I. Walsh. He had worked for Senator Benjamin Smith prior to the election of Senator KENNEDY in 1962.

In spite of differing political affiliations, Joe was always able to discern the need for close cooperation in certain areas and his helpfulness and understanding at such times were invaluable. His service, in the highest traditions of any public office, were first and foremost to the people of his beloved Commonwealth. Certainly I had more than one occasion to value his judgment as well as his generous cooperation.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and the entire United States, has indeed lost a valued and esteemed public servant.

Joseph B. Grogan Retires as Chief of Police in Athens, Ohio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, perhaps one of the most difficult areas of public service today is that of a police officer. The hours are long, the pay poor, the risks encountered numerous. The rewards of having done a job well come with the knowledge that the people of the community recognize and appreciate the sacrifices of a policeman.

It is with this thought in mind that I ask the Members of Congress to join with me in honoring a man who has devoted half of his life to police work.

On January 21, Chief Joseph B. Grogan of the Athens, Ohio, Police Department retired after serving as chief for over 25 years. The story of J. B. Grogan's tenure as police chief is the history of the Athens Police Department. When Chief Grogan took the reigns of the department, it employed less than a half dozen officers with one old cruiser. Today the Athens Police Department has 16 uniformed officers, three cruisers, two motorcycles and radio communications with every on-duty patrolman, whether in car or on foot.

Joseph Grogan began his career as a policeman with the Ohio State Highway Patrol. During his 7 years' service, he rose to the rank of sergeant, and was commander of the Athens post of the patrol from 1936 to 1940. He is a member of the Ohio Chiefs of Police Association, the Fraternal Order of Police, Knights of Columbus, and Elks.

The problems of the department under Grogan have been unique. Athens is a city of 16,000 residents with a university population of 15,000 students. The untiring efforts of Chief Grogan have cemented a remarkable union between the "town and gown." Serious crime in Athens during the past quarter century has been practically nonexistent.

On Tuesday February 28, 1967, the people of Athens will honor Chief Grogan for his years of service. That day has been proclaimed "Chief J. B. Grogan Day in Athens."

Honest, efficient police work has been the product of Chief Grogan's efforts.

Let us stand and be counted among those who salute him today.

The 50th Anniversary of Vocational Education Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, on February 23, 1917, President Woodrow Wilson signed into law the Smith-Hughes Act which was the first national vocational education legislation in the United States. Today marks the 50th anniversary of that event, and it is with a great deal of pleasure that I take official note of this in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The first 50 years of the National Vocational Education Act have more than fulfilled the hopes of the original legislation, and it is with justifiable optimism that we anticipate a second half century of accomplishment. I believe that a brief summary of the important congressional action in support of vocational education will indicate the remarkable growth of this vital and dynamic program.

The original Smith-Hughes Act established an annual grant of $7.2 million to the various States; and apportioned $3 million for agricultural training, $3 million for trade and industrial and home economics education, $1 million for teacher training, and the remainder for the Federal costs of administering the act. Almost 30 years passed before Congress took further action, when in 1946 the George-Barden Act was passed. This authorized an annual appropriation of $28.5 million to be allotted to the same programs as the original act, but with the addition of education for distributive occupations.

In 1956 Public Law 84-1027 added the fishery trades and industries to the vocational categories of the George-Barden Act, and authorized an annual appropriation of $375,000 for vocational education in those fields and in the distributive occupations. The same year witnessed the passage of the Health Amendments Act, which established title II of the George-Barden Act, and included practical nurse training as an added provision of it.

The National Defense Education Act in 1958 added title III to the George-Barden Act and authorized $15 million a year to train highly skilled technicians. This title was initially established for 4 years, but now is a permanent part of the vocational education legislation. The Area Redevelopment Act—ARA—of 1961 provided a 4-year program to train and retrain unemployed or underemployed persons in redevelopment areas. This was followed the next year by the Manpower Development and Training Act, which offers training similar to that provided by the ARA, but broader in scale and not limited to redevelopment areas.

The increasing interest shown by the Congress in this field culminated in the Vocational Education Act of 1963, which authorizes substantial Federal grants to the States to assist in the development of new vocational education programs and to maintain, extend, and improve those already in existence. These programs, designed to meet present and future employment opportunities, are open to all persons who can benefit from training or retraining, whether enrolled in school or not. The act does not include provisions for training for professional occupations, or those requiring a higher degree.

On this 50th anniversary, I wish to especially praise the competent manner in which this program has been administered in the past, and to extend my appreciation to all those individuals who have worked so hard to make it an efficient and successful operation. Without this sincere devotion to the goals of vocational education the remarkable achievements of the past would not have been possible.

I particularly wish to congratulate the Connecticut Vocational Association, its executive board and all its members for the distinguished service rendered by this organization in the field of vocational education in Connecticut over the past half century. If helped make possible greater and better service to the people of Connecticut not only in the improvement of vocational education, but also in the development of research in this field, in bringing about a greater degree of skilled manpower, and in helping to keep unemployment at a minimum. For this they deserve our recognition and appreciation on this 50th anniversary of the first national Vocational Education Act.

Estonian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow, the 24th of February, marks the 49th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of the Republic of Estonia. I would, therefore, take this opportunity to pay tribute to that small nation of one and a half million people.

Twenty-seven years ago, Estonia lost her freedom and independence. But this small nation possesses a devotion to liberty and a strong hope of eventual independence.

The world is much concerned with the issue of colonialism. The ugliest aspects of colonialism by force can be seen in the takeover of Estonia and the other captive nations of Eastern Europe. For 27 years Estonia has not known freedom but for those years, the Estonians have fought and prayed and hoped that the bright promise of 1918 might be realized once more.

As a nation opposed to all forms of enslavement, the United States has never recognized the Soviet Union's sovereignty over Estonia. It is our position today that the rightful government of Estonia must be established at the will of the Estonian people as manifested in a free and open election.

It is a tragedy that on this day, while the Americans of Estonian descent are free to celebrate the anniversary of their ancestor's Declaration of Independence, the citizens of Estonia must remain silent, for there can be no open commemoration within that brave nation.

To those Estonians held in bondage within their own country and to those Americans of Estonian nationality, let me say that we will not forget Estonia and her fight against oppression.

Mainly for Seniors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, on February 5 an article by Jack Leahy, entitled "Mainly for Seniors," appeared in the New York News. This article describes the outstanding work of the war on poverty foster grandparents program, and the leadership being demonstrated by Assemblyman Stanley Steingut in seeking to have the program extended to many more disadvantaged elderly Americans.

Mr. Speaker, I think that Mr. Leahy's article will be of interest to my colleagues, and include it at this point in the RECORD:

MAINLY FOR SENIORS: A PROGRAM FOR YOUNG AND OLD

(By Jack Leahy)

Children are the chief beneficiaries of one of the best conceived programs of the federal Administration on Aging. Under its Foster Grandparents plan, the Administration trains and hires persons who are over 60 years old to work with neglected and deprived youngsters.

Initiated in 1965 under a contract with the Office of Economic Opportunity, the program is still in its infancy. But it already includes more than 30 demonstration projects around the country, involving some 2,100 senior citizens and almost 4,000 children who are mentally retarded, physically handicapped, emotionally disturbed, orphaned or otherwise dependent.

The job of the Foster Grandparent is to provide these boys and girls with the companionship and the attention that more fortunate children normally enjoy. For seniors subsisting on low incomes, the program creates new wage-earning opportunities and gives those participating a vital sense of dignity and usefulness.

"The Foster Grandparent program is a proven success," asserts Assemblyman Stanley Steingut, who is chairman of the Joint Legislative Committee on Child Care Needs of the State of New York. "What we must now do is step it up, expand it on a vast scale through increased federal grants.

"We must have federal involvement because our states and cities have just about reached the saturation point as far as taxes are concerned. Despite this, we must also study the possibility of a permanent, state-sponsored program along these lines because the problems of our underprivileged young and old are so acute, particularly in the minority areas of New York City."

At present, a $314,000 federal grant is financing a Foster Grandparent demonstration project conducted by the Catholic Charities Counseling Service of the Archdiocese of New York. Institutions utilizing the talents of 114 seniors employed in the project include the New York Foundling Home and Hospital, the Cardinal McCloskey Home, the McMann Memorial Shelter and St. Agnes Hospital.

Four hours a day, five days a week, Foster Grandparents feed youngsters, play with them, read to them, chat with them—do all the things that any natural grandparent would do. They are not assigned to routine duties which are normally performed by the regular staff of an institution.

Assemblyman Steingut's interest in the program was indirectly stimulated by a series of political seminars which he has been conducting for seniors at the Madison Club, 4016 Church Ave., Brooklyn. At nearly every meeting, ideas for possible part-time job opportunities have been discussed.

"Older people have deep roots in the community," says Steingut. "And they have very definite points of view about legislation which they feel would be beneficial, not only to themselves, but also to the younger generation.

"The Foster Grandparents program is an important aspect of this but it is only part of the picture. At our Golden Age forums, worthwhile suggestions have been offered about traffic control, about housing, about libraries, about the fight against narcotics addiction, about a wide scope of social needs.

"Thanks to advances in medical science, oldsters are more numerous these days and they have become more vocal in their demands for political consideration. Their voice is the voice of experience and it behooves us to listen."

Public and Parochial School Shareholders Luncheon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues in the House a noteworthy experiment in corporate shareholding undertaken by 104 high school students in New York City.

At the invitation of the A. S. Beck Shoe Corp., students from 73 New York City public and parochial schools attended a high school shareholders luncheon meeting recently. The object was to stimulate interest among our junior citizens in American corporate enterprise.

An outline of this highly inventive program, together with appropriate commentary, is included herewith for the RECORD:

NEW YORK, N.Y., February 13.—One hundred and four high school students—the outstanding pupils from 73 New York City public and parochial high schools—today took part in one of the most unusual meetings of a shareholders group ever held by an American publicly-owned company.

They were the participants in the first annual High School Shareholders luncheon-meeting at the Biltmore Hotel, sponsored by the A. S. Beck Shoe Corporation "to stimulate interest among high school students in the American free enterprise system."

Each of the students was presented with a share of A. S. Beck common stock, listed on the American Stock Exchange, and then they listened to Henry G. Riter IV, Vice President, Market Development Division, of the American Stock Exchange, explain how the stock market operates.

In the Beck program, which had the endorsement of the New York Public Schools, the Archdiocese of New York and the Yeshiva University High Schools, each high school was asked to select one outstanding student to be a participant. In co-educational high schools an outstanding boy and an outstanding girl student were chosen. Of the 104 students, 54 were girls and 50 were boys.

In mnay respects today's session was like a typical company meeting—and in many other respects it had little resemblance to the more staid annual get-togethers.

Few companies provide as sumptuous a luncheon for their stockholders and none could boast of such a large group of young stockholders—the youngest was 14 and the oldest 18 years of age. And a "coke" bar, set up for before-the-meeting refreshment, was an unusual, too.

"The future of the free enterprise system, upon which was built America's greatness, lies with the youth of America," Saul Schiff, Beck President, told the students. "With firm belief in this principle, our company organized the High School Shareholders Program to stimulate the interest of high school students in the techniques of our economy and the financial world which is responsible for the smoothness of the economy's operation." He congratulated the students stating "You all have a right to feel you have taken the first important step toward responsibility in our society by being a credit to your schools and your families."

Greetings were brought by Maurice D. Hopkins, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Office of High Schools, New York City; The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edward M. Conners, Associate Superintendent of Schools, Archdiocese of New York, and Rabbi Dr. Abraham Zuroff, Supervisor, Yeshiva University High Schools. All had endorsed and cooperated in the program.

In addition to the share of Beck stock, each student received an information kit containing the program, background facts on Beck, a booklet on questions and answers about the stock market, and Beck's last annual report. This material is expected to be helpful when the students present a report to their classes of their shareholder experiences.

Gil McDougald, former Yankee baseball star and World Series hero, former head of the A. S. Beck Youth Foundation and now a successful businessman, was the toastmaster.

COMMENTS ON THE A. S. BECK HIGH SCHOOL SHAREHOLDERS PROGRAM

"We believe that A. S. Beck's proposal has merit as a practical business experience in giving these students an active role in corporate operations of the company and in fostering better understanding of economic problems."

MAURICE D. HOPKINS,
Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Office of High Schools, New York City.

"Thank you for your kindness in informing us of this program which seems to have educational value for our schools."

Rt. Rev. Msgr. EDWARD M. CONNORS,
Associate Superintendent of Schools, Archdiocese of New York.

"Best wishes for the success of your program."

Rabbi Dr. ABRAHAM N. ZUROFF,
Supervisor, Yeshiva University High Schools.

"Thank you for allowing us to participate in this fine program."

Brother FRANCIS CURRAN FSC,
Guidance Director, LaSalle Academy.

"Thank you for allowing Walton High School to participate in this worthwhile program."

HERBERT J. KLEIN,
Chairman, Accounting Department, The Walton High School.

"Thank you for your interest in the youth of today. Such programs as yours are a wise investment in our youth and I know they gain from such things and are better able to contribute in society."

Sister THOMAS MARIE,
Guidance Counselor, Aquinas High School.

"I know they will both profit from the experience with American business which you are affording them."

JAMES V. TAGUE,
Principal, Port Richmond High School.

"May I complement you on this civic minded act."

WALTER JUDELSON,
Chairman, Account Department, Morris High School.

"The best of luck to you in this worthwhile activity."

HAROLD BARON,
Chairman, Accounting Department, Lafayette High School.

"Thank you for affording this opportunity for orientation to our American Business System for our students."

MURRAY WEINMAN,
Principal, William H. Maxwell Vocational High School.

"An activity of this kind will serve to provide a better understanding of the functioning of our economic system."

KENNETH M. ALLEN,
Student Organization Adviser, The High School of Science.

"Thank you for this excellent opportunity to help us teach our students the fundamentals of finance.

Sister JEAN MIRIAM,
Counselor, St. Pius V. High School.

"Exciting program. We appreciate this opportunity of being able to bring our school program closer to the business community."

MILTON R. SCHULMAN,
Chairman of Business Education Department, Andrew Jackson High School.

"We feel that the A. S. Beck Shoe Corporation should be commended for its generosity and for its attempt to stimulate the interest of high school students and increase their knowledge of American business administration."

WALTER R. SCHOFF,
Acting Principal, The New York School of Printing.

"We feel that this is definitely worthwhile for the students and for the future of our business system."

CAROLINE D. SCHNEIDER,
Acting Principal, Theodore Roosevelt High School.

Fifty Years of Vocational Training—Milestones Through the Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, back in 1917—a half century ago—Woodrow Wilson and other men of vision saw the need for a program of assistance to vocational education.

In that year, the Smith-Hughes Act was passed which provided an annual grant of $7.2 million to the States: $3 million for agricultural training, $3 million for trade and industrial and home economics education, $1 million for teacher training, and the rest for Federal costs of administering the act.

In the ensuing years, it has become obvious that while Wilson and his associates had the vision to start a program of assistance to vocational education, their vision was not broad enough, flexible enough, or rich enough to meet the needs of today, much less the needs of tomorrow.

Thus, there have been further milestones in the struggle to meet these needs. In 1946, for example, the George-Barden Act came along and authorized annual appropriations of $28.5 million to be divided among the same categories as the Smith-Hughes Act, with the addition of education for distributive occupations.

Ten years later—in 1956—Public Law 84-1027 added the fishery trades and industries to the vocational categories in the George-Barden Act. It also authorized an annual appropriation of $375,000 for vocational education in those trades and industries and in the distributive occupations.

The Health Amendments Act of 1956 amended the George-Barden Act by adding title II, which specified practical nursing for inclusion under the act, with a $5 million appropriation annually. The title originally was for 5 years but in 1961 it was extended to June 30, 1965, and since has been made permanent.

Another milestone came in 1958 when the National Defense Education Act further amended the George-Barden Act by adding title III and authorizing $15 million annually to train highly skilled technicians. That title also has since been made permanent, although originally passed for 4 years.

Still a further milestone came with the passage in 1961 of the Area Redevelopment Act which provided for the training or retraining of unemployed or underemployed persons in redevelopment areas, authorizing $4.5 million a year until 1965 for training purposes.

In 1962, the Manpower Development and Training Act authorized a total of $951 million for a 4-year program of training similar to that under ARA, but broader and not limited to redevelopment areas.

Then the Vocational Education Act of 1963 came along and it cannot become obsolete because the machinery for keeping it flexible and up to date was built into it.

For the first time, all the new programs were meshed with the old, so that all became coordinate parts of the whole.

And at long last the emphasis was placed on the quality of education—with wise choices by the students, with the training of teachers, with the supply of materials and equipment, with research on problems and a search for solution.

Thus it is that vocational education has really come of age.

Thus it is that throughout the country new and expanded vocational education programs are underway, bringing job training for Americans into harmony with the industrial, economic, and social realities of the present day.

In my home State of Connecticut, vocational educators have rendered distinguished service back to the day the first program of assistance was enacted.

Today, a half century later, vocational educators in Connecticut remain alert to ways to provide still further improvement in instruction and the development of research to bring about still better ways of providing vocational education.

New Peace Offers Reported

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, it was heartening to read that Arthur J. Goldberg has cautioned against yielding to false despair in regard to peace talks. Speaking at a conference on world problems at New York University he said:

> The door is still open.

Meanwhile, a spokesman for Hanoi, Mai Vah Bo, North Vietnamese representative in Paris has reaffirmed his Government's willingness to enter into talks with the United States if American bombing attacks against North Vietnam were unconditionally and permanently halted.

Certainly if Ho Chi Minh will talk we will stop fighting.

All I can say is, What is Russia doing about this situation? Does she want this war stopped or not?

The blood, Mr. Speaker, is on her hands. She is in a position to arrange an armistice any time she wants, instead of supplying Hanoi with vast quantities of war material.

President's Landmark Message on Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, editorial comment in the Nation's press was rapid, and for the most part, highly laudatory, for the fine message sent to Congress the last day of January by the President concerning veterans benefits.

Veterans organizations and some of us in the Congress, have worked for years for legislation which is embodied in the text of the President's message. It was pleasing to see that the National Legislative Bulletin of the American Legion, datelined the day after the message was sent to Congress, was high in its praise, and recognized that the programs that had been adovcated by the Legion were at least near reality.

I am pleased to insert into the RECORD the comments from the American Legion's National Legislative Bulletin, February 1, 1967:

PRESIDENT SENDS CONGRESS LANDMARK MESSAGE ON VETERANS

On more than one occasion in recent years, as the readers of this Bulletin know, The American Legion has criticized the Administration for its failure to support some of our major legislative objectives and for attempts by the Bureau of the Budget and other officials to eliminate or curtail certain phases of the veterans' program. For the past three months we have expressed to the Congress and to the President our dismay that legislation was not enacted last year to improve the pension and compensation programs and remove inequities in the treatment of Vietnam era veterans. At the request of the National Legislative Commission in memorandums and by other means, many of our readers have likewise expressed their strong feelings on this subject to the President and to their Congressional representatives. These expressions have helped to generate activity here this week which is of major significance to The American Legion.

Yesterday, January 31st, the President sent to the Congress a special message in which he proposed a "Vietnam Conflict Servicemen and Veterans Act of 1967" containing six major objectives:

First, to remove the inequities in the treatment of veterans of the present conflict in Vietnam.

Second, to enlarge the opportunities for educationally disadvantaged veterans.

Third, to expand educational allowances under the G.I. Bill.

Fourth, to increase the amount of servicemen's group life insurance.

Fifth, to increase the pensions now received by 1.4 million disabled veterans, widows and dependents.

Sixth, to make certain that no veteran's pension will be reduced as a result of increases in Federal retirement benefits, such as social security.

Vietnam Era Veterans—For those veterans who have served on or after August 5, 1964, the President recommended:

Disability compensation at full wartime rates for all veterans.

Disability pensions for veterans and death pensions for widows and children.

Special medical care benefits, including medicines and drugs for severely disabled veterans on the pension rolls.

$1600 toward the purchase of an automobile by veterans with special disabilities.

Education—The President proposed improvements in the educational benefits under the new G.I. Bill (P.L. 89–358) as follows:

An increase in the educational assistance allowance from $100 monthly to $130 for a single veteran. For married veterans with children the present $150 monthly educational assistance allowance would be increased by $10 a month for the second child and $10 a month for each additional child. The President also recommended legislation to provide full G.I. Bill payments to educationally disadvantaged veterans so that they can complete high school without losing their eligibility.* * *.

Insurance—The President recommended an increase in servicemen's group life insurance, from a maximum of $10,000 to a minimum of $12,000—with higher amounts scaled to the pay of the serviceman—up to a maximum of $30,000.

Veterans of Prior Wars—The President proposed a 5.4 percent increase in pensions for 1.4 million veterans, widows, and dependents. The increase would be effective July 1, 1967. The President also proposed that necessary safeguards be enacted to assure that no veteran will have his pension reduced as a result of increases in social security or other Federal retirement benefits.

The proposals outlined by the President in his message are estimated to have a first year cost of $175 million. He said that to "assure the continuing soundness of these programs" he is directing the Administrator of Veterans Affairs, in consultation with leading veterans groups, to conduct a compresensive study of the pension, compensation and benefits system for veterans, their families and their survivors, and to recommend to him by January 1968 "proposals to assure that our tax dollars are being utilized most wisely and that our Government is meeting fully its responsibilities to all those to whom we owe so much."

The President also included in his message a recommendation that Congress enact legislation to provide certain benefits to civilian employees of the Government on duty in hazardous areas.

The President indicated that he wanted prompt consideration by the Congress of the measures he proposed and said they "serve notice to these Americans—in and out of uniform—that we will never let them down. The Congress, the Executive Branch and the American people have accepted that obligation of honor to those who have fought and continue to fight in the defense of freedom."

The National Legislative Commission commends the President for his message and for the proposals he has recommended, many of which would substantially satisfy our Convention mandates. It would be premature to speculate on what will happen next and we await the introduction of legislation that will spell out the details. In remarks on the floor of the House yesterday Congressman Olin E. Teague (Tex.), Chairman of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, commended the President and said he was in full agreement with the proposals. He said he had scheduled immediate hearings on this legislation and predicted that the President's recommendations will be approved by his Committee and passed by the Congress. A number of other members of Congress commented favorably on the message including Congressman Carl Albert (Okla.), the Majority Leader of the House. Senator Jennings Randolph (W. Va.), Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs, also expressed gratification at the President's recommendations. He said he is confident that significant advances in benefits can be achieved. Congressman E. Ross Adair (Ind.), ranking minority member of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, agreed that the message contained a great number of worthwhile proposals. He said the recommendations represent a change in attitude on the part of the White House and that most of the proposals have been sought in past years.

We are also pleased with the President's recommendations and are encouraged with that portion of the message in which he gives recognition to the fact that war veterans still retain their identity and have a special place in the Great Society.

Today, National Commander John E. Davis sent a telegram to the President commending him for his landmark message and expressing appreciation for the program he has recommended to the Congress.

As the President's message reached the Congress the Senate Committee on Finance reported S. 16, a bill to provide additional readjustment assistance to the veterans of service on or after August 5, 1964. This bill introduced by Senator Joseph M. Montoya (N.M.), with 67 co-sponsors is similar to S. 3580 of the 89th Congress. It would provide disability compensation at wartime rates under all circumstances; pension for nonservice-connected disability and death; burial allowance; certain medical care benefits such as drugs and therapeutic devices and automobile allowance of $1600 for certain seriously disabled veterans.

The American Legion and its Auxiliary are quick to protest when the rights of war veterans and their dependents are jeopardized. We should be equally as prompt to express appreciation when our Government acts to accomplish our legislative objectives. While the proposals contained in the President's message do not fully satisfy our Convention mandates we believe they are a long step in the right direction.

It would not be inappropriate for our readers to express their appreciation of the recent action by the Pesident and the Senate Committee on Finance. We will continue to keep you advised of developments on these important matters as they occur.

Norman Thomas, CIA Agent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, last week, I took note of the revelation in the press that the Central Intelligence Agency was subsidizing the National Student Association. I did this by questioning the policy of feeding so much taxpayers' money into an organization so often identified with radical left-wing positions. This week, there is more of the same. The current revelation is how CIA through the tax-exempt J. M. Kaplan Fund, delivered more than $1 million to a Socialist labor research organization headed by Mr. Socialist himself, Norman Thomas. Sacha Volman, another Socialist, reportedly convinced Thomas to set up the research organization and helped direct its activities.

All of this is very interesting here in February of 1967 in the light of an editorial appearing in the Richmond News-Leader on October 27, 1965. The astuteness of the editorial staff of the News-Leader speaks so eloquently for itself that I need add nothing here, except that the conclusions of the editorial—which I offer for inclusion in the RECORD—were strongly denied at the time by Mr. Thomas. Mr. Thomas still denies knowing of the CIA source of his support, but adds that it was his duty to know. "I acknowledge my own stupidity," he is quoted as saying. I can only suggest to Mr. Thomas that he could relieve that "stupidity" by paying more attention to non-Socialist writing such as is found in the News-Leader. I can also suggest to the CIA, as I have before, that they stop subsidizing left-wing causes. It is inconceivable that the information which that organization was created to gather cannot be obtained by a better method than by such heavy financing of organizations like Mr. Thomas' Institute for International Labor Research.

The News-Leader editorial follows:

NORMAN THOMAS, CIA AGENT

Mr. Norman Thomas courteously disagrees with our columnist, William F. Buckley, Jr., on the issues paramount in Santo Domingo. In our Forum today, he takes Mr. Buckley to task. The pamphlet he has sent is an orthodox performance of the school of thought that asks, why let cynical and corrupt generals rule, when cynical and corrupt socialists are willing and able? In short, it is a defense of the anti-Communist purity of former Dominican President, Juan Bosch—who no doubt was the kind of President Mr. Thomas six times aspired to be in the United States.

No notice need be taken here of these sentiments. However, it is certainly curious Mr. Thomas is so vehemently opposed to U.S. intervention in the affairs of the Dominican Republic. The pamphlet which he sends with his introduction is published in New York by the Institute for International Labor Research, an organization of which he happens to be chairman. The secretary-treasurer is one Sacha Volman, a Romanian refugee now a citizen of this country. The Institute is a tax-exempt "educational" organization.

Slightly more than one year ago, this socialist outfit came under fire in tax hearings before a committee of the House of Representatives. Together with unspecified grants from Harvard and Brandeis Universities, the Institute received in 1963 $395,000 from the J. M. Kaplan Fund of New York, also a tax-exempt fund.

A story in *The New York Times* on September 3, 1964, revealed that the $395,000 was by far the largest grant that the Kaplan Fund had made that year, according to its tax report. At the same time, the Fund reported that it received a mysterious sum of $395,750, identified only as "Receipts Not Reported Elsewhere." Was this evidence of an in-and-out transaction?

At a stormy House hearing chaired by Representative Wright Patman, representatives of the IRS testified that Kaplan Fund had not had its tax-exemption revoked because the foundation was being used as a "conduit" for CIA funds. The inescapable conclusion is that the CIA funnelled $395,000 into Norman Thomas' socialist Institute for International Labor Research. Moreover, indications were that similar financial arrangements had been in effect for a number of years. The question is: What for?

Well, the Institute for International Labor Research has been interested in the Caribbean revolution for quite a while. J. M. Kaplan, organizer of the Fund, is a wealthy financier, former president of the Welch

Grape Juice Company, who spent a decade in Latin American sugar-producing countries. In the late Fifties, Kaplan, through his tax-exempt foundation, organized an ambitious propaganda organization in Costa Rica: The Institute of Political Research. Principals in this operation were the Romulo Betancourt gang—Jose Figueres, Haya de la Torre, Juan Bosch, and Sacha Volman. When Trujillo was assassinated, the shop moved to Santo Domingo.

Rumors abound that when Juan Bosch returned to the Dominican Republic, his election was bought and paid for by the CIA, using well-established techniques of buying and intimidating an ignorant and illiterate populace. At any rate, the first thing that Juan Bosch did was to turn the direction of state-planning activities over to the American, Sacha Volman. To do the job, Volman set up a *private* organization, Inter-American Center for Social Studies. Like magic, funds materialized from the Ford Foundation and the Parvin Foundation of California. According to *The New York Times,* funds also came from the Agency for International Development—the foreign aid branch of the U.S. State Department. Although the story had been given out by the Bosch government that the socialization of the Dominican Republic had been entrusted to Sacha Volman because he was an "anti-Communist," the same Sacha Volman was the first person kicked out of Santo Domingo after the coup of September, 1963, because of his Marxist ideas.

So on the one hand Sacha Volman is secretary-treasurer of the Norman Thomas group, which received $395,000 from the CIA, and on the other he is director of the Bosch regime outfit, which was supported in part by U.S. foreign aid. In both cases, the intention was the same: to impose an anti-capitalist ideology on a defenseless nation by U.S. government intervention. The explanation, of course, is that the halls of U.S. policy are filled with contending factions, interventionists all. Mr. Thomas would prefer to have all the intervention on his side.

"Where Do Grandpas Come From?"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, I want to share with my colleagues a very fine article on the antipoverty foster grandparents program. The article, entitled "Where Do Grandpas Come From?" is by Dorothy Brant Warnick, and appears in the January issue of the St. Anthony Messenger, a nationally circulated Catholic family magazine. Miss Warnick describes the foster grandparents program in considerable detail, and her assessment of its worth is emphatically affirmative. She quotes a local project director as saying that the entire program "is an excellent combination of a group of children with a tremendous need of someone to help them, and a group of old people with an equally great need to help someone."

Mr. Speaker, the foster grandparents program has so far only been operated on a pilot basis, but it is already helping to win the war on poverty in 35 communities. This program is of potential benefit to tens of thousands of disadvantaged little children and senior citizens, and I hope that it can be extended to meet more of this need.

Mr. Speaker, I include Miss Warnick's article from the St. Anthony Messenger at this point in the Record.

Where Do Grandpas Come From

Recipe: *a*) Take one child, mix him up a bit, separate him from home and parents, toss him with strangers. *b*) Take one elderly person, slice his income, let him stew in idleness. *c*) Fold in a new plan and stir well.

This rather remarkable combination of ingredients is being tested in the Foster Grandparents Plan, sponsored by the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO).

The new program is designed to benefit two classes of persons. First, infants and young children classified as unfortunate, abandoned, dependent, neglected, abused, helpless or otherwise needy, who are living in institutions.

Second, the plan gives extra income to elderly Americans, 60 or over, whose income leaves them in a poverty status. They are able to supplement their income with approximately $25 a week in a job that comes naturally, and in which age is no deterrent. As one man put it, "You are never so old that you have forgotten how to hold a child."

Funded as a one-year demonstration project, it was given its first grants, amounting to $2,670,941, on August 29, 1965. The benefits reached 1,217 grandparents and 1,643 children. (The number of children may go as high as 2,500, because of the regular turnover in patient load.)

In these pilot programs the government is trying to reach all categories of children. The home in St. Cloud, Minnesota, is involved with retarded teenagers; Akron, Ohio, with children who have gone from foster home to foster home because they are unable to adjust to adults; Tampa, Florida, with chronically ill children in hospitals and sanitariums; and New York City with crippled children in an orthopedic hospital. Hopefully, foster homes will eventually be found for many of these children. Some will be returned to their own homes.

So successful has the program been in the initial 22 cities that it is already being expanded to include 38 new projects.

SOLVING TWO PROBLEMS AT ONCE

Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, said, in announcing this expansion, "Thousands of men and women over 60 are unemployed, many because of their age. They are able and eager to work and urgently need additional income, yet doors of business and industry are shut to them. They have skills, wisdom and experience as well as generous supplies of love and understanding that can greatly benefit unwanted, neglected infants, as well as retarded and emotionally disturbed children."

The entire program, as one of its directors describes it, "is an excellent combination of a group of children with a tremendous need of someone to help them, and a group of old people with an equally great need to help someone."

There was never any doubt as to the children's needs. In many homes, the staff was simply too pressured to give more than custodial and physical care, feeding, bathing and changing the children. And in the minds of the children, who hadn't had a visitor for six months, there was no doubt about what was needed.

In the beginning, there was apprehension as to whether or not these elderly folks would want to work, would be able to work, and would be faithful if given the opportunity to work.

The results were surprising. Not only were these grandparents eager to have something to do, but they have proven themselves physically able to be so faithful that there has been little absenteeism. In fact, one of the biggest problems is that they arrive for work too early and want to work longer than they should.

W. E. Gursch, Director of the project at the Denton State School with 1,750 retardates in Texas, explained, "Our foster grandparents were scheduled to work four hours a day, five days a week. We soon found some of them so enthusiastic that they wanted to work seven days a week so that the child would not regress in their absence."

HEALING THE CHILD'S OUTLOOK

"The response of the children is even more heartwarming than the joy of the grandparents in this work," added Gursch. "Soon after the appearance of the Foster Grandparents, many of the children began to change. They lost some of their apathetic look."

In all the cities where the program is in effect, stories are told of the improvement in the children—simple tales of less crying, less spilling of food at mealtime, less whining. Children have begun using a spoon to feed themselves for the first time; some are beginning to talk; others are making the first steps in toilet training. There are tales of fewer temper trantrums, fewer behavior problems, less pouting and sulking.

In Honolulu, project director Kiyoshi Matsukuma told of one "non-verbal child who burst out the word 'mama' in a tearful situation to everyone's surprise, disbelief and joy." Another boy, with suicidal tendencies, had a dangerous habit of running into moving cars. After two months with his grandfather, he stands on a street and has learned to walk within a marked crosswalk for pedestrians.

At the outset, there was some suspicion about this new plan. Senior citizens questioned whether or not there was some "gimmick." Who would hire people who had been retired, people in the age group 60 and over?

However, announcement of the plan in the newspaper, over the radio and television brought such response that almost immediately, the program was oversubscribed. One area had over 600 applicants for only 39 positions!

TRAINING FOR UNDERSTANDING

A training program was given in all the cities to help the older folks be more confident in an already familiar and loved role. No new skills were introduced in the training.

Instead, the "grandparents" were brought up to date on the newer techniques of child care, and shown films such as "The Trusting 2's and the Terrible 3's," which they could relate to their own experience with children. There were story-telling sessions, instructions in crafts, and field trips to such places as day nurseries and treatment centers.

One thing was different about the training, however. Grandparents were led to understand the meaning and effect of institutional placement upon young children when they are deprived of maternal care.

In some special cases, extra training was necessary in the handling of retarded and emotionally ill children. Perhaps the most important task of all, though, was to prepare these elderly people for the rejection they might receive from the children.

In Cleveland, Ohio, Florence Hangach, project director of the program sponsored by the Catholic Charities bureau there, put it this way, "Children who have been hurt by adults, as many of these children have, are inclined to lash out at any adult figure, and the grandparents might come in for a share of this rejection. We realized this would be difficult for them, and felt it was necessary to prepare them to handle children who might be unwilling to cooperate with this preparation, many of whose grandparents found it difficult to hear a child say, "I hate you," in response to love.

Perhaps even worse was the shock of handling other "special" children. In Honolulu, for example, the majority of the children assigned to the foster grandparents are in the range of profound mental retardation. Their I.Q.'s fall below 20 and they also have physical handicaps, such as cerebral palsy and epilepsy.

One warm and articulate grandmother, Mrs. Kutova, reacted with shock and horror to the children she had been hired to care for.

"When I first saw them, I couldn't breathe, I was so touched," she said. "For a couple of nights afterwards I couldn't sleep. But, that first day, when they asked for volunteers, I volunteered. I don't know why I did it, for they frightened me. Oh, those big heads!" she exclaimed. "But now I see no ugliness anymore. They are not ugly. Their faces are very beautiful. That's the change that has come over me after just a short while."

PERSONAL ATTACHMENTS

The love the grandparents soon realize for the children in their care works both ways and is vividly portrayed by a heart-warming tale from Fort Wayne.

Two-and-a-half-year-old Jimmie was to be moved from the Nursery to the Toddler's section. His grandma, who had had him for about a month, was given her choice as to whether she wanted to follow him or remain in the nursery. She elected to remain.

However, it was soon apparent that she wasn't happy. She seemed depressed and was not her usual self. After about ten days, she asked to be reassigned to Jimmie.

When she went into the Toddlers' room, Jimmie looked at her with apparent disbelief. He was so excited he could scarcely get to his feet but, once up, he jumped with delight before flinging himself into her outstretched arms. Then he pulled her to a rocking chair and placed her in it, climbing into her lap where they rocked and sang and held on to each other.

On another occasion a bus bringing the older folks to an institution broke down. When the children ran to the gym, where they usually spent their time with their grandparents, no one was there.

Nothing satisfied the youngsters—not a beloved supervisor, whom they had known before the grandparents came, not the record player, nor the books, nor their usually favorite games.

When the grandparents finally arrived, there was a wild rush to greet them. Cries of, "Were you hurt?" We thought you weren't coming!" echoed through the building. All the rest of the day the youngsters kept asking, "You will be here tomorrow, won't you?"

Here were children, accustomed to the normally warm, relaxed and loving conditions of an institution which always had cared for them, showing their extreme concern and need for someone who is all their own.

These strong attachments are perhaps one great failing of the plan. But when a child is moved to a home—his own or a foster home—he has a family to take the place of the grandparent. As for the grandparents, knowing the child has been placed and now has such a family is usually enough to make up for their loss. Filling empty arms immediately with another needy child helps to soften the blow a little. Still, as Dr. Howard P. Chase, one of the pediatricians in the Clinical Research Unit of Colorado General Hospital puts it: "Separation is harder for the grandparent than for the child."

A NEW START FOR OLDSTERS

Aside from this, the opportunity to perform work so pleasant and actually be paid for it is almost too good to be true. It gives these "senior sitters," as they have been called, a new dignity, a new purpose in life.

The sad story of empty and useless lives was told again and again by these people, now delighted at the chance to have something to do. "I'd rather wear out than rust out," said one happy man. "I was just sitting around getting old," said a silver-haired 80-year-old-woman. "Now, I'm getting younger every day." No one at her hospital questions that statement when they see her riding a bicycle through the underground tunnel at Central Colony in Wisconsin.

To say that these senior citizens are also enjoying an opportunity to be "independently wealthy," as one Cleveland woman put it, is a vast understatement.

One couple in Wisconsin is saving the money the wife earns to pay for a cataract operation for the husband; another widow is able to pay the taxes on her home now instead of having to borrow money; a 65-year-old man is proudly showing off his new glasses, and still another elderly gentleman visited a son he had not seen in a long while.

In some cases, sons and daughters were skeptical about their parents' ability to handle a job. Some felt the work would be too difficult for their mothers or fathers.

But, one daughter says now. "Although I know it is not all that easy, it sounds like play to hear mother talk about her job, and about that little girl she loves so much. You'd never believe it was work. She is feeling so much better now too and is so alert and happy."

Her mother replied, "I am happy, it is so much better than just sitting around watching television all day. I have some place to go, something to do. I feel useful and needed."

HELPING THE PROFESSIONALS

Staff members at the host hospitals welcome their new helpers. Ruth Johnston directs the program in Akron, Ohio, where foster-grandparents work with youngsters with severe emotional problems, and where progress is discouragingly slow. "The entire staff of the agency, administration, social workers and child care are all pleased with the program" she says. "The social workers report that the children are happier and more approachable from a case-work point of view. Child Care department reports that they are easier to deal with in the group, that they eat, sleep and play better, and that the atmosphere in the child care unit has improved."

Rewarding friendships are arising in some cases between the child's parents (where there are parents in the picture), the institution and the grandparents.

"We don't want the foster-grandparents relationship in any way to threaten or become deterimental to his relationship with his natural parents," said Dr. Tong-su Kim, project director at Morganton, North Carolina. Grandparents working in Dr. Kim's program periodically write informal letters to the parents, telling of their activities with the child.

Criticism of the program? There is none at all in most cities—unless you consider needing and wanting more grandparents a criticism. Unless you feel wishing more grandfathers participated is criticism.

One boy who saw no need to criticize was asked, "What did you like best of all the things you saw at the farm today?" "My grandma" was his reply.

What will happen at the end of the first year set aside for the pilot program? No one has the answer yet. Reverend Edward J. Camille in Cleveland, Ohio, said hopefully, "Maybe we will be able to keep some of the grandparents. Maybe someone will be interested in hiring these people with experience. Maybe the government will continue to fund the program on a regular basis. We just don't know."

The grandparents don't know either, and they are worried. "What is going to happen after the time is up?" was not a surprising question from one grandmother. Her next question disclosed her reason. "Will I be able to see my child if the program is discontinued? Will I be able to come to visit my little girl?" she asked.

Here was evidence of the tremendous feeling this grandmother had for her grandchild. Here was concern, not for her job and the income from it, but for the child she had come to love.

Homebuilding in Northern New Jersey Still Suffers

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, while there have been hopeful signs in the past few weeks suggesting a potential turnabout for the housing industry, the situation still remains serious. In northern New Jersey, including my own district, spot surveys point to a significant lessening of activity, with building permit requests down from the year before. Most of the recent newspaper stories on the change for the better in the construction field are making their comparisons with the final months of 1966, and not with the prior year or 2 years. If these comparisons were made, the problem, and the continuing need for governmental action, would not be dispensed with so lightly.

I have recently received a communication from the president of the Builders' Association of Northern New Jersey, Richard T. Higgins, discussing what he and his association members believe is still a crisis situation. Mr. Higgins points out the side effects of slowed construction activity: Loss of business for homefurnishing dealers, appliance manufacturers, nurseries, garden shops, and similar businesses servicing the homeowner's needs; loss of tax revenues; the potential loss of skilled workers who drift off to other fields, and who in the best of times are in short supply for the industry.

In addition, he suggests positive steps that could be taken, including more FNMA assistance, the appointment of a Presidential factfinding board to deal with the problem in all its ramifications, and the possibility of special loan funds for builders caught in a tight credit squeeze. I believe the views expressed by the Builders' Association of Northern New Jersey, symptomatic of problems nationally, deserve the careful consideration of responsible Federal officials. I include at this point the letter from Mr. Higgins, and a recent speech by the president of the National Association of Home Builders, Leon N. Weiner, on the 1967 housing outlook:

BEIR-HIGGINS REALTY ASSOCIATES, INC.,
Saddle River, N.J., January 1, 1967.

Congressman WILLIAM B. WIDNALL,
The Congressional Housing Subcommittee,
Washington, D.C.

Re Home construction.

DEAR SIR: Those of us serving the public through home construction have seen over the past decade many changes wrought in the climate of our industry as a result of the Federal government's manipulation of Fiscal Regulations. Our industry, as you know, has been used to restrict the economy as well as to bring it out of the doldrums of recession. The technique, which is common knowledge, is simply the tightening or loosening of credit requirements. Today, however, the results of the last year's restrictions have gone beyond the intended objective. It would appear that the building industry has been singled out as a target for restrictions, and for a year now we have felt the sting of an oppressive burden that has been so strong that unless some additional action is taken, I believe a calamity within our industry could occur. This is true in spite of all the optimistic talk that we read today.

What are the facts? We all know that the Gross National Product is at an all time high and that most every industry is enjoying prosperity. The *demand for homes is certainly present* but the administration has shown only a token interest in the plight of the builder; a plight which they alone have created either through a mistaken appraisal of the effect of their action upon our condition, or through a deliberate act of sacrificing the builder in order to hold back inflation.

But what are they doing not only to the building industry but to the national economy? Briefly, they have caused the home building industry to come to almost a grinding halt when, in fact, I am sure they wished only for it to be restricted. To prove this, just review the latest picture. As of October, 1966, F.H.A. starts nationally have dropped 44%; Savings and Loan Institutions in New Jersey report that their new commitments for housing starts are off 50%; the Newark and Camden offices of F.H.A. show a decline in starts of about 60%. In a survey made through our association just this week in contacting building inspectors in 10 spot towns, we found building permits down over 60%, from the last quarter of '65. The most serious declines have all been in the last eight weeks.

Lumber dealers and material suppliers are universally afraid because not only have their own lines of credit been cut, but because builders are not receiving adequate financing and consequently are not paying bills without serious delays.

Bankruptcies have been cropping into the picture. In Rockland County last month two large tract builders went under.

Is all this good for the nation's economy?

Is this the way to stop inflation?—No!

Plants that might locate in New Jersey will not act if they cannot house their employees properly. Home furnishings dealers, appliance manufacturers, nurseries, garden shops, new service industries, and the myriad of other trades that reflect the home owner's needs will soon show the harmful result of the present policy.

And what about the normal income tax revenues received through corporation profits and withholding taxes? Will they not represent a tremendous loss to the economy? Even the sales tax income in New Jersey will be a substantial loss to our state.

Approximately 270,000 workers in New Jersey, or one in ten of the gainfully employed are in the building industry or allied field. Will they have to be absorbed in the balance of the economy? Last year statistics show that the average worker was employed only 41 hours weekly. Will they be able to absorb the building trade workers, I wonder? And what of the loss to the building industry of the skilled worker who may be forced into other fields? His loss may be irretrievable. We know even under normal conditions that the lack of skilled workers is a major problem to our industry.

In addition, the buying public and the Real Estate business are suffering from this tight money tremendously. Many realtors are going out of business and the buyer of a home is having to pay 6 or 7 points to get a mortgage (that is, if he can get it). Furthermore, those people who might move up to better homes are not buying at all.

What are we to do? I believe the government must recognize the seriousness of the immediate situation and act now. The balance of the one plus billion F.N.M.A. Special Assistance fund should be spent now. The four billion dollar expansion on F.N.M.A. credit should be put into the field. The President should be called upon to appoint a fact finding board immediately to study and solve the problem.

In considering the difficulties of the housing industry, thought should be given to setting up an emergency loan plan that would be available to developers and perhaps it could be done through the Small Business Administration.

Builders, for example, who have large tracts that are not FHA financed are oftentimes forced to install sewerage treatment plants and complete water systems. They find it most difficult to finance these improvements. Furthermore, because of the scarcity of actual funds through federal grants to municipal authorities, it puts the burden on the individual builder to complete the system before turning over a single house. This, consequently, makes it most difficult for the individual to maintain any kind of liquidity in the beginning of a job. Something should be done to correct this type of situation. The towns want the sewers but the obstacles in financing them are horrendous. A loan for such public type improvements would help everyone since it might eliminate the need in the community for some future grant.

Another type of condition that might warrant some emergency assistance is a situation where a builder may have a large inventory in land with some small first mortgages on the land, and yet the equity may warrant some secondary financing which is not ordinarily available.

In another type of case, a plumbing contractor reports that he has two defaults on substantial notes given him. He has discounted these notes and is now in a tremendous bind to get the cash in order to make good on the notes. Time is all that is needed. A loan might be warranted.

In conclusion, may I say that the building industry is a resilient one and if given the help needed, it will bounce back with vigor to the benefit of all Americans.

Respectfully submitted.

BUILDER'S ASSOCIATION OF
NORTHERN NEW JERSEY,
By RICHARD T. HIGGINS,
President.

HOUSING OUTLOOK FOR 1967

(By Leon N. Weiner, president, National Association of Home Builders)

A better year is in prospect for both home buyers and home builders during 1967. We are entering a new and prolonged period of higher family formation, rising incomes, and increasing demand by the American people for better living through better housing.

The legacy of last year's troubles will continue to beset us for a time, but basic changes are in sight. Underlying this prospect of change is the hope of better understanding of the industry's problems on the part of Government.

The nation's economic policy makers failed in the past year to recognize the significance which housing holds in the country's economic and social scheme. That failure, whether mistaken or deliberate on the part of those in high office, led to a series of policy actions and omissions which resulted in the undue deprivations suffered both by the home builder and the home-seeking public.

It is apparent that the slowdown in housing activity will continue into the early months of 1967 before there is a turnabout. But a turnabout is clearly in the making, certainly no later than mid-year, and the second half of the year will be better than the first six months.

For the year as a whole, we expect to see production of about 1,150,000 units, barely better than in 1966, but we shall end 1967 on an upturn.

The need, actually, within the next year is more on the order of 2 million units, and quickly will grow larger.

Home building's recovery will depend, of course, on several things: an increasing availability of mortgage credit; a reasonably healthy national economy; implementation of housing legislation already enacted by the Congress; and Federal governmental actions based on an adequate understanding of housing's impact on the social and economic structure, and its responsiveness to the proper melding of monetary and fiscal policies.

We also must have strong action at other levels of government to remove such impediments as outmoded local building codes and zoning and other local regulations which unreasonably and capriciously restrict the use of land. One more impediment we shall have to cope with is a growing manpower shortage induced by the flight of skilled workers to other industries after necessary layoffs from home building in 1966.

We are seeking ways and means to stabilize the flow of mortgage credit in the future. We intend to thrust aside outmoded concepts which seriously retard the housing of the American people as an anti-inflation device.

We believe in a more balanced approach of managing the economy through coordinated fiscal and monetary policy which gives adequate priority to housing problems.

We shall be watching closely the operations of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Despite the fact that we supported creation of the Department, it did not respond effectively to the plight of either the home seekers or the home builders in 1966. Implementation of Congressionally-approved housing programs is a must in the coming year.

The Congress recognized the serious housing needs of lower income families in the past year and authorized $1 billion in Federal National Mortgage Association special assistance funds to enable the industry to cope with those needs. However, the Department has released only $250 million of the Congressionally-authorized funds. We shall continue to press for the release of the remainder.

At the same time, in this period of rising personal income for a vast number of American families, we note that more and more are making sound and wise investments in new homes. Throughout the year we shall be engaged in a major campaign of market development to the end that a larger share of consumers' disposable dollars shall wisely be spent on the potential of better living through better housing.

The industry pledges itself to utilize new and advanced technological building techniques, the better building materials which are coming on the market, and the refined land planning information to the end that it will deliver the best possible environment for better living.

Public Service by Television Stations and Advertising Council

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, Robert L. Hutton, Jr., my constituent, is vice president of promotion and advertising of Edward Petry & Co., Inc., a major television station representative with offices in my district.

He has supervised an advertising campaign designed to demonstrate that television stations represented by his company in cooperation with the Advertising Council, which latter organization is celebrating its 25th anniversary, have done an excellent job in presenting free advertising messages for some of the major public service areas such as mental retardation, forest fire prevention, American Red Cross, community chest, and so forth.

My colleagues will be interested to know that the television stations which have contributed this free time for public service messages, present a cross section of the country. They are:

KOB–TV, Albuquerque, N. Mex.
WSB–TV, Atlanta, Ga.
KERO–TV, Bakersfield, Calif.
WBAL–TV, Baltimore, Md.
WCIA–TV, Champaign, Ill.
WGN–TV, Chicago, Ill.
WFAA–TV, Dallas-Fort Worth, Tex.
WHBF–TV, Davenport, Iowa—Rock Island, Ill.
WHIO–TV, Dayton, Ohio.
KWGN–TV, Denver, Colo.
KDAL–TV, Duluth-Superior, Minn.
WNEM–TV, Flint-Saginaw-Bay City, Mich.
KGMB–TV, Honolulu, Hawaii.
KPRC–TV, Houston, Tex.
WJKS–TV, Jacksonville, Fla.
KARK–TV, Little Rock, Ark.
KCOP–TV, Los Angeles, Calif.
WISN–TV, Milwaukee, Wis.
KSTP–TV, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.
WSM–TV, Nashville, Tenn.
WTAR–TV, Norfolk-Newport News, Va.
KWTV, Oklahoma City, Okla.
KMTV, Omaha, Nebr.
WDBO–TV, Orlando, Fla.
WMBD–TV, Peoria, Ill.
WIIC–TV, Pittsburgh, Pa.
KPTV, Portland, Oreg.
WJAR–TV, Providence, R.I.
WROC–TV, Rochester, N.Y.
KCRA–TV, Sacramento, Calif.
KUTV, Salt Lake City, Utah.
KFMB–TV, San Diego, Calif.
KTNT–TV, Seattle-Tacoma, Wash.
WTHI–TV, Terre Haute, Ind.
KVOO–TV, Tulsa, Okla.
KARD–TV, Wichita, Kan.
WBRE–TV, Wilkes - Barre - Scranton, Pa.

The statement of the work they have done and the free time given, as prepared for me by Mr. Hutton follows:

YEAR 1967 PETRY TELEVISION CAMPAIGN: A MAJOR DEPARTURE IN REPRESENTATIVE ADVERTISING—FEATURES PUBLIC SERVICE CONTRIBUTIONS OF STATIONS

This month, Edward Petry & Company, Inc. launches an advertising campaign which, for the first time, features the contributions in time donated to specific public service campaigns by a select list of Television stations. The campaigns featured are eleven of the most important sponsored by the Advertising Council. The contributing stations are those represented by the Petry Company. A typical headline reads: "12,092,724,000 Reminders To Help Prevent Forest Fires".

Developed in cooperation with the Council, and timed to coincide with, and recognize, the Council's Twenty-fifth Anniversary, the Petry campaign will spell out the total number of TV impressions delivered during 1966 by the Petry-represented stations in aggregate to such Council campaigns as: Savings Bonds; Mental Retardation; Forest Fire Prevention; American Red Cross; Traffic Safety; Radio Free Europe; Peace Corps; Keep America Beautiful; U.S.O.; United Funds-Community Chest; and the U.N.

In announcing the theme of the campaign, Martin L. Nierman, President of the Petry Company, stated: "During the twenty years the Television Department of this Company has been in existence, our month-to-month advertising on the front covers of, and in preferred positions in leading publications has stressed the flexibility, the impact, the saturation value, and the other strong selling points of the Spot Television Medium. This year we felt that a change of pace was in order, and that our client stations should receive a salute for their many unsung contributions to the field of public service communication. The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Advertising Council seemed an appropriate time to give this salute. We hope this year-around full color dramatization of our client stations' efforts in the field of public service will serve to spotlight in some small way the magnificent job which the Television Industry as a whole is doing in this area".

The individual advertisements do not neglect Spot Television's role as 1967's major advertising medium. Each will carry either the phrase, These leading stations "know how to serve as well as sell" or "they believe in serving as well as selling".

Modern interpretative art work for the campaign is in four colors and is being created by Alan Dale Bogorad. The campaign was prepared by Wesley Advertising under the supervision of Robert L. Hutton, Jr., Vice President of Promotion and Advertising for the Petry Television Division.

Computation of TV impressions delivered on behalf of each campaign is achieved by taking the total number of announcements donated by a station to a certain campaign during the year 1966, and applying it to the station's "homes delivered per quarter hour" and to the viewers-per-home figure for the market.

In conjunction with the campaign, a Report is being prepared which will summarize the contributions made in homes delivered, total home impressions and dollars worth of time, by the Petry-represented Television stations, to each of the Council campaigns featured in the series. Copies of the report and reprints of the advertisement will be sent to the officials of interested Government agencies, members of appropriate Congressional committees, executives of the task force advertising agencies involved, and, directors of the Advertising Council, as well as to national advertisers and agency media people.

For Further Information: Robert L. Hutton, Jr., Telephone: 212–688–0200.

Kosygin: Portrait of a Peacemaker?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Recently there has been much discussion of the possibilities of peace in Vietnam and also of the issues which underlie a possible peace.

A column which appeared in the Los Angeles Times on February 19, 1967, contains several thought-provoking points. Two such points are the following:

> The Johnson administration has been at such pains to play down the Soviet Union's involvement in the war that most Americans are not fully aware of its massive scope.
>
> What needs remembering is that the Russians can force Hanoi (though not necessarily the Viet Cong guerrillas) out of the war whenever they want to badly enough.

The column was written by Mr. Ernest Conine, who has served as head of the Los Angeles Times Moscow bureau. He is a very able observer and writer whose views command respect.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the article for inclusion in the RECORD:

PORTRAIT OF A PEACEMAKER?

(By Ernest Conine)

The world has been treated to some breathless word pictures of Premier Alexei Kosygin sitting anxiously by his telephone in London, awaiting word of Ho Chi Minh's willingness to take "one small move" toward peace talks.

As Prime Minister Harold Wilson later told the House of Commons, after Kosygin's return to Moscow, peace "was almost within our grasp."

But, alas, the word from Hanoi was negative. Uncle Ho would not agree to any peacemongering moves of his own in exchange for getting the bombing stopped and negotiations started.

Although it all happened behind closed doors, it can be assumed that the idyllic portrait of Kosygin going to bat for peace in Southeast Asia is accurate—as far as it goes.

Surely, however, the picture of Kosygin the earnest peacemaker would be more persuasive if there was any evidence that the Soviet Union is willing to use its considerable leverage to force a halt or a slowdown in the fighting.

What needs remembering is that the Russians can force Hanoi (though not necessarily the Viet Cong guerrillas) out of the war whenever they want to badly enough.

They have only to cut off the flow of arms and supplies to North Vietnam, and Ho would soon have no choice but to leave the Viet Cong to their own devices. He could not maintain his forces in the south nor continue large-scale help to the guerrillas.

The Johnson administration has been at such pains to play down the Soviet Union's involvement in the war that most Americans are not fully aware of its massive scope.

In the past 18 months, according to the most conservative estimates, the Russians have sent well over $500 million worth of strictly military aid to North Vietnam, and only recently promised an additional $800 million worth.

In addition to the well-publicized MIG jet fighters and SAM anti-aircraft missiles, the Soviets have provided massive numbers of conventional anti-aircraft guns, radar, artillery pieces, trucks, pontoon bridges, gasoline and oil, and even bicycles.

The men and materiel which move down the infiltration routes into South Vietnam do so then, in considerable part, by courtesy of the Soviet Union.

By contrast, Red China has contributed less than a quarter as much to Hanoi's war effort, and this has been limited mostly to food, small arms and ammunition.

North Vietnam could continue to fight without Chinese aid, if it had to, but the present scale of warfare could not be continued if the aid flow were stopped or materially slowed.

The reasons for Moscow's reluctance to twist Ho's arm are not hard to guess.

Heading the list is the fact that, while the Soviets may want peace in Vietnam, they want post-fighting influence even more. They can have it only by staying on good terms with Hanoi, and pushing Ho Ch Minh to the peace table, ready or not, is hardly the way to win friends and influence Communists in Southeast Asia.

Until and unless the Russians come to value peace more than influence, their peace overtures may well come to nothing—and the war may in fact produce the direct U.S.-Soviet confrontation which both sides have sought to avoid.

It should be noted that, by and large, shipments of missiles and other Soviet weapons have moved overland to North Vietnam across China.

If the Chinese force a rupture in Sino-Soviet diplomatic relations, however, they are expected to halt these shipments. The Russians then can use this as a good excuse to start squeezing Ho's supply line, or they can begin shipping the weapons by freighter to Haiphong—despite the clear danger that this will lead the United States to bomb and blockade that port.

Unfortunately, there is absolutely no reason to doubt that Kosygin will opt for the latter, quite perilous alternative.

All things considered, the portrait of Kosygin the peacemaker is a little premature.

If a Job Is Worth Having

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday night, February 16, 1967, the first event ever held in the Visitor Center of the Gateway Arch of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial took place in St. Louis. It was the awards banquet sponsored by Downtown St. Louis, Inc., in connection with the 1967 Salute Week Honoring Women Who Work.

Salute Week is an annual event begun 7 years ago by Downtown St. Louis, Inc., an organization consisting of the 400 business firms actively engaged in promoting and advancing the central city area of St. Louis. It was my great honor in 1963 to be designated as one of seven outstanding workingwomen of St. Louis in different fields of interest and activity.

Two years ago, Downtown St. Louis, Inc., in addition to designating outstanding St. Louis workingwomen, inaugurated a special award, National Outstanding Workingwoman. The first recipient was Lucille Ball. Last year, this honor went to the National Broadcasting Co.'s United Nations correspondent and commentator, Pauline Frederick. This year I was deeply honored to receive this national award.

FIRST EVENT HELD IN SAARINEN GATEWAY ARCH

I am not sure yet which was the greater thrill for me—receiving such flattering recognition from people I represent in the Congress of the United States, or attending a dinner held in the most breathtaking and imaginative architectural achievement in the United States and one of the true architectural gems of the entire world, the soaring, spectacular, stainless steel arch designed by the late Eero Saarinen as the theme of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial.

The first major piece of legislation which I introduced and which became law was the bill to authorize Federal expenditures for the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial. The memorial itself originated many years earlier in an agreement between President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Mayor Bernard F. Dickmann of St. Louis.

THE NEED TO INSTILL INCENTIVE AND MOTIVATION

Mr. Speaker, in accepting the National Outstanding Working Woman Award from Mr. Harry F. Harrington, president of Downtown St. Louis, Inc., I discussed a subject which weighs heavily on every Member of Congress at this point in our history. It is the problem of instilling and developing and encouraging motivation in our young people, particularly, and in many other workers to give to their jobs—to their work—the best that is in them.

We have provided opportunities for training, for education—up to and through college and graduate school—and for the breaking of all barriers to individual achievement for those who are motivated. Our concern is over those who fail to take advantage of their opportunities. How do we reach them? How do we inspire them?

Mr. Speaker, I have tried to develop this theme in my remarks and because of the wide interest I know exists in the House in this problem, I am including in the Appendix of the RECORD, under unanimous consent, the text of my speech, as follows:

IF A JOB IS WORTH HAVING—

(An Address by Congresswoman Leonor K. Sullivan in accepting the award as National Outstanding Workingwoman for 1967, sponsored by Downtown St. Louis, Inc., the first public event held in the Visitor Center of the Gateway Arch of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, February 16, 1967)

Standing here tonight . . . in this place . . . where once was desolation, and before that, dirt and grime and dreary shabbiness, and where now is soaring beauty and an unbelievable engineering achievement which lifts the soul . . . standing here among so many who have worked so hard to accomplish this majestic miracle of the Gateway Arch . . . standing here on what is Opening Night—the debut, the premiere, the grand unveiling of this hall—and standing here under the circumstances in which I am here, receiving an honor I shall always cherish . . . I say my thanks to each one of you, but I say a prayer for, and breathe my gratitude to, one who is not here, except in my heart and in the memories of long-time friends.

Two days after St. Valentine's Day, and a little more than 16 years after my husband's death, I think of John Berchmans Sullivan, as I do often, but particularly tonight.

He was a Congressman, and a *good* one, a dedicated, conscientious servant of his constituents and of his country. Because of his example, I was inspired to try to follow his footsteps into a Congressional career; because of his fine reputation, I was *able* to do so—to win my first election on the basis of his record so that I could begin then to start earning a career on my own record. For a long time, I had refused to marry John because he would not give up politics as a career and I disdained and thought I despised politics; then his profession became mine, and I learned why he felt it to be one of mankind's highest callings for those whose hearts and minds and energies are dedicated to decency and public service.

A KEY TO THE PORTALS OF MEANINGFUL LIFE IN SERVICE TO OTHERS

My carrer in congress, which my husband's career made possible for me after his death, has brought me much honor, including this one tonight which is the best kind of honor—from those who know me best and know my limitations as well as any talents which I might possess. Primarily, however, my husband's legacy to me was a key to the portals of a rich and meaningful life in service to others.

John Sullivan was beginning his fourth term in the United States House of Representatives when death suddenly intervened 16 years ago. I am now beginning my eighth term. With twice as many years of Congressional service and seniority, in a different era of our national history and under different conditions of public awareness to our national needs, I have thus had many more opportunities than John did to influence national policy and to achieve legislative goals. But, as I stand here tonight, and think back to what he did achieve, particularly for St. Louis—things we are so proud of as a city; things we tend to take for granted, such as the smoke control ordinance which he drafted for Ray Tucker's Committee; such as this site, the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, which grew from the compact he helped Barney Dickmann to draft and "sell" to Franklin D. Roosevelt; such as the Housing Act of 1949 which he worked for and voted for in the Congress and which provided the first Federal authority for our spectacularly revived Downtown—when I think of these things, I see my own role in Congress more as a continuation of his than a thing apart.

WHAT IS IT LIKE TO SERVE IN CONGRESS?

One cannot inherit a Seat in the United States House of Representatives, of course; in all the history of Constitutional Government in the United States no one has been, or can be, appointed to it. Unlike the Senate, for instance, it is an office which one can reach through one route only—a general election. Once elected, you cannot claim the Seat as your own for more than two years, at which time you must run again. To advance to seniority on Committees, you must win re-election consecutively every two years, without a break, or you must start at the bottom of the seniority ladder again. Even when you reach the pinnacle of Committee seniority, however, your political party colleagues can set you back down for reasons of their own, but that's a rare and unusual punishment seldom meted out, at least until very recently.

What is it like to serve in Congress? Power and prestige come slowly—painfully slowly—under the seniority system. But from the very first days of one's first term, until the last hurrah of defeat, retirement, or death in office, the workload is cruelly heavy and never-ending. There are no "working hours" as such—no set calendar specifying the months in which we are to remain in session, or the days we convene or hours we meet. However, unless the House and Senate mutually agree on a joint resolution permitting a recess, we must meet at least every three days, not counting Sundays, from the day we convene in January until we adjourn sine die when a Session's work is finally done, in August, or September, or October, or November, or December, or—as has sometimes happened—the morning of the day on the following January when a new Session must by law begin.

WHEN CONGRESSIONAL LIFE WAS SIMPLER

Some Members still in the National Legislature can remember when their duties were simpler. In those days they took office in a new Congress on March 4 following election or re-election, but did not meet for the First Session of that Congress until the following December, nine months later. Then they stayed in session only through May or

June, adjourning over the November election to meet again for the lame duck Second Session in December for a period of three months or less. Thus, out of a two-year term, Members were in Washington perhaps nine months altogether, passing the necessary appropriations bills, enacting the rivers and harbors bill, and, after a pleasant social season, going home. With that kind of schedule, Washington was seldom hot for the Congress, and Congress seldom made things hot for the country. Most of the jokes about Congress—and they were constant—ridiculed the Members for their unhurried and unproductive attention to largely invisible, or at least unexciting issues and problems. While the Mayor of Chicago was making a political reputation based on his promise to punch England's King George in the nose if he ever dared to come to the Windy City, one of the Alabamans did equally well on publicity in his bailiwick by threatening to do the same to the Pope if he should come to the United States.

An entire session could be devoted to debate over a farm bill which most city folks completely ignored, or to a tariff bill which few ordinary citizens had the least interest in.

But in the 28 years since World War II began in Europe, Congress has been in almost continuous session year-around, and everything we do, or discuss, or contemplate doing or discussing, is today a matter of life-or-death economic concern for innumerable industries and all associated with them, and is of intense importance to millions upon millions of other citizens who also have a stake in the outcome or a deep personal involvement in the issue.

CITIZENS ENMESHED IN RED TAPE

Furthermore, regardless of whether the House is meeting or is in recess or has adjourned, the work of a Congressional office continues with unbroken intensity, for we each deal with the myriad problems of hundreds of thousands of constituents who each year collectively experience millions of separate encounters or *collisions* with governmental regulations, policies and decisions. Often the results of these encounters of citizens and government are baffling or disastrous for the individual. It might involve a serviceman or worker or veteran or retiree or taxpayer or importer or farmer or merchant or manufacturer or teacher or student or clergyman or social worker or lawyer or doctor or accountant or—it might be you—who is enmeshed in, or overwhelmed by, Governmental red tape. Members of Congress learn how to unravel it, and *can* unravel it frequently, because of our Constitutional powers over the purse strings of the bureaucracy. Therefore, most of us spend much, if not most, of our working hours untying those bureaucratic knots and pursuing elusive justice for the harried or helpless citizens caught in the clutches of big government.

Then we proceed to pass *further* legislation to make government even bigger—seemingly to fashion *more* strings of frustration and despair about the citizen's life.

We do not set out, of course, to make the citizen's lot harder, and thus our own work of unraveling the difficulties more exhausting. We add new laws because we think or hope or feel—or sometimes even know for sure—that what we do makes sense for the people we represent and for the country and the causes in which we believe.

SOLUTIONS BEGET NEW PROBLEMS

But we are the first to realize that we are not possessed of all knowledge and wisdom—that we are fallible human beings who can make mistakes and that the solutions we devise for the problems which confront our country are not necessarily perfect ones. For we have learned that each solution we put forward for any problem begets new problems in its place. We can only hope that the new problems are not as bad as the ones they replaced. Generally, that is true, but not always.

Yet it is a fascinating job in an exciting atmosphere of furious and unrelenting activity, and we are never bored. When we have self-doubts about our achievements, which is often, people back home invite us to meet with them and they tell us what fine jobs we are doing—sometimes—and that restores our spirits and sends us back into the legislative battles refreshed and ready once again to devote 12 to 16 hours a day, every day, to our tasks. This flattering event tonight will give me encouragement for months to come. For those of us in Congress whose family circumstances make it possible to devote the endless hours and complete concentration to the work, each of the many small victories we score each day in behalf of constituents beleaguered by the bureaucracy is a delicious triumph, and each legislative issue we face and dispose of serves to give us a small sense of statesmanlike achievement.

BRINGING US BACK TO REALITY

But the next day, for the price of a five-cent stamp, a constituent quickly brings us back to earth with an indignant letter questioning either our patriotism or sanity—usually both. Even the raising of postal rates never seems to discourage this kind of assault upon our self-assurance, and undoubtedly that's a good thing, because we are so deeply involved in your lives, in so many ways, through the things we do for you or to you, that we need frequent reminders of our human fallibility.

But we also need an occasional kind word, as I said, and tonight you have handed me an encyclopedia of them. I am deeply grateful, and, naturally somewhat overcome. Like so many of you here, I am a working woman in a predominantly male working environment. While the laws guarantee us equal opportunity for employment and equal pay for equal work, we know—we have always known—that we have to work twice as hard as our male colleagues in order to prove that we are not coasting on our sex, and we have to be twice as careful in our conduct merely because we are so visible. Far from being disadvantages, however, these requirements upon the working woman working with and alongside men are really great assets. For they spur us on to do our best always—in order to be sure not to close the door of opportunity to other women seeking similar careers.

WOMEN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WORK HARD

Not every woman who has been elected to Congress has been a world-beater, a legislative wizard, but the effectiveness of the women members, on the whole, has been far out of proportion to our numbers. No one in the Congress, male or female, has a sharper mind or a better grasp of economic issues than Martha Griffiths of Michigan. A one-time Missouri girl, who is the only woman ever to serve on the House Ways and Means Committee and the Joint Economic Committee; no one male or female knows more about education issues than Edith Green of Oregon; no one on or off the Foreign Affairs Committee, Republican or Democrat, is as knowledgeable about Africa as Frances Bolton of Ohio, who, in her eighties, is still trim and fit and does Yoga headstands, and has done more to give nursing a professional status than any American. There are now two women on the House Appropriations Committee, one from each party, and they got there because of ability. Edna Kelly of New York, Dean of the Democratic Women in the House, and a Member since 1949, is chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe. Her insight and knowledge and almost intuitive ability to spot insincerity and chincanery as a U.N. delegate had the late Ambassador Adlai Stevenson marveling at her vast abilities. Senator Margaret Chase Smith, who again in this Congress is the sole woman Senator, can, and sometimes does, make admirals and generals quake. And just don't let the men ever forget that she was the first Senator to stand up to and condemn the excesses of McCarthyism and she took the vengeful consequences without a whimper.

CONSCIOUS OF MINORITY STATUS

Those women Members of Congress I have mentioned by name and those I have not all hold in common the willingness to do their very best in a terribly demanding and exhausting job—asking no special favors because they are women but instead working twice as hard to do their jobs in a manner which is a credit to women. I know we all feel that way. We are deeply conscious of our minority status—comprising only 2½ percent of the House, and 1 percent of the Senate. We form no "bloc" on legislation, for we differ on many issues. But we are in agreement that equal opportunity for women is far from achieved in politics as in most other professions, and must be worked for and *earned* by the continuing good examples of those who have been fortunate enough to make their way in any tough and competitive field.

There may be a moral in this—I hope there is particularly today, when opportunities are now opening up everywhere. In every field, for qualified people; yet filling vacancies with employees who are willing to work hard and anxious to succeed and advance seems to be such a great problem to every employer.

How do we instill an incentive in those to whom opportunity beckons to give a *little more* than the job description may actually call for—to devote *thought* as well as time to an assignment, to recognize in one's self a kind of ambassador for your age or race or religion or sex?

IF A JOB IS WORTH HAVING—

If a job is worth having—worth applying for and accepting when offered—then it is worth one's best efforts *in* that job. Many jobs, I know, are not challenging, not exciting, not even remotely interesting. But, often, the lack is in the worker, not the job. Some of us find, or have found in our working careers, that even adding up a column of figures, and dividing and multiplying and extrapolating and doing all of the other magic things which can be done with office equipment, can challenge you to high performance, and to an enjoyment of a skill which others might consider excruciatingly dull and boring.

Some young lawyers can get fun out of a real estate title search; others, when called upon to do routine tasks yearn only for the courtroom stage, perhaps not realizing that the best courtroom lawyers are those who research every facet of a case from Dullsville to Exhaustion.

One of my favorite people is a former neighbor of mine in Arlington, Virginia, a service wife, who tackles *every* household task with a curious mind. Can it be done easier, safer, quicker, cheaper, better? I am sure you have heard of her—her name is Heloise Cruse, and she translated her enthusiasm for *intelligent* homemaking into one of the best features in hundreds of newspapers.

LITTLE TIME FOR SOCIAL LIFE

In the case of women Members of Congress, there is much about the work which gives us—the handfull of women Members—all of the joys and satisfactions one can possibly get out of any job. Yet we seldom, if ever, have time for any of the glamorous social life which swirls around official Washington; we are in our offices from early morning until late evening, and on weekends, too; we are at the beck and call of anyone from our districts with a five-cent-stamp or the price of a telephone call, plus all those, of course, who come to Washington, and who we are always delighted to see and talk to, even if it may mean lots of extra chores; we are enlisted into every crisis of many of the problem families in our home districts; we pore over complex bills which may never come up for a vote, or work diligently on amendments we may not have a chance to offer; we attend endless committee meetings and hear interminable witnesses tell us why we should or should not support some technical piece of legislation we may not fully understand—thus forcing us to study and restudy the issue so that we *do* understand it; we are always, in a sense, in an election campaign because everything we do and everything we say and every vote we cast can be used against us in perhaps distorted form; we read until our eyes redden with weariness, and then keep reading to try to make sure we know what we're imposing on the American people when we pass new legislation.

Many of our male colleagues work just as hard and just as conscientiously, but I would say that on the average the *majority* of the women do far more of this than the *majority* of the men. In addition to a responsibility to our entire constituencies, we also feel a responsibility to ourselves and to each other, and to all of the women whom we represent and who root for us as women and believe in women's abilities, and, so we try to live up to that ideal through our dedication to our tasks.

HOW TO INSTILL INCENTIVE TO EXCEL

I like to see women doing that in whatever field they are in. I know it is not an exceptional thing among working women. I have seen it often. That is one reason I am so proud to be one of them—one of *you*—and to receive this honor as a working woman.

If only—if only—we could find the way—the key—to instill in several millions of airless and drifting youth in this country some of this incentive to excel in work assignments, or at least to pull their own weight, and earn their pay, and thus to derive satisfaction from the challenges of working well with one's head and hands. This is a subject which concerns me deeply. I don't have ready answers—just questions, and lots of them. But I feel that much of the sickness of our society rests in the acceptance of work mediocrity. Service is too often not service but sullenness and neglect of the customer's needs and wishes.

Next to the tragedy of the skilled older person whose health has failed and who cannot work at a job which gives him real joy and a sense of accomplishment is the tragedy of the young worker, who has been given an opportunity to acquire the skill to perform that same work, but treats the opportunity with scorn and glides by with the least amount of effort as long as he can get away with it.

As a working woman who has worked all my life and who has found challenge in every work assignment, and fun, too, I resent those who scorn work values.

There is no bill I can draft and introduce in Congress which would force people to *like* hard work. I wish there were a shortcut to job motivation. The only one I can think of is a personal one-to-one movement of making job satisfactions contagious—by all of us who find our jobs interesting and perhaps even exciting, making an effort to tell youngsters about the pleasures to be derived from doing any job a little better each time—not for the boss's benefit, but for the worker's pleasure.

"MOONLIGHTING FOR YOURSELF"

Very few people today are actually forced by economic necessity to stay mired in a dead-end job which gives absolutely no satisfactions, no opportunities for advancement, no outlet for creativity. Many are bound, however, by custom or habit or pension considerations to jobs they hate. I do not counsel such people to quit and go hungry. But with so many avenues for training and education now available to every citizen of any age, I do say to those who have lost their zeal for the jobs they hold but whose paycheck they undoubtedly need: start "moonlighting" for yourself—at night school, or by correspondence course, or by pursuit of a hobby you already enjoy and which can, through perserverance and effort, become perhaps a happy way to make a living.

I used to marvel at the changes which occurred in the outlooks and personalities of some of the people who came to the Comptometer school, when I was the training director for Felt and Tarrant—people who were insecure and despondent in their jobs and then proceeded to learn a new skill or enhance an old one to the point where they could feel secure in their abilities. Once that happened, and they knew that if they didn't like one employer they could quickly find another who would pay them at least as well, they may have have kept on working for the same firm. But the sure knowledge that they didn't have to if they didn't find it pleasurable to do so gave them such a psychological lift that they began to see pleasure in a job which had formerly seemed routine. I have seen the same thing happen again and again as a Member of Congress when I was able to direct people into some of the many training opportunities available to them. So it isn't just the job which determines whether a person is going to be happy or miserable in work: in most cases it is the person's own attitude and feeling of adequacy. Knowing how to do something well makes all the difference in the world and if there are financial rewards which go with that, all the better.

MAKING DEPRIVATION OBSOLETE

If all of this has little relationship to all of us here tonight—as I suspect—nevertheless I have brought these thoughts with me tonight to share with you because they form a continuing pattern of worry for me in trying to help make poverty and deprivation obsolete. I am searching for help in trying to help those who are searching for an identity and a purpose.

The billions we have spent in the War on Poverty have not been wasted—not the vast majority of the funds—but the results are slow to rise to visibility. It is a war which must be won—because our survival as a middle-class nation *depends* upon it. Middle-class values are unknown to millions, yet full participation by all in the good life which this wonderful country can provide depends upon—hinges upon—an appreciation for manners and morals and ambitions of middle-class society. If we can only—through the effort of labor and of business, through community effort and through government at every level and through the schools and the churches and the individual efforts of every citizen who has instilled in himself, or had instilled in him, the motivation to be proud of what he works at—if we can only utilize these resources to demonstrate what the individual can do for himself by doing a better job of work than he *has* to do for mere economic survival, perhaps we can see an eventual solution to the poverty cycle.

CONGRESS IS ALERT TO SUGGESTIONS AND IDEAS

You have honored me for what I do and how I do it—my work. As I said, I love my work, and that, of course, makes my job its own reward. But I appreciate deeply *your* appreciation for the manner in which I occupy my time and effort. Because of my Congressional seniority, there are things I *can* do, or help to do, to make this a better country, and so I am always alert to ideas and suggestions which I can pursue in the Congress. Tonight, I have raised questions. Do you have any answers for me which I can use? Will you share them with me?

In the past 14 years in Congress, my most successful legislative goals have grown out of this give-and-take, of raising questions about how to meet unanswered problems. When answers do present themselves, from friends and constituents willing to share ideas—or even just ready to answer my questions with other questions which lead me to find possible answers—there are paths which can be followed and bills which can be written and government agencies which can be contacted and brought into the picture, and there are results which can be achieved.

This is the pathway membership in Congress can open—exciting avenues to a better tomorrow. It is, believe me, a wonderful way to make a living!

As one working woman to the working women of Downtown, Inc., I say again, thank you for everything.

In Tribute to Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, as we pay tribute to George Washington today, it is appropriate for us also to consider the history and future of the city which bears his name. When Washington, D.C., was founded as the Nation's Capital, many statesmen had great hopes that this city would become the foremost city of America in every way. Unfortunately, those hopes have not been fulfilled, and cannot be until Washington becomes not only the seat of our democratic government, but also a model of democracy.

In accord with the spirit of Washington's birthday, I would like to call to the attention of the House the following letter, which I received this week from Mr. David Carliner, president of the Washington Home Rule Committee:

WASHINGTON HOME RULE
COMMITTEE, INC.,
Washington, D.C., February 20, 1967.

Hon. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MATHIAS: For George Washington's Birthday, we who live in the city named in his honor want the right to share in the decisions of our local government. As a member of the Committee on the District of Columbia you can help us to gain this right. In doing so, you will stand with:

James Madison, who said that "a municipal legislature for local purposes, derived from their own suffrages, will of course be allowed" (the residents of the Federal District.)

Thomas Jefferson, who referred to the formation of a "town legislature" in the "10-Mile Square for the Federal Government."

John Adams, who called upon Congress to secure to the District of Columbia a "long course of prosperity and self-government."

Andrew Jackson, who reminded Congress that "it is not necessary that (the people of the District of Columbia) should be deprived of the privileges of self-government."

William Henry Harrison, who declared that "the people of the District of Columbia are not the subjects of the people of the United States, but free American citizens," and that the people of the District of Columbia should be afforded "a free and safe exercise of the functions assigned to general government by the Constitution."

James Buchanan, who urged Congress to allow the people of the District of Columbia a seat on the floor of the House of Representatives.

Andrew Johnson, who asserted the right of the citizens of the District of Columbia through their locally elected government "to regulate . . . purely local question(s) as to them may seem best suited to their interests and condition.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, who assumed that Congress would grant to the District of Columbia government "broader powers of local control over purely local affairs."

Harry S. Truman, who advocated moving "toward a greater measure of self-government" and requested that Congress "draft Home Rule promptly."

Dwight D. Eisenhower, who said "the time is long overdue . . . for applying the principles of local self-government to the Nation's Capital."

John F. Kennedy, who sponsored home rule legislation to "vest in the residents of the District the fundamental right of self-government."

Lyndon B. Johnson, who pleaded with Congress that "the restoration of home rule to the citizens of the District of Columbia must no longer be delayed."

The Seventh Congress of the United States, which in 1802, with 12 members who as delegates to the Constitutional Convention had drafted the United States Constitution, established the first elected municipal government in Washington.

The 16th, 30th, and 41st Congresses of the United States, which in 1820, 1848, and 1871 respectively made modifications but continued in effect municipal government chosen in elections by the voters in Washington and Georgetown.

The 39th Congress of the United States, which in 1867 provided that suffrage in local elections in the District of Columbia shall not be barred to any person by reason of race or previous condition of servitude.

The Senate of the United States, which in the 81st, 82d, 84th, 85th, 86th, and 89th Congresses passed legislation to provide self-government for the District of Columbia.

The House of Representatives of the United States, which in the 89th Congress declared "the intent of Congress to make available to the inhabitants of the District of Columbia . . . a form of local self-government as they themselves shall democratically establish . . ."

The Committee for the District of Columbia of the House of Representatives, which in the 80th Congress in 1948 favorably reported a bill to provide for an elected government in the District.

We ask you in the spirit of the American heritage of democracy to give us who live in the capital of the United States the right to elect the officers of our municipal government and the power to legislate upon our local affairs.

We ask this of you on the birthday of that patriot who achieved for you, and for us, our independence from rule by others.

Respectfully yours,

DAVID CARLINER,
President.

The New Shape of Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, a new publication in the field of higher education, the University Review, has appeared under the aegis of the State University of New York. This institution and its president, Dr. Samuel B. Gould, and the editor of University Review, Mr. George W. Bonham, are to be complimented for the quality and diversity of their magazine, which is sure to become a valuable addition to educational thought.

One article in the first issue of the quarterly is of particular interest. Written by Harold Howe II, the U.S. Commissioner of Education, it is called "The New Shape of Education." Commissioner Howe points out a transition of purpose which the university in America is necessarily undergoing, as a result of two developments: unprecedented numbers of students, and an enormous increase in the amount of knowledge to be disseminated.

The Commissioner further discusses the emerging importance of vocational education. An obvious though often ignored fact is now finding acceptance: the fact that an academic higher education is not the answer for every student, but that there exists a definite and vital need for modern vocational education in American society.

Commissioner Howe's article follows:

THE NEW SHAPE OF EDUCATION

(Harold Howe II)

"One of the great phenomena of the human condition in the modern age," Walter Lippmann said recently, "is the dissolution of the ancestral order, the erosion of established authority . . . Because modern man in his search for truth has turned away from kings, priests, commissars and bureaucrats. He is left, for better or worse, with the professors."*

Assuming that by his choice of the word *professors*, Mr. Lippmann assigns to higher education rather than to education generally the task of picking up where kings and commissars faltered, it is easy to understand the skepticism he implies in "for better or worse" about the ability of our colleges and universities to do the job. I think it would be impossible to find another time when our institutions of higher education had to confront as many problems as they do today.

The search for quality education is, of course, a constant. We may assume that the monks at Oxford in the 12th century convened occasionally to consider whether they were emphasizing alchemy at the expense of Latin. Today we worry about the proper balance between teaching and research and bemoan the "plight of the humanities." Humans seem to be blessed or cursed with an infinite capacity for doubting the value of their labors; it is almost certain that no one will ever devise an educational program of such excellence that it cannot be improved upon.

But today in the United States we are pursuing our quest for quality at the same time that we are trying to cope with two relatively new problems in higher education.

The first is the quantitative demand for higher education. Just before World War II, only about 1.4 million Americans attended college. By 1948, this figure had increased to 2.4 million. Today our colleges and universities enroll about 6 million students and expect to have approximately 9 million by 1975. The clear question this rapid increase in enrollments poses is whether we can even maintain the academic standards we have now, let alone raise them.

The second outstanding problem of modern higher education is the astounding increase in the amount of knowledge we have gained since World War II as a result of scientific discovery, improved tools of scholarly research, and more rapid forms of communication between researchers in every discipline. The proliferation of what we know forces us to investigate whether we can inculcate knowledge more efficiently than we do now, as well as to decide which portions of our store of knowledge are most important for a modern student to assimilate.

Finding solutions to these two new problems, while we continue to seek quality, will force a number of changes in our traditional modes of conducting higher education. The character of the changes I foresee inspires in me a quiet optimism about the future of American higher education, for I believe the necessity for re-examining the tried and not-so-true will finally rid us of some harmful educational practices and dogmas.

First of all, as our colleges and universities try to find room for all the students knocking at their doors, I think the institutions themselves will begin to take a hand in dispelling the cloud of social snobbery that has long enveloped the college degree. Parents and students both will come to recognize that "higher education" can signify a variety of learning programs following secondary school—technical education of various sorts, for example—and that it need not mean a bachelor's degree program. Part of the appeal of college education in the past has been its expense: tuition and board fees have put it beyond the reach of many American families.

Thus a college education carried with it a pocketbook prestige that had nothing to do with the intrinsic merit of the educational product. Aluminum once cost more than gold; now that any housewife can buy aluminum pots and pans, we appraise the metal in a more rational fashion. And as a combination of local, state, and Federal programs plus such relatively new institutions as junior and community colleges put higher education within the reach of more and more of our citizens, we will, in an analogous way, begin to weigh the value of a college education to the possessor, not to the beholder. A college degree will become what it should always have been: a symbol of personal attainment, not of social and economic pedigree.

This new attitude toward higher education will, I believe, have two practical consequences: first, middle- and upper-income youngsters who have neither the ability nor inclination for college studies will be free to choose some other kind of continuing education without feeling that they have let the folks down; today, the social pressures surrounding college education keep many youngsters plugging away at a puzzling and uninteresting learning routine that has little relevance to their capacities. Though an American auto mechanic's son can realistically aspire to be a millionaire, a millionaire's son cannot confess his desire to become an auto mechanic. Mark Twain demonstrated that the prince can be as much a prisoner of his circumstances as the pauper; a new and more realistic view of higher education will extend personal freedom *up* the economic and social ladder as well as *down*.

The second practical consequence of scraping the social veneer off the honest furniture of education will be to restore vocational education to a place of respect and esteem. Ever since John Henry Newman and other Victorians began denigrating "utilitarian studies" during the height of the Industrial Revolution, educators and the general public have accepted the view that an education which forthrightly teaches a youngster how to make a living is somehow second-rate. Yet Newman's own education was vocational:

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*From an address on "The University and the Human Condition" delivered by Walter Lippmann before a convocation sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in May, 1966.

philosophy, theology, Greek, and ancient history unquestionably sound less utilitarian than lathe-turning or short-hand, but no other program of study would have been as useful to a prospective clergyman and scholar of church history.

By saying this, I do not mean to espouse a false egalitarianism and equate liberal education with vocational training. The two are different, and a certain kind of intellect will prefer one to the other. The point is that our present educational system—college-oriented from the first grade—has in the past recognized only one kind of intelligence, has assumed that no other kind exists, and has attached a social stigma to vocational education. As a result, vocational programs have been regarded as consolation prizes for the also-rans, rather than as alternate routes to helping students investigate their capacities. Vocational programs across the country are under-financed; they offer little diversity, provide meager educational content, and often train students for "careers" that began to vanish with the invention of the drop-forge. Once we accord vocational students the same degree of human dignity that we now reserve for college-bound students, we will take their education seriously and stop wasting so much young ability, as well as writing a premature *finis* to so many young dreams.

The second of the two major contemporary problems facing higher education is the "knowledge explosion." How will dealing with the expansion of knowledge alter our colleges and universities? First, the very fact that there seems to be so much to squeeze into the traditional four-year undergraduate curriculum will make us more careful in our choices of what to include and what to reject. We will be forced to recognize to how great an extent our college courses are designed in the light of what Dwight MacDonald has called "the cult of the fact." This quasi-religious attitude dictates that if you can date it, weigh it, count it, or associate it with the reign of a mad Hapsburg, it ought to be on the final examination.

We make too little distinction between fostering those habits of mind which are the real goals of education—inquiry, evaluation, trained skepticism, a capacity for intellectual wonder and artistic delight—and between transmitting information, which is the raw material of the learning process. Our educational programs supposedly train the mind to handle information, to select from a body of data and to arrange facts in patterns that will yield a point of view; but what they often do, in my opinion, is to place a premium on memory pure and simple. Our examination procedures should give the laurels to the student who understands, not to the one who remembers.

Re-evaluating our courses and educational techniques to stress the training of the intellect rather than of the memory will also lead to a more efficient, intelligent use of the professor's time and capacities. Our present classroom procedures often reduce the teacher—presumably a person whose professional expertise extends beyond an ability to read aloud—to little more than an echo of the textbook. No wonder we have a teacher shortage. To quote a speaker at the October convention of the American Council on Education, "Just as we confuse reading with the literary experience and the record of history with the meaning of history, so do we substitute scientific data for the spirit of Science." Any reader who attended that convention may recall that the speaker was the U.S. Commissioner of Education, a man notoriously given to repeating himself.

When we begin to view teachers once again as guides in the learning process—as participants in, as well as moderators of, the informed conversation that advances genuine education—we shall make a more intelligent use of their time as well as of the undergraduate's four years. Classes will become periods of inquiry during which teacher and students assume a common stock of information and explore its implications, rather than simply repeating that information to each other. More and more we will come to question the need for regular, formal classes at all. The really bright student may meet with his professors only two or three times a term, to report progress on an individual project and discuss problems he has encountered in completing it. This will give the professor more time to work with the slower student who requires a greater amount of personal attention.

Such a diminution of required class-time would not only permit each teacher to serve more students; it would also place a much greater degree of responsibility on the student for his own education. He could take advantage of the leeway granted him for individual study by exploring at his own speed matters that interest him, and in the process he would build habits of intellectual and personal discipline for a lifetime of learning. Or he could spend most of his time playing bridge in the student union and come to grief five months later on the final examination. The choice would be his, and unquestionably a new freedom for students would produce some academic casualties.

But success in life is largely a matter of the intelligent use of one's personal freedom. It may be that by girding the college student 'round with such safeguards as required class attendance, we retard the development of his sense of personal responsibility. Colleges must remember that most students, in addition to trying to remember whether to use red litmus paper or blue to detect an acid, are also trying to frame personal attitude toward religion, sex, civil rights, liquor, Viet Nam, and a career. Each one is picking his own way across that sometimes wonderful and sometimes frightening landscape that divides puberty from adulthood. Learning to make one's own decisions is a necessary part of that journey. By the time he graduates from college, every student should have been granted the opportunity to start walking under his own power. In restricting those opportunities, American colleges run the risk of producing the oldest children in the world.

So far in this discussion I have not mentioned the physical dimension of the new shape of education: the expansion of facilities and the different arrangements of physical and personnel resources that will be required to accommodate the numbers of Americans seeking a higher education.

Perhaps the most noticeable recent developments in providing facilities for American higher education are the establishment of two-year junior and community colleges, and the expansion of state-supported colleges and universities. At the end of World War II, the United States had about 450 junior colleges enrolling 150,000 students. By 1963, the number of institutions had increased modestly to 573, but their enrollments had quadrupled to 618,000. In 1950, one of each two college students attended a private institution; this year only 33 percent do so, and it is expected that this percentage will drop to 25 percent by 1975.

These statistics point up the new role of state and local governments in assuming responsibility for broadening educational opportunity. It is only within the last two decades that we have come to appreciate the close relationship between the educational attainment of a community's citizens and the quality of its social, economic, political, and cultural life. Comparatively wealthy states such as New York and California have taken the lead in developing scholarship and building programs to put a higher education within reach of every capable youngster.

But other states—not so fortunate in their educational and political leadership, or lacking the tax resources to convert that leadership into bricks, mortar, and faculties—will need proportionately more help from Washington to provide the educational facilities that state progress requires. And New York and California will need financial aid to continue the remarkable programs they have established. In this matter it is clear that we must devise new formulas for federal cooperation with states and localities, for many current federal programs—particularly those affecting higher education—widen the gap between the states.

Fiscal prudence and public accountability dictate that federal research contracts must go only to institutions with the scholarly faculty and research competence to deliver the caliber of investigation required. Private sources of support for education—foundations, for example—have much more freedom to gamble; but even they demand well-conceived experimental projects, and these are usually designed by the best minds at the best institutions. Thus both private and public dollars tend to make the rich institutions richer and, perforce, the poor ones poorer.

We must develop intelligent ways of channeling public funds and of attracting private resources to the paupers among our colleges. The Federal government is already trying to do this by earmarking funds under Title III of the Higher Education Act of 1965 for "developing institutions" . . . colleges that need sharply increased financial support to bring their academic programs up to a desirable minimum of quality. For the first two years of its operation, this Title provided $37 million. Even so, that sum will not go very far when divided among the hundreds of colleges which could probably qualify for assistance under the terms of that Act.

In trying to suggest new formulas for federal-state cooperation in higher education, I am reminded of an idea advanced by a consultant at the 1965 White House Conference on Education. He pointed out that much of the Federal money for experimental proposals in elementary and secondary education was bound to go to those school districts that had the best planning staffs: small, understaffed and underfinanced districts could be expected to produce the least substantial proposals.

The consultant's suggestion was simple: give the most money to the districts that put forth the weakest proposals.

Such a procedure, reduced to its essentials, rewards lack of ability. It also calls up the rather droll picture of school superintendents quarreling with each other and with the Office of Education about whose proposal has the least merit: "Say, Bill, that's a really third-rate idea; I wish I'd thought of it."

But despite the possibilities for low humor that this device would yield, it has a kernel of validity. In an analogous way, we must find out how to use Federal funds to support higher education in those States that can least afford to help themselves . . . while at the same time taking care not to reward a state for deliberately refusing to allocate a proper share of its resources to colleges and universities.

The expansion of publicly supported higher education is without doubt one of the major developments in American academic life in our time. While some observers have hailed this expansion as an extension of genuine democracy throughout our society, others have interpreted it as a fatal blow to our private institutions.

I do not see public higher education in this grim light. But I do concede that many private institutions will have to appraise their educational goals and resources with a new realism. They will have to concentrate their strengths in a few fields of their own choosing and resolutely reject new educational programs that might dilute their physical and human resources.

As they set about this appraisal, private institutions should recognize that their independence from political control gives them a freedom which public institutions do not enjoy. This freedom must seem a mixed blessing at times, especially to the college president who wishes he could ask a reasonably sympathetic legislature for funds instead of having to cajole dollars from sometimes apathetic alumni. Yet this liberty to refrain from responding to every public demand gives the independent college a freedom to experiment, a freedom to develop its own brand of excellence and thus preserve diversity in American higher education.

But there is no question that from the standpoint of numbers, the publicly supported institution represents the wave of the future. The State University of New York expects to increase its full-time enrollment from 110,000 today to about 265,000 within eight years. Its success in mastering the problems incident to providing quality education in quantity will undoubtedly help share public institutions in other states. Thus New York, by its energetic action in higher education these past few years, has claimed for itself both the rewards and the heavy obligations of leadership.

Justice Michael A. Musmanno Speaks to the VFW on the Keyishian Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, on January 29, 1967, Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice Michael A. Musmanno, who is chairman of the Americanism Committee of the Department of Pennsylvania, Veterans of Foreign Wars, made a speech at his home post, Vesle Post No. 418, McKees Rocks, Pa. Several friends of mine in the VFW have asked me to have this speech printed in the Congressional Record, and I have unanimous consent to have this done. I may say that I have noted in the newspapers that Musmanno's proposed constitutional amendment was approved by Vesle Post No. 418 and later by the Allegheny County Council of the VFW. Justice Musmanno's speech follows:

The Supreme Court of the United States, in a decision known as the Keyishian decision, has, by a vote of 5 to 4, declared unconstitutional certain laws of the State of New York which prohibited the appointment of, and authorized the discharge of, school officials and teachers who advocated the overthrow of our government by force and violence. Under this ruling, a Communist who has been taught in Moscow on how to blow up school houses, assassinate the President of the United States, members of Congress and the Supreme Court itself, may not be denied a job in the schools of the United States where he may teach the doctrine that the government of the United States should be destroyed by armed might and physical turbulence.

This proposition is frightening to contemplate, and it is no wonder that Justice Clark, speaking for the dissenting four Justices, declared that what the one-man majority of the Supreme Court has done, has been to sweep away "one of our most precious rights, namely, the right of self-preservation."

Self-preservation is the first law of nature. It is that law which imparts strength to the lion, horns to the steer, speed to the deer, and wings to the birds Similarly, the States of the Union have passed laws to keep Communists out of the schools so that the children may not have their wings of knowledge clipped and may not have their brains washed in Communist propaganda which leaves them helpless before the buzzards seeking to make a carcass of our American way of life.

Justice Brennan, speaking for the one-man majority, says that there should be no laws that "cast a pall of orthodoxy over the classroom." I have no fear of orthodoxy in the classroom but I fear a classroom atmosphere which may breed Alger Hisses and Benedict Arnolds.

Orthodoxy has many meanings in religion, but we are here not dealing with religion. We are speaking of orthodoxy with regard to the laws and the ideals of our country. Orthodoxy in that sense means soundness and wholesomeness. Honesty, obedience to one's parents, respect for the laws of the land, opposition to violence,—these are all orthodoxy. Should a teacher be allowed to teach that thievery is desirable, that treachery to one's parents is laudable, and that the overthrow of the government by force and violence is necessary? What reason can support the striking down of laws enacted by the Legislature to protect children from Communism, when our soldiers in Vietnam are fighting to protect those same children from Communist enslavement?

How can anyone argue that a Communist has the right to advocate the destruction of our Government by bombs, steel and fire, when all of America's might, wealth, resources and blood are today committed to protecting ourselves—our very lives, to say nothing of our dignity and right to worship God—from Communist annihilation. Most of the calamities of the world and mankind since the end of World War I have been due to Communists. There would have been no World War II if Communist Russia had not allied itself with Nazi Germany to destroy Poland, and thus break open the dikes of unrestrained, sanguinary war.

Those who argue that a Communist has the right in a schoolroom to advocate the Communist doctrine of violence should reflect on the following incontrovertible blood-freezing realities:

President John F. Kennedy was killed by a Communist who learned how to kill in a Communist school in a Communist country;

The 6,664 Americans killed in Vietnam were shot with Communist bullets;

The 37,738 Americans wounded in Vietnam have been mangled by Communist bullets, grenade and bayonet;

The 33,629 Americans killed in Korea were done to death by Communist violence, which, according to the Keyishian decision, may be advocated in a schoolroom stopping short only of the advocate exploding bombs in the classroom.

The American people today are being bled in taxes because of the necessity to fight Communism—a bleeding, we are willing to undergo so long as we have the right to live as free men.

Were it not for Communism and Communists, the world would be a rose garden breathing the fragrance of peace, prosperity and happiness for all peoples, because God has provided enough for His children.

In Vietnam we are fighting on the basis that the more Communists are put out of action, the better chance we will have to attain peace and to live in that rose garden. It is somewhat illogical, therefore, to say the least, that while we are pouring money and blood to reduce the number of Communists, school teachers may be allowed to teach a hate program that will make more Communists.

The Keyishian decision is one that needs to be changed by constitutional amendment, just as the Dred Scott decision was changed by constitutional amendments. I, therefore, recommend to the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States that it sponsor and actively support an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, reading:

"Nothing in the Constitution shall abridge the right of the States to determine the qualifications of persons teaching in educational institutions within the borders of the respective States."

Brighter Life at Both Ends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, Max Blustein, a 76-year-old New Yorker forced into retirement by heart trouble 12 years ago, knows the war on poverty is not being lost. That is because he is helping to win it. Max Blustein, who was born in Russia and got his high school diploma at the age of 69 from P.S. 139, is working 5 afternoons a week as a "foster grandparent" to a little boy named Joseph in New York's foundling hospital. And Max Blustein is the subject of an excellent report on the foster grandparents program by Edward Sullivan, which appeared in the December edition of The Sign, a national Catholic magazine.

Mr. Speaker, the foster grandparents program is another achievement of community action in the war on poverty. And with the support of Congress, its tremendous promise can continue to grow. As Mr. Sullivan says:

> The Office of Economic Opportunity hopes the grandparents' project will demonstrate that low-income senior Americans can be a major new resource of responsible workers for communities and social agencies. They are already being used to assist foster mothers (San Francisco), help teachers (Fort Lauderdale, Fla.), penetrate language barriers (San Antonio, Tex.), bring Operation Headstart preschooling into the homes of disturbed children (Charleston, S.C.) and teach youngsters falling between foster homes about adult relationships (Akron, Ohio).

Mr. Speaker, like hundreds of other foster grandparents in 35 communities across the country, Max Blustein has enlisted in the war on poverty at $1.25 an hour, and he is claiming victory. In a letter to President Johnson, Max called foster grandparents "the best idea you ever had."

Mr. Speaker, I include Mr. Sullivan's fine article, entitled "Brighter Life at Both Ends," at this point in the Record:

BRIGHTER LIFE AT BOTH ENDS

Don't get the idea that Max Blustein is an old codger. At seventy-six, he still lets off more warmth and light than, say, any twelve sloe-eyed teen-agers raised on television and pizza. The trouble is that when pious allusion is made to senior citizens, it still evokes an image of shabby, checker-playing, tobacco-spilling old gaffers or doddering old ladies. But as science and improved sanitation have extended life, they have also extended vitality, and Grandpa Max, for one, is drawing the extra dividends. "Don't feel sorry for me," Max keeps saying. "I'm not lonely. I am happily married to the best wife in the world. I've got friends, and I enjoy myself—except, well, most of the time, anyway."

He means he likes to feel, well, *useful*. As long as the tobacco-spilling image continues to libel twenty million Americans, they are going to be sequestered in third-rate jobs. Golden Age Clubs, out of harm's way, out of sight. It's a waste. In energy alone, they signify more available man-days than were needed to win World War II. What's more, here are twenty million people who have already proved the answers to simple questions that baffle most of us every living day. And they are predictable. They are no longer on the make.

Take Max. Washed out of the New York laundry business in 1955 by a heart attack, he flapped around on the beach for a while but then swam off in new directions.

First, he thought about his wife. (He's still in love.) "If I'm retired, she should be, too. So I share her housework. It's only fair, right?"

Then he went to school, for the first time in his life. There were no schools for poor lads like him in Russia, where he was born. At sixty-nine, he received his diploma from P.S. 139.

Then he tried the Golden Age Clubs around Rego Park, where he lives. "They're a very good thing, really. I like to make friends."

And there's his own family—five grandchildren. As a grandfather, he never thought he'd turn professional, but there's enough of Max to spill over.

One day he saw something in the paper about President Johnson's "foster grandparents program." That's all it said. Max wanted to know more. He believes in going to the top. He wrote to President Johnson.

The White House promptly replied: The President appreciates your interest and suggests you contact Catholic Charities, New York, et cetera. Nowadays, five afternoons a week, Max is "Grandpa" to Joseph, a handsome, two-year-old boy, currently resident in the New York Foundling Hospital, which is not really a hospital but a child shelter. Like 77,000 other institutionalized American children, Joseph needs extra visitors, extra attention, extra T.L.C. The Great Society is now subsidizing it, at $1.25 an hour.

With chubby little fist in hand, Max is today exploring parks, riding buses, picnicking, visiting stores and museums, playing games, bird-watching, spinning yarns, destroying ice cream sundaes, answering Joseph's first million questions—and getting paid for it. A dollar and a quarter doesn't sound like much, but think of the fringe benefits: to plant ever-blooming perennials in the garden of childhood, the glad-to-be-alive feeling of being useful again, and enough laughter per week to make an old man's eyes water.

More about Max later, but suffice it for now that foster grandparents are not lonely, old fogies necessarily reaching out for children from their own insufficiency, nor are foster grandchildren wallowing in neglect. It's a free exchange of gifts. It is being introduced in those institutions where alert staffs are doing everything they can in the human dimension and want to do more. They need help.

Max Blustein is one of thousands of senior Americans—not necessarily grandparents themselves—mustered for foster-grandparent duty in the War on Poverty. There are many kinds of poverty. There is the poverty of the disconnected child—not visited enough, innocent of the outside world in the important learning years, some days so aching to belong to someone that it hurts. There is also the poverty of old age in a youth-oriented society—families grown away, declining health, loneliness, really material poverty as savings and social-security checks are watered down with the ever-shrinking dollar. Most of all, there's the by-passed, vacated feeling of not being a useful part of the world you helped make. Yet, both the very young and the very old have a need to, well, *function* in their respective roles. The foster-grandparents scheme helps them interact upon each other. Wrote Grandpa Max in a follow-up letter to the President: "It's the best idea you ever had."

They are not nurses' aides or baby-sitters. They are full-fledged grandparents. What's that? Well, a grandparent is the kind of parent that always has time for a child, reacts with equanimity, confidently answers any question, and introduces the very young to qualities like wonderment, silence, and wisdom. That's why they're called grand.

In the postwar fragmentation of family patterns in favor of the small connubial unit, millions of American youngsters are growing up without any domestic experience of fully bloomed maturity. Sixty youngsters at New York Foundling, and thousands elsewhere, are luckier than legions of suburban kids: they are guaranteed pre-selected, Grade A grandparents—who actually chose to be their grandparents.

"I asked for a ball-player," says Kurt Scheunert, a waiter in the better New York restaurants twenty-seven years, before he retired. "Of course, Carl wasn't much of a ball-player at two-and-a-half, but," he winked, "now, at three, he's beginning to bat and throw a little."

Carl is also learning table manners, self-reliance, mutual trust, and friendship. Kurt Scheunert, passing seventy, married and with no grandchildren, lives in an upper East Side settlement reserved to seniors. Every afternoon, he swings off the Second Avenue bus for grandpa duty at Foundling with a new spring in his step. "I feel like I'm getting healthier every day."

Said a foster-granny: "Now I have something to get up for in the morning. The sweetest sound I hear every day is my alarm clock."

No one under sixty need apply. Applicants must also come from the lowest third of aging America's income scale—under $3,000 for a family, $1,800 for an individual. They are screened, medically examined, and trained for two weeks. Said a supervisor: "One of the most striking things about the grandparents is their on-time dependability." They also report daily on what they did with each child: talking together, games, music, outings, refreshments, walking, reading, et cetera. How did the child react, the mimeographed form wants to know. Happy? Active? Quiet? Typically, the file at New York Foundling contains Max's report that Joseph one day "woke up a bit restless, but we had a great time, and I'm afraid he cried when I went home."

The Office of Economic Opportunity hopes the grandparents' project "will demonstrate that low-income senior Americans can be a major new resource of responsible workers for communities and social agencies." They are already being used to assist foster mothers (San Francisco), help teachers (Fort Lauderdale, Florida), penetrate language barriers (San Antonio, Texas), bring Operation Head Start preschooling into the homes of disturbed children (Charleston, South Carolina), and teach youngsters falling between foster homes about adult relationships (Akron, Ohio). In hospitals and child-care centers around the country, children who used to cringe in corners, insist on being carried everywhere, or surrender to tantrums are now discovering that childhood is supposed to be fund. A hospital for tubercular children reports children trying harder to recover, and it hopes to cut convalescences in half. In Cincinnati, a brain-damaged girl who could not move at all now turns her head toward the voice of her foster grandma—and smiles.

And of course, in Tampa, Florida, a seventy-seven-year-old foster grandfather married a foster grandmother.

In the very big cities, with their reservoirs of old folks, foster-grandparent rosters are easily filled. One hundred and twenty qualified applicants are on a waiting list to fill openings in the 114 asignments allowed New York Catholic Charities, though the same agency sorely needs grandparent applicants for Cardinal McCluskey Home in less urban White Plains.

The majority of foster grandparents are female, a condition the OEO would like to bring into better balance: "Some identification of the child with men is particularly important to young children who, in institutional life, are often surrounded by women."

"When I first met Joseph," recalls Max, "of course he shied away from me. I think I would, too. But a lollipop sweetened him up. Now, it's 'Hi, Grandpa,' all the time.

"I brought him to the zoo, and everything to him was a horse. Now he also knows the difference between 'boy,' 'girl,' 'man,' and 'lady.' So we walk down the street, and he says 'Hi, lady,' 'Hi, man.' He's a good boy, my Joseph."

Boys and girls at the 312-child Foundling (they're all under six) all share some of the by-products of the foster-gramps relationship, but they understand that it is a one-to-one arrangement.

"Why can't I have a grandpa, too?" a child will sometimes ask Max.

"Because you have a family that visits you frequently," he explains.

"Oh," they say, with tiny little oh's.

Max recalls that when he first reported for gramps duty, about six months ago, he was advised to steer clear of a little girl with an intense fear of men. Any man. Max understood and went about his business, glancing in her direction once in a while. Sometimes he noticed that when he was gamboling with other youngsters, she would glance at him, too—but then turn away.

Then one day, she screamed. A window-washer had suddenly appeared at her window, inadvertently startling her. Wailing and sobbing, she dashed into Max's arms. He took over from there.

"You know, I keep thinking: wasn't it a great thing that somebody was there at that exact instant to reassure her?"

City-Suburb Cooperation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call to the attention of Members of the House a very interesting example of cooperative action among local leaders in Kansas City, Mo., and the neighboring communities in the metropolitan area.

The Committee for Area Legislative Cooperation for the Counties of Cass, Platte, Clay, and Jackson has submitted to the Missouri General Assembly a seven-point proposed area legislative program, representing legislative needs of the highest priority.

The program was widely endorsed by officials of government, labor, business, professional, and community organizations throughout the four-county area. The proposals deal with a wide range of subjects including hospital and medical care for indigents, higher education and medical school branch, an expanded State highway plan, home rule for local government, increased aid to schools, law enforcement, and revaluation of real property. Substantial background information was presented for each of the recommendations in the 72-page report.

This example of concerted action reflects a collaborative spirit that can lead to other practical methods for areawide cooperation, such as those proposed by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, of which I am a member.

The example set by leaders in the four-county Kansas City area is particularly encouraging at this time when we are so much concerned with the resolution of differences between the central city and the suburbs in metropolitan areas. Much is now being said about strengthening local governments and strengthening the States role in urban affairs, but one obstacle to effective State legislative action has been the failure of the central city, and the suburban areas to reach agreement on important issues before submitting proposals to the State legislature.

Hopefully, we shall see more instances of interlocal agreement on State legislative priorities. I am sure there are some good examples in other areas.

Speech of John C. Dotson, Winner of VFW's Voice of Democracy Contest in Tennessee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to insert at this point in the RECORD the speech by John C. Dotson of my hometown of Kingsport, Tenn., which won the Tennessee competition for the VFW's Voice of Democracy contest.

This is the second straight year that a young man from Kingsport has won the contest in Tennessee, and I wish John the success that David Russ had last year—the national championship.

DEMOCRACY: WHAT IT MEANS TO ME

(By John C. Dotson)

Throughout the world are the peaceful, tranquil cemeteries—cemeteries that are the final resting place of millions who fought and died for democracy. Their guns are silent now, their battles done. They paid the full price for our democratic way of life.

Life. What is it about? Throughout our lives most of us are in a struggle. Some are much more aware of this than others. The most basic, apparent drive is survival. Above all else we seek to live. But most of us pursue higher goals than just self-preservation. To live life as each of us decides we should—to find happiness—is our fondest wish.

Democracy—the principle of equal rights and opportunity—is the greatest system of government under which we are assured life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Anyone with any effort can survive. But greater than this, democracy allows us to attain those things beyond basic necessity. Each man in this society is limited in his accomplishments only by the extent of his determination, his innate ability, and his desire to improve himself. To the industrious and to those with a strong spirit of will, the possibilities are practically unlimited.

Democracy is the grandest heritage of all. But what many, tragically many persons are ignoring today is their obligation to democracy—its demand for compensating responsibility. It has been said that the gallant words of Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty or give me death!" have been reduced to "Give me liberty," and altered further to say simply, "Give me." But it must be remembered that in exchange for the rights of democracy we must return sensible use of its fredom. One of the greatest threats to our democratic system today is the lack of respect for the law. Laws, which are actually the foundation of our government, must be obeyed. If we do not like a law we should work for its repeal through the elective process and not disobey, covering with the euphemism—civil disobedience. Also we are coerced to use our right to vote. This right is the greatest privilege of all. It allows us to rule ourselves. We have a great responsibility too, to impress upon those around us the marvelous freedoms of democracy. Its rights of religion, of speech, of assembly, and the precious rights of privacy and individualism. And finally, the greatest responsibility of all. We should be willing to pay the full price for our freedom and the freedom of others. Around the world the guns of our fathers and grandfathers *are* silent, and the old enemy *is* gone. But today, there are new enemies. Am I willing to die to save democracy? Are you?

Democracy to me means the freedom to survive and to seek higher goals with equal rights, opportunity, and hope. But democracy, to allow its very existence, carries with it an obligation from me. To me, it means that as willingly as I accept its freedom, I must hold its principles high and uncompromisingly fight for this indeed perishable heritage.

Tribute to Mrs. Frank W. Boyd

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE SKUBITZ

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to join all Kansans in paying tribute to Mrs. Frank W. Boyd, who has brought honor to our State and to the profession of journalism through her warmth, exceptional talent, and her outstanding dedication to civic responsibility. Her efforts are deeply embedded in the history of our State and her achievements cause us to swell with pride.

The following tribute was paid to Mrs. Frank Boyd by Mr. Clyde M. Reed, publisher of the Parsons Sun and another of our prominent citizens and journalists who delivered the following address February 10 at Kansas University in Lawrence. The occasion was noteworthy as Mrs. Boyd celebrated her 90th birthday and received the William Allen White Foundation's award for journalistic merit. I commend this well-deserved tribute to the attention of my colleagues:

This is the day and this is the occasion when we gather to honor a Kansas editor in the name of William Allen White, the most famous Kansas editor of all and a legendary figure for eternity in journalism at home and around the world.

This is a special day and a special occasion in this series of annual events—coming just one year short of the 100th anniversary of Mr. White's birth.

On this day we will honor a newspaper personage who was a contemporary of Mr. White, who is only nine years younger and is the first of her sex to receive the William Allen White Foundation's Award for Journalistic Merit.

HONOR MRS. BOYD

This would have to be Mrs. Frank W. Boyd of Mankato and northwest Kansas. Mamie Boyd, that's who. No one else.

Your humble speaker approaches this task gingerly with the gnawing knowledge that whatever he says about this remarkable woman, two or three times as much must be omitted because of the schedule imposed upon us by the day's events.

For what other Kansas journalist's life spans the lengthening years from Jim Lane to Jim Ryun, from Carry Nation to Debbie Bryant?

For what other Kansan has led such a satisfying life for so long and still, at the age of 90, is as busy as ever and writing wistfully of the days when she will grow older?

And surely no other practicing journalist in this state has functioned from the days of the Washington hand press and handset type through other methods of production to the offset process that is coming into vogue today.

None but Mamie Boyd, and here we are gathered to pay tribute to her, inadequate though that tribute may be.

ONLY ONE LIKE HER

There is only one Mamie Boyd in all of the broad sweep of our beloved state. Only one, with her unfailing kindness, her unflagging energy, her devotion to high principle, her deep philosophy that has guided her and her brood safely through trial and tribulation, her sparkle that delights friends and those who are strangers but briefly in her presence.

All of this, and still a working newspaperwoman at the age of 90 contributing two columns a week to a Boyd paper, the Jewell County Record in Mankato.

To begin at the beginning in this study of perpetual motion, accelerated rather than slowed by passing years, time flashes back to Friday, December 13—of all days—1876. On a farm near Humboldt, on the fringes of the Kansas Balkans, Mamie Alexander was born and she has been making light ever since of the ill omens associated with Friday the 13th.

She was one of a family of 12 children. There were 10 daughters and two sons. Her father, Joseph McDill Alexander, moved his family to Welda, in Anderson County, a few years later. He was to serve two terms in the Kansas House of Representatives, incidentally, as a Populist in the tumultous political days of the 1890's.

ENROLLED IN COLLEGE

After working her way through Garnett High School, her thirst for knowledge was only heightened. Family finances did not match her dream and other measures were necessary. Whereupon Mamie Alexander sold her two-year-old heifer for the then munificent sum of $17.50 and was off to Manhattan and Kansas State College, set for a year's schooling in an era when inflation and Ronald Reagan had not yet left their marks upon higher education.

Her wardrobe consisted of what she called one good dress, and two calico numbers for work. Calico she needed for work, too, since one of her jobs in college was with a haying outfit that paid her 25 cents a day.

Through her father's influence—he being the associate editor of a county seat newspaper—Mamie Alexander got a job in the college printing office for the next school year. This work brought her 10 cents an hour and more importantly, led to a romance with Frank W. Boyd, also working as a student printer for the same princely wage.

Mamie and Frank were engaged to be married by the time of graduation from Kansas State in 1902. He went to Phillipsburg as editor of the Phillips County Post for $5 a week. She remained in Manhattan as a teaching assistant to do postgraduate work.

Misfortune then overtook her. Consumption struck, and doctors directed a change of climate. Colorado was the place, they said, and off to Colorado went Mamie Alexander. Life was lonely in strange surroundings for the stricken Kansas girl, and was made bearable only because Frank Boyd had a railroad pass, as did all newspaper editors in that day, and was able to visit her on weekends after an overnight ride on the Rock Island from Phillipsburg.

Ten months in Colorado brought no improvement. Rather her condition worsened.

PROMISED A CURE

"Western Kansas is better for T.B. than Colorado," her betrothed kept telling her. "You come home, we will get married and I will cure you in western Kansas."

Marriage followed on August 15, 1905, and the Boyd newspaper legend began to take root in northwest Kansas. She gathered the news and Frank picked up the ads and put out the paper.

Eighteen months later, the pure, bracing air of this unspoiled commonwealth had indeed cured her illness. Her lungs were healed, and the Boyds looked forward to raising a family.

"I left the office at 6 p.m. one evening," she has written, "and at 6 a.m. the next morning our eldest son McDill was born." He was to learn the business early. His mother bundled him into a baby buggy and pushed it along on her news-gathering rounds. "I locked the buggy and let the wind rock McDill while I went in and got the news."

McDill Boyd soon had a type case of his own, and with a stick on his lap learned the ways of Gutenberg. Six years later the second son, Frank W. Boyd, Jr., came along and "the Boyd Family of Newspaper Folks was complete."

HAD FOUR PAPERS

The pattern of newspaper life in Phillipsburg was the familiar story of county seat journalism in the early days. Phillipsburg could boast of four newspapers. The Boyds purchased the Post for $5,000 soon after McDill Boyd's arrival, through negotiation of a note at the bank. Cash and credit transactions were supplemented by trading subscriptions and advertising for butter, eggs, smoked ham, buttermilk and what Mamie Boyd labels as "garden sass." Stomachs were kept full even if the bank account was anemic. Mamie Boyd remembers them as glorious days—because we were "so happy and so poor."

Death took Frank Boyd Sr. in 1947, but the Boyd family newspaper enterprises, well grounded by his thorough training, continued to prosper. The two sons, McDill and Frank Jr.—better known as Huck and Bus—carried on the business with their mother, and indeed have expanded it.

OPERATE SIX WEEKLIES

While not acquiring newspapers at quite the rate of Lord Thomson, the Boyds today own and operate six northwest Kansas weekly newspapers—all of them flourishing as sturdy products of this state's journalism.

The Boyd empire consists of the Phillips County Review at Phillipsburg, the Jewell County Record at Mankato, the Hill City Times, the Burr Oak Herald, the Jewell Republican and the Ellsworth Reporter.

Three third generation Boyds are now active in the business—two sons and a daughter of Bus Boyd—and the Boyd tradition is destined to continue many years.

Meanwhile, for 65 years, Mamie Boyd has had a hand in practically everything that has gone on in Kansas—a helpful and useful hand. She is, in the truest sense, a Citizen of Kansas—and Citizen is spelled with a capital C.

She has been as busy in Kansas as in Mankato and is known on Kansas Avenue in Topeka or Douglas Avenue in Wichita as on Main Street in Mankato.

WON MANY HONORS

Honors have poured in on her with the gentle yet continuing force of a spring breeze. She has been cited in Kansas and from one end of this country to the other. She has one of three gold medallions for 50 years of service in journalism awarded by Theta Sigma Phi, national journalistic sorority. She holds the McKinney Award, the only one of its kind, given by the National Newspaper Association in 1966, to "a newspaper editor and publisher who long has served her community and state with distinction." She was the first to receive the distinguished service award in journalism at Kansas State University where, incidentally, she was the first woman to be president of its alumni association and a dormitory was dedicated in her name on January 14, 1961. Only two weeks ago the Native Sons and Daughters of Kansas gave her an engraved silver tray for 50 years of service to an organization of which she is a founder.

Mamie Boyd was an organizer and is now honorary president for life of the Kansas Press Women and in 1966 was elected honorary president of the Kansas Press Association, perhaps the first such officer it ever had and possibly its last.

Her activities are like those items in a sale bill—far too numerous to list in full here. Suffice to say, they cover the whole broad spectrum of community, state and national interests.

NAMED TO STATE BOARDS

Not the least of Mamie Boyds' distinctions is that she has received appointments from five different Kansas governors. Governor Landon named her to the Kansas State Park Board, Ratner to the State Textbook Commission, Carlson to the State Advisory Commission on Institutional Management, Arn reappointed her to that commission and Avery selected her as a member of the Committee on Status of Women.

Possibly no other Kansan ever has served under five different governors, but then as was said before, there has never been another Kansan like Mamie Boyd.

For years, even when time would have sidelined many others, Mamie Boyd continued to log thousands of miles annually in driving herself about the state. Only when she has reached 87 were members of the family successful in persuading her to give up solo cross-country trips, convincing her that no person of her age should risk getting mired in a Kansas snowdrift. But she still drives her own car in Mankato.

No accounting of Mamie Boyd's life would be complete without reference to her knitting, because seldom is she seen without needles and a ball of yarn in her hands.

She organized a Phillips County Red Cross knitting class in World War I and conservative reckoning is that if all the yarn she has knitted since then were tied end to end it would reach to the moon and back with enough left over to tie into single wraps all of the Boyd papers that have ever been printed.

Out at Manhattan, where she sits on the front row at Kansas State basketball games, they say she never misses a purl even when errant warriors of the court happen to fall into her lap.

For the mere youngsters in this assemblage, those anywhere from 70 years of age on down, the recipe of Mamie Boyd's blooming longevity happily is no secret. It is available to all with her blessing.

HAS SIMPLE FORMULA

That formula is simply stated in these words: "When I work, I work hard: when I sit down to relax, I sit down easy, and when I worry, I go to sleep."

Few have said it better.

"It is magnificent to grow old if we keep young in spirit," Mamie Boyd wrote recently in the Jewell County Record. (As an aside, she maintains three annual scholarships for young women studying journalism at Kansas State, K.U. and Wichita State, one important means of attaining that end).

"Time has stolen roses from my cheeks, turned my hair to silver, taken some of the sparkle from my eyes," she said in a touching column written on her 90th birthday.

"But time," she went on, "is my ally.

"I am in perfect health, no aches or pains. I extract my vitamins from Kansas sunshine and wholesome food . . .

"I awake each morning after eight hours of dreamless sleep and find myself in possession of a new day—new worlds to conquer, new adventures.

"God willing, I will continue to read, exchange my thoughts with my friends; watch the mental and emotional antics of my fellow men: see the beauty of the clouds, the leaf, the landscape and the crops; marvel at the stars on a clear night; continue to work as my strength will permit and thank God, who made and loves us all, for the privilege."

Here, dear friends, is a human being of great depth, for how many could have written as did she, on that same 90th birthday, these poignant paragraphs:

"I have had the love and understanding of my sons and their families, and many good friends. They have cushioned my loneliness. They have eased my heart-hurt and lightened my sorrow . . . I have strength to face life alone.

"For a time I wanted to go with my family everywhere they went—perhaps hoping to suck the vigor of youth from their vitality. It can't be done.

LIKE TO BE NEEDED

"Gradually it dawned on me that my sons and their families had to lead their own lives, that their families were complete without me. Yes, I know I was always wanted but not needed. There is such a difference . . . Women like to be needed. I have accepted the fact that my children's lives, like an everwidening stream, have left the narrow cove of mine behind . . .

"I have overcome the feeling of not being needed, having shaken it off like a discarded garment. I have lost myself in my work and my memories. It has been said: 'God gave us memory so we could have roses in December.' I have great arm loads of roses, and I clutch them tight when loneliness threatens . . ."

Who could have said that but Mamie Boyd, a most extraordinary woman of Kansas who at the age of 90 and still going strong receives the 1966 Award for Journalistic Merit from the William Allen White Foundation, the highest honor this organization can bestow upon a journalist of its state.

War on Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 23, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, unfortunately we sometimes tend to stereotype the war on poverty and assume that its benefits are limited to certain groups or certain areas. Nothing could be further from the truth. The war on poverty benefits the poor—all the poor—and helps them to help themselves.

An excellent example of what I mean was described by Margaret Anderson in an article appearing in the Chicago Heights Star, on November 24. Miss Anderson's article was entitled "Bulging Classes Reflect Eagerness of Migrants," and it told how the war on poverty is bringing new opportunity and new stature to the migrant workers who are seasonally employed in suburban Cook County.

Mr. Speaker, Miss Anderson shows that the war on poverty is being won among a decidedly disadvantaged but frequently forgotten group of Americans, and I ask to include her article at this point in the RECORD: .

[From the Chicago Heights (Ill.) Star, Nov. 24, 1966]

BULGING CLASSES REFLECT EAGERNESS OF MIGRANTS

(By Margaret Anderson)

A new educational program by the Illinois Migrant council is providing a glimmer of hope for migrant workers who would like the stability of remaining in the same spot and in the same job for an extended period of time.

The program, designed basically to teach language skills, started September 26 with about 40 students. But since that time, the number of students has swelled to about 137 and the location has had to be changed three times to accommodate the increased enrollment.

Students attend classes four hours a night, five nights a week and the program's head teacher, Mrs. Chloe White, said the students, without exception, have been "not just willing but eager to participate."

"They're just marvelous people—their whole disposition is fun," Mrs. White said. "They are a joy to be with.

"One thing I love about them is that they are very industrious people—they are interested in paying their own way and want to contribute," she added.

"Since I've been teaching—and I haven't missed a night yet—I've received a sack of cabbages, some tomatoes, squash, a plate of tacos, and a 38-pound pumpkin," she said. "My husband carved it—it was huge—and we used it for a party after school.

"The students range in age from 16 to 70 and they rarely miss a class," Mrs. White said. "In fact, I sometimes can't even get them to take a break."

The six night classes are being held at the Unitarian-Universalist Community church in Chicago Heights. These classes, broken into varying language abilities, are held from 5 to 9:45 p.m. with a 15-minute break.

Two daytime classes are held at St. Paul Catholic church, 25th and Butler, in Chicago Heights.

Some of the students qualify for a small stipend which is paid migrant workers for attending such a school. Many also hold outside jobs—some for as long as 12 hours a day.

"Over half of the students are American citizens—many of whom were born and raised in Texas," Mrs. White said. "Yet, I don't have one who has an eighth grade education and some have never been to school at all.

"They have all paid taxes—but they haven't had the basic benefits of being citizens," she said.

George Franklin, area co-ordinator for the program, said the classes are funded directly from the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington and are supervised by the Illinois Migrant council.

"The classes started September 26 in an upstairs room of St. Paul's church and at that time we expected an enrollment of between 20 to 30 people," Franklin said. "But 40 people showed up the first night and by the end of the week about 75 had turned up.

"We then started looking for additional space, which we were able to find at Sunnybrook elementary school on Glenwood-Lansing road," he added. 'We had four classrooms there and this gave us breathing space for a while.

"Then, because of an enrollment increase and because of the distance between the two school sites, the group had to find another location, " he said. "At this point the Unitarian church offered its building as 15th and Scott and this provided space for all six night classes."

Last week day classes were started at St. Paul for persons who work at night and would like to learn English during the day.

The program is broken into three areas—language arts, pre-vocational training and community living.

The language arts phase includes basic reading and writing skills needed to move into any labor market.

The pre-vocational training gives students an indication of what kinds of jobs are available, and what preparation is needed for employment as well as how to get a job.

The community living phase of the study is needed because the students' background is mostly rural and they frequently lack an understanding of life in an urban community. This part of the curriculum tells what contributions the community can make toward the students and vice versa.

"We are not pushing nor forcing people to leave the agricultural fields," Franklin said. "We offer basic adult education along with pre-vocational and community living so that a person who is unfamiliar with other types of work can make a choice of staying with the migrant stream or leaving it.

"We give people an opportunity to choose by increasing their knowledge," he added. "For many it has opened avenues that weren't seen before—the possibility, for example, of settling into a metropolitan area and having to make a commitment to stay for a period of time.

"For many it has offered the possibility of getting a job outside the migrant area—a job which will have some stability and some future in it.

"For others, it offers the possibility of picking up educational skills which are missing or deficient," he added.

"The program has extended a glimmer of hope for stability to its students," he said. "This is something which quite possibly the people had in them but a catalyst was needed to bring it out."

Instructors include certified teachers and other persons selected for bi-lingual ability or for their interest or previous involvement with agricultural workers.

Franklin said he feels the program's success is due partly to the fact that there is a minimum amount of red tape involved.

The Illinois Migrant council, the supervising agency, operates two area offices—Franklin's in the south suburbs and a second area office in the northwest suburbs. Funds come directly to the council from the OEO in Washington.

"I believe this is partially responsible for the program's success," Franklin said. "We have no delay in implementing our ideas. We have had to more or less play it by ear and change things to best suit the needs of the students. We have been able to do this within certain guidelines.

"Another reason for the program's success is the staff—the administration has done a very good job in the field of recruiting," Franklin said.

Mrs. White agrees that the teaching staff is unusually talented and enthusiastic. There are eight regular teachers, some of whom work part-time in the six classes. There also is a substitute teacher who works when called.

The regular teachers are Julian Jimenez of Chicago, Miss Marilyn Salzman of Chicago, William McCarthy of Oak Lawn, Mrs. Judy Swanson of Lansing, Pedro Luna of Park Forest, Boyd Tolbert of Park Forest, Leonard Butler of Blue Island and Miss Marcia Diaz of Chicago.

Abel Govea of Country Club Hills is the substitute teacher.

In Memoriam: Dr. Bernard B. Fall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the death of Dr. Bernard B. Fall in Vietnam on February 21 was a tragic loss, not only for his immediate family but for the many who respected him as a distinguished young author and scholar.

Dr. Fall was one of those rare individuals blessed with the ability to keep in sharp mental focus both the abstract and conceptual aspects of events and their particularistic, human elements. For him the transition from the campus to the battlefield was one relished and easily made. He was equally at home in the company of scholars and with our GI's in the field.

His death during a military operation north of Hue is indicative of his strong conviction that in order to know what is happening one must be on the scene, experiencing events as the participants are experiencing them.

Although I often did not agree with Dr. Fall's assessment of the Vietnam situation, I respected his abilities as a writer and historian.

In 1965 it was my privilege as chairman of the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Far East and Pacific to invite Dr. Fall to testify on the Sino-Soviet conflict. Although he was given only short notice, he graciously agreed and gave a very interesting and informative presentation.

Later, when the hearings were revised for my book, "Sino-Soviet Rivalry: Implications for U.S. Policy," Dr. Fall again went to considerable time and trouble to rewrite and update his statement. He also was helpful in offering suggestions for improving the format of the book.

In order to acquaint my colleagues further with the life and works of Dr. Fall, I am inserting at this point in the RECORD the story of his death and his obituary as they appeared in the New York Times of February 22:

BERNARD FALL KILLED IN VIETNAM BY A MINE WHILE WITH MARINES

(By R. W. Apple, Jr.)

SAIGON, SOUTH VIETNAM, Feb. 21—Bernard B. Fall, the writer and historian of the strife in Vietnam, was killed today by a Vietcong mine while on patrol with American marines.

Dr. Fall, a 40-year-old professor of international relations at Howard University, in Washington, had written seven books about Vietnam. The most recent, "Hell in a Very Small Place: The Siege of Dienbienphu," was acclaimed by reviews when it was published by Lippincott last month.

He had often written of the subtle ironies of the battle for Indochina and his death conformed to the pattern he had discerned.

He was killed about 14 miles northwest of Hue, along a desolate stretch of seacoast known as "The Street Without Joy." He had chosen that phrase as the title of one of his major books and had dedicated it to "those who died there."

Capt. Henry C. Stackpole of Guilford, Conn., an information officer at Danang, said Dr. Fall dined with Lieut. Gen. Lewis W. Walt, the Marine commander, on Friday. Later, Captain Stackpole said, Dr. Fall asked "where the action was."

The captain told him of three Marine Corps operations that were under way south of Danang. Dr. Fall, as was his habit, pressed for details, and Captain Stackpole mentioned a fourth operation northwest of Hue.

"Why, that's my area!" the scholar replied. "That's my home ground. I'll go there."

A Marine photographer was also killed when the mine went off, an American military spokesman said. Two Marine combat photographers were wounded by shrapnel and evacuated.

FAMILY IN HONG KONG

The Vienna-born professor, who came to Vietnam in December for research on yet another book, was also contributing to American and European periodicals during his stay here. He had written a number of articles for The New Republic in recent weeks, as well as critiques for The New York Review of Books.

He is survived by his wife, Dorothy, an American citizen, who has been living in Hong Kong, and two sons and a daughter.

A spokesman for the United States mission said that it "deeply regretted the death of this outstanding scholar of Vietnam."

Dr. Fall had been criticized by many officials as "an apologist for the French" and as an exponent of a defeatist attitude toward American involvement here.

A well-built man of medium height, Dr. Fall spoke with contempt of those who wrote from the safety of the United States about Vietnam and the men who are fighting here.

BOTH GENERALS AND G.I.'S

More than a year ago, during an earlier visit, he accompanied members of the newly arrived United States First Calvary Division (Airmobile) on an operation in the Central Highlands. When the troops arrived at a spot he knew well, he gathered them around him and recalled the destruction of French Mobile Group 100 in a battle there years before.

His books were on the shelves of senior American officers and in the tents of a surprising number of G.I.'s.

This pleased Dr. Fall almost as much as the increasing acclaim he had recently won, and he made no effort to hide his delight. He told a friend recently of having seen all of his works lined up on the desk of a senior general, and, without pause, pulled from his briefcase copies of favorable reviews of his books.

"My ambition," he said, "is to be the foremost military writer of my generation."

The remark was typical, for Dr. Fall was a man of enormous enthusiasm as well as powerful intellect. Confronted by a dinner party whose members seemed unaware of the niceties of World War II, he would launch, without embarrassment, into a penetrating and detailed analysis of, say, the Maginot Line.

Among Vietnam specialists he had a reputation for total recall. He could supply on a moment's notice the precise order of battle for both sides at Dienbienphu, North Vietnamese infiltration rates for the last two years or the bomb tonnage dropped by United States planes on North Vietnam in a given week.

He cut a dashing figure, dressed in shorts and a sports shirt open to the middle of his chest and wearning specially tinted sun glasses. He had begun to grow a small goatee.

His tools were a talent for languages and an ability to dig out telling detail. He spoke French, English, Polish, Russian and German and sometimes managed a few words of Vietnamese. He was conscious that his English was not as elegant as it might be, and he spoke with admiration of Joseph Conrad, who wrote English with facility although Polish was his mother tongue.

Dr. Fall maintained in the basement of his Washington home an astonishingly extensive filing system on Southeast Asia.

He said he had conducted hundreds of interviews and read thousands of documents to develop the vignettes with which he spiced his account of Dienbienphu. In a typical passage, he wrote of the last day of the 1954 battle in terms of a rifleman who "wore an extensive bandage around his waist, leaving a bloody print on the ground every time he shifted position."

Dr. Fall was skeptical in his attitude toward American participation in the war. He felt that President Johnson had failed to articulate his goals, and he wondered aloud whether the United States would be willing to persevere here.

In "Street Without Joy," he wrote of a French Operation launched against the Communist Vietminh on July 28, 1953. He considered it an instructive example. The French deployed 30 battalions against a Vietminh regiment the 95th. They killed more men than they lost, but they failed to trap the enemy and they were eventually forced to withdraw their troops to fight elsewhere.

FAR GREATER FIREPOWER

Dr. Fall pointed out later that American troops were faced with similar problems. But he also noted that the allies had far greater firepower than the French. He agreed with the thesis that the Vietcong could never win a purely military victory.

Sensitive to allegations that he had been soured on Indochina by the experience of his countrymen, he wrote in his most recent book: "If the trite phrase 'telling the truth without fear or favor' has any meaning, it can in all fairness be applied here."

The book suggested that the United States might have avoided its present travail if it had acceded to a French request for air support at Dienbienphu. He laid the blame for the American refusal at the feet of President Johnson, who was then the minority leader of the Senate.

However, Dr. Fall savagely criticized the French military and political authorities for their major policy decisions.

His own career gave him a backdrop against which to evaluate the struggles for dominance in Southeast Asia.

He served in the French Underground from 1942 to 1946 and worked as a research analyst for the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal. He went to the United States for the first time in 1951 as a Fulbright scholar and earned a master's degree in political science from Syracuse University.

VISITED NORTH VIETNAM

In 1953 he came to Indochina and accompanied French forces in the field, covering areas north of Dienbienphu behind enemy lines. After earning his doctorate at Syracuse, he returned to Indochina and spent several months in North Vietnam.

He won the George Polk Award for outstanding interpretive reporting in 1966, and was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship to help finance his trip to South Vietnam last year and this.

Dr. Fall had retained his French citizenship, but had recently told friends that he intended to apply for American papers as soon as he returned to the United States. He had hesitated to do so, he said, in the hope of gaining an entry visa for North Vietnam, but had been turned down repeatedly.

Dr. Fall was the ninth combat correspondent to die in Vietnam since the intervention of American ground forces here, and was by far the best known. His death took place in circumstances strikingly similar to that of the noted photographer Robert Capa, who was killed by a land mine in the Central Highlands in 1953.

FAVORITE OF DOVES AND HAWKS

In the debate over American involvement in Vietnam, few experts were so often quoted approvingly, and out of context, as was Bernard B. Fall. Doves favoring a softer policy were pleased by his insistence that the war was not the product of unilateral aggression by North Vietnam. They were appreciative when he asserted there had been blunders in United States policy in Southeast Asia and when he charged, as he did in the Feb. 9 New York Review of Books, that the United States had a tendency to escalate just when the outlook for a solution seemed most hopeful and that President Johnson had ignored peace cues from Hanoi.

Hawks favoring a firmer policy were pleased by his view that the commitment of American combat forces to Vietnam was necessary to prevent the military collapse of the Saigon Government.

Mr. Fall was born in Vienna but spent his formative years in France. He fought with the maquis, the French underground, against the German occupiers and was awarded a medal by France after the Liberation.

Although he had been living in the United States since 1951, he retained his French citizenship. His French passport gave him more freedom of movement than an American passport, and he was able to travel to Hanoi long before any American correspondents did so.

A SENSE OF FOREBODING

No one could have made so many trips, six, to the war zone without a sense of foreboding. This he confided to his editor, Stewart Richardson of Doubleday, last November. "He had a premonition," Mr. Richardson said yesterday. "He felt that something might happen and he told me: 'My wife knows where everything is.' "

He was under contract to do another book on Vietnam for Doubleday. He was also to send articles to The New York Review of Books and The New Republic.

A report that he had been engaged by the Rand Corporation to interview Vietcong prisoners and defectors and report on their attitudes was denied yesterday by an official of Rand, a Santa Monica, Calif., nonprofit organization that does research for the Defense Department and other Government agencies.

His books and articles were storehouses of enduring information. Many an American officer got his first real appreciation of the agony of Vietnam by reading Mr. Fall's "Street Without Joy: Indochina at War," published in 1961. Mr. Fall's material was mostly gathered first hand in 1953–54 when he lived in Hanoi and accompanied French forces on combat operations.

Bernard Fall was born in Vienna Nov. 11, 1926, the son of Leon and Anne Seligman Fall. He was a student for two years at the University of Paris and later studied at the University of Munich.

Vietnam and Glen Aubrey—"Something That Just Has To Be Done"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, in December 1966, the New York Times published a front-page story of the impact of the conflict in Vietnam on a small American community. Chosen as the locale of the story was Glen Aubrey, N.Y.

The community was chosen by writer Murray Schumach for his story as the result of a chance visit to the general store there during last November's election campaign, when Mr. Schumach was covering Gov. Nelson Rockefeller. The writer became intrigued with the fact that nearly an entire generation of the community's young men had been drained off by the manpower demands of Vietnam and our other areas of commitment.

It was a good story, pointing up very well the deeply felt effect of the war, an effect heightened by the intimacy of a small community where few are strangers to others. Though the village is one I represent, it could have been in scores of other areas of the country, for the involvement, the compassion, the simple courage and determination of the people is characteristic of the best that is in the American people.

Yes, Glen Aubrey could be nearly anywhere in America, but I am very proud it is in the area I represent.

I believe my colleagues will be interested in the article, which follows:

UPSTATE HAMLET'S HEART IS IN VIETNAM

(By Murray Schumach)

GLEN AUBREY, N.Y.—For this hamlet of less than 250 persons the war in Vietnam is very close and very big. Nearly every unmarried male of draft age has been drained from the cluster of homes among these wooded hills, where the only shots are from the guns of deer hunters..

On kitchen walls are marked maps of Vietnam. Women meet at one another's homes to wrap packages for servicemen while their hubands are in factories in Binghamton or Endicott.

Gone are the young men who used to build stock racing cars in Croft's garage; shoot pool at the Octagon Inn; guzzle soft drinks at Holden's, where grocery and post office huddle under the same small roof. Vietnam is as pervasive as the mortgage or the leafless trees.

Eighteen-year-old David Roy Lee, who had just passed his physical, was restless and empty-handed as he walked beside Route 26, the only paved street here, some 20 miles northwest of Binghamton.

"It don't bother me if they call me soon," he said, "I'd just as soon go. Everybody else is in. I can't see holding myself back."

Dennis Ellerson, home on his last leave before he takes off for Vietnam as a mechanic with a helicopter outfit, spends the chill days among the elms, pines, maples and oaks, hoping to get a deer. About Vietnam he speaks in the flat, measured tone of the area. But to this tiny community—it is too small to be a village—it is like the loss of a generation. The impact is made more poignant because the hamlet is so tightly knit the boys in service might as well be from the same family, making the people feel both sad and proud.

SMALL TOWN ADVANTAGES

"It makes everybody closer," says Mrs. Kate Holden, the postmistress. "We all have a common interest. When anything goes wrong people will help out. I know people say that in small towns everyone knows everyone else's business and that's no good. But sometimes it is good."

This community strength emerged when James Dean was hit in the spine by shrapnel while on patrol in Vietnam. Jimmy was born here, as was his younger brother, Ronald. His parents were divorced when he was young and his mother, Helen, had worked in factories in nearby towns. Jimmy, though only 5 feet 8 inches and 145 pounds, was a football star and four-letter man at Whitney Point Central School.

As soon as Mrs. Dean learned her boy had been sent to Walter Reed Hospital, the town began taking up a collection. In one day $600 was taken up so that Mrs. Dean could go to Washington and live near her son for a week.

At Whitney Point Central, the football team was preparing to meet its traditional rival, Sidney. The team dedicated the game to Jimmy, beat Sidney 44–13.

Every man on the team autographed the football and sent it to him, with a note from the coach, Bill Stearns, saying:

"We hope that in some way this ball will help you in your struggle to get back on your feet."

More than 200 letters from the community and from the school poured into Walter Reed within a few days.

NEIGHBORS ON PHONE

Mrs. Dean showed the football and the pile of letters the other night after she returned from work to the little apartment she rents upstairs in an old two-story house. Her other son was in Syracuse, where he was to take his physical. Periodically, the telephone rang and neighbors inquired about Jimmy.

She said: "You don't know what $600 means to the people here. And I can't tell you how much the football and all these letters meant to Jimmy. But people here, they understand what has to be done. Nobody has to ask."

She stopped to turn the football, studying the names.

"There hasn't been one boy here has asked for a deferment," she said. "When it was suggested to me that I ought to ask for a deferment for Ronnie after Jimmie was hit, Ronnie was very angry when I talked to him. He said if his brother went then he should go."

She then said wearily: "I wish sometimes I'd had them five years apart. But you can't help but be proud of them."

The next evening Ronnie was told he would have to come back for another physical. His mother was elated. The youth said: "I don't feel good about this. Jim went, I wanted to go too."

PRIDE OF TOWNSPEOPLE

The stiff pride of the people of this town showed itself in Donald Croft when he was wounded while on maneuvers in Fort Carson, Colorado. A bomb had been left in some brush. The explosion broke bones in his hand. He forbade his parents to go to the hospital.

"What upset him most of all," said his father, Harold, "is when he was saying goodby to all his buddies when they went to Vietnam and he was left behind."

At the home of Bernard and Dorothy Hodges, a tape had been received from their son, Robert, who is in Pleiku. They chuckled as his slow speech brought understated comments about his life.

"I find," said Mrs. Hodges later, "that I'm always reading about Vietnam these days. I don't like it, but I can't keep away."

At the grocery-post office, Judy Brady, the teen-aged sister of Robert, who is in Vietnam, was very reluctant to talk about her brother. He and Jimmy Dean had been very close and had volunteered together.

But she said:

"When Jim was wounded I wrote to my brother and told him about it. He has never mentioned Jimmy since then in letters to me. I know he wrote to Jim in the hospital. His mother told me."

When asked how the departure of so many young men affected the social life of the girls left behind in Glen Aubrey, she replied:

"The boys from here didn't date the girls from here. They used to say they knew us so well it would be like dating your own sister."

No young man is allowed to go off into service without a party. The Saturday before he is due to leave is the night for the celebration at the Octagon Inn. This eight-sided building is supposed to be more than 100 years old and is shrouded in lore. But the ground floor, a few steps down is a bar and restaurant with the pool table.

EVERYONE IS THERE

For the party, the women of the town cook up a gigantic smorgasbord. Tables are pushed off the floor and the juke box becomes the dance band. Even men and women who don't drink and dislike the inn, turn out for this party. Everyone contributes a dollar, and the purse is donated to the departing soldier.

NO APPARENT FEAR

Though Glen Aubrey is known to be strongly Republican, the people here, whether they have sons in service or not, believe President Johnson is right in his Vietnam policy. The subject came up one day when half a dozen women were at the home of Mrs. Edward D. Welch, putting writing paper, gum, magazines, cookies shaped into Christmas trees, candy, nuts, sausages, into packages for the servicemen from Glen Aubrey.

"We don't consider Vietnam a political issue, said one.

Another said: "Whoever's in the White House knows more about this than we do."

A third said: "This is something that just has to be done."

A fourth: "Not many of our boys go to college, but we don't have any who would go to college just to get out of service."

Reservists here seem to have no fear of being called up again. Allen Grow, who was discharged a year ago from Okinawa after two years in the Army, is now in the Reserves. He is now a carpenter.

"If they call me back again," he said. "I couldn't kick. I went once, I could go again. I don't see where we could possibly back out of Vietnam. I'd sure hate to have to have Johnson's decisions."

The night before, the subject of Vietnam had come up at a Bible study and discussion group at the Baptist church, the only church in town. It has a regular congregation of about 70 persons, according to the Rev. Richard I. Slater, pastor of the church. He also drives one of the school buses to Whitney Point Central.

"I don't quite remember how we got around to it," recalled Mr. Slater, "but we wondered if God was letting the United States spend its young manhood in Vietnam as a judgment on our Godlessness."

At Whitney Point Central school, which has an enrollment of 1,967 from kindergarten through high school, the vice principal, Osmer Brooks, who has been there for 30 years tried to appraise the situation at Glen Aubrey.

"They have a very strong sense of community obligation," he said, "even for a small town."

On his desk was a copy of the school's 1966 Year Book, "Maroon and Gold." On the page before the section about sports is a poem selected by the students who edited the book. It was A. E. Houseman's "To an Athlete Dying Young," it reads, in part:

> And silence sounds no worse than cheers
> After earth has stopped the ears.

Dr. Hattie Grossman Receives Highest Award of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation of the Republic of Panama

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, it has been my pleasure to learn that Dr. Hattie Grossman, a distinguished constituent of mine, has been awarded the highest honor of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation of the Republic of Panama—the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross and Diploma. Dr. Grossman was presented with this award for her tireless devotion and effort to promote the ideals of the foundation on January 29 of this year at her home in New York City.

Dr. L. Lester Beacher, deputy American provost and chancellor of Philathea College, London, Ontario, Canada, delivered the invocation and benediction. He acted as master of ceremonies and introduced Dr. Herman A. Bayern, American provost, who made the presentation speech conferring the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross and Diploma on Dr. Grossman, L.H.D.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to the highlights of the proceedings during which Dr. Grossman was so highly honored, including the remarks of Dr. Bayern, the investiture by Dr. Beacher, the acceptance speech of Dr. Grossman, as well as the translation of the diploma from Spanish to English by Dr. Henry Eroesz:

ADDRESS BY DR. HERMAN A. BAYERN, PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL ELOY ALFARO ASSOCIATION, INC.

(A nonprofit New York State membership corporation whose chief aim and purpose is to provide scholarships for qualified students from South America, who the directors of said Association feel will be developed into the future leaders of the Latin American countries)

Dr. Grossman, Judge Paul P. Rao, Dr. Beacher, Dr. Eroese, Baron Von Blomburg, Deputy American Provosts, Ladies and Gentlemen.

We are gathered here this evening, in Testimony, First of our faith in the ideals of American Democracy; Secondly, in our devotion to the cause of universal education and peace as the bulwark of these ideals; and thirdly, because of our confidence in the cooperation of all the peoples of the Western Hemisphere in the preservation of human freedom and peace of all the peoples of the world.

You, Dr. Grossman, have been unanimously voted the highest honor of the Eloy Alfaro Foundation of the Republic of Panama—The Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross and Diploma,

"In recognition of your outstanding service to mankind and in the field of culture and education, as a dedicated private citizen in behalf of all worthy endeavors and causes, too numerous to mention herein; and in further recognition of your untiring and sacrificial efforts toward the establishment of international and universal brotherhood; and finally, because all your merits and accomplishments come squarely within the framework of the aims, ideals, and principles and purposes of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation of the Republic of Panama."

But because many of you may not be fully aware of the background of the Foundation, I would like at this time describe it to you. This Foundation was authorized by Decree issued by the then President of the Republic of Panama, on January 22, 1949, to perpetuate the memory of General Eloy Alfaro, martyred ex-President of Ecuador, a movement which has been devoted to the task of encouraging the study and propagation of the liberal ideals and principles, for which this great Ecuadorean statesman and leader fought during the period of more than half a century ago.

This Foundation, named after the soldier-patriot, statesman, martyr, the former President of Ecuador for two terms, at the turn of the century, is for the perpetuation of justice, truth and friendship among peoples and nations, and serves to promote the moral values, with personal integrity, for which General Alfaro devoted and laid down his life.

President Alfaro, (1842–1912), established in Latin America, many schools, colleges and universities, as well as hospitals and other welfare institutions; and furthered cooperation and unity among the countries of the entire Western Hemisphere. Under his leadership, at a later date, the Congress of Ecuador passed laws separating Church and State.

Whenever there was a threat to the peace in the Western Hemisphere, he was the dynamic leader who brought about the peaceful settlement of such disputes, at the conference table.

General Alfaro sowed the seeds for Pan American understanding and cooperation. In 1907, he called a Peace Conference in Mexico City, in which the United States actively participated, for the purpose of trying to weld together all the Americas, and to preserve for the Western Hemisphere, the Pan American unity of freedom-loving peoples that would be the perpetual harbinger against the attempt of any form of despotism to plant the tyrants' heel on even the tiniest portion of the soil of our Pan American nations, which Dr. Castro and the Soviet Union have actually accomplished in Cuba, 90 miles from the shores of Florida, in violation of the Monroe Doctrine.

Were General Alfaro alive today, he would be a zealous supporter of the work and program of the United Nations, the Organization of the American States, Inter-American Defense Board, and all other agencies created by the United States Government, for the purpose of helping our friends in Latin America to solve their problems, and promote peace for the entire Western Hemisphere. This great Ecuadoran statesman, and dedicated leader would have left no stone unturned to assure, for all the peoples of the world, that hope and peace and good will to all men that is our common heritage, from our Common Creator.

The philosophy of General Alfaro, was based principally on services to his fellow human beings, to education, and to the cause of international peace.

As I officially notified you, the Board of Dignitaries unanimously voted you its honor—the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross and Diploma, in recognition of your selfless devotion to all worthy causes, and because all your activities come within the framework of the aims and purposes of this Foundation, and that is why the Ruling Body of this Foundation grants you, Dr. Grossman.

Among the elite and select group of Americans who have been similarly honored in the past have been the late Presidents, Herbert Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy, the late General of the Armies, Douglas MacArthur, President Lyndon Baines Johnson, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, former President Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower, Speaker of the House of Representatives the Honorable John W. McCormack, F.B.I. Director J. Edgar Hoover, Judge Paul P. Rao, Dr. Marie L. Fetsch, Governor Averell Harriman, Senators Javits, Kennedy, Mansfield and Dirksen, Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, Lieutenant Governor Malcolm Wilson, Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz, Comptroller Arthur Levitt, Speaker of the New York State Assembly Anthony J. Travia, Senators Earl W. Brydges and Joseph Zaretski, Dr. Charles A. Brind, Honorable Charles J. Tobin, Cardinal Francis Spellman, General Manuel J. Asensio, Associate Judges of the New York State Court of Appeals, Keating and Scileppi, and former Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals, the Honorable Albert Conway, who typify the calibre of men and women who heretofore have accepted this high honor from this Foundation.

It now gives me great personal pleasure and it is an honor for me to call on Dr. L. Lester Beacher, Deputy American Provost, Vice Chancellor of Philathea College, Canada, and an outstanding eye specialist who pioneered and developed contact lenses, more than 42 years ago, to carry out the determination of the Board of Dignitaries to invest you, Dr. Grossman, with the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross and Diploma.

Dr. L. Lester Beacher, as Vice Chancellor of Philathea College, Canada, then announced that Dr. Hattie Grossman had been voted the Honorary Degree of Dotcor of Humanities and she would be the Convocation Speaker some time before June, 1967. Dr. Beacher then invoked the "Blessing of Divine Providence on all present and then he prayed that the Lord Bless Dr. Grossman and her family, and keep us all and give us in this generation throughout the world, and our country, peace, forever more. Amen.

Dr. Henry Eroese, Deputy American Provost, well known Art Director, Delegated Representative of the Sovereign order of Saint John of Jerusalem, Knights of Malta, who heretofore several years ago honored Dr. Grossman, with the decoration of this famous and ancient order, translated the Diploma:

TRANSLATION OF DIPLOMA BY DR. HENRY EROESE

As a former recipient of this award, I now will translate from Spanish to English, the Diploma, granted you, Dr. Grossman, by this Foundation.

"Thus One Goes to the Stars" Eloy Alfaro International Foundation. Recognizing the special value of the services rendered by Hattie Grossman, in support of the objectives of this Institution, she has been awarded the Cross of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation.

In witness whereof, this Diploma, with the seal of the Foundation, is presented in the City of Panama, Republic of Panama, on the veinticince de Junio de mil novecientos sesenta of seis."

(Signed by the officers of this Foundation, the three sons of the late Ambassador and Captain Colon Eloy Alfaro, the Grandsons and Sons of Ambassador Alfaro, all graduates of the West Point Academy.)

Mr. Speaker, the acceptance speech of my distinguished constituent, Dr. Hattie Grossman, follows:

Acceptance Speech of Dr. Hattie Grossman

Judge Rao, Dr. Bayern, Dr. Beacher, Dr. Eroesz, Baron von Blumberg, Representatives of the late President Eloy Alfaro, Knights and Dames of Malta, and Honored Guests.

I feel that I have hardly earned such a distinction, in view of the fact that I learned that other recipients were so honored, Presidents, Vice Presidents, Generals of the United States Army, Diplomats, Religious Leaders, and others outstanding humanitarians, including our own Governor of the State of New York, Honorable Nelson A. Rockefeller, and his Eminence, Cardinal Francis Spellman, to name but a few of such outstanding Americans. This is, indeed, breathtaking.

In recognition of this high award, I must offer my heartfelt and deep appreciation to Dr. Herman A. Bayern, the American Provost of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation of the Republic of Panama, and his Deputy American Provosts, for bringing me this inspiring occasion, and I pray that my further efforts will justify this signal honor.

In the course of human events, each of us tries in his or her own way, to do what we can, to make this a better and happier world for all mankind, and, in this respect, I am thankful that God has made me ever conscious of our need to help in any way we can to better conditions for everyone, both in our own beloved country and the rest of the world.

In conclusion—may I quote from the famous bibical words of the wise Koheleth—the son of King David: "Vanity of Vanity—all is Vanity," which he applied to all material things that we gather in life. But of those things that are of the making of the heart and soul—such possessions are truly the gifts of God, which we should ever be proud to display.

If my humble deeds have earned such rewards from you, then I pray the God Lord will spare me for many years to carry on this labor of love. For this award, please accept by abiding thanks.

I am rather proud to join this select and elite company of those distinguished recipients, who have been honored in the past. I shall regard it as an inspiration to accelerate my efforts in carrying out the high ideals and principles of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation of the Republic of Panama.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

Code of Laws of the United States

Title 44, Section 181. Congressional Record; arrangement, style, contents, and indexes.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congressional Record, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional Record semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

Title 44, Section 182b. Same; illustrations, maps, diagrams.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the Record without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily Record as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided*, That the makeup of the Record shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the Record shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the Record issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the Record for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the Record of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the Record shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the Record style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the Record.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent Record is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the Congressional Record.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the Congressional Record shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the Congressional Record, nor to Records printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of theHouse or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional Record which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

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Appendix

Weirton Chapter Establishes West Virginia Professional Engineers Society Record in Observance of National Engineers Week—Theme Is Engineering for the Human Environment—Senator Randolph Speaks on Air and Water Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 24, 1967

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the best attended meeting of the West Virginia Society of Professional Engineers or any of its chapters was sponsored February 21, 1967, by the Weirton chapter in the Millsop Community Center. The dinner meeting, with 360 persons present in observance of National Engineers Week, emphasized the theme of the February 19–25 period, "Engineering for the Human Environment."

The Weirton chapter is comprised of members from 10 industries in the area. They were joined for the event by engineers and officials of 20 additional industries in the Ohio Valley, plus representatives of the cities of Weirton, Wellsburg, Wheeling, Follansbee, and New Cumberland, W. Va., and Toronto and Steubenville, Ohio, as well as the West Virginia Air Pollution Commission, and the West Virginia-Ohio Industry Committee for Air Pollution Abatement.

William M. Smith, president of the Weirton chapter and pollution control engineer for Weirton Steel, was the toastmaster. Among the distinguished guests and participants were George A. Stinson, president of National Steel Corp., of which the Weirton Steel Co. is a major division; John G. Redline, executive vice president of Weirton Steel; J. Hayden Harris, a Weirton Steel vice president; Fred M. Tucker, manager of pollution control services, National Steel Corp.; Mayor Frank Rybka, of Weirton; and Jay E. Henry, of Charleston, president of the West Virginia Society of Professional Engineers.

Special guests were State Agriculture Commissioner Gus Douglas, of Charleston, and Samuel Kusic, of Weirton, members of the West Virginia Air Pollution Control Commission, and Carl Beard, executive of that commission.

Jack Galbraith, plant manager of the Signode Corp. of Weirton, was the chapter's general chairman of its National Engineers Week observances and of the committee for the banquet. A member of the committee was James D. O'Roark, Weirton Steel's manager of engineering service and maintenance, the chapter's "Engineer of the Year" last year. He was succeeded to that title by Edwin J. Smith, director of research and development, National Steel Corp., and a highlight of the meeting was the designation of Mr. Smith, who made an appropriate response when presented. Rev. G. Ousley Brown, D.D., of the Cove United Presbyterian Church, spoke the invocation and the benediction.

It was my privilege and responsibility to discuss national and local problems of air and water pollution and national legislation for their control. Mr. Stinson, president of National Steel Corp., and a cherished friend, introduced me, and also made penetrating remarks on the efforts of his organization to abate pollution with large sums of private investor funds committed to this purpose. Prior to the formal gathering I counseled with Thomas C. Millsop, long a leader in this industry and in community progress, who was unable to attend. I also regret that C. G. Tournay was not able to be present.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD with these remarks the text of my speech, and to insert at an appropriate place in my address a statement by the president of Weirton Steel Co. on its air and stream pollution control facilities since 1951 and its projected facilities.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY U.S. SENATOR JENNINGS RANDOLPH, DEMOCRAT OF WEST VIRGINIA, TO BANQUET-MEETING OF WEIRTON CHAPTER, WEST VIRGINIA SOCIETY OF PROFESSIONAL ENGINEERS, WEIRTON, W. VA., FEBRUARY 21, 1967

It is particularly appropriate that your chapter has Weirton as the site of this meeting to discuss problems of air and water pollution. For this area not only offers the kind of topographical, industrial and meteorological conditions that accentuate the problems of environment pollution; it also presents an example of the kind of modern and enlightened industrial management which will be required to solve the problems of air and water pollution.

Thus, while President Johnson singled out Weirton as one of the critical areas of air pollution, in his recent message on the "Air Quality Act of 1967," it should also have been noted that the Weirton Steel Company has been one of the leaders in the installation of modern pollution abatement facilities for both air and water.

I commend a recent statement by Weirton Steel's President C. G. Tournay in which he said that the company is "aware of the accelerated interest by the public in air and stream pollution control and we are not only continuing but are accelerating our efforts to completely resolve a problem that is of concern to us all." Weirton Steel, he explained, has expended more than $15 million for air and water pollution control devices since 1951 and plans considerable additional capital expenditures to effect total pollution control. I will make available at the conclusion of my remarks, the text of the Weirton Steel statement which I commend.

Those persons who assisted President Johnson in the preparation of his message to Congress on air pollution and influenced his inclusion of the comment concerning Weirton should have consulted Doctor Robert M. White, the administrator of the Environmental Science Services Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce, which includes the Weather Bureau. They and the President would have received pertinent facts from Dr. White. We of the Senate Public Works Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution heard Dr. White testify on February 8 concerning "air lids, otherwise known as air inversion" and concerning "reduced atmospheric ventilation."

We learned from Dr. White that government investigation and records prove that the Appalachian valleys of Pennsylvania and West Virginia—including, of course, the Ohio River Valley—are among the country's worst areas of poor atmospheric ventilation and pollution dilution. Trouble areas, in which the President included Weirton—but did not relate any part of Weirton's problem to atmospheric conditions—usually have peculiar weather difficulties.

Dr. White told us:

"First, the horizontal wind speed is reduced much below its average level and air pollutants are not moved away from their source as quickly as usual. In such light wind conditions the pollutants seldom travel away in a straight line, but often double back on their sources, gradually filling up the area with more and more pollution.

"Second, within these high pressure areas a large mass of air gradually descends, warming as it descends and creating a temperature lid. This lid, or invasion, as we call it technically, is a layer in which the temperature increases with height instead of decreasing, as normal.

"In addition to these large-scale meteorological effects there are local situations, usually created by major topographic features such as mountains, that can reduce the average ventilation or dilution of an area. The best known of these is probably southern California. The San Joaquin Valley in California and the Appalachian Valleys of Pennsylvania and West Virginia are other examples.

"Through studies of the winds, inversion frequency, and the movement of high-pressure centers, a general picture of the atmospheric ventilation potential of the United States is beginning to emerge. Qualitatively, the zones of reduced atmospheric ventilation are in the eastern part of the country during the fall, and the reduction in the western part occurs in the winter. Areas of the greatest persistency of these conditions are southern California and Appalachia."

So, our air pollution problems in this areas and almost all of the Ohio Valley, as well as those of the Kanawha Valley, are vastly complicated by atmospheric conditions. Our pollution control and abatement efforts are more difficult and more costly in the valleys of Appalachia than many of us realized.

The Ohio Valley mirrors the challenge which we face in the Nation at large—the same forces which have brought our Nation to its present unparelleled economic and industrial strength now threaten the quality of life which this strength has made possible.

This fact was dramatically pointed up in recent hearings before our Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution by Dr. Ivan L. Bennett, Deputy Director of the Office of Science and Technology, Executive Office of the President, when he stated that "The existence of man and of all the biological universe, the so-called biosphere, which sustains his life and makes it pleasant by bringing delight to his mind and his senses, is threatened as never before in history."

Because of the great bounty of this land of ours, we have been slow in realizing that our natural resources are not unlimited. It was not until the settlement of the free lands of the West that we began as a Nation to think seriously about the conservation of our land resources under the administration of President Theodore Roosevelt.

Similarly, with the great industrialization and urban expansion of World War II and the decade following, we began to realize that our rivers and streams were limited in their capacity to carry the wastes of our civilization. Now, after some two decades during which the signs have been ever more evident, we have come to realize that even the air around us has passed the limit of its capacity to cleanse itself of the by-products of urban-industrial civilization. Thus, air itself, the most essential of our natural resources, must be utilized with efficiency and conserved with prudence.

Tonight, I shall discuss some of the conclusions which the Congress has reached with regard to the problems of air and water pollution and some of the areas of further inquiry in which we are now engaged.

WATER POLLUTION

The Water Quality Act of 1965—adopted after two and a half years of Congressional effort—represented one of the major steps in a national effort to face the challenge of limited water resources.

Prior to enactment of this legislation, our primary concern was with the reparation of past damage and deterring the advance of pollution. In 1965, however, we turned the corner—to face tomorrow's needs as well as today's crises.

That Act was not the final answer to the problem. But it did provide us with two important instruments for the establishment and implementation of a national water policy: first, it created the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration directly responsible to a Cabinet level Secretary—now the Secretary of the Interior—and armed the new agency with the mandate to consider all aspects of water pollution control and abatement; secondly, the Act of 1965 provided for the establishment of water quality standards, designed to stimulate cooperative Federal-State and local water resource planning, and directed at the improvement as well as the repair of water quality.

I emphasize that the Congress did *not* authorize a *national* standard of water quality. It authorized a national *policy* of water quality enhancement, based on local and regional water uses, with the provision that the States be given the opportunity to develop standards based on the application of scientifically established criteria.

In order to strengthen Federal participation in the pollution abatement effort and to stimulate our States and cities, the Congress last year enacted legislation which will greatly expand the Federal financial commitment to water pollution control.

The Water Quality Amendments of 1966, which were enacted unanimously by both bodies of the Congress, authorize $3.4 billion in Federal funds over the next four years for the assistance of municipalities in the construction of sewage treatment facilities. It represents a major advance in the field of water pollution control.

In addition, the legislation last year authorized $50 million for a demonstration program of 50 percent Federal grants for the construction of joint municipal-industrial treatment facilities. It is our hope that this demonstration program will provide some guidelines for Federal assistance to industry in this field.

This brings me to one of the areas of continuing concern of the Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution, chaired by the able Senator from Maine (Mr. Muskie). I refer to the question of financial incentives and their relationship to effective and efficient investment in plant and equipment. This is a complex area, because it involves the relationship of the technology of in-process treatment, the relative merits of enforcement versus effluent fees or other "dis-incentives," and the amount and type of public contributions considered appropriate for private enterprise.

There is, I believe, some difference of opinion on this question between officials of the Administration and many of us in the Congress. Our committee report last year strongly urged that attention be given to the issue of investment incentives for both air and water pollution abatement facilities. I am a cosponsor this year of three bills in the Senate which would provide several alternatives of accelerated depreciation or tax credits. There are task forces in both the Department of HEW and the Department of the Interior studying the problem, and I have urged that the Administration come up with recommendations this year.

AIR POLLUTION

Air pollution, in many respects, presents a more complex and more critical problem than does water pollution. For we have the same relationship to air that a fish has to water. Though we can avoid the pollution of a stream, a fish cannot. By the same token—unless we wear gas masks—we cannot avoid the pollution of the air around us. And there is no known or foreseen method which is technically and economically feasible to wash or cleanse the ambient air once it has become polluted. Obviously, we must control air pollution by controlling it at the source of emissions.

We gain some measure of the scope of the problem when it is noted, according to a recent report of the National Academy of Sciences that the emission of principal pollutants to the atmosphere over the United States totals approximately 125 million tons annually. But this figure offers no indication of the complexities created by local variations, the technological problems of controlling certain types of emissions, or the difficulties created by established patterns of activity in transportation, industry and energy production that involve huge amounts of capital and important segments of our economy.

The possibilities of disruptions in industry and dislocations of the economy must not be taken lightly. And despite the severity of the problem, we know that action on the scale required will not be accomplished unless incentives are made available and sanctions are used wisely.

To date, our goals have been limited. We have concentrated on individual pollutants, their weights, their amounts, and their observable effect. There have been developed specific emisison standards to control individual sources of contamination. Ordinances have been passed to reduce smoke. Abatement action has been taken against specific pollutors. These were necessary steps, but they are not sufficient even to keep pace with pollution, much less to improve the quality of our air. We must direct our attention to the concept of air quality.

We must also refine our concept of acceptable health standards to eliminate not only those conditions which are reflected in the dramatic increase of hospital admissions during pollution emergencies. We must look also at the gradual erosion of health due to the daily exposure to pollutants at less-than-critical levels. Although we will never have the kind of certainty of knowledge developed in the controlled conditions of the laboratory, we now have sufficient knowledge as a basis for the establishment of public policy and guidelines for action.

The proposed Air Quality Act of 1967, now pending before the Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution, would authorize the establishment of emission control levels for those industries which are nationally significant sources of air pollution. Such standards must, of course, be applied with an understanding of the technological and economic problems involved. But national emission standards are, I believe, essential, not only to insure the desired ambient air quality, but also to insure equal competition among plants within the same industry and to prevent States from soliciting new industries by inadequate or non-existent State pollution abatement standards.

The Air Quality Act of 1967 also recommends the establishment of Regional Air Quality Commissions for pollution abatement in interstate regions. There are some 70 large interstate metropolitan areas where such problems exist.

In this connection, it is factual to comment that on December 20, 1966—more than a month prior to the President's air pollution message to the Congress—significant meetings were held in Parkersburg, West Virginia, and Steubenville, Ohio, under the auspices of the Ohio-West Virginia Industry Committee on Air Pollution Abatement.

The group includes representatives of 34 major industries with plants on both sides of the Ohio River from East Liverpool, Ohio, to Huntington, West Virginia. It was announced at the December 20 meetings that the group would propose to the Ohio and West Virginia Legislatures measures authorizing the creation of an Ohio-West Virginia Air Pollution Abatement Compact—an interstate agreement. The chairman, your own Fred E. Tucker of Weirton, said the compact was drafted in accordance with the intent of Congress and the provisions of the Federal Clean Air Act. The legislation has been introduced in the Legislatures both at Charleston and in Columbus and is pending there.

In a telegram to Chairman Tucker on December 18, 1966, I commended the committee, its actions, and its proposals for interstate Compact legislation. I noted, however, that the legislature must be free to work its will on such Compact measure, both as to form and content. And I said that I will be among sponsors in Congress for legisation to sanction such an interstate compact if the legislatures of Ohio and West Virginia agree on it. I do not share the pessimistic views of some of my colleagues on the value of compacts between the states.

I hope that the legislatures of West Virginia and Ohio will ratify an effective compact. But if they do so this year, it will be only the second interstate air pollution compact to come to the Congress since the Clean Air Act of 1963. In conjunction with our hearings on the Air Quality Act of 1967, our committee will therefore, explore not only the concept of the regional air quality commission, but other institutional devices which might offer prospects for more effective control of interstate problems.

Monumental as the task is of achieving improved air quality, we have the actual or potential technological and economic resources to do the job. We are, I believe, at the point of several significant and exciting technological breakthroughs, and I am confident that many others lie just beyond the horizon if we mobilize our resources for this purpose.

I have in mind, for example, pilot programs which are now going forward on the liquefaction of high-sulfur coal, in which a fuel oil is produced with no sulfur content, a coal char with seven-tenths of one percent sulfur content, and the sulfur is recaptured for commercial purposes. Though experts differ at the present time concerning the economic feasibility of the process, it seems likely that it is only a matter of time before such questions are resolved.

In the field of auto exhaust pollution, Secretary of HEW Gardner, recently promulgated standards for the control of evaporative hydro-carbons only a few weeks after a feasible device was demonstrated by a major oil research firm.

More recently, during our subcommittee's field hearings last week in Los Angeles, we were given a demonstration of what appears to be the first feasible device for the control of nitrous oxides. Such advances will, I believe, be forthcoming with increasing frequency as we gain momentum in the field of pollution abatement.

This is, of course, a field in which your society and professional engineering in general have a place of preeminent importance. The challenge of improving the quality of our urban-industrial environment is one of the truly important tasks of our time. It should enlist our best resources of intellect and imagination, for the quality of life on this planet is at least as important as determining what lies on the far side of the moon.

Scientists and engineers, more than any other professions, are responsible for the great strides in technological development that we have experienced in recent decades. It now rests primarily with your professions to help augment the state of the art to improve the quality of our environment—and thus the quality of life which will give meaning to the advancement of technology.

Statement Released Saturday, February 11, 1967, by Weirton Steel Co., Division of National Steel Corp., Weirton, W. Va., Concerning Its Air and Stream Pollution Control Facilities Since 1951 and Its Projections

Weirton Steel Division of the National Steel Corporation has spent approximately $15 million on air and stream pollution control facilities since 1951, it was announced today by C. G. Tournay, President. He added that "considerable additional expenditures will be made in order to effect total pollution control."

"Even prior to 1951," he said, "Weirton Steel Division had begun a systematic step-by-step program of pollution control, and since that time the program has advanced as rapidly as technological development of control equipment would permit."

The latest control facilities to be installed at Weirton are on the "Mill of the Future" which is scheduled for start-up later this year and will combine basic oxygen furnaces, vacuum degassing and continuous casting.

Effluent from the basic oxygen furnaces will be removed in a wet scrubber, resulting in a clean stack on the operation which will meet all existing control requirements. Over 50 million gallons of water per day will be required to operate this mill. Ninety percent of the water will be recirculated through a complex filtering and clarifying system. As a result, water returned to the Ohio River will meet the most stringent requirements for water quality.

Another important step in the Weirton Steel program was taken nearly two years ago when the huge electrostatic precipitator was placed in operation on the No. 13 and No. 14 open hearth furnaces. The unit removes effluent from discharges of the furnaces by means of electrically charged plates, cleaning 7,500 tons of air per day.

The precipitator was first activated on April 30, 1965 by U.S. Senator Jennings Randolph of West Virginia who, on the occasion, stated: "If all industrial management officials were as progressive and as civic minded as are those of the Weirton Steel, and if all state and local officials were as conscious of their responsibilities in the field of pollution control as are those now serving in West Virginia, the Congress would perhaps not need to act on Federal standards for air and water quality.

"As legislators," Senator Randolph continued, "we must recognize that these large expenditures for cleaning our air and water and for the beautification of America do not result in any financial return to industry. On the contrary, they result in substantial costs."

The combination of the precipitator in the open hearth and the wet scrubber on the basic oxygen furnaces in the "Mill of the Future" will eliminate by the end of this year in Weirton the plumes of brown smoke referred to in President Johnson's air pollution message on January 30.

Mr. Tournay commented that "installation of the massive, non-productive pollution control facilities has been done on a voluntary basis in cooperation with local and state governments."

He added that "air and stream pollution control is not limited just to the operations that produce brown plumes of smoke, but touches virtually all operations in the steel-making process."

In the coke plant, he said, phenol discharges are controlled by the most advanced phenol recovery plant in the industry. The phenols, if permitted to enter the Ohio River, would be a potential cause of a medicinal taste in drinking water. Also in the coke plant, all 294 coke ovens have been equipped with knife-edge self-sealing doors to reduce black smoke.

At the blast furnace department, all four furnaces have been equipped with a complex system of dust control including dust catchers, gas washers, precipitators and Venturi scrubbers. Water from these installations is transferred to two large clarifyers where the solids are removed before the water is discharged to the Ohio River.

The company has installed rotoclones, cyclones and a chemically-treated wet water system in the sinter plant to reduce dust emissions.

At the Strip Steel Department, all continuous pickling lines have been equipped with wet scrubbers to completely eliminate acid mist. The waste acid produced by these lines is collected and hauled to lagoons where it is neutralized and contained. This installation alone has an operating cost of more than $1,500 per day.

In the Strip Steel tandem mills, construction has been completed on a highly complex oil recovery and water purification system in which waste oil, after repeated use on the mills, is pumped to a new oil recovery plant where oil is reclaimed and reused in company operations.

Similar controls for acid mist elimination, oil recovery, and the recirculation and containment of chemical waste are also in operation in the Sheet Mill and Tin Mill departments.

In addition to these in-plant controls, facilities have also been provided for stream pollution control at the coal preparation plant. Here water is constantly recirculated and cleaned for reuse at the plant and no discharge of "black water" is permitted from the operation.

Mr. Tournay said these facilities are only a portion of the total equipment installed by Weirton Steel to control air and stream pollution.

"Pollution control," Mr. Tourney added, "is not a new problem at Weirton Steel. The company has realistically faced the problem for more than 20 years and has made steady progress with its step-by-step program.

"We are aware of the accelerated interest by the public in the problems of air and stream pollution control, and we are not only continuing but are accelerating our efforts to completely resolve a problem that is of concern to us all."

Interstate Raid Proves Need for Nationwide Coordination of Fight Against Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, recent disclosures that the Department of Justice has begun a nationwide attack upon the kingpins of organized crime in the United States should bring cheers from all Americans.

It has long been apparent that no single State's efforts are sufficient to crack down on these overlords of crime whose strength and mobility seems to grow daily.

Only by the announced plan to create a flying squad of investigative experts from the FBI, the Internal Revenue Service, the Bureau of Narcotics and the Labor Department, under the overall supervision of the Justice Department's Organized Crime Section, can we hope to bridge the barriers of State lines in our fight against the underworld.

It is interesting to note that steps in this direction were taken by the District Attorney in Queens County, N.Y., last year, when these same Federal agencies worked with his investigators and assistants to help carry forward a wide-ranging investigation of organized crime.

On February 23, 1967, the Long Island Press published a story disclosing how District Attorney William Cahn, of Nassau County, N.Y., joined Florida authorities in a raid on a large North Miami bookmaking operation.

As further evidence of the effectiveness of coordination between the States in the battle against crime, I offer the Long Island Press account of this joint operation:

Long Island DA Leads Miami Raid on Bookies

Miami.—Nassau Dist. Atty. William Cahn led Miami authorities last night in a raid on a $100-million-a-year bookmaking operation here.

The raiding party confiscated records showing that $250,000 in "layoff" bets were taken over the telephone in a one-hour period before police broke into a plush North Miami home.

Arrested was Martin Kane, described as the Miami area's kingpin bookie and a top lieutenant of Gil (The Brain) Beckley, who was arrested earlier this month in New York in a Cahn-directed bookmaking roundup.

The raiding party included Cahn, Dade County State Atty. Richard Gerstein and Norman Levy, Nassau County assistant district attorney in charge of the rackets bureau.

The men were armed with a search warrant obtained in Miami as a result of information given to Gerstein by Cahn.

Cahn flew to Miami Monday to present evidence to Gerstein uncovered in an investigation which led to the arrest of nine other alleged members of the ring in the metropolitan New York area about two weeks ago.

The ring's headquarters allegedly were in Long Beach.

Kane was booked at Dade County Jail on charges of bookmaking and operating a gambling establishment. Bail was not immediately.

The officers said Kane's wife and three children were in the home during the raid, and that Mrs. Kane shouted "28" into an intercom when she opened the front door and found officers there.

* * * * *

The officers broke down a door in the home and found Kane attempting to flush betting slips down a toilet, authorities said. Betting records and an extensive rotary telephone system were confiscated.

Cahn described the raid as a "vital step" in breaking up the ring, which he said handled "layoff" bets for other bookies in order to spread the risk and avoid heavy betting losses. He said he plans to confer with district attorneys in several other cities, and that New Orleans is next on his agenda.

Cahn said when the New York arrests were made, that his evidence included a winning bet made by a well-known college football coach on his own team through one of the bookmakers. He refused to identify the coach, but said he came to Miami because the bet was made here.

Concern for the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I have before me a letter from Rev. Joseph P. DuBose, Jr., which I find very impressive.

Reverend DuBose is pastor of the East Hill Baptist Church in Pensacola, and I know of his very fine work for his charge and his country.

His letter shows the type of interest in government which is so badly needed throughout our country today. I am very pleased to submit it for reprinting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

EAST HILL BAPTIST CHURCH,
Pensacola, Fla., February 12, 1967.

Hon. ROBERT L. F. SIKES,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: As a citizen of this great nation and a veteran of World War II, I am greatly concerned about several Supreme Court decisions. Likewise, as a minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, responsible for a book membership of 2200 people, I need some factual answers for the flock under my care; therefore, I am turning to you, a responsible leader, for the answers. I respectfully request you to answer the following questions, in view of the recent Supreme Court ruling, and please grant me an early reply. Reference is made to that ruling as defined in the Times and Democrat newspaper, January 24, 1967, Orangeburg, South Carolina, as herein quoted:

"WASHINGTON.—The Supreme Court ruled Monday New York State may not fire public school teachers—or any other civil servants—solely because they are members of the Communist Party."

This ruling sets a precedent which alarms me, both as a citizen and as a veteran of World War II! Incidentally, Paul Harvey and the U.S. News & World Report, February 6, 1967, page 8, likewise reported the stated decision.

My questions are as follows:

1. In view of the known fact that just a year ago we were told the Communist objective was to infiltrate our colleges and universities, why then has the Supreme Court, through its ruling, opened the door for them? How is the American educational system to be protected from Communist infiltration?

2. College young people are generally influenced by their professors. I have three degrees and have attended three colleges and one seminary, and I know where of I speak! The Communist professor who will teach either high school or college students will make every effort to bend them toward communism.

I have no objection, as a citizen or a minister, to the teaching of communism in our schools as a subject, if it is taught by impartial and dedicated American teachers whose objective will be to acquaint the students with other types of government but not "convert them into Reds"!

You speak of academic freedom; pray tell, what kind of academic freedom will future generations have if these professors in our centers of "brain-power-potential" convert sufficient students to their "Communist way of life"?

3. Inasmuch as we know that wherever communism goes it divides nations, i.e. Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, Berlin, etc., why in Heaven's name—after the youth problem in California at Berkeley—does the Supreme Court make it possible for a repeat performance throughout the U.S.A.? Why open up the possibility of dividing the loyalty of our youth further when there is already enough of that as illustrated in the "Berkeley College affair" and in the Canada Draft Dodge traffic?

4. Since we know from history, experience, and Communist literature that communism is bent on world domination which is communism, why offer them through this decision an additional foothold on this continent and in the United States—of all places—in our institutions of learning where we are framing future leaders? A beachhead has already been established in Cuba, resulting in reported trouble in South America because of that base of Communist operation.

5. Is it nothing that our own flesh and blood are dying to overcome in Vietnam what the Supreme Court is permitting to be propagated in their homeland, namely, a Communist takeover beginning in the field of learning?

"A U.S. spokesman said 6,978 have been killed in action in Vietnam and another 1,564 have died from non-hostile causes.

"Another 39,997 have been wounded and 485 Americans are listed as missing or captured." (The Pensacola Journal, Pensacola, Florida, January 27, 1967.)

Do these facts mean nothing to you when you talk of academic freedom?

"The spokesman said in the week ending Saturday (January 21, 1967) 844 Americans were killed, wounded or captured. He said 123 were killed in action, 716 others wounded and five listed as missing or captured." (The Pensacola Journal, Pensacola, Florida, January 27, 1967.)

6. Are there no limits to freedom? I am free, but not free to run the stop signs or stoplights, nor am I free to enter legally into your home without an invitation or your permission!

7. In view of what we know about communism, will the Supreme Court decision lessen or increase the progress of communism in "the land of the free and the home of the brave"?

8. The decision was 5–4; is it democratic to impose on 200 million people a decision carried by a one man majority?

9. What would be the proper channel for the people of this nation to appeal the decision? Have we lost "the check and balance system of government" so proudly taught by history and civics teachers of bygone days?

10. Can it be that tax-paying citizens are denied the right of self-preservation?

11. On the basis of the reported injustices reported in the "Congressional Record, Senate", January 25, 1967, pp. S897–S906, resulting from the Miranda Decision, and having made this decision making possible a Communist takeover in the field of learning, is the strength of this great nation not being destroyed?

I realize that your high position and weighty responsibilities are beyond comprehension; nevertheless, I would not want to see our nation repeat some of the mistakes of history. It has been said, "If we do not profit by the experiences of history, we will repeat the errors of history."

Again, I would appreciate a response to this letter so as to alleviate some of the fears of our people. In keeping with Paul's instructions to Timothy in I Timothy 2: 1–2, this congregation will remember you in its prayers as you seek to perform your duty under God on behalf of the citizens.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH P. DUBOSE, Jr.

My Privileges as an American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, last fall I had the distinct privilege of participating in the annual essay contest conducted by the Albany, Oreg., Veterans Day Committee. One of the features of that contest was the public reading of the winning essays from the various high schools in the area. It was my pleasure to read "My Privileges as an American," by Miss Susan McLain, a junior at Central Linn High School.

There have been published reports throughout the United States that a growing number of our young people are not aware of the values represented in our constitutional protections. I feel that Miss McLain has eloquently written for those who are aware of those values, who know how difficult it was to achieve them, and how important it is to protect them in the future. She, and others like her, will be careful custodians of America's tradition of individual liberty.

I am pleased to have Miss McLain's essay placed in the RECORD at this point:

MY PRIVILEGES AS AN AMERICAN

(By Susan McLain, Central Linn High School, 11th Grade)

The other night I had a dream, not really a dream but a nightmare. Although the details aren't vivid, I will try and relate the story to you. Our family and people we know were in a city (it seemed like tall, dark factories loomed all around) attending a church. All of a sudden the doors burst open and about 12 soldiers in dull, gray suits marched in and seized everyone. I was in the nightmare land of a dictatorship country, where freedom of religion is not a privilege and where even a minute offense is considered a major crime. I can sense the terror now that struck my heart as I saw our family and friends being separated and loaded on busses to be taken away. Although it was only a dream, I've never had such a great fear as that night when I could actually feel my freedoms being taken away. This terror was something new to me. People I thought were my friends spied on me and I couldn't trust anybody. I was always terrified when

I saw "the soldiers." In just a dream I sensed all these feelings—feelings of having no freedom or privileges at all, feelings that I will never have to actually have in the country in which I live, America, land of freedom and opportunity.

I am happy I live in America and am able to enjoy the rights and privileges that I do. I feel the most important of our privileges is freedom of religion. Over half of the original thirteen colonies were founded on the principle that men should be able to worship as they see fit. Religion has been the actual basis for our country and will continue to be the foundation as long as our country is a democracy.

Another important privilege I enjoy as an American is freedom of speech. We as people can have a say in our government and how it is run. We can participate in government affairs by voicing our opinions or beliefs. We can also praise government officials for their accomplishments or criticize them when we feel they have made bad decisions.

A third privilege I have is freedom of the press. This benefits me as a student because I can read different articles and books that other people have written and I am able to base my own opinions on pertinent issues of today. This right of American people is one of the first privileges we were able to enjoy when our country was founded. Long before our actual government was set up, the right of free press was enacted. This is also one of the "privilege stepping stones" that will eventually lead me to be a responsible citizen of the United States.

My right to vote is a privilege I am looking forward to. Many people in our country abuse this privilege and take it for granted. They do not realize that this right had to be won and should never be taken lightly. Being able to vote is another way in which I can have an actual say in government affairs.

One of the other great benefits I am able to participate in, is the right to get a education. I can choose any field of schooling I wish and pursue it to my satisfaction. After getting this education I can choose a vocation to my liking and fulfill my potential in this career.

I have the right to join a political party of my choice and participate in its activities. I can campaign freely for any candidate who meets my own requirements.

We also have the right to trial by jury. Although I hope I never have to use this privilege, it is always there in case I do. This right helped set up our government laws and made them more just and unprejudiced.

I enjoy the benefits of our modern America, the medical developments, communication advancements, and transportation improvements. I can keep up to date on the current events and cultures of our day, and I can better prepare myself for the time when I will be a mature citizen of the United States of America.

Truly the privileges and rights I have as an American today are numerous, unique and diversified, but my greatest privilege is to *Be* an American.

The 49th Anniversary of Estonian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. MESKILL

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. MESKILL. Mr. Speaker, February is a particularly meaningful month for Americans—we celebrate the birthday of our Founding Father, George Washington, and the man who preserved our Union, Abraham Lincoln. It is also a historically important month for Estonians who celebrate the 49th anniversary of their independence today.

But unlike us, our Baltic neighbors must celebrate this national holiday with a heaviness of heart, for their homeland is once more under the domination of an oppressive foreign power. The Nazi occupation of World War II brought to a close the 21 years of independence enjoyed by Estonia and set the stage for an equally heavy domination by the Soviet Union which exists to this day.

During their all too brief taste of freedom, Estonians demonstrated their ability to govern themselves in the finest democratic tradition. Therefore, today, let us join in a solemn pledge to support their quest for self-determination by continuing in a strong refusal to recognize the incorporation of Estonia and the other Baltic States into the Soviet Union.

It Is Time for the Treasury To Take a Stand Against Municipal Industrial Development Bond Financing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, by coincidence yesterday, February 23, as the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Stanley S. Surrey, was speaking to the Federal Bar Association here in Washington on the evils of States and localities using their privilege to issue tax-exempt bonds to subsidize private industries, the city of Middletown, Ohio, was preparing to issue the largest municipal industrial bond issue ever, $82,500,000, to subsidize the Armco Steel Corp. This single bond issue represents nearly one-sixth of the 1966 total of all municipal industrial bond issues recorded by the Investment Bankers Association.

The recordbreaking Armco Steel Corporation municipal industrial bond issue graphically illustrates the remarks of Assistant Secretary Surrey that—

> More and more this practice is being used by financially strong corporations that are fully able to obtain funds through normal channels.

Armco Steel Corp. is listed on the New York Stock Exchange.

The huge bond issue also nicely illustrates another feature of the growing abuse of the tax-exempt privilege. It is being issued by Middletown, Ohio, a prosperous, already-industrialized community. The bond issue in no way benefits an underdeveloped area.

Assistant Secretary Surrey's disapproving remarks follow by 8 months similar remarks by Treasury Secretary Fowler. Nevertheless, no Treasury action has been taken to forestall the continued growth of municipal industrial development bond issues—giant or otherwise. We in Congress, who have introduced bills to end this abuse, continue to await a Treasury report on our bills. No report has been forthcoming in the past 2 years.

There follows excerpts from Mr. Surrey's speech in which he discusses municipal industrial development bonds, and from an article in the February 23 issue of the Daily Bond Buyer which describes the Middletown municipal industrial bond issue.

EXCERPT FROM REMARKS BY HON. STANLEY S. SURREY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, BEFORE THE FEDERAL BAR ASSOCIATION, BUREAU OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS CONFERENCE ON TAXATION OF AFFILIATED CORPORATE GROUPS, MAYFLOWER HOTEL, FEBRUARY 23, 1967

I would like first to mention the tax-exempt industrial development bonds issued generally by local governments or agencies. These are rapidly growing in number and amount—in 1960, $41 million were issued while in 1966 the issues appear to top a half billion. Since 1963 the total outstanding has more than doubled. Since the prime security, indeed usually the only security, behind these bonds are revenues derived by the issuing local agency from the sale or lease by it of a plant or other industrial facility to a private corporation, the bonds are sold on the credit of that corporation. The rents for the plant or the yearly installments of the sales priced are fixed to meet interest payments by the issuing agency and amortization of the principal of the bonds. The corporation is thus borrowing from the public but the red seal of the local issuing agency stamped upon the bonds imparts to it a tax exemption for the interest. As a result, the interest rate obtained by the corporation will be below the market rate that would otherwise apply. More and more this practice is being used by financially strong corporations that are fully able to obtain funds through normal channels. Their turning, however, to these industrial development bonds makes them accomplices with the local issuing agencies in an arrangement that distorts the tax-exemption privilege and forces the Federal tax system improperly to support their financing. Indeed, the position of accomplice is often forced upon the local agency under the threat of locating the plant elsewhere. This is a far cry from the original use of these bonds for corporations willing to enter areas of high unemployment but lacking capital of their own, a situation close to those in which financial assistance is now granted by the Economic Development Administration.

As the 1967 Report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers states:

"Through the use of these (industrial development) bonds, localities have passed to private industries the benefit of the exemption of their interest from Federal tax, in many cases without assuming any real obligation for repayment of the bonds. This questionable practice is becoming increasingly widespread, and the lack of any obligation by the locality authorizing the bonds permits proliferation without limit. The use of the Federal tax code in this fashion is inefficient and inappropriate."

One wonders at the lack of self-restraint on the part of the corporations and localities here involved. Clearly, the rapid spread of this practice as other States and localities must unwillingly adopt it in self-defense can only end in a chaotic situation that will hamper the financing of the genuine needs of State and local governments. If all localities were to use these bonds they would both weaken the market for their traditional tax-exempt issues and also fail in their original purpose to influence plant location. Indeed, a lower interest cost for their financing will simply become a fringe benefit for corporations no matter where they locate.

[From the Daily Bond Buyer, Feb. 23, 1967]

MIDDLETOWN ISSUE

In Ohio, the city of Middletown issued $82,500,000 of industrial building revenue bonds in behalf of the Armco Steel Corporation, whose lease payments to the city on the industrial building being financed are the pledged security for the bonds.

The Middletown bonds were sold by negotiation to Eastman Dillon, Union Securities & Co., and associates at an interest cost of 4.54 per cent. Reoffering for public subscription was made of $34,655,000 serial bonds at yield scaled from 4.10 per cent in 1970 to 4.35 per cent in 1978. The balance of $47,845,000 term bonds are due in 1992 and are priced to yield 4.50 per cent.

Proposal To End the Gold Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, my good friend, Simeon H. F. Goldstein, author, civic worker, student of finance, and real estate broker, has his office in my district. He has lately given thought to our gold crisis and as a New York City dweller looked into a question which normally concerns those in the gold mining States.

His conclusions on the subject, as reported in the Commercial and Financial Chronicle, is entitled "Goodby to Gold Crises," and I believe they deserve serious consideration by my colleagues. I include the article in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

GOODBY TO GOLD CRISES

(Proposal of modified subsidization of the gold mining industry is advanced to restore confidence in currency which the author claims could not be achieved by creation of a new monetary unit or system, or by outright devaluation. Mr. Goldstein explains how his proposals differ from, and are superior to, the Canadian Subsidy plan and to other measures of monetary reform.)

(By Simeon H. F. Goldstein)

There have been few times since World War II during which the free world did not face either of two great difficulties. During the earlier post-war period, there was a dollar shortage in most countries outside of the United States. In recent years, on the other hand, the U.S. has faced an almost continuous loss of gold.

What dreary alternatives these two conditions have been!

A dollar shortage inhibits international trade, and creates poverty, resentment, revolution and international wars (except that it may be ameliorated by foreign aid).

The loss of gold is a condition which cannot continue indefinitely without irreparable harm to our own economy. Moreover, the major steps taken to meet this crisis involve a sacrifice of important long-term objectives (because of the immediate urgency of the problem). Thus, while constraints, including the "Interest Equalization Tax", and the limitations on foreign lending by U.S. banks, save much gold today, they do so at the expense of reduced interest income tomorrow. Similarly, our government's request that U.S. corporations finance their overseas capital requirements by borrowing abroad, necessarily means higher future interest outgo (or dividend payments to foreigners by overseas subsidiaries).

The attempt to reduce our gold loss has also involved the adoption of domestic measures which many people would oppose were it not for the crisis, such as relatively high short-term interest rate sand various forms of discrimination against foreign suppliers of goods and services.

Besides all these points, it should be noted that every measure which reduces our gold outflow simultaneously reduces the supply of dollars available to other countries.

Devaluation of the dollar, or raising the prise of gold which is the same thing, have been rejected by our government and by most students of the problem for excellent reasons which need not be repeated here.

Yet, the amount paid to the gold producers is a key factor in the problem. In our economy, whether it be in the free sector or in the governmentally managed sector, a rise in price almost always results in greater production and is normally the mechanism by which output is stimulated. Conversely, (with certain short-term exceptions, as in agriculture) a failure of prices to rise when production costs go up usually results in lessened production.

We cannot expect the supply of gold to increase adequately when we fail to increase the return to gold producers in line with changing costs.

I submit that a general rise in the price of gold is not the only method of increasing the return to the mining industry.

DIFFERS FROM CANADIAN PLAN

I propose a limited and modified form of subsidy, for increases in gold production. It would differ, in very significant respects, from the typical commodity subsidy, and would bear little resemblance to the plan now used by Canada for its gold mining industry.

I suggest that Congress appropriate some particular sum as the total subsidy for increased gold production.

Anyone owning or controlling land in the U.S. or in its possessions, from which gold can be extracted, could submit a bid for a portion of the subsidy. The bid would involve an offer to produce a given quantity of gold from land which did not produce gold subsequent to some cut-off date, or an offer to produce an additional quantity above that produced during some recent period—in return for a subsidy per ounce specified by the bidder. The lowest bidders (subject to limitations outlined below) would receive contracts.

Let us assume that the amount of the subsidy is to be $50,000,000. I use these figures merely for illustrative purposes. Let us further assume that the bids line up as follows:

Number of ounces	Subsidy per ounce	Amount of subsidy
1,000,000	$5	$5,000,000
2,000,000	6	12,000,000
3,000,000	7	21,000,000
4,000,000	8	32,000,000
5,000,000	9	45,000,000

The three lowest bidders, between them, would absorb $38,000,000 of the subsidy, and would receive contracts for the entire amount which they propose. The fourth bidder would receive a contract for 1,500,000 ounces at $8 subsidy per ounce.

Bids would probably be received, among other sources, from mines in Alaska and in our Western states, which were shut down, not because they lacked gold, but because it was uneconomical to produce it at $35 per ounce. Perhaps they would also come from abandoned placer workings.

Bidders should be permitted to stagger production over a number of years, subject to some maximum period to be announced in advance. This would greatly reduce their costs. Among the reasons for this are the fact that less machinery needs to be installed, and less housing and community facilities need to be provided for the workers, if the job can be spread over a longer time.

Producers should be permitted to depreciate the entire capital investment required for this extra production, over the period which it is produced.

It might also be provided that no one group could receive more than a certain percentage of the total subsidy. This would lessen the impact on the program of an accident or a labor dispute which might cause a shut-down of an individual producer. It would also avoid encouraging monopoly.

WHERE IT DIFFERS

This plan differs from the typical governmental subsidy, because of a number of features which are designed to foster the maximum amount of additional production for the taxpayers' dollar.

First, the subsidy would be limited to increases in production.

Secondly, the amount of subsidy would be determined by sealed bids, rather than by legislative or administrative action. When public officials set up a subsidy program whose beneficiaries include only a small number of voters, there is usually a strong temptation to hold the rate down to a level which is politically palatable. This may be so low that it is not an adequate incentive to really increase production—and yet any such program costs the government money. Under our proposal, however, the amount of subsidy would be whatever will be needed to get the gold into Fort Knox—no more, and no less.

What would happen after the production contracted for through the subsidies has been completed? Would there then be another such program? This can only be determined in the light of conditions at that time. It may be noted, however, that the additional capital invested for this program, and written off over its term, would still presumably have a remaining potential useful physical life, and therefore might be likely to be available for production at a lower cost in competitive bids upon any renewal of the program (or, perhaps even at the $35 per ounce rate).

ADVANTAGES

This plan has three advantages over the proposal to create a new world unit or system.

The essential element in any workable currency system is confidence.

A new world monetary arrangement might, perhaps, inspire sufficient confidence to attain its objectives. But, then again it might not. No one really knows what would happen.

History indicates that there are few areas, if any, in which governments (even dictatorships) have had less success, than in attempts to command confidence in a currency which the public did not trust.

The trust which the public places in gold is not a matter of caprice or co-incidence. The experiences of our own generation have re-inforced the conviction of many persons, based on history, that gold is more reliable than pledges of governments.

Confidence feeds on itself. In fact, that tendency is so strong that once our government demonstrates that it can add to its gold holdings at will, by adopting and carrying out this plan, it is quite possible that it may not even need to engage in a "second round" of subsidies, because it will have proved—not promised—that the dollar will not be devalued. However, regardless of whether a subsequent subsidy program will later be needed or not, there can be no question that the addition of gold to our national reserves will increase confidence in the dollar.

The resources which would be diverted to greater gold production, and the amount of the subsidy (even if there will be a "second round," would thus be a small insurance premium, well worth paying, to avoid the risk of chaos and mass unemployment which would result if governments replace the present basis of their currency with a new international arrangement and the latter fails to inspire sufficient public confidence.

Secondly, a controlled subsidy for gold production would greatly enhance the world power of the United States. We could be in an economic position, in relation to the rest of the world, comparable in some important respects to that which we enjoyed in the years immediately following World War II—because of our possession of gold. With economic power, we would have less need to employ military force (a point to be borne in mind when weighing the financial and social costs of increasing gold production).

Finally, new international monetary arrangements would require the co-operation of the heads of all other major non-Communist nations. It would therefore have to be the subject of negotiation and watering down, to meet (a) their particular national objectives, and (b) the limitations of their economic thinking. De Gaulle, in particular, has repeatedly demonstrated a willingness and ability to block international agreements which had widespread acceptance but with which he differed. However, with this plan we can outflank the General.

Admittedly, some of the finest things in life cannot be bought for money. But, if money can buy anything at all, at the very least, money can buy money. This plan is an attempt to do just that—in order to avoid economic dislocation and suffering in the United States, and indirectly in the rest of the free world.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

Code of Laws of the United States

Title 44, Section 181. Congressional Record; arrangement, style, contents, and indexes.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congressional Record, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional Record semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

Title 44, Section 182b. Same; illustrations, maps, diagrams.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the Record without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily Record as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the Record shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the Record shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the Record issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the Record for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the Record of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

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5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the Record style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the Record.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

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10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the Congressional Record.

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This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the Congressional Record, nor to Records printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of theHouse or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional Record which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

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Appendix

Address by Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. R. POAGE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following address by Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman to the annual meeting of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, Civic Auditorium, San Francisco, Calif., February 22, 1967.

The address follows:

My remarks today will be three-fold. First, a report on the new era in agriculture which the Nation is entering in this seventh decade of the 20th Century; second, a brief analysis of some of the largely-unrecognized forces that are causing urban-rural imbalance in our Nation; and, finally, a request that NRECA, which has done so much for America in the past, lead a sweeping rural renaissance to shape its future.

I last attended an NRECA convention in 1963 . . . four years ago. Four years is a short time, scarcely a pause in one man's lifetime. Yet the world is a very different place. Great men have passed from the national scene; others have taken their places; great issues have been decided; new ones are fast upon us. And nowhere is this dizzying pace of change more evident than in agriculture.

1. A NEW ERA IN AGRICULTURE

Agriculture is a very different industry today from what it was in 1963, or even a year ago. Witness with me the changed dimensions of this industry as it enters a new era in 1967:

1. Food surpluses have disappeared, and an end to surpluses in cotton and tobacco is within our grasp. At long last we are able to produce for use, rather than for storage. Surpluses, other than temporary oversupplies caused by weather variation, can become a thing of the past as we rely increasingly on reverse acreage and improved technology instead of top-heavy stocks.

2. Farm income, both gross and net, has increased markedly. Last year gross farm income was the highest in history and national net farm income was the second highest. Net income per farm, also at the highest level in history, topped $5,000 last year, up 70 percent from 1960.

3. Demand for agricultural products in the United States and the world is strong and will remain so for the foreseeable future. Exports during 1966 totaled some $6.9 billion and will surpass $7 billion this year.

4. The free market, much praised but little utilized during the fifties, is now freer of government controls than it has been in decades. The government, for all practical purposes, is out of the market.

5. The "graduation rate" of smaller farms into the "adequate-sized" category has accelerated in recent years. Since 1959, nearly 200,000 family farms graduated into the $10,000-a-year or larger gross income class. The living standards of these farm families have risen accordingly.

All of these items represent striking progress, of course. But having acknowledged the advances, let me also emphatically express my dissatisfaction with the fact that, despite the steady progress of the past six years, *the farmer's income still lags behind that of other Americans.*

On a per capita basis, the farmer's income is $1,700. Other Americans average $2,610 per capita.

Farm prices, though up last year, have been down the last few months, and today are *less* than the 1947–49 average. At the same time, food costs are 35 percent *higher.*

This the farmer bitterly resents—and properly so.

This discrepancy *must be corrected.* It must be corrected because it is unfair to the farmer and therefore wrong. It must be corrected because if farmers don't get a fair return commensurate with the other segments of society, we will lose our best farmers. If that happens, the entire Nation, not just the farmer, will be hurt.

This Monday, some 400 farm, commodity and other leaders, representing more than 50 organizations, conferred with me in Washington on the ways and means to correct this discrepancy, to bring commercial agriculture further into the mainstream of American economic prosperity.

President Johnson, describing himself whimsically as an "unsuccessful part-time rancher," met with these farm representatives at a White House luncheon, where he expressed once again his determination that this Nation should accomplish parity of income for its farmers.

Just before I left Washington late yesterday to fly to San Francisco, President Johnson telephoned to say he was so pleased with his meeting with farm leaders and so impressed by the Farm Policy Conference itself that he wants me to make it an annual event.

The President called the Conference "successful and constructive" and said he was impressed with the sincerity of the recommendations made by farm leaders who participated. He said he looks forward—and certainly I look forward, as well—to continuing the dialogue with farm and commodity leaders at this highest level.

The Presidential directive is in keeping with statements President Johnson made to farmers and ranchers attending the Conference. He told them: "I want to appeal to the farm industry in advance to give us your suggestions, your ideas, your counsel, and your patience."

His instructions to told annual farm policy conferences will mean that all segments of farming and ranching and all commodity groups will be heard directly at the White House. At the same time, they will receive direct and up-to-date reports on what the Government is doing to carry out farm programs.

The Conference discussions were open. The comments and suggestions had the sound and the meaning and sincerity of the "grass roots." The President recognized this.

The Department of Agriculture already has begun a careful study of the recommendations and proposals offered by farmers, livestock producers, and commodity groups at the Feb. 20 meeting.

I need not tell this audience that the President is also deeply interested in the supplemental financing program for rural electric and telephone cooperatives. Again this year this Administration is strongly supporting legislation to accomplish this purpose. We should not underestimate the difficulties of passing this legislation, given the present composition of the Congress and the powerful opposition to its enactment. But passage is vital if we are to continue the same wide-ranging, progressive rural electrification program that has meant so much to the development of this Nation in the past.

I shall not belabor this point, since it has been covered in such detail by previous speakers. Suffice it to say that rural electric cooperatives are being called upon to serve some 150,000 additional consumers each year. Rural power requirements will triple in another two decades. These needs, plus those of rural telephone cooperatives, will require an estimated $11 billion in new capital during the next 15 years. This is more than double the amount provided in Congressional appropriations over the past 15 years. I speak from hard-earned personal experience when I say that supplemental financing is the *only* way to obtain the bulk of this additional required capital. There is little or no likelihood that Congress will appropriate such vast sums for rural power.

2. THE FACE OF THE FUTURE

So far, I have reported to you only on the status of agriculture, still the mainstay of economic life in rural America, still the most important single industry in our national life. I know that agriculture is a subject of prime interest to everyone in this hall, and the source of livelihood for many of you.

But I know also that members of NRECA, and for the most part, other residents of country and small-town America also are deeply concerned with the urgent need for accelerated rural development. You have proved this by past actions, in what Clyde Ellis calls "a continuing crusade for a better America."

Since 1961, rural electric and telephone systems have sponsored nearly 2,100 projects which created some 180,000 new jobs in rural America. To this extent, you have already shaped the future—for if you had not acted to obtain these jobs in rural areas, there is little doubt that many, if not most of them, would have been gone to already-booming metropolitan areas, where most of the new jobs in the past decade have already landed.

Let's take a closer look at this matter of new job locations in the United States, because doing so points up a fact that is too often overlooked.

Over the past 15 years, 13.6 million new jobs were created in the national economy. But during this same period, the population and the number of people holding jobs in rural America remained about the same. Now, obviously, new jobs were added to rural America—you helped add many of them. But out the back door, rural America lost about an equal amount of jobs, so that the *total* number of jobs in areas classified "rural" remained almost the same.

And so, as a practical matter, those 13.6 million new jobs went to areas classed "urban" in the census.

The foregoing is merely one indicator of a deep-seated, chronic, and increasingly serious problem facing the entire Nation. It can be described as a rural America starved for opportunity; an urban America increasingly starved for open space. We have lost our urban-rural balance.

Let me give you another indicator. We all know that the country-to-city population shift has been going on for a long time. But few of us are aware just how far it has progressed. As of today, 70 percent of our population—roughly 140 million out of 200 million Americans—live on that *1 percent* of the continental land mass classified as "urban." The other 60 million of us rattle around in the other 99 percent of the land classed as "rural."

And as the old saying goes, "we ain't seen nothing yet." Mark the second hand on your watch . . . now. Keep looking at it and mark again when 12 seconds have passed. Sometime in those 12 seconds another person was added to U.S. population.

The U.S. Census Bureau can predict with some accuracy future U.S. population trends. It has prepared four estimates, each dependend on different variables, ranging from a high estimate of 356 million Americans to a low of 280 million in the year 2000, just 33 years from now.

In previous talks on Agriculture/2000, a series of exploring the future of rural America, we have relied on one of the more conservative estimates, 300 million—which is 100 million more Americans than we have with us today.

To gain an insight of what this means, I hope you'll try a little experiment while you're in San Francisco. Go up to the Top of the Mark Hopkins, or the Fairmont, and look out over the city. You'll be gazing down on the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area encompassing San Francisco, Oakland, and adjacent communities. You won't see all of it, but you'll see most, if the weather cooperates.

Multiply what you see by 33 times. Enough more Americans to populate 33 cities of this size will be with us in the Year 2000.

And then, if you will, think this one over. According to present estimates, about 4 out of 5 of these new Americans will be settling in areas like the one you're looking at—and other heavily urbanized areas—and only 1 out of 5 will settle in predominantly rural areas.

By the turn of the century, if present trends continue unchecked, San Francisco will have become part of a super megalopolis stretching from here to the Mexican border, 500 miles to the south, and containing 40 million people. This strip city—there will be 4 other strips like it—will house 174 million Americans on urbanized land ranging in density from 660 to 2,600 people per square mile.

These five super-strip cities and other urbanized areas will be located on less than 9 percent of our land area. Residents will get up earlier, spend more time breathing their neighbors' car exhaust, and return home later. Superhighways and mass transit systems will soak up increasing amounts of urban land in a frantic race to keep the city mobile. If past trends are an indication, crimes of violence will increase as urban life becomes increasingly more depersonalized and hopeless for the disadvantaged.

Nor can we count with any certainty on being rescued by technology from such a reckless concentration of people, vehicles, and industry. The number of automobiles is increasing at a rate twice that of U.S. population. By the year 2000 we shall have an estimated 200 million cars in the U.S.—nearly 3 times as many as today. With this many mobile pollution sources crowded into 9 percent of the land area, even the most stringent anti-pollution ordinances will do litle more than preserve the status quo, if that. Pollutants produced by industry, sewage plants, and land development will increase apace.

This is one face of the future. It is a prediction, of course, and a prediction isn't necessarily a blueprint. But if this is the kind of America we *want*, then nothing additional needs to be done. This is the kind of America we'll *have*, given a continuation of present trends.

But the future is not immutable, not in America, not if you share the belief of that perceptive visitor to our shores, Alexis de Tocqueville, who observed, more than a century ago:

". . . in the (American's) eyes, what is not yet done is only what he has not yet attempted to do."

We can have another kind of an America, if we care enough:

We can have an America of 300 million people living in less congestion than 200 million live in today, with new industry dotting rural America, providing the jobs where the people want to live.

We can have an America with parity of opportunity—in agriculture, in education, in community facilities and in jobs—an accomplished fact.

This is the kind of America/2000 *I* believe in, and it's the kind you believe in, too. You have proved this by your actions in the past.

But if we want this, if we really want our population and the jobs to support them more widely dispersed over the land, then a decided and determined effort to modify the future *is* needed. This latter course of action is the one that the Secretary, and the Department, of Agriculture have been pursuing for six years now.

I shall not recite the accomplishments of this six years of effort. We started from zero in this whole field of building a viable rural economy, and suffice is to say, we have made some progress. Of prime importance, I think, is not so much what we have *done*, but what we have *learned*. Let me outline a few of the salient ideas I think are important in rural development.

Local involvement

The first is local involvement, as trite and as self-evident as that sounds. With it, all things are possible. Without it, all of the Federal and State programs in the world can't help much. A community that doesn't want to be helped can't be helped. This is basic, and this local involvement is what our Rural Area Development committees and Technical Action Panels have been attempting, with varying degrees of success, to stimulate. I urge much more of such effort on your part. Local electric and telephone cooperatives are particularly well-equipped to provide the local leadership which is the key to building a new rural America.

The larger community

We could call the second basic thing we've discovered a "concept of the larger community." We've found that the formal political subdivisions of county, township and municipality are being replaced by functional boundaries determined in practice by the commuting distance to jobs, the availability of services within driving range and other factors relating to present-day transportation and communication. No one has decreed these larger boundaries. The people in rural areas have set them themselves by everyday use.

In practice, this concept reminds us that development efforts limited to the resources of one county, or one town, which do not take into account the larger functional community, fail to realize their full potential. Conversely, if the larger functional community *is* considered, exciting and meaningful development can be accomplished.

By combining resources, multi-county areas *can* compete with large metropolitan areas. They *can* hire the trained technical and planning people needed to combine their own resources with Federal and regional development programs to get quick but meaningful results.

Facilities

Third, we've learned the value of community facilities. The REA, the NRECA and local cooperatives electrified the countryside. We knew, even back in the thirties, that electricity was a prerequisite for rural development. We've learned in the past few years that a safe, central source of water is just as important—that community facilities, including cultural and recreation facilities, help get plants and jobs to rural areas, and that industry looks long and hard at local education and health facilities when they're making plant location decisions. And so the Department is doing its best to help provide the water and sewer systems and recreation facilities for rural areas, just as we continue with you the fight to get adequate power. At the same time, other Federal agencies are involved in helping local communities upgrade rural education.

The final thing we've learned, and the subject on which I shall devote the remainder of my time today, is this:

We have learned that the primary reason rural areas are lagging behind urban areas; the primary reason that we face the threat of an America/2000 of congested, clogged strip cities, *is that we lack any widely-accepted national policy on rural-urban balance.*

Without such a policy, the issue of whether we want widespread dispersal of our people over available land or continuing enlargement and impaction of presently urbanized areas simply does not enter into the decision-making process of Federal, State, and local governments, or private industry.

Here's what lack of such a national policy means in cold, hard reality, and this is just one example:

A Department of Agriculture study undertaken several years ago showed that out of $28 *billion* expended in prime military contracts, 23 percent went to one State alone, California. It is estimated that this public expenditure created some 1.2 million jobs in the State. During the following fiscal year, California received 60 percent of the $6.3 billion Defense research and development funds. All this to one State alone, and within that State, the contracts went primarily to urban areas. During the same year the total amount of public monies expended for job creation in rural areas under the old Area Redevelopment Act was $267 million—or less than 1 percent of the amount expended on prime defense contracts that year.

This disparity, surprisingly, caused practically no public comment at the time, and has caused little comment since. It still exists.

This is not to say that the only consideration in awarding contracts should be development of rural areas. But I do think it is legitimate to ask whether this kind of expenditure, while serving the national defense need, which is primary, might also be tooled up to serve the larger national interest at the same time. Consideration should be given to this.

Stating the problem, of course, is easier than solving it. But efforts are being made now to hammer out a national policy on urban-rural balance, and questions like these are being asked more and more frequently:

"What is a desirable maximum size for any one metropolitan area?

What are the real social costs, ultimately borne by the taxpayers, of a continuing depopulation of rural areas and an increasing impaction of urban areas?

What can the private and public sectors do, working together, to answer the needs of a rural America starved for jobs, and an urban America starved for space?"

Questions like these are being asked not only by those traditionally concerned with rural development. They're being asked by urban observers, too. One such observer is author J. P. Lyford who, in his monumental study of the New York City slums, "The Airtight Cage," had this to say:

"Why, for instance, must huge concentrations of unemployed and untrained human beings continue to pile up in financially unstable cities that no longer have the jobs, the housing, the educational opportunities, or any of the other prerequisites for a healthy and productive life? Why do we treat the consequences and ignore the causes of massive and purposeless migration to the city? Why are we not developing new uses for those rural areas that are rapidly becoming depopulated? Why do we still instinctively deal with urban and rural America as if they were separate, conflicting interests when in fact neither interest can be served independently of the other?"

As of today, these are questions without effective answers. As of today, no nationally-recognized, responsible and articulate organization or spokesman in the private sector of our national life is bringing these deep and fundamental issues before the public.

The Nation badly needs such a spokesman. It needs more: It needs a strong, resourceful, and effective national organization to support the passage and funding of programs in the U.S. Congress which will make a more rational balance of our population possible.

The NRECA *is* such an organization.

I know at this very hour you are engaged in a great and vital struggle to decide the future course of rural electrification.

I know that your resources, great as they are, are already deeply committed in the course of this struggle.

But I urge you to commit yourselves even further—to take on this additional assignment and to make the additional effort necessary to win.

You have the capacity, the leadership, and the know-how to do it.

You will find in rural America vast reservoirs of yet-untapped support for this new effort.

In tapping this support, you will win new allies for the battle in which you are presently engaged.

You *should* do it. You *can* do it.

You have electrified the countryside—both literally and figuratively—in the past.

I hope, and in the larger sense I know, that you will do no less in the future.

Thank you.

Lest We Forget—Estonia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, February 24 marked the 49th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of the Republic of Estonia. Free Estonians in the United States and about the world commemorate this event—not with joy and happy exuberance as one might expect, but rather in sadness and heartache in lonely exile.

Their flicker of hope, their destiny, their last chance rests with America.

We of the United States can well benefit from the trials and tribulations of these gallant people in our national policies of appeasement and coexistence with the Communist Party of Russia.

Estonia stretched forth the hand of friendship and reconciliation in many treaties and agreements with Soviet Russia: A treaty of peace in 1920, the Kellogg Briand pact in 1928, a Nonaggression and Peaceful Settlement of Disputes Treaty in 1932, and a treaty that defined aggression in 1933.

Mr. Speaker, the Communist Party that pilots Russia repudiated every agreement. Estonia—by trying, by trust and faith—was the loser for having attempted to negotiate differences. The treaties and agreements by Communists, then as now, are but mere scraps of paper, used for their gain but never representing their bond.

When Estonia declared herself a democratic republic in February of 1918 she was recognized as a nation by all Allied Powers, as well as other countries. And, in November of that same year she was, without great protest, invaded by the brutal forces of Communist Russia in complete violation of all treaties and international law, violating Russia's previous declaration whereby Estonia was recognized as a free state.

Fourteen months later Estonia succeeded in gaining a written treaty of peace whereby "Russia unreservedly recognizes voluntarily and for ever all rights of sovereignty held by Russia over the people and territory of Estonia."

Unprecedented terror, brutality, and mad fear was turned upon the citizens by the Communists to force submission, silence, and compliance. Arrests and murders of untold numbers became a daily occurrence. Prisons were so jammed with political prisoners that new torture chambers had to be hastily built. The overwhelming number of those arrested were never heard from again, disappearing without a trial, a hearing, or an explanation.

Many Estonians recall the horror of the nights of June 13 and 14, 1941. Thousands upon thousands of innocent men, women, and children were dragged from their beds, carried away at gunpoint to railway cattle cars to be delivered to slave labor camps in the most secluded areas of the Soviet Union. Mothers and dads were separated from their children and delivered to "special camps" never to regain contact with one another.

The order for this family purge was signed by Gen. Ivan Serou, top-ranking Communist of the NKVD and GPU of the Soviet security police, only 13 days after the Soviet Union had signed the so-called mutual assistance pact with Estonia—which was then not occupied—and had pledged not to violate Estonian national integrity and independence.

During World War II, Estonia established that 7,926 persons had been arrested in 1 year of Communist occupation. Of those taken into custody by the Communists, only 1,950 were ever accounted for. These occupy mass graves scattered about Estonia. Included were the bodies of 206 women. All had been murdered by Communist security police using nape shots, hands bound behind their backs. The unaccounted 5,900 arrested were sent to forced labor camps in the Soviet Union, or were murdered in the Soviet Union, never to be heard from again.

By June 1941, those deported into the Soviet Union totaled 10,205. More than 1,100 were unaccounted for and missing.

The Nazi occupation ended in the fall of 1944, when Communist troops reentered Estonia. Arrests, murders, and deportations resumed. To escape Communist terror 75,000 Estonians fled their country in advance of the Red army occupation.

Another large kidnaping of Estonians was effected by the Russians on March 22 to 25, 1959. Thousands of peasants were seized and carted off to Siberia as an effort to frighten those remaining into agricultural collectives. All told, the known Communist brutality consumed 10 percent of the populace of Estonia.

By savage brutality, Estonia as well as Latvia and Lithuania were converted to Communist puppet fronts for the Soviet.

Today, her government does not speak for her people. The enslavement of formerly free peoples, the destruction of constitutional governments by the ruthless dictatorship of the communistic international conspiracy under its blueprint for world domination continues as one of the great tragedies of our time.

This wanton destruction of freedom—hideous and terrifying—must never be forgotten nor these facts silenced.

We salute these proud people who continue the struggle in heart and mind for individual liberty and the restoration of the national identity that is rightfully theirs. We, as free Americans, must recommit ourselves to a firm conviction that the struggle of the free Estonians is ours. For we acknowledge that so long as any peoples are denied their God-given right to individual liberty and self-determination no free people can be truly safe in any land.

Why the War on Poverty Is Turning Into a Rout

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, the editor of the American County Government magazine, Mr. Bernard F. Hillenbrand, wrote an article on "Why the War on Poverty Is Turning Into a Rout," which article was published in the February issue of the American County Government. He makes some very definite recommendations as to what can be done to improve the situation with the war on poverty which, in my opinion, are recommendations the Congress and the Appropriations Committee should take to heart.

His article follows:

WHY THE WAR ON POVERTY IS TURNING INTO A ROUT

(By Bernard F. Hillenbrand, editor)

We would like to take our turn at guessing why the War on Poverty is beginning to look like Napoleon's retreat from Moscow.

In the first place there is nothing wrong with the Poverty War's general, Sargent Shriver. He has performed magnificently. There are very few men in public service who are more energetic, more imaginative, or, above all, more dedicated to helping the poor. Sargent Shriver has shown a capacity to perform under fire that is amazing. We have watched him close-up for nearly three turbulent years now and he can fight like the devil without losing his cool.

The trouble is not with either the general or his soldiers. The trouble is with overall strategy. The poverty fighters have fought everybody but poverty. We would like to list what we observe to be the underlying strategy of the War on Poverty and why we think it is in error.

A NEW POWER STRUCTURE

1. *First Fallacy*. The poor are poor because they have been deliberately held down by the local "power structure," so the first order of business is to "organize the poor into a counter-power-structure."

Endless effort has been spent organizing the poor to fight something or other. It is not true that the War on Poverty effort has prompted street riots. Unfortunately, this erroneous idea has been given wide currency in the public mind to the detriment of the whole effort.

Certainly it is a fundamental concept of our democracy that all groups have a right to organize in support of their ideas. The difficulty has arisen with respect to the false identification of "enemies."

Most of the officials we know are trying their level best to do something about poverty—and they were doing this long before the phrase "war on poverty" came into use. It's instructive to remember, for example, that the idea and even the phrase "war on poverty" started at the state and local levels in North Carolina. While it is true that most of us have not begun to undersand the magnitude of the problem nor the extent of the discontent among the poor, it does not follow that all "non-poor" are enemies of the poor.

To use an analogy the impact of the War on Poverty in many communities has been the same as would have been the impact upon the British in World War II if when America entered the war as a "Johnny come lately" we had opened a fight with our British allies instead of our German enemies.

We believe that with some ugly exceptions the great mass of American citizens and officials alike are sincerely committed to an intense effort to break the cycle of poverty.

LOCAL INCOMPETENCE

2. *Second Fallacy*. Local government is incompetent to administer poverty programs and so locally elected officials must be ignored and by-passed.

In fairness to this concept it must be admitted that local governments have not generally instituted imaginative programs such as the Job Corps. Perhaps this is because it is reported to cost in excess of $9,000 per trainee to get these school dropouts qualified to fill minimum-wage jobs. Most communities find it difficult to raise the $400 per year it costs to keep a student in grammar school.

Remember that the poverty law provided that there would be 90 per cent federal against 10 per cent local matching, which after two years would revert to 50 per cent federal against 50 per cent local. With our knowledge of how social program costs escalate, is it any wonder that local officials were not enthusiastic about starting programs that might have to be discontinued in two years? We se now the ugly results of the forced federal cutbacks in funding.

We evaluate these problems not to pass blame but to find new ways of making the poverty programs more effective. Here are some of the ideas we think will do just that.

1. The poor should be massively involved in helping themselves to escape poverty, but the actual administration of programs should be under the direct control of the electorate through their elected local representatives.

We have suggested that there be a mechanism for a dual veto by the poor and the public officials. We would have an advisory group composed of a *majority* of the poor who would both generate new ideas for programs and have veto power over programs proposed by the officials. By the same token, public officials would have veto power over proposals by the advisory group and in all cases would have direct responsibility for program administration and accounting for funds.

This, of course, is exactly how the President and the Congress administer the program nationally. For some reason, however, we are not allowed to follow these sensible procedures locally but are instead forced to play a senseless charade. The poor are participants but have very little influence. The officials are participants but have very little power.

In effect, the Office of Economic Opportunity has established its own system of local government and we do not think it will work.

2. The end product of the federal program should be to multiply state and local program and financial involvement on a coordinated basis.

Until now the emphasis has been upon independent federal programs and the distribution of federal dollars. This is largely competitive rather than supplementative of local effort.

THE OEO EXPERIMENT

At the national level the idea is to use OEO as a vehicle for experimentation utilizing the entire resources of all the federal departments. Ultimately OEO will be an even smaller agency as the successful experimental programs are woven into the fabric of other agencies. In effect OEO is to coordinate and therefore multiply the effectiveness of existing programs.

This needs desperately to be done at the local level, also. Why, for example, should OEO establish its own administrative structure at the local level when we already have and existing and workable system supported by the majority of local citizens? The support and involvement of these same citizens is also a prerequisite to any kind of successful program on a sustaining basis.

Perhaps the dirty little war in Viet Nam will at last generate a lasting domestic good if it forces us now to re-evaluate the War on Poverty and other domestic programs.

With the the redirections indicated here we believe that it will be possible to attract much more effective support from local citizens and public officials for turning the poverty rout into a smashing victory.

"Moline Achievement"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TOM RAILSBACK
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to insert in the RECORD today an editorial from the Moline Daily Dispatch which congratulates my hometown of Moline, Ill., for winning a National Distingushed Achievement Award for its recent cleanup, paintup, fixup campaign. I would like to add my congratulations to the residents of Moline for their community spirit and efforts and take this opportunity to tell you briefly about our city.

Moline, a leading farm implement manufacturing center, is located on the Mississippi River where it is linked by several bridges to Rock Island, East Moline and cross-river Davenport, Iowa. Comprising an extensive metropolitan area known as the Quad Cities, these four communities are separately incorporated and maintain their own business districts, but there is a strong rapprochement between them stemming from both proximity and history.

This was the land of the Sauk and Fox Indians, who were virtually exterminated in the Black Hawk war. This, too, was the area where an inconspicuous Negro servant spent 2 years with his master. In later years he was to sue for his freedom, taking his case to the U.S. Supreme Court. The result was the famous Dred Scott decision, the implications of which hastened the country into the Civil War.

Moline was laid out in 1843, 4 years before John Deere decided to locate his plow factory there. The town was on the Mississippi, with steel readily available by boat from Pittsburgh and St. Louis, and waterpower for Deere's mills. When Moline incorporated as a city in 1872, much of its 4,000 population had come there because of the expanding Deere plants.

Implement making is the chief concern of the city today, although it possesses an underpinning of some 90 other industrial concerns.

Moline received this Achievement Award because of the excellent participation of civic groups and citizens during the cleanup campaign last spring, as is noted in the Dispatch editorial:

MOLINE ACHIEVEMENT

The Dispatch congratulates all those responsible for the "distinguished achievement award" that was presented to the City of Moline for its 1966 clean-up, paint-up, fix-up campaign.

This campaign, under the leadership of the Chamber of Commerce and the chairmanship of Vern Kester, was rated as one of the 24 best carried out in the nation last year.

This was no small achievement, considering the scope of the contest, with hundreds of cities entered. And the numerous civic groups, school pupils and other individuals participating in the program share in the credit.

* * * * *

We are confident that the sponsors of this annual campaign will not rest on their laurels, and will press on with vigorous programs in the future. "Clean-up, paint-up and fix-up" is a good goal for every community.

We read about and review a great many Federal, State, and local beautification and urban renewal programs. In every case, however, key to the success of these programs is civic pride, enthusiasm, and participation. These elements were exhibited in the Moline campaign. To this intiative and community response, my hat is off.

Why We Fight in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, if the people are to understand the war in Vietnam, we must have help from the communications media, especially the broadcasting industry because of its wide coverage.

Unfortunately, few broadcast stations have answered this clear call to duty. One that has answered, however, is television station WBTV of Charlotte, N.C.

WBTV is owned and operated by the Jefferson Standard Broadcasting Co., whose president is Charles H. Crutchfield. I have known Charlie Crutchfield for many years and I must say that his dedication to public service is nothing new; rather, it is typical of him. I feel that special commendation is due Charles Crutchfield and the Jefferson Standard Broadcasting Co.

Their broadcast presentation is entitled "Why We Fight in Vietnam." It is based on Col. Hugh A. Murrill, U.S. Army, retired, whose explanation is as good as anything I have heard in Washington or anywhere else. I am today placing in the RECORD a summary of Colonel Murrill's remarks so that others may share his wisdom.

The summary follows:

WHY WE FIGHT IN VIETNAM

(By Col. Hugh A. Murrill, U.S. Army, retired)

(NOTE.—Much has been said and written about America's role and commitment in Vietnam. Nowhere, though, have I seen as lucid and concise an explanation of why we fight as that given by retired U.S. Army Colonel Hugh A. Murrill.

(This booklet contains the basic points which Colonel Murrill made in a 30-minute interview program with our late public affairs director, Alan Newcomb. The program was produced and broadcast by WBTV this fall.

(I believe that every American who is interested in—and concerned about—this country's involvement in Vietnam will find Colonel Murrill's comments must reading.—Charles H. Crutchfield, President, Jefferson Standard Broadcasting Company, WBT-AM-FM, WBTV, WBTW Jefferson Productions, Charlotte, North Carolina.)

I. The Red Chinese Blueprint for Southeast Asia.

II. A New Method of Indirect Warfare.

III. Three Dangerous Delusions About Vietnam.

IV. Communist Use of Laos and Cambodia.

V. The Stakes in Vietnam.

VI. Chinese and North Vietnamese Capabilities.

VII. The Strategy of Victory in Vietnam.

The war in Vietnam is the least understood of all of our wars. In the 4 other wars in my lifetime our people knew *who* we fought, *why* we fought, *what* the stakes were, and were united behind the government in a clear national purpose.

In the case of Vietnam our government has permitted the uninformed, the misinformed and other naive victims of Communist propaganda to spread doubt and confusion at home and abroad and to *encourage* the *enemy* in Vietnam.

Our government has not made unmistakably clear:

Who our real enemy is

Why we fight

How the future security of the U.S. is deeply involved.

As a result we have a dangerous lack of unity and national purpose.

We are not fighting in Vietnam for the Vietnamese alone. We are fighting there to prevent a Red Chinese take over of more than 3 million square miles of territory and 600 million people of S.E. Asia.

The militant Communist Party of Red China is the master mind and the power behind the attack on South Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh, the Red dictator of North Vietnam, is their agent and has been a Moscow trained Communist revolutionary for over 40 years.

The war in Vietnam is not a civil war. It is a war of Communist aggression and the first step in a far reaching plan of conquest in South East Asia.

Chinese foreign policy objectives up to now have been subordinated to domestic objectives—the strengthening of the Communist government and the economic growth and industrialization of the country.

The Chinese Communists are *now* determined to extend their dominance and control of S.E. Asia to Singapore and the Straits of Malacca.

South Vietnam is the immediate test battleground for a new method of guerilla warfare and political subversion by which Red China hopes to take over one country after another.

In Vietnam, China operates behind a mask designed to create the world impression that the attack is a civil war—not aggression from the North. President Johnson hinted at this in his policy statement of April 7, 1965:

"We are there (Vietnam) because there are great stakes in the balance. Let no one think that retreat from Vietnam would end the conflict. The battle would be renewed in one country and then another."

"Over this war—and all Asia—is another reality—the deepening shadow of Communist China."

"The contest in Vietnam is part of a wider pattern of aggressive purpose."

If this blue print of aggression is made clear to the American people, we will understand why we now fight in Vietnam for the long range security of the United States.

THE RED CHINESE BLUEPRINT

Let's look at the map and see:

What the Chinese Communists want

How they expect to get it

How their success would endanger the U.S.

Lest this plan of take over seem too bold and far reaching, let us remind ourselves how Russia, under Stalin, took over one by one 8 countries of Europe after World War II—Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania through the device of Communist Coalition governments backed by the Red Army and followed by the liquidation of all opposition.

That we were slow to understand and react has proven to be tremendously costly to us.

The Chinese plan of aggression combines subversion, propaganda and indirect military action in a new and extraordinarily deceptive formula.

Red China has an immediate and pressing need for food and living space. She has 750 millions of people in an area about the same as the U.S.—4 times as many per square mile—and increasing at the rate of 15 million or more per year. She has been—and is—short of food and sees the relatively land-rich, food-rich, rice bowl of S.E. Asia within her grasp.

South Vietnam is the key to the first phase of her plan:

Country	Population (millions)	Area (square miles)	Comment
South Vietnam	16	66,000 (1¼ N.C.)	Rice surplus.
Cambodia	6	69,000 (2 X S.C.)	50 percent forest.
Laos	3	91,000 (3 X S.C.)	60 percent forest.
Thailand	30	200,000 (4 X N.C.)	85 percent illiterate. 4,000,000 Chinese. 60 percent forest.
Burma	24	260,000 (5 X N.C.)	Rice surplus. Teak-silver. Rubber.
Malaya	8¼	128,000	Rice surplus. Over 3,000,000 Chinese. Rubber-Tin.

If the U.S. can be forced, tricked or maneuvered out of Vietnam and neighboring Thailand, China would be free to drive down the Malay Peninsula—with its 38% Chinese population—just as the Japanese did in 1941–42. This would give them the rubber and tin of Malaya and the great port of Singapore—now 80% Chinese.

Singapore, the greatest port in Asia, once England's 100 million dollar Naval base, dominates the vital Straits of Malacca, 600 miles long, 60 miles wide and a sea lane more important to the U.S. than the Straits of Gibraltar, the Suez Canal and the English Channel because it is the shortest nad safest route linking the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

My friend Francis Drake, Military Editor of one of our great magazines, tells me that 98% of the vast trade of the Orient goes thru the Straits carrying billions of dollars of goods to and from world markets.

On almost any day 200 ships pass thru the Straits "in a line so continuous that one ship steams under the smoke of the one ahead."

Twelve thousand ships a year drop anchor in Singapore and 10,000 more in Indonesia.

Chinese control of the Straits of Malacca would permit them to cut off or control this immense traffic, would virtually cut the Free World in two and completely upset the balance of power in the Pacific, making it a Communist lake.

China's next objective—one which has already been under attack—would be the fabulously rich islands of Indonesia extending 3,000 miles from the Asian mainland beyond New Guinea to the threshold of Australia.

Indonesia in its 575,000 square miles has the richest undeveloped resources of any country except Russia and the U.S. and is 5th in population—over 100 million people. It has Oil, Rubber, Tin, Coal, Iron, Nickel, Gold, Silver, Diamonds, Platinum, Tungsten and Sulphur, with an enormous potential for Hydro-Electric Power to exploit these riches—not to mention tea, sugar, coffee, pepper, palm oil and coconut products.

The Phillipines (30 Million) and Japan (97 Million) would fall into the Chinese bloc.

Australia and New Zealand, a land area as large as the U.S. with only some 13 million people to defend them, would be cut off from the free world.

A NEW METHOD OF INDIRECT WARFARE

To accomplish this conquest of S.E. Asia the Red Chinese have devised a new method of subversion and indirect warfare which can be carried on at the least risk and cost to themselves.

The Mao Tse-Tung policy for Red China regards force as a legitimate instrument of policy. "Power," says Chairman Mao, "comes from the barrel of a gun." However, the Mao Tse-Tung plan of subversion and "Wars of National Liberation", permitting a Communist take over without large scale conventional war or the risk of Nuclear retaliation, involves an intricate plan of propaganda, Communist organization, infiltration and guerrilla warfare difficult to combat by conventional means.

The Red Chinese tactics involve these successive steps.

1. The creation of a Communist Party (not generally called the Communist Party) with reliable leaders as a working tool within the country under attack.

2. A secure base area on the border of the country under attack—in either a Communist controlled or neutral country. The base not only provides th supplies and infiltration groups but permits attack and safe wtihdrawal.

3. The political build up of a plausible "National Liberation Front" or "Peoples Revolutionary Party" (never called the Communist Party). This build up is accomplished by clever propaganda and organization—"Asia for the Asians," "Drive Out the Foreign Imperialists", "Drive Out the Corrupt Puppets of the Barbarous American Imperialists" "Land for the Peasants" or whatever rallying cry will appeal to the most people.

Organization is accomplished by small groups of political agents backed by guerrilla gangs, by persuasion, intimidation, kidnapping and the seizure of family hostages.

4. The next phase includes sabotage of Government projects, hospitals, schools, fire protection, police stations and the murder of local officials—anything to discredit the Government in power. Hit-and-run guerrilla war now begins.

5. Finally, when Communist infiltration is complete with agents and cells in every village and the guerrillas are strong enough to fight as companies, battalions and regiments, all out "Civil War" is begun.

Key leaders, military technicians, specially trained in sabotage and guerrilla tactics at Chinese schools, arms and equipment are to be supplied—and have been supplied—by the Chinese. The cost—as well as the risk—of exporting revolution, of fighting by proxy, yet controlling the revolutionary forces, is cheap compared to the cost of direct military action.

Vietnam is the first proving ground for this Mao Tse-Tung plan of aggression. Ho Chi Minh—the Red dictator of N. Vietnam—is Mao's agent and N. Vietnam, a Chinese satellite.

If they are permitted to take S. Vietnam, the other small countries of the rice bowl area will quickly follow—Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaya and Burma.

In S.E. Asia there is already a great potential 5th Column of 15 Million Chinese residents of the various countries wanted by Red China.

DANGEROUS DELUSIONS ABOUT VIETNAM

In a recent broadcast from Hanoi released to the world, Ho Chi Minh said (among other things)—

"The barbarous U.S. imperialists have unleashed a war of *aggression* in an attempt to conquer our Country—But under the firm and wise leadership of the National Front for Liberation in South Vietnam, army and people, closely united, fighting heroically, have scored very glorious victories and are determined to struggle to complete victory to *liberate* the South."

The persistence, adroitness and unscrupulous brazeness (of Communist) propaganda—and the inadequacy of our own counter information—has created three dangerous delusions about Vietnam:

Delusion No. 1—That the war in Vietnam ever was, or is, a civil war of rebellion against the South Vietnamese government.

Delusion No. 2—That Ho Chi Minh, the Red Dictator of N. Vietnam, is a "patriotic nationalist."

Delusion No. 3—That we can and should "Negotiate" with the Viet Cong.

These three delusions are the *basis for much of the confusion and doubt about Vietnam*, at home and thru out the world.

Before getting at the *truth about each of them* let's review briefly the history of Vietnam.

HISTORICAL SKETCH

It will be recalled:

That French Indo-China, occupied by the French for over 70 years, was made up of Laos, Cambodia plus what is now N–S Vietnam but then known as Tonkin (North) Annam (Middle) and Cochin China (South).

That Japan occupied Indo China, 1942–45, and that after the Japanese surrender in August 1945, the French returned in 1946.

That Ho Chi Minh organized the Communist Vietnam Independence League and fought the French for 8 years, to victory at Dien Bien Phu in May 1954.

That the Geneva agreements of 1954 created N and S Vietnam as Independent states, dividing Vietnam as a whole at the 17th Parallel—the Communist northern portion, N Vietnam—the non-Communist southern portion, S. Vietnam.

That S. Vietnam thus became a Republic in October 1955 and for the first time, a separate country.

That Laos was made an independent kingdom in 1949, and Cambodia a kingdom in 1953; hence the French Indo China War was largely in Vietnam.

Now lets consider Delusion No. 1—that the war in Vietnam is a *Civil War*.

Actually the war in Vietnam is a war of Communist aggression launched by N. Vietnam, backed by China, to take over the rice lands and people of a neighboring country.

The directing force behind the effort to conquer S. Vietnam is the Communist Party of N. Vietnam—the Lao Dan (workers) Party under Ho Chi Minh, a veteran Communist Revolutionary of 40 years service.

The hard core of the Communist guerrilla forces attacking S. Vietnam known as the Viet Cong were trained in the North and ordered into the South by the Central Committee in N. Vietnam.

Military operations in the South are the direct responsibility of the North Vietnamese Military High Command under General Nguyen Giap whose guerrilla forces defeated the French in 1954.

The hardcore of the Viet Cong forces are *regular army units* of the *N. Vietnamese Army*—some 46% of all combat battalions as of August 8, 1966.

Supporting the main force units are District level units of several companies which can assemble quickly as a battalion. Below and supplemental to these units are part time village-based guerrillas who work at their regular jobs part time, but who are employed for ambushes, raids, sabotage and as military informants. Most of the men of these village units were forced into service of the Viet Cong by kidnapping, intimidation, threats and family hostages.

The National Liberation Front (NLF) and Peoples Revolution Party—actually one and the same—are screens behind which Ho Chi Minh directs the political and guerrilla war.

The key element of the Viet Cong war effort is an elaborate organization in Hanoi called the Central Research Agency divided into six main sections: Organization, Administration, Espionage, Communications, Research and Training. A special section is responsible for intelligence, organization and operations in Cambodia and Laos.

An elaborate system of infiltration by land and sea for men and supplies is maintained extending thru Cambodia and Laos *ignoring* the *neutrality* of *both countries.*

An increasing number and variety of modern weapons have been captured bearing manufacturers' markings "Made in China"—the same types and calibres used by the Army of N. Vietnam.

The clear and impressive evidence of N. Vietnamese aggression and Chinese backing has been compiled by the State Dept. and published in a 64-page booklet in February 1965—"Aggression from the North".

South Vietnam is not fighting a civil war—it is fighting for its independence as a country against an elaborate campaign of terror and armed attack organized, planned, directed and supplied through the Communist Party of N. Vietnam, as the first step in the Red conquest of S.E. Asia.

HO CHI MINH—VETERAN REVOLUTIONARY

Delusion No. 2—That Ho Chi Minh, the Communist Dictator of N. Vietnam, as a "patriotic nationalist"—the George Washington of his country.

Let's look at his record.

Actually Ho Chi Minh—a man of many aliases—born as Nguyen Ai Quoc—has been a Moscow trained Communist Revolutionary for over 40 years.

Born in Annam, 1890–94, he went to Europe as a cook on a passenger ship. He worked in Paris in 1918 as a photograph retoucher and became a founder member of the French Communist Party.

In 1923 he went to Moscow as a delegate to the Communist International Peasants Party Congress. He remained in Moscow *three years* in training in Communist methods of guerrilla warfare, sabotage and subversion.

In 1926 he was sent to Canton, China as assistant to Russian Agent Michael Borodkin and operating from Canton, formed the Vietnam Revolutionary Youth League which later became the Vietnam Communist Party.

In 1930 he instigated premature revolts against the French, which were, crushed. Ho Chi Minh and other top Reds were arrested in Hong Kong and he was condemned to death by the French, but saved because the British refused to deport him as a political refugee and because he had become a Russian citizen. He served 13 months in prison.

He later served with the Chinese Army in China and formed the Vietnam Independence League or Vietminh, portraying himself as a "patriotic nationalist" as a screen for its Communist leadership.

In 1940 Ho Chi Minh went into Vietnam for the first time in over twenty years, again portraying himself as a patriot against the "Colonial fascist occuppier" (The French) and led another uprising in the western provinces which was crushed by the French. Ho Chi escaped to China.

Following the fall of France in 1940 the Japanese took over control of Indo China. After the Japanese surrender in 1945, the French returned to Vietnam in 1946 to reoccupy the country.

Ho Chi Minh, having gained control of the peasants and promising to "drive out the Foreigners", proclaimed Vietnam an Independent Republic.

When the French returned, he did not then feel strong enough to fight them. He negotiated an agreement making Vietnam a Free State within the French Union. He regarded this merely as a device to gain time to further organize and strengthen his Vietminh forces.

In late 1946 Ho Chi Minh's guerrillas treacherously attacked and murdered French men, women and children in all towns of the North (Tonkin). Alternate fighting and negotiations—always used by Ho to gain time and tactical advantage—continued until 1949. By this time the Chinese Communists had gained control of Southern China up to the border of Vietnam and Ho Chi Minh could count on aid and a secure base on Chinese held territory.

After 5 more years of bitter guerrilla warfare, the French fortified outpost of Dien Bien Phu fell to Chinese trained General Giap's Vietminh forces. The French government fell and the political-minded Prime Minister Mendez-France went to the Geneva Conference determined to end the war.

Under the terms of the Geneva Agreements, Vietnam was divided at the 17th Parallel—Korea style—and N. Vietnam made an independent communist state under Ho Chi Minh.

By this time Ho Chi Minh had been a Communist agent for over *30 years* and had fought the French for over *24*. As the Chief Agent of the Chinese in S.E. Asia, Ho Chi Minh fully expects to take over all of Vietnam.

Ho Chi Minh's record of treachery, intrigue and ruthlessness against the French has few, if any, equals in modern history.

He evidently believes that his trump card may be the failure of the U.S. political leadership to make clear the stakes in S.E. Asia and to instill into the American people the patience and staying power to support a long war of resistance to a Communist take over in S.E. Asia.

Delusion No. 3—That we can and should negotiate with the Viet Cong (a major objective of Communist propaganda).

The N. Vietnamese—and some of our Senators—say that we must "Negotiate with the Viet Cong". Lets see who the Viet Cong are—and the possible results of negotiation.

The Viet Cong are not, and have never been, S. Vietnamese rebels.

They are the field Army and skilled agents of the Communist Party of N. Vietnam and Communist China.

At the time of the cease fire agreements at Geneva in 1954, Ho Chi Minh had his Vietminh guerillas in Cambodia, Laos and S. Vietnam and agents (5–10) in virtually all villages of S. Vietnam.

In accordance with the Geneva agreements Ho Chi Minh transferred many of the military units loyal to him to N. Vietnam. However he left thousands of trained agents and guerillas in the South with orders to hide their arms, to build up stores of ammunition and to go underground awaiting orders.

The mission of this highly organized 5th column was to discredit the temporary government of S. Vietnam and was an immediate violation of the Geneva Agreements.

By 1956, N. Vietnam had become established as a Communist dictatorship under Ho Chi Minh, but with little economic progress and a considerable amount of suppressed internal trouble.

South Vietnam—on the other hand—with U.S. economic aid, had made relatively great progress in rice production, land reform, rubber output, and the beginnings of industrial development, and had established itself as a free republic.

In view of the Communist dictatorship in N. Vietnam and its rigid control of the people, and the discovery of their 5th Column in the South, the government of S. Vietnam did not regard itself obliged to take part in elections that were not free and which would greatly favor N. Vietnam in any plan of union of the two Vietnams. They declined to hold them. (Neither S. Vietnam nor the U.S. signed the Geneva Agreements.)

In 1956–1958, with Chinese aid, Ho Chi Minh reorganized and strengthened the Viet Cong in the South by sending down highly trained agents, technicians, and unit leaders trained in the north, and better arms and equipment.

In 1957 they reactivated their entire subversive 5th Column in the South and began to try to bring about the collapse of S. Vietnam through terrorism and sabotage.

They could not pretend to be fighting against colonialism because it was gone, nor for land reform because it had taken place, and land was plentiful in S. Vietnam. They simply created chaos and fear.

In May 1959 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of N. Vietnam decided to launch a guerilla war on S. Vietnam. An intensified campaign of terror, enforced recruiting and propaganda was begun.

The peasants were main victims of the Viet Cong drive. Some 85% of the people lived on the land and in 6,000 villages. In one year alone over 4,000 village head men and their families were murdered. Police stations, remote medical clinics, schools—any constructive outpost of the S. Vietnamese government was attacked and destroyed. (According to our State Dept. report, even as late at 1964, 436 Government officials were murdered and 1,131 kidnapped.)

Viet Cong agents—Communist cells of 5–10—were put in almost every village. Half time guerillas were organized by districts and provinces in companies of 50 which could assemble quickly as a battalion. The Regular Guerillas, whose leaders were trained in the North in special schools run by the Chinese, and many veterans of the 8 years war against the French were organized into battalions generally of 3 provincial companies, each of 100–150 men.

Tactics for Viet Cong guerillas are prescribed by N. Vietnamese General Giap, Head of the Peoples Army of N. Vietnam, in his handbook—"Peoples War—Peoples Army".

1. "Guerillas must control a base, preferably on friendly or neutral territory, on the border of the area under attack."

2. "Communist agents and leaders must educate and mobilize the whole people."

3. "Guerrillas must first get along with food and weapons captured from the enemy so as not to tax supply lines from the rear base."

4. "Guerrillas should attack only when sure of outnumbering the enemy by about 10–1."

5. "It is necessary to grasp firmly the strategy of long term resistance and infinite patience. Thousands of small victories accumulate to a great success and final victory."

Every facet of the Viet Cong activity in S. Vietnam is controlled by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of N. Vietnam. The Viet Cong themselves take no independent action.

There is an intricate organization from the Central office in N. Vietnam down to the villages of S. Vietnam designed to insure the utmost cooperation and timing of political and military actions.

Those who talk of negotiations with the Viet Cong simply *do not understand Communist organization* and methods.

Similarly, any inclusion of the Viet Cong in a "Coalition Government" for S. Vietnam would be the same sort of surrender and sell out as we were deceived into accepting in Europe—and after World War II in Hungary, Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria etc., and later in Laos in 1962.

All these are now *Communist* controlled.

COMMUNIST VIOLATIONS OF GENEVA AGREEMENTS AFFECTING THE WAR IN VIETNAM

In February 1965, U.S. Defense and State Department statements of the strength of the Viet Cong in S. Vietnam were:

Hard core-trained units, 35,000; village and district guerillas, 70,000 (up to 80,000), total, 105,000.

The increase in Viet Cong forces since that time has been: Jan. 1, 1966, 232,000 total; July 1, 1966, 271,000 total; Aug. 8, 1966, 282,000 total.

And of this total which includes 117 combat battalions, 46% were *Regular Army of N. Vietnam units.*

As of September 22nd, Ambassador Goldberg stated to the United Nations that 17 Regular Army of N. Vietnam Regiments were operating in S. Vietnam.

How did this build up of Viet Cong forces in this undeclared war take place in the face of bombing and over 5,000 Viet Cong casualties per month?

The answer lies in the violations of the neutrality of Laos and Cambodia and the use of the demilitarized zone as a buildup area, by N. Vietnam.

The boundary line between N. and S. Vietnam is only about 40 miles across and could easily be controlled. N. Vietnam has gone *around it through Laos and Cambodia.*

Events in Laos, which has borders on *five countries* including China, are particularly instructive evidence, not only of the long range planning of the Chinese and N. Vietnamese but also how they make and break international agreements to further their purposes.

NORTH VIETNAMESE AND CHINESE USE OF LAOS

Laos is now the safe neutral base and transit area used by the Reds for the infiltration of men and supplies into S. Vietnam shielded by its cloak of neutrality.

The Viet Cong use Laos for attacks on S. Vietnam and subversion against Thailand along the long border—particularly in the northeast provinces of Thailand.

Laos

700 miles long—over 90,000 square miles (3 times the state of S.C.) with only 3 million people—no railroads. 50% mountain forest. Only 500 miles of roads—the rest jungle trails. Sparsely settled. People over 85% illiterate. Borders on China (250 miles), N. Vietnam (700 miles), S. Vietnam (250 miles), Cambodia (200 miles), Thailand (1000 miles).

In 1962, preoccupied with the Cuban crisis, the U.S. urged a "Coalition Government" in Laos and became a signatory to the "14 Nations Declaration of Neutrality of Laos", signed at Geneva. (Both China and N. Vietnam signed.)

The Coalition Government was of 3 parties—Neutralist, Nationalist and Communists (Pathet Lao.) The head and organizer of the Pathet Lao (1950) was the "Red Prince" Souphanouvong, half-brother of the neutralist Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma.

As with all Communist Coalition Governments, the Pathet Lao soon took over. The Red Prince persuaded his half-brother to join forces. As a result, the Pathet Lao controll all of the Northern and Eastern areas bordering on China, N. Vietnam, S. Vietnam, Cambodia and N.E. Thailand. They can take over the remainder at will, but it suits Communist purposes to have Laos still called a "neutral" under the unenforced provisions of the 1962 Geneva Agreement.

Thus they gained their "safe base" in a "Neutral" country on the border of the country under attack—all under the shield of legality of an agreement that was made to be broken.

Cambodia

A French protectorate for 90 years (1863–1953) slightly larger than S. Vietnam—69,000 sq. miles, 50% forest, under populated—only 6 million. Sihanouk, the Premier and former King (1941), believes that the Chinese will control all of S.E. Asia, and has broken relations with the U.S. and directed Cambodia's policies toward the Chinese.

Cambodia is a water-land infiltration route, supply, and base area for the Viet Cong.

Men and supplies come down the east coast of Vietnam in small craft to Sihanoukville, thence through Phnom Penh to Kratie and down to the S.W. border of Vietnam in the Mekong Delta area.

For over 100 years Cambodia has had border disputes with Vietnam (then Annam) and Thailand. Due to the nature of the mountain-forest country and the poorly defined eastern border, Sihanouk could not control Viet Cong use of these areas if he wanted to.

Obviously the U.S. cannot continue to respect the borders of Laos and Cambodia and permit them to serve as infiltration routes and base area sanctuaries for hit-and-run guerilla operations of the Viet Cong.

Our memories—all too *short* regarding Communist tactics—should store away the record of the "Coalition Government" and the made-to-be-broken agreement on the independence and "neutrality" of Laos.

THE WAR IN VIETNAM—AND WHAT IT MEANS

What started as a guerilla war in 1959 launched by N. Vietnam to take over S. Vietnam has now become an undeclared war of aggression.

S. Vietnam, supported by the U.S. is fighting for its life against N. Vietnam supported by Red China.

China regards the war as a testing ground for her plan of conquest for S.E. Asia and will be reluctant to see N. Vietnam stop short of victory.

N. Vietnam and Ho Chi Minh regard victory in S. Vietnam as vital. Victory would give them access to the rice surplus areas of S. Vietnam and would remove a rival country on the Southern border and would bring Laos and Cambodia under N. Vietnam control.

For the United States Vietnam is a crucial test of leadership in the Free World. A military victory by N. Vietnam, a third rate Communist peasant state, is unthinkable.

Premature withdrawal of the U.S. as a result of negotiations rewarding Communist aggression or under conditions which could be construed as a Communist victory would wreck America's position in Asia.

It would destroy belief in U.S. pledges to 40 nations all over the world—now our allies—and they would be forced to reconsider their positions and relationships. Such withdrawal would lend new force to the Chinese Communist belief that militant aggression pays and would undermine the will of other free countries to resist them.

If we demonstrate *unwillingness or inability* to stop Red China *now* when she is *not* a nuclear power, *what* shall we do 5–7 years hence when China has the bombs and the intercontinental missile system to deliver them?

CHINESE AND NORTH VIETNAMESE CAPABILITIES

The present militant and aggressive policy of Red China is the great problem in S.E. Asia. If the Chinese plan of aggression by "Peoples Wars of Liberation"—by undeclared guerrilla warfare—can be neutralized, the Reds will have to rely on peaceful means of infiltration, subversion and persuasion—and these tactics have not proven successful in Europe, Asia or Africa.

China is both strong and weak.

She is strong because almost every 4th person in the world is Chinese—and by 1980 probably one in *three* will be. She is strong because of her revolutionary intensity and the control of her people and the long range tenacity and patience with which she pursues her objectives. She is strong in conventional warfare *on or close to her borders*. Her capability for supporting military operations outside is *weak*.

China is weak because she does not have nuclear weapons or the means to deliver them. She is weak because of food shortages and rising population, primitive agriculture and backward industry.

China knows that the event of *direct* intervention in a war with the U.S., her developing Atomic Centers at Paotow—n/w of Peking with Plutonium reactors; Lanchow—s/w of Peking—large electric power source and uranium production; and Lop Nor Weapons Testing Center) would be the first targets of retaliation.

The destruction of these facilities and her basic industrial plants would wreck her program indefinitely and her land forces would have no means of getting at the U.S.

It is most improbable that China contemplates such a risk.

N. Vietnam—A Communist peasant state of 17 million has insufficient agriculture land to feed her people and finds it difficult to import food to make up the deficit. Her industry is small. Her people are underpaid, underfed and overworked and even the constant propaganda campaigns of their Communist government cannot gloss over their hardships.

If the bombing of N. Vietnam is extended to economic targets, power dams, irrigation systems, canals and factories as well as to ports, oil storage depots and communications systems, the economy of N. Vietnam must collapse.

So far, the U.S. operations have been closely controlled and for severely limited objectives. *We should not continue these restrictions.*

THE STRATEGY OF VICTORY IN VIETNAM

The U.S. troop buildup in S. Vietnam has been in progress for 18 months. In that time we have been building airfields, bases, harbors and installations at the rate of over $40,000,000.00 per month.

More troops will now be released to clear out the Viet Cong and restore safety for a greater number of the 6,000 villages of S. Vietnam where 12 million people live.

From here on the life of the Viet Cong will be *harder*.

However, guerrilla wars are generally long wars and Vietnam will very likely continue as a hit-and-run guerrilla war.

The key to N. Vietnamese tactics is the statement of Ho Chi Minh:

"It took us 8 years of bitter fighting to defeat the French. The Americans are stronger. It may take us 10 years."

Ho Chi Minh and the Chinese believe that their best chance of victory is political—not military—*because the political leadership of the U.S. may fail to restore unity, understanding and national purpose to support a long war.*

They think that the war can be *won in Washington and in New York* (United Nations) if *not* in Vietnam.

The N. Vietnamese and Chinese may well be more encouraged by the evidence of doubt, disagreement and division within the U.S. than by any reports of U.S. planes shot down.

So far, this has been a very cheap war for the Chinese and N. Vietnamese. The cost to the U.S.: approximately 15 billions in the year ending July 1, 1967; approximately 20 billions in the year ending July 1, 1968.

We cannot afford to have them drag the war on indefinitely, which they can do very simply if permitted to infiltrate 200 men a day—6,000 per month—thru Laos and Cambodia.

Our basic problem then becomes:

How to encourage the small nations of S.E. Asia to participate more broadly in collective plans and action for their own security.

How to end the war reasonably quickly without creating a wider war.

Our major objectives:

To stop the infiltration of men and supplies thru "Neutral" Laos without a Korea type undeclared war there.

To stop infiltration through Cambodia. (This is easier because Thailand is on our side.)

To roll up S. Vietnam from the South, where 80% of the people live on 20% of the land—largely in the Mekong Delta, clearing out the Viet Cong and then protecting the villages with specially trained S. Vietnamese troops and administrative units.

To hit N. Vietnam harder, to raise the cost of aggression and convince the Communist that they cannot afford to carry on the war.

It is inevitable, that yet untouched economic and industrial targets in N. Vietnam shall be released for air attacks which have been rigidly controlled and limited largely to communications routes, oil depots and missile sites.

Except for the destruction of oil storage, what we are doing is not working. It costs us too much and N. Vietnam too little. Restrictions on too many areas permit concentration of anti-aircraft defenses in the target areas. Consequently, our losses are too high for what we are accomplishing.

In a country crisscrossed by mountains, rivers and canals and dotted with rice paddies, swamps and jungle, these operations *take* time—even for the best trained troops and best leadership.

The war will be one of many small successes—few large spectacular victories or cities captured.

This is a new kind of war for the United States, and requires patience and persistence.

If we are to have the national will to see it through and are to avoid being sold out by opportunistic politicians seeking political advantage, the people of the U.S. as a whole must understand the *real* issues, *what* is at stake and *why* we must defend our world wide interests.

I venture to suggest that the President of the United States should organize an all out *national effort* to bring the people together in understanding and unity on Vietnam:

—that he make clear our vital interests in preventing a takeover of the small countries of S.E. Asia,

—how we propose to prevent it.

So far his actions have been better than his words—but he has given the dissenters a *free hand* in creating doubt and confusion and Vietnam has been subordinated to other political programs creating *disunity rather than unity.*

NEGOTIATIONS

One final word about negotiations, the favorite subject—however vague it may be—of many prominent Americans.

A famous secretary of the British Ministry of Defense once said:

"Negotiations can have one of three purposes:

"One is to reach agreement for agreements sake; the second is to have your own way or as much of it as you can; and the third is to gain time.

"If the purpose is agreement for agreements sake, negotiations can become merely a desire to save face, to help you out of a difficult situation, to let the other side have *their way* while preserving some shreds of your own dignity. This type must be recognized for what it is—*Surrender.*"

We cannot afford this type of negotiation on Vietnam.

Resultful negotiations in Vietnam are likely to come *only* when the N. Vietnamese and Chinese see their military and political organization there being systematically destroyed and are convinced that the process will continue.

Until that time, the vague but constant talk of negotiations merely serves to encourage the enemy to continue their guerilla war in the hope of eventually gaining by negotiations what they are unable to take by force.

I hope that the President may find it wise to lead the *crusade for understanding* and *unity on Vietnam.*

Rural Youth Provides Example

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, in this day when we hear and read about young men burning their selective service cards, or of bewhiskered, unkempt young people rioting, picketing, lying in, and so forth, and when many of us see countless signs of young people rebelling against authority or responsibility, it is my great pleasure to present a much brighter picture of young American boys.

The Future Farmers of America organization in Minnesota, sparked by the enthusiasm and cooperation of the State FFA Executive Secretary W. J. Kortesmaki, have raised over $150,000 in the past 14 years.

This money—not a single tax dollar—was raised by hundreds of boys to provide for a speech therapy building located at Camp Courage on Cedar Lake in Wright County, Minn.

Camp Courage is the only camp in our State for crippled children and adults. In addition, this camp is provided without cost to the campers.

Over 750 campers used the facilities in 1966, with 141 of those in the speech therapy section alone.

Over 225 FFA chapters have assisted in paying for this building and equipment, and have provided over 2,000 "camperships" to crippled and handicapped people. For example, the FFA set a statewide goal of $26,500, of which $10,000 was earmarked for camperships.

Mr. Speaker, these young men—rural boys—were not burning up draft cards, they were not flouting the law, they were busy gleaning cornfields of the dropped ears of corn, they raised and sold hay, they put on choir concerts, they sold subscription to farm magazines, they gathered and dried pine cones, and they were busy for a good cause.

Thousands of people will be the direct recipients of many of the finer things in life because a group of young people cared. One illustration may prove the point.

A 16-year-old junior in high school had such a speech impediment that only her mother could understand her. But after getting the free 5-week therapy exercises at Camp Courage, she returned home and continued the exercises she had been taught. This girl has since won a regional speech contest, become a cheerleader, and has graduated from the university as a trained speech therapist.

My deepest congratulations are extended to the youth in the FFA who provide us today with the shinning model of what our young people can do who will accept the responsibility.

The entire camp—consisting of 10 buildings—is owned and operated by the Minnesota Society for Crippled Children and Adults. It has recently become winterized so that it may operate the year around.

While over 225 chapters in the State have taken part in providing this unit to the total camp and in providing free "camperships," I would like to list these chapters who efforts have been brought to my attention this winter, in my district: Grove City, Montevideo, Minnesota, Eden Valley, Litchfield, Paynesville, Ortonville, Annandale, Walnut Grove, Elk River, Willmar, Princeton, Renville, Buffalo, Hector, Clinton, Wheaton, Fairfax, Kimball, Sanborn, Echo, Dawson.

Congratulations also to those many more FFA boys and chapters who have also participated but without public acknowledgment.

Mr. Speaker, since last week was Future Farmers Week, I would like to commend these boys by reprinting two editorials which appeared in newspapers in the Sixth District.

"The Future Farmers?" was published in O. B. Augustson's West Central Daily Tribune, and "A Worthy Organization" appeared in James Wermerskirchen's Pierz Journal.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to have inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD these two editorials:

THE FUTURE FARMERS?

This is Future Farmers Week when we salute the young men in this state and national organization. Nationally the movement has 445,000 members of which some 14,000 are in 278 chapters in Minnesota. The movement is dedicated to some splendid ideals and goals. The members are students who plan to farm, to enter agricultural colleges or work in some occupations of some farm connection.

We are intrigued with the theme for this week. It is "Agriculture—Strength of America." That is a good slogan. But it encompasses a lot. Of course the food producing industry is the most important a nation has. One can do without most anything but food—we all must eat. And any nation with a strong, productive and bountiful agriculture can progress, become great and survive when other nations, less fortunate, make no progress or succumb.

That definition is basic. What we are more interested in just now is what the changes are now and are to be in the farming family. What that farming family has been given for its most needful work and what will happen to it tomorrow. Truly farming has never been paid for what it should have received for its produce and its effort. Agriculture has always provided food, cheap to the American society. It has actually subsidized the high standard of living of the American people.

Farming has always been treated by a total buyers market—the what-will-you-give-me market, the open market, if you please, which always like to pay less, rather than more. So agriculture from its beginning, has been kicked around except perhaps during times of war and its unusual demands for food and when everyone else grew fat with profits?

Future of farmers? What is the outlook? Rosy? Not so. Even at present, last Saturday farmers brought bred sows to market to see if this gesture would result in higher prices to come. Desperation, one might even call it. Today—bred cows are scheduled to be also marketed. For the same purposes. More desperation.

All this predicated on some thinking of supply and demand which economic principle has been a joke in the past. For one knows full well that the market price was not fixed by the demands of hungry mouths so much as the demands of the buyers at the market place. And those buyers have always been the well organized group and armed with all sorts of manipulation.

Future Farmers or Future of Farmers? Guess it may not be so much all the talk of efficiency as it is the control of the market. When that control of the market is absent, more and more small farmers are going to be shoved off the acres. Bigger and bigger farms, a smaller number of farms. And when the farms of this nation wind up in relatively few hands—then watch out—there will be something like NFO with a vengeance just like the few, big boys in industry decide what the public is going to pay for their product.

That could be the continuing trend. And if it is, Main Street should be an alarmed observer.

A WORTHY ORGANIZATION

That most worthy organization, the Future Farmers of America will receive well-deserved recognition during the week of February 18 to 25. Writers, commentators, officials and others in all walks of life, will pay tribute to one of the most important groups of young people in the country—the young people who in years to come will bear the heavy responsibility of providing the food and fiber so sorely needed by a world confronted with the prospect of famine, unless unprecedented breakthroughs are achieved in food production.

Each year the significance of Future Farmers of America Week grows. The message that the young farmers of tomorrow endeavor to impart to the nation during their "Week" is simple. They seek to, "Inform (the) public of the (the) importance of agriculture to America, (the) value of good citizenship development, and (the) role of Future Farmers of America in this effort".

There was a time when the nation was predominantly agricultural. Raising food to eat absorbed the efforts of a majority of the people. Gradually, as agricultural technology improved, fewer and fewer people were required on the land to produce food. One farmer now feeds scores of other people—people who have moved to the cities where they produce all the other necessities and luxuries of our age except food.

There is only so much land; thus as populations increase, those who are engaged in agriculture will bear an increasingly heavy responsibility to their fellow men. It is indeed a privilege to pay homage to the FFA.

Cedar Falls Youth Is Iowa Winner of VFW Voice of Democracy Contest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to note that the Iowa winner of the annual Voice of Democracy Contest sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and its ladies auxiliary is a resident of the district I have the honor of representing.

He is Stephen J. Rapp, of Cedar Falls, and the text of his winning speech follows:

DEMOCRACY: WHAT IT MEANS TO ME

In the cold winter of late 1966 and early 1967 most of a nation sits, and watches, and waits.

From Maine to Hawaii most of us, if you have noticed and if you think about it, seem a little tired. Many are merely satisfied; almost as many think we have come too far; and a few don't really care.

But what is there to be tired about or satisfied about?

True, America has come a long ways in the last few years. In changes during this last decade we have seen the definition and the usage of democracy enlarged, and we have seen the opportunities under it widened. We have seen what was rapidly becoming a second place educational system move to become a first place one. We have witnessed the guaranteeing after centuries of certain inalienable rights to a great portion of the population. We have watched attempts to alleviate much of the unnecessary and wasteful human want from our nation and other nations. We have seen a soaring national and world economy bring our nation and our planet to the highest overall living standard in history. And we have viewed attempts to insure peace and avert nuclear holocaust by banning certain nuclear tests.

And because of these many and relatively rapid moves many feel democracy has been overfulfilled or simply fulfilled.

But how can anyone feel when he looks at that that remains to be done that we have come anywhere near fulfillment?

One may be tired but one can hardly be satisfied.

How can one be content when still in our own nation and other nations millions cannot receive the education necessary to achieve the full measure of their abilities?

How can one be satisfied when twelve per cent of the nation, because of color of skin, have as the late President Kennedy put it one-half the chance or less of living in a decent neighborhood, of holding a good job, of attending a college or a university, of, in short, attaining those things many of them may need or deserve?

How can one be complacent when we still have Harlems, and Watts, and Appalachias, and Calcuttas? When one-third to two-thirds of the world is in need of food and clothing?

How can we sit back when thousands in our country seem to be more and more turning away from democracy and toward violent methods? From rallies for killers in Alabama, to "Black Power" riots in Cleveland, to midnight blasts in our own small Midwestern city.

How can we feel fulfilled when destructive wars continue to wage? When the United States continues to sell arms to all parties in the explosive Middle East? When fighting becomes the only alternative in Africa, Indonesia, and Viet Nam?

How can we be satisfied?

Democracy to me means something that doesn't lend itself at all to satisfaction, to complacency, to fulfillment or to tiredness. And it is this flexibility that has preserved it and that can preserve it. This flexibility, in the hands of the people, is something that was missing in that score of civilizations and systems that met their falls and their winters.

Our democracy was founded by men considered radical because they weren't satisfied with a government that ruled without the people's consent.

The new Americans weren't content with a little area between the Atlantic and a frontier drawn in the Eastern mountains.

In the early 19th century many throughout the nation were not at all complacent about the institution of slavery.

With the advent of the Industrial Revolution millions were not content with long work weeks, terrible conditions, and child labor.

The population was not at all happy at the beginning of this century with merely a national outlook.

And the people were not satisfied with second place that we seemed to be moving toward earlier in this decade.

Democracy is not something static or immobile, but rather something that is based upon and grows from the change advocated by its citizens—citizens who are never satisfied—citizens who see the problems and are not too tired to act upon them.

But most of those citizens and most of my generation in these cold months now tiredly and contentedly, sit, and watch, and wait. Problems abound, but few seem dissatisfied. That upon which democracy is based seems to be dying. Maybe our winter is finally here.

Haugerud: Less Fat for Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EARLE CABELL
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, recently Dallas had the pleasure of being host to a very articulate and well-received official of the Department of State. The Honorable Howard E. Haugerud, the Deputy Inspector General of Foreign Assistance, addressed a convocation at Bishop College and also a joint noon luncheon of the Lions and Rotary Clubs. As you know Mr. Haugerud's office inspects and evaluates military assistance, economic assistance, and Peace Corps programs all over the world; and he has a unique opportunity to be constantly aware of the relative successes and failures of the various programs. His talks, as well as his appearances on television and radio, were enlightening and gave many of the citizens of our area a better insight into these undertakings. A great many of our people were delighted to learn that we had a realistic and no-nonsense man such as Mr. Haugerud as a watchdog over these farflung programs. During his visit he was interviewed by Mr. Mike Engleman, one of our very fine editorial writers on the Dallas Morning News. Mr. Engleman's story is one of the most succinct and penetrating analyses of the IGA office that has come to my attention, and I recommend it to Members of Congress and to other readers of the RECORD. Under unanimous consent I include in it the Appendix of the RECORD.

HAUGERUD: LESS FAT FOR FOREIGN AID

(By Mike Engleman)

Until late last May Howard E. Haugerud had a quiet, but exhausting job. Then Haugerud's relative anonymity came to a sudden end.

On May 23, Secretary of State Dean Rusk unveiled the activities of the Office of Inspector General of Foreign Assistance in his report to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The office, explained Rusk, had saved the taxpayer "many millions of dollars."

Haugerud is Deputy Inspector General of the office. Although the office chief is J. Kenneth Mansfield, both he and Haugerud have the same rank (assistant secretary of state) and both make the same salary ($27,000). This is because one of them is usually out of the country. Each averages 165,000 air miles a year (always traveling economy class) inspecting the far-flung work of our foreign-assistance missions.

Their small, 40-man office (which spends only a third of its budget each year) has earned an impressive record since it was created upon the urging of Congress in 1960, with successes like:

Discovering that an undersea cable between Tunis and Sicily built with U.S. assistance for NATO has yet to carry its first message.

Causing cancellation of a $40-million dam in Taiwan.

Causing elimination of a $7-million telecommunications system in Korea.

Arranging for $5 million in U.S.-owned German marks, which were lying idle in Libya, to be put into interest-bearing bank accounts.

In this interview, Mr. Haugerud discusses the little-known operations of his office and the new concept in government economy it symbolizes.

Question: Mr. Haugerud, what is your general impression of this nation's foreign-air program?

Answer: By and large, I think our people do a very good job in our foreign-aid programs. There are exceptions, of course, but there are generally caused by conditions that exist in countries where we try to work.

During the past three and a half years of inspecting our various missions around the world, I have been tremendously impressed by the quality of people working in our foreign-assistance programs. They are a dedicated lot.

Could you estimate how much your office has saved for the taxpayer since its inception?

We have been unable to come up with a figure we believe to be honest. News reporters have had figures ranging from $50 to $300 million.

Would it be correct to guess that Congress' dissatisfaction with growing waste in foreign aid gave birth to your office?

No question about it. The Foreign Relations committees of Congress were very angry in 1961, and they wanted one office they could put their finger on and ask what was being done to remedy these situations.

For this reason Congress gave us a powerful club. When the office of inspector general was established by the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, we were granted authority to suspend any part of or all of any foreign-assistance project which we had inspected, after first giving written notice to the secretary of state, whom we report directly to.

Only our office or the secretary of state can order the project resumed after it has been suspended.

Isn't it unusual for an executive office to have this life-or-death authority?

Yes. To my knowledge it is unique in our government.

Apparently it is this authority that makes your office so successful in cutting the fat from our aid programs. Why don't the inspector general offices of other federal departments, like the Department of Agriculture, have this same power?

I'm not competent to comment on how other departments operate. But I do know that without the authority we had given us by Congress, our work would be much more difficult. This concept might be useful in other agencies, but this is something Congress has to decide.

In the case of our office, our responsibilities and authority are clear-cut and everyone who reads the law can understand them. The agencies that we service know that a number of powerful congressional committee chairmen are vitally interested in our work and are aware of our recommendations.

These men hold the purse strings and can be very tough on an agency if they believe the agency is not operating with maximum economy and efficiency.

Most executive offices have much larger staffs than yours. Why is yours so small?

Ken Mansfield and I were on the hill for a number of years. There, the congressional committee staffs are small compared to the executive staffs and we are used to working in that kind of atmosphere.

We're both bugs on getting together a top, small staff, working hard and knowing what everybody's doing.

Your office is still young. Isn't it the tendency in Washington for new offices to balloon in size over the years?

Yes. I think this is probably a part of human nature. In some foreign-assistance efforts I occasionally run across a project that seems to be doing little more than perpetuating people in their jobs. These situations are quickly remedied, however, when they are brought to the attention of top management.

We hope this doesn't happen to us. There have been some pressures from the hill to enlarge. We've been told, "If you can do so much with 40 men, why not have 80 and save twice as much money?" There is some merit to this view, but we feel the drawbacks outweigh the advantages it might have.

Does the President's talk about turning off lights and saving paper clips really promote much economy in government?

One of the factors that has been intensively helpful to us in being able to tighten up various foreign-assistance programs is President Johnson's continuing personal insistence on maximum economy and effectiveness.

Turning off a few lights in the White House may not take very long, but the implication is not lost on those who are spending our money overseas.

There has been a great deal of comment lately on what appears to be great quantities of U.S. goods ending up on the black market or in the hands of the Viet Cong in Viet Nam. How's this happening?

I think the sheer volume of materials going into Viet Nam make some of this inevitable. In the past we tried to depend to a great extent on the Vietnamese to handle these commodities. They just did not have the experience and capability to do so. Now our military is taking over this function and we have seen some improvement in the past months.

As you know, our commodity-import program will probably run to more than $500 million. These are the items that are imported by Vietnamese businessmen for sale to the public at prices fixed to help stabilize the economy. I speak now of commodities such as roofing, cement, machinery, drugs, food stuffs and other items needed for day-to-day consumption by the populace.

Many times the diversion of these goods has been exaggerated by the press and television reporters because of our marking system. Heretofore, the AID handclasp has been stenciled on or attached to all commodities whether they were by grant, loan or import for sale. This led many reporters to believe that each time they saw the handclasp on an item for sale it was a part of the black market.

We have now recommended that AID stencil below the handclasp the notation, "This item imported to be sold," on those items imported for sale. This will clearly identify them as goods to be sold and not grant or loan items lost to the black market.

How much in American goods is lost to the VC and the black market?

This is a difficult question. I can't, in good conscience, give a figure that would be accurate.

Would you say it was a 10th of all our imports?

I don't want to use figures I can't substantiate.

We have run checks on specific commodities being moved between Saigon and the various provinces. In many cases the losses of items like I mentioned earlier have been heavy. We have just completed another such check after having made a number of recommendations a year ago and we find the situation much improved.

These losses must not only be attributed to the black market, but also to the Viet Cong and diversion at the province level by local officials.

Let me emphasize that, although we have made progress, no one is satisfied. All the agencies involved are constantly working to tighten up our lines of supply.

Democracy—What It Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. WATTS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, each year the Veterans of Foreign Wars conduct a "Voice of Democracy" contest. The winner for the Commonwealth of Kentucky is Mr. Raymond Raisor, son of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Raisor, of Frankfort. I take great pleasure in calling his winning essay which is entitled "Democracy—What It Means to Mc," to the attention of my colleagues.

The word democracy is an ambiguous one. To many different people it can mean many different things. Thomas Jefferson saw a democracy as "Equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political;" to Abraham Lincoln it meant "government of the people, by the people, for the people."

However, when I hear the word democracy, in my mind's eye, three pictures are made. The first is that of a voting booth, for it is through direct popular vote that even this nation's highest officer is reduced to an employee of the voters. Secondly I see a pamphlet, perhaps covered with ideals completey separated and apart from the ideals of a democracy, but nevertheless pointing out that in a democracy a man has the liberty to express his deepest feeling, whether or not they be in agreement with democracy. Certainly this does not include the right to say or do anything one wishes, for this is an absence of liberty and democracy. It would include the right to protest or demonstrate and on the other hand would include a police force, strong enough to protect all citizens, yet not so strong that it becomes brutal. The third picture I see is the most important, but it is merely the picture of people standing face to face with their ideals. I visualize different classes and races, working together, for to pretend there were no racial or class disputes in the most perfect society man can create would be foolish. But I see these races and classes working together, with each man recognizing his companion as a man and nothing else.

Yes, I recognize democracy ideally, as a dream, a dream that has been shared by man since the beginning of civilization, corresponding much to the solution he is offered to his most inner problems, a dream in which there is a land where the least can stand beside the greatest and be counted as the same.

This is what we, as members of a democracy, must strive for. What must I do, and my generation do to reach this dream? As Woodrow Wilson said, "stand face to face with our ideals, renew enthusiasms, reckon again duties, to take fresh view of aims and fresh courage for their pursuit". My generation must stand behind the ideals of a democracy and certainly be prepared to fight to defend them. And we must, by all means, exercise our greatest right as citizens, the right to vote. It is my opinion that the youth of America have the strength, fortitude, and determination to come closer to our dream so that, in the words of Woodrow Wilson. "America will come into the full light of the day when all shall know that she puts human rights above all other rights, and that her flag is the flag not only of America, but of humanity."

More Lies From Communist Russia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, December 20, 1966, the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization adopted Resolution 2232(XXI) censoring the United States of America for what it assessed as colonialism in the countries of American Samoa and the U.S. Virgin Islands. The basis for its concern is set forth as disruption of territorial integrity by military bases and installations in controvention of the relevant resolution of the General Assembly. The United States abstained in the record vote. All votes of the Soviet Union were cast in favor.

Soviet Russia is now pressuring the United Nations Committee on Colonialism to include Puerto Rico within the aforesaid resolution as a colonial territory despite a 1953 resolution by the then General Assembly to the contrary.

The obvious intent of the Communist manipulators is to remove Puerto Rico from the protection of the United States and remove our military installations. According to their past performance we can expect riots and bloodshed in Puerto Rico to soften up public opinion for the planned takeaway.

Where is our voice in the U.N. organization to urge colonialism or even slavery charges against the U.S.S.R. in its occupation and its military installations in Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Upper Volta, Byelorussia, and Ukrainia? Do these people have free elections? Is their territorial integrity not violated by Soviet military installations? In fact, could not the U.S.S.R.—controlled by a Communist minority—be indicted as a colonial authority over the people of Russia? What a great hypocrite—this Bolshevik Communist regime of the Soviet Union.

I urge our Members and news media to get the true message to our people as to who is the aggressor in international unrest and colonial government. Throw the international light on the Communist Party of U.S.S.R. It stands self-accused when the facts are known.

I ask General Assembly Resolution 2232(XXI) and the column in the Washington Post for February 24, 1967, be here reproduced for the reading of all fellow colleagues:

General Assembly Roundup, 21st Regular Session

Subject of resolution: *American Samoa, Antigua, Bahamas, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Dominica, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Grenada, Guam, Mauritius, Montserrat, New Hebrides, Niue, Pitcairn, St. Helena, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Seychelles, Solomon Islands, Tokelau Islands, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands and the United States Virgin Islands.*

Date adopted: *December 20, 1966.*

Vote: *93 in favour, none against, with 24 abstentions (recorded vote).*

Document numbers: Committee report to Assembly: *Fourth Committee Report A/6628;* resolution as adopted by Assembly: *2232 (XXI).*

TEXT OF RESOLUTION

The General Assembly, Having considered the question of American Samoa, Antigua, Bahamas, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Dominica, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Grenada, Guam, Mauritius, Montserrat, New Hebrides, Niue Pitcairn, St. Helena, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Seychelles, Solomon Islands, Tokelau Islands, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands and the United States Virgin Islands,

Having examined the chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to these Territories,[1]

Recalling its resolutions 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, 1654 (XVI) of 27 November 1961, 1810 (XVII) of 17 December 1962, 1956 (XVIII) of 11 December 1963, 2066 (XX) of 16 December 1965 and 2069 (XX) of 16 December 1965 and 2189 (XXI) of 13 December 1966.

Deeply concerned at the information contained in the report of the Special Committee on the continuation of policies aiming, among other things, at the disruption of the territorial integrity of some of these Territories and at the creation by the administering Powers of military bases and installations in contravention of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly,

Deploring the refusal of some administering Powers to allow visiting missions of the United Nations to these Territories, .

Conscious that these situations require the continued attention and the assistance of the United Nations in the achievement by the peoples of these Territories of their objectives, as embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Aware of the special circumstances of geographical location and economic conditions concerning some of these Territories,

1. *Approves* the chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to these Territories;

2. *Reaffirming* the inalienable right of the peoples of these Territories to self-determination and independence;

3. *Calls upon* the administering Powers to implement without delay the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly;

4. *Reiterates* its declaration that any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of colonial Territories and the establishment of military bases and installation in these Territories is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of General Assembly resolution 1514(XV);

5. *Urges* the administering Powers to allow United Nations visiting missions to visit the Territories, and to extend to them full co-operation and assistance;

6. *Decides* that the United Nations should render all help to the peoples of these Territories in their efforts freely to decide their future status;

7. *Requests* the Special Committee to continue to pay special attention to these Territories and to report on the implementation of the present resolution to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session;

8. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue to provide all assistance in the implementation of the present resolution.

Recorded vote: *Against:* none.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Maldive Islands, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Portugal, South Africa, Sweden, Thailand, United Kingdom, United States.

Absent: Barbados, Botswana, Gambia, Guyana, Malta.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Feb. 24, 1967]

PUERTO RICO PROBE URGED IN UNITED NATIONS

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—The U.N. Committee on Colonialism is being pressured by the Soviet Union to investigate Puerto Rico as a colonial territory, Robert H. Estabrook of The Washington Post reported yesterday.

Tazania endorsed the Soviet move. The 24-member committee previously has called Puerto Rico a colonial possession of the United States, despite a 1963 resolution by the General Assembly recognizing that the island had exercised its right of self-determination.

The Colonial Committee also is discussing British Caribbean territories any plans to include the American Virgin Islands. Britain has disclosed Antigua, St. Kitts Nevis-Anguilla, Dominica, St. Lucia, Grenada and St. Vincent will form the new West Indies Associated States, with self-government and the right to secede.

An Insight Into North Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, a member of the Canadian delegations to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, Mr. Theodore B. Blockley, has recently written of his experiences in Hanoi. This article provides a wonderful insight into the plight of the North Vietnamese many of whom are not in accord with Ho Chi Minh's Communist government. It also provides an excellent commentary on the futility of the "troika" arrangement provided for in the 1954 Geneva Conference. Finally, the article points out how North Vietnamese aggression was so serious as early as 1957 that the author predicted that the South Vietnamese Government would be forced to call upon the United States for assistance. Therefore, I commend this article from the winter issue of Modern Age to all who would like to gain a somewhat different perspective on the war in which we are now engaged.

The article follows:

THE ORIGINS OF CRISIS: HANOI, 1957

(By Theodore B. Blockley)

The mounting intensity of North Vietnamese sabotage, subversion and guerrilla operations in South Vietnam, and the apparent inability of the Commission to inhibit this attack, raise the very real possibility that defensive measures undertaken by the South Vietnamese Government may include . . . calling upon the United States for assistance. So began a study entitled "Legal problems related to the implementation of the Cease Fire Agreement for Vietnam in the event of South Vietnam's adherence to SEATO," which I wrote for the Canadian government in 1957. At that time I was serving in several capacities on the Canadian delegations to the International Commissions for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia; among them, that of Legal Advisor to all three Canadian Commissioners, as well as Senior Political Advisor to the Commissioner for Vietnam. On several occasions I served as Acting Leader of the Canadian Delegation to the Vietnam Commission. On my return from service in Indochina I submitted my resignation from the Çanadian Foreign Service and six months or so later brought to an end almost ten years of service in the Canadian Department of State for External Affairs. The studies, reports and dispatches I wrote in 1956–1957 repeatedly referred to the possibility that unless certain action were taken Vietnam might well become the *casus belli* of World War III.

Now that, as it seems to me, Communist hopes of victory on the battle-field in Vietnam begin to fade (unless, indeed, the Russians or the Chinese decide to take the plunge), the ground is assiduously being prepared for a Communist victory at the conference table. The 1954 Geneva Conference was, in effect, almost solely concerned with France's extrication, with as little loss of "face" as possible, from a position which France had come to regard as untenable (which, indeed, it most probably was). So it would appear to be the object of Communist strategy to cast a new Conference, in the public mind in the United States as in the rest of the world, in the context of providing a means for American withdrawal from a similarly untenable position into which (so the propaganda runs) bad—at any rate, unfortunate—decisions had sucked the country. The success of this propaganda effort appears to be regarded as inevitable by Communists, Marxists, pro-Communists, pro-Marxists—however one may designate those who ardently desire (as distinguished from those who may quite genuinely fear) the failure of American policy in Southeast Asia—anti-Americans of every stripe whom I have been encountering in Britain, elsewhere in Europe, and in the U.S. itself.

The fact is, however, that there is no real identity, or even similarity, between the former French position in Vietnam and the present American position. France was a defeated and discredited colonial power. The United States, on the other hand, has been called on by a very large majority of South Vietnamese to help them escape the Communist yoke. And America is being militarily victorious.

Although I am fearful that any unfortunate North Vietnamese who came into contact with me, openly or clandestinely, during the period of my service with the International Commission may, as a consequence of what I say here, suffer torture and death, I must reveal that many of the North Vietnamese whom I met expressed the hope that one day the Americans would "again" liberate them from tyranny and oppression. (The previous liberation, in their minds, was from the Japanese.) I felt compelled to try and convince those who expressed this hope that whatever happened in the future, their deliverance could only come from their own acts; nor, at this time, does it seem likely that U.S. policy might "escalate" toward the objective of freeing the North Vietnamese from their cruel masters.

On all sides, in America itself no less than in Europe, one again encounters urgings for a "return to Geneva"—to the Geneva Accords (1954) relating to the Cease Fire in

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[1] A/6300/Add.9, chapters XIV–XIX; A/6300/Add.10, chapter XXII.

Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos—as though here were to be found the means of unravelling the whole tangled skein of all Vietnam's troubles, and America's arising out of its commitments to the South Vietnamese. Senator Fulbright recommends a new attempt to apply the Accords both in their spirit and in their letter. (But what was their spirit and their letter?) The London *Observer* demands a renewed effort to make the Agreements really work. (But did they ever "really" work, and could they "really" work?) Other voices are raised to suggest that the International Control Commission would—if the Americans would only let it function—serve to protect South Vietnam from the equally pernicious American and Communist drive to dominate.

(The technique of bracketing the Americans with the Communists in this fashion, of equating "coca-colonialism," as it used to be called, with the employment of Russian troops to suppress the Hungarian revolt, has served the Communists well in Europe. It is in the glib patter of every Gaullist youth—even as he sips his Coca-Cola. Now it is being used by the Party faithful to muddy the waters in any consideration of the Vietnam problem.)

Before commencing an account of some of my experiences in North Vietnam, I must point out some of the serious flaws in the Cease-Fire Agreement and in the constitution of the Commission. These flaws were such as to paralyze any real achievement by the Commission. After months of trying to work in this context, to play my part in securing, narrowly, compliance with the Agreement, and broadly, a climate of peace in Vietnam, I began to feel like a man condemned to carry water in baskets to a conflagration. By comparison the labors of Sisyphus were an enormous accomplishment; at least he rolled that stone to the top of the hill during the day: we in the Commission budged it hardly an inch. Finally, one day I found myself scrawling three words over and over again on the writing pad in front of me; frustration, futility, fraud! For me, these three words sum up the functioning—or rather, non-functioning—of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam.

There was constant frustration in every procedural move in the Commission. Eventually, when one had painfully gotten a problem formally before the Commission for consideration and had shown beyond possibility of challenge the facts of a case, and then had secured a reluctant decision by the Commission, the decision was rendered futile by the North Vietnam government. One day—that was the day of my scrawling "frustration, futility, fraud"—it dawned on me that the Commission was being used as a front behind which the Communists were mounting their assault on on South Vietnam. That was the day I decided to go home.

It is my first opinion that the 1954 Agreement was deliberately conceived so that the Commission set up by it should not have the remotest possibility of achieving even so much as the Korean Commission. By reason of its "troika" composition the draftsmen of the Agreement intended that the Commission should be stymied from the very beginning; but if, by any miracle, all three members—India, Poland, and Canada—should agree, they should have no power to act. The word "Control" in the Commission's full title was the height of irony—the Commission had no control over anything, not even its own transport.

The miracle of agreement did happen once, to my knowledge, in the Commission. "Espionage, sabotage, and subversion" was the title of a unanimous report I finally managed to have the Legal Committee of the Commission adopt. When the Report was put before the plenary session of the Commission, the Polish Delegate repudiated it, the Polish Legal Advisor, poor chap, was recalled, the Indian Delegate (the Chairman) "withdrew" Indian support, and the Indian Legal Advisor had his knuckles severely rapped by New Delhi, and was shortly recalled.

Then there was the Father Vinh case. Father Vinh was a doughty, stiff-necked Catholic priest in his late seventies who had been illegally, under the provisions of the Agreement, arrested and detained by the Communist North Vietnamese authorities on trumped-up charges, not the least important juridically being the allegation that he had stolen a bicycle (the Vietnamese have a wonderful sense of humor). For months, and through repeated changes of individual membership of the Commission, we wrestled with the Father Vinh case. Finally, I persuaded the Indian Chairman that in this matter the North Vietnamese officials had been rude to him, whereupon he decided that the Commission should call upon the North Vietnamese to produce Father Vinh before it, and he put pressure on the Polish Delegate to give his reluctant concurrence. The very next day the North Vietnamese authorities blandly informed the Commission that Father Vinh had escaped from the concentration camp. The Canadian Delegate commented that he had doubtless escaped riding a stolen bicycle down the jungle trails; this produced gales of laughter on the parts of Indians, Poles, and Vietnamese alike, until the Canadian Delegate expressed his conviction that indeed Father Vinh most probably has escaped, not merely from confinement and the suffering of the camp, but from all the sorrow of this world. Subsequently, we received secret information that Father Vinh had been "executed" the very day the Commission adopted the resolution for his appearance before it. There were hundreds of cases like Father Vinh's in the Commission; there would have been thousands had not the Canadian Delegation recognized that interventions on behalf of individuals in North Vietnam constituted, in fact, sentences of death for them.

In view of the Commission's sorry record of failure in its two-fold role of protecting each section of Vietnam from the other, pending unification in accordance with the genuine will of the people of Vietnam, and of protecting individuals entitled to protection under the terms of the Cease-Fire Agreement, anyone who suggests that it could do any better in the future under the same terms of reference must be utterly disingenuous, incredibly ignorant, or downright pro-Communist.

When I was sent out to Vietnam to serve on the Commission I was already familiar with its problems, from my service as Head of the Southeast Asia Section of the Far Eastern Division of the Canadian Department of State for External Affairs. From my reading and general study I had developed a very lively respect for the Communist triumvirate, Ho Chi-minh, Pham Van Dong, and General Giap. Subsequent personal acquaintance increased my admiration—my appalled admiration—for these men. They are among the most impressive men I have ever met, and I have been acquainted with Premiers, Presidents, Princes, Generals, Admirals, and Air Marshals. I had also met the late President Ngo Dinh Diem (at a time when he was in the political wilderness) on several occasions, and had had discussions with him lasting several hours. For him I had conceived not merely a profound admiration, but also a respect and, indeed, affection and sympathy. My grief at his death was comparable to my grief at the death of the late President Kennedy. It presented no problem to me to bring to my job on the Commission, in accordance with my instructions from my seniors in External Affairs, complete impartiality in the discharge of what we conceived to be a judicial function. This was still the Canadian attitude as late as 1958. We were instructed to lean over backwards in order to keep contention with the Indians, and even the Poles, to a minimum. It was obvious that neither the Indians nor the Poles had any sort of comparable instruction to "get along with" the Canadians. While we were frequently ready to stretch our interpretation of the Agreement very broadly in order to accommodate the Indians and the Poles, it was very, very rare for us to meet with any reciprocity. For example, we Canadians were able to persuade the French and South Vietnamese to give up the persons of several assassins who had murdered, allegedly on purely political grounds, Vietnamese and Frenchmen, not only in Vietnam but also in France itself. (I class among the more esoteric of my life's activities my Commission conferences with Chairmen and Secretaries of Assassination Committees.) But I was never able to prise out of the Communists' hands one single human life such as Father Vinh's, against whom even the North Vietnamese did not go to the ludicrous extreme of accusing of murder. It is still a matter of great sorrow that I was unable to save a single soul.

Communist "correctness" is stressed no less by the North Vietnamese than by their "elder brothers," Russia and China, so that it was no surprise to me to be very formally greeted at Hanoi Airport by a reception committee composed of various middle-ranking officers of the government, as well as members of my own delegation and of the other delegations. The surprise came later as our cavalcade of cars leaving the airport crossed the railroad track which runs along one side. Working on the railroad right of way was a group of the prettiest women and girls I had ever seen—forty or fifty of them, guarded by soldiers with fixed bayonets. The group was hauling ballast, shovelling the broken rock and raking it into place between the sleepers and rails, and doing all the usual "navvy" work associated with track maintenance. In answer to my query, I was told by the Chief of Protocol who was riding beside me that these were prostitutes being "re-educated." I mentally contrasted Communist "re-education" of prostitutes with South Vietnam's—where they were undergoing training in sewing, cooking, etc. This was the first difference borne in on me between the free South and the Communist North. In its way, revealing enough.

Shortly after my arrival I was tendered a reception which was attended by many of the North Vietnamese leaders. Assigned an escorting "political" military officer who who spoke very good English and impeccable French, I spent a large part of the evening trying to duck him, and to get into conversation alone with Vietnamese civilians, or young fighting-men army officers. My chance came at last when I left my escorting officer pinned down by the British Consul-General and the French Régué Général (Jean Sainteny). I managed to slip off with three young P.A.V.N. ("People's Army of Vietnam") majors one of whom, I had noted when he was presented to me, wore the "Hero of Dien Bien Phu" Medal—North Vietnam's equivalent of the Congressional Medal of Honor. My recognition of his high decoration greatly pleased all three of the majors. Building on this goodwill—I served for close to fifteen years in the Canadian and British Armed Forces—I turned the conversation to political matters. In an effort to convince me of the nobility of the ideals of communism the "Hero of Diem Bien Phu" referred to the recent conduct of his Chief, Colonel Ha Van Lo (you may guess what our irreverent nickname for him was), Head of the North Vietnamese Liaison Mission with the International Commission.

Colonel Ha Van Lo, to whom I had already been introduced at the airport, was standing across the room regarding us with a baleful stare. He looked like a character actor out of Hollywood Central Casting. A former mandarin, he had a long, thin, cruel, basilisk face—quite the most frightening I have ever seen. Colonel Ha Van Lo, said the young major, had had a captive turned over to him recently. The captive was his own brother, an officer in the South Vietnamese Army who had been kidnapped by North Vietnamese agents in the South. Colonel Ha Van Lo had then proceeded personally to torture his own brother to death—not too quickly—extracting a great deal of useful information during the process, said my admiring informant. Didn't that prove what a magnificent thing communism must be, to make a man do that to his own brother? Fortunately, before I had a chance to be undiplomatic, my escorting officer came hurrying up to reclaim his charge, saying "Qu'est ce que c'est le complôt?".

Colonel Ha Van Lo's opposite number, the Chief of the South Vietnamese Liaison Mission was Colonel Nam. Nam had been a senior officer in the Vietminh, but was not a Communist, and as soon as a non-French, non-Communist government had been set up in the South, he managed to slip away and join it, as, of course, did many of the old Vietminh. However, he was a marked man, and he knew it. He would quite dispassionately say to me—we became very good friends—that he hoped he would die bravely when the Vietcong caught him, as they did. When his poor shattered body was dumped in front of his home in Saigon, no reporter or photographer found the story of sufficient interest to give attention comparable to that given the victims of attacks on Vietcong villages. I find it a strange phenonemon that so much concern has been expressed regarding the rough treatment which has sometimes befallen the Vietcong, their associates or sympathizers, and so little compassion been manifest for the Vietcong's victims.

As a lesser example of this dual morality or double standard, all concerned with the ICC seemed to take it for granted that members of the Commission and the staffs should be severely restricted in their movements in North Vietnam, but accorded almost untrammeled freedom of movement in South Vietnam. When I first went to Hanoi the Canadians were restricted to a three-block area around the hotel where they lived and the office building in which they had their delegation headquarters. On the other hand, in South Vietnam the Poles—Communists—were allowed to go to Cap St. Jacques, and, so far as I am aware, had the free run of Saigon. In my early days in Hanoi the only diversion for Canadians was to go for a post-prandial walk around the "p'tit lac," an artificial lake with a beautiful pagoda within the three-block range from the Commission hotel. It appeared to be the only place in Hanoi where, for foreigner and native inhabitant alike, a modicum of privacy was possible, and the park surrounding the lake was filled every evening with silent crowds moving round and round the lake. The first night, walking alone, I joined this promenade. Out of the darkness came voice saying softly, "Bon soir, M'sieu," "G'-night, Mister Canada." At first, I would turn my head in the direction from which the voice had seemed to come, in order to return the salutation, but I would only encounter inscrutable faces, seemingly unaware of my presence. Soon, I learned to reply looking straight ahead, without seeking to discover who was endeavoring to address me. After I had been in Hanoi a while I learned that it was possible to hold complete conversations this way—the person or persons talking with me remaining some distance to the side and alternately moving forward or dropping back, usually screened by four or five friends—all of us falling silent as newcomers approached.

One night, after returning to the hotel and retiring to bed, I heard gunfire. I hastily got up and tried to leave the hotel to go and see what was happening, but the armed North Vietnamese guards prevented me from leaving. The next night, as I walked around the "p'tit lac" I learned that a score or so of "cadres"—junior Communist officials—had been dispatched, at the cost of close to two hundred killed among the local populace. However, I was grimly assured, it had been worth the doing—the surviving "cadres" were behaving a lot more circumspectly than before.

Another night a voice came out of the darkness and asked me, first, "Vous êtes Canadien?", going on to ask whether I had ever been in the United States, did I like the United States, did I like American jazz? Receiving affirmative answers to all these questions, the questioner next asked if I would like to go to a jazz session. I said I should, feeling very much afraid that this was an *agent provocateur*, but deciding to take the chance. The next night, according to instructions I had been given the previous evening, I followed my interlocutor by a most devious route to the door of a small shop. Slipping inside, I found a replica of an American, and Canadian, ice-cream parlor of the '20's, complete with round marble-topped tables, round, twisted-wire chairs, and tall sundae glasses. I was quite astonished to discover that various sorts of ice-cream concoctions were available, and that milk was being drunk. When my guide noticed my hesitation—milk in any form in Southeast Asia is highly suspect—he indicated a great stack of canisters at the end of the shop, behind a counter, marked UNICEF. These containers held powdered milk from which the confections had been made, as well as the straight milk drinks, and I smiled wryly to think of the vicissitudes through which these canisters had passed. Sent, I suppose, originally to feed the children of South Vietnam, by some means they had passed into the possession of the French at Dien Bien Phu. Captured by the Vietminh, some North Vietnamese quartermaster had probably fiddled them to this clandestine ice-cream parlor.

The jazz session was supplied by a magnificent record player—American—which was tended by the proprietress of the ice-cream parlor, one of the most beautiful women I have ever seen. She was a Vietnamese, or possibly *métise*, much taller than the average, pregnant, and carrying herself like a queen. With her was another stunningly beautiful woman—a veritable Valkyrie, with ash-blonde, streaming hair, a high complexion, and splendid carriage. This, I was told, was a Russian woman, who had smuggled the records, cut in Russia secretly from Voice of America broadcasts (this was at a time when "decadent Western music" was banned in Russia), across the trans-Siberian railway, and down across China.

Covertly I looked over the clientele. The majority were Vietnamese youths—no girls. Then there was a sprinkling of older Vietnamese men and women, and half a dozen or so "ralliés"—deserters from the French Union Forces. Europeans of one nationality or another. All presented the true jazz addict's rapt devotion to the music—there was very little conversation. All the youngsters were drinking milk—again, I was told, in North Vietnam one demonstrated one's sympathies by what one drank—milk, if one was pro-American, wine, if pro-French, Chinese beer if pro-Chinese, vodka if pro-Russian.

After I had become friendly, secretly, with a number of North Vietnamese, each new encounter was a frightening experience, for fear the new acquaintance was an *agent provocateur*. Although there was a real possibility of being "framed," or even murdered (as were more than one of my colleagues on the Commission), I became really close friends with a group of young Hanoi University students.

My meetings with this group would be in this wise; the group would cluster around a park bench at the edge of the "p'tit lac" which had been inched into the darkest spot in the park between two glimmering light bulbs—the authorities were having great difficulty with Hanoi's power-house. Shielded by members of the group, I would slip onto the bench, and the boys would then cluster round and screen me from the passers-by. From these young men I learned that the whole student body of Hanoi University had been expelled and was being sent to work in the fields, with a complete new undergraduate year being brought in from the country. The high school graduates of Hanoi—also a rebellious lot—were being left to "cool off," and no graduates from the big city schools were to be taken into the university that year. The wholesale expulsion of the university students occurred because of a protest by some twenty or thirty students over some issue which, since I do not remember it, one must presume was not of much consequence. The protesters themselves had disappeared; it was generally surmised that several, if not all, had been executed. The expulsion order applied even to the graduating medical class—two or three of my friends were members of it—despite the fact that North Vietnam was desperately short of doctors following the recent expulsion of the French doctors of the Institut Pasteur.

The expulsion of the French doctors, along with the whole "Délégation-Général de la France"—as the French diplomatic mission was called—resulted from an episode reflecting great credit on the French and little on the representatives of my own country. My then chief, the Canadian Delegate, was transferred to another post after I had been in Hanoi some time (resulting in one of the occasions when I was the Acting Leader of the Canadian Delegation). We were giving him a farewell party, and I went over to his residence to see that all was in order. This was at the time of the Hungarian revolt. The residence stood in its own extensive grounds, surrounded by a garden which had run rank since the departure of its former French owner, all surrounded by a very high wall. Outside the gate was a North Vietnamese military post with armed guards; inside was a Canadian military post, with unarmed guards. Having gone through the gate and walked up the long dark drive—a rather eerie business through the bushes and trees planted by a vanished French satrap—I gained the villa and was entering it. The villa was built in the standard Franco-Vietnamese fashion—like Chinese boxes, one within another; double outside walls, four or five feet apart, with window openings set opposite one another. As I stepped across the dark space between the outside wall and the inside door, a man stepped smartly forward out of the shadows, causing me no small fright. I tensed, ready to fight fiercely for my life (one of the Canadian delegation had been assassinated only three or four days before). Instead of attacking me, the man clicked his heels, bowed from the waist, and announced his name—a Doctor So-and-so—a Hungarian name, and in heavily accented English he said he wished to see the Canadian Ambassador. I said he'd better tell me his business, and in double quick time or I'd call the guards inside the villa. He demurred, but I assured him I was the Canadian Ambassador's principal advisor, and he'd better hurry up and speak his piece. It turned out he was the leader of the Hungarian Aid Mission to North Vietnam. They had all demonstrated their support of the revolt in Hungary at a party at the Hungarian Embassy; support in which they'd been joined by the Ambassador, but not by the First Secretary. The Ambassador had now disappeared, the First Secretary was in control, the Aid Mission—including their wives and children—were under house arrest and had been ordered back to Hungary via Peking and Moscow—and they feared they would not get past Peking, where the men would be murdered and the women and children turned adrift. He begged for asylum from the International Commission, or from the Canadian Delegation. I told him to return to his place of concealment while I went and got my chief. Returning with him, I presented the Hungarian who repeated the account he had just given me. The Delegate became very agitated (he reproved me afterwards for not calling the guards and handing the man over without troubling him), regretted he could do nothing to help, held out his hand and wished the Hungarian "Good luck." To my admiration, the Hungarian bowed again from the waist, clicked his heels, and ignored the outstretched hand, saying, "I will not take your dirty hand. It is too easy for you to pass by on the other side and leave my wife and children to die." The Delegate turned on his heel, leaving me to rid him of the embarrassment.

Two or three days later the diplomatic community in Hanoi was electrified to learn that the French—who, legally, had no diplomatic status whatever in Hanoi—had given the Hungarians asylum, after they had been turned down by us Canadians, the British, the Indians—the only non-Communist missions, besides the French, in Hanoi. Three or four days after that the North Vietnamese declared the whole French Mission *"persona non grata"* and told them to get out immediately. A day or two after that I went out to the airport to take off for Saigon myself—things were getting a little too much for me to stomach in Hanoi and I felt the need to breathe the free air of Saigon.

One of the things I had most strongly opposed on the Commission was the granting of transport facilities on the Commission's private airline to officials and agents of the North Vietnamese government, and I had finally insisted that the Commission adopt the policy that none but Commission personnel were to be carried on Commission planes except under the most extraordinary circumstances. This day, on my arrival at the airport, I was approached by a highly excited Indian Army major, who complained that the Commission aircraft was full of French Mission personnel who had been given passes by the Canadian transport officer. Sure enough, as I climbed into the plane—an old Boeing Stratocruiser—I was mildly annoyed to see a good two-thirds of the seats occupied by French men, women, and children. I began to expostulate with the senior French officer on board, saying finally, "After all, you French have your own aircraft, why do you fill up ours?" In reply, the Frenchman pointed to their aircraft, which was being loaded with crates by North Vietnam army personnel, and said, "We have decided to take all the delegation furniture with us—we've grown tired of leaving our stuff behind." I began to protest at this manifest absurdity when suddenly a great light went on in my mind. Whereupon I turned to the Indian Army transport officer and said gravely, that this constituted one of those exceptional sets of circumstances which the Commission resolution had contemplated might arise and that, by providing transportation for the French Mission personnel we really were helping the North Vietnamese government to get rid of the last vestiges of French influence. I was sure that he, as an Indian, would want to facilitate this, and at any rate I knew that his chief, Ambassador Parthasarati, certainly did. The Indian major, barely convinced, went away muttering. A little later, the French Mission plane shut its doors, taxied out to the end of the runway and took off. Soon after, our aircraft likewise closed its doors, and its captain allowed me to taxi it out for the take-off, which he proceeded to do with me. Every one sat tense and silent as, in company with the French plane, we flew to the Laotian border. The moment I came back into the passenger cabin and notified them that we were across the border and would soon be in Luang Prabang, all the French people leaped to their feet, embraced one another and me, and broke out champagne from their flight bags. The few Vietnamese on board looked on in astonishment, as we proceeded to have a celebration that lasted for the whole of the rest of the journey to Saigon. Some days later I read a news item announcing the arrival in Australia of the whole of the former Hungarian Aid Mission to North Vietnam.

During Chou-en-lai's state visit to Hanoi I was invited, as Acting Leader of the Canadian Delegation at the time, to attend the numerous receptions which were accorded him. At the first of these I was singled out by Ho Chi-minh as the only person at the reception, besides the guest of honor, Chou, with whom he conversed. In the course of the evening I had two long talks with him, and two with Chou-en-lai.

Early next morning I was roused by the delegation Officer of the Day who informed me a crowd had gathered at the delegation office building, and that part of them had forced their way into the building courtyard, despite the effort of armed North Vietnamese guards, and unarmed Canadian soldiers, to keep them out. I pulled some clothes on hastily and was driven to the building. The crowd, which I estimated at over a thousand and growing rapidly, only let the car through when the orderly officer called out "C'est M. l'ambassadeur canadien."

Going through a postern in the main gates of the carriage-way into the building courtyard, I found around two hunrred Vietnamese milling about, with the Canadian soldiers expostulating with them, trying to persuade them to leave, and anxiously keeping them from swarming up the staircases into the offices themselves. I went up to a half-way landing on one of these staircases and in my best military parade ground voice bellowed for silence, and immediately a silence did fall over the former hubbub. I then singled out an impressive looking Vietnamese matron to act as spokesman, and I asked her to tell me what the demonstration was all about. She told me the rumor had quickly spread about town the previous evening and night that the Canadian Delegation now enjoyed cordial relations with the Communist authorities and that the Canadians would now be able to ensure the issuance of exit permits to those, entitled to them under the Geneva Agreement, who had been denied them by the North Vietnamese government. "So," she finished quite simply, "I knew there would be thousands coming for them today so I came early for mine, as have these other people."

In the meantime truckloads of armed police and soldiers had been arriving outside, and struggles were developing as they tried to seize people in the crowd. Stepping on to an outside balcony, I again let a bellow out of me and—under other circumstances it would have been ludicrous—arrested these activities all at once. Then I shouted to the crowd; "Que vous êtes fous, fous, fous"—"How mad you are . . . to come here" continuing, in French, "The Canadian Delegation can never never, never help you—it does not want to help you. The Commission can never help you—it does not want to help you. Never come near this building again, nor go near the Commission building. And tell everybody else so. Now, run, run, run—and get away as fast as you can."

As I cried out the last words I signalled to the Canadian soldiers who swung open the great gates, and the crowd in the courtyard erupted into the crowd outside, and all turned and scattered, bowling over many police and soldiers who, miraculously, refrained from opening fire (although we had had rifle fire in Hanoi previous nights.)

The last I saw of the marvelous old Vietnamese dame, she had kilted up her skirts, nimbly dodged two or three soldiers or policemen, jumped into a pedicab, for which she must have arranged beforehand, and careened off down the street, rounding a corner on two wheels while a policeman who had been pursuing her in another pedicab lay sprawled in the street, the operator of his vehicle, either deliberately or accidentally, having upset in trying to round the same corner.

Mercifully, only two or three truckloads of prisoners were borne off in the police vans. All efforts of the Commission subsequently to ensure these luckless ones were not punished for attempting to exercise their rights under the Geneva Agreements went without success. Their fate was a mystery to us.

The Canadian Delegation spent hours destroying thousands of petitions from people in North Vietnam who clearly came within the provisions of the Agreements, so that there would be no chance of the petitions falling into the hands of the North Vietnamese authorities, for them to take punitive action which the Commission was quite unable to prevent. To give the Indians their due, I was told by some of them that they had done likewise with petitions addressed either to their delegation or to the Commission itself, for which the Indians furnished the Secretariat.

Finally the day came when I could stand my assignment no longer, and I marched in to the new Delegate and told him so. He assured me I would be ruining my career if I insisted on "packing it in" but I assured him I had lost all taste for a career that involved such fraud as membership of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam. Incredibly enough, some of my friends in Hanoi were able to give me a farewell party—partly because they included among their number one who was a Party member—Communist Party member, that is, of course. The next day was perhaps one of the most terrible of my life and one I shall never forget, nor shall I remember my failure to act without feeling great regret. On my return to my hotel room I found one of my friends there. How he had got in was a mystery I never solved—there were Vietnamese guards all over the place to prevent the local people having any contact whatever with us. He begged me to empty my trunk, and to hide him in it and to take him out with me. In tears, he told me that he had no ration card, because he was the son of an official under the French-sponsored regime, that in spite of his pals giving him everything they could spare from their own food he was gradually starving to death. He was not the first North Vietnamese I had discovered in my quarters and in my office, but the others had been people I had never laid eyes upon before, and although it had been painful to threaten them with the summoning of the Communist police if they did not leave—since there was nothing I could do for them—it was not comparable to the downright horror I felt when I had to threaten this youth, beside himself in an agony of imploring, with the same action.

The next day I arrived in Saigon, and the day after that landed in the hospital with anthrax. Many weeks later, I stumbled off the plane back in Ottawa, where my "extremist" views about what was going to happen in Vietnam met with a very frosty reception. Some months later my diplomatic career was at an end.

Press Comment on Rhodesia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, since becoming interested in the U.N. action in forcing sanctions against Rhodesia, I have been amazed at the overwhelming disapproval of our country's action in joining England not only as expressed by individuals but by the press. I just received the following letter from W. L. King of James W. Rouse & Co., of Washington, D.C., as follows:

> I have read with a great deal of interest your very strong and able address to the Congress on the Rhodesian and South African situation and appreciate your sending me a copy.
>
> The impression that we have, after visiting South Africa, is identical with yours and I think you are so right in every statement you have made. I feel sure you will find enough support in Congress to bring about an improvement in our country's position.

Attached also are excerpts from many papers in the United States showing the disapproval of the press of our country's action against Rhodesia:

PRESS COMMENT ON RHODESIA

The Newark (New Jersey) Star-Ledger January 3 criticises Ambassador Goldberg's justification of United Nations action against Rhodesia. It suggests that if there is a question about the status of the Rhodesian Government it is either a domestic Rhodesian question or a question for Britain and Rhodesia. The demands for action against Rhodesia were not based on any charges of international aggression. The complaints are about purely local action. If the United Nations has a right to intervene in Rhodesia because of charges that the public is not properly represented in the Government, it should look around at dozens of its own members, some of which are governed by dictatorships, even by foreign dictatorships.

The Charleston News and Courier January 4 refers to the irony of the British Queen's message of congratulation to Cuba on their national day in contrast with her Prime Minister's belligerent attitude toward the peaceful regime of Premier Ian Smith in Rhodesia.

A column in the Yakima (Washington) Eagle January 4, concludes by asking if the people of the United States are ready to finance a U.N. invasion of Rhodesia, and probably South Africa, and to water their soil with the blood of our young men. This is the savage reality of the reported pledge by anonymous Washington officials of "continued support for Britain's sanctions".

The Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch January 4 describes the British-Cuban trade deal as an aid to world communism and suggests that the British flout the support the United States has biven them in their flimsy case against the Rhodesian independence movement of Ian Smith and arouse serious questions of their position in the free world struggle to contain communist expansion. Never have we had a better excuse to relieve ourselves of our involvement in the Rhodesian trade embargo, which we joined at Britain's urging.

The Portland Oregonian January 4 makes a similar comparison and suggests that it is time the United States made it clear to Britain and others that it will not for ever play the perennial patsy.

The Milwaukee Sentinel January 4 says that the principles Britain so sanctimoniously invoked in getting the United Nations to call for economic sanctions against rebel Rhodesia are forgotten in the case of Cuba. It makes no sense for the United States to be joined in trade sanctions against Rhodesia.

The Jackson Clarion-Ledger January 4 notes that former Secretary of State Dean Acheson's objective diagnosis of the U.N. role in the Rhodesian affair probably will not bring about a change in the United Nations position against Rhodesia, but it should make a deep impression on fairminded Americans—enough, we hope, to arouse public opinion in this country and prevent U.N. zealots from dragging us into another war which could never be justified legally or morally.

The Miami News January 5 quotes a Ghanaian editor, Mr. Henry Tompson, as saying that "Rhodesia's Africans are just not capable of taking over the Government, not even partially. If they did suddenly find themselves in power, the result would be chaos. They would take over and it would be like another Congo massacre . . . Smith is doing a job and he seems to be doing it well, though I don't know how long he can hold out against the aims of Britain and the desires of African nationalism."

The Chattanooga News-Free Press January 5 says that the United States foolishly, dangerously, unnecessarily and immorally joined Britain in cracking down an economic boycot on peaceful, stable, would-be friendly and definitely anti-communist Rhodesia.

The Portland (Maine) Press Herald January 5 refers to the State Department in one of its moments of Machiavellian madness agreeing to back Britain in its effort to overthrow the Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia if Britain would not criticise our South-east Asia policy. Now it is suggested that if the Cuban deal goes through, we shall lose some of our enthusiasm for economic sanctions against Rhodesia. It's about time Foggy Bottom came to its senses; if we did the right thing and backed Rhodesia, that might persuade London to turn its back on Havana.

The Monroe (Louisiana) World January 6 says it is time for Congress to put an end to the utterly indefensible action of the United States in joining in an effort to prevent a nation from attaining its independence. Such action by Congress is expected to be forthcoming soon after it convenes. It could break the Rhodesian blockade.

The Indianapolis Star January 7 suggests that President Johnson's Executive Order putting the teeth of criminal law in an embargo of most trade with Rhodesia, while not a surprise, is incomprehensible. The editorial notes that the Rhodesian Government, in contrast with most of independent Africa, has demonstrated full ability to maintain stability and order under very adverse conditions imposed from outside.

The Lubbock (Texas) Avalanche-Journal January 7, referring to the Executive Order, says that President Johnson has signed the papers necessary to put into effect this shameful mistake. Questions are expected to be raised in the up-coming session of Congress. They should be loud and clear.

The Dothan (Alabama) Eagle January 8 describes American support for Britain against Rhodesia as a game of "idiots' delight".

The Phoenix Republic January 8 say that nowhere in Goldberg's doxology was he able to answer former Secretary of State Dean Acheson's recent criticism that U.N. policy towards Rhodesia is an illegal intervention under the Charter. No wonder. For there is simply no defense of the U.N. transgression of the first commandment of the U.N. obliging all members to refrain from the threat—repeat, threat—or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state.

The Petersburg (Virginia) Progress-Index January 9 says that it is hard to find a single reason in law, morality or power politics for the Executive Order cutting off trade with Rhodesia.

The Boston Traveler January 9 says perhaps there is some logic to our position in this strange set-up. But from this corner it's invisible.

The Lynchburg News January 10 does not believe that the people of this country in the majority would support Mr. Goldberg's vote for U.N. sanctions against Rhodesia. And, it continues, we are extremely skeptical about the Congress supporting it. Certainly, we would have no respect for a member of Congress who would support it.

The Richmond News Leader January 10 suggests that Mr. Goldberg's position on the Rhodesian question rests upon historical myth, not upon historical reality. This is pipe-dream stuff; but it is the best he has to go on. A national policy so based cannot command respect.

The Chicago Tribune January 11 notices that the British sponsored resolution establishing sanctions against Rhodesia makes every member country specifically responsible for all shipping registered under its flag, no matter who happens to be operating it. Curiously enough, this rule does not seem to apply to Britain herself. Britain has consistently maintained that it is not responsible for British ships which carry supplies to North Vietnam.

The Cumberland (Maryland) News January 12 comments that President Johnson has embarked on a dubious course by imposing through Executive Order the sanctions against Rhodesia requested by the United Nations. One can only conclude that the President has involved the U.S. in a futile undertaking that can lead only to failure and embarrassment for all concerned.

The Foreign Editor of the Arizona Republic remarks January 12 on a report that President Johnson signed the Executive Order imposing sanctions on Rhodesia "with great reluctance". The Foreign Editor comments that Mr. Johnson's reluctance can be well understood. The President must have realised he was putting his signature of approval to one of the silliest government acts in recent history. Britain had no business whatever to bring the Rhodesian issue to the U.N. and the U.N. had no business to discuss it. President Johnson would have done better to "file and forget" the U.N. Rhodesian resolution.

The York (Pennsylvania) Dispatch January 14 suggests that to describe Rhodesia as a threat to international peace is the biggest joke of the U.N.'s history.

The Memphis Commercial Appeal January 15 notes that one of the incongruous features of American foreign policy is Washington's support of Britain's effort to cut off trade with Rhodesia. Our tampering with Rhodesia's internal affairs is questionable. But to back British Prime Minister Harold Wilson's government in this instance is a crowning irony.

The Monroe (Louisiana) News January 15 says that Congress is expected to call on President Johnson to reverse his stand on Rhodesia. The President should re-explore the issues involved and should announce to the world that sanctions against a small, harmless, non-threatening, independent nation are wholly unjustified.

The Indianapolis News and the Phoenix Republic January 16 commend Senator Paul Fannin's recent speech criticizing U.S. support of economic sanctions against Rhodesia. The News says it is to be hoped that the senator's remarks draw considerable attention in Washington. In so effectively countering the arguments of the demagogues in the United Nations, he has injected a note of sanity into the Rhodesian controversy. The Republic says that the senator has courageously and skillfully pointed out where our blindness may lead us in Southern Africa. Now it remains for his Congressional colleagues to insist that Washington abandon this reckless policy.

The Muncie (Indiana) Star January 18 also applauds Senator Fannin's speech and says the action against Rhodesia is a bag of trouble. The U.S. should put it down before it explodes.

The Dayton (Ohio) News January 16 describes the application of mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia as contrary to American principles and the U.N. Charter.

The Phoenix Republic January 18 reports a memorial sponsored by seven senators in the Arizona Senate asking the President and the Congress to recognize the Republic of Rhodesia as an independent nation. The memorial noted that Great Britain "has grievously failed" to apply a single sanction desired by the United States against Cuba or Vietnam, although they are deadly communist enemies.

The Birmingham News January 21, together with other newspapers, reports a speech in the Senate by Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr. asking why peaceful Rhodesia should be boycotted and nothing be done by the United Nations to prevent open trading with North Vietnam.

The Phoenix Republic January 21 has an article by Ralph de Toledano pointing out that Section 5 of the U.N. Participation Act negates the United States Constitution. The article commends the courageous action of Representative James B. Utt of California in sponsoring a resolution directing the President to ignore the economic sanctions voted by the U.N. Security Council against independent Rhodesia.

The Odessa (Texas) American January 21 commends Mr. Utt for seeking to set aside the Executive Order about which there is not a single shred of legality. For the action is meddling in the affairs of other nations. If there is any breach of the peace it is that which is threatened by the U.N. and its members.

The Charlottesville Progress January 21 says that the reasons given by the World Health Organization for abandoning two health projects in Rhodesia are patently weak. A spokesman for WHO is quoted as saying that it was a "practical impossibility" to work with Prime Minister Ian Smith's government because it is not legal. The newspaper comments that Mr. Smith's government is indeed not legal in the eyes of much of the world, but it is a functioning government regardless of its legality and is well able to engage in talks with WHO. "Legal" is a frail excuse to deprive the women and children of Rhodesia of additional medical care that they might receive or to deprive the entire nation of benefits that result from any degree of success in reducing malaria.

The Santa Ana Register January 22 has an article by Representative James B. Utt explaining his Resolution calling for the nullification of United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia.

The Augusta (Georgia) Herald January 24 refers to a series of remarkable statements by leaders of Rhodesia's black African majority. Special reference is made to a meeting of the Council of Rhodesian Chiefs on January 11 which expressed "deep satisfaction" with the present government, urged Prime Minister Ian Smith "to stand firm like a rock" against pressure by the U.N. and pledged to the government the Chiefs' full co-operation in "working toward a constitutional system which would represent all the people of Rhodesia, black and white." This endorsement, says the editorial, by the leaders of Rhodesia's black millions, who will suffer the most from economic harm that is caused by the U.N.'s ill-considered sanctions against the country, should jar the world body to its sanctimonious teeth.

The Clarion (Pennsylvania) News January 25 compares the imposition of sanctions against Rhodesia with Western trading with North Vietnam. It comments that there may be good reasons for this topsy-turvy dealing but they are impossible for most of us to understand.

The Manchester (New Hampshire) Union Leader January 16 has a long article by Frank J. Johnson, Foreign Editor of the American Security Council, who has recently returned from a visit to Rhodesia. The article is entitled "Our Tragic Rhodesian Error" and concludes that Western policy towards Africa has been a record of one tragic error compounded upon another. Before the final peak of madness is reached, before we may find ourselves "plunging headlong into an insane war against people who are among the best friends we have in the world" there should still be time for men of goodwill to address a last appeal to the leaders of the West in London and above all in Washington, and to say "Gentlemen, think again!" Johnson notes that Britain could not, and would not, resort to mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia were it not for the support of Washington. It seems incredible that a United States Government determined to oppose communist aggression by force in Vietnam could be so singularly ill-advised as to support a policy likely to involve the U.S. in a war in Africa against our most reliable friends. It is particularly incredible because the consequences of a U.S. victory could well be the extension of Communist influence or control over the wealthiest and most strategic portion of Africa. Johnson found that many U.S. representatives in South Africa and Rhodesia who were willing to speak frankly disagreed with much of Washington's policy.

The Baltimore Sun January 15 reports that American policy towards Africa is facing a severe challenge in Congress this year. Its focus is American support for the mandatory economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations Security Council against the white minority government in Rhodesia. From the office of Senator Eastland comes word that his Judiciary Committee plans hearings on the legal basis for the Administration's policies.

Spread of Crime in the Suburbs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, in light of the Crime Commission report and the recent articles on crime in the District of Columbia, I feel the latest article appearing in the February 26 edition of the Evening Star, by James Welsh, deserves wide attention by being made part of the RECORD. The article entitled "Crime Is Growing Up in the Suburbs" points out the fact that the ever-increasing rate of crime is not confined to the geographical boundaries of the city of Washington, but spread to the entire Washington metropolitan area. Under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

CRIME IS GROWING UP IN THE SUBURBS

(By James Welsh)

On Friday evenings, Mr. and Mrs. Daniel J. Mullane usually attend the film-lecture programs at the National Geographic Society. On Friday two weeks ago they returned to their home in a pleasantly wooded section of Fairfax to find the doors wide open, the rooms rifled and about $700 missing.

Mr. and Mrs. Edgar F. Brasseur, with their infant daughter, recently drove their 1966 Valiant into an Annandale shopping center. Within the 10 minutes they spent in a furniture store, someone stole their car.

A young Prince Georges County school teacher, Kathleen Jones, came home from work one day to find her Suitland apartment burglarized and two TV sets stolen.

A Kensington apartment project had five apartments looted in one afternoon.

In a Silver Spring branch bank, Mrs. Ann Taylor, a teller, handled $2,727 to a man who appeared to be pointing a gun through a paper bag.

These were not headline cases. Except for the bank job they didn't get into the papers at all. They are the daily routine of crime in Washington's suburbs.

Police investigated, but could promise little. So far, no one has been apprehended in any of the crimes, and except for the car, which was severely damaged, none of the loot has been recovered.

To the victims the crimes came with varying degrees of surprise. Some were downright amazed.

"I can tell you I was stunned," said Mrs. Sallie Scott, whose Kensington apartment was looted of about $800 in jewelry. "I had no idea this kind of thing would happen in this neighborhood."

It is happening, all right, in neighborhoods throughout suburban Maryland and Virginia.

Crime, once considered the plague of the city, has come to the suburbs. Its rate of increase not only is outstripping the population growth, but in some parts of the suburbs, and in some crime classifications, it is going up more swiftly than in the District of Columbia.

In 1966 the number of serious crimes in Montgomery and Prince Georges Counties, Alexandria, Arlington and Fairfax was 11 percent higher than the year before and nearly triple the number in 1960. They were occurring at a rate of 160 a day, or better than one every 10 minutes.

Each suburban family statistically stands one chance in ten of being victimized in a serious crime this year. The total dollar losses for all suburban crime will run in the tens of millions.

Washington's suburban crime is both homegrown and imported.

It is as close as the neighborhood thief, the embezzler, the gang of bored, destructive teen-agers and the man with the twisted mind who hangs around the parks and wooded spaces, and exposes himself before children.

It also comes from farther away. It comes around the Beltway, across the Potomac River bridges and over countless other roads from the city.

It comes, too, from New York, Philadelphia and other breeding places of the highly professional criminal who knows that in the suburbs the pickings are high and the police protection is stretched thin.

"We're getting hit much harder," said a Montgomery County detective, "partly because of the good transportation. They can be in and out of here in a hurry.

"And then, too, it's because there are a lot of well-to-do people here. Hell, every time we get publicity about Montgomery County being one of the wealthiest counties in the country, it seems we get an upsurge in crime."

SUMS UP SITUATION

In Prince Georges County, State's Atty. Arthur A. Marshall summed up the crime situation this way:

"We're no longer small or isolated. We have all the crime you might expect in a community of 580,000 people. It wasn't long ago we considered an armed robbery an outstandingly serious crime. Today we have at least one armed robbery a day, sometimes three or four."

Marshall's county, fastest-growing in the area, also has the fastest-growing crime rate, even topping that of the District.

This is not to say there is more crime in Prince Georges than in the District. But the gap is closing.

Last year Prince Georges police counted more than 20,000 serious crimes. That worked out to 36.2 for every 1,000 persons living in the county. The District rate was 46.2, significantly higher.

But, just as significant, the difference was smaller than it was in 1960, when the Prince Georges rate was 16.5 and the District rate was 29.7 per 1,000.

Montgomery's crime rate also more than doubled, from 14.1 to 31.7 per 1,000 in those six years.

Northern Virginia crime rates are up, too. But though the figure for Alexandria, 39.9 per 1,000, stands highest among the suburban jurisdictions, the increase in Alexandria, Arlington and Fairfax County has not been as steep in recent years as in suburban Maryland and the District.

JUVENILES INVOLVED

Juvenile delinquency forms a critical and hard-to-define part of the suburban crime problem.

Young people are responsible for a definite fraction—one estimate is 20 percent—of what police call serious crime, especially in the categories of housebreaking, larceny and auto theft. And an alarming number of youngsters appear to be involved in other delinquent acts, the most troublesome of which is vandalism.

Last year in Montgomery County, for instance, officers in the juvenile bureau processed 3,726 violations known to be committed by boys and girls under 18. Other Montgomery police records show 4,664 reports of vandalism. Police know most of the destruction was caused by juveniles, but the juvenile bureau's statistics can show this only marginally because in most of the vandalism cases, no one saw what happened.

According to Capt. John Leahy, head of the bureau, the total of 3,726 known delinquent acts in 1966 was down several hundred from the year before. But he added: "Destruction of property is getting more serious all the time."

Already, 1967 looks like a banner year for delinquency. "This January," said Leahy, "was the damndest month we've ever had—housebreakings, runaways, vandalism." So far February is about as bad.

In Prince Georges County, much the same situation prevails with the delinquency curve steadily upward.

County police records show 2,886 juvenile violations in 1960. By 1965 the number was up to 8,256. Last year it hit 11,009 with about one in four cases resulting in arrest, and this year so far it is higher than ever. "We had a January that was just like June," said Lt. Wayne M. Milligan, head of the Juvenile bureau.

Vandalism comes in different forms, hitting individual neighborhoods with peculiar force for a time, then slackening off.

Last year, in the Lake Barcroft area of Fairfax County, the rage among juveniles for a time was to deface automobiles with spray paint. In McLean, they were breaking picture windows.

Window breakage, egg-throwing and other kinds of vandalism got so bad in North Arlington in December that citizens pressured county official into blostering the police force and installing adequate street lights. In the Potomac-Rockville area two weeks ago, a month-long wave of what police called "senseless vandalism" resulted in five youths and adults being charged with shooting out thousands of dollars in plate-glass windows and street lights.

RESISTS MEASUREMENT

With the proliferation of shopping centers, shoplifting has become a major problem, and juveniles are at the root of much of it. Said Montgomery's Capt. Leahy: "More than the half the shoplifting can be traced to teenage girls, and most of them are from good families."

But once again there is no way of knowing the full extent of the problem.

Actually, crime in its entirety resists careful measurement. Nobody knows how bad it is, either in the city or the suburbs.

The records compiled by suburban police departments and courts aren't nearly so sophisticated as the finely detailed report compiled by the D.C. Crime Commission, and even the commission acknowledged its inability "to explore every facet" of crime.

Many crimes simply go unreported. The D.C. Crime Commission estimated this as one in five. In the suburbs it could be just as high.

The resident manager of a Silver Spring apartment project, plagued by vandalism in the last six months complained:

"We just don't report a lot of this. We've had fires, broken windows, storage rooms broken into. If we reported all the damage, our insurance rates would go up."

Then came the night a couple of weeks ago when the bathhouse of the project's swimming pool was gutted by fire. That one was reported. It was obviously arson.

A suburban Maryland detective spoke frankly: "We're finding that many businessmen are giving up reporting bad checks, at least the run-of-the-mill bad checks. They're absorbing the losses."

Vice, organized and unorganized, is another shadowland. It hardly shows up on the annual suburban crime reports. One Prince Georges County official, rolling his eyes upward, said: "We don't have any vice. We don't make any vice arrests; therefore, we don't have any vice."

WHITE-COLLAR CRIME

Equally slippery is the whole area of "white-collar crime." Charges of consipiracy and corruption in the field of real estate zoning have filled the air in Virginia and Maryland in the last year. And in suburban Maryland recently several lawyers have been jailed, indicted or investigated for the alleged misuse of nearly $1 million in real estate settlement funds.

With this kind of activity, most law enforcement officers agree, the known offenses represent but the top of the iceberg. Said the National Crime Commission report:

"Arrest, court or prison statistics furnish little information about the frequency and distribution of these offenses or about the characteristics of the offenders."

And so, for their reports and comparisons, the police fall back on what is more easily measured—"crimes against persons and property." What they call serious crimes, or Part I offenses, boil down to homicide, rape, assault, robbery, burglary, larceny and auto theft. As already noted, these are the crimes police are certain are soaring in both Washington and its suburbs.

But within these broad categories, patterns vary markedly from community to community.

From a purely physical point of view, the suburbs remain much safer than the District.

This would be difficult to get across to the dozens of store and bank employees in the suburbs who have been shot, pistol-whipped, beaten, shoved around and threatened in a steadily mounting wave of holdups and extortion plots.

Still, murder is committed in the suburbs at but one tenth the rate as in the District. Considering the population increase, the chance of getting murdered in the suburbs has dropped since 1960. In the District it has about doubled.

In the suburbs, reported rapes are about half the number reported in the District. As with murder, nearly half the rape cases occur in Prince Georges County. In Fairfax County last year the reported rapes and attempted rapes were about twice as many as in more populous Montgomery County.

But in the suburbs it is "the crime against property" that is mushrooming at the swiftest rate. And of these, the most conspicuous problems are armed robbery and burglary.

In Montgomery County in 1960 police reported 28 armed robberies. They reported 86 in 1965 and 119 last year.

The number of robberies in the last six years has more than doubled in Fairfax County. It has tripled in Alexandria, gone up nearly five-fold in Prince Georges County.

Banks are getting hit with increasing frequency, some repeatedly. "Here they come again," shouted an employe of a Landover Road bank one day last year, and sure enough the holdup men who robbed the bank not long before were back again.

BOLDNESS INCREASES

Some suburban banks have taken full precautions against holdups, with good results. Citizens Bank of Maryland, for instance, uses camera equipment and tells people about it with signs on the front doors. None of its branches was hit last year.

And so the holdup men turn to the other banks and savings and loan associations. All other things taken equal, they prefer locations near the Beltway and other good roads. And lately, some of them have grown increasingly bolder in forcing employes to help them rob their banks.

Two weeks ago, in what could be called a city-suburban bank job, a man abducted the manager of a Washington bank near his Prince Georges County home, warned him his family was being held, forced him to rob the bank and released him on a road in Fairfax County. The bandit escaped with $16,000.

Other prime holdup targets in the suburbs include liquor stores, drug stores and supermarkets, and the late-hour grocery and dairy stores, especially those in isolated places.

Peoples Drug Stores, hard hit in the last year, recently bought full-page newspaper ads urging a full-scale attack on crime and carrying a list of 97 armed robberies and burglaries at Peoples stores in the last 13 months. 56 took place in the District, 41 in the suburbs.

But for all the recent sharp rise and the natural drama of the armed robbery, the typical crime of the suburbs is the burglary, or housebreaking.

"The housebreakings have gotten to be our biggest problem," said Capt. David Eike of the Fairfax County police department. "They are killing us," acknowledged one of his men.

VIEW BORNE OUT

Figures bear them out. Last year Fairfax County had 2,709 reported burglaries, nearly 1,000 more than the year before and nearly six times more than in 1960. For all the suburbs put together, burglaries last year totaled more than 13,000, triple the 1960 number. District burglaries topped 9,000.

"Our biggest problem," said Eike, "is with the apartments. It's not one particular part of the county; it's all over. Many of them are hit in the daytime when no one is home. These burglars work fast. They grab the stuff they know they can get rid of—TVs, watches, cameras, guns. They are strictly professional."

People least likely to become a burglar's target are those who live in single-family homes in modest-income neighborhoods.

Apartments have brought about distinct changes in neighborhood patterns and habits. There are still inquisitive people who look out windows, but they can't be sure that what they see is unusual. Much of apartment living is depersonalized.

"You can get a complaint in a high-rise apartment building or an office building," said Arlington Inspector William E. Bell, "and the people can't tell you if the person who came out of the apartment or office right across the hall belongs there or not."

In the Silver Spring police station, Detective Lieutenant H. A. Treadwell leafs through a pile of police reports and recites about the same thing.

"Here's one—a television, a camera, jewelry and a bedspread. The bedspread obviously was to carry the other things. Criminals go right down the elevators like that. Nobody knows who they are. People open doors for them."

The big, expensive homes in communities like Bethesda also are an inviting target. Montgomery police last year broke up the activities of one gang that periodically drove down from Philadelphia to hit Western Montgomery County homes. Bethesda detective Gabe Lamastre describes how they worked:

"These were early-evening burglars, and they got into houses mostly through back doors. A man down here would case a neighborhood, and then four or five of them would drive down in one car. They'd hop out to work over the neighborhood while the driver cruised. They'd burglarize about half a dozen homes each time."

MOBILITY FACTOR

Last year, in a special survey using 1964 figures from the Washington area, the FBI attempted to measure what it called "the mobility factor" of crime. It concluded that for all criminal acts except traffic violations, 15.3 percent of the persons arrested in the Washington metropolitan area were not residents of the communities where they were arrested.

The Maryland and Virginia suburbs, according to the FBI analysis, were particularly plagued by the mobile criminal. It said 31 percent of those taken into custody for serious crimes were nonresidents of those communities, and it added the assumption "that a greater proportion of unsolved crimes are committed by mobile offenders."

What the FBI study did not pin down, even for crimes in which arrests were made, was exactly where the criminal came from. To James Vorenberg, head of the staff that put out the National Crime Commission report, this is the biggest and most important question concerning crime in the suburbs.

"We know all too little about suburban crime," he said. "Mostly we don't know where it comes from."

The police can guess, and especially in the Maryland suburbs, the guess is that much of the crimes comes from over the District line.

"I'd estimate that up to 90 percent of our robberies are committed by persons from outside the county, and for housebreakings I'd say 75 percent," said Montgomery County police superintendent James S. McAuliffe. "They come from the District, from Prince Georges County, from Baltimore, from all over."

But even within individual counties, variations exist. Said one Montgomery detective: "In Bethesda, now, you just don't have local hoods. They all come in from outside. In Wheaton, though, they have their own boys, and they don't take a back seat to anybody."

Prince Georges County has a number of crime-infested slum areas, mostly near the District line, and the District line itself runs for miles, much of it adjoining the trouble-plagued area of the District east of the Anacostia River. These factors, county officials say, are responsible for the fact that the Prince Georges crime rate is the fastest growing in the area.

"Most of our trouble," said Detective Capt. Robert Hill, "is within the area about 2 miles from the District line. Most of our detectives keep busy right there."

Where the robber and the burglar are likely to move around, other types of criminal stick fairly close to home. This goes for most sex criminals, police say. They dismiss the idea that a significant number of rapists come to the suburbs from the District or any place else.

In talking about the causes of the high-flying crime rate, most of this area's police and prosecutors turn eventually to the attitudes of the courts and the public. Some of the police are bitter.

"Look," charged one high-ranking Maryland police officer, "all you have to do to understand this is sit in these courtrooms and watch the criminals get turned right back to the streets. They get off through leniency and they get off through technicalities."

In a quieter way, an Arlington police official said:

"They seldom try a man on whether he's guilty or innocent any more. They try on whether there's been any error on the part of the police."

The consensus among suburban officials boils down to this: Because of the Supreme Court's recent decisions, police are hampered somewhat in gathering evidence and in getting confessions. And the courts bend over backwards to protect the rights of defendants.

SENTENCES STIFFER

Unlike District lawbreakers, people accused of crime in the suburbs can't count on heavy court backlogs and such practices as "judge shopping" to get off lightly. And although some judges, notably in Montgomery County, are criticized for giving light sentences, the criminal who is eventually convicted in a suburban court of a serious crime like armed robbery generally can expect a very stiff sentence.

But this doesn't mean that a high percentage of persons charged with serious crimes in the suburbs are convicted. The trend seems to be going the other way.

Few figures are available on conviction-to-arrest ratios in the suburbs. Montgomery County is the exception. Figures show that in 1960 the rate of convictions for serious crimes was 47 percent. By 1966 it was down to 16.6 percent, then rose last year to 20.6 percent.

One reason cases collapse is that witnesses get discouraged. They must appear at a preliminary hearing, before the Grand jury and, if the defense lawyers keeps getting continuances, any number of times in later court sessions.

"We're seeing more and more continuances," said Warren Davis, assistant commonwealth attorney in Fairfax County. "I'd say nine out of 10 cases are continued the first time, 60 percent the second time, and 30 percent third. We find witnesses try to cooperate, but it's tough for them. There are no public funds to compensate people for loss of wages."

Many times it's the person bringing a charge who loses heart. State's Atty. Marshall in Prince Georges County lost a child-molestation case on the third continuance not long ago when the child and her parents couldn't be found.

"We know what happened," said Marshall. "They got sick of putting the child through this experience again and again. It's understandable, although it means the man who assaulted the child is free to assault more children."

Two other factors critical to any hopes of stemming suburbia's rising crime rate are the strength of suburban police forces and the willingness of the public to help prevent crime.

All of Washington's suburban police department, are undermanned, and the situation is not improving.

National police standards call for large, built-up communities to maintain more than one police officer for every 1,000 population. Altogether, Washington's five suburban communities have less.

Their authorized police strength last year averaged 0.88 men per 1,000 population, about the same as in 1960. Their actual strength was less than that, because of recruiting problems.

FACTORS CRITICAL

Two other factors critical to any hopes of stemming suburbia's rising crime rate are the strength of suburban police departments throughout the country, suburban departments in this area are now about 130 men, or nearly 10 percent, under strength.

Considering their populations, Arlington and Alexandria enjoy more police manpower than their suburban neighbors. Montgomery has an authorized force averaging one man per 1,000 residents. The weakest forces are in Fairfax County, with an actual strength of 260 men to protect a population of 379,000, and in Prince Georges County, with 344 men for 568,000.

Because of pay averaging less than $8,000 a year, because of the suburban costs of living, uncertain hours, declining status and opportunities in other fields, fewer qualified men are applying for jobs in these departments. The District's problem, on this score, of course, is even worse.

The attitude of the public toward crime is a source of cynicism to many suburban police officers. Said one:

"People in the suburbs invite crime. They leave doors unlocked and keys in their cars. The merchants spread their goods around, and they don't hire enough personnel. And a lot of people just plain don't cooperate with police. They don't get involved."

But some of this may be changing for the better. Recent criminal incidents have made believers of many suburbanites, particularly victims. Said Mrs. Mullane whose Fairfax home was burglarized while she and her husband were at a National Geographic lecture:

"One of our neighbors told us afterwards she saw some strange men down in the woods, but she didn't say anything. That won't happen any more. We've all been discussing this. We're reporting strangers to the police. We're watching out for each other."

A Bethesda detective added:

"I think many people are wising up out there. Either they've been victimized, or they know somebody who has, and they're looking out for each other more. I think a lot of people are getting mad about crime."

Democracy: What It Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER PIRNIE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, each year the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and its Ladies' Auxiliary conduct a Voice of Democracy contest. School students across the country are invited to participate in this contest. This year more than 350,000 responded.

I am particularly enthusiastic in my support of this very worthy endeavor because I feel it does much to promote patriotism in our young people.

It is my pleasure to report that this year's winning entry from New York State was prepared by a resident of my congressional district, Miss Lenore A. Burneko, of Rome.

Miss Burneko is a student at St. Cyril Academy, Danville, Pa. In eloquent terms, this fine young lady has expressed what domocracy means to her. I am pleased to call this moving essay to the attention of my colleagues:

DEMOCRACY: WHAT IT MEANS TO ME

> It was quiet once, except for the occasional rhythm of a passing herd of buffalo, and that gently harmonized with a soft west wind playing in a wild corn field. Then one day a sweeter song filled the land. The young soprano voice came clear and fresh to every ear. The ladies stood proud and the gents tipped their hats whenever she passed by. It was a melody never heard before, yet touched of something ancient.
>
> The delicate chant possessed men's hearts, and blood did flow in fiery defense, her verse echoing endlessly within men's souls. And so, along profluent river beds, past fruitful fields of wheat, through narrow mountain paths the song wound her proud but simple way.
>
> Enrapturing is her voice; magnificent is her message for Democracy is her name.
>
> But now, in what times men call modern, the dissonance of progress and the discord of misunderstanding has obscured the crystal tones. In desperation the singer struggles to be heard, though her song stands alone in loveliness.
>
> Where can we hear her still? Who dare carry on her words?
>
> President Kennedy knew where to listen—to the voices of our youth; to the student of light who gives the meaningful, sincere, and undistorted definition of democracy as being not freedom, but the freedom to do what is right.
>
> You listen also. Listen to the school boy, who, being nursed on the familiar strains of the Pledge of Allegiance, lifts his voice innocently to preserve a nation. Listen to the high school student who proclaims the brilliance of democracy in his earnest search for truth. Listen to the unashamed striving of these students to maintain the simple privilege of living justly with one another. And listen to the deep reflection of concern in their young voices as they ask uncertainly with Walt Whitman, "How can I pierce the impenetrable blank of the future?"
>
> They know full well, however, what must be done if they are to inherit the "priceless heritage." President Eisenhower's words did not go unacknowledged when he spoke on liberty in *An Open Letter to America's Students:* ". . . The price of keeping it," he wrote, "is untiring alertness. Liberty is easily lost."
>
> Yes, liberty is easily lost, and the young are easily discouraged. They find that those who sing this song often stand alone, but they are American enough to take it.
>
> So, listen for the song of Democracy, or better still, seek her out; then join joyously the chorus in praise of yesterday and in determination of tomorrow.

Soviet Armed Forces Day in Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. RARICK
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, I cried last night, in memory of fellow Americans who gave their lives in the cause of liberty and for our country. I prayed, "What will ever become of these United States?"

The revolting spectacle of our top military generals and admirals engaged in hospitality with Communist soldiers and agents here in Washington constitutes a mockery to every uniformed fighting man. And some of these same command officers had, just weeks ago, forbid their battle-weary troops to socialize in South Africa because of segregation.

The gala occasion was for the Communist Russian Armed Forces Day celebration at the Russian Embassy right here in the National Capital. A great victory for the image of world communism, and not a shot fired. But what about the image of our national leaders to the folks at home?

Noted dining and honoring the Communist military apparatus were Gen. Jack Thomas of the Air Force, General Johnson, Chief of Staff, General Taylor, Adm. David McDonald, Admiral Rittenhouse, and Vice Adm. Lot Ensey, and a host of lesser lights. In fact, according to the local society page coverage, some 700 were in attendance. Are we to believe they merely compared their campaign medals and toasted the revolution?

I do not impugn the integrity of these military leaders as I realize they were probably in attendance under orders. But have they considered the damaging effect upon the men under their command caused by their presence and the purpose they lauded? With our people already suspicious about the war progress, they will now be more divided than ever. By their indiscretion these men of high rank have wreaked more havoc on the "peace through victory" effort than all of the preacherniks and peace marchers combined. Just ask mom and dad, "Do you want to give your son to the command and at the mercy of leaders who cavort with Communists and praise the great record of the Red army?" And what do you think would be the retort from Johnny Doughboy somewhere on the frontline in Vietnam? Some might even wonder if all this Communist socializing by our high command in Washington, which is now come to light, could have any explanation as to why our boys are not permitted to win in Vietnam.

I do not know your feelings, but as for me, these generals and admirals have disgraced our flag and trampled under foot the faith and confidence of the people of our land. By association, their uniforms are now stained with the innocent blood of the millions of victims who have fallen under the aggression of the Red army.

The damage has now been done. These admirals and generals must be given no out. They must either resign for the good of America or be removed from command as unfit. An investigation must be immediately instituted into the Pentagon leadership and the State Department so that our people are clearly advised as to who set up this program and who is calling these devastating signals. It may resolve that the next political election will be Americans versus Communists, if it is not then too late. It is all up to you, mom and dad—Mr. Citizen on the Street—you are now the frontline strength of America.

Frank Fisher

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, last week one of Indiana's outstanding circuit court judges died at the age of 51. I want to take this time to pay respect to that man.

Judge Frank Fisher, Vermillion circuit judge at Newport, Ind., was all things to his county. He gave wise advice to those in trouble, counseled people with legal problems, and was a fair and just judge.

But most of all Frank Fisher was a great American. He believed in the American way of life and lived it.

To the people of Vermillion County, Ind., Frank Fisher was the representative of our republican form of government. And he carried this burden well.

Frank Fisher had just been elected to his fourth term. He was an outstanding civic leader; recipient of the Silver Beaver Award, given to Boy Scout leaders; a 33d degree Mason and Potentate of the Zorah Shrine at Terre Haute.

Frank Fisher earned his fame the hard way. He was born at Rosedale, Ind., and had worked his way through school. He gained his legal education by reading law in a Terre Haute law office.

This man died at an early age. But he gave his community more during his 51 years than most communities received from a dozen men in positions of leadership.

I offer my sympathy to his wife, his family, and his thousands of friends.

Probably the best tribute that can be given to Frank Fisher is the following column written by Editor George L. Carey of the Daily Clintonian at Clinton, Ind. Carey had been a close friend of Fisher's and wrote this in his column "Between the Lines":

> How slender the thread of our lives!
>
> Yesterday, Judge Frank Fisher had reached the high point of a successful life. He was one of Indiana's most respected and popular judges. He had just been elected to a new term which would carry him near retirement age. He had received the highest possible honors from the Masonic bodies, the Boy Scouts of America and other groups. He was starting his term as Potentate of Zorah Shrine, the climax of a decade of hard work to achieve this honored office. The best years of his life lay ahead.
>
> Today, his thousands of friends mourn his death.
>
> Frank Fisher was probably the best friend I have ever had. Although our interests and our paths had diverged a bit in recent years, there was a time when we were virtually inseparable. I think either of us would have endangered his life for the other . . . and I expect, were the cards down, we would have today. Maybe it was because we knew the hard times together that we were such close friends. Perhaps it was because I

knew the deeper side of his nature that I respected the judge so much.

He was a self-made man in the best American tradition. Today, were he to start his life over again, he would undoubtedly have been classified as "disadvantaged." He would have been a joy to generals in the War on Poverty. For Frank knew poverty once—stark, hard poverty, when a can of pork and beans eaten in the back room of his little office was a treat.

He was born with no silver spoon in his mouth but determination in his heart. He gained his legal education the hard way, reading law in the office of the late Attorney Frank Miller and attending the now-defunct Voorhees Law School at Terre Haute. The chances are today, he might never be able to gain a law degree at all, for requirements have changed and it is harder for a young man to get a start. Frank Miller, whose heart was as big as all out-of-doors, took the ambitious, motherless young man under his wing and gained his undying love.

I remember Frank when he first came to Clinton, just a few months after I had bought an almost-bankrupt Clintonian on a "nickle and a prayer," He was no more than 21 years old and looked younger. He and an associate set up their little office on Blackman street and settled down to starve out the depression. They almost literally starved. The going was too rough for his associate, but Frank stuck it out.

He went into politics and folks laughed at the idea of a mere boy, almost a stranger at that, taking on an old party wheelhorse for the nomination for prosecutor. They all laughed except Frank. He just drove his battered old car all over the county and knocked on every door in it. When they counted the votes he had won the nomination and later the election as prosecutor.

Then came the war and another of the disappointments he sometimes met with. He had earned an R.O.T.C. commission as second lieutenant and several times asked to be called to active duty. Each time he was turned down because of juvenile TB scars on his lungs. Finally, he was honorably discharged. . . . only to be drafted later as a private.

He was bitter but not discouraged. He applied the same political ability he applied to everything, to regaining his commission. He got it back, the hard way; he was even credited with "lost" time and he emerged from the army a captain. Later he became a colonel in the reserves.

Few men have had greater political ability than Frank. He made friends more easily than anyone I have ever known and he kept them. Because he liked them and they liked him, hundreds of democrats voted for the staunch young republican in every election. He always "ran scared" and he pounded every door in the country during the campaigns. I always thought he could have gone on to congress but he enjoyed being judge.

Perhaps he enjoyed it because he had a fine legal mind and was a firm but kindly judge. He was so greatly respected among the legal profession that an unusual number of cases were venued to Vermillion county from elsewhere. His concern with juvenile delinquency was intense, as was his interest in young people in general.

Somehow he never lost his youthful outlook. He worked with Boy Scouts for years, hiked weary miles with them and "slept in the mud" with them. He received Scouting's highest honor, the Silver Beaver.

This same intensity of service he gave to fraternal orders and received in return the highest honors they could bestow. He was a 33rd Degree Mason, a past officer in many lodges and a popular member of a dozen.

The tragedy of his life was probably the fact that he was cut down while starting his year as Potentate of Zorah Shrine at Terre Haute. Being Potentate means a lot more than just serving as "president" of a group. A Shrine Potentate is almost a potentate in fact as well as fancy.

He works a dozen years to achieve the honor; he handles a large and complicated business and he enjoys many honors and privileges, some of which extend into his later life. Frank was denied all that he had worked so hard to achieve.

But he was not denied, in his rather short life, things that many men never achieve. He had thousands of friends. He was heaped with honors. He was respected in his profession and above all he was loved. He faced life with a laugh and quip. He had a story for every occasion and a kindly word for every man. But he was a man of deep convictions, deep intelligence and great understanding.

He will be sadly missed.

What Democracy Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Speaker, I am very proud of a young constituent of mine, Mr. Robert E. Brown, of Gillette, Wyo., who has distinguished himself by becoming one of the winners in the Veterans of Foreign Wars voice of democracy contest.

To be a winner in this contest, in which over 350,000 students competed, is indeed laudable.

Robert E. Brown's speech is quite thought provoking; accordingly, I am having his comments inserted in the Congressional Record so that others may share his perceptive ideas on democracy:

WHAT DEMOCRACY MEANS TO ME

Dateline: Viet Nam 1967

Our story today concerns an American. Three months ago, he was just a typical college student. At this instant, he is a G.I. standing watch in the Yah Drang Valley.

Our story is about democracy as seen through the eyes of a boy, a student, in Viet Nam. A word taken for granted for eighteen years in now given a different and new conception in this nineteenth. We wonder what he thinks about. We wonder what democracy means. Let's join our green clad marine and listen to his thoughts on this day.

Joe knows what democracy means. Now, he has seen land that is deprived of it. He mused to himself, "Democracy is like our health. When we have it, we take it for granted. When we lose it, or see someone else without good health, we then appreciate it. And so it is with democracy."

To the Vietnamese, democracy is only a promised thing, to be free at last from the seemingly endless war. To have the Viet Cong gone forever. That is what democracy will mean in South East Asia.

Joe's thoughts wander back to college, at least what little he saw of it in three months there. Democracy was just an ideology. We could discuss it, argue it, and condemn it, and protest it, and burn our draft cards when someone tried to spoil it for us. Democracy was like "war". We talked about it endlessly. Everyone agreed that it was necessary but no one wanted to do anything about, for, or with it.

In high school we didn't yet know everything about anything but we were learning about leadership, conducting a mock legislature, and studying the Constitution. Walt Whitman summed up high school quite well. "Political democracy as it exists and practically works in America, even with all its threatening evils, supplies a training school for the making of first class men; not of good only, but of all."

Joe's thoughts go not only to the past but to the future as well. He hopes for the day when he may teach his sons and daughters of democracy. He longs for the day when he may become a full partner in democracy!

And so, as a high school senior, I realize that in just four months I could be a green clad marine on my way to Viet Nam. Democracy suddenly takes on a new and greater meaning. I, like Joe, realize that democracy is more than a bicameral legislature. It is a total way of life. It is all religions. It is many peoples working side by side. It is the freedom to go or stay. It is the freedom to speak or to remain silent. It is the right to vote or not. It is the responsibility to use these freedoms wisely. Democracy is our way of life.

This is what democracy means to me. What it may mean in fifty years, if there is a democracy, is up to you!

Chaplain of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to note in the Congressional Record that the award of "Chaplain of the Year" has been given to Col. James A. Connett, who is presently serving as post chaplain at Fort Myer, Va.

The Reserve Officers Association of the United States selected Colonel Connett for this honor and the award was made at the annual banquet of the Reserve Officers Association in Washington, D.C., last Friday evening, February 24, 1967.

The Fort Myer Post, official publication of that Army installation, has the following to say of the long and distinguished career of this veteran officer:

Colonel James A. Connett, Post Chaplain, has been named 1966 "Chaplain of the Year" by the Reserve Officers Association of the United States.

Colonel Connett was selected for the honor by the National Awards Board of the organization for his "major contributions to the welfare of personnel of the Armed Forces during the past year."

A native of Flora, Ill., Chaplain Cornett was graduated from McKendree College, Lebanon, Ill. and ordained as a Methodist minister. A veteran of both World War II and the Korean conflict, he served during the war with the 42nd (Rainbow) Infantry Division and was assigned to the 25th (Tropic Lightning) Infantry Division in Korea.

He has also completed military schooling at the Advanced Course of the Chaplain's School and at the Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kan.

Before coming to Fort Myer, he was assigned to Headquarters, Second United States Army, Fort George G. Meade, Md., and prior to that served with the U.S. Army command in Frankfurt, Germany, where he was spiritual advisor to the largest Protestant congregation in Europe.

Aside from his duties at Fort Myer, he also serves as the chaplain in charge of Arlington National Cemetery.

Congressman Poff States the Case for Small Tax Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, several Members on the Republican side of the aisle have introduced legislation to protect the interests of the average American taxpayer through the means of a small tax court.

Congressman Richard Poff, of Virginia, has very effectively stated the case for this proposal in his newsletter to his constituents of February 20, 1967.

His statement deserves the attention of all of us, and I include it here:

Small Tax Court

Well, it's time for the tax man again. The old deadline draws near and all of us have been struggling manfully and womanfully with the Form 1040, the W–2's and the scratch pads. What the verdict will be remains to be seen for each of us. Some of us will find that we owe additional taxes. Others, more fortunate, will find that they are entitled to a refund. But for some of us a dispute will arise with the Internal Revenue Service and when that happens we're in trouble. We're not so much in danger of punishment in the physical sense but we are in danger of penalty in the economic sense. More importantly we are in danger of becoming involved almost interminably in the cement-mixer processes of the present system of tax appeals. The present system, it seems to me, has been geared primarily to controversies in which the big taxpayer is involved. The big taxpayer who finds himself in a dispute with the Internal Revenue Service has a problem, but in nature and consequence it is not the same as that of the small taxpayer. The big taxpayer can afford the expense of attorneys and court costs and all the other expense incidental to litigation. He can afford to take the IRS to court. An eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation holds few terrors for him.

On the other hand, the little taxpayer often is confronted with an impossible dilemma. His claim for a refund or the deficiency assessment the tax collector has made against him is sometimes too small to justify the cost of litigation. But it may, particularly if it is a claim for a refund, be too big to ignore. So, the little taxpayer is put to the decision whether to dig down in his pocket and bear these expenses and run the risk of losing his case, or simply to forget about it and mark it all up to experience. I have introduced a bill which I hope will spare the little taxpayer this harsh dilemma. It will establish for the first time since the income tax law was written a Small Tax Division in the Tax Court to which the small taxpayer can repair and where he can obtain prompt, definitive and final disposition of the claim which he makes or have the deficiency judgment pending against him settled once and for all.

I am constrained to believe that this legislation would promote better personal relations between the taxpayer and the tax collector. The Internal Revenue Service agent, through no fault of his own, wears several hats. He is the tax collector. He is the tax assessor. He is the accuser. If the taxpayer has made some error, he initially decides whether it was accidental or fraudulent. It is not fair to the taxpayer that so many potentially conflicting functions should be combined in one person. Neither is it fair to the tax collector.

I earnestly hope that the Congress can be persuaded to give sympathetic consideration to this proposal this year.

Letter From Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, like many of my colleagues, I frequently receive letters from our young fighting men in Vietnam, charged with the task of defending freedom, often at the cost of their own lives. Seldom, however, have I received so poignant an indictment of this administration's indecisive and contradictory position there than these searching comments from a young Navy flier. He writes after watching the massive movement of Vietcong supplies into the south under the sanctuary of the Tet truce. I ask my colleagues to reflect carefully on this young man's letter, which I feel speaks for itself:

Hon. Bob Wilson,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Wilson: The opportunities a service man has to write his senator of some incident which recently occurred in the field is rare, for in most cases, these incidents are verboten. However, the incident of which I am to comment is of such a nature that I don't feel it can be ignored.

Last evening, while on station off the coast of North Vietnam, observing the "celebration" of the Chinese New Year, between 18°00′ N and Dong Ho, I observed literally hundreds of trucks moving south with their valuable cargo of supplies to enable the Viet Cong to wage war against the south. This act alone was enough to annoy me, but when I learned this morning that the truce had been extended, I almost became enraged. It isn't enough that we allow the enemy a safe area around his headquarters in Hanoi, but we then have to allow him some free time in which he can resupply his troops so they may more effectively carry out their acts of terrorism in the name of "the-people", defeating all the work done for months to stop traffic between north and south, but we have the gall to give them more time in the midst of all this, by extending the truce, to carry more war-making materials. Is it any wonder the world looks upon the United States with a questioning eye? Why would any nation want us as an ally? Do you wonder why de Gaulle ran?

As a Navy pilot, I only go to war to return to the comfort of the carrier; however, for those Americans, of which there will be hundreds, killed so that some do-gooder in Washington may make-the-light-to-shine-more-brightly-upon-his-countenance, I feel very sorry. I suppose there was a time when an American could take pride in his country's action, but today, I am ashamed of what the United States is doing in the name of humanity.

The responsibility of the United States to the world is very great, but the responsibility she has to her own people is far and above that which she has to the world. The United States has turned her back upon her own to endeavor to make the world smile upon her. Is it any wonder the Armed Forces find it difficult to retain people when right around them, they see their comrades-in-arms being stabbed in the back? Something smells and the butt of the joke is here in Vietnam!

Statement of Congressman James H. Scheuer on the Need for a National Institute for Criminal Justice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, the Federal Government is spending more today on fighting tooth decay than it is spending on the fight to lower the Nation's crime rate. The Federal Government is spending more for research into the uses of coal in fiscal 1967 than it is spending on research into the spiraling increase in crimes against society in this country. Our national crime rate is a matter of great concern to all Americans. In 76 percent of all crimes in this country no apprehension of the criminal is made. In many cities in the United States, both large and small, people are afraid to go out of their houses at night. Millions of Americans have in a very real sense lost not only their valued right of freedom of movement, but have also come to fear the very environment in which they live.

I have introduced in this Congress a bill to create a National Institute for Criminal Justice and Senator Edward M. Kennedy has introduced an identical bill in the Senate. The purpose of this Institute would be to provide for the Justice Department a research arm comparable to the National Institutes of Health. This Institute would have as its primary task the job of assisting State and local law enforcement agencies, courts and correctional institutions in the prevention and control of crime. This assistance would be given in the form of support and coordination of research activities in the area of crime prevention and control.

The National Institute for Criminal Justice would be authorized to spend $100 million over the next 3 years to coordinate research of four types. The first type of research would involve the selection of police personnel. What type of man makes a good police officer? The second type of research concerns discovery of better methods for training police and correctional personnel. The third type of research would be to encourage the development of police equipment in tune with our 20th century technological capabilities. Finally, the Institute would conduct basic behavioral research on the more effective involvement of the public at large in public safety programs.

The research budget of the National Institutes of Health is over $1.3 billion this year, while the budget of the Justice Department for crime research is only $7.2 million. This means that the Federal Government is spending over 180 times as much on research in the health area as it is spending for crime research. Unfortunately, the sad comparison does not end with health research. The research budget of the Department of Agriculture this year is approximately $139,468,000, 19 times greater than the amount spent on crime research and the Department of Interior research budget of $129,707,000 is 18 times greater than the Federal budget for crime prevention and control.

We must reverse this trend and revise our list of priorities. We must bring the fight against crime into the 20th century. Our law enforcement personnel are still largely dependent on 19th century weapons and procedures to fight the sophisticated techniques of the 20th century criminal. The possible application of space-age science and communications technology to police work is boundless. Yet the practical application of this advanced science and technology to police work is undoubtedly one of the most neglected aspects of current public safety programs.

Two recent incidents in my South Bronx constituency are indicative of the need I am citing here today. In one incident an innocent bystander was wounded in an exchange between police and a holdup man. In another incident a 12-year-old boy was shot by a policeman while trying to escape from a stolen car. In both of these very unfortunate incidents the patrolman was only doing his duty, but the result in each case was a very serious physical injury, as well as a potential riot-producing situation. It is unlikely that either of these serious injuries would have occurred if the New York police had had at their disposal a gun that would stun or temporarily disable, but not kill.

The saddest part of these two incidents is that neither is unique nor isolated. Innocent bystanders and youthful offenders are all too frequently the unfortunate victims of a deadly weapon used in the pursuit of the public safety. We owe it to our patrolmen on the beat and to the citizens who walk our streets to provide our police with the best possible equipment with which to do their job. It is inconceivable that a nation which is about to land a man on the moon at the cost of untold billions of Federal tax dollars cannot provide its law enforcement personnel with more efficient weapons than they use today.

The application of space-age technology is by no means limited to law enforcement personnel alone. Over a recent weekend New York City was victimized by a series of taxicab holdups, a common event in many American cities. It is well within our current technological capabilities to provide taxicabs with an instant emergency detection service. We also have within our current capacities the ability to provide law enforcement agencies with instantaneous identification of fingerprints and with immediate data on stolen automobiles via closed circuit television.. These are only a few small examples of the potential applications of current technological advances to police problems.

But the problem of crime in this country requires more than the development of better weapons and better police methodology, as important as these are. The National Crime Institute would also carry out an extensive program of behavioral research into the causes of crime, into the effectiveness of various means of preventing crime, and into cost-benefit techniques for reducing recidivism among those released from correctional institutions.

Every survey I have made of my own congressional district in the south Bronx has shown that neighborhood security is the most critical concern of the residents in this area. This anxiety is not unique. People in our major cities across the country as well as in rural areas live in fear of becoming the targets of unrestrained criminal activity.

Police chiefs throughout the country, in response to my recent inquiry, have stated that the lack of adequate research funds is a universal deficiency. Most of our State and local governments have virtually no funds to devote to research activities and where funds do exist the lack of coordination is virtually universal. Criminologists, sociologists, and jurists have likewise pointed up the lack of adequate funds for the large-scale research and demonstration projects that are needed to provide us with better information into the causes of crime as well as for testing existing theories of how to prevent criminal activity.

I am gratified that the President's Crime Commission has so convincingly documented the need for research in the crime prevention area. Their report is certainly a major advance in our understanding of the current problems in crime prevention and control. I am also gratified to see that the President has presented us with the blueprint for a major attack on crime in the streets in his recent crime message to Congress. Congress has already taken an important step in this area with the passage of the Law-Enforcement Assistance Act of 1965, which was definitely a step in the right direction .

Grant-in-aid programs to local police departments, however, will not solve the problem of inadequate research into weapons technology and criminal behavior. No one would ever have expected State and local grant-in-aid programs to produce a Manhattan project, a supersonic transport, or a Telestar satellite. Why then should we place the enormous burden of the types of research that I have discussed today on our State and local governments?

The Nationl Institute of Criminal Justice would provide the basic research tools, the funds, and the expertise to improve the work of those involved in reducing crime. Communities across the Nation are desperately looking to the Federal Government to attack this problem which can only be solved with the commitment of substantial Federal funds and strong Federal leadership.

University of California Commemorative Stamp

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks before his dismissal, former President Clark Kerr, of the University of California, proposed the issuance of a commemorative postage stamp in recognition of a century of achievements by the university. His proposal addressed to the Postmaster General follows:

To the Postmaster General of the United States:

We propose that a commemorative stamp be issued to honor a century of achievements by the University of California. March 23, 1968, will mark the hundreth anniversary of the founding of the institution now generally considered the most distinguished public university in the world. We respectfully submit that this occasion merits the national and world-wide recognition that a United States commemorative stamp would give it. The reasons are many:

1. SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO MANKIND

It has been said that the research laboratories and scientific achievements of the University of California are doing more to preserve the free world than any other single institution in America. Under the direction of University faculty and scientists, the major portion of the nation's research in atomic science is being conducted at the University's Lawrence, Livermore and Los Alamos Labortories.

Ever since Dr. Ernest Lawrence conceived and built the world's first cyclotron in his Berkeley campus laboratories in 1930, the University has been the world leader in the development and use of high energy accelerators and in research in nuclear physics generally. In the University's laboratories have been discovered 12 out of the 14 synthetic elements, including plutonium, the atomic energy fuel. The laboratories' research effort extends broadly over the entire range of nuclear research including the properties of matter, the application of radioactive substances to problems in biology, medicine and related fields, and applied research directed toward peaceful and military uses of nuclear energy.

The agricultural research programs of the University are in large measure responsible for the fact that California's agriculture productivity leads the nation and the world. The University is credited with discovery of the methods of sterilization on which the modern canning industry is based.

At two major medical centers, the University of California has been a leader in research on eye diseases, neurological and brain disorders, and in the development of prosthetics. The University's Virus Research Laboratory and Medical Centers have made important advances in the detection, treatment and control of cancer.

In other vital areas of research, the University of California is in the forefront of research seeking answers to the mysteries of smog, salt water conversion, space science, oceanography and photosynthesis. The UC Institute of Transportation and Traffic Engineering has developed modern safety devices for highways, vehicles, and commercial airlines.

The University of California is a leader in international training and service. Annually, more foreign students are enrolled at the campuses of the University than at any other educational institution in the United States. The University was a pioneer in developing overseas assistance programs on behalf of the Federal Government. For more than a decade the University has carried on programs to build medical education facilities in Indonesia, business schools in Italy, agricultural education in Chile, and 15 other international education operations.

The University's Lick Observatory houses the second largest telescope in the world and has pioneered astronomical research.

2. ACHIEVEMENTS AND HONORS

Twelve members of the University of California faculty and staff have been awarded Nobel Prizes, more than at any other university in the world.

The University of California leads the nation in the membership of its faculty in the National Academy of Sciences. Currently 97 members of the faculty have been honored with Academy election, considered the highest honor that can come to an American scientist.

One hundred members of the University staff hold membership in the American Academy of Arts and Science, the nation's second oldest learned society. This number is surpassed only by Harvard, America's oldest educational institution.

In 1966 the University of California at Berkeley was judged by the American Council on Education as "the best-balanced distinguished university in our country" for graduate studies. This study, based on surveys of 106 major universities, rated faculty in each of five general divisions: humanities, social sciences, biological science, physical sciences, and engineering.

More than 500 University of California scholars and scientists have received Guggenheim Fellowships since the award was established. In 1966, the University received 50 Fellowships, the greatest number of any university in the United States and Canada.

Members of the University staff have received the Enrico Fermi Award, Atoms for Peace Award, The Research Corporations Scientific Award, Pulitzer Prize, National Medal of Science, National Academy of Science Agassiz Medal, The Pasteur Medal, The Albert Lasker Basic Medical Research Award, The Hodgkins Prize of the Smithsonian Institution, the Gold Medal of the Royal Astronomical Society of London, and hundreds of other national and international awards and recognitions.

Students of the University rank high in the receipt of the highly competitive National Science Foundation Fellowships, the Woodrow Wilson Fellowships, Fulbright Awards, National Defense Foreign Language Fellowships, and United States Public Health Service predoctoral fellowships.

The nation's top high school graduates—the winners of the National Merit Scholarships—recently named the University of California at Berkeley first choice among all public institutions. Similarly, among public institutions, the University is the first choice of outstanding college graduates who have won the highly prized Woodrow Wilson Fellowships.

In addition to its academic achievements, the University is a leader in extracurricular student activities. In a given year, University of California teams have won national championships in football, basketball, gymnastics, rugby and soccer. In other years the University of California Band has been judged the nation's outstanding collegiate organization, and its campus newspapers have won national competitions.

3. A UNIQUE PUBLIC INSTITUTION OF HIGHER LEARNING

The University of California, with 87,000 full-time students, is the largest university in the United States. Its nine campus organization has become a model for proving that quality can be preserved while enrollment grows in pace with an expanding population. The University has doubled in size in the past eight years, and is building for a student enrollment of 273,000 students by the year 2000.

The University of California leads all other public and private universities in the number of doctorate degrees awarded. In 1964–65 U.C. awarded 1,048 doctorates. It was followed by Columbia University with 616. In a ten year-period, 1956–66, the University led all other institutions in awarding 6,258 Ph.D degrees.

Notwithstanding that it is a public institution, the University of California is among the five institutions with the largest endowments in the nation. The University leads all public institutions in the nation in private support received annually from gifts and endowments. These achievements attest to the public confidence and support which the University has earned in its first century of service.

The University of California Extension, a statewide continuing education service, is the largest educational organization of its kind in the world. More than 200,000 students are registered annually in more than 6,300 courses, conferences, lecture series and other cultural and intellectual programs.

4. DISTINGUISHED SONS AND DAUGHTERS

The achievements and accomplishments of alumni are a practical yardstick in measuring the contribution of an institution to society. The 280,000 former students of the University of California contribute to the state and nation in almost every field of human endeavor.

Among living alumni are Chief Justice Earl Warren, United Nations Deputy Secretary-General Ralph Bunche, Atomic Energy Commission Chairman Glenn T. Seaborg, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare John Gardner, Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz, Ambassador to Italy G. Frederick Reinhardt, and former CIA Director and AEC Commissioner John McCone.

The list of distinguished alumni in every field of accomplishment is illustrated by noting a few of the men in education (John Oswald, President of University of Kentucky, and Kenneth Pitzer, President of Rice University), business (Arjay Miller, President of Ford Motor Company; Paul L. Davies, Chairman of FMC; Edgar Kaiser, President of Kaiser Industries; Edwin Pauley, President of Pauley Petroleum!; Rudolph A. Peterson, President of Bank of America; Robert L. Gibson, President of Libby, McNeil and Libby; and Reese Taylor, President of Union Oil Company), and public affairs (Professor and former ambassador J. Kenneth Galbraith; former ambassador Henry F. Grady; journalist William R. Hearst, Jr.; General James Doolittle; Galo L. Plaza, former President of Ecuador; author Irving Stone; cartoonist Rube Goldberg; writer Robert Penn Warren; and architect William W. Wurster, among hundreds of others).

5. A DESCRIPTION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Fortune Magazine once described the University of California as the "General Motors of higher education" and added: "Of all the institutions that organize people—nations, communities, factories, exchanges, families—none is so intimately and so generally linked with all the world's work as a large university. The University of California has all the range and diversity of the United States; to look at it is not to see simply an institution, but a state, a region, a nation and a culture."

University President Clark Kerr, in an address on March 20, 1961, put it this way: "The University of California is not engaged in making ideas safe for students. It is engaged in making students safe for ideas. Thus it permits the freest expression of views before students trusting to their good sense in passing on these views. Only in this way can it best serve American Democracy."

South Dakota's Voice of Democracy Winner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BEN REIFEL

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. REIFEL. Mr. Speaker, each year the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and its Ladies Auxiliary conducts a Voice of Democracy Contest. This year over 350,000 school students participated in the contest competing for the five scholarships which are awarded as the top prizes. The contest theme was "Democracy—What It Means to Me."

I am very proud to inform you that the winning speech from my State was delivered by Margaret Hasse, of Vermillion, S. Dak., a resident of my district. I insert her speech in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The winning speech by Miss Hasse follows:

WHAT DOES DEMOCRACY MEAN TO ME?

The Ministry of Truth was startingly different from any other object in sight. It was an enormous pyramidal structure of glittering white concrete, soaring up, terrace after terrace, three hundred meters into the air. Picked out on its white face in elegant lettering were the three slogans of the Party: War Is Peace; Freedom is Slavery; Ignorance is Strength.

George Orwell's *1984* is the great modern classic of "Negative Utopia"—Not a drama of what life might be . . . but a nightmare of what it is becoming.

The world of *1984* is one in which eternal warfare is the price of bleak prosperity, in which the Party keeps itself in power by complete control over man's actions and his thoughts. As the lovers Winston and Julia learn when they try to evade the thought Police, and then join the underground opposition, the Party can smash the last impulse of love . . . the last flicker of individuality.

Let America beware: *1984* is more than a satire of totalitarian barbarism. Its message is intended for democracy, too.

"But the United States?" he protests vigorously. "Why in America, democracy offers me many freedoms. And Americans tolerate people whose opinions or race is different. We speak our own thoughts. I am able to thrive under my equal opportunity! I can develop freely to my fullest capacity! Democracy!" he repeats reverently.

Whose voice is speaking?

Probably the echoes of an average American. An average American who doesn't quite remember the words to the National Anthem and who is often negligent about displaying the stars and stripes. You might find him at home on election day.

Oh, but he's neatly dressed and a law-abiding citizen.

I can tell you who he is not. He is not an atheist or a Jew. He's not Japanese, not a beatnik, not Mexican, nor an ex-convict. He's not a Negro.

Yet this average American stated patriotically: "We tolerate minorities"—(with a white cross of the Klu Klux Klan.) "We thrive under equal opportunity"—(with a 'No Jews Allowed' sign.) "We have the power to develop freely to our fullest extent"—(with 'dirty Injun' on our lips.)

Freedom is Slavery: the Party's slogan stands before us.

Perhaps I sound unpatriotic, but then my intentions have been misinterpreted. I only intend not to laud democracy as something it isn't. And it is not a perfect government, wholly unblemished by flaws. The government is constructed with people—people who have faults, petty dislikes and short-comings as is the nature of human beings.

What then does democracy mean to me?

I believe democracy to be the best attempt on earth at a government by the people, characterized by tolerance toward minority, freedom of expression and regard for the dignity of the individual with equal opportunity for each.

Because democracy allows for a man to be a nonconformist and a thinker, as no other government permits, the tragedy of "Freedom is Slavery" portrayed in *1984* will never engulf the United States.

The hope can be realized by recognizing, as Orwell's book teaches us, the danger with which all men are confronted today: the danger of a society of automatons who will have lost every trace of individuality, of love, of critical thought.

The hope is when Americans know that democracy is not perfect because man is not perfect, but that this form of government attempts perfection in freedom, equality, responsibility and rights.

The hope is when Americans know that democracy has succeeded remarkably well.

Anniversary of Estonian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, February 24 marked the 49th anniversary of the declaration of independence of the Republic of Estonia. On this day in 1918, the people of this historic land proclaimed a free democratic republic, and during the First World War successfully defended themselves against both German and Soviet offensives, which resulted in the renouncement of all claims to the territory of Estonia. The nation then set to the task of expanding her agriculture and industry and promoting trade with other nations. In the atmosphere of freedom, the people of Estonia made great progress.

Then came World War II, and in violation of existing treaties the overwhelming military might of the Soviet Union and of Germany alternated in occupying this land and depriving its citizens of their freedoms, culminating in the forced incorporation of the country into the U.S.S.R. The United States and other Western countries have refused to recognize this annexation.

Although the people of Estonia have been silenced and cannot openly commemorate this memorable day in the history of their country, we know that they continue to hope and work for liberation. And we who cherish the principles of freedom and justice must continue to share these hopes to restore the independence of these people and the neighboring Baltic nations that have fallen behind the Iron Curtain.

Administrator James Webb's Statement on the Apollo Accident

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on February 25, Mr. Webb, in releasing the third interim report of the review board investigating the Apollo tragedy, issued a statement highlighting a number of the key findings which have been made to date in the investigation. The significance of this statement makes it important that all Members of the Congress and the general public be encouraged to read and understand the findings of this board composed of industry, NASA, and university representatives in their attempt to make all of the facts of this accident public at the earliest possible date.

NASA Administrator Webb's significant statement on the status of the investigation to date follows:

STATEMENT BY JAMES E. WEBB, FEBRUARY 25, 1967

NASA is releasing today a third interim report on the work of the Apollo 204 Review Board resulting from the two days of meetings with the Board by Deputy Administrator Robert Seamans at Cape Kennedy. These meetings took place on February 23 and 24.

This statement and Dr. Seamans' third interim report have been reviewed with Chairman Clinton Anderson and Senior Minority Committee Member Senator Margaret Chase Smith and with Congressman George Miller. In continuation of the Senate Committee's review of the Apollo 204 accident, Senator Anderson has announced that the Senate Committee will hold an open hearing on the preliminary findings of the Board and actions to be taken by NASA at 3 p.m., Monday, February 27.

In addition to the information set forth by Dr. Seamans in his three interim reports, I have had the benefit of a review by three members of the Board—the Chairman, Dr. Floyd Thompson, Astronaut Frank Borman, and Department of Interior combustion expert Dr. Robert van Dolah. This included the preliminary views of the Board as to the most likely causes of ignition, the contributing factors in the rapid spread of the fire, the inadequacy of the means of emergency egress for the astronauts, and the need to recognize that all future such tests be classified as involving a higher level of hazard.

The following emerges from the preliminary views of the Board and the Board's preliminary recommendations:

(1) The risk of fire that could not be controlled or from which escape could not be made was considerably greater than was recognized when the procedures for the conduct of the test were established. Our experience with pure oxygen atmospheres included not only the successful Mercury and Gemini flights but a number of instances where a clearly positive source of ignition did not result in a fire. In one such instance an electric light bulb was shattered, exposing the incandescent element to the oxygen atmosphere without starting a fire.

(2) Our successful experience with pure oxygen atmospheres in Mercury and Gemini, our experience with the difficulty of storing and using hand-held equipment under zero-gravity conditions, and our experience with the difficulty of making sure before flight that no undiscovered items had been dropped or found their way into the complex maze of plumbing, wiring, and equipment in the capsule, led us to place in the Apollo 204 capsule such items as Velcro pads to which frequently used items could be easily attached and removed, protective covers on wire bundles, nylon netting to prevent articles dropped in ground testing from being lost under or behind equipment in the capsule, and a pad or cushion on which, in the planned escape exercise, the hatch could be placed without damage to the hatch itself or to the equipment in the spacecraft. While most of these were constructed of low-combustion-potential material, they were not so arranged as to provide barriers to the spread of a fire. Tests conducted in an Apollo-type chamber since the accident have shown that an oxygen fire in the capsule will spread along the surface of Velcro and along the edges of nylon netting much faster than through the material itself.

(3) Soldered joints in piping carrying both oxygen and fluids were melted away, with resultant leakage contributing to the spread of the fire.

(4) The bursting of the capsule happened in such a way that the flames, as they rushed toward the rupture and exhausted through it, traveled over and around the astronauts' couches. Under these conditions, and with just a few seconds of time available, the astronauts could not reach the hatch and open it.

(5) This fire indicates that a number of items related to the design and performance of the environmental control unit will require the most careful examination and may require redesign.

Astronaut Borman, in commenting on his reactions to the conditions surrounding the Apollo 204 test and the subsequent knowledge he has gained as a result of serving on the Review Board, stated to Dr. Seamans, Dr. Thompson, and to me that he would not have been concerned to enter the capsule at the time Grissom, White and Chaffee did so for the test, and would not at that time have regarded the operation as involving substantial hazard. However, he stated that his work on the Board has convinced him that there were hazards present beyond the understanding of either NASA's engineers or astronauts. He believes the work of the Review Board will provide the knowledge and recommendations necessary to substantially minimize or eliminate them.

Dr. Thompson, Astronaut Borman, and Dr. von Dolah have returned to Cape Kennedy and are proceeding with the work of the Board. This will require several weeks to complete.

Chairman George Miller, of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, has announced that as soon as the Board's work is complete, the Committee's Oversight Subcommittee, chaired by Congressman Olin Teague, will conduct a complete investigation of all factors related to the accident and NASA's action to meet the conditions disclosed. Chairman Teague spent Friday and Saturday at Cape Kennedy with members of the Manned Space Flight Subcommittee, of which he is also Chairman, reviewing progress in the Apollo program. Dr. Seamans, Dr. George Mueller, and I will report further to him at 10 a.m., Monday, February 27.

Democracy—What It Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Every year, Mr. Speaker, the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and its ladies auxiliary conduct a Voice of Democracy contest. This year's theme is "Democracy: What It Means to Me."

The contest winner from Minnesota is, I am proud to say, a resident of my district. He is 18-year-old John O'Brien son of Mr. and Mrs. Donald O'Brien, 310 West Minnehaha Parkway, Minneapolis. John, a senior at St. Thomas Academy, Mendota, Minn., is a member of his school debating team. Here is his prize-winning speech:

Democracy—what it means to me. How do you express it? I mean, without the trite phrases and ten-dollar words; for describing Democracy in those terms is very like throwing cream pies at the Statue of Liberty—you only cover up the most beautiful part about each: the fact that they are concrete and simple realities.

This is not to say that Democracy is simple—far from it. For it is a product of two centuries of men trying to fit the gears of individual minds into a workable machine. It is to say that Democracy is real, and must be thought of as such.

The word Democracy has been placed on a pedestal. But the idea of Democracy has been taken for granted. Perhaps it is this paradox which is most indicative of Democracy's greatness. Let me describe further what I mean. Take an average day in my life. After attending school, I am free to work on the student newspaper, debate team, yearbook, on an athletic team, chess club, or any combination of these. Instead of this, I may work for a small salary and the chance to earn some of my own support. I can attend a meeting of our church group, or a session of th eTeenage Town Meeting Organization, where I can discuss the problems of the community with fellow residents. This is exercising Democracy—making choices and living by their consequences.

I do each of these things, aside from going to school, because I choose to do them. Education is the only restriction upon me, and it makes perfect sense, for, as Thomas Jefferson said in describing a democracy: "Error is tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

Without education, we could not have the most basic freedom of Democracy—the freedom which distingiushes it from all other forms of government—the right to be wrong.

The most frequent criticism my generation incurs is that we are too individualistic, we are unwilling to accept authority, and that we are so enthusiastic about our own ideas that we fail to see that many of them are incorrect. This problem can happen only in a democracy, since in a democracy man has the prerogative of expressing his opinion, no matter how far out in left field he is.

Just as I have the right to choose my own ways of activity, so do we all in a democracy decide upon our own approach to life, limited in that we must respect the right of others.

If we ever let our approach to life be determined by someone else, however, the individual and his government, the Democracy, will disappear from the face of the earth.

But I have much confidence in this generation. In 1936, the teenage generation was assailed for its lack of concern. Our generation will never be called diffident. We may exercise the right to be wrong quite often, but at least that main limb of Democracy will never fall off from disuse. Ours is an active, involved, practical breed.

Now we can give Democracy the status of the "American Dream," as the last generation did. We can use baroque verbiage and high-sounding words to describe Democracy. But place Democracy above the individual; put the idea above its actual practical application, and we will separate the ideal from the attainable, and the real strength of Democracy will be lost.

Instead, let me be specific in describing Democracy. Democracy strikes me as being the system of civilization in which each human's approach to life is respected and not infringed upon by his fellows.

As high-school students, we can help keep our democracy free by using the free choice granted us under it. As long as we do this, the merits of this noble experiment called Democracy, will continue to be seen by the merits of its application. Thank you.

Compensation to the Province of Mozambique

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, on the 3d of February, 1967, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Portugal, A. Franco Nogueira, addressed a letter to the Secretary General of the United Nations, with a request that the letter be circulated among the Security Council. This letter not only states the difficulties which Portugal envisions in enforcing the compulsory sanctions on Rhodesia, but also raises questions as to the legality of the Security Council resolution, and also presents a demand for compensation to the Province of Mozambique for the loss which they have suffered as a result of the imposition of sanctions against Rhodesia.

The letter follows:

1. I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of a Note of 17 December 1966 in which Your Excellency informed me of the approval by the Security Council on the 16th of that month of resolution S/RES/232 (1966) concerning Rhodesia, and asked for information regarding the measures which the Portuguese Government may have adopted in conformity with that resolution. Likewise, I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Note dated 13 January 1967 in which the same request is reiterated and a reply is requested by 15 February 1967 and to which also you have annexed a questionnaire which you would like to be filled up and returned on a monthly basis, concerning the imports and exports from and into Rhodesia indicated in the above-mentioned resolution of 16 December last.

2. The above-mentioned resolution of the Security Council is an expanded version of the resolution which, also on Rhodesia, was submitted to the vote of that organ of the United Nations on 9 April 1966.

3. As Your Excellency will recall, I addressed to you in connexion with this last resolution, a letter dated 27th of that month, in which I placed before you in the name of the Portuguese Government a certain number of doubts and queries, suggesting that the opinion of the Juridical Department of the United Nations should be obtained concerning them. As no reply was received, a further note was sent under the date of 13 May 1966, insisting that the clarifications asked for be given. You were then pleased to reply on 21 June 1966 stating that you did not consider well-founded the doubts raised by the Portuguese Government, adding, however, that you could not make known the legal opinion given by the competent department of the United Nations Secretariat, seeing that the latter could only pronounce itself publicly if a request were addressed to it by one of the principal organs of the United Nations.

4. In the face of this reply from you, and always out of a desire to have its doubts clarified, the Portuguese Government sent to the President of the Security Council on 29 July 1966, a note in which it repeated the previous questions and also formulated others which had suggested themselves in the meantime, and requested that the Security Council, which is undoubtedly one of the principal organs of the United Nations, should obtain from the Secretariat the juridical opinion which Member Governments individually appear not to be authorized to receive. A communication of six lines was received from the President of the Security Council on 8 August 1966, merely stating that the subject was going to be brought to the notice of the members of the Council for consideration. In view of this the Portuguese Government waited, and only on 20 September 1966, not having received any reply, addressed a further note to the President of that Organ, underlining once more the doubts the clarification of which might be said to be of interest to all Member States as well as to the United Nations Organization itself. No further reply was received.

5. You will recall that the main points of doubt which a study of the problem had occasioned to the Portuguese Government were very simple, as proposed. In substance, the Portuguese Government expressed a desire to know the following: (a) Since the Council was composed of fifteen members, and seven abstentions were needed to prevent the approval of a resolution (provided on the other side none of the permanent members had cast a "veto" or a majority vote had not been verified against the resolution) is it to be understood, in view of Article 27 of the Charter, that a resolution is considered valid when all the five permanent members or even only some of them have cast votes of abstention? (b) Since the freedom of the seas and the free access to it by landlocked countries is laid down in international conventions, and since the above-mentioned resolutions of the Security Council are clearly a denial of these principles, could the Security Council deliberate and legislate against international conventions? (c) Seeing that various Organs of the United Nations have discussed the problem of Rhodesia, and that the United Kingdom took the initiative to place it before the Security Council on more than one occasion, and further that the British delegation actively participated in the debates and in the voting, ought the matter still to be deemed as being of the exclusive competence of the United Kingdom or does it henceforth fall under the international jurisdiction? (d) Seeing that the Security Council has treated the entire problem in the light of Chapter VII of the Charter and decided to act in terms of Article 42 thereof, and that it has entrusted to the armed forces of a single State the execution of certain coercive measures, ought such forces, in view of Article 43 of the Charter, have a national or an international status? In case those forces should retain this national status, and in the event of their taking any action which may result in a dispute, or be offensive to the interests of third-party States, which is

the entity or organism to which an appeal and a claim should be made?

6. Your Excellency will recognize the close relationship between the above-mentioned problems and the resolution of 16 December concerning Rhodesia. On the other hand you will agree that such questions are absolutely relevant and also that it is extremely useful to all, that authoritative replies should be given to them. You now ask that the Portuguese Government should state what measures it proposes to adopt in the execution of the above-mentioned resolution; but the reply to this will inevitably have to be considered in the light of the answers given to the points listed above. The Portuguese Government considers itself entitled to clarification and it cannot be called upon, in matters of such extreme gravity, to pronounce itself without knowing all the implications of the position which it ought to adopt. Therefore, the Portuguese Government trusts that clarifying answers will be provided with the urgency the case requires.

I avail myself of this opportunity to convey to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) A. FRANCO NOGUEIRA,
Minister for Foreign Affairs.

I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that as a result of the carrying out of a number of measures envisaged in the resolutions of the Security Council, voted upon on 9 April and on 16 December 1966, the economy of the Portuguese province of Mozambique is suffering severe financial and economic losses which the Portuguese Government estimates at about £10 million sterling, up to the end of the year 1966. Annexed hereto you will find particulars of this amount by various items. The Portuguese Government reserves to itself the right to document all the items indicated, at the appropriate opportunity.

2. In terms of, and for the purposes of Article 50 of the charter, the Portuguese Government wishes that consultations should be initiated between the Security Council and the Portuguese Government in order that the modalities for paying the compensation to which the province of Mozambique has a right, may be agreed upon.

3. I therefore request you kindly to place the foregoing before the Security Council for its consideration. I may inform you that the Portuguese Government will be awaiting a reply with the urgency which the matter calls for.

I avail myself of the opportunity to convey to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) A. FRANCO NOGUEIRA,
Minister for Foreign Affairs.

LOSSES SUFFERED BY THE PROVINCE OF MOZAMBIQUE AS A RESULT OF THE MEASURES TAKEN AGAINST RHODESIA

1966

(a) Loss of receipts from normal traffic, loss of compensation from the Beira pipeline, failure to fulfill contracts drawn up and signed for exports from Rhodesia:

Limpopo Line	£2,418,000
Port of Lourenco Marques	492,000
Beira Line	2,838,000
Port of Beira	957,000
Subtotal	6,705,000
Additional losses	1,341,000
Total	8,046,000

(b) Foreign trade including imports and exports:

Imports	£850,000
Exports	900,000
Grand total	9,796,000

ESSA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROY A. TAYLOR

OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, perhaps the most significant scientific development since World War II has been the data explosion. The collection, quality control, communication, analysis, processing, storage of retrieval of information is underway today on a scale that numbs the imagination. The volume of technical information is doubling every decade.

The effective use of data in understanding the environment is one of the aims of an important new scientific agency known as the Environmental Science Services Administration—ESSA—of the U.S. Department of Commerce.

Within the past few days, President Johnson has publicly congratulated ESSA on its achievements during its period of development. He stated, as he had earlier in announcing Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1965, "that the reorganization would permit us to provide better environmental information to vital segments of the Nation's economy. ESSA's accomplishments are bearing out these predictions." Improved environmental information is available because of the establishment of ESSA's Environmental Data Service—EDS.

This service provides an integrated attack upon the problems of collection and dissemination of climatological, geodetic, seismological aeronomy and space data. In EDS, ESSA has fashioned from many data centers previously scattered among several organizations one service which permits the application of modern technology to the processing, storage, recall and summarization of all forms of environmental data. It is making possible the previously unattainable goal of one-stop service to the multitude of interests needing many kinds of environmental data.

Although it is not generally realized, archived scientific data grows in value with the passage of time. The institution of the data bank is one whose service seldom stirs the popular imagination, yet serves our Nation exceedingly well.

In ESSA, the Environmental Data Service has three major centers: the National Weather Records Center and the National Geophysical Data Center at Asheville, N.C., and the Aeronomy and Space Data Center in Boulder, Colo.

A number of international data centers are now gathered in the Environmental Data Center, a significant testimony to this institution's scope and capabilities.

ESSA, through this Service, assists practically every area of the national economy—and the private citizen. It is the kind of service which typifies the best in government—accurate, complete, and quickly available. Its importance to our national life can hardly be overestimated. It is gratifying to me, as I am sure it was to the President, to know that the Environmental Science Services Administration, which has accomplished so much for our Nation in such a short period of time, has among its components this outstanding and vital service.

University of Iowa Celebrates Its 120th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, February 25, the University of Iowa celebrated its 120th anniversary. On February 25, 1847, Iowa's first Governor, Ansel Briggs, signed a bill which created the first public institution of higher education in Iowa.

While students did not enter the university until 1855, the step taken by the Iowa Legislature and endorsed by the Governor in 1847 was historic. The State of Iowa has a wonderful record in the field of public education. We have the highest literacy rate of the 50 States. While I was a member of the Iowa Legislature, I served as chairman of the education committee of the Iowa House. During that time I became closely acquainted with the University of Iowa. My two children are graduates of the university.

The University of Iowa has served the State well. It has provided the State with the bulk of its dentists, doctors, and lawyers, as well as with many of its leaders in the business community. It has had extremely able leadership. The late Dr. Virgil Hancher and the present president, Howard Bowen, have done an outstanding job and have kept the University of Iowa among the top schools in the United States.

Today I salute the University of Iowa, its president, faculty, and students. May it continue to be a leader in the field of higher education.

Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, February 25, the Iowa City Press Citizen carried an article about the founding of the University of Iowa. It is an interesting story well worth reading:

> Gov. Ansel Briggs, Iowa's first governor signed "An Act To Locate and Establish a State University" Feb. 25, 1847, making the University of Iowa 120 years old today.
>
> The governor's signature came just five days after the bill establishing the university was introduced into the First General Assembly and only 59 days after Iowa became a state. This speed, however, wasn't continued and it was eight years, 1855, before the first students entered the university.
>
> The story of the legislative action establishing the university was drawn by Bruce E. Mahan, whose association with UI and the General Assembly goes back more than a generation, from the Journals of the House and Senate for that session of 1846–47.

As a former state representative and a dean-emeritus of the university, Mahan related the story first to legislators who visited here about 10 days ago, then retold it to another group in Des Moines.

Establishment of a university, it might be thought, would be an act of such obvious wisdom that the measure to do it would sail through the legislature without a halt. Dean Mahan's account makes it clear that this was not so, that the bill survived two efforts to kill it, one by tabling it and the other by adjourning the General Assembly as well as journeys into and out of committees.

The day-by-day account, as compiled by Dean Mahan, goes like this:

Saturday morning, Feb. 20, 1847: House File 130, the act to establish the university introduced into the House and given its first and second readings. It was referred to the Standing Committee on Schools with instructions to report Monday, two days hence.

Saturday afternoon: Rep. Watson from the Committee of Schools reported that the committee had considered HF 130 and that, after careful examination, the committee directed him to report the bill as amended. Upon motion of Rep. Lyon the House proceeded with consideration of the bill.

The first vote came on a motion by Lyons to lay the bill on the table, defeated by 10 yeas to 22 nays. Had this motion been approved, the bill would have been killed.

Rep. Leffingwell then moved the previous question, the amendments, and the vote was in the affirmative with no rollcall asked. Copies of the bill as it stood then were ordered to be printed for the House.

Monday morning: Another effort to kill the bill, as well as other pending legislation failed in a 20–11 vote against a motion to adjourn when HF 130 came up for consideration. The bill then was ordered to the Committee of the Whole House for the afternoon session.

Monday afternoon: The bill was considered in committee of the whole, which subsequently arose and reported HF 130 without amendments. The names of the 15 trustees were added.

Then the House rules were suspended and the bill was read for the third time. The bill then was approved 21–11, and the chief clerk was directed to request concurrence of the Senate in HF 130.

The Senate that same Monday afternoon had HF 130 read a first and second time, then referred the measure to its committee on schools.

Tuesday morning: The senate considered the bill in committee of the whole, reporting progress made.

Tuesday afternoon: Consideration was resumed in committee of the whole, which reported the bill, with amendments, to the Senate. One amendment was defeated, but others were approved and when the rules were suspended for a vote on HF 130, as amended, it was passed, without a roll call vote. The secretary was directed to notify the House.

Wednesday morning: The Senate reported its passage of the bill as amended and asked the concurrence of the House in them. A motion to amend the amendments was tabled and the House voted to concur in the Senate amendments, thus completing legislative action except for some formalities.

Wednesday evening: The Committee on Enrolled Bills of the House reported that HR 130 was correctly enrolled and the speaker signed the bill.

Thursday morning: The Senate received this message from the House—"Mr. President, I present for your signature 'An Act to Locate and Establish a State University,' the same having been signed by the Speaker of the House."

The president of the senate signed the measure, sending it on to the governor and Briggs signed it later that day, making Feb. 25 the anniversary date of the university.

That same afternoon, the House and the Senate adjourned.

Mahan points out that the First General Assembly was considering a number of other measures in those final five days, too. "They were busy as birddogs," he said.

Democracy—What It Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, each year the Veterans of Foreign Wars and its ladies auxiliary conducts a "Voice of Democracy" contest in which high school pupils are challenged to relate what democracy means to them.

A composition by Richard A. Cline, Madison, Ind., was adjudged the winning entry in Indiana this year.

With the theme, "Democracy—What It Means to Me," Richard has described, with eloquence and insight, the experience of democracy.

And he closes his excellent essay with a request—one that could well serve as a pledge to all of us charged with responsibilities in government:

> I have only one request: That we live up to the freedom, the democracy, that our forefathers have put into our trust. There is nothing more I can ask—it is in your hands.

The text of Richard's winning essay is as follows:

DEMOCRACY—WHAT IT MEANS TO ME

Have you ever stopped to consider what a gift you have in your hand? Look at your right hand. Go on—wiggle your fingers—grasp an object. How like humans to casually take for granted this amazing tool which serves us so faithfully all of our lives.

Democracy can be compared to our hands. Just as our hands mean more to us than ten fingers, so does democracy mean more than a word or a concept. The importance of democracy is not in the concept, but in its usage. Anyone can look the word up in the dictionary—"Political, legal, or social equality." This is democracy? No, democracy cannot be defined like so many other terms. It has many intangible qualities that a text cannot bring out—qualities that you and I experience every day.

Because of democracy, we can do many of the "little" things other people cannot—go to school, with the freedom to speak out without fear. We have the freedom to own our own homes, and live our own lives—the freedom to take interest in civic action programs and current events. We have the freedom to worship as we desire, and the freedom to extend the hand of friendship to strangers.

While the printed word is static, the experienced democracy is constantly changing. The youth, who experience that democracy, change just as rapidly. Look at the clothing fashions or hair cuts of yesterday as compared to the mini-skirts and moptops of today. But has democracy become a principle of the past? It is in the hands of the youth of today to preserve our democratic way of life—our responsibility.

In preserving that democracy, we must realize that its flexibility is necessary for its existence.

Application of democracy was a purity of purpose in the hands of Woodrow Wilson. No man despised war more than Wilson; yet when the time came, he applied his democracy to lead the world first to victory, and then to the lofty goals of freedom and peace. Wilson said, "In the wrong hands—in hands upracticed, undisciplined, democracy is incompatible with government."

Democracy, he was saying, must have flexible qualities. If it is to survive, it must be used properly to meet today's challenges. However, democracy cannot adapt by itself. Today's youth—tomorrow's leaders—must meet the challenge of a changing world, a changing democracy. We must face the responsibilities together, hand in hand. We must have the ability to restrain ourselves from doing the wrong thing—from going with the wrong crowd. We must find better ways of expressing ourselves than throwing army recruiters off our campuses and burning our draft cards. As Wilson stressed, democracy is organized self-restraint. Too bad we don't realize that democracy gives us the freedom to discipline ourselves, for if we do not, we may find ourselves disciplined by others.

Democracy, then, means and is many things. It has been used as a reason for results. Its greatest result is America—young America like the young child, was fascinated by the bits of wonderment that floated by its gasp. Yet that young nation, seemingly fragile, showed surprising strength and stamina when challenged.

A man who was challenged and met his responsibility was Adlai Stevenson, who once said, "Government in democracy cannot be stronger or more tough-minded than its people. . . . It cannot be wiser than its people."

Man and nation, Stevenson believed, are the developers of democracy, and democracy has plenty to ask of you and me. It asks awareness, flexibility, self-restraint, strength, and responsibility.

I have only one request: That we live up to the freedom, the democracy, that our forefathers have put into our trust. There is nothing more I can ask—it is in your hands.

International DeMolay Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of the House that the week of March 12 to March 19, 1967, is DeMolay Week. During the period we join in saluting the young men of the Order of DeMolay and in expressing our grateful appreciation of the fine examples set by these young leaders in contributing to the welfare and character of other young men in the city, thus aiding in the development and leadership of tomorrow.

The Order of DeMolay is a character building organization composed of young men 14 to 21 years of age, who are seeking to prepare themselves as better leaders and citizens for tomorrow by developing these traits and strengths of character of all good men.

The organization was founded by Frank S. Land during the year 1919, at Kansas City, Mo., and now has more than 2,500 chapters located all over the free world.

All the DeMolay members of La Mirada Chapter, sponsored by La Mirada Lodge No. 778 F. & A.M., will observe the period of March 12–19 as DeMolay Week in celebration of their 48th anniversary, so as to exemplify to all citizens here and elsewhere their many activities, and in some small way show recognition to their many senior DeMolays.

Seeds of Patriotism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of my colleagues the patriotic editorial by Mr. James M. Nellany, news director, WNAR, Norristown, Pa. This award-winning editorial was aired on Washington's Birthday, 1966, as a public service of the Alan Wood Steel Co., in my district:

SEEDS OF PATRIOTISM

It was a dismal cold day and the snow-covered ground, although dotted with many campfires, hardly compensated for any similarity to a bed for footsore and wearied soldiers.

Dawn was raising its cold and foggy head, and here and there, a scrawny mongrel dog scraped the frozen earth looking for a stray crumb to satisfy the cravings of its hollow innards.

Groups of soldiers started stirring, awakened from sleep by the brisk cold wind that whipped through their tatterred breachcoats and added to the ever-present pain of frost-bitten toes sheltered only by tattered rags wrapped around even more tattered boots.

This was the scene General Washington surveyed as he stood in front of his headquarter's tent with his faded blue coat wrapped tightly around his gaunt body. His heart was heavy, his body tired, his head bent low upon his chest.

These were his men. He was their leader. These were the men who followed him after exhausting battles in the pursuit of liberty to a place called Valley Forge. Here they would rest for the battles that lie ahead. Here they would battle the freezing elements with only the heat of their zealous hearts to warm them throughout the long cold winter ahead.

The general dropped on one knee and joining his hands in prayer asked God in his infinite mercy to look over the physical and also the spiritual welfare of these patriots who would endure such suffering for a cause: For a cause inspired by the first seed of independence that was triggered at Independence Hall, Philadelphia: By the first shot fired and heard around the world at Concord: By the resistance offered British regulars at Lexington: By the witholding of fire until the whites of the enemy's eyes showed at Bunker Hill.

Here huddled around him were shivering emaciated patriots with the blood of Indian-fighting pioneers running through their veins: Men, who although cherishing life would fight and die to preserve freedom.

Most of these men, he knew, were familiar with the inspiring words of that fiery speech by that great patriot that had been branded in the heart and soul of each God-fearing, freedom loving colonial patriot.

He could still hear those words . . . those history making sentences that someday in the future would inspire others to fight for and preserve what these men here were dying to create.

It was only like yesterday but the words kept ringing . . . and ringing . . . and ringing through his mind.

"Gentlemen may cry, peace, peace, but there is no peace. The war is actually begun: The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms: Our brethren are already in the field: Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take: But as for me, Give me liberty, or give me death!"

A smile crossed the gray lips of the commander-in-chief. Suddenly his body was warm, his stomach filled and his cold heart suddenly became alive as his blood tingled through his frail body. His dampened spirits awakened and as he raised his head to the heavens his bright eyes thanked God that he was part of this sacrifice for free men who cherished life, liberty and freedom and would lay down their lives to preserve it!

Before him he saw a nation being born. A nation molded by freezing men who had faith in God: Faith in their fellow-man and the faith and foresight to preserve for future generations a freedom that could be gained and retained only through sacrifice, hardships and the desire to live as free men.

Estonian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, on February 24, Estonians in the United States and elsewhere in the world celebrated the 49th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of the Republic of Estonia.

In Estonia itself, however, the event was not commemorated. For Estonia is no longer a free and independent nation. Rather it is a constituent state of the Soviet Union.

Freed from Czarist control in World War I, Estonia lost its independence at the inception of World War II as a result of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Agreement of August 1939.

Together with the peoples of the other Baltic Republics, Latvia and Lithuania, Estonia was forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Communist empire.

The event is one which will live in infamy for the rest of recorded time. The brutal denial of popular right to self-determination which the Soviets imposed on Estonia has never been surpassed in history.

It is a fitting tribute to the courage and determination of the Estonian people that they have never ceased to hope for a better and free tomorrow. They—in their hearts—celebrate Estonian independence daily.

Estonia—and its fate—should be constant reminders to us that some nations prowl the world as predators, seeking to devour whole peoples. These nations must be stopped, as the United States is stopping the aggression from the North in Vietnam.

Estonia also serves as a reminder of the kind of world we are attempting to build: A world in which small, weak nations can exist in security and independence even if they exist in geographical contiguity to large and powerful countries.

Mr. Speaker, on this 49th anniversary of Estonian independence it gives me great pleasure to join with our Estonian-Americans and Estonians everywhere in paying tribute to the independence of their homeland and the glorious history of their people.

Salesmen of Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN R. DAVIS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, each year the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and its auxiliary conducts a Voice of Democracy contest. This year, over 350,000 school students participated in the contest competing for five scholarships which are awarded as the top prizes. The contest theme was "Democracy—What It Means to Me."

Wisconsin winner was a very personable young man from Wauwatosa in the Ninth Congressional District named Peter Henschel. I am pleased and proud to insert at this point Mr. Henschel's winning speech entitled, "Salesmen of Democracy":

SALESMEN OF DEMOCRACY

(By R. Peter Henschel)

When the fifty-five men went to Philadelphia in 1787, they had a dream. It was with great courage and conviction that they hoped to form an enduring basis of government for the nation which had been a-borning and whose future destiny and greatness existed only in their minds as a vision. These men agreed and disagreed—there was argument and counter-argument. There was anger and there was calm thought. There was prayer and there was blasphemy. Finally there was compromise, the final product of their toil being the Constitution of the United States of America—a profound composite of their highest judgment and aspirations.

These fifty-five men had done a superb job of selling their ideas. Their geographical origins and their social and economic backgrounds influenced their judgment on the views of their fellow patriots.

The Constitution having been completed, an arduous task lay ahead: These "Salesmen of Democracy" had to sell their product to the people whom they represented. A man must have confidence in the value of the product he is marketing. These fifty-five men had much faith in the Constitution, yet they knew that it takes much more than faith to sell a concept.

Despite the many handicaps they had to overcome in communication and transportation, Madison, Franklin, Hamilton, and their colleagues, sold their product to the people of the young nation.

In the intervening years since 1789, many events of great political importance have occurred. Systems of government have risen and fallen. Yet in this time period, The Constitution of the United States has remained the most prominent expression of the American Ideal of freedom and justice.

Yes, the years have confirmed the Founding Fathers faith in their product.

For nearly two centuries, this Constitution has been the efficient framework within which a free and vibrant people have been able to realize their fullest potential.

In every period of our history, outside forces have tried unsuccessfully to weaken our democratic structure. During times like these, past generations of dedicated Americans, including our fathers and grandfathers, have reaffirmed their faith in democracy and their devotion to country. Many Americans have given their lives so that others might be able to pick the fruits of a bounteous nation. In war and peace, they have dedicated themselves to solving the problems of a growing nation. In science, industry, and the arts, men and women have found the democratic framework a stimulating atmosphere for their free quest for knowledge.

In order for our nation to continue resisting destructive influences, my generation must also be willing to re-affirm its faith in democracy. Our men in Vietnam are fighting to preserve free choice, and our students are sharpening their minds and skills in order to deal with the problems of an increasingly complex society. Despite the overwhelming loyalty of the majority, a minority of young Americans are evoking a genuine concern by their apathy and inane dissension.

The youth of America have a vital obligation to the country that has provided them with so many opportunities. Recently I heard a group of young people sing this song whose words convey the feelings of a patriotic segment of my generation.

"America, America, shall we tell you how we feel.
You have given us your riches,
We love you so."

How can youth show America how it feels? How can the youth of America express their appreciation for the riches of opportunity and fulfillment that this country has provided? We, the youth of America, can participate, actively, in civic affairs. We can become operating members of the brain trust so vital to the success of our nation.

The future of America lies in the hands of my generation. It is an awesome responsibility, but the obligation has been accepted by generations before us. The commitment is now ours. Of the many duties in this endeavor, the most vital to America's future lies in salesmanship. We must believe in our nation enough to go out and sell its principles to those outside our domain and to the apathetic within, so that future generations will have the drive to sustain the "voice of democracy."

To sell America to American youth and American youth to America—this is the opportunity and challenge to the youth of this country and to this—*our* nation.

Apollo Accident Review Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, since the tragic accident resulting in the death of Astronauts Grissom, White, and Chaffee on January 27, 1967, over 1,500 individuals from NASA, industry, universities, and other Government agencies have been involved in the broadest and most thorough accident investigation ever undertaken in this country. Col. Frank Borman, one of our outstanding astronauts is a member of this board and a number of other astronauts are working on various phases of the accident investigation. To date, three interim reports have been issued by the review board reenforcing the belief that NASA is taking the most self-critical position possible to assure that causes and remedies in this situation will be found and corrective action applied as soon as possible. The interim reports to date have made clear that NASA will make public all the information surrounding the accident. Included below is a list of the members of the review board and the basis of operation of this board based on the memorandum published February 3, 1967, by Deputy Administrator Robert Seamans:

MEMORANDUM FOR THE APOLLO 204 REVIEW BOARD OF THE NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION, FEBRUARY 3, 1967

1. The Apollo 204 Review Board was established on January 28, 1967, in accordance with NASA Management Instruction 8621.1, dated April 14, 1966, to investigate the Apollo accident which resulted in the deaths of Lt. Col. Virgil I. Grissom, Lt. Col. Edward H. White, and Lt. Cmdr. Roger B. Chaffee on Launch Complex 34, on January 27, 1967. In order to reflect the current Board membership and to provide further guidance to the Chairman in the conduct of his duties, this memorandum supersedes that of January 28, 1967.

2. The Board will report to the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

3. The following are hereby appointed to the Board:

Dr. Floyd L. Thompson, Director, Langley Research Center, NASA, Chairman.

Col. Frank Borman, Astronaut, Manned Spacecraft Center, NASA.

Maxime Faget, Director, Engineering & Development, Manned Spacecraft Ctr., NASA.

E. Barton Geer, Associate Chief, Flight Vehicles & Systems Division, Langley Research Center, NASA.

Col. Charles F. Strang, Chief of Missiles & Space Safety Division, Air Force Inspector General, Norton Air Force Base, California.

George C. White, Jr., Director, Reliability & Quality, Apollo Program Office, Headquarters, NASA.

John Williams, Director, Spacecraft Operations, Kennedy Space Center, NASA.

Dr. Robert W. Van Dolah, Research Director for the Explosive Research Center, Bureau of Mines, Department of Interior.

4. George Malley, Chief Counsel, Langley Research Center, will serve as counsel to the Board.

5. The Board will:

a. Review the circumstances surrounding the accident to establish the probable cause or causes of the accident, including review of the findings, corrective action, and recommendations being developed by the Program Offices, Field Centers, and contractors involved.

b. Direct such further specific investigations as may be necessary.

c. Report its findings relating to the cause of the accident to the Administrator as expeditiously as possible and release such information through the Office of Public Affairs.

d. Consider the impact of the accident on all Apollo activities involving equipment preparation, testing, and flight operations.

e. Consider all other factors relating to the accident, including design, procedures, organization, and management.

f. Develop recommendations for corrective or other action based upon its findings and determinations.

g. Document its findings, determinations, and recommendations and submit a final report to the Administrator which will not be released without his approval.

6. The following amplifies and documents the verbal instructions given to the Chairman, January 28, 1967:

a. The chairman shall establish such procedures for the organization and operation of the Board as he finds most effective; and such procedures shall be part of the Board's records.

b. Board members shall be appointed or removed by the Deputy Administrator after consultation with the Chairman as necessary for the Board's effective action.

c. The Chairman may establish procedures to assure the execution of the Chairman's responsibility in his absence.

d. The Chairman shall appoint or designate such representatives, consultants, experts, liaison officers, observers, or other officials as required to support the activities of the Board. The Chairman shall define their duties and responsibilities as part of the Board's records.

e. The Chairman shall keep the Deputy Administrator advised periodically concerning the organization, procedures, and operations of the Board and its associated officials.

f. The Chairman shall assure that the counsel to the Board develops and maintains memoranda records covering areas of possible litigation.

7. The Board may call upon any element of NASA for support, assistance, and information.

ROBERT C. SEAMANS, Jr.,
Deputy Administrator.

Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES M. HANLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, this month we celebrate the 49th anniversary of Lithuanian independence. As we have in past years, so also do we in 1967 commemorate the bravery and dedication of these oppressed peoples.

The Lithuanians are a proud nation with a rich history. It has been their misfortune, however, to have suffered at the hands of many foreign aggressors.

The future looked bright for Lithuania in 1918. They had finally thrown off the yoke of 123 years of czarist Russian rule, and in consonance with President Wilson's call for self-determination for all nations, they declared their independence. The labors of internation deceit, however, caught up with them once again, and their ancient oppressors soon took advantage of Lithuania's military weakness. In 1940, they fell prey to the aggressive appetite of the Red tyrants in Moscow, and they have endured hardship, privation, and forceful enslavement until the present.

Mr. Speaker, we who enjoy the fruits of liberty cannot afford to forget the plight of our brothers in Lithuania, for in their land we see a frightening reflection of the true nature of Communist designs.

I commend the Lithuanians and offer my deepest prayers for their freedom.

Harry M. Johnston, Reporter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB CASEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, it is a time of sadness for our country when the career of a great and distinguished reporter is cut short in the summer of his life.

Those of us privileged to know Harry M. Johnston, who died February 3, 1967, in Atlanta, Ga., mourn his loss deeply.

He was my friend for nearly all of his brief 48 years, from our days at San Jacinto High School in Houston, through his early years as an able and dedicated reporter on the Houston Press and city editor on the Houston Post. His warm friendship, his counsel and advice, I shall always cherish. He was a great journalist, one who took pride in his work and lived by the tenets of his profession, and it was heartwarming to me to read the many tributes from those who knew him well.

Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the people of Houston, whom Harry loved so dearly and served so well for so many years, I extend our deepest sympathy to his lovely wife, "Bucky," their daughter, Miss Sydney Johnston, and their son, Harry M. Johnston III, and all their loved ones. All of us share the great burden of your loss with you.

Mr. Speaker, so that my colleagues may know the measure of this man, and the great esteem with which he was held by those within his profession, I respectfully call their attention to the following articles:

[From Time magazine, Feb. 17, 1967]

A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER, JAMES R. SHEPLEY

"Harry Johnston's death diminishes the South." Thus one of the nation's leading editors, Eugene Patterson of the Atlanta Constitution, saluted Reporter Harry Johnston, who died at 48, of emphysema and pneumonia, in his fourth year as chief of TIME's Atlanta bureau.

Editor Patterson published his warm tribute to Johnston in the Constitution, and since it says so much so well about the problems confronting a conscientious craftsman reporting on the troubled South, we quote from it here as a shared salute to the memory of a colleague: "He was no angry liberal in the ideological sense. He was in fact a pretty conservative fellow. But he did not like to see little people pushed around. It was that simple with him. He didn't care what color the little people were. He held in utter contempt those political poses designed to conceal social brutalities in a region that deserved better leadership, and he didn't scare."

Another one of Harry's admirers on the Constitution, Publisher Ralph McGill, said: "He covered the South honestly and well. There is too little reporting of the type he did. We here miss him as a friend and a reporter of the first rank."

Harry was born in Texas and worked on the Houston Post from 1938 to 1954, with three years out for Army duty in World War II. A combat correspondent with the rank of Staff Sergeant, he covered the campaigns in The Netherlands and Germany with the 84th Infantry Division and won the Bronze Star. He was City Editor of the Post when he joined TIME as a correspondent in the Washington bureau 13 years ago. From 1957 to 1959, he put in his first tour of duty in Atlanta. His other positions on the magazine included bureau chief in Ottawa, deskman in New York and Deputy Chief of the TIME-LIFE News Service.

"It was good for the South," Patterson wrote, "that he ran TIME's Atlanta bureau, because here was a man who had an affectionate understanding of the Southern people and an implacable determination not to temporize with their misleaders.

"It never bothered Harry that the Southern people did not yet understand the worth of what he was trying to do for them. He was one of the band of native news writers who had both sense and guts, and who devoted their lives to the hard business of drawing the picture clear in the South. Soft-hearted, hard-nosed and level-headed, Harry Johnston served us all in his too-brief years."

[From the Atlanta Constitution, Feb. 6, 1967]

HARRY JOHNSTON, SOUTHERNER

(By Eugene Patterson)

Harry Johnston's death diminishes the South. He was one of those writers who cared enough about the region and its people to fight. He fought the forces of prejudice, hypocrisy and baseness that have so often misled the goodly people of the South, of which he was one.

A Texan, Harry loved the South, but more important, he knew it. He looked with a clear eye at the race-clouded politics of his homeland, and the unworthiness of much that he saw put an anger in him.

He was no angry liberal in the ideological sense. He was in fact a pretty conservative fellow. But he did not like to see little people pushed around. It was that simple with him. He didn't care what color the little people were. He held in utter contempt those political poses designed to conceal social brutalities in a region that deserved better leadership, and he didn't scare.

He was city editor of the Houston Post—a straight, honest, tough professional—before he joined Time magazine more than a decade ago. It was good for the South that he ran Time's Atlanta bureau, because here was a man who had an affectionate understanding of the Southern people, and an implacable determination not to temporize with their misleaders.

He found them, named them, faced them and exposed them—not with editorial composition but with hard, reporter's fact. No spade was called by any other name. Rugged, skeptical and irreverent, he maintained his native Southern compassion for the born bungler and the minor rogue; he filtered their follies through a booming bass laughter and held them in high affection. But he was hard as nails when he went on the trail of the truly mean, the deliberately meretricious. He despised them and named them with a cold contempt because he loved the people they were willing to use.

It never bothered Harry that the Southern people did not yet understand the worth of what he was trying to do for them. He gloried in combat and scorned cheap honors. To him, it was only important to get behind the cardboard settings and flush the scoundrels out of the wings.

He was one of the band of native news writers who had both sense and guts, and who devoted their lives to the hard business of drawing the picture clear in the South. Soft-hearted, hard-nosed and level-headed, Harry Johnston served us all in his too-brief 48 years. One of the very good men is gone.

[From the Houston Post, Feb. 5, 1967]

HARRY JOHNSTON, FORMER POST CITY EDITOR, DIES

The body of Harry M. Johnston, Time-Life bureau chief in Atlanta, Ga., and former city editor of The Houston Post who died in Atlanta late Friday, will be brought to Houston for burial.

Settegast-Kopf Funeral Home will have charge of funeral arrangements.

Johnston, who was 48, died at 10 PM Friday in Atlanta's DeKalb General Hospital, Where he was admitted about seven hours earlier.

His wife, Mrs. Lanetta (Bucky) Johnston, said it was thought that he had recovered from a seige of influenza, but his condition worsened and he was taken to the hospital. Cause of death was not determined, she said.

Born in Austin, Johnston came to Houston during his childhood. His father, the late Harry M. Johnston Sr, was news editor of The Houston Post when he died in 1927. Mrs. Harry M. Johnston Sr, his mother lives at 1110 Sheffield in Houston.

His grandfather, R. M. Johnston, was one of The Post's founders and its editor-in-chief, when he died in 1925.

R. M. Johnston moved from Georgia to Texas after serving as a drummer boy in the Confederate Army. Later, he became active in Texas politics, holding the position of Democratic national committeeman for several year and being elected lieutenant governor.

The elder Johnston was a leader in Houston's development and one of the men instrumental in the planning and execution of the Houston Ship Channel.

Harry M. Johnston was graduated from San Jacinto High and the University of Houston, where he also studied for a master's degree.

His first newspaper job was with the Houston Press in 1937. A year later he joined The Post. He was appointed assistant city editor Aug 1, 1946, and city editor Feb 2, 1947.

Johnston entered the Army in 1942 and was assigned as a combat correspondent to the 84th Infantry Division for World War II service. He served in the European Theatre and was chief of the division's public information section. He was awarded the Bronze Star and was discharged as a staff sergeant in 1945, when he returned to the The Post.

As city editor, he directed The Post's coverage of the disastrous Texas City explosions of 1947. He was one of the youngest big-city editors in the business at the age of 28.

While a Post reporter, Johnston instigated a grand jury investigation of 13 unsolved murders, two of which he actually helped to clear.

He joined Time, Inc, in 1954 as a correspondent in the Washington bureau, and went to Ottawa as bureau chief in 1955. Two years later he was made chief of the Times-Life Bureau in Atlanta. Later he went to New York City with Time, Inc, then to Washington, DC, and back to Atlanta three years ago as bureau chief.

In addition to his wife and mother, he is survived by two children, Miss Sydney Johnston, an Atlanta school teacher, and Harry M. Johnston III, who is studying law at New York University; a sister, Miss Mary Elizabeth Johnston of New York City, head of the research department of Fortune Magazine, and a half-brother, L. H. Fuqua of Galveston.

Turner Funeral Home in Atlanta will forward the body to Houston.

[From the Houston Post, Feb. 7, 1967]

HARRY M. JOHNSTON

Harry M. Johnston, who was Time-Life bureau chief in Atlanta at the time of his death Friday, was a third-generation newspaperman, born into a family renowned in Texas journalism.

His grandfather, R. M. Johnston, was a founder of the Houston Post and its editor-in-chief when he died in 1925. His father, Harry M. Johnston, was news editor of the Post.

Third in his line, Harry M. Johnston was a lifelong newspaperman—as student, soldier and career man. A graduate of San Jacinto High School, he was a Houston Post reporter or assistant city editor throughout his student days at the University of Houston, and he was a combat correspondent in the European Theatre in World War II.

As a reporter, he instigated a grand jury investigation of 13 unsolved murders and helped solve two of them.

After the war and at 28, he became city editor of the Houston Post—one of the youngest editors of a big city daily in the country. Within his first year as city editor, he directed the memorable coverage of the Texas City disaster.

From 1954 until his death, he had been connected with Time-Life, Inc. in Washington, in New York, and as bureau chief in Ottawa and Atlanta. But there are still many Houstonians who remember him as city editor of the Post as a vivid newscaster on KPRC, as a Houstonian and as a friend.

His death at 48 cuts short a distinguished news career.

Foster Project Aids Children, Grandparents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, one of the most imaginative—and heartwarming—aspects of the war on poverty is the foster grandparents program. This is the program which matches lonely older people who subsist on poverty level incomes with equally lonely little children in public and private institutions. The result is love and joy in the lives of both the foster grandparents and the youngsters, as well as greatly needed additional income for the elderly participants.

In Philadelphia, an enormously successful foster grandparents project is being operated at St. Vincent's Hospital and the city welfare department's Callowhill Child Center. This project was the subject of an article by Alfred P. Klimcke, which appeared in the Philadelphia Inquirer on October 9, and I would like to share his observations with my distinguished colleagues.

Mr. Speaker, I include Mr. Klimcke's article at this point in the Record:

Foster Project Aids Children, Grandparents

(By Alfred P. Klimcke)

Once upon a time, about nine months ago:

Mrs. P., 66, was a lonely widow with plenty of time on her hands and not enough money to make ends meet.

Johnny was an 18-month-old foundling who couldn't walk or feed himself. He had been classified as mentally retarded.

Mr. J. 70, was just plain tired. His back ached. His wife was long dead, and his children were grown and living out of town.

Sylvester, almost 3, was seriously disturbed. He just sat and stared into space. At night he had to wear a heavy brace on his skinny young legs.

Today the world is quite a different place for all four of these people, and for many others like them, because of an antipoverty program known as the Foster Grandparents Project.

Mrs. P. is still a widow, and Johnny is still a foundling. But it is clear now that he is not retarded. He runs and jumps and snuggles into the bosom of Mrs. P. She beams and clucks her tongue at him.

Mr. J. is still a widower, and Sylvester still has to wear his brace. But he won't let anyone but Mr. J. put it on for him. Sprawled out on the floor with Sylvester, Mr. J. says his back just doesn't ache him any more.

The foster grandparents do not take their charges into their homes, although many would dearly love to. They travel five days each week to one of seven institutions in which the children must live.

There, for four hours daily, they feed, care for, play with and just generally love grateful children who have rarely experienced affection or personal attention. Each "grandparent" is assigned two children.

At St. Vincent's Hospital a nurse pointed to an infant being given a bottle by its foster grandmother. "He used to cry all the time," she said. "There was no one to pick him up. We were all too busy."

In a recreation room at the City Welfare Department's Callowhill Child Center, William T. Bowe, 79, of 69th and Haverford sts., sat surrounded by a bevy of happy youngsters.

"I know it's added a few years to my life," he told a reporter, pretending to take a nibble of a cookie offered by Arthur, his "special favorite" little boy.

Bowe had several children of his own once, but they are all dead now. "This has done something for me," he said. His words trailed off.

"I hope it's done something for the children . . . Heck, I know it has because I have to brace myself when I come through the door or they'll bowl me right over," Bowe said with a broad grin.

Mrs. Lulu Freeman, of 528 N. 58th st., who has several great-grandchildren of her own, won't tell her actual age but doesn't deny that she is the oldest foster grandparent in Philadelphia.

"It's taken lots of loneliness out of my life as well as helping me financially," she said. "I'm here every day long before I'm supposed to be because I just love it."

Mrs. Pauline Culmer, of 1855 N. 21st st., is 61, but she said her work with the children "makes me feel lots younger."

Mrs. Culmer takes special pride in Clarence, now almost 3, who was seriously disturbed and withdrawn when she first met him in January. He couldn't talk then but now he can sing songs.

"I teach him a few words, but he forgets them," Mrs. Culmer said as Clarence climbed into her lap. Clarence can now feed himself and play with other children—"even fight!" Mrs. Culmer declared.

Many of the children may never have real foster or adoptive homes because they are retarded, or emotionally disturbed. But one of the most tangible results of the program has been a substantial reduction in the number of children doomed to life in an institution.

A sadly smiling foster grandmother whose once "retarded" little girl had recently been placed in a foster home explained away the small miracle quite simply.

"All she needed was a little love to bring her out," she said.

Foster Grandparents is the only antipoverty program designed exclusively for older people. Participants must be 60 or older with a "poverty bracket" personal income of no more than $1500 a year. They are paid $1.25 an hour, plus carfare.

Philadelphia was one of 22 cities in which Foster Grandparents was inaugurated as a pilot program last January. It is now under way in more than 35 cities.

Children cared for are all 5 or under and long-term patients or residents of two city welfare department agencies, three hospitals and two children's shelters.

In addition to the pleasure the elderly derive from the children, many warm friendships have developed among the 83 once-lonely foster grandparents themselves.

There is a long waiting list for the program, and some foster grandparents have had to be dropped for one reason or another. It is a hard blow.

One foster grandmother got the news Friday that her income was too high for her to participate any longer.

"Well," she said with a long sigh, "I'll find something else to do. I can't give up being useful to somebody ever again."

Highway Fund Cutback Hearings—Will They Be Credible?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN P. HAMMERSCHMIDT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT. Mr. Speaker, today, Mr. Alan S. Boyd, Secretary of Transportation, appeared before the joint House and Senate Public Works Committee and gave testimony. In his oral testimony, Mr. Boyd stated that no State highway construction program had been affected in any way up to the present. This testimony is not in agreement with the judgment of our Arkansas State Highway Department as is illustrated in the following letters of Mr. Ward Goodman, director of the highway department; and Mr. J. R. Henderson, head of engineering, planning, and research for the Arkansas Highway Department.

It appears to me that States such as Arkansas, who have been judicious and prudent in taking full advantage of the congressional intent of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956, are the ones to feel the first serious impact of the cutbacks. It further appears that Mr. Boyd must be in error in his statement that no State had been affected up to the present time by the deferral of funds.

Arkansas has already been forced to cancel some major programs including a very substantial amount of paving contracts using $10 million in Federal funds and a $23 million contract for a bridge project at Memphis.

The following two letters will give additional illustration of the effects on Arkansas, as a result of the cutbacks. This first letter is from Mr. J R. Henderson of the Arkansas Highway Department, Little Rock, Ark.:

Dear Congressman Hammerschmidt: I have your letter of February 15, requesting information on the effect in Arkansas of the cutback in Federal-aid highway funds.

Some points that we consider important in an overall assessment of this situation are set out as follows:

A. The volume of Federal-aid obligations which the State originally planned for fiscal year 1967 came to about $50-million.

B. The reduction in the anticipated volume of obligations made necessary by the national $700-million reduction, announced in November, may reach $25-million in Arkansas, comprised of $12½-million of Federal aid and $12½-million of State matching funds.

C. In the past, we have estimated that each $1 spent on highway construction stimulates an additional $4 in economic growth. Therefore, a general appraisal of the economic effect on Arkansas through unemployment, loss in material and equipment sales, and investments in uncompleted projects may approach $100-million.

D. From interviews with a sample cross-section of Arkansas contractors and heavy equipment dealers, the following general comments were obtained concerning their feelings on the cutback in the Federal-Aid Road Program:

1. The buying of heavy road equipment has practically come to a halt. The only trading in heavy equipment is with contractors who already have contracts or who have small jobs, such as sodding.

2. Practically all equipment purchases are financed; so the loss of construction contracts means that payments cannot be made on equipment contracts. In many cases, this will force small contractors out of business.

3. The cutback in Federal funds has caused a layoff of many equipment operators. Some of these operators have been carried on the payrolls during the winter months in anticipation of new construction work after the first of the year. Because of the uncertainty as to when this work will start, the contractors can no longer carry them on the payrolls. In order to meet obligations, a great many experienced operators will have to go to other fields of employment.

4. The consensus is that the problem is very grave, and if some relief is not forthcoming, many companies whose primary business is connected with road construction will have to fold up. The economic effects will be great in Arkansas.

The Arkansas State Highway Department has 280 qualified contractors on its "invitation to bid" mailing list. No estimate is available as to how many of these contractors, or how many construction workers, will be affected by the Federal-aid cutback.

Mr. Charles Lang, Editor of *Construction News*, which covers Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Western Tennessee, was contacted today, and he stated that he too had given considerable time and thought to this problem but has been unable to come up with any specific number of contracts and workers that would be affected.

On the basis of averages, we estimate that the impact may be presented in the following terms:

Federal-aid Primary work delayed: 25 projects or 65 miles, or 468,750 man-days of work.

Federal-aid Secondary work delayed: 42 projects, or 185 miles, or 378,000 man-days of work.

Man-days of work not done may be equated with man-days of unemployment caused by the cutback—nearly a million men unemployed for one day, or 10,000 men unemployed for fourteen weeks, or almost three thousand men unemployed for a year. There is now no reservoir of employment demand in Arkansas to absorb unemployed construction workers. The drop in building, starts which preceded the cutback in highway funds by several months had freed all the construction workers which the Arkansas River Programs could pick up.

We feel that relief is needed in Arkansas, in order to offset the adverse economic effects being caused by this Federal-aid highway cutback.

Very truly yours,

J. R. HENDERSON,
Engineer, Planning and Research.

This second letter is from Mr. Ward Goodman, director of the Arkansas State Highway Department, Little Rock:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: First, I would like to congratulate you on having been appointed to the very important Public Works Committee in the House. This is a distinct compliment to you and our State and will strengthen an already strong Congressional Delegation.

I am very pleased that you are taking the initiative in trying to get information concerning the effect on Arkansas of the recently announced freeze, or cutback, in Federal Aid Highway Funds.

I intend to attend the hearings on March 1st and lend my support to the American Association of State Highway Officials who are making a statement; however, our Legislature is in session and it is anticipated that our Budget Bill may be presented at about that time which will, naturally, necessitate my remaining in Little Rock. I am on the Executive Committee and helped draft the American Association of State Highway Officials' statement, which makes me well aware of what it states. I am for it, except that I feel it is not strong enough.

When the announcement was made in November, we were in a state of shock because we had managed our funds in such a manner and had planned our projects so well that we were going to set an alltime construction record for the fiscal year 1967. The cutback in Federal Funds from the approximately 40 Million Dollars, which we had anticipated, to 29 Million Dollars without prior notice was bad enough, but the fact that we had accumulated a carryover of about 12 Million Dollars from previous apportionments which we intended to let on projects during this fiscal year is terrible. This 12 Million Dollars had been prudently reserved so that we could let a great number of paving projects on the Interstate System on which the grade was almost complete, as well as another contract of approximately 23 Million Dollars on the Memphis Bridge which had been scheduled for sometime in the Spring. These paving projects and the Memphis Bridge project were immediately cancelled.

We could not quarrel with the purpose of the cutback; this is, the Vietnam War and curbs on inflation, but the Highway Commission and the people of Arkansas were most disappointed in the decision to cut back the Federal Aid Highway Funds and to freeze the carryover. This had greatly curtailed the construction program for the remainder of this fiscal year and creates uncertainty for the future. We certainly cannot pace ourselves for the future because we don't know what the future holds. Frankly, we can't depend on what we thought were firm commitments.

In our public hearings and press releases prior to the cutback, we had informed the public of the planned highway improvement projects that we intended to let this fiscal year. We now find ourselves with only approximately 3.8 Million Dollars in Federal Aid Highway Funds that can be obligated over the six months period from January 1, 1967 to June 30, 1967. This, according to our planning is only a drop in the bucket since we had intended to let approximately 30 Million Dollars worth of work in this period. All of the Interstate projects have been deferred and many of the Primary and Secondary jobs. A list of deferred projects, many in your District, are as follows:

INTERSTATE PROJECTS

Job No.	Highway	Job name
11739	40	Junction 1-55-St. Francis levee (West Memphis).
11763	40	Junction Highway 38-Highway 75 surfacing.
11764	40	Highway 75-Shearerville surfacing.
3146	30	Prescott-Boughton Rd.
6869	30	Clark County line-Highway 67 fencing.
6883	30	Midway-Social Hill surfacing.
8613	40	Russellville-Atkins surfacing.
1417	40	Brasfield-Robe Bayou surfacing.

PRIMARY PROJECTS

Job No.	Highway	Job name
2686	1	Arkansas River bridge abutment and substructure (Pendleton).
7650	167	Thornton bypass.
8525	65	Damascus-Bee Branch.
9447	71	Fayetteville loop.
9463	62	Berryville-Green Forest.

URBAN PROJECTS

Job No.	Highway	Job name
11724	1	Forrest City bypass.
2596	4	MO PAC grade separation (McGehee).
2636	82	Crossett reconstruction.
2650	65	Pine Bluff Expressway.
3618	71	Forest Ave.-Dudley Ave. (Texarkana).
4596	540	Highway 71-Highway 45 (Fort Smith loop).
5552	67	White River Bridge-Diaz (Newport).
6843	7	Lake Hamilton-Grand Ave. (Hot Springs).
6801	6	Little Rock East-West Expressway.

SECONDARY PROJECTS

(Numerous jobs are ready to let to contract over the state when funds are available.)

From the foregoing list of projects you can see the effects on our highway transportation system. Many of the projects are in or around urban areas where right-of-way costs increase rapidly due to urban growth and development; therefore, each day that these projects are delayed, cost of the project will continue to increase. Also, cost to the road user continues to increase due to congestion, roadway hazards, and increased vehicle operating cost; therefore, it is imperative that highway improvements in and adjacent to our urban centers and communities be initiated at the earliest possible date.

You will also note from the tabulation of projects that most of the Interstate jobs involve surfacing contracts. This involves approximately ten million dollars worth of surfacing that is needed at this very moment to complete gaps between sections that are now open to traffic so as to provide continuity of interstate travel, and also to prevent erosion and loss of investment in completed grading contracts that are lying idle and exposed to weather. In fact, we would anticipate that if these five surfacing projects were delayed, it would cost at least $500,000 to restore these road beds to the originally constructed section. Also, there are some major bridge contracts that should be let to contract in the near future since footings and piers for these bridges are now under construction and would be useless to the traveling public if the remaining contracts are not executed and implemented in an effort to make the facilities usable at the earliest possible date.

The Tourist Industry is considered to be one of our most valuable assets. Many of our Federal-aid Secondary Highway projects, which are too numerous to mention, were planned to be constructed to serve recreational areas, scenic attractions, and tourist centers over the State. Of course, the cutback and freeze has essentially eliminated this program.

The above comments apply only to the planning phase of the curtailed program and do not refer to the operation effects, such as slack in equipment purchases, layoff of equipment operators, loss in material sales, and reduction of contractor personnel.

It has been indicated in some quarters that labor rates for highway work are excessive and profits to contractors are more than customary for big business. We in Arkansas have not experienced this condition. Our labor rates are low in comparison with some of the other trades, such as building, that I know. We have on file, a financial statement for each contractor that does business with the State and from the examination of these, and from talking with the contractors, I do not believe that their profits are more than is a fair share to anyone in a legitimate business. Our unit prices for work in the highway field have not gone up any more than the overall economy increase. I do know this; if the cutback is not restored there will be fewer contractors to share in the profits, if any.

Arkansas is in desperate need of relief from the cutback in our Federal-aid Highway Program. We were one of the hardest hit states due to the fact that we were keeping abreast and spending all available Federal-aid funds, particularly on the Interstate System, and as a result we only have a small amount of funds remaining to spend until the beginning of the new fiscal year.

Your help is urgently needed and will be greatly appreciated. If I can supply additional information, please advice.

Yours sincerely,

WARD GOODMAN,
Director of Highways.

So, you can see Arkansas has already been affected by the cutback in highway funds. In January, Arkansas did not award any highway construction projects or bids. The February awarding did not include any Federal aid to highway funds, nor will the March letting.

In view of the foregoing information, it appears the presentation by Secretary of Transportation Alan Boyd to the Joint Public Works Committee may not have been complete.

Theodore Gordon Flyfishers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1967

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday night, February 18, at the Biltmore Hotel in my district in New York City, I had the honor of taking part in the fifth annual dinner and program of the Theodore Gordon Flyfishers.

On that occasion the guest of honor was the ranking minority member of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, the Honorable JOHN P. SAYLOR, of Pennsylvania, whose talk was very well received.

The Theodore Gordon Flyfishers group has as its president Joe A. Pisarro, whose biographical sketch is included in the fall-winter issue of Random Casts, the organization's publication:

OUR PRESIDENT

Joe A. Pisarro joined TGF in 1963, when total membership barely nudged thirty and its Board of Directors met at a corner table in the President Tavern for want of any other quarters. He began his activity as a member of the Education & Publicity Committee, later serving as its chairman. He became a Director in 1964. When TGF Secretary Al Schoening left the city in 1964, Pisarro filled out the year in his place. The following year he was elected to a full term. In 1966 he was chosen TGF President, succeeding Ted Rogowski, who stepped down after two terms.

Joe was a contributor to "The Gordon Garland" and served as chairman of the Book Committee. He wrote and designed the TGF streamside poster, one of the club's major conservation education tools, and wrote the information booklet "To Preserve A Sport."

Pisarro was born in Trenton, N.J., and has lived in Manhattan since 1955. A former newspaperman, he is Associate Director of Public Relations for the National Council of YMCA's. He has written for magazines, radio and television. During World War II he served three years with the Army in North Africa and Italy.

An avid trout fisher since his early teens, Joe has fished in his home state and New York, as well as in Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Colorado and California. His chief ambition for TGF is to see it grow into a vital, influential force in the movement for preservation and improvement of trout waters and a strong voice for conservation of all sport fishing resources.

The program for the annual meeting of the group, of interest to all fishermen and others interested in conservation and protection of our natural heritage, follows:

THEODORE GORDON FLYFISHERS, FIFTH ANNUAL DINNER AND PROGRAM, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1967, BILTMORE HOTEL, NEW YORK

AFTERNOON PROGRAM

Annual Business Meeting, 1:30 P.M.
Election of Officers and Directors.
Revision of By-Laws.
Other Business.

Bowman Room

2:15 P.M.—Program Opening Remarks, Joe A. Pisarro, *President*, TGF.

2:20 P.M.—Program by Federation of Fly Fisherman, Gene Anderegg, *President*, FFF.

3:00 P.M.—*Panel Discussion:* "The Threat to the Future of Trout Fishing by the Population Explosion."

Panel members

Moderator: Clare Conley, Managing Editor of Field and Stream Magazine.

Ben Schley, Chief, Public Use, Bureau of Sport Fish & Wildlife; *Chief*, Federal Hatchery Program, U.S. Department of Interior.

Ernest Schwiebert, *Architect;* Author of "Matching the Hatch" and numerous articles on angling and trout flies; Renowned angler.

Orthello L. "Wally" Wallis, *Aquatic Biologist*, National Park Service, Department of Interior; Pioneer in sport fishing management.

Lee Wulff, *Author, conservationist;* Foremost authority on Atlantic salmon fishing; Motion picture and TV Producer; creator of Wulff Dry Fly series; inventor of fly-fishing equipment; Angling innovator.

Open discussion will follow panelists' presentations.

4:30 P.M.—Film showing: "Fly-fishing for Bonefish," with Joe Brooks and Curt Gowdy.

EVENING PROGRAM

5:30 P.M.—Cocktails, Madison Room.
7:00 P.M.—Dinner, Bowman Room.

Curt Gowdy, Master of Ceremonies, Host of ABC–TV's "American Sportsman," well known radio/TV sportscaster.

Congressman John P. Saylor, of Pennsylvania: "The House Scenic Rivers Bill and its importance to fishermen."

Drawing for Raffle Prizes.

Presentation of Theodore Gordon Flyfishers "*Salmo Award.*"

Film Showing: Premier of "Labrador Trout," with Lee Wulff and Curt Gowdy.

9:30 P.M.—Social Hour.

THEODORE GORDON FLYFISHERS TROPHY TROUT POLICY

Trout waters designated Blue Ribbon or Trophy Trout shall be protected and managed as follows:

1. Angling with single hook, artificial lure only.
2. Maximum of two trophy trout take-home limit; trophy size to be determined by growth capability of designated water;
3. All other trout to be returned to water in Trophy Trout sections;
4. Put-and-take trout waters to remain open year round; any angling method permitted.

The Right To Know

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 1, 1967

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, management of the news is repugnant to a free society, for it can deny to the citizenry the knowledge necessary to make informed judgments. As Government continues to grow and to expand its influence it becomes increasingly important that the right to know be protected.

I submit two editorials which express concern with official suppression of the truth. The Washington Star defends its recent publication of the facts surrounding the Apollo I tragedy.

The Chicago Tribune editorial expresses the concern of a public conditioned to Government news management.

The editorials follows:

[From the Washington Star]

NASA AND THE TRUTH

A number of correspondents, quoted in today's Letters to the Editors column, have expressed shocked disapproval over the publication by The Star of a story concerning the deaths of the three Apollo astronauts. The story in question, which contradicted the official NASA version that death was merciful and instantaneous, was admittedly distressing. It also was the truth.

Had the space agancy officials clamped an effective lid of secrecy on the content of the tape recordings, the matter would have ended there. Had they taken the press into their confidence and asked that, for the sake of the astronauts' families, the agonizing evidence be withheld for the present, that confidence should have been respected.

But NASA did neither. It embarked, instead, on an active attempt to mislead the press and the public by issuing its own version of what the tapes contained: One unidentified voice cried out "Fire in the cockpit," and a moment later telemetry indicated the men were dead.

The implication of the NASA story was that no fire extinguishing apparatus or quick escape mechanism—neither of which was present on the Apollo I—could have saved the men. The implication of the truth is that if the spacecraft had been equipped with a means of blowing open the hatch, Grissom, White and Chaffee might have had a chance. NASA's motive in attempting to distort the truth may have been to protect the families of the astronauts from undue mental anguish. But it also served the function of protecting NASA by heading off criticism of the agency, and it did so by deliberately misleading the press, Congress and the public.

The story of those final seconds of agony and the evidence of the futile struggle to escape was, unquestionably, unpleasant to read. Gathering this news, writing it and publishing it was no less painful. But it was the obligation of the reporter, whose allegiance is to truth.

[From the Chicago Tribune]

NEWS MANAGEMENT AS USUAL

The new assistant secretary of defense for public information is no improvement over his former chief, Arthur Sylvester, who has resigned. The Senate armed services committee, nevertheless, has approved the nomination of Phil G. Goulding for the job, despite his admission that he adheres to the Sylvester concept that the government "sometimes" has the right to withhold information in the interest of national security.

That is a convenient excuse for continuing the whole of Sylvester's allied body of doctrine. Sylvester announced that the government has "an inherent right to lie to save itself" and that "news is part of the arsenal of weaponry" available to the President. At a Saigon briefing of correspondents, he was quoted as telling his auditors that he regarded the press as "handmaidens of government," adding, "Look, if you think any American official is going to tell you the truth, then you're stupid. Did you hear that?—stupid."

Goulding contended that he did not mean that government officials have a right to lie, but "national security" offers a wide blanket. He also said that Secretary of Defense McNamara favored candor on the part of his subordinates in their appearances before congressional bodies—a statement that we do not believe, from past appearances of members of the joint chiefs of staff, other department officials, and McNamara himself.

If there is a right to lie in dealing with the public, it is a right monopolized by the government and allowed to no one else. Try lying on your income tax return and the government will send you to jail. Try evading the detailed census inquisition and you will get in a jam. The government is the servant of the people, and it has no ordained right to delude them. Unfortunately, the people will have to content themselves in the understanding that government falsehood has become chronic and that they must take anything emanating from Washington with a peck of salt.

What Democracy Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, each year the Veterans of Foreign Wars and its auxiliary conduct a Voice of Democracy essay contest for high school students. Mr. Bruce Zagar of Vancouver, Wash., a resident of my district, won the Washington State competition this year. I am pleased to insert his excellent speech, "What Democracy Means to Me," in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

WHAT DEMOCRACY MEANS TO ME

(By Bruce Zagar)

Have you ever observed a towering building that majestically looms over a large metropolis; a building so straight and tall that it seems to actually pierce the heavens themselves? Democracy is like that towering building to me. It is the privilege of every American to be an occupant in this building of Democracy.

The foundation was laid by our forefathers. The settlers at Jamestown in 1607 were the first to hammer a nail into the footings, but it took many other workmen and long hours of tedious labor to construct this building. Nathan Hale gave his all to continue its construction; Abraham Lincoln's nail prevented two sections of the building from separating, and our soldiers in Viet Nam, today, are driving nail after nail into the framework. The foundation was not easy to lay and many people have died in their efforts to establish a sturdy base. The privilege to drive still another nail into the framework of progress is part of what Democracy means to me.

The cornerstone was hewn in Philadelphia in a building called Independence Hall in 1787. Benjamin Franklin and James Madison were two of the architects that designed this expanse of a building. In the event that the ground beneath the building settled, the Bill of Rights was established to insure the safety of the occupants. The duty to protect these rights at all costs is another part of what Democracy means to me.

The building began its upward ascent with only thirteen stories. Now there are fifty coupled together by the strongest ties of men and blood and their bonds.

The populace soon became aware of the greatest of bargains. All they needed was a ticket to enter this building and a love of freedom and democracy, and their tickets are only stamped on every election day.

Unfortunately, there are those vagrants who believe they own passes in this building and that all they have to do is avoid the ticket collectors—these people never vote. What they fail to realize, though, is that their tickets never seem to expire, and he who votes always gets the better room. The privilege to have my ticket stamped on every election day is another part of what Democracy means to me.

People from all walks of life and from many countries live in this building. Some are just moving in, others have lived here for many years, for this building is certainly not empty. Each occupant is a girder in the construction of the building, and the duty for me to establish myself as a girder in a story is still another part of what Democracy means to me.

The occupants in this building speak many different languages. Their customs and viewpoints differ, but they have the right to read any literature they so desire. They have the right to their own political beliefs and the freedom to worship God in any manner they so choose. In this building the poor farmer need not be ashamed to live next to the rich banker, for all occupants pay the same rent. But the unique thing about this building is that the poor farmer has the opportunity to become prosperous. This opportunity to better myself without restraint is another part of what Democracy means to me.

George Washington was the first of 36 contractors to manage this building; two people from each story are elected to govern the building, and nine other men are chosen to regulate the growth of the building and the validity of the contractor's decisions. It is part of my duty to see that only the qualified people represent my story.

From the windows of this building we can see this wonderful land we call America. We can notice the hustle and bustle of a crowded city street in contrast to the sullen stillness of a mountain meadow. We can see a busy seaport with its over-crowded harbor in comparison to a farmer tilling his field on the open prairie. Furthermore, we can observe the sun setting through the smoggy mist of a large metropolis in comparison to the brilliant, glowing sunset as seen from atop a lofty cliff.

This building belongs to each and every American. It is the privilege and duty of each occupant to see that this building keeps reaching upward. Oh! God grant that nothing will ever hinder the progress of this building, for *this* is what Democracy means to me.

Resolution To Establish April 9, 1967, as Bataan Day in Observance of 25th Anniversary Commemorating the Fall of Bataan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I join with the members of the Fil-American Association of Pittsburg, Calif., in my congressional district, in its request that April 9, 1967, be declared the 25th anniversary of "Bataan Day" in memory of the many loyal and devoted Filipino-Americans who fought and died in the hills of Bataan to preserve freedom in the world during World War II. Therefore, I include in this extension of remarks a resolution passed by this association requesting the city council of Pittsburg, Calif., to declare April 9, 1967, as "Bataan Day":

FIL-AMERICAN ASSOCIATION, INC.,
Pittsburg, Calif.

RESOLUTION REQUESTING THE HONORABLE CITY COUNCIL, CITY OF PITTSBURG, CALIF., TO DECLARE APRIL 9, 1967, AS "BATAAN DAY"

Whereas, The Fil-American Association of Pittsburg was organized and chartered as a non-profit civic organization under the laws of the State of California, Charter No. 342378, on August 8, 1957, and whose membership are mostly veterans of the Battle of Bataan; and

Whereas, "Bataan Day" stirs our thoughts with the sad memory of laying down the arms of the courageous spirit of Filipino-American troops in the Battle of Bataan at the time of national distress of the United States and the Free World during World War II; and

Whereas, "Bataan Day" brings back those days when the mutual friendly relationship between the Filipino and American people was sealed in blood by the Filipino-American Troops in the hills of Bataan; and

Whereas, "Bataan Day" is now a part of the United States Armed Forces' history commemorating the valiant delaying stand made by the Filipino-American Troops against the forces of enemy aggression in order to gain time for re-grouping of the U.S. Forces in the Far East; and

Whereas, "Bataan Day" marks the beginning of building up of the U.S. Forces in the Far East to show to the Free World that this Great Republic will defend democracy anywhere, anytime; and

Now, therefore be it resolved, That the Fil-American Association of Pittsburg, California, respectfully requests the Honorable City Council, City of Pittsburg, to proclaim April 9, 1967 as "Bataan Day" in observance of the 25th Anniversary, commemorating the Fall of Bataan; and be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Association be and is hereby directed to furnish copies of this resolution to the attention of the Honorable County Supervisors, Contra Costa County; the Honorable Governor of this State, and the Honorable Members of the Senate and State Assembly to respectfully request likewise to declare April 9, 1967 as "Bataan Day"; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of the same be forwarded to the Honorable U.S. Senators Thomas H. Kuchel and George Murphy, U.S. Senate, and the Honorable Congressman Jerome R. Waldie, 14th District, Contra Costa County, House of Representatives, Washington D.C. for whatever action as may be necessary in the premises.

This resolution was duly adopted during the regular monthly meeting of this Association assembled on January 28, 1967 at the City of Pittsburg, California, a quorum then being present.

Patricio Ubarro, *President*.

Attest:

Damaso K. Basco, *Secretary*.

On Building Good Adults

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, concern for this country's heirs, our children, is paramount.

To the Cleveland Plain Dealer, the President's message on children and youth reflects the proper kind of concern in words that are compassionate and logical.

The paper urges support of the President's measures.

A rigid stop-spending stance—

The editorial concludes—

is usually expensive in the long run. It makes sense only if one can forget children who need help. We are among those who cannot forget them.

We in this Chamber, I need hardly add, are among them, too.

I ask that this editorial be reprinted in the Record in full:

[From the Plain Dealer, Feb. 13, 1967]

How To Build Good Adults

President Johnson put compassion as well as logic into his message to Congress on children and youth.

He asks Congress to help children get a decent start toward health, literacy, hope, decency and useful adulthood.

As long as this affluent nation still has 14½ million boys and girls, 16 and younger, inadequately fed and housed—

As long as millions, from babyhood to school dropout age, are afflicted by physical handicaps, mental handicaps, lack of medical and dental attention—

As long as millions of them live in a no-chance atmosphere, short-changed by life—this nation cannot snap shut its purse and its heart against them.

Head Start is a demonstrated success. It has lifted children out of homes where they were walled in by poverty, gloom and neglect and has opened their minds and mended their sick bodies.

A good early start is not "coddling." What parent thinks he is pampering his child when he takes him to a dentist? Or when he helps him get a summer job? Or when he makes sure the child gets to a school or a wholesome recreation center, or gets his shots from a good doctor, or gets the special care he needs if he has a handicap to overcome?

Many of the wide-ranging proposals of the President would attack problems of the young which The Plain Dealer has called to public attention, and in ways we have recommended.

Juvenile Court here does need centers to diagnose, treat and rehabilitate delinquent and predelinquent children early.

Mentally retarded children need more trained staff at places like the Broadview Center.

More poor children should get chances to finish school, learn work habits, acquire skills and become self-dependent and self-respecting.

A rigid stop-spending stance is usually expensive in the long run. It makes sense only if one can forget children who need help. We are among those who cannot forget them.

Roy A. Roberts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, occasionally, a community is fortunate enough to have a citizen so outstanding in ability and dedication that the community is forever enriched. Such was the case with Roy A. Roberts, retired chairman of the board of the Kansas City Star who died February 23, 1967. And Kansas City, Mo., with which his life is inseparable, is forever in his debt. He gave national stature to the Kansas City Star. He helped to make newspapering an admired and desirable profession. His advice and guidance helped make Kansas City a better place for us all. And his counsel was sought by Presidents and others of national stature. As for myself, I respected him as a community leader and admired him profoundly as a friend. Under unanimous consent I include an editorial appearing in the Washington Post of February 25, 1967, in the Appendix of the Record:

Roy A. Roberts

Roy A. Roberts, long editor and president of the *Kansas City Star*, made his personality one with that of his newspaper and embellished a tradition of editorial vigor for which his region became famous. He was a journalist who differed greatly from his two contemporaries—Henry Allen and William Allen White. The Allen and White influence was chiefly exerted in their personal writing and on the editorial page.

The Roberts impact was primarily through others. He made the *Star* and the *Times* newspapers famous for aggressive news-gathering policies. His staff members were notable for their independence and for their attention to serious news. He was at the same time the friend and confidante of public men who were foremost in national affairs. After his career as a reporter, writer and editor he turned his talents to the administrative tasks of a great newspaper property. But his interest in the news never diminished.

The old *Star* was a veritable training ground for American literary greats who made their name in the East. But Roy Roberts never heard the call of Eastern cities. This was due, in part, no doubt to the fact that the *Kansas City Star's* enlightened policies gave him and other good newspapermen adequate rewards on the paper. But it was also due to his identification with his region. He recognized shrewdly enough that no positions elsewhere could offer him the stature, the influence, the reputation and the rewards he obtained from being "Roy Roberts of the *Kansas City Star.*"

Johnson's Triumphs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, I should like to commend to the attention of the membership a thought-provoking article on our foreign policy achievements by Ernest Cuneo that appeared in the Newark, N.J., Star Ledger of February 25, 1967:

When Are They Going To Count Johnson's Triumphs?

(By Ernest Cuneo)

Ken Strong was one of the greatest, if not the greatest, football player that ever lived. He could out-kick, out-pass, out-run, and out-smash any back in the league. Every other player in the league held him in respect approaching awe—all but one. That one was Ken Strong himself. For him, every play had to be perfect. He whiplashed his line, he railed at his backs, but time and time again, he drove his teams to tremendous victories. Whole stadiums, opposition as well as followers, gave him standing ovations as the big fellow trotted disconsolately off the field—disconsolate because he had not satisfied the demon of Herculean perfection which plagued him from within.

President Johnson is a lot like Ken Strong. But there was extended to Ken Strong an understanding which is not extended to the President; for if it was said of Ken Strong that he drove his team without mercy, it was also added that he drove no man more pitilessly than himself. It might be that this is the price of being All-American.

There's one thing else that the President has to face which neither Ken Strong nor previous Presidents experienced, and it isn't the terrific punishment. Terrific punishment is part of the jobs of fullbacks and Presidents, and as that other Southwesterner, President Harry S. Truman, declared, "If you can't take the heat, stay out of the kitchen." But what Lyndon Baines Johnson faces, which Ken Strong didn't, is a rigged scoreboard. His opposition just doesn't register his touchdowns as he scores.

For example, sundry sages and philosophers all but threw fits when he sent an army into the Dominican Republic. He was called everything from a rambunctious cowboy to a cunning dictator. Diplomatic doom was predicted south of the border for a century to come. What happened? The American Army has been and gone, and the Dominican Government is both the most stable and democratic since the '20s. But the same violent critics who hailed JFK's confrontation of the Russians off Cuba in the missile crisis refuse to rack up a score for LBJ in the Dominican Republic.

The scorekeeping has been even worse in the Pacific. As in the Dominican Republic, Washington's philosopher-in-residence has intoned, fallaciously, that traditional U.S. policy avoids land wars in Asia. The fact is the U.S. held the Philippines for 50 years, and at last report the Philippines were still land and still in Asia. To imply that the U.S., then or now, would vacate the Philippines is sheer nonsense. Indeed, General MacArthur fought a land war to regain them.

Further, the U.S. took part in suppressing the Boxer Rebellion at Peking, and maintained armed forces on the Asiatic mainland up until 1941. Indeed, it was made more than adequately plain to Tokyo before Pearl Harbor that the U.S. would not allow Japan to thrust further southward into Asia without war by land and sea.

Grudgingly, the President's opponents admit that it is accepted in Asia now that the U.S. is a bulwark against Communistic expansion. But the same intellectuals who hailed JFK for making a stand in Cuban waters are unwilling to admit that LBJ's stand at Vietnam made Indonesia again reasonably safe for the emergence of democracy. Nor, of course, do they mention the Communist reversal in Ghana.

But the incredible incredibility gap is that LBJ is accorded not one bit of recognition for the fact that he remains firm while Red China has broken apart. When the Russians rose against the Romanovs, it was hailed as a great victory by Germany and a deadly blow to the Allies. When the Germans revolted against the Kaiser, it was hailed as a great victory by the Allies. But when the Chinese revolt against Mao Tse-tung, incredibly, the scoreboard fails to register even a partial victory for the firm policy of LBJ in Vietnam.

Popularity has nothing to do with this issue. Outside of New York, few sportswriters liked the Yankees, but all were fair enough to print scores when they won.

Elmira Star-Gazette Supports Committee Recommendations on Adam Clayton Powell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, since the filing of the report "In re ADAM CLAYTON POWELL" by the select committee pursuant to House Resolution 1, the Members of this body have been receiving considerable advice from the press and from their constituents how to vote on Wednesday.

I plan to support the committee report and the resolution. I have so stated to my district news media, and I have praised the members of the select committee under the able leadership of the dean of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER].

I was pleased therefore, to find that my attitude was confirmed by the editorial policy of the Elmira Star-Gazette of Elmira, N.Y., in the congressional district I represent. I believe my colleagues may also be interested in the editorial, which appeared in the issue of February 24. Under the permission granted to me February 20, I include it in the Appendix:

POWELL IS DEFLATED WITHOUT BEING MARTYRED

The House committee has acted wisely in dealing with Adam Clayton Powell.

If Powell doesn't emerge in the committee's recommendations smelling like a rose, neither is he given the mantle of undeserved martyrdom.

The committee agreed to suggest to the full House that the erring congressman be returned to his seat, that he be censured and that he surrender a portion of his pay to make up, at least in part, for what has come into his pocket from the salary his estranged wife was supposed to receive and, according to her testimony, didn't.

Whatever the House does to Powell is certain to strike resentful sparks from this bombastic defier of the law.

The angry chorus started by Stokely Carmichael when Powell was booted out of his committee chairmanship will be taken up by others who feel that the Harlem clergyman-playboy-legislator is being persecuted because of his color.

That chorus, in fact, was sung at Columbia by James Meredith and 29 other law students, who allege that racism was a key issue in the House action in Powell's unfragrant affairs.

It is a chorus, by the way, in which Sen. Edward M. Brooke of Massachusetts isn't likely to join. Like Congressman Powell, Brooke is a Negro. The difference between them is vast. Sen. Brooke is as much as credit to the Senate as Powell has been a reproach to the House.

Some will chide the House select committee for failing to throw out Powell, claiming it lacked courage to meet an important issue head-on.

The committee was not lacking in courage. Neither was it lacking in judgment. Powell will be denied an opportunity to posture, to get off the bombastic and inflammatory oratory in which he is so accomplished and engage in highly lucrative barnstorming expeditions.

The case offers something beside criticism of Powell for the consideration of the Congress and of the people who elect its members.

That's the simple question of ethics which Powell and some of his backers have raised.

It's proper that they should raise it and essential that the criticism that Powell is being punished while others equally guilty of shady doings go unmolested be taken seriously in the legislature.

If it is not, and if Powell and his supporters can truly show that there's a double standard in dealing with members who are unfaithful to their trust, the Congress will diminish its stature and deserve the criticism that will be poured upon it.

National Tuberculosis Association Mourns Loss of the Honorable John E. Fogarty, of Rhode Island

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, the board of directors of the National Tuberculosis Association at its recent midwinter meeting adopted unanimously a resolution expressing deep regret at the loss of the late Congressman John Fogarty. The resolution was presented by a constituent of mine, Mr. T. A. Duckworth, in his capacity as chairman of the National Tuberculosis Association's Committee on Cooperation with Federal Agencies. Just last September, John Fogarty and I were privileged to host a luncheon with this committee here in the Speaker's Dining Room where John and I, with other Members, expressed our appreciation for the efforts of this, our Nation's oldest voluntary health association.

Mr. Speaker, every member of the NTA's board of directors, dedicated to eradication of tuberculosis, give of their own time in this endeavor, and their expression, it seems to me, provides a particularly eloquent expression of their deep respect for John Fogarty's concerns and efforts. Theirs is a respectful tribute to the late John E. Fogarty on behalf of the patients afflicted with tuberculosis and other respiratory diseases who will suffer less as a result of his contributions to the health of our country.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert the National Tuberculosis Association resolution in the RECORD at this point:

A RESOLUTION BY THE NATIONAL TUBERCULOSIS ASSOCIATION, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, FEBRUARY 3, 1967

On January 10, 1967, at the age of 53, Congressman John E. Fogarty was the victim of a fatal heart attack. His untimely death is most sincerely regretted by everyone who has compassion for the ills of his fellowman or who has seen the manifold benefit which resulted from his efforts. He worked indefatigably for better health for those who were sick or disabled. His compassion drove him to extraordinary efforts and the results of those efforts have benefited millions of the living both in the United States and around the world, to say nothing of benefits to those yet unborn. His rejection of the impossible meant the transforming of the impossible into the realized. His vision of the potential of medical research deservedly earned him numerous plaudits from citizens from all parts of the country.

Tuberculosis workers and, more importantly, those who suffered the ravages of this once hopeless disease, have never had a more compassionate friend. His approach to health was bi-partisan; when there was hope that a new drug, streptomycin, had the promise of being an effective tuberculosis treatment, Congressman Fogarty carried forward, in collaboration with the late Republican Congressman Frank Keefe, an appropriation of $3 million to make the drug more readily available to those in need. He followed carefully the medical progress against the disease. His conviction that more could and should be done prompted him to order the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service to convene a Task Force of experts to plot carefully a program for the eradication of tuberculosis. He carefully followed the implementation of the recommendations which emanated from that Task Force Report during the brief years allowed him.

His deep interest in the conquest of tuberculosis was further demonstrated on two separate occasions when he stated his convictions at meetings of the NTA, and at a meeting of the Northeast Tuberculosis Conference. The totality of his interest in the health of his fellowman and his understanding of newly emerging health problems was evidenced by his taking time from a busy political campaign to present the keynote address to the NTA-PHS Task Force on Emphysema and Chronic Bronchitis only four short months ago.

None who was privileged to know him failed to be impressed by his deep feeling for his fellowman. Even though his counsel was sought by Presidents and other greats he was never too busy to listen to the most insignificant. All of us have lost a dear and valued friend. His example will continue to spur us to even greater effort.

Now therefore be it *Resolved*, That this Board of Directors, representing all the volunteers and workers in tuberculosis associations throughout this nation, express to Congressman Fogarty's wife, Luise, and to his daughter, Mary, our profound regret at the loss of our good friend, and our deep sympathy to them in their bereavement.

NATIONAL TUBERCULOSIS ASSOCIATION,
SYDNEY JACOBS, M.D., *President*.

Needed: Good Jobs—Not Promises

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following report to my constituents:

NEEDED: GOOD JOBS—NOT PROMISES

South and East Los Angeles are literal islands of poverty and deprivation that have grown more depressed over the past five years . . . the quality of housing deteriorated sharply while rental costs rose . . . purchasing power of the average family dropped nearly $400 . . . a fifth of the men were neither in school nor in the labor force . . . unemployment rate over 10% . . . welfare cases have increased since August 1965 . . . Such are the actual conditions.

But look at these random news bits which attempt to tell us how prosperous we are: Unemployment in Los Angeles County down to 4.5% . . . Industrialist H. C. McClellan (in charge of State Jobs for Minorities program) expresses satisfaction over progress in Watts . . . Over 18,000 curfew area Negroes have been hired, he says . . . Unemployment cut nearly 50% since 1965 riots . . . Governor Reagan promises jobs in private industry . . .

In calling attention to the potential for danger that lies in the real conditions, and in demanding action instead of vague promises to correct them, thereby removing the causes of violence and disorders, I have been accused by some of "rabble-rousing" and "encouraging people to riot."

The truth of the matter is I have merely quoted U.S. Department of Labor and the U.S. Census reports, and on the basis of these facts demanded what we should do before frustration turns into anger and this erupts into another summer of disorders. No responsible citizen living in the area, as I do, and an elected public official, could honestly do otherwise.

Disorders can be prevented but not by making false claims as to the actual numbers who are being given jobs, as Governor Reagan is doing, and destroying anti-poverty programs, sabotaging equal employment, and cutting off spending on vital programs to educate, train, and employ people.

Those who accuse me of stirring up trouble by telling the truth are generally the same people who oppose essential government spending and fair housing; they are the people who vote against school bonds to educate our youngsters and then complain when teenagers get into trouble. They are the hypocrites who talk about "law and order" but look the other way at the economic and political exploitation, the poverty and hopelessness that prevail in our low-income communities. They are the demagogues who say "people want jobs, not relief" and then support cuts in welfare budgets without providing jobs.

Governor Reagan and his jobs chief McClellan are not telling the truth when they sneakily imply I am opposed to jobs in private industry. I have personally encouraged private enterprise to provide jobs and to make them full time at decent wages. Apparently, however, it is unable or unwilling to provide enough such jobs for the hard core unemployed without some governmental cooperation. And I am not willing to remove our government, which we have elected, from the responsibility of protecting us whenever it becomes necessary from starvation, exploitation, deceitful advertising, monopolies, discrimination, and exorbitant prices. Good jobs *is* the answer to most of our problems, not relief. But not to provide either is criminal.

A massive attack on the basic causes of poverty and insecurity is long overdue. We have made a beginning in such programs as Head Start, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Fair Employment and Housing laws, tuition-free community colleges, on-the-job training programs, Teen Posts, Neighborhood Youth Corps, adult education classes, and the Neighborhood Adult Participation program. We now need to strengthen, expand, and coordinate these and many other services. And above all we need to locate Neighborhood Service Centers in every neighborhood where people can get in one place all the information they need about the various programs as well as help, from some sympathetic person, in obtaining the benefits and services they need.

Poverty is the overriding factor that underlies Negro life. While 80% of the poor are white, over half of all Negroes live in poverty or deprivation. Any program to reduce poverty, therefore, has vital and direct bearing on Negro life in general.

The best attack on poverty is not to ignore or alleviate, but to prevent it. Such an approach involves full time employment at decent wages for all who are willing and able to work, plus assurance of an income (through social security and other programs) for those who because of physical disability, old age, etc., do not work on jobs at decent wages. This approach recognizes the essential dignity of individuals to earn a living, to live in a decent environment, and to achieve their full potential in life.

This approach supports the belief that it is the concern of government not only to use its taxing, monetary, lending, and other powers in behalf of big corporations, but also to help human beings, including the most disadvantaged among us, to live better.

If to support this approach and to advocate these beliefs is "rabble-rousing" or injurious to the public welfare, then it is time for us to reexamine our national goals, and to determine if in a growing economy that spends $2 billion monthly on "saving" a country in southeast Asia we can afford to ignore 30 million persons living in poverty and 8 million on public assistance here at home.

Bury Ugliness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB CASEY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's suggestion that telephone and electrical wires could well be buried instead of strung on poles has struck a particularly responsive chord in Houston, Tex.

Look down the great avenues in Washington, says the Houston Post, and see a vista as unmarred as the designer dreamed.

Look down almost any Houston street, the paper continues, and face "a narrowing passage fenced on each side by poles and wires."

Houston is not alone. As the paper notes:

> Ideally, every American city should be as free as the nation's capital from this ugly corseting.

I offer its editorial for the RECORD:

[From the Houston Post, Feb. 12, 1967]

BURYING UGLINESS

The beauty of Washington—the nation's capital—is unmarred by telephone poles and power lines. L'Enfant's great avenues sweep untrammeled to their end.

The Houstonian looking down almost any long Houston street faces a narrowing passage fenced on each side by poles and wires. The poles are often made more grotesque by the bunch of transformers and tumors of equipment.

Ideally, every American city should be as free as the nation's capital from this ugly corseting.

In his pollution message to Congress, President Johnson asked federal help on remedies for this visual pollution of the land:

"Webbs of wire carrying power and communications services mar the landscape . . . A promising alternative to this clutter—the earth's depths beneath us—has received only passing attention. But it can provide a location for the arteries a modern city must have—the wires, pipes, tubes, passageways and parking spaces.

"Subsurface excavation is difficult, slow and expensive . . . Obviously we must develop cheaper and better methods. I recommend a program for research to develop rapid and low-cost excavation technology.

"The beauty of cities and rural areas can be protected and enhanced by placing utility transmission lines underground . . . I have directed the secretary of Interior to initiate a co-operative research program with industry to find solutions to . . . these technical problems and to seek ways to reduce the cost of placing utility lines underground."

As a city just beginning to dig tunnels, sink parking lots and bury power lines, Houston can make the most of any techniques or tips the researchers can produce. No single measure of city beautification could do more for Houston.

No celestial city, no dream landscape, could be beautiful if it could be seen only through an irregular screen of public utilities.

Estonian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES J. HOWARD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, last Friday, February 24, marked the day, exactly 49 years ago, when more than a million Estonians established an independent, peace-loving nation dedicated to the betterment of their children's lives and fulfillment of their fathers' dreams.

History records for us the tremendous progress the small nation accomplished despite the years of depression that hit Europe and despite the constant threats of her greedy neighbors. Estonia's economy grew steadily between 1920 and 1939 and considerable achievement was made in the arts as well as in the growing field of industrialization.

In a short period of time the Estonian nation had shown that it could reach great heights through democratic self-government and had rightlfully earned its place in the community of nations.

However, secret pacts between Nazi Germany and Communist Russia, the so-called nonaggression pacts between the two mightiest aggressors of modern Europe, soon led to a Soviet sphere of influence in the Baltic States. Military arrests and mass persecutions followed and Estonia was overrun. During the first year of Soviet occupation, there was a manpower loss of over 60,000 men of all ages and classes. Ten thousand of these were removed in a single night as a part of the well-synchronized Communist plot. Another 60,000 Estonians who resisted Soviet collectivism and fought in the underground for reestablishment of their beloved homeland were deported between 1944–49. By that time the Communists had added another reluctant member to its growing empire.

But despite 27 years of displacement, the mighty spirit of the fighting Estonians remains unbroken. I was deeply moved by the volume of mail I received from Estonian-Americans from every part of our Nation when I joined my colleagues in supporting House Concurrent Resolution 416 in the 89th Congress.

There is much to be learned from the tragic events of 1940 and it is important for all Americans to focus upon the painful lessons of the past as we reaffirm our commitments to the democratic nations of the world today. The free world cannot remain quiet while men are denied their liberties, while families are massacred and cultures destroyed—all this to create more monuments to the living death that is communism.

Let us hope and pray that the Estonian people will one day soon see the recreation of a free state and once again enjoy the freedom which is democracy's lifeblood.

What Apartheid Did to a Golden Boy of Boxing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 25, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, as a delegate to the 20th General Assembly of the United Nations and as chairman of the African Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of this distinguished body, my position in indignant opposition to the system of apartheid that obtains in South Africa is well established.

The subcommittee that I am privileged and honored to chair last year conducted the most thorough and far-reaching investigation of apartheid that ever has been conducted, and I am happy to say that, while my own convictions were strongly on one side, the investigation was fairly and objectively carried on with the result that in the volumes recording the hearings both sides are fully and, I think, fairly presented.

In the current issue of Newsweek I find an article that is shocking to my sense of decency and that illustrates how cruelly, unfairly, and inhumanly this thing can be carried.

The article follows:

A SHADE OF DIFFERENCE

There was a time, and not too long ago, when Ronnie van der Walt was one of the golden boys of South African boxing. He was tough, he was willing, and—of course—he was white. And if, at 29, he had not quite made it to the top, his record showed only eight defeats in more than a hundred fights. A stiff left-hooker, Ronnie once knocked out Willie Ludick, the current South African welterweight champ and a contender for the world title. But then, a few weeks ago, just before Ronnie was to square off against Blackie Swart at Cape Town's Green Point arena, the bout was called off. Ronnie's name was inked out of the program. Wall posters with his picture were torn up. "If he had fought that night," says the promoter, "he would have been fined or gone to jail."

It was the end of the line for Ronnie as a big-time prizefighter in apartheid-ridden South Africa. The reason: the South African Government had pronounced him "Colored"—a person of mixed blood—and therefore unfit to mix it up in the ring with white men.

For Ronnie, who sees himself as a "real" South African, it was the wickedest and lowest punch he had ever taken. True, he was from Cape Town, where 300 years of racial mixing have produced the so-called Cape Coloreds, and Rachel, his wife, was listed as Colored. But Ronnie himself had gone to all-white schools and eaten in white-only restaurants. And he had fought professionally for twelve years as a white man. After proudly pointing out that he was the grandson of Johannes van der Walt, a great Afrikaans wrestler, he added: "They can't just cut me down like a bloody tree . . . For God's sake, I am a white man."

The government, whose race laws require that all South Africans carry identity cards labeling them as White, Bantu, or Colored, disagreed. Its decision was based on an inspection of Ronnie, Rachel and their two children made by their local Race Classification Board. One man there, Ronnie recalls, "walked around us peering at us from every angle like you do when you buy an animal. He said nothing, just looked . . . The children didn't understand. But Rachel cried when we got outside. Man, I did too." Ronnie soon got the letter telling him he had been reclassified as Colored.

Tragic Absurdity: In the South African Parliament, voices were raised in protest, and the English-language Cape Times remarked that "the tragic absurdity of writing race discrimination into law could hardly be better illustrated." But Interior Minister P.M.K. Le Roux insisted that the ruling on Ronnie would stand. "He has never been a white person," sniffed Le Roux. Then with logic reminiscent of the Mad Hatter's tea party, the minister added: "And I do not believe he will ever become one."

That meant that if Ronnie should stay in South Africa, he could only box against other Colored men, for a few paltry dollars a match. "I love this country," says Ronnie. "But I got to be free to box. My kids have got to be free." And so Ronnie van der Walt—former white man—will sell his poultry farm outside Cape Town, pull up stakes and leave the country. "I will settle in England," he says quietly, "where I hope people will accept me for what I am."

TCOIC: A Boost for Many

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the twin cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul have embarked recently on a voluntarily supported community education program. The name of the program is the Twin Cities Opportunities Industrialization Center. Its purpose, in the words of a recent editorial page article in the February 17 Minneapolis Tribune, is "to give a quick boost to men and women who are unemployed, or employed in unskilled jobs and have not been able to qualify for better jobs."

TCOIC, even tnough new, has a great potential for service. One of its chief problems, as is so often the case with untried ventures, is shortage of cash.

The Tribune's account catches the spirit of "what may be the noisiest, most ambitious, most experimental educational effort in the Twin Cities":

TCOIC—A NOISY, AMBITIOUS, NEW KIND OF VOCATIONAL SCHOOL

(By Miriam Alburn)

About 6:15 p.m. the lobby of the old red stone building at 517 Marquette Av. begins to fill with people hanging up coats, darting around to greet fellow students and confer with instructors, and moving down a narrow hall or up the stairway to classrooms that once housed bankers.

They're engaged in what may be the noisiest, most ambitous, most experimental educational effort in the Twin Cities. At any rate, it is the newest, and it is attempting to offer a kind of training program new in this area. One of its distinctions is that "minority group" people are in the majority.

This institution, identified as TCOIC—Twin Cities Opportunities Industrialization Center—is now in its sixth week of classes. It aims to give a quick boost to men and women who are unemployed, or employed in unskilled jobs and have not been able to qualify for better jobs.

The wide-open admission policy, lack of tuition, and prospect of job improvement are bringing in applicants for whom more traditional vocational training has seemed unattainable.

Visit a class in "personality development" and you begin to get the idea. Conrad Balfour, of radio and Dale Carnegie experience, now a job development specialist for TCOIC, runs this show, and he makes it a gay one, with the students as participants.

They give quickie speeches to their classmates, gaining self-confidence and learning to express themselves effectively. They are responsive to shifting discussion topics. With good humor they go along with Balfour's calculated stunts and appreciate his sensible advice, such as, "Don't carry a chip on the shoulder . . . If you're good at the job, you'll be wanted . . . We all need a little courage."

The atmosphere is friendly, alert, informal. The decibels rise as voices from other classes come through and over the thin partitions. Several trainees unobtrusively have brought in soft drinks—they missed dinner. A couple came in late—it was the best they could do with job and bus schedules. Someone leaves for a session with a counselor.

Next class is "minority group history," and Milton Williams, by day a vocational counselor at the St. Paul Rehabilitation Center, is talking about Africa. He presents a mixture of exaggerated cliches (cannibals, jungles, etc.) which he disproves, of accurate descriptions of the land and people, of sophisticated bits of anthropology, history and economics.

Across the hall, Lillian Anthony, director of training, is holding a class on "family relations," considered especially helpful for the perspective of a group with more-than-average family, home and income problems.

These, along with "basic education"—essential reading, writing and calculating—constitute the "feeder" courses, taken by enrollees before they get into training for specific vocations. The "feeder" classes are to help orient them to school work and help them be more effective in applying for employment and performing future jobs .

Adding to the cheerful hubbub on the main floor are vocational classes on the balcony—drafting, office machines, secretarial, key punch, pre-health and pre-electronics, so far.

Flexibility is the keynote of TCOIC. New trainees keep starting. (Nearly 200 are now enrolled and more are waiting for the daytime and St. Paul schedules not yet staffed.) Trainees go at their own pace.

Instructors switch gears to help trainees of varied background, sometimes backing up to fill subject gaps, using advanced students to help the new ones, pushing some ahead quickly to on-the-job training in industry.

Right now what the Twin Cities OIC needs most to succeed is money. To get the program started, about $103,300 was contributed in building space, furniture, equipment and services; about $23,000 "seed money" given by business firms; $11,000 raised by button sales and small donations have trickled in from churches, civic groups and individuals.

But more cash is needed now to meet the payroll and expand the instructional staff for the waiting applicants.

The Crime Commission's Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, the Johnson City, Tenn., Press Chronicle made some interesting comments on the recent report of the Crime Commission in an editorial in yesterday's paper, and I have unanimous consent to include this article in the Record for the information of my colleagues and the readers of the Record:

What About Here, Now?

The President's Crime Commission has issued a formidable report. It is nonpartisan, and it represents the best efforts of some of the nation's leading authorities, including three former presidents of the American Bar Association.

The commission believes that crime is costing the United States, by a conservative estimate, about $20 billion a year.

Moreover, the report says that crime is much more extensive than most of us think it is because many crimes are not even reported.

Perhaps never before has there been such a comprehensive assembling of facts, figures and trends—information on all aspects of the problem. But when it comes to offering solutions, the commission is not very specific. Its emphasis is on eradication of ghettoes and clearing up of slums, admirable goals to be sure.

But there is more to the crime problem than that. What about "soft" rulings by the courts—rulings which lean so far backward to protect criminals that they leave little protection for criminals' victims? A few members of the commission did take cognizance of these rulings, advocating a constitutional amendment, if necessary, to make law enforcement more effective. But the majority members were more concerned with cabbages and kings.

Meanwhile, in Washington, D.C., which President Kennedy wanted to be a model for the nation before the world, crime runs rampant. In his syndicated column, David Lawrence emphasizes its magnitude. Mr. Lawrence says:

"Within the past three weeks, for instance, letters have been addressed to the President and other government officials by the District of Columbia Savings and Loan League, the Peoples Drug Stores and the Washington Clearing House Association, a banking group. All narrated the same familiar story—namely, the toll that crime is taking in Washington in both business and residential life.

"The head of the Peoples Drug Stores—which operates a chain of stores in the area—said in his letter to the President that in the past 56 weeks these have been the scene of 31 armed robberies and 62 burglaries. The Peoples Drug Stores suffered losses totaling more than 116,000 dollars, and employees of the stores have been kidnapped, pistol-whipped, beaten, bound and gagged by criminals robbing the stores of cash and drugs. In one store, there were so many attacks that all of the employees resigned, and it had to be closed permanently."

The Crime Commission's long-range proposals are good, but some sort of crime-stopping activity is needed right now. The problem can not wait for the curing of every social ill that besets us.

Estonian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, today our hearts are heavy as we recall the poignant memory of the lost independence of Estonia. The brave Estonian people awaited through dark centuries of foreign subjugation the opportunity to regain their individual and national freedom. That opportunity was finally afforded them by Russian preoccupation with its internal struggles at the time of World War I. On February 24, 1918, the Estonians declared their independence.

By the fall of that year they were again under siege by the Russian invading forces. With the aid of a few allies, this small nation valiantly fought to preserve its independence, resulting in the withdrawal of Russian troops. The peace treaty signed between Russia and Estonia on February 2, 1920, insured Estonian sovereignty and territorial integrity. The treaty did not represent the true intentions of the Soviet Union vis-a-vis Estonia as evidenced by a statement by Lenin at the time:

> We do not want to shed the blood of workers and Red Army soldiers for the sake of a piece of land, especially since this concession is not forever.

The Soviet concession was indeed not forever. Russian Communists continued throughout the 21 years of Estonian independence to try to undermine the government through espionage and underground activities. The advent of World War II enabled the Soviet Union to reoccupy Estonia, terminating its brief historical respite from foreign subjugation. In order to solidify its control over Estonia the Soviet Union has resorted to mass deportations and terrorist techniques.

Our hearts go out today to the Estonian people who have withstood such cruel suffering and who have retained an indomitable spirit. We add our prayers to theirs for their liberation from Soviet enslavement.

President Johnson, Secretaries Freeman and Weaver Call for Smalltown-Rural America Development and Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I have been a longtime proponent and advocate of accelerated growth and development of our small town and rural areas, not only to create a better life for our people in these areas, but as a corollary to a direct approach to the solution of some of the problems that plague our major cities and metropolitan areas.

It is encouraging to me to note that President Johnson has advocated strenghened programs in our rural and smalltown areas to provide opportunities in these areas and thereby reduce the problems of our cities. It is also most encouraging to note that two of our major cabinet level departments have found a common ground and agree on the importance of smalltown and rural development.

In this connection, Hon. Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, and Hon. Orville L. Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture, in separate speeches recently emphasized the necessity and importance of strengthened programs in our smalltown and rural areas.

I am gratified by these statements, believing we are moving in the right direction—and we should encourage this trend. Because of the great interest of our colleagues from all sections of America in these programs and because of the interest of the Nation generally in improvement of our cities, our towns and our countryside, under unanimous consent I include these speeches by Secretary Freeman and Secretary Weaver in the Appendix of the Record.

The speeches follow:

THE ISSUE OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT: COMMUNITIES OF TOMORROW

(Address by Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman at conference on rural poverty, sponsored by National Association for Community Development, Marriott Motor Inn, Twin Bridges, Arlington, Va., Jan 30, 1967)

We are now seven years into the seventh decade of the Twentieth Century, poised at a point in time when fundamental, widespread and irreversible change in the fabric of the United States is occurring daily.

Thirty-three years ahead of us lies the dawn of a new century. And if that date has the ring of the far-distant future, it might be well to recall just how short a period three decades really is.

We are equidistant in time today from the year 2000 and the year 1934, the second year of the New Deal. Rural America then, as now, was in crisis, but of a different order—a crisis highly visible, affecting almost the total rural population, and part of a larger economic crisis affecting the entire Nation.

The Nation responded to this crisis, creating agencies and programs to conserve the soil, to bring electricity to the countryside, to bring agricultural supply and demand in balance, and a host of other measures which fundamentally altered the condition of American life.

What we did then profoundly affected what we are today.

Now, 33 years later, we face crisis of another order—just as acute, just as widespread as the crisis in the thirties, but with this fundamental difference: Today's crisis in rural America is a hidden crisis, largely invisible, and largely overshadowed by other, more spectacular problems at home and abroad.

DIMENSIONS OF THE CRISIS

The dimensions of the crisis are well known to all of you who are deeply involved in rural development. They consist of too little of everything—jobs, income, education, and services—in rural America, and a continuing one-way flow of people from country to city, damaging to country and city alike.

The crisis is neither simple nor easy of solution. It is complex, multi-faceted, and feeds upon itself. Less economic opportunity in rural America means fewer jobs; underemployment means a lower tax base; a lower tax base means poorer community facilities and education; crippled education and facilities bring the problem full circle by discouraging industry from locating in rural areas.

The result has been a rural America with space to spare, but starved for opportunity—and paradoxically an urban America with opportunity for the many, but starved for space for her residents to move in, to enjoy, to breathe.

Rural residents have roughly half the number of doctors per 100,000 people as city people; a third of the number of dentists. The amount of underemployment in rural America is equivalent to 2.5 million unemployed. 6.8 million rural homes are in need of repairs and 30,000 rural communities need improved water and sewer systems. The educational achievement rate is some two years behind that of urban America and the dropout rate is 7 percent higher than in urban areas.

THE CITY TODAY

An unplanned policy of exporting rural problems to the city has drawn urban America into the rural crisis. For the affluent of the city, the unchecked migration means more crowding, higher taxes, more hours consumed in commuting as urban sprawl continues unabated. For migrants already in the teeming ghettos, further immigration means less opportunity and rising despair.

One urban observer put it this way: "Our cities exact too much from those who live in them. They are not only increasingly expensive places in which to live or work; more and more, the price of city living is being paid by a sacrifice of fundamental personal freedoms:" The author of these words is no agrarian fundamentalist; he is Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York City.

THE CITY TOMORROW

By the turn of the century, if present trends continue unchecked, Mayor Lindsay's New York will have become part of a super megalopolis stretching from present-day Boston south to Washington, D.C., and containing 56 million people. This strip city, and 4 other strips like it, will house 174 million Americans on urbanized land ranging in density from 660 to 2,600 people per square mile.

Residents of these 5 super strip cities and other urbanized areas will get up earlier, spend more time breathing their neighbors' car exhaust and return home later. Superhighways and mass transit systems will soak up increasing amounts of urban land in a frantic race to keep the city mobile. If past trends are an indication, crimes of violence will increase as urban life becomes increasingly more depersonalized and hopeless for the disadvantaged.

Nor can we count with any certainty on being rescued by technology from such a reckless concentration of people, vehicles and industry. The number of automobiles is increasing at a rate twice that of U.S. population. By the year 2000 we will have an estimated 200 million cars in the U.S.—nearly 3 times as many as today. With this many mobile pollution sources crowded into 9 percent of the land area, even the most stringent anti-pollution ordinances will do little more than preserve the status quo, if that. Pollutants produced by industry, sewage plants and land development, will increase apace.

This is the world we're building, simply by allowing present trends to continue to their logical conclusion—for powerful, yet unplanned, forces are tending in the direction of even further imbalance.

CENTRALIZATION FACTORS

1. One of these is tradition. The farm-to-city migration has been under way for a hundred years or more. Cities have traditionally offered better wages, education, community facilities, and cultural activities than rural areas. Both the city and the countryside have undergone tremendous change in recent years, and now many rural communities offer as much as the central city . . . and a great deal more that the urban complex cannot offer. Yet the tug of traditional thinking is strong, both on the average citizen and on those who make the plant-location decisions.

2. A second factor encouraging centralization can be summed up as, "them as has, gits." Those areas which already have industry attract more, and this in turn attracts even more. The sprawling electronics complex in Southern California is an example. Although overcrowding, increased taxation and snarled transportation in urban areas are making rural locations increasingly attractive, the lure of established commerce still is a powerful force.

3. A third factor is negative, but quite possibly more important than the other two combined: *We lack any accepted national goal in rural/urban balance.* We have never seriously asked—let alone answered—questions like these: "What is a desirable maximum size for any one metropolitan area?" "How much weight should be given to rural/urban balance in the location of government facilities and awarding of contracts?" "Are more Federal incentives desirable to encourage rural development? If so, how much?" "What are the social costs involved in this unplanned population shift?"

In the absence of a national policy in this matter, decisions in industrial location, government installations, contract awards, and government program expenditures all tend to favor urban areas.

A continued unplanned stacking up of more people in urban areas, at the expense of rural areas, is a national drift that bodes ill for the future. No one planned it this way; like Topsy, "It just grew." Nobody really wants an America of super strip cities, dotted with explosive and squalid ghettos. It is not too much to call such a drift "national idiocy," and it does no good to offer palliatives and pills to cure a disease which has literally assumed epidemic proportions.

THE NEW AWARENESS

Working against this centralizing drift, fortunately, is the flickering beginning of a national awareness of the relationship between urban and rural problems, and a growing commitment to meeting the problems in rural America, rather than exporting them.

Author J. P. Lyford, in his book on the New York slums, "The Airtight Cage," articulates this new awareness by asking: "Why, for instance, must huge concentrations of unemployed and untrained human beings continue to pile up in financially unstable cities that no longer have the jobs, the housing, the educational opportunities, or any of the other prerequisites for a healthy and productive life? Why do we treat the consequences and ignore the causes of massive and purposeless migration to the city? Why are we not developing new uses for those rural areas that are rapidly becoming depopulated? Why do we still instinctively deal with urban and rural America as if they were separate, conflicting interests when in fact neither interest can be served independently of the other?"

The President, speaking last September in Dallastown, Pennsylvania, said: "Not just sentiment demands that we do more to help our farms and rural communities. . . . The welfare of this Nation demands it . . . Must we export our youth to the cities faster than we export our crops and our livestock to market? I believe we can do something about this."

We can:

Urban America, according to its spokesmen, can easily absorb one trillion dollars to make existing cities liveable. Certainly we should bend every effort to make them liveable. But at the same time we should devote much more to building rural America than we have done in the past, to head off even more virulent attacks of urban decay occasioned by uncontrolled growth in the future. Doing this will cost less and get better results.

AGRICULTURE AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Basic to any discussion of this rural development is agriculture—because a healthy agricultural plant provides an underpinning to support the rural economy. This basic resource is in a very different position today than it was 5 years ago, or even 12 months ago:

1. Food surpluses have disappeared, and an end to surpluses in cotton and tobacco is within grasp. Our reliance now is on stored acres and improved technology to produce for need, rather than on stored commodities.

2. Farm income, both gross and net, has increased markedly. Last year gross income was the highest in history and net income was the second highest. In the 6 years since 1960, $31.8 billion more in gross income has been pumped into the rural economy, over and above what would have been earned had 1960 levels continued.

3. Demand for agricultural products is strong and will remain so for the foreseeable future. Exports during 1966 totaled some $6.9 billion and should surpass $7 billion this year.

4. The free market, much praised but little used during the fifties, is now freer of government controls than it has been in decades.

5. Our commodities are moving in the world market at world prices, because of an aggressive public and private market devel-

opment program and because of pricing policies designed to meet competition.

6. Of great significance is the accelerated graduation into "adequate size" class by family farms in recent years. One measure of "adequate size" is gross sales of $10,000 a year or more. Since 1959, nearly 200,000 farm families have moved into that class.

But let me be emphatically clear at this point: Despite steady progress the last 6 years, the farmer's income *still lags far behind that of other Americans.*

On a per capita basis, the farmer's income is $1,700. Other Americans average $2,610 per capita.

Farm prices, though up last year, have been down the last few months, and today are *less* than the 1947–49 average. At the same time, food costs are 35 percent *higher*.

This the farmer bitterly resents—and properly so.

This discrepancy *must be corrected.* It must be corrected because it is unfair to the farmer and therefore wrong. It must be corrected because if farmers don't get a fair return commensurate with the other segments of society, we will lose our best farmers. If that happens the entire Nation, not just the farmer, will be hurt.

In addition, more financing and technical assistance, both public and private, should be extended to farmers presently in the "less-than-adequate" size, to allow those farmers to expand operations and to take advantage of modern technology. In other words, we should continue to keep the door open for those who wish to remain in commercial agriculture.

Yet there are many operators who do not wish to expand, or lack the capacity to, because of age, physical disability, grossly inadequate resources, or other limitations. It is critically important that there be a place for these farmers in rural America also—for urban America has no place for him.

Take the case of a man 45 years old whose farm has failed. The small town where he's done his modest shopping has no job for him, nor are there any within commuting range. And so, in a desperate search for work, he moves to the city.

He has no money, so he doesn't have much of a choice in housing . . . he settles in the decayed heart of the city. His limited education puts him out of the running for a job. His limited skills are useless in the city . . . for who needs a man to plow a straight furrow in an asphalt field?

He is one of thousands . . . all disenchanted, all strangers in a strange land. Families break asunder; children are infected with the virus of the ghetto and yet another generation is crippled. This is the human cost we're talking about.

It is true that our farm commodity programs have helped the less-than-adequate farmer—to an extent. From 1959 through 1965 the class of farmers with gross incomes below $10,000 yearly increased their per farm net income by some 19 percent. Their off-farm income, with greater job opportunities in recent years, increased some 30 percent. Yet their earnings are far from adequate, and it is unrealistic to expect the farmer with "40 acres and a mule" to enter the mainstream of commercial agriculture.

Commodity programs are not welfare programs; they do not provide the whole answer.

Certainly programs are necessary, and certainly they should be improved. Yet those who stake *all* their hopes on just one set of solutions for rural America perpetuate a cruel and dangerous illusion. Rural development must proceed on more than one track.

We *can* offer a place in the countryside to those who, for one reason or another, do not find a rewarding place in commercial farming, or who wish to farm part time and supplement their incomes with outside employment.

NEW TOOLS

The need for such a second track has called forth an array of Federal programs to help rural America. A partial list includes the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, the Rural Water Systems and Sanitation Act, the Housing and Urban Development Act, the Appalachian Regional Development Act, the Manpower Training and Development Act; Elementary and Secondary Education, and the Public Works and Economic Development Act. Local rural development committees, local Resource and Conservation Districts and local leadership give us an apparatus to use these tools.

So far, we have accomplished a great deal. USDA made more rural housing loans during the past 3 years than in all the prior years since the program began in 1949. In the first 6 months of 1966 alone, grants and loans for rural sewer systems totaled $13 million and helped 46 communities. Today, nearly 30,000 farmers are engaged in marketing recreation for profit. Since 1963, construction has begun on 256 small watershed projects—the largest number of any similar period in the 12-year history of the program.

Measured against what had gone before, accomplishment has been great. But measured against what *needs* to be done, it is apparent that we have only scratched the surface.

But we are making the attempt:

In my Department, the old county-by-county and agency-by-agency approach is giving way to State and county Technical Action Panels, made up of experts in many disciplines, and keyed to multi-county development. Where local leadership is aggressive and strong, the panels provide a ready source of technical aid; where it is lacking, Technical Action Panels seek to stimulate and involve local leaders in finding answers to local problems.

This new approach points up a basic change in Department thinking. Since its founding, and until very recently, the Department has been almost exclusively concerned with agriculture—keeping its records, researching its problems, conserving its soil, and educating its constituency in scientific farming. All of these functions are still necessary and are still being performed. But in the past 6 years the Department has begun to address itself to the problems of the *other* rural America—an America where poverty is ingrained, opportunity is lacking, and basic community growth facilities are sometimes nonexistent.

These problems, which are essentially human and economic, have been approached within the existing agency framework, and it has taken some basic reorientation on the part of all of us. In 1961, for instance, nearly all Farmers Home Administration loans went to farmers. During fiscal 1967, farmers will receive about 50 percent of the FHA loans, and nonfarm rural residents 50 percent. This doesn't mean farmers are being short-changed, since the total dollar amount loaned to farmers is higher this year than in 1961. It *does* mean more resources and a new priority for the problems of the small farm and nonfarm people in the countryside.

Another important ingredient in rural development is a re-evaluation of the administrative machinery we need to accomplish the job.

President Johnson pointed up the problem in his State of the Union address when he said: "(We) are making and breaking new ground. Some (of our programs) do not yet have the capacity to absorb well or wisely all the money that could be put into them. Administrative skills and trained manpower are just as vital to their success as dollars, and I believe these skills will come. But it will take time and patience and hard work. Success cannot be forced at a single stroke. So we must continue to strengthen the administration of every program if that success is to come—as we know it must . . . Every program will be thoroughly evaluated . . . where there have been mistakes, we will try very hard to correct them."

Such an evaluation is taking place today in the Department of Agriculture, in other Federal agencies, and in many of the States!

A RISING TIDE OF INTEREST

President Johnson has a deep and abiding interest in rural development. In recent Executive Orders, including Number 11307, issued last fall, the President made this interest unmistakably clear:

1. He directed Federal agencies to coordinate their boundaries for Federally-assisted planning and development districts with existing State planning boundaries, to eliminate confusion and overlap.

2. He directed the Secretary of Agriculture and the Director of the Budget Bureau to review *all* existing programs with Cabinet and other Federal officials to insure that rural areas receive an equitable share of existing Federal progam benefits, and to submit proposals for administrative or legislative changes needed to obtain such equity.

3. And he gave the Secretary of Agriculture responsibility within the Federal establishment for identifying agricultural and rural development problems which require the cooperation of various Federal departments, so that these programs may be better coordinated, and duplication eliminated.

These are a few of the recent Federal actions that bear directly on the problems of rural America.

But this is a big, diverse country and Federal actions alone won't solve rural America's problems. This is a point which cannot be stated too strongly. Nobody in Washington can pre-package a cure for the ills of rural America, ship it out to the country, and expect it to work. The Federal Government has literally hundreds of programs which *can* work, but making them effective takes local initiative, local leadership and local planning.

We have learned that where this local leadership exists, a pipeline through which to channel our development efforts also exists. Without it, development efforts are ineffective.

We have also learned the lesson of planning on a multi-county basis. It is difficult for every single rural community to offer a full set of community services of the calibre needed for sustained growth.

But a group of counties, usually with a small or medium-sized city at its center within easy commuting range, *can* provide the framework needed to make Federal and State programs effective. When united for planning purposes, the people and governments of such a functional community can assess the area's needs and determine the combinations of internal and outside resources essential to spark growth.

The multi-county approach is being taken by a number of States, including Kentucky, Iowa and Georgia, among others. The Appalachian Regional Commission and other regional groups are exploring this approach. Its effectiveness is becoming increasingly apparent.

Achievement of our development objectives will take planning, dedication, hard work, and some basic re-thinking of long-cherished folkways.

Planning is paramount. Building bigger and more sprawling strip cities can proceed without real planning; but upgrading the communities we have now—and building new communities—demands it.

Finally, of course, we have learned that we need to know a great deal more about rural America and its problems than we do now. To find answers to these questions, and to come up with effective solutions, President Johnson has established a Committee on Rural Poverty, which I am privileged to chair, and a National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, chaired by Governor Breathitt of Kentucky.

And while the Commission and Committee are seeking answers, the Department, in cooperation with other Federal Departments, the States, local government, and volunteer groups, will be pushing its own rural development programs at an ever-increasing tempo. In 1967, among other actions, we will:

1. Provide $33 million in Economic Opportunity loans to help 13,000 low-income families and some 390 cooperatives composed of low-income families.
2. Provide $435 million in rural housing loans for 48,000 families.
3. Help finance about 200 community recreation centers in rural areas.
4. Finance $304 million in loans and grants for construction or improvement of some 1,700 central water and waste disposal systems in rural areas.
5. Assist 10 additional local groups with Resource Conservation and Development projects.
6. Approve construction of another 63 multiple purpose small watershed projects with 45 reservoirs.
7. Help 8,500 additional rural land owners with income-producing recreational developments involving 150,000 acres of land.
8. Supervise harvest of another 12½ billion board feet of National Forest timber, providing 700,000 man years of employment, sharing $40 million of revenue with local governments for roads and schools.
9. Reforest 280,000 acres of timber lands, improve timber stands on another 440,000 acres, and build another 295 recreation sites in the National Forests.

THE MATTER OF CHOICE

What we in rural devlopment are all fundamentally concerned with, it seems to me, is the matter of choice—of offering alternatives to ever-larger cities in the future. President Johnson put it this way:

"History records a long hard struggle to establish man's right to go where he pleases and live where he chooses. It took many centuries—and many bloody revolutions—to break the chains that bound him to a particular plot of land, or confined him within the walls of a particular community.

"We lost that freedom when our children are obliged to live someplace else . . . if they want a job or if they want a decent education.

"Not just sentiment demands that we do more to help our farms and rural communities . . . the welfare of this Nation demands it."

I believe that we *can* choose what kind of an America our children will inherit 33 years from now, for we are not the blind pawns of Fate, but rather the shapers of our own destiny.

I believe that we as a nation *should* grasp this chance to shape our destiny—grasp it here and now, without further delay—before the chance for choice eludes us

Thank you.

REMARKS BY ROBERT C. WEAVER, SECRETARY, DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT, TO THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON RURAL POVERTY, WASHINGTON, D.C., FEBRUARY 17, 1967

The Department of Housing and Urban Development was created primarily and fundamentally to direct a new response to the need for revitalizing and rebuilding the cities and urban areas. Nevertheless, this Department is involved in the problems of towns and smaller population areas to a greater extent than is generally recognized. And some of our newest programs (Model Cities, Metropolitan Development, New Communities) can have a substantial impact on rural poverty. As great as the task is in our cities, their problems will never be truly solved unless we also solve the problems of the towns and smaller areas.

The living conditions of Americans living on farms and in rural areas remain among the major unmet challenges of the nation. It is by now well documented and widely understood that half of all the families whose incomes fall below the poverty level are living in rural areas. Too many rural families live in homes of such poor condition that they actually endanger health and safety. Too many live in homes that need major repair, or are without adequate sanitary or heating facilities.

Meeting the challenge to remedy these conditions is more than a question of housing. And it is more than a responsibility that falls upon any one Federal department or agency. Logically and legally, there is required here a cooperative effort that is parallel to the concentrated and cooperative effort that is being amassed to meet the nation's urban challenges.

The problems of poverty, both rural and urban, are more visible and urgent today in a society of affluence and high productivity than they have ever been before. Just over a year ago, the Department of Housing and Urban Development was created primarily and fundamentally to direct a new response to the need for revitalizing and *rebuilding the cities and towns* of this nation.

As part of this mission, this Department and its predecessors have been involved in the problems of towns and smaller population areas to a greater extent than is generally recognized.

This Administration recognizes that we need thriving, healthy rural areas just as we need thriving, healthy cities. And as great as the task is in our cities, their problems will never be truly solved unless we also solve the problems of the towns and smaller areas.

President Johnson, in a speech last September, observed that history records a long, hard struggle to establish man's right to go where he pleases and to live where he chooses.

"It took many centuries and many bloody revolutions," the President said, "to break the chains that bound him to a particular plot of land or confined him within the walls of a particular community. We lose that freedom when our children are obliged to live someplace else, that is, if they want a job or if they want a decent education."

In the United States today, we must examine poverty against a background that reveals relative affluence for most Americans. Within that affluence, however, there are revealed geographic differences that relate to poverty. For example, in 1964, the median income for suburban families was $7,770 while in central cities, it was $6,700, but in areas outside metropolitan centers, the median income was $5,210.

It is true that the most visible and pressing problems of the poor are in the central city slums and ghettos, but it is also true that large areas of poverty remain outside of the larger cities—and they are far less visible to the observer, and perhaps therefore less compelling as a national social problem.

The characteristics of poverty in both rural and urban areas tend to be similar, though not identical. In both, for example, the poor are often elderly, unemployed, under-employed, poorly educated, female heads of families, members of minority groups, poor in health or disabled.

One major difference, however, is that the rural poor, more often than the urban poor, live in areas whose economic or resource bases are defective as sources of earned income. This can be seen in such areas as Appalachia, or in some areas around the Great Lakes, where mines may have been worked out, or in other areas where timber stands have been exhausted, or in many parts of the nation—perhaps particularly in the South—where agriculture has been mechanized.

The point to be made in this discussion is that even where the personal handicaps of the rural poor can be overcome—say, by job-training—the poor themselves may still be left in areas where there are few opportunities for their new skills.

It has long been public policy that Federal and state assistance would concentrate a significant portion of its resources to serving the people where they are. Thus there have long been programs of aid to supplement diet, improve education and health services, provide training in home-making, farming and non-agricultural skills.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development, and its predecessors, have concentrated on improving community facilities including housing.

Federally aided low-rent public housing has been one of the most substantial efforts. For many years, rural counties and small towns have made substantial use of this program.

At the end of fiscal year 1966, four-fifths of the localities having public housing projects were, in fact, in the smaller cities and towns. Of the nearly 2,100 such small localities, there were 968 that were in places of less than 2,500 population. Of course, many of these public housing efforts in small population areas have contained a small number of family units when compared with public housing in cities. Still, even in terms of units, this smaller city program has been substantial.

To show the extent of this effort, a cumulative accounting of the decades of public housing showed that at the end of 1966, there were almost 200,000 units approved or built in smaller cities and towns.

It is worth noting that in low-rent public housing for rural communities, the questions of operating expense and management are often crucial. Projects too small, or dispersed over wide areas, may be unable to attract competent management or may show high costs of management per unit.

We have found it necessary, therefore, to require local authorities requesting very small programs to demonstrate that they can be managed economically. In many cases we encourage cooperative arrangements for centralized administration.

A typical characteristic of the older and smaller communities is the high proportion of elderly, low-income persons and families. Therefore, many of the public housing projects in rural areas have in fact been projects for the elderly. Another elderly program which applies here is the direct loan program of 100 percent loans made by HUD to nonprofit sponsors at a three percent maximum interest rate for 50 years. This housing is for older people with incomes too high for public housing, but too low for the private housing market. Another private housing program for persons in this income group, and which is applicable to rural areas, is the 221(d)(3) below market interest rate program. The relatively new rent supplement program, which provides a subsidy for the low-income family's rent, and which encourages private building of low-income housing, applies to rural areas as well as small cities and towns and in fact funds have been allocated for rurally-located projects.

The dimensions of the nation's housing inadequacies were documented in the 1960 census. It showed that one-fourth of all the rural, non-farm families were living in substandard housing, and in that same group, among those with incomes less than $4,000 a year, about half were in substandard housing.

Aside from housing, however, this Department has undertaken a variety of substantial efforts in helping the smaller communities—far more effort than is perhaps widely understood.

Many of our major programs, such as renewal, have been widely utilized in smaller communities, and other programs are, in fact, specifically and some almost exclusively directed to smaller communities.

In urban renewal, for example, more than 70 percent of the cities with projects have populations under 50,000.

Even more directly revelant are these other programs:

—In the dozen years of our planning assistance program, operating through state agencies, 87 percent of the local communities that were aided had fewer than 25,000 persons, and half of them were under 5,000 population. About 30 percent were under 2,500.

—The public facility loan program is directly related to smaller towns, 95 percent of those aided were communities of fewer than 10,000 persons. And in fact three-fourths of the loan approvals were in communities of under 2,500.

—The program of advances for public facilities planning gives first preference to communities with fewer than 5,000 persons and in fact almost half of the projects for which advances were made in 1965 were in such communities.

Special mention should be made of our relatively new program of grants for water and sewer facilities. As of last October, about three-fourths of the projects granted were in the smaller cities and towns. It should be noted here that we have an agreement with the Farmers Home Administration, Department of Agriculture, that it will serve towns below 5,500 in rurally-oriented areas while we serve towns of any size in either urban or urbanizing areas and our grants have gone, in fact, to many small towns down to 500 population.

It should be clear from these examples that this Department is making a significant contribution to small as well as large communities to help them develop comprehensive planning and development, public facilities and housing.

In the search for feasible techniques to raise the productivity of people in deprived areas, the Department is cooperating with other agencies in several experimental and demonstration projects.

One of these efforts is to help Indians. Together with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Deparment of Labor and the Office of Economic Opportunity, we have entered into self-help programs to provide better housing for Indians through procedures that permit job training and experience.

We are also participating in the Federal Development Committee for Appalachia and making our programs available to the fullest extent possible to assist inter-agency efforts to improve the economy of Appalachia.

In both Florida and New Jersey, we have cooperative demonstration programs under way to improve the housing and economic conditions of farm workers.

Major responsibility for the substantive programs in improving education, health, training and personal betterment lies with other departments and agencies. But the Department of Housing and Urban Development is assisting.

The Department is cooperating with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare on a Task Force on Concerted Services. This task force is encouraging special efforts to make social services and education and training available to occupants of selected low-rent housing projects who have demonstrated particularly serious problems.

The concerted services approach is one technique that is considered useful in raising the capacity of low-income persons to cope with the problems of an urban environment.

Migration from rural to urban areas is one clear area of responsibility for this Department. In this connection, we feel that some of our newest programs can have substantial impact.

For example, the Model Cities Program will involve communities assessing their own problems and working out programs for solution which we can assist both by concentrating presently available urban aid funds and by drawing upon new funds that we can make available. These supplemental funds can be used for wholly new projects that might have been overlooked by the community before, or perhaps were not possible before. It is entirely conceivable and even likely that one of the problems of a given model city might well be to help its newly arrived residents with either or both physical and social improvement efforts.

We will also make certain that among the target neighborhoods selected for the concerted efforts possible under the Model Cities program there will be some of the smaller towns and communities in various geographic areas of the nation.

Other titles in the same legislation authorize two other new programs that might also have an impact on the problems of nonurban low-income families. These are the legislative sections dealing with metropolitan development and new communities.

It is the intent of the Metropolitan Development section to provide special incentives in the form of supplemental grants to metropolitan areas to carry out development activities in relation to comprehensive planning. The expectation therefore is that the coherence that can be brought to metropolitan development will enhance the living conditions of all those living within the area, whether rural or urban.

Finally, the legislation enables us to help in the private development of entirely new communities, as one means of adapting to the growing population. These new communities might rise from areas where there had been no community at all before, or perhaps where there had been small communities that were not economically viable. In either event, the prospect is for new communities that could offer new and significant facilities for the persons who had lived there before, or in the surrounding areas, both for places to live and places to find employment.

Each of these new programs offers important opportunities for localities to analyze their problems and to concentrate their resources for dealing with them.

We cannot, in candor, suggest that either the new or the continuing programs of the Department of Housing and Urban Development are now dealing comprehensively with the problems of the rural poor any more than they are solving all the problems of the urban poor.

But we do feel that there has been a substantial amount of important work done and with the new programs being developed, there is the expectation that it will now be possible to undertake a great deal more than was possible before.

Preserve Our Wilderness Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, those of us who sponsored the Wilderness Act of 1964 are looking forward with great anticipation to the day when the first wilderness area is added by Congress to the 54-unit national wilderness preservation system established by the 88th Congress. That day will mark the beginning of an important new wildland classification effort that will not be completed until statutory protection, within the wilderness system, is provided for all our federally owned lands which now qualify for inclusion in the wilderness system but are not yet a part of it. The 9 million acres set aside as wilderness by the 88th Congress is a skeletal wilderness system, only a bare beginning. Members will recall that the 1964 Wilderness Act gave immediate protection from commercial development and other intrusions only to those portions of the national forests then already classified as "wilderness," "wild," and "canoe" areas, and that it called for affirmative congressional action to finish the job of establishing a truly adequate and representative wilderness system. Within a 10-year period, the Forest Service, the National Park Service, and the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife are to offer the Secretaries of Agriculture and the Interior their recommendations for the designation of wilderness areas within the national forests—using the primitive areas as nuclei of proposed new wilderness system units—and the units of the national park and wildlife refuge systems. These recommendations, following review and possible revision by the departments and the President, are to be presented by the President to the Congress for its consideration.

The first such wilderness system addition proposal to run the gauntlet of administrative public hearings and departmental review and reach the Congress is one proposing the establishment of a 143,000-acre San Rafael Wilderness Area in the Los Padres National Forest in California. While this proposal, introduced in this body by our distinguished colleague from California's 13th District, Mr. Charles M. Teague, falls somewhat short of the acreage citizen conservationists believe essential to protect valuable habitat of the rare California condor, yet it is a marked improvement over the Forest Service's preliminary wilderness proposal for the area. We should proceed to add the San Rafael Wilderness Area to the national wilderness preservation system.

In my own State of Michigan I have watched with pride the work of citizen conservation groups as they have banded together and formed a united front to urge the executive agencies and the Congress to move without delay to add to the wilderness system those federally owned lands in Michigan which meet the definition of wilderness as found in the 1964 Wilderness Act. While Michigan now cannot claim a single official wilderness area, we are looking forward to seeing the wilderness portions of not only Isle Royal National Park and Seney, Huron Islands, and Michigan Islands National Wildlife Refuges in our State protected within the wilderness system, but also the wilderness acreage within other Federal areas such as the newly established Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore and the recently acquired Sylvania Tract in the Ottawa National Forest.

The enthusiasm of Michigan conservationists for this wilderness-designation procedure was summed up by the editor of The Detroit News in a December 12, 1966, editorial, which is inserted here for the information of my colleagues:

Preserve Our Wilderness Area

Taking advantage of a new law, the Interior Department has begun efforts to give Isle Royale National Park in Lake Superior added protection as a wilderness area.

The idea is to prevent this park, and others like it throughout the nation, from being gradually civilized with roads, picnic areas, camping sites and resort facilities. As an official national park, the area could be altered by department order; however, as an official wilderness area, it would be protected in its natural state forever by direction of Congress.

The News has a special feeling for Isle Royale. It was the late Albert E. Stoll Jr. who, as our outdoor writer, foresaw the island's potential and prodded officialdom until it was made a national park in 1931. The rocky, heavily-wooded island, with its 30 lakes, trout streams and naturally balanced population of wolves, moose, beaver, fox and lynx, is a hiker's and naturalist's paradise.

So, too, is the less well-known Seney National Wildlife Refuge, a 95,000-acre wetland area northwest of St. Ignace in the Upper Peninsula. This swampy reserve is best known as a breeding ground for Canada geese, but its spruce and cedar forests provide cover for some 226 species of birds.

Both the Isle Royale and Seney areas still are in genuine wilderness condition, crossed only by nature trails and inaccessible to cars full of litterbug tourists whose devotion to nature is measured in the number of birch trees they can strip.

A hearing on the Isle Royale project is planned for next month and another on Seney Refuge is expected later in the year. Both deserve support as an enduring investment in the future of Michigan.

Full, Strong Ethics Committee Needed in House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 21, 1967

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, the House Rules Committee is now hearing discussion on legislation to establish a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct in the House of Representatives. There are over 40 resolutions pending in the Rules Committee to establish a full, bipartisan committee to make a thorough and thoughtful study into congressional ethics, which the House of Representatives need and our constituents are demanding we have.

Opposition has developed in the last few weeks to the establishment of a full committee in this field, which the House had for a brief period in the dying months of 1966, by the setting up of a Subcommittee on Ethics and Contracts in the House Administration Committee. This would not be a full and bipartisan effort toward improving the standards and conduct of the House.

There have been many editorials in the news media in support of a House Select Committee on Standards and Conduct. I include in the Record a sample of editorial support from across the country:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post,
Feb. 23, 1967]

Choice for the House

The House is asked to choose between putting up a big red "Ethics" sign and cleaning house. Representative Charles E. Bennett of Florida is laboring indefatigably to convince his colleagues that they should set up machinery to expose and punish shabby practices. The Adam Clayton Powell scandal has given them a powerful incentive to fix reasonable standards of conduct and to insist upon vigorous enforcement. But the lure of the old-no-evil tradition is still strong, and many seem to feel that a shallow pretense of doing something will suffice.

This pretense has taken the form of a subcommittee on ethics within the House Administration Committee. The HAC has been dominated by the do-nothing boys who could not smell a scandal right under their noses. Its belated efforts now that the public is demanding action can only be regarded as a diversionary move designed to head off Mr. Bennett's drive for a watchdog that could bark and bite instead of just wagging its tail.

No doubt the choice will be a difficult one for many legislators. They are notoriously reluctant to acknowledge the need for scrutiny of congressional conduct. But let them beware of the public concern over standards of conduct on the Hill in the light of the Powell and Bobby Baker cases. A vote for a mere pretense of reform that would change nothing may well result in an invitation from home to take a fresh look at the problem from the vantage point of a private citizen.

[From the Tampa (Fla.) Tribune,
Feb. 13, 1967]

The Ethics-Shammers

Bouncing the high-living Adam Clayton Powell from his position of power in the United States Congress appears to satisfy lawmakers in Washington that their house of ethics is in complete order.

Developments in both the House and Senate discourage those who hoped to see the lawmakers establish and enforce standards of conduct for their members.

After Rep. Sam Gibbons of Tampa led a successful revolt against Powell on the Education and Labor Committee, the House set up a Special House Ethics Committee. With another politically courageous Floridian, Rep. Charles Bennett of Jacksonville, as its chairman, this committee could have enforced standards of conduct for the Congressmen.

But the House limited the usefulness of the ethics committee by denying it any real authority. The committee died at the end of Congress. Efforts to revive it now appear stifled by the creation of a new sub-committee on ethics in the House Administration Committee. Its purpose, Bennett charged, is to sweep the "dirt under the rug."

In the Senate, ethics proposals were offered as amendments to a Congressional reorganization bill which is being developed to modernize the entire Congressional administrative machinery. Presented by Sen. Joseph S. Clark, D-Pennsylvania, they would have prohibited Senators from accepting gifts worth more than $100 and would have barred both Senators and Senate employees from participating in joint ventures with lobbyists. Clark's plan met swift death.

Senator John J. Williams, Delaware Republican, argued that Senate action now, while charges are pending against Senator Thomas J. Dodd, Connecticut Democrat, might be construed as implying that the Senate believed existing laws on the subject are inadequate. (Senator Dodd is accused of accepting improper gifts.)

The Bobby Baker case came up in the discussion, too, and fresh as it should be in their minds, did not seem to suggest that the Senators could do with some new rules or better enforcement of present ones. Their swift and decisive rejection—37 to 22—of the Clark amendments implies a strange reluctance even to admit the need for change.

While the Congressional reorganization bill might have seemed to some Senators to be the wrong vehicle to carry the ethics proposals, there has been no clear-cut statement that thes proposals will receive any better consideration in any other form. That is what discourages the public.

Bennett said the new ethics sub-committee in the House "won't do anything unless the public forces it to." The Jacksonville Congressman added that he did not believe the public would put up with such sham.

Congress needs forceful reminding that both its houses should set high standards of legislative propriety. That reminder can come only from the public that still pays Adam Clayton Powell's happiness bills through his continuing salary and perquisites as a Congressman.

[From the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times, Feb.
10, 1967]

Toward Congressional Reform

The Senate took a significant step this week and then faltered slightly.

By a surprising 70–18 vote, senators gave their support to recommendations for an extensive reform of congressional operations—the first such proposals in over two decades.

However, when it came time to record its sentiment on amendments prohibiting Bobby Baker-type pitfalls in dealings with lobbyists, the Senate balked.

It is hoped that such hesitation is not indicative of a general lack of courage to tackle long-delayed vital reforms.

For two years the Joint Committee on Reorganization of Congress has been studying ways to improve and modernize the machinery of government.

At the heart of the matter is reform of the customary workings of the committee system. That the Senate—a thoroughly tradition-conscious body—could sense and appreciate the need for change is a good sign.

Under the reorganization plan committees would:

Conduct business during a five-day week instead of Tuesday through Thursday;

Have access to budget and fiscal information gathered government-wide on all agencies and departments;

Retain a "review specialist" to keep track of laws enacted by Congress within the committee's jurisdiction;

Open most hearings to the press and public;

Receive more advice from professionals and specialists;

Be called into session by a majority vote rather than by the chairman only.

Perhaps the most crucial change concerns the new and ineffective House Committee on Standards and Conduct. Until this year the members of the House have stoutly resisted such self-policing.

They may still be resisting it. Rep. Charles Bennett of Jacksonville claims that the House is shirking its responsibility by forming another committee to move counter to a strengthened ethics unit which he hoped to head.

Members of the Congress will have misread the mood of the country—stirred up by the conviction of Baker and misconduct charges against Adam Clayton Powell—if they think they can sidestep the issue.

It's time for Congress to bring itself up to date. Reform and reorganization are both overdue.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Feb. 7, 1967]

Ethics Pusher Powell

It is ironic indeed that Adam Clayton Powell should be giving the House of Representatives its first real ethics committee. Of course, the Harlem Congressman-elect had no such intention, and the House itself seems rather shamefaced about the matter. Nevertheless, its leadership is said to be in agreement that there is no feasible alternative. Having voted overwhelmingly to compel Mr. Powell to stand aside while his fitness to hold a seat in the House is investigated, that body cannot now reject machinery designed for inquiry into possible misconduct on the part of other members without exposing itself to charges of discrimination and gross inconsistency.

There seems to be agreement also that the new ethics committee will have to be something more than the hollow shell that the House created last fall just before its adjournment. The fact that the committee was denied both funds and authority to act and that it expired with the 89th Congress is sufficient indication that the House was merely shadow-boxing. Will it attempt to repeat that performance in the face of the new challenge? To do so would be incredible folly.

We think the House should set up a full-fledged ethics committee with all possible speed. It would be highly desirable to have the committee in being before the special committee of nine makes its report on Mr. Powell on Feb. 23. With such a watchdog group functioning under a broad mandate to investigate misconduct on the part of any member, a powerful argument could be made for permitting Mr. Powell to take his seat, with perhaps a reprimand for the reproach he has brought on the House in the past.

In any event, it is important to give the proposed new ethics committee broad powers to investigate and report its findings for protection of the innocent as well as punishment of the guilty. The Powell case demonstrates that Congress must step in when one of its members shocks the concience of the country. It would be infinitely better if each House made a routine practice of inquiring into any substantial complaint of misconduct before a scandal could arise.

Many citizens will be watching to see whether the House leaders have the courage to take advantage of the great opportunity that the Powell case has given them.

[From the New York (N.Y.) Post, Feb. 7, 1967]

On Ethics in the House

The House Rules Committee is confronted with the task of clearing the way for a special committee to establish—and enforce—rules of conduct for Congressmen. With the case of Rep. Powell (D-N.Y.) still pending, the committee has no more urgent assignment than ruling on rules.

One of the things that have made the Powell case such a mockery is that there are no rules.

An ethics committee headed by Rep. Bennett (D-Fla.) functioned briefly and ineffectually last session, not because of any shortcomings of Mr. Bennett but because it had no real power and no time to operate. Now Bennett and more than a score of his colleagues have proposed establishment of a new panel; it is these proposals on which the Rules Committee and the House must act.

A special impetus to action is provided by the findings of the Harris Poll published in this newspaper yesterday. It reported that a majority of Americans favored Rep. Powell's ouster from his committee chairmanship.

But it also found that "solid majorities of both groups [Negroes and whites] believe ethical standards on Capitol Hill leave something to be desired."

They do. Mr. Bennett's resolution is not the strongest proposal that could be made on procedures. But it is a beginning.

[From the Wall Street Journal (New York), Feb. 27, 1967]

The Larger Ethics Issue

Now that a special House committee has decided what to do about Adam Clayton Powell (seat him, censure him and soak him with a fine), the lawmakers are beginning to consider a larger question: What to do about the ethics of House members generally.

Up to now the argument has centered mainly on selection of a policing agency. The House Administration Committee, getting the jump on everyone else, has already set up an ethics subcommittee and will soon ask the House for the money to run it.

This step, however, is less than satisfactory to Rep. Charles E. Bennett, a Florida Democrat. Mr. Bennett has been arguing that the first need is an enforceable code of ethics, since no policeman can be very effective without a workable law to guide him.

Beyond that, Mr. Bennett points out that the Administration Committee long has had the power to oversee committee spending, an area where Mr. Powell has been accused of a number of irregularities. Yet the committee did nothing of consequence until others called attention to the activities of the New York Democrat.

In the circumstances, Mr. Bennett contends it would be "an affront to the American public" to entrust the ethics-enforcement job to the Administration Committee. With the support of quite a few other legislators, he is urging that the House instead establish a separate ethics group.

Whether Mr. Bennett is right or not, neither he nor his colleagues should lose sight of the real issue. What matters most is not who does something about ethics but that, at long last, someone does it.

Congressman Horton Salutes Rochester Chamber of Commerce and Notes Bishop Sheen's Speech

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, today, I am pleased to invite the attention of my distinguished colleagues to significant events which are taking place in my home community of Rochester, N.Y.

Another year has passed, and Rochester has continued to grow as few other cities have grown. Recently, the members of the Rochester Chamber of Commerce gathered to take stock of the year which has passed and to set their ambitious goals for 1967.

The honored guest and main speaker at the chamber's 79th annual dinner was a man who represented one of the most significant events in Rochester during 1966.

That man is the Most Reverend Fulton J. Sheen, the new bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Rochester. Last November, Bishop Sheen, who had headed the Roman Catholic Church's office of the propagation of the faith in New York, was installed as the new bishop.

He replaced the Most Reverend James E. Kearney, a man who had endeared himself to thousands of people during his more than 30 years as leader of Rochester Catholics.

On the same dais that evening were two of the men who have made Rochester industry the envy of the Nation. Mr. Gaylord C. Whitaker, chairman of the board of Graflex, Inc., was present as the outgoing president. He was succeeded by Mr. J. Donald Fewster, treasurer of Rochester's world-renowned photographic manufacturer, Eastman Kodak Co.

I present here today excerpts from the 1966 annual report of the Rochester Chamber of Commerce, including the organization's 1967 program of work. Theirs is a great record of achievement and a great plan for progress.

Preceding the chamber's 1967 program of work, I should like to share with my colleagues letters written by Mr. Whitaker and Mr. Fewster which are contained in the annual report. They are reprinted below:

THE ROCHESTER CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

DEAR CHAMBER MEMBER: In 1966 we continued our efforts to improve the Rochester Chamber of Commerce as an organization, its program of service to the community and the beneficial results in our efforts to make Rochester and Monroe County a better place in which to live, work and raise a family.

Perhaps the organizational highlight of the year was that our Chamber became one of the few accredited Chambers in the nation and one of only three in New York State. In addition, we did succeed in making our theme "Involving Individuals in Tomorrow" a reality by having over 3,000 people involved in over 200 committees and their activities.

The Chamber building has been made an even more important Civic Center during the year by having more groups hold their meetings and have their offices here. In this manner we have more nearly achieved the goal George Eastman had when he built the building in 1916.

To all those who have helped make this year a success I say thank you. It is only through your support and that of the staff that we have been able to accomplish that which we have. Your help and continued support is sincerely appreciated.

Yours very truly,
GAYLORD C. WHITAKER,
President, 1966.

THE ROCHESTER CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

DEAR CHAMBER MEMBER: You will find the Trustee approved Chamber Program of Work following this letter.

The Program of Work Committee, headed by Chairman Arthur M. Richardson, has developed a very fine statement highlighting five of the many activities to be undertaken by the Chamber in 1967. These five areas are important to every Chamber member and affect most things that business people do. Therefore, all Chamber members should be active through the Chamber and as individuals to activate these five points of the program; Constitutional Revision, Employment, Housing, Inter-Governmental Relations and Urban Renewal.

As I undertake the position of Chamber President, I hope that you will continue to give the same support and cooperation you have to my predecessors. With your help we can make this an even better community in which to live and work.

Sincerely,
J. DONALD FEWSTER,
President, 1967.

THE 1966 ANNUAL REPORT AND 1967 PROGRAM OF WORK, ROCHESTER, N.Y., CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

THEME: "INVOLVING INDIVIDUALS IN TOMORROW"

Living up to its theme, greater individual participation, friendship among its members and mutuality of purpose were achieved by the Chamber in 1966. Over 3,000 individuals participated in excess of 200 separate activities and projects of importance to business and the community.

One of the major new steps for the Chamber was calling for certain tax abatement programs to encourage enlarged efforts of private initiative to solve problems of housing and employment.

Additionally, the Chamber broadened its program of promoting better understanding and appreciation of the business system through discussions, articles and programs like the Congressional Action Aircade held this year, and the College-Business Symposium being planned for 1967. Major activities benefitting our members during the year have taken place in five major areas.

THE 1967 PROGRAM OF WORK

Rochester and Monroe County have entered into what may be the most challenging period in their histories.

Business leadership should be a vital force in this period and the Chamber of Commerce is the only business organization that represents all segments of the commercial, industrial, service and professional groups within Monroe County. The theme: "Business leadership for the community's future" can only be meaningful if it results in the total commitment of management's time and effort to bring into reality the programs and proposals developed by the Rochester Chamber of Commerce and highlighted in this document.

The Rochester Chamber of Commerce should be the focal point for the discussion and solution of vital community problems. It is imperative that the best qualified people, from whatever business or profession they come, serve in capacities of leadership and action striving for needed solutions.

Parochial action and special interest can no longer achieve the type of results required for the area's future. Maximum participation by as broad a cross section as possible is necessary to achieve mutually beneficial and satisfactory solutions to the problems now facing the area.

The following five major points highlight the detailed 1967 Rochester Chamber of Commerce Program of Work to be undertaken with the theme: "Business leadership for the community's future."

I. Constitutional revision

The drafting of a new Constitution for New York State is a primary Chamber goal for 1967. The present Constitution is so complex, has been amended so many times and is so outdated that a complete rewriting is the only solution. The Chamber will aggressively work for the adoption of improvements in the State Constitution with particular emphasis on improvements affecting the governmental and business climate.

II. Employment

The shortages of all types of personnel for local employers continues to plague the area. As the overriding problem faced by all, the Chamber will seek to develop a cooperative program with representatives from all segments of the business and professional community to meet this problem, to conserve present employees, and to recruit personnel to meet local needs. Special emphasis must be placed on helping smaller firms to find needed personnel thus helping assure their continued growth and location in this area. In addition, it is planned that the College recruiting program, "Project Opportunity," will be expanded to meet the needs of more local firms and groups.

III. Housing

One of the key problems affecting most others is the shortage of adequate housing for families now here and for individuals needed in the labor force. Zoning problems, land costs and more coordinated planning for the entire area will need the best leadership and abilities to secure adequate solutions. Full efforts will be put forth to develop the necessary supply of housing, particularly in the lower and middle income brackets throughout the city and suburbs. Joint efforts with other organizations and Chamber groups will seek to develop a community-wide attack on this problem.

IV. Inter-Government relations

A problem of paramount importance and concern to the business and professional community is the elimination of duplicate governmental services and overlapping jurisdictions. Greater cooperative efforts and action between the City of Rochester and the governmental units within the county will be sought. Studies of alternate courses of action seeking reduced governmental expenses and increased income will be undertaken. Constructive action will then be taken through all possible means to assure the adoption of the most equitable and economic solutions to the problems involved. These efforts will include public information meetings, direct governmental contact and a position explanation through all available media.

V. Urban renewal

The Chamber is tremendously concerned with cleared areas in downtown Rochester lying undeveloped. Early construction of private facilities, their return to the tax rolls, and the construction of governmental facilities are imperative. We, therefore, will seek the progressive implementation of the urban renewal program of the City of Rochester and rebuilding of the cleared areas of the city. The orderly and rapid redevelopment of the core city is a mandatory part of the revitalization of downtown Rochester and the improvement of its business activity.

The Chamber's major emphasis in 1967 will be to develop action oriented programs led by men and women from the business and professional community committed to seeking solutions to the many problems facing the rapidly growing and dynamic area in which we live.

Program of Work Committee: Arthur M. Richardson, Chairman; Angelo C. Costanza; Alfred L. Davis; Robert W. Miller, Allen H. Neuharth; H. Sheldon Smith, LaRoy B. Thompson.

Mr. Speaker, since his installation just a few short weeks ago, Bishop Fulton Sheen has taken the Rochester community into his heart. I was present at the installation ceremonies at Sacred Heart Cathedral on that day in November, and know firsthand of the intimate relationship which this great man has already established with the people of Rochester.

He is sought after, quoted and admired by members of all the religious communities of the city. Yet he goes about his workday with a simplicity and dedication which immediately is passed on to anyone who comes close to him.

In his first direct contact with the business community at the chamber of commerce dinner, Bishop Sheen immediately established the same rapport with his audience. Today, I wish to present the speech which he gave that evening.

There is a message in it for all of us:

SPEECH OF MOST REV. FULTON J. SHEEN

When I was invited by the president of the Chamber of Commerce I was told there would be a dinner, and I hardly go anywhere without having to talk, and it reminded me of the early days of Christianity when some martyrs were sentenced to the lions in the Coliseum. Some lions had been starved for about two weeks. When released from the cage, they bounded out across the Flavian sands, were about to precipitate themselves upon the poor Christians when the Christians reached out their arms, put them around the lion's necks, and whispered something in the lions' ears. And the lions instead of eating them went back to the side of the arena.

They then ordered other lions released that had been starved for five weeks. Out after the prey they leaped. For the second time the Christians reached out their arms put them around the lions neck, whispered something in the lion's ear and the second group went over the joined the first. The Emperor was furious. He sent for the Christians. He said, "What are you doing with my starving lions?" They said, "Nothing, we just whispered something in the lion's ear." "I know," said the Emperor, "but what do you whisper?" They said, "After this meal you have to give a speech."

WHEN WE FAILED

Now this subject which was announced by the toastmaster, "When We Failed," I must explain. The "we" are the Catholics in the church. And I'm just going to tell you some interesting stories about how we failed, because they're helpful, the lessons involved. Every now and then, there are crises that come in history. The word "crises" is taken from the Greek word "krisis", which means judgment. For example, if I do not eat I get a headache. The headache is a kind of a "krisis" or judgment on my failure to obey a natural law.

And so there are various judgments that have happened to the church in history. There were three crises that I am going to mention. One is religious, the other was social, and the other, secular. The first crisis the church faced was the religious one.

In the 16th century, we became very rich. There was the accumulation of lands and there was also the breakdown of morality among the priests and religious. And then there came a reformation—a "krisis", judgment and we humbly beat our breasts and said, "Yes, we poor weak mortals failed to be all that we should have been."

At the time of the French Revolution there was a very intimate union between the monseigneurs and the seigneurs. Between the altar and the throne. And when there came a great social disturbance, we recognized that the accusing fingers were right. And then in our times we faced another, when we became a kind of a fortress—just defending ourselves against the attacks of others.

INFLUENCE OF JOHN XXIII

And the judgment came in the form of a fat, happy, jovial man called John XXIII who changed everything. And so it has happened in history that every now and then there are disturbances. There is never any great change without a disturbance and there never was a conversion without it. Saint Paul was disturbed by grace. He was knocked from his horse by it. Christ was the great disturber. He disturbed everyone He met.

Whenever there begins to be any regeneration of society, there comes these disturbances. They are not bad, they sometimes may be very good. They may be even violent. Our Lord said the Kingdom of Heaven is won by violence and only the violent shall bear it away. But the violence of which He spoke was not the sword, that violence, that points outward to neighbor. Peter did that, remember when he hacked off the ear of the servant of the high priest, and proved himself an excellent fisherman, but that was the best he could do with a sword. The Lord told him to put it back into its scabbard.

But the violence that the good Lord brought is the violence which we turn, which we turn the sword into ourselves to cut out our egotism and to cut out our selfishness.

And this was one of the lessons which we learned in history and sometimes those who bring us to our senses are abrasive. Sometimes the principals can be obnoxious. But the principals may be right. That was one of the lessons that we learned and we had to learn it the hard way.

"COMFORTABLE PEW" MENTALITY

Then we learned another. We came into a social crisis. It was a social crisis which we found expressed in many books that have become popular in our time like "The Comfortable Pew", "The Suburban Captivity of the Churches", and other such titles like "The Requiem of a Parish'". We lived for many years in this mentality—that all the pastor has to do is take care of his parish. The bishop, all he has to do is care for his diocese. And we were shaken out of all of that by the Vatican Council when we could sit alongside of men from all over the world. Believe me it was something to sit alongside of, as I was on one of the commissions, some of the men from Africa who came out of bush homes where there was not a single wheel, and to sit down with those men in the commission where only Latin is spoken and then to go out and hear them speak perfect French, Italian and English. You began to realize how big the world was. And how quickly men can be educated.

And so the Vatican Council attacked this narrowness. And they told the Bishops that you are not consecrated for a diocese you are consecrated for the world—for the world. It's only secondarily you are in a diocese and you are there only for jurisdictional reasons.

PLEDGES HELP TO POOR

And so we began to develop a social sense of responsibility toward everyone. When we began to put up big churches, luxurious rectories and other edifices, we began to be very conscious of 250,000 people who slept in the streets of Bombay every night, of the 12 million lepers there are in the world. And we began to see socially that we are part of a tremendous community and a wonderful humanity—and that we had to do something for them to help them. And so I hope to do something here along those lines for all of these people that belong to our social community and so we are ordering in the Diocese of Rochester that whenever a school, a rectory, a convent, a church—any building is put up, any construction or reconstruction, that there will be a graduated percentage of that money that will be given to the poor of the city the poor of this diocese and to the poor of the world. In other words we are recognizing we are part of the world, part of the community. We've learned something from the mistakes that we have made. One day a pig and a chicken were walking along a road, a country road and they looked at an advertisement on a billboard that said, "Ham and Eggs" and the chicken said "Isn't it wonderful what we do for the American people?" Pig said, "It's alright for you, you make only a contribution but I make a total commitment."

So maybe its an idea that's worth passing on to a whole community. That it may be that a certain percentage of all of the blessings that we receive, industrially and personally, were passed on to the poor of the world and particularly our own here.

And then finally there is such a thing as a secular crisis. We failed simply because we were not very much concerned with the world. For example, we did not have an ecumenical spirit. Not particularly interested in sitting down with the rabbi and Dr. Hill—now we are. But we were not. Our studies were a bit abstract, sometimes left a kind of an application and left vacant an application to the concrete and to the personal.

And then there came the change in the Vatican Council where we were told to get out into the world. This is where we save our souls. We carry some sanctification of ours out into this world. And so it may very well be that what we have learned and that can be passed on is the lesson of tangibility. The tangibility that Christ brought to this earth that when He just not only touched the diseased, and suffering and the blind and the deaf, but He actually, as Matthew put it, bore our ills and our sickness as if they were His own.

You know, there are certain things that we can never, never learn, except by touch. Its the third and the greatest intimacy of love. The only way that you can ever learn to love lepers is touch them. Really crush them. Then they become yours. So we were told that about the world. Get into it. But be holy.

VISIT TO A LEPER COLONY

I remember one day going to a leper colony, in Baluba in Africa, I brought with me 500 silver crucifixes about that high and was going to give one to each leper. The first leper that came up to me had his arm off at the elbow. He held up his stump, and he had a rosary around his right arm. And he held up his right hand.

It was the most noisome, fetid, foul, volcano of corruption I ever saw in my life. And I held that crucifix above it and then I dropped it into that pit and pool of disease and it was immediately swallowed up.

And then suddenly, there were 501 lepers in that camp—501—and I was the 501st and the worst of all. Because I'd taken this symbol of love and charity and refused to identify myself with a man who was a thousand times cleaner on the inside than I was. And then the thought came to me—what I had done—and I took it out and pressed hand to hand and so on, shall we say, for the other, well, the other 500 lepers.

TOUCH THE POOR

And so when there is poor in a community, the only way we can know is the way that we were taught at the Vatican Council, touch them.

Go out among them. Put a coat on a back. Put a shirt about a shoulder. Sit down at a table and you will begin to feel one. It's one of the most exhilarating experiences that there is in the world. To be able to sit down with people of that kind and to realize that maybe on the inside they are far better than we are. And this is what can always be done, by a great, great community such as this.

I am one of your latest citizens. I am one of your proudest. Paul boasted of his Roman citizenship, "Citis Romanus sum." I am a Roman citizen. So I can say "Citis Rocensus sum;"—(That's Rochester in Latin). So I can say I am a citizen of Rochester.

ROCHESTER—ATHENS OF THE UNITED STATES

You know at the present time, my dear friends, all the eyes of the United States are on Rochester. They are. And they're not looking at our greatness for the moment. They are not conscious that this is the Athens of the United States—the technological city of the world. What do they see? They only see a pimple on our nose. That's what they're looking at. A pimple on our nose that we could cure with a little bit of ointment of humility, and kindness, and charity. Just think what we do for the world. Here is a city that practically clothes much of the United States. Most dental offices are in some way touched by the city of Rochester. Duplication, precision—we photograph America.

We help teach America music. We have trained the doctors of the United States. This is tremendous.

There are enough brains here in this hall to change any city within a year or two. And as your president has just said when he annunciated his program—urban renewal, housing, and employment. This is greatness. This would take any pimple off the fair nose of Rochester. Let the people of this country look out on the greatness of this city as I've seen it and I know it and I have known you to be.

Sometime ago an English-Anglican minister-priest came to this country from England and he was at a meeting in Washington and they gathered together a lot of boys off part of the inner city into a room that had been used for forty years by a number of prayer women. They gathered there for prayer but this young minister brought a lot of Negro lads and Puerto Ricans and so forth and this woman came in and said, "What are you doing here? Get these niggers out of here!" And he said, "Don't you think our Lord loves everybody?" And she said, "Don't bring Christ into this."

DISTURBANCE CAN MAKE US GREAT

I tell you we belong to the greatest civilization in the history of the world our western Hebraic-Christian civilization. And our civilization is great not because we are white but because we are Hebraic-Christians. And as long as we keep this great and beautiful tradition, we will continue to be the great civilization of the world. So in the past we have failed but we've learned some lessons and we trust too, that the great prestige of this chamber and of this organization of this city will continue now to recognize that maybe when there is anything that for the moment disturbs our peace, that it can make us great.

Somebody says to me for example "Your not as holy a priest as you ought to be." Well I can react to that and say, "How dare you talk to me like that!", or I can get down on my knees and say, "You're right, you're right." When you disturb me it will make me better and I thank you for it. And so my friends, this is our choice—our greatness. We have two symbols. The symbols that divide the world and will divide the world for the next hundred years. One of the symbols is the clenched fist a gesture that turns the hand of man which was meant to be an instrument of art into that which most closely resembles the claws of a beast. And the other symbol, the folded hands, we cannot protect, they are too weak to protect.

UNCLENCH THE FIST OF HATE

They can only supplicate. They can only pray. Ten Gothic spires, aspiring heavenward for the souls of men. And by and through those folded hands may the race of Cain be brought beneath the cross where there is the man enfurled upon it like a wounded eagle. And by and through our charities, our prayers, our housing, our helping unemployment our urban renewal may those clenched fists, as it were, open—and release the hate. And when the hate is gone out of the world those hands which were nailed by hate, take themselves from the cross and fold themselves together not in judgment but in embrace—that all the world may know how sweet is the love of God.

Tax Incentives for Home Improvements Will Create Work, Boom the Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB CASEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, every level of government has long been concerned over the disgrace of urban blight spreading across our land.

We have spent billions fighting the end result, without attacking the cause. This Congress can strike a crippling blow at the cause of urban blight by giving the people a tax incentive to repair their home and rent property.

I have long advocated that Congress adopt this approach, and reintroduced in the 90th Congress a bill, H.R. 358, outlining what I consider would be an effective program. Let me explain briefly the provisions of my bill. It would permit a taxpayer to deduct a maximum of $750 during a taxable year for expenditures made to repair or improve property used as his principal residence.

In addition, H.R. 358 would permit the owner of rental property to amortize over 60 months the expenditures made for repairs, replacements, or improvements intended to increase the livability, utility, safety, or value of property. Those improvements or additions which would increase the total amount of floorspace used for dwelling purposes would not be deductible.

There will be, no doubt, profound arguments against such a tax incentive on the basis that it will cost the Federal Government heavily in revenue. This, I would like to discuss later. But first, let us examine a few statistics that point vividly to the need for sound and constructive approach to the prevention of blight, rather than spend heavily on slum clearance programs after the fact has occurred.

In the last survey of housing in this country, made in 1960, we had a total of 58.2 million units of housing.

The shocking fact was discovered that 10,952,000 housing units were classed as substandard, as defined by the Public Housing Administration. These units were either classed as dilapidated, or lacked hot piped witer, flush toilet, or both, inside the structure for the exclusive use of the occupants.

It was further noted in this census that 826,259 owner-occupied units were classed as dilapidated, and that 501,352 units classed as dilapidated were standing vacant.

The need for action in this field is evident. To me, it is our greatest tragedy that in this day and age, millions of our people must live in substandard housing.

But there is more involved here than deep sympathy for those who dwell without the creature comforts you and I take for granted.

We are faced with an economy showing the danger signs of stagnation. Production is down in many major industries, layoffs are occurring, and the consumer, hard pressed for his dollar, is passing up purchases he would have made a year ago. This Congress, not long ago, was faced with a similar situation. It passed the investment tax credit program, which boomed the economy. It also took note of the plight of the self-employed, and passed tax incentive legislation to assist them to provide their own pension program. Why not now give some thought to the harried homeowner, the perennial forgotten man? He carries on his shoulders the heaviest tax burden, for he must finance his schools, his city government, county government, special district agencies, his State, and last but not least, the operation of his Federal Government.

This Congress and the respective States spend millions each year in unemployment benefits. We have enacted and funded vast programs of job training, retraining, and placement to help some of our people find productive niches in our land.

And yet, we are reluctant to enact legislation that will create more jobs, boom the economy, and give a modest form of tax relief to the one individual who deserves it most and, at the same time, strike a major blow at the cause of urban blight.

To those who would argue that the cost of such a tax incentive would be prohibitive in terms of Federal revenue, I ask merely that they consider the following:

In 1960, $13.1 billion was spent for residential additions, alterations, maintenance, repair and replacement for both owner-occupied and rent property. It has dropped drastically in the ensuing years: 1961, $13.8 billion, of which $6.1 billion was for maintenance and repairs; 1962, $11.3 billion, of which $5 billion was for maintenance and repairs; 1963, $11.7 billion, of which $5.1 billion was for maintenance and repairs; 1964, no figures available; and 1965, $11.4 billion, of which $5 billion was for maintenance and repairs.

We have witnessed almost a $2 billion drop in this market in 5 years. In my judgment, enactment of H.R. 358 would send this market soaring to an all-time high, and the additional tax revenue generated would more than offset the cost of the tax deduction granted to the homeowner.

Let us examine where the money goes, so you can see the potential growth in new job opportunities, the demand for products and services.

In 1963, of the $11.7 billion total—56 percent of the expenditure—was for additions, alterations, and replacements. The remainder, 44 percent, was for maintenance and repairs, broken down as follows: 3 percent, heating and air conditioning; 6 percent, plumbing; 3 percent, roofing; 2 percent, flooring; 19 percent, painting; and 11 percent, all others.

In addition to what this legislation would do to benefit these industries, let us also consider the impact on the local government.

We spend billions in various forms of aid each year, to help local governments solve problems and initiate and complete local projects, ostensibly on the basis that the local government can no longer afford to solve such problems. Nearly every major city and every State is seeking sources of additional tax revenue. It stands to reason that, once dilapidated and substandard housing is upgraded through repairs, it will be assessed at a higher valuation for local tax purposes. It stands to reason that those areas having local sales taxes will benefit heavily from increased sales of merchandise, such as wood, paint, air conditioning and plumbing supplies, roofing materials, and so forth. Building permits where necessary will bring additional revenue.

These are factors that should and must be considered in any discussion of the "loss" of Federal revenue such a tax deduction would generate. I repeat again, in my judgment, the tremendous growth in jobs, the boom in our economy generated by enactment of this bill, the shot in the arm it would give to local and State government tax revenues, would more than offset any initial loss to the Federal Government.

Mr. Speaker, there is growing support in favor of this legislation across the country. It comes not only from the property owners directly involved, but from those men farsighted enough to see the beneficial effect such legislation will have in opening vast new markets, in creating new jobs, new opportunities, and last but not least, in beautifying our Nation through the prevention of urban blight and the creation of slums.

I strongly urge my colleagues to look closely at this legislation, and to join with me in an effort to bring out of this 90th Congress a constructive and wholesome program of giving our home and rent-property owners a tax incentive for repair of their property.

Roy A. Roberts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. J. RANDALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, in the 3 days which have elapsed since the passing of that great newspaperman, Roy Roberts, editors of leading newspapers all across our land have commented about the life and work of their colleague.

Our papers in Washington have contained editorials. Papers large and small all along the eastern coast have noted the passing of a man they loved and respected.

One of the men who knew him best is his successor as president of the Kansas City Star, Richard B. Fowler. On Saturday, February 25, in the Kansas City Times, which is the morning edition of the Kansas City Star, Mr. Fowler in a two-column editorial on the life of his longtime associate writes in a way that demonstrates the great affection all of his associates at the Star had for their former managing editor, president, and chairman of the board.

As one of the members of the Missouri delegation who has the honor to represent a portion of metropolitan Kansas City, it is my privilege to request consent for this well-written editorial to be preserved as a part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Any further comment is surplussage. The editorial glows with a warmth like the great newspaperman of Kansas City.

The editorial follows:

[From the Kansas City Times, Feb. 25, 1967]

ROY A. ROBERTS OF THE STAR

(By Richard B. Fowler)

Until a few days before his death Roy Roberts telephoned The Star editorial offices almost every day. Weakened and short of breath from illness, he was still driven by the compulsion to know everything that was happening in Kansas City or the world. His last call came last Tuesday in the final critical stage of his illness.

As he knew the end was close at hand he read The Star, other newspapers and magazines voraciously. Ideas for good stories continued to flow from him. The day he knew he was going back to the hospital for the last time he telephoned a suggestion for a major feature story idea that had been missed by all of us. Four years after his retirement from the direction of The Star he was still the consummate newspaperman.

After he returned from Washington to become The Star's managing editor Mr. Roberts carried a heavy load of executive duties. The responsibility expanded when he became president, editor and general manager. A procession of major business problems crossed his desk. He went through trying times.

But the whole weight of problems and duties could not suppress the great buoyant spirit, the man of compelling ideas, the irrepressible reporter.

He belonged to the age of great individualistic newspaper publishers and editors, men known as much for their own powerful personalities as for their roles with newspapers that provided them with a forum.

Mr. Roberts recognized the importance of many minds in the production of a newspaper and he emphasized the value of organization. But it was as Roy Roberts, the individual, who came through to the people of this part of the United States. It was the same man who was known intimately to two generations of American newspaper people. In varying degrees he knew all the Presidents from Woodrow Wilson to Lyndon Johnson. Many cabinet members through changing administrations opened their doors to Roy Roberts, talked frankly with him and listened to him. So did the political leaders from across the country, the great thinkers and the great rascals.

And no matter how pressing his executive duties, reporter Roberts found the time to mingle in this world of great decisions and to write the stories for the readers of The Star. His stories were classics of clear, illuminating reporting, animated by the inimitable Roberts style.

For more than 40 years he covered the national political conventions of both political parties. If any other reporters equaled his convention reporting this writer has not seen their stories. Roy Roberts ignored all the tangle of convention speculation and crosscurrents by which many reporters and commentators confuse the public, as well as themselves. Instead, he looked through the smoke filled rooms to assess all the factors.

When he got the big picture, he told The Star readers what was happening and what was most likely to happen in the end. His power of analysis was so widely recognized that his hotel suite regularly became a gathering place for other newspaper men asking, "What do you make of it, Roy?"

This ability to analyze major political events required an intimate acquaintance with all the human urges that cause men to do whatever they are going to do. He knew their ideals and deals, their dreams and greed, their obligations to other political powers and the ominous rumblings that politicians sometimes hear from the grass roots.

Mr. Roberts was intimately acquainted with the causes for cynicism furnished by many professional politicians. He wrote about them quite frankly. But through all his writing ran a strong vein of confidence in the basic strength of the American form of government. He had confidence in the ultimate good sense of the majority of people who animate the democratic system.

His innate optimism carried beyond the present American scene to the world and the future of the people who inhabit it. Through steadily advancing age and infirmity he talked about the unfolding future of the space age. Frequently he told friends at the Star that his greatest regret was in the knowledge that he would not live to see the fantastic events of 20 and 40 years in the future.

Running through the writing and thinking of Roy Roberts was a warm, human feeling. Talking to a reporter about a story on some human tragedy, his eyes sometimes filled with tears and he would stop a minute to regain his voice. Time and again he admonished Star writers to always consider the feelings of others. He was frequently critical of public officials but he was incapable of writing a mean story.

This was the Roy Roberts who came through to hundreds of thousands of readers of The Star. In his active years, other thousands of Missourians and Kansans knew the Roy Roberts who mingled in the crowds, the ebullient spirit, the back-slapper with the manner of a complete extrovert and the probing mind of a rare thinker. At any given large gathering, he circulated with purpose. He talked to people on all the great concerns of the day and probed incessantly for ideas.

For as long as he could move among people, Roy Roberts encountered stories and ideas wherever he went. Any day he was likely to return from a downtown luncheon calling for a reporter to take the story that he had found.

Great editors and great reporters live generally in a world of churning excitement. The sense of drama that animates a cub reporter on his first story is never lost. In this rare quality, few of the great and near great could equal Roy Roberts. Through his dramatic world he explored fantastic ranges of human activity—even when he had to give most of his time to the deluge of business problems that beset a large newspaper.

His love for the drama of politics grew from his own experience. Over a half century and more he followed it from the clash of early bosses in Kansas City through the legislative halls of Topeka and Jefferson City to the high temples of the political world in Washington. When he was still a Washington correspondent he was well known to the ever-changing array of cabinet members, senators, House leaders, bosses and other political movers from across the country.

At an instant's glance he could see the possibilities of a little human story in a conversation with a taxi driver or the girl at the cigar counter. He was in a constant succession of conversations wherever he went among people.

Ahead of most men he sensed the import of any shift in economic trends and he was off to interview the top economists in Washington and the leaders of finance in New York.

Roy Roberts never let anybody forget that he was "a big country boy from Kansas" but his world of human drama extended around the globe. As early as 1927, his first year as managing editor, he took off for Moscow to get a first-hand look at the Soviet leaders and the rising power of communism. He went many times to the major European capitals, made an extensive tour of Asia, and visited parts of Africa and Australia. In all countries he probed everlastingly for information. He talked to the heads of governments and their chief advisers. He picked the minds of Americans, Britons and other Europeans. He went among the natives of the cities that he visited. Wherever he could break the language barrier, he was the same Roy Roberts, shaking hands and opening serious, probing conversations.

No one could ever hope to measure the imprint that Roy A. Roberts made on The Star, any more than it is possible to diagram the imprint of William Rockhill Nelson on his very independent young reporter named Roy Roberts. In both cases there is no question of a deep and lasting influence of the kind that is developed and handed on from generation to generation.

Times change and in many ways the management of another generation has been changing The Star. But the basic principles learned from close association with the Roberts mind and leadership continue even though some men of the oncoming generation may be only half aware of it.

All who knew Mr. Roberts were fired by his burning conception of the high standards and ideals essential to a great newspaper. Most of the top editorial executives today have stood beside him in battles against what he and they considered dangerous political forces. He and they went to battle without pausing to worry about the consequences.

His example has left a deep sense of obligation to give readers of The Star the story and the deeper meaning of events everywhere. He has left with others the scope of his exciting world. It extends from the side streets of Metropolitan Kansas City to the Kansas farms or the Ozark hills. It may be in Salina or Sedalia, in Jefferson City, Topeka, or Washington. The trail of human action leads out to London, Paris, or Moscow, on around the world to New Delhi, Jakarta or wherever an inspired reporter has eyes to see.

No one who worked directly with the Roy Roberts of other years could ever forget his constant stress on good writing or his incessant demand for the kind of investigation that bores under the surface to come up with the real story. Those who worked with him on editorials absorbed his conception of a good editorial as one that took a strong, clear stand and produced the factual information to support it. No one who worked with him could ever rest easy with a set of platitudes.

For the generations of Star people who knew him well, the passing of Roy Roberts brings a sense of loss that goes even beyond strong personal attachment. They lived with him through an era that was given special meaning by the presence of Roy Roberts. And now the era has ended.

We Star people who have carried the responsibility for the last four years know very well what Roy Roberts would say to us today: "now, stop talking about the past and go out and produce the best damn newspaper in the United States."

A great future for The Star was his dream through the last days of his life. To the degree that The Star lives up to his ideals this newspaper will stand as his memorial through future generations.

Council for Christian Social Action Issues Manifesto on Combating World Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the problems of poverty which beset two-thirds of the world's population should be of major concern to all of us.

The Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ, in conjunction with several other religious groups, has recently opened an office for international development in Washington, D.C. It is their desire that the "Nation's conscience may be aroused and its commitment to development may be renewed."

I commend their program to the attention of the other Members of the House:

Justice and International Development: A Manifesto for American Action in the Struggle Against World Poverty

The moment has come for a renewal of American commitment to international development. Public indifference and governmental retreat must be overcome. New attitudes, new policies, and new actions are required.

The poverty of two-thirds of the human family is the starkest economic fact of our time. It is more than a material condition: It is a moral outrage. The sufferings and the degradation of the poor have been made intolerable in our generation. The nations together now possess the technological capacity to lift the burden of poverty from the backs of every people. Everywhere poverty has become a seedbed of social and political revolution.

Believers in a prophetic religious faith must discern the will of the God of justice who is Himself active in the very midst of the revolutions of the disinherited. As the gap between the rich nations and the poor nations tragically expands, the imperatives of that faith cry for justice and for compassion. These imperatives are not merely inner attitudes. They call for action. They confront the United States with special force because it is of all nations the richest and the most powerful. This nation has done much to develop the science and technology which provide the promise of triumph over world poverty and which has persuaded us to launch a war on poverty at home. But our very affluence tends to muffle the cries of human need and to stifle our response to them.

We in the richer nations are failing to fulfill our obligations to the two billion children of God who are poor, our brothers and sisters who bear His image and are beloved of Him as much as any one of us. We are failing morally and we are failing politically. The policies of the United States Government reflect this failure. As the costs of international development have mounted, the Executive has proposed and the Congress has voted successive decreases in the American contribution. During the Marshall Plan (1948–53), the U.S. gave two percent of its gross national product as economic grants for European reconstruction. By contrast, the U.S. in 1967 was providing only 0.3 percent to all of Asia, Africa, and Latin America primarily for loans rather than grants. It is true that aid to Europe and economic and technical assistance to the developing nations have called forth unprecedented funds from the United States Government and have made substantial contributions to human welfare. Yet it is also true that disillusionment and apathy have overtaken United States development policy at the very time that the wisdom of experience is ripening, the fruits of scientific study are becoming genuinely significant, and the opportunities for acceleration in development are rising. It is particularly unfortunate that the shrinking of American vision and support comes at a time when bitterness and despair are growing in the poorer nations.

The inadequacies of United States development policy are not only financial. There is a failure to come to terms with nationalism and with the ideological and political variations of fundamentally nationalist revolutions. There is a failure to understand development problems from the inside out—as the leaders and peoples of developing nations themselves must face those problems. There is a failure to get beyond the donor's preoccupation with dollars and with "American know-how" to the nurturing of indigenous leadership and institutions upon which authentic national development must depend. There is a failure to forge those structures of international trade and of multilateral development strategy and decision-making which are responsive to the realities of power which the poorer nations confront.

The churches of America are called by the God of justice whom they worship to become wholeheartedly involved in the struggle against world poverty. The churches bear special witness to the claims of justice. They testify to the meaning of sacrifice. They know that repentance and reconstruction are the active agents of reconciliation. Their social witness and their worldwide ministries are summoned to a determined effort to expand the American contribution to international development and to strengthen the processes of international cooperation between the richer nations and the poorer nations.

The churches can do much to arouse the American public and to inspire an effective new constituency on the issues of world poverty. Yet the churches must not act alone. They must work together in the fullest possible ecumenical fellowship. They must join their efforts with those of governmental leaders, business, labor, and farm groups, citizens' organizations, foundations and universities. And they must work in company with religious leaders and others from the developing nations in order that they may think and act from an authentically international perspective.

It is not generosity or sacrifice alone which impels us to speak to the issues of world poverty. The interdependence of national economies is now so far advanced that the prosperity of every nation is fatefully tied to that of every other nation. The development of the new nations is as necessary for Americans as it is for them. The peace of the world is also at stake. Although peace cannot be secure without a rule of law, no rule of law can succeed unless it is established upon foundations of political and economic justice.

We pledge our support to the following policy priorities which we commend to the United States Government and to the American public. We believe that these priorities reflect critically important claims of justice in the present relationships between the people of the United States and the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

POLICIES PRIORITIES FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

1. Adequate aid: allocation of at least 1% of the GNP (gross national product) for governmental development assistance and a total public and private allocation of at least 2% of the GNP.

2. Increasingly multilateral: channeling of a larger proportion of development assistance through the United Nations and other multilateral agencies such as regional development institutions.

3. Less burdensome terms: an increase in the proportion of grants and low-interest and interest-free loans in the distribution of United States development funds.

4. Long-term planning: Congressional authorization of long-term assistance for periods of up to five years in order to facilitate development planning.

5. Elimination of "buy American" requirements: removal of purchase restrictions which prevent more economical procurement in other countries and which hinder industrial progress in the developing countries themselves.

6. Global commodity agreements: negotiation of effective international commodity agreements to stabilize export earnings on primary products from the developing countries.

7. Freer trade: liberalization of tariff policies and positive trade assistance to expand the access of the developing countries to markets of the developed countries.

8. Freedom from hunger: a more substantial mobilization of American agricultural technology for a maximum effort to help developing countries improve their food production and to increase food reserves to meet emergency needs.

9. Removal of cold war restrictions: elimination from aid legislation of prohibitions on food and other humanitarian assistance to countries which may be engaged in trade with certain Communist states.

10. Family planning: a more substantial program of helping developing countries in their efforts to confront the problems of rapidly expanding populations with education and health facilities for family planning.

11. Education for development: a commitment to world literacy and to the educational resources and institutions indispensable to the progress of economic and political development.

12. Private groups: the fostering of cooperatives, labor unions, trade and related associations, community action groups, and other organizations in the developing countries which nurture leadership and democratic processes and which help to insure that economic assistance will be of lasting benefit.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CHURCHES

The churches must recognize that the powers of government are more decisively involved in the struggle for justice in human life around the world than are the programs of the churches themselves. Just as there has been a shift from charity to justice in the evolution of domestic welfare policy, so the churches must not permit their own philanthropy, as generous as that may be, to distract attention from the issues of justice which are at stake in political decisions.

Yet the churches must do more than address resolutions to questions of governmental policy. When the issue is justice to the poor, the ancient demands of faith compel the churches to engage their own people and funds courageously and sacrifically in the struggle. We affirm the following as special tasks of the American churches.

1. Interpretation: To interpret the issues of justice and of policy in international development to the membership of our churches and to the general public, to the end that the nation's conscience may be aroused and its commitment to development may be renewed.

2. Mobilization: To give leadership in the formation of a sustaining constituency within the American public which is informed and committed on the issues of international development.

3. Corporate witness in decision-making: To bring the corporate witness of the churches to bear upon the processes of executive and legislative decision-making in matters of foreign aid and trade, population policy, food assistance, and agricultural development.

4. Continuing study: To engage in a continuing process of study and education with regard to the fundamental assumptions and motives of international development and the effectiveness of alternative policies and programs in their responsiveness to human need.

5. Direct participation: To increase the resources and effectiveness of the churches' direct participation in world service and development projects.

6. Style of life: To manifest a style of life as persons and as institutions which does not cater to our own indulgences at the expense of our neighbors' necessities.

7. Ministry of lay groups: To magnify the ministry of the laity in such fields as farming, teaching, business, labor and health programs by increasingly enlisting these vocational groups in education and action programs for international development which are appropriate to their competence and influence.

8. Development as vocation: To inspire and nurture careers in international devel-

opment as special callings worthy of our finest men and women.

Approved by Committee for International Development, 19 January, 1967, New York, N.Y.

Adopted by Council for Christian Social Action, 30 January, 1967, Cleveland, Ohio.

ALAN GEYER,
Director of International Relations.
L. MAYNARD CATCHINGS,
Associate for International Development.

Scouting and Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, a recent survey leaves no doubt that the Boy Scouts of America has had a pronounced impact on the Members of Congress. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN] is to be commended for the thoroughness with which he conducted this survey in observance of the 51st anniversary of the Boy Scouts.

Of the 523 male Members of Congress, 328—77 percent—have been influenced by membership in or service to Scouting. This total includes 177 who have been Scouts only, 60 who have been leaders only and 91 who have been both. Twenty-six, including Congressman BLATNIK, of Minnesota's Eighth District, have been Eagle Scouts. Two have won the Silver Buffalo Award, nine the Silver Beaver and two the Silver Antelope.

Four of the 10 Members of Minnesota's Congressional delegation have been involved in scouting. For several years during the 1930's, I was a member of a troop in southeast Minneapolis.

Scouting's influence on Congress is not limited to male members. Of the 12 women Members, one has been named an honorary Boy Scout and another has served as a Cub Scout den mother.

Following is the State-by-State list of Senators and Representatives who have, at some point in their lives, been active in some phase of Scouting:

Scout denoted by (S); Leader denoted by (L); Scout and Leader denoted by (S & L).

ALABAMA

Senator John Sparkman (D), S & L.
George Andrews (D), S.
John H. Buchanan, Jr. (R), L.
William L. Dickinson (R), S.
Robert E. Jones (D), L.
Armistead I. Selden, Jr. (D), S.

ALASKA

Senator E. L. Bartlett (D), S.
Howard W. Pollock (R), S.

ARIZONA

Senator Paul J. Fannin (R), S.
Senator Carl Hayden (D), L.
John J. Rhodes (R), S.
Morris K. Udall (D), S & L.

ARKANSAS

E. C. Gathings (D), S & L.
Wilbur D. Mills (D), S & L.
John Paul Hammerschmidt (R), S.
David Pryor (D), S.

CALIFORNIA

Senator Thomas Kuchel (R), S & L.
Senator George Murphy (R), L.
Alphonzo Bell (R), S.
George E. Brown, Jr. (D), L.
Del Clawson (R), S & L.
Jeffrey Cohelan (D), S.
James C. Corman (D), S.
Don Edwards (D), S.
Richard T. Hanna (D), S & L.
Craig Hosmer (R), S.
Harold T. Johnson (D), L.
Robert L. Leggett (D), S & L.
Glenard P. Lipscomb (R), S.
John F. McFall (D), L.
William S. Mailliard (R), S.
Bob Mathias (R), S.
John E. Moss (D), S.
Ed Reinecke (R), S & L.
Edward R. Roybal (D), S.
H. Allen Smith (R), S & L.
Burt L. Talcott (R), S & L.
Charles M. Teague (R), S.
John V. Tunney (D), L.
James B. Utt (R), S.
Lionel Van Deerlin (D), S.
Jerome Waldie (D), S.
Bob Wilson (R), S.
J. Arthur Younger (R), L.

COLORADO

Wayne N. Aspinall (D), S.
Frank E. Evans (D), S & L.
Byron G. Rogers (D), S.
Donald G. Brotzman (R), S.

CONNECTICUT

Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D), S.
Senator Abraham A. Ribicoff (D), S.
Robert N. Giaimo (D), S.
William L. St. Onge (D), S. & L.

DELAWARE

Senator J. Caleb Boggs (R), S & L.
William V. Roth, Jr. (R), L.

FLORIDA

Senator Spessard L. Holland (D), S.
Charles E. Bennett (D), S.
Dante B. Fascell (D), S.
Sam M. Gibbons (D), S.
James A. Haley (D), L.
Edward J. Gurney (R), S.
A. Sydney Herlong, Jr. (D), S.
Claude Pepper (D), S & L.
Paul G. Rogers (D), S.
Robert L. F. Sikes (D), S.
J. Herbert Burke (R), S.

GEORGIA

Jack Brinkley (D), L.
John J. Flynt, Jr. (D), S & L.
G. Elliott Hagan (D), L.
Phil M. Landrum (D), S.
Maston O'Neal (D), S & L.
Robert G. Stephens, Jr. (D), S & L.
Fletcher Thompson (R), L.
W. S. (Bill) Stuckey, Jr. (D), S & L.
Benjamin Blackburn (R), S & L.

HAWAII

Senator Hiram Fong (R), S & L.
Spark Matsunaga (D), S.

IDAHO

Senator Frank Church (D), S.
George V. Hansen (R), S.
James A. McClure (R), S.

ILLINOIS

Frank Annunzio (D), L.
Leslie S. Arends (R), S.
Harold R. Collier (R), S.
Edward J. Derwinski (R), S.
John N. Erlenborn (R), L.
Robert McClory (R), L.
Roman C. Pucinski (D), S.
Thomas Railsback (R), S & L.
Dan Rostenkowski (D), S & L.
Donald Rumsfeld (R), S
William L. Springer (R), S.
Sidney R. Yates (D), S.
Senator Charles Percy (R), S & L.

INDIANA

E. RossAdair (R), S.
John Brademas (D), S & L.
William G. Bray (R), S.
Lee H. Hamilton (D), S.
Andrew Jacobs, Jr. (D), S.
Richard L. Roudebush (R), S & L.
Roger H. Zion (R), S & L.

IOWA

Senator Jack Miller (R), S.
John C. Culver (D), S.
John Kyl (R), L.
Fred Schwengel (R), L.
Wiley Mayne (R), S.
Neal Smith (D), L.

KANSAS

Senator Frank Carlson (R), L.
Senator James B. Pearson (R), S.
Bob Dole (R), S.
Chester L. Mize (R), S.
Garner E. Shriver (R), S & L.
Joe Skubitz (R), L.
Larry Winn, Jr. (R), S & L.

KENTUCKY

Senator John Sherman Cooper (R), S.
William H. Natcher (D), S.
William Cowger (R), S.
Frank A. Stubblefield (D), S.
John C. Watts (D), S.
Gene Snyder (R), S.

LOUISIANA

Hale Boggs (D), S.
Speedy O. Long (D), S.
Otto E. Passman (D), S.
Joe D. Waggonner (D), S.
Edwin E. Willis (D), S.

MAINE

Senator Edmund S. Muskie (D), S.
William D. Hathaway (D), S.
Peter N. Kyros (D), S.

MARYLAND

Senator Joseph D. Tydings (D), S.
Samuel N. Friedel (D), S.
Hervey G. Machen (D), S&L.
Charles McM. Mathias, Jr. (R), S.
Rogers C. B. Morton (R), S.
Clarence D. Long (D), S.
Gilbert Gude (R), S&L.

MASSACHUSETTS

Senator Edward Brooke (R), S.
William H. Bates (R), S.
Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. (D), L.

MICHIGAN

Senator Robert P. Griffin (R), S&L.
Garry Brown (R), S.
Elford A. Cederberg (R), S.
John D. Dingell (D), S&L.
Gerald R. Ford (R), S&L.
William D. Ford (D), S.
Edward Hutchinson (R), S.
Lucien N. Nedzi (D), L.
Philip E. Ruppe (R), S.
William S. Broomfield (R), S&L.

MINNESOTA

Senator Walter F. Mondale (D), S.
John A. Blatnik (D), S.
Donald M. Fraser (D), S.
Joseph E. Karth (D), S&L.

MISSISSIPPI

Thomas G. Abernathy (D), S&L.
G. V. Montgomery (D), S.

MISSOURI

Senator Edward V. Long (D), L.
Thomas B. Curtis (R), S&L.
Durward G. Hall (R), S&L.
W. R. Hull, Jr. (D), L.
William L. Hungate (D), S.
Paul C. Jones (R), S&L.
Frank M. Karsten (D), S.
William J. Randall (D), S.

MONTANA

Senator Lee Metcalf (D), S&L.
James F. Battin (R), S.
Arnold Olsen (D), L.

NEBRASKA

Glenn Cunningham (R), S&L.
Dave Martin (R), S&L.
Robert V. Denney (R), L.

NEVADA

Senator Howard W. Cannon (D), S.
Walter S. Baring (D), S.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Senator Norris Cotton (R), S.
Senator Thomas J. McIntyre (D), L.
Louis C. Wyman (R), S.

NEW JERSEY

Senator Clifford P. Case (R), S.
Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr. (D), L.
Cornelius E. Gallagher (D), S.
John E. Hunt (R), S & L.
Joseph G. Minish (D), S.
James J. Howard, (D), S.
Charles Sandman (R), S.
William B. Widnall (R), S & L.

NEW MEXICO

Senator Clinton P. Anderson (D), L.
Thomas G. Morris (D), S.
E. S. Johnny Walker (D), S & L.

NEW YORK

Senator Robert F. Kennedy (D), S.
Hugh L. Carey (D), L.
Barber E. Conable, Jr. (R), S & L.
John G. Dow (D), S & L.
Thaddeus J. Dulski (D), S & L.
James R. Grover, Jr. (R), S.
Seymour Halpern (R), S & L.
Frank Horton (R), S & L.
Carleton J. King (R), L.
Richard D. McCarthy (D), S.
Robert C. McEwen (R), S.
Abraham J. Multer (D), L.
Richard L. Ottinger (D), S.
Otis G. Pike (D), S & L.
Odgen R. Reid (R), S.
Jqseph Y. Resnick (D), S & L.
Howard W. Robison (R), S & L.
John J. Rooney (D), S.
Henry P. Smith III (R), S & L.
Samuel S. Stratton (D), S & L.
Herbert Tenzer (D), L.
John W. Wydler (R), S.
Theodore R. Kupferman (R), L.

NORTH CAROLINA

Senator B. Everett Jordan (D), L.
James T. Broyhill (R), S.
L. H. Fountain (D), S.
Nick Galifianakis (D), S.
David N. Henderson (D), S.
Walter B. Jones (D), S.
Charles R. Jonas (R), S.
Horace R. Kornegay (D), S & L.
Alton Lennon (D), S & L.
Roy A. Taylor (D), S & L.
Basil Whitener (D), S.
James C. Gardner (R), S.

NORTH DAKOTA

Mark Andrews (R), S.
Thomas S. Kleppe (R), S.

OHIO

John M. Ashbrook (R), L.
Jackson E. Betts (R), S & L.
Clarence J. Brown, Jr. (R), S & L.
Samuel L. Devine (R), S.
William H. Harsha (R), S.
Wayne L. Hays (D), S & L.
Delbert L. Latta (R), S.
D. E. "Buz" Lukens (R), S&L.
Clarence E. Miller (R) S.
William E. Minshall (R), S.
Charles A. Mosher (R), L.
J. William Stanton (R), S.
Chalmers P. Wylie (R), S & L.
Robert Taft, Jr. (R), S.

OKLAHOMA

Senator Fred R. Harris (D), S.
Senator A. S. Mike Monroney (D), S.
Carl Albert (D), S & L.
Page Belcher (R), L.
Ed Edmondson (D), S.
John Jarman (D), L.
Tom Steed (D), S & L.

OREGON

Al Ullman (D), L.
John R. Dellenback (R), S.
Senator Mark Hatfield (R), S & L.

PENNSYLVANIA

Senator Hugh Scott (R), S.
William A. Barrett (D), S.
Edward Biester (R), S.
Frank M. Clark (D), S & L.
Robert J. Corbett (R), S.
Daniel J. Flood (D), S.
James G. Fulton (R), S.
Albert W. Johnson (R), L.
Joseph M. McDade (R), S.
Thomas E. Morgan (D), S.
Fred B. Rooney (D), S.
John P. Saylor (R), S & L.
Herman T. Schneebeli (R), S.
Richard S. Schweiker (R), S & L.
J. Irvin Whalley (R), L.
L. G. Williams, (R), S.
Joshua Eilberg (D), S & L.

RHODE ISLAND

Senator Claiborne Pell (D), S.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Senator Strom Thurmond (R), S & L.
John L. McMillan (D), L.
L. Mendel Rivers (D), S & L.
Albert W. Watson (R), S.
Senator Ernest Hollings (D), S.

SOUTH DAKOTA

E. Y. Berry (R), L.
Senator Karl E. Mundt (R), S.
Ben Reifel (R), L.

TENNESSEE

William R. Anderson (D), S.
William E. Brock III (R), S.
John J. Duncan (R), S & L.
Richard H. Fulton (D), S & L.
Ray Blanton (D), S & L.
Dan Kuykendall (R), L.

TEXAS

Senator Ralph Yarborough (D), L.
Omar Burleson (D), S.
Earle Cabell (D), L.
Bob Casey (D), S & L.
John Dowdy (D), S & L.
O. C. Fisher (D), L.
Eligio de la Garza (D), S & L.
Henry B. Gonzalez (D), S & L.
Wright Patman (D), L.
J. J. (Jake) Pickle (D), S.
W. R. Poage (D), L.
Graham Purcell (D), L.
Ray Roberts (D), S & L.
Olin E. Teague (D), S.
Richard C. White (D), S & L.
James C. Wright, Jr. (D), S & L.
Abraham B. Kazen, Jr. (D), S.
Robert D. Price (R), L.
Joe R. Pool (D), S.

UTAH

Senator Wallace F. Bennett (R), S.
Senator Frank E. Moss (D), S.
Laurence J. Burton (R), S & L.
Sherman P. Lloyd (R), S & L.

VERMONT

Robert T. Stafford (R), S.

VIRGINIA

Thomas N. Downing (D), S & L.
Porter Hardy, Jr. (D), S & L.
John O. Marsh, Jr. (D), S & L.
David E. Satterfield, III (D), S.
William C. Wampler (R), S.
William L. Scott (R), L.
Senator William B. Spong, Jr. (D), S & L.

WASHINGTON

Senator Henry M. Jackson (D), S.
Brock Adams (D), S.
Thomas S. Foley (D), S.
Lloyd Meeds (D), S & L.
Thomas M. Pelly (R), S.

WEST VIRGINIA

Senator Robert C. Byrd (D), S.
Senator Jennings Randolph (D), S.
Ken Hechler (D), S.
James Kee (D), S.
Arch A. Moore, Jr. (R), L.
John M. Slack, Jr. (D), S.
Harley O. Staggers (D), L.

WISCONSIN

Senator William Proxmire (D), S.
Robert W. Kastenmeier, (D), S.
Glenn R. Davis (R), L.
Melvin R. Laird (R), S.
Henry S. Reuss (D), S & L.
Vernon W. Thomson (R), S.
William A. Steiger (R), S.

WYOMING

Senator Gale W. McGee (D), S.

The Legality of Reclassification of Selective Service Registrants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the matter of the legality of reclassification of selective service registrants is a matter of current public interest and concern. Testimony in this regard has been given by Selective Service officials appearing before the Subcommittee on Independent Offices and Housing Appropriations, and the matter also is under review by the House Armed Services Committee. The American Bar Association Journal in its February issue discussed the legal aspects of the issue in some detail. In view of the interest of this subject to my colleagues and to the Nation generally, I have unanimous consent that this article be reprinted in the Appendix of the RECORD:

THE LEGALITY OF RECLASSIFICATION OF SELECTIVE SERVICE REGISTRANTS

(By Maj. Charles W. Schiesser, JAGC, U.S. Army and Capt. Daniel H. Benson, JAGC, U.S. Army)

(NOTE.—In this article, the authors answer criticism of some draft boards that reclassified students who participated in demonstrations against the Vietnam war. The authors examine the duties of draft boards and explain how the reclassification system works, and they contend that it is incorrect to say that the reclassified students are being "punished" for their conduct.

(The opinions and conclusion presented herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the United States Army or any other Government agency.)

Abraham Lincoln once observed that the power to raise armies was "given to Congress by the Constitution without an 'if' ".[1] Congress has the power to raise armies by conscription,[2] both for the prosecution of a war[3] and for a peacetime army,[4] and it may subject to military service those who are unwilling as well as those who are eager to defend their nation.[5] It is within the power of Congress to call everyone to the colors, and no one under the jurisdiction of the United States, whatever his status, is exempt from military service except by the grace of the government.[6]

There have been numerous attacks on the constitutionality of our draft laws, primarily on two general grounds: (1) it has been urged that the entire theory of compulsory military service is unconstitutional, and (2) it has been urged that specific draft laws lacked validity because of a denial of certain constitutional rights. As one commentator noted:

"The case material on draft law is voluminous. It is but natural that, under our form of government, laws allegedly derogatory of liberty should be contested by litigation and thus subjected to the most searching judicial scrutiny."[7]

In every case, the constitutionality of the law has been upheld.[8]

In the Universal Military Training and Service Act,[9] Congress declared that ". . . an adequate armed strength must be achieved and maintained to insure the security of this Nation"[10] and the ". . . in a free society the obligations and privileges of serving in the armed forces and the reserve components thereof should be shared generally. . . ."[11] The act is a comprehensive statute, designed to provide a fair and efficient procedure for marshaling the manpower of the nation through the operation of the Selective Service System. As Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, Director of Selective Service, has pointed out:

"Selective Service is one of America's oldest institutions—even though the term 'Selective Service' was not used until World War I and the modern conception of Selective Service differs greatly from the devices used for manpower procurement in colonial times."[12]

One of the most significant aspects of the Selective Service System is the authority given to local Selective Service boards. Local boards, under appropriate rules and regulations prescribed by the President, have the power within their respective jurisdictions to hear and determine, subject to the right of appeal, all questions or claims with respect to inclusion for or exemption or deferment from training and service.[13] The local board has the authority and duty to make classification and reclassification determinations as to each registrant. Substantial controversy has arisen recently concerning the exercise of this classification and reclassification power.

CLASSIFICATION

It is the local board's responsibility to decide the class into which each registrant shall be placed, and in making that determination the board must consider each registrant as available for military training and service until such time as his eligibility for deferment or exemption is clearly established to the satisfaction of the board[14] Thus, a deferment—even a student deferment—is not a matter of right but is a matter of legislative grace,[15] and the burden is upon the registrant to show that he should not be deemed available for immediate military service.[16] In reaching their decisions, the local boards are selecting a large segment of the nation's military personnel, and they must act for the benefit of the national welfare rather than primarily from the viewpoint of an individual registrant's personal interest or preference.[17] These factors are often submerged in much of the current discussion and debate about classification and reclassification of registrants.

Classification is an essential step in the process of induction,[18] and unless an appeal is taken to a Selective Service appeal board, the local board's decision on a registrant's claim for deferment is final.[19] It is again emphasized that the burden is upon the registrant to establish his eligibility for deferment or exemption from military training and service to the satisfaction of the local board,[20] and the courts cannot review the correctness of a board's action if there is any evidence or "basis in fact" to support the decision of the board[21] unless it is shown that the board's action was arbitrary and capricious, based on bias or prejudice, or that the registrant was denied a procedural right and such denial was actually prejudicial to his substantial rights.[22] Judicial review may be granted or withheld, as Congress sees fit,[23] and jurisdiction to review the findings of local boards is not conferred upon the courts by the act or any other statute.[24] Consequently, the scope of judicial review into the administrative proceedings of the Selective Service System is very limited—"the range of review is the narrowest known to the law"[25]—and the courts do not sit as "super draft boards".[26]

It is within the context of these rules and holdings that the entire classification process must be evaluated if an adequate understanding of the issues involved is to be obtained.

Local boards enjoy a wide range of discretion in gathering and sifting the evidence upon which they base their classification decisions, and just as they perform a different function from that performed by a court of law or equity, so also the character of the evidence they may consider differs from that considered by a court. It must be remembered that local boards are not engaged in civil litigation, nor are they conducting criminal trials. Rather, they are administering the program by which our armed forces acquire needed manpower. The lawyer who is unfamiliar with local board procedures may be surprised by the degree of freedom from strict rules of evidence which the local boards enjoy.

The classification process is not an adversary proceeding between board and registrant in which the slightest misstep mechanically penalizes the registrant.[27] Selective Service registrants are not treated as though engaged in formal litigation assisted by counsel,[28] nor must they make their points with the board in the fashion required of a well-trained lawyer.[29] Indeed, when a registrant makes a request in writing, no matter how ambiguously or unclearly the request is stated, if it indicates a desire for a procedural right, it must be construed in the registrant's favor.[30] The board is required to receive and consider arguments and evidence presented by the registrant fully, fairly and with reasonable patience.[31]

At the same time, however, the local board may go far beyond the usual rules of evidence applicable in a courtroom or in an ordinary administrative tribunal in gathering and evaluating the information which it needs in order to make its classification determinations. A board may consider evidence from many other sources than the registrant himself and act on matters within its knowledge whether in evidence or not.[32] A board may make a personal investigation through a welfare or service agency,[33] and it may utilize an advisory panel on matters regarding which it needs specialized information.[34] A board is entitled to survey its registrants in light of world conditions,[35] and in so doing it need not keep elaborate records of matters discussed or its considerations in making or changing a classification, nor record its thoughts and motives.[36] Of course, objective evidence is controlling on a board where exact proof is possible, but in searching a registrant's conscience and motives, a board may attach great weight to his credibility and even to his demeanor at a personal appearance before the board—so much so that these factors may be decisive in a given case.[37] A local board is not required to swear witnesses or allow representation by counsel,[38] nor is it required to call witnesses or search for evidence beyond what is presented by the registrant,[39] although, of course, it may do so in its discretion. The board has the same right to evaluate the testimony of whatever witnesses it does hear as a trial court,[40] and it may properly indicate on the written record that the veracity of a registrant is in question.[41] Many subjective things may be taken into consideration by a local board; for example, claims for successive deferments on different grounds may form a basis for questioning a registrant's sincerity, although they do not necessarily disqualify him from consideration for further deferment.[42] As might be expected, when uncontroverted evidence places a registrant prima facie within his claimed exemption, a denial of the exemption solely on the basis of suspicion or speculation is not warranted,[43] and thus while a local board is not required to overcome by evidence of its own a presumption of the validity of a claim,[44] neither is it free to act arbitrarily.

The rules stated above are not by any means exhaustive, nor can they be taken as finally settled. Manifestly, given the current war in Vietnam, the constantly increasing draft calls and the continuing protest regarding this nation's involvement in keeping the world's peace as well as maintaining our own security, it can reasonably be anticipated that considerable litigation will develop in connection with Selective Service cases. The old rules may well be altered, or applied in new ways to new situations. But the above stated concepts should at least serve to indicate broadly the general system of operation in classification determinations. They do indicate that civil or criminal trials are not being conducted by the Selective Service System, and that a far different purpose is being served.

The local boards may be open to criticism, but it should be informed and realistic criticism, based upon the true context of Selective Service operations.

RECLASSIFICATION

There is perhaps more misunderstanding about the matter of reclassification than any other subject concerning the operations of the local boards. It is being charged by various groups and individuals that some Selective Service boards have "punished" nonconformist registrants, "convicted" them without benefit of a fair trial and "sentenced" them to induction and service in the Armed Forces for their participation in demonstrations and related antiwar activities. It is true that a local board is entitled (and is under a positive duty) to respond to information coming to its attention regarding the conduct of any of its registrants. It is also true that the board's response may ultimately result in induction, after reclassification, of a registrant. And it is true that, as outlined briefly above, the local boards will not duplicate or even attempt to duplicate trial court procedures in responding to information regarding their registrants. But given all of these things, it does not follow that the local boards have acted either unfairly or unconstitutionally.

A local board of the Selective Service System is not empowered to adjudicate fine points of constitutional law, for that is no part of its legitimate function. Nor is a local board engaged in the business of passing upon the most appropriate methods of protest to be utilized by students who are disturbed about the prospect of having to help in defending the nation. It is the task of the local board to raise manpower for a significant part of our Armed Forces by administering the statutes that require all eligible male citizens to render military service.

In accomplishing its proper business, the local board may re-evaluate whether its prior determinations are still valid, as to each and every registrant, in light of any and all new or changed circumstances or conditions. In the process, the local board will sometimes determine that a prior classification was in error or is no longer valid for a particular registrant. The local board has a duty to reclassify a registrant who has been given a deferment when that registrant fails to carry his burden of establishing to the continuing satisfaction of the board that his temporary deferment is in the best interests of the nation.

Of course, in the usual situation, a local board will reopen a case and reclassify a registrant only when he submits evidence of changed circumstances and files a written request for a reopening of his classification. But the local board may determine whether to reopen and reclassify on its own motion,[45] and it may do so even in the absence of new evidence,[46] unless an order to report for induction has been issued.[47]

Footnotes at end of speech.

It is expected that litigation will arise in some volume from the local boards' reclassification of various "student demonstrators". On the basis of the prior case holdings, it appears likely that the courts will sustain the reclassifications if the sole basis for the attack is that the student registrant in question had a "constitutional right to protest". Surely no one would question the right of a citizen freely to express his views, but what is involved in a local board reclassification proceeding is the *privilage* (not the *right*) of an individual who is under a statutory duty to render military service to continue to postpone that duty while he seeks to complete a part or all of his education.[48]

An enormous variety of subjective factors must be considered and weighed by the local board as it seeks to determine whether the national interest would be be served by the particular students continuing deferment. Not the least of these factors is the extent to which the student registrant's conduct indicates that he is sincere in his desire for completion of his education willing to abide by the laws of this city, state and nation while in a student status, and actually making progress in a satisfactory manner toward completion of his education. Deans of colleges and universities certainly take into account a student's conduct, on and off campus, in determining whether the student should continue his course of study; it is no less reasonable for local boards of the Selective Service System to do the same.

It may be unfortunate if the student registrant happens to disagree, in a particular situation, with the standards of the members of his local board concerning the kind of conduct that is acceptable as indicating satisfactory progress in his education and probable success in completing it, yet the burden of proof, first, last and always, is on the student registrant. There is no burden of proof at all on the board. Consequently, as between the student registrant and the board, the burden of establishing a pattern of conduct indicative of probable academic success and resulting probable benefit to the nation if military service is further deferred is in the final analysis on the student registrant alone, not on the local board.

The authors are aware of no instance in which any registrant has been reclassified merely because of his expressed disagreement with either the principles of the Selective Service System generally, or national foreign policy specifically, where his expressions of disagreement may reasonably be considered as an exercise of free speech. This includes the distribution of leaflets, the carrying of placards, picketing, speaking and like forms of communication.

To the best of the authors' knowledge, it is only when these activities have been carried on in such a manner as actually to interfere with the operations of the Selective Service System directly that reclassification has occurred. For example, the "student demonstrators" in the widely publicized cases at Ann Arbor, Michigan, in October of 1965 crowded into the public area of a local board office and then sat or stood for almost an entire afternoon while engaging in singing, chanting, hand clapping, shouting, stomping and loud talking, which made it impossible for the local board personnel to carry on their work and hindered other registrants in the transaction of legitimate business with the local board. In view of this interference with the operations of the local board, many of the boards with which those Michigan "student demonstrators" are registered gave further consideration to whether the continued deferment of such students was in the best interest of the nation. In so doing, the local boards recognized the difference between unlawful interference with the operations of the Selective Service System and lawful, peaceful protest constituting the exercise of free speech. The former led to reclassification; the latter did not.

CONCLUSIONS

It is a hard fact that a student registrant must accept the risk of the natural and probable consequences of his acts of "protest" or "demonstration" as embodied in the thinking of the members of his local Selective Service board when they review his conduct in the light of their statutory duty to determine whether deferment should be continued. If the local board determines that the student registrant's deferment is no longer in the best interests of the nation, then deferment will be terminated and the student registrant will have to embark upon the fulfillment of his statutory obligation to render military service.

The classification and reclassification procedures do not constitute "trial", "conviction" or "punishment" in any sense. If classification or reclassification brings about a result that is viewed by the student registrant as punishment, that is a private, subjective matter. Undoubtedly there will always be some individuals and groups who regard any military service on behalf of their country as a punishment of sorts, but private views are not at issue. The issue is whether the local boards are in any way violating the laws or the Constitution solely by discretionary reclassification of student registrants. It is submitted that they are not.

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[1] Quoted from a speech by Charles Evans Hughes, 24 CASE & COM. 373 (1917).

[2] *United States* v. *Williams*, 302 U.S. 46 (1937).

[3] *United States* v. *Nugent*, 346 U.S. 1 (1953); *Billings* v. *Truesdell*, 321 U.S. 542 (1944).

[4] *Bertelsen* v. *Cooney*, 213 F. 2d 275 (5th Cir. 1954), *cert. denied*, 348 U.S. 856; *Richter* v. *United States*, 181 F. 2d 591 (9th Cir. 1950), *Cert denied*, 340 U.S. 892; *Warren* v. *United States*, 177 F. 2d 596 (7th Cir. 1949), *cert. denied*, 339 U.S. 963.

[5] *Billings* v. *Truesdell*, 321 U.S. 542 (1944).

[6] *E.g. Korte* v. *United States*, 260 F. 2d 633 (9th Cir. 1958), *cert. denied*, 358 U.S. 928; *United States* v. *Palmer*, 223 F. 2d 893 (3d Cir. 1955, *cert. denied*, 350 U.S. 873; *Imboden* v. *United States*, 194 F. 2d 508 (6th Cir. 1952), *cert. denied*, 343 U.S. 957.

[7] DUGGAN, THE LEGISLATIVE AND STATUTORY DEVELOPMENT OF THE FEDERAL CONCEPT OF CONSCRIPTION FOR MILITARY SERVICE 119 (1946).

[8] *E.g., United States* v. *Seeger*, 380 U.S. 163 (1965); *Selective Draft Law Cases*, 245 U.S. 366 (1918); *Klubnikin* v. *United States*, 227 F. 2d 87 (9th Cir. 1955), *cert. denied*, 350 U.S. 841; *Kramer* v. *United States*, 147 F. 2d 756 (6th Cir. 1945), *cert. denied*, 324 U.S. 878.

[9] 62 Stat. 604 (1948), as amended, 50 U.S.C. App. §§ 451–473 (1952).

[10] 50 U.S.C. App. 541(b).

[11] 50 U.S.C. App. 451(c).

[12] HERSHEY, OUTLINE OF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SELECTIVE SERVICE 1 (1948).

[13] 50 U.S.C. App. 460(b)(3).

[14] 32 C.F.R. § 1622.1(c); *Tyrrell* v. *United States*, 200 F. 2d 8 (9th Cir. 1952), *cert denied*, 345 U.S. 910.

[15] *George* v. *United States*, 196 F. 2d 445 (9th Cir. 1952), *cert. denied*, 344 U.S. 843.

[16] *Swaczyk* v. *United States*, 156 F. 2d 17 1st Cir. 1946), *cert. denied*, 329 U.S. 726.

[17] *Local Draft Board No. 1* v. *Connors*, 124 F. 2d 388 (9th Cir. 1941).

[18] *Knox* v. *United States*, 200 F. 2d 398 (9th Cir. 1952).

[19] 50 U.S.C. App. 460(b)(3); *Local Draft Board No. 1* v. *Connors*, 124 F. 2d 388 (9th cir. 1941).

[20] *E.g., Prieto* v. *United States*, 289 F. 2d 12 (5th Cir. 1961); *Pickens* v. *Cox*, 282 F. 2d 784 (10th Cir. 1960); *Swazyk* v. *United States*, 156 F. 2d 17 (1st Cir. 1946), *cert. denied*, 329 U.S. 726.

[21] *Witmer* v. *United States*, 348 U.S. 375 (1955); *Dickinson* v. *United States*, 346 U.S. 389 (1953); *Cox* v. *United States*, 332 U.S. 442 (1947); *Estep* v. *United States*, 327 U.S. 114 (1946).

[22] *E.g., Atkins* v. *United States*, 204 F. 2d 269 (10th Cir. 1953), *cert. denied*, 346 U.S. 818; *Williams* v. *United States*, 216 F. 2d 350 (5th Cir. 1954); *Swaczyk* v. *United States*, 156 F. 2d 17 (1st Cir. 1946), *cert. denied*, 329 U.S. 726; *United States* ex rel. *Woodward* v. *Deahl*, 151 F. 2d 413 (8th Cir. 1945).

[23] *Estep v. United States*, 327 U.S. 114 (1946).

[24] *United States* v. *Grieme*, 128 F. 2d 811 (3d Cir. 1942).

[25] *United States* v. *Blalock*, 247 F. 2d 615 (4th Cir. 1957).

[26] *Witmer* v. *United States*, 348 U.S. 375, 380–381 (1955); *United States* v. *Tamarkin*, 260 F. 2d 436 (5th Cir. 1958), *cert. denied*, 359 U.S. 925.

[27] *United States* v. *Greene*, 220 F. 2d 792 (7th Cir. 1955).

[28] *United States* v. *Derstine*, 129 F. Supp. 117 (E.D. Pa. 1954).

[29] *United States* v. *Hagaman*, 213 F. 2d 86 (3d Cir. 1954).

[30] *United States* v. *Derstine*, 129 F. Supp. 117 (E.D. Pa. 1954).

[31] *E.g., Niznik* v. *United States*, 173 F. 2d 328 (5th Cir. 1949), *cert. denied*, 337 U.S. 925.

[32] *Harris* v. *Ross*, 146 F. 2d 355 (5th Cir. 1944).

[33] *United States* ex rel. *Lawrence* v. *Commanding Officer*, 58 F. Supp. 933 (D. Neb. 1945).

[34] *Eagles* v. *United States* ex rel. *Horowitz*, 329 U.S. 317 (1946); *Eagles* v. *United States* ex rel. *Samuels*, 329 U.S. 304 (1946).

[35] *Tyrrell* v. *United States*, 200 F. 2d 8 (9th Cir. 1952), *cert. denied*, 345 U.S. 910.

[36] *Ayers* v. *United States*, 240 F. 2d 802 (9th Cir. 1956), *cert. denied*, 352 U.S. 1016.

[37] *Witmer* v. *United States* 348 U.S. 375 (1955); *White* v. *United States*, 215 F. 2d 782 (9th Cir. 1954), *cert. denied*, 348 U.S. 970.

[38] *United States* v. *Capson*, 347 F. 2d 959 (10th Cir. 1965), *cert. denied*, 382 U.S. 911; *United States* v. *Sturgis*, 342 F. 2d 328 (3d Cir. 1965), *cert. denied*, 382 U.S. 879; *Imboden* v. *United States*, 194 F. 2d 508 (6th Cir. 1952), *cert. denied*, 343 U.S. 957; *Harris* v. *Ross*, 146 F. 2d 355 (5th Cir. 1944).

[39] *Rase* v. *United States*, 129 F. 2d 204 (6th Cir. 1942.)

[40] *Dickinson* v. *United States*, 203 F. 2d 336 (9th Cir. 1953), *rev'd on other grounds*, 346 U.S. 389.

[41] *United States* v. *Alvies*, 112 F. Supp. 618 (N.D. Calif. 1953).

[42] *Witmer* v. *United States*, 348 U.S. 375 (1955); *United States* v. *Peebles*, 220 F. 2d 114 (7th Cir. 1955); *Taffs* v. *United States*, 208 F. 2d 329 (8th Cir. 1953), *cert. denied*, 347 U.S. 928.

[43] *Dickinson* v. *United States*, 346 U.S. 389 (1953); *United States* v. *Wilson*, 215 F. 2d 443 (7th Cir. 1954).

[44] *White* v. *United States*, 215 F. 2d 782 (9th Cir. 1954), *cert. denied*, 348 U.S. 970.

[45] *Ayers* v. *United States*, 240 F. 2d 802 (9th Cir. 1956), *cert. denied*, 352 U.S. 1016; *Smith* v. *United States*, 238 F. 2d 79 (5th Cir. 1956); *Tyrrell* v. *United States*, 200 F. 2d 8 (9th Cir. 1952), *cert. denied*, 345 U.S. 910; *United States* v. *Schultz*, 150 F. Supp. 303 (N. D. N.Y. 1956), *aff'd per curiam*, 243 F. 2d 349 (2d Cir. 1957), *cert. denied*, 354 U.S. 921.

[46] *Bradshaw* v. *United States*, 242 F. 2d 180 (10th Cir. 1957); *United States* v. *Harper*, 141 F. Supp. 425 (M. D. Ala. 1956); *United States* v. *Adamowicz*, 119 F. Supp. 635 (N. D. Ill. 1954).

[47] After issuance of an order to report for induction, the local board cannot reopen classification proceedings except for a change in circumstances over which the registrant has no control unless the reopening is requested by the Director of Selective Service or the State Director of Selective Service.

[48] Here our discussion is confined to student deferments, as distinguished from other kinds of deferments, because the student deferment is what is primarily involved in the case of "student demonstrators".

Congressman Horton Commends Achievement of Wayne County Soil and Water Conservation District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, I recently received the 1966 Annual Report of the Wayne County Soil and Water Conservation District, a part of the 36th Congressional District which I have the honor and privilege to represent in Congress. It is a brief but impressive accounting of the contribution made by the district to the preservation and protection of our natural heritage.

The men and women who so generously give their times and talents to the direction of the district and the capable and skilled technicians who assist the farmer-cooperators in practicing sound land use are all deserving of high praise. They are my constituents, I know many of them personally, and I am proud of their accomplishments and dedication.

So that my colleagues, Mr. Speaker, may share the reason for my sentiments on this occasion, I take pleasure in having included with my remarks the text of the district's report:

WAYNE COUNTY SOIL AND WATER CONSERVATION DISTRICT, SODUS, N.Y., 1966 ANNUAL REPORT, 22ND ANNIVERSARY

FOREWORD

The Wayne County Soil and Water Conservation District was organized in July of 1944 when the Wayne County Board of Supervisors passed a resolution making it the fifteenth district in New York State.

Beginning in 1944, the District was assisted by personnel assigned by the Soil Conservation Service and other Federal, State and local agencies. Early in 1945, conservation plans were being prepared for interested landowners and groups of landowners and soon various conservation practices were being performed according to the conservation plan.

Land use is changing with fewer farmers expected to produce more of the commodities needed for our expanding population. This shows the need to use and conserve our diminishing soil and water resources. The change in the agricultural picture and the fact that many new cooperators are nonresident owners poses a real challenge to the district.

With the aid of assisting agencies, the district will continue to offer assistance in planning land use and conservation measures to all users of land in Wayne County.

DISTRICT ORGANIZATION

Name, Title, Affiliation, Expiration of term.

Roland R. Orbaker, Chairman, Farm Bureau, 12-31-69.

Leon VanQuekelberg, Vice-Chairman, Farmer at Lg., 12-31-68.

Roy Heit, Member, Grange, 12-31-67.

Marion Crane, Member, Supervisor, 12-31-66.

Charles Hack, Member, Supervisor, 12-31-66.

Avery Arnold, Secretary, Extension.

Georgia L. Heise, Clerk treasurer, Employed, ¾ yr.

Mabel Fletcher, Clerk treasurer, Employed, ¼ yr.

COOPERATING AGENCIES

Soil Conservation Service.

Technicians Assigned: Samuel Braucher, Work Unit Conservationist; John Neeley, Soil Scientist, ½ year; Malcolm Siefer, Soil Conservationist; Clifford Burkholder, Conservation Technician; George James, Conservation Technician, ½ year; David Lockwood, Conservation Technician, .7 year.

OTHER COOPERATING AGENCIES

Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service.

Cooperative Extension Service.

New York State Conservation Department.

U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

Wayne County Board of Supervisors.

Wayne County Vo-Ag. Teachers.

SOIL SURVEY

Twenty-two square miles of soil survey were completed this year bringing the total to 402 square miles or 67% of the county to date.

These soil facts are useful in urban planning as well as agriculture. Even better use can be made of them when the entire county has been mapped and published in report form. The maps and terminology will be translated into terms meaningful to the professional planner, farmer or lay citizen.

This type of information is being relied upon by more and more local planners, zoning authorities, builders and others. Long used primarily as guides to farmers in growing their crops, these diagnoses of soils, charted in detail on reference maps, are equally useful in showing whether a given piece of land is suitable for buildings, underground sanitary systems, for streets or highways or for other essential facilities.

If not suited to such uses, the soil surveys tell planners, landowners and developers whether the soil properties, water-table level, slope and other factors indicate the land may be used to better advantage for agricultural, recreation or wildlife purposes.

1966 accomplishments

The following is a partial list of accomplishments for 1966:

New cooperators, 24; to date, 553.

Conservation plans, 39; to date, 479.

Conservation plans brought up to date, 5.

Landowners assisted, 360.

Landowners applying practices, 226.

Requests for services, 482.

Consultative services, 122.

Conservation crop rotation, 1447 ac.

Cover crops, 2097 ac.

Ponds, 5; to date, 274.

Adding fish to ponds, 8; to date, 113 ponds.

Open ditch, 4 mi.; to date, 200 miles.

Pasture improvment, 151 ac.; to date, 3860 ac.

Stripcropping, 38 ac; to date, 3438 ac.

Tile drains, 17 mi.; to date, 439 miles.

Tree planting, 120 ac.; to date, 4640 ac.

Wildlife improvement, 8 ac.; to date, 464 ac.

Woodland improvement, 104 ac.; to date, 2383 ac.

Diversion ditch, 0.2 mi.; to date, 16 miles.

Assistance is available in many other practices. The District is cooperating with the Wayne County Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service and the Soil Conservation Service in setting up a plan for the new "Greenspan" park for the Village of Newark, N.Y.

1966 financial statement

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand Jan. 1, 1966	$2,152.31
Tree transportation	589.50
County appropriation	3,200.00
Received from cooperators	1,832.27
Other receipts	22.61
Total receipts	7,796.69

EXPENDITURES

Refunds	221.00
Supplies	253.95
Clerk's salary	2,321.73
Social security	169.67
Withholding tax	281.05
New York State tax	18.40
Insurance	202.91
Survey stakes	$255.00
Agricultureal Department Wayne County Extension Service dues	6.00
Wayne County Extension Service 4-H scholarship	30.00
W. C. Cottrell, transportation of trees	393.00
New York State Soil Conservation District, association dues	145.00
District directors (mileage and per diem)	469.00
Mileage and expense (clerk's)	41.40
Frank Kelly, travel expense	75.00
George W. Serman	42.06
Wayne County ASCS Committee, snow removal	82.00
Petty cash	86.25
Miscellaneous	122.72
Total expenditures	5,216.14
Balance on hand Dec. 31, 1966	2,580.55

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

The District receives financial assistance from two sources. The Wayne County Board of Supervisors appropriated $3,200 and the cooperators contributed about $1,800. The Wayne County Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service reimbursed the Soil Conservation Service $4,963 for technical services making it possible to employ an additional technician during the summer months.

The following is a partial list of the District goals for 1967:

100 new cooperators.

70 conservation plans.

1,000 ac. cover crops.

150 ac. forest tree planting.

100 ac. stripcropping.

1,000 ft. diversion ditch.

100,000 ft. tile.

30,000 ft. open ditch.

15 ponds.

200 conservation plan reviews.

Interim Reports on the Apollo Tragedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 27, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, three interim reports have been issued by a Review Board on the Apollo accident. The first was issued on February 3, 1967, followed by two additional reports on February 14 and February 25. Each one of these reports represents progressively more information as it is generated by members of the Review Board supported by over 1,500 people from industry, universities, NASA and other Government agencies. It is clear from these reports that NASA has undertaken to identify all of the facts involved in the accident and make them public at the earliest possible time. With this in mind, the three interim accident reports are included below as part of the continuing activity to assure that all information obtained from the accident by NASA be made a matter of public record and subject to public review:

[From the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Washington, D.C., February 3, 1967]

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. James E. Webb, Administrator.

From: Robert C. Seamans, Jr., Deputy Administrator.

Subject: Report on Apollo 204 Review Board Discussions.

I spent yesterday at the Kennedy Space Center with the Apollo Review Board and other key personnel involved in the current investigation of the causes and circumstances of the Apollo 204 accident.

First, there has been no determination of the specific cause of the fire that resulted in the deaths of Lt. Colonel Grissom, Lt. Colonel White, and Lt. Commander Chaffee. The retracing of possible, and then of probable, chains of events in such an accident is a complex task that is demanding the complete attention of the Review Board headed by Dr. Floyd Thompson, of the assistants and consultants to the Board, and of many of the elements of government, industry, and universities involved in the Apollo program.

The Board is taking full advantage of the extensive taped data available as well as records made prior to the accident, the present condition of the spacecraft, and the reports of those involved in the test. All the physical evidence and data concerned with the test were impounded immediately following the accident. This was to assure that no pertinent information would be lost and that no actions would be taken except in the full context of all the data available.

As I have stated, the preliminary review of this information has not provided any direct indication of the origin of the fire; the preliminary analyses point to the conclusion that a clear identification of the source of ignition or of its possible source will depend upon detailed step-by-step examination of the entire spacecraft and its related test support equipment.

At present, the spacecraft is still mated to the unfueled launch vehicle at the pad. However, it is being prepared for removal to our industrial area where it will be disassembled and where experts in many technical and scientific areas can work with the physical evidence. Prior to disassembly of the damaged spacecraft, an undamaged and nearly identical (#014) spacecraft will be used to establish the conditions existing prior to the accident. The 014 spacecraft was flown from the North American plant in California to Cape Kennedy on February 1.

The current plans are to go through a parallel, step-by-step disassembly process, first working on the undamaged vehicle and then repeating as closely as possible the procedure on the damaged vehicle.

In addition to analyses of recorded and physical data and equipment, the Board is defining a series of investigative tasks and is assigning these to teams for execution. For example, a team is charged with the chemical and spectrographic analysis of damaged elements aimed at identifying the propagative history of the fire. Another is working on relating the propagation history to the flammability characteristics of the spacecraft materials. Another is dealing with design analyses and experimental tests to help establish possible ignition sources. As work progresses and a pattern of information emerges, additional tasks, analyses, and reviews will undoubtedly be instituted by the Board.

From information now available to the Board, I had an opportunity to learn more about certain specific aspects of the simulated mission and the test sequence itself than we had previously had before us in a clearly related pattern.

At 6:31:03 pm EST the fire was first detected. The mission was holding at T–10 minutes. Up to this time there had been only minor difficulties with the equipment. The purpose of the hold was to provide an opportunity to improve the communications between the spacecraft and the ground crew.

Up to this time the cabin pressure, the cabin temperature, and the oxygen suit supply temperature were nominal. The oxygen rate of flow into the suits had shown an increase 4 seconds prior to this time but we have not been able to relate this to the accident.

Lt. Col. White was the only astronaut instrumented for heart rate and respiration. His heart rate had shown an increase 40 seconds prior to this time, but at 6:31:03 his heart was at the normal level for him when in a relaxed prone position.

The spacecraft was operating on external power. Earlier in the day, at 9:30 a.m. EST, the system for transfer from external (ground) power to simulated internal (spacecraft) power had been tested, and operated normally. The fuel cells in the service module were not in use, and the so-called internal power was being supplied by batteries having the same characteristics as the fuel cells but located external to the spacecraft. If the accident had not occurred, the transfer from external to simulated internal power would have taken place on resumption of the count.

At the press conference on Saturday morning, Apollo Program Director S. C. Phillips was asked whether the spacecraft was on internal or external power when the fire occurred. At that time he did not realize that the spacecraft was still on external power since he had in mind primarily the eyewitness reports. Subsequent examination of the data has established the above power supply sequences. There is no evidence up to this time that the source of power whether simulated internal or external was related to the accident.

Lt. Colonel Grissom was the command pilot, sitting in the left seat; Lt. Colonel White, the senior pilot, sitting in the middle seat; and Lt. Commander Chaffee, the pilot, was in the right seat. In the event of emergency, the procedure is for the senior pilot (White) to reach high over his left shoulder to actuate the inner hatch release handle. The command pilot (Grissom), after lowering the center headrest, aids the senior pilot in lifting the inner hatch and removing it to the floor of the spacecraft. The main duty of the pilot (Chaffee) during this procedure is to maintain communication and assist in the removal of the inner hatch if needed. From the following data, you will note that the crew appeared to follow the correct procedure.

At 6:31:03, Pilot Chaffee reported that a fire existed in the spacecraft. At about this time Senior Pilot White's heart rate started to increase. At 6:31:04 the inertial platform in the capsule gave an indication of a small amount of motion which may have been caused by movement of the crew. At 6:31:05 the cabin temperature began to rise. At 6:31.09 Senior Pilot White repeated the previous report saying that there was a fire in the cockpit. At the same time the cabin pressure commenced to rise and a larger amount of motion was indicated by the inertial platform. This means that the crew were commencing their emergency egress procedure.

At 6:31:12, or nine seconds after the first indication of fire, the cabin temperature started to increase rapidly and pilot Chaffee reported that a bad fire existed in the cabin. Also at this time pilot Chaffee increased the illumination of the cabin lights and actuated the entry (internal) batteries. No other intelligible communications were received although some listeners believe there was one sharp cry of pain. Loses of radio signal occurred a few seconds later.

The oxygen supply to the astronaut suits, which had been holding nearly constant, pressure and temperature started to fluctuate at the time of signal loss. At 6:31:17 or fourteen seconds after the fire was first detected, the cabin pressure reached a level of approximately 29 psi and the cabin ruptured.

One and one-half minutes after the start of the fire, the ground power was switched off. Various command module systems continued to operate on the entry (internal) battery power until about 12:30 am EST on Saturday when the batteries ran down.

The official death certificates for all three crew members list the cause of death as asphyxiation due to smoke inhalation due to the fire.

I would like to emphasize that this report is based on preliminary information. This informaton has not as yet been extensively analyzed by the Apollo Review Board under Dr. Thompson. Since the data were recorded at a number of different stations, the time sequences may not be perfectly synchronized, possibly giving rise to errors of one or two seconds.

During my meetings with the Board a number of other items of information were discussed but I believe that the data I have outlined include all events having a significant bearing on an understanding of the accident.

ROBERT C. SEAMANS, Jr.

[From the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Washington, D.C., February 14, 1967]

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. James E. Webb, Administrator.

From: Robert C. Seamans, Jr., Deputy Administrator.

Subject: Further report on Apollo 204 Review Board Activities.

On February 10 I met with the Apollo 204 Review Board at KSC to discuss their progress in the investigation of the Apollo accident.

The Board now has 21 panels established and operating, each with a specific assigned task, each chaired by a Government employee, and each reporting to a specific Board member. A detailed Review Board activity schedule has been established and is reviewed daily to ensure that milestones are being met or that scheduled adjustments are made as early as necessary. This permits close coordination and integration of all the necessary activities, analyses, and studies.

In order to speed up the investigative effort, the Apollo 012 spacecraft is being mapped in detail, using a 3-dimensional coordinate system to which all physical spacecraft elements can be referred. Complete photographic coverage is being maintained, color film being preferred since it permits more ready identification of components and their condition. Each photograph is cross-referenced to the master grid.

The Board has implemented a data control system that permits a visual display, against a time-line background, of each step of the investigation. As spacecraft systems are examined and as their utilization in the 204 test is established, these are noted and color coded: at a glance, one can determine whether a system might have caused the accident or has proven to be non-contributory, and also whether a particular analysis is still underway or completed. This method of data control focuses on the critical areas requiring the greatest attention.

I reviewed at some length the work and procedures of the panel that is investigating the origin and propagation of the fire. While their work is far from complete, I am satisfied that the procedures they are following are well worked out. When this work is completed, it will give us as clear a view as can be obtained from the evidence. The panel has begun by examining each possible combustible within the spacecraft, its distribution and characteristics, and its proximity to each possible ignition source. Such combustibles include both solids and liquids. At each step of spacecraft disassembly, panel members are carefully removing both damaged and undamaged materials for microanalysis which, in turn, permits the identification of the material that was burned. This allows a reconstruction of the final location of all combustibles in the spacecraft and will point up irregularities in this distribution if any exist. The physical evidence thus far examined points to the following:

First, it appears the fire had considerable variation and directionality, since damage in the spacecraft indicates differences of intensity and timing. For example, an aluminum tubing handle has a hole burned through it indicating a temperature at that point of at least 1,400° F, while its nylon hinge within two inches of the melted spot is relatively undamaged indicating a temperature there of less than 500° F.

Second, there is evidence that the fire may have had more than one phase, but this is difficult to prove since the last phase would obscure the evidence of the earlier. One hypothesis, supported by the cabin pressure history, assumes a small, low-grade fire whose heat was at first largely absorbed by the spacecraft structure and that was burning at the time of the first crew report; that fire may have continued for as long as ten seconds. A more intense fire may have then developed, causing the rapid increase in cabin pressure. This fire was probably then extinguished by the depletion of oxygen.

Other peculiarities require further analysis. These deal with the ruptures in the spacecraft and the role of the fire in burning through into the space between the inner and outer hulls.

At this time, there has been no determination as to the source of the ignition itself.

Additional information relating to the progress of the accident has been identified and is being analyzed. A recording from an onboard bio-sensor that appears relatively undamaged is in the process of being read out at this time. Additional work to interpret all background sounds on a high fidelity recording obtained over the S-band link is being carried out in the hope of gaining further information on the course of the fire. I also reviewed with the physician who heads the medical analysis panel the condition of the personal effects, suits, and equipment of the crew as well as data available on their actions during the course of the accident. It is now clear that all three suits were burned through, though the extent of suit damage varies; the command pilot's received the greatest exposure to flame and the pilot's the least.

Spacecraft disassembly is proceeding with great care; for example, a false floor with plexiglass viewing ports has been installed to permit continued examination without the danger of disturbing physical evidence. Current plans are for the final removal of the spacecraft to the industrial area by the end of this week. Detailed plans for the continued disassembly of both the command module and service module are in preparation and will be reviewed and approved by the Board before further work is undertaken. It is important to note that no single spacecraft element is touched or removed for analysis without full Board approval and evaluation of its possible effect on any of the other on-going studies or analyses.

ROBERT C. SEAMANS, Jr.

[From the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Washington, D.C., Feb. 25, 1967]

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. James E. Webb, Administrator.

From: Dr. Robert C. Seamans, Jr., Deputy Administrator.

Subject: Interim report of the Apollo 204 Review Board.

On February 22, 1967, I heard a presentation by the Apollo 204 Review Board at Kennedy Space Center of the significant information developed to date and of their tentative findings concerning the circumstances of the accident. The Board also discussed preliminary recommendations. These tentative findings and preliminary recommendations will serve as guides for those interim decisions to be made in the conduct of the Apollo Program prior to the completion of the Board report. I also reviewed the status of the investigation and of spacecraft disassembly, and followed up on items previously noted in earlier reports.

The spacecraft has been removed from the launch vehicle and is now housed in the industrial area. There detailed disassembly continues under careful supervision, each action being undertaken in response to a specific Board directive. This disassembly is far from complete, but a number of the major systems have been removed and are being checked for further verification of the part they played during the fire, the effect of fire on the equipment, and the evidence that analysis might add to the overall picture being built up of the accident. The heat shield has not yet been removed, nor has sufficient internal equipment to permit full view from inside of the entire pressure hull, and a large number of tests, checks and analysis are continuing at NASA, university, and industrial facilities around the country.

At present, the Board has over 1,500 individuals, from nine government agencies and departments in addition to NASA, from thirty-one industrial groups, and from several universities, directly participating in the review and analysis. The Board currently estimates that its report will be completed by the end of March. The Board is developing procedures to assure that an orderly and rapid transition of the personnel under its control from the current accident investigation to redesign, qualification, and test effort where required can be made.

In my last report, I noted that an intact on-board biosensor recording was being analyzed for possible additional information; this analysis is now complete and provides a little more than one second's additional information and duplicates data already examined that was available from the telemetry recorded during the test and subsequent accident. The S-band recording also mentioned in the previous report has been completely analyzed by the Bell Laboratories, including computer reconstruction and comparison, but no significant new information could be derived therefrom.

The Board has not identified the source of ignition at this time. Ignition sources that have been under review include: possible *chemical reactions,* such as those in the onboard batteries or in the air purifier of the environmental control unit; possible *spontaneous combustion* of certain materials used in the spacecraft; and possible *electrical phenomena,* such as electro-static spark discharges, electrical arcing, or wiring overheating from shorts or malfunctions.

Examination of the environmental control unit lithium hydroxide and of the batteries indicates these were not the source of ignition. Tests of the combustible materials used in the spacecraft show that at least a 400° F temperature would be necessary for spontaneous combustion, and that no such materials could have been subjected to that temperature except by the malfunction of some other part of the spacecraft systems. An electrical malfunction is therefore regarded as the most likely source of ignition. While not wholly ruled out, electro-static discharge is deemed unlikely in that all reasonable concentrations of flammable vapors that could have been present in the spacecraft were not sensitive to this type of sparking ignition.

By the time it has completed its final report, the Board expects to have significantly narrowed the list of ignition sources that had a relatively high possibility of contributing to the initiation of the fire, but the possibility exists that no single source will ever be pinpointed.

A good deal of the work involved in tracing the history of the fire *after* ignition has been completed. The Board has considerable confidence in its present theory as to the initial location, propagation mechanisms, and phasing of the fire. This hypothesis, and some of the supporting evidence, is summarized as follows:

Present evidence indicates that the fire had three distinct phases. The fire originated in the left, or command pilot side, in the front corner of the spacecraft, near the floor. It probably burned for several seconds without being noticed by the crew or recorded on instrumentation. Because it was below the couch level it was not visible at this stage; because the crew were fully suited and breathing oxygen from the environmental control system rather than from the cabin, it was not smelled or heard. The left front corner shows the evidence of highest heat and longest duration of the fire, and the witnesses watching the television monitors place the first appearance of flame in that corner (the television camera was mounted outside the spacecraft, looking in through the window in the hatch). The first crew report of fire was at 6:31:04, EST, indicating the fire had become visible. Because the metal structure of the spacecraft absorbed the initial heat, the fire did not initially cause an increase in cabin pressure.

By 6:31:12, the fire had spread and become intense, igniting various materials along the left side of the cabin. Flames were hot and smoke-free, rising along the wall and spreading across the ceiling. The cabin shows heavy damage in this area but little smoke, indicating that the oxygen in the cabin had not been depleted at this time. The fire spread and fed on nylon netting (installed to prevent objects from floating into equipment crevices while in zero-g), Velcro fastening material (used to fasten equipment in the spacecraft interior), and the environmental control unit insulation. The cabin pressure began to rise rapidly at this time as the atmosphere became heated.

At approximately 6:31:19, the internal pressure had risen to an estimated 36 pounds per square inch and the sealed cabin ruptured. This first puncture of the pressure vessel was a long tear in the floor on the right, or pilot's, side of the cabin. With the high internal pressure released, cabin gases and flames flowed both over and under the couches toward and through the hole, moving from left to right. This was the second phase of the fire. Flames passed through the hole into the air space between the cabin pressure shell and the surrounding heat shield; these flames then escaped through access hatches in the heat shield and partially enveloped the outside of the spacecraft for a moment. The short duration, left-to-right, flame motion is evidenced by heavier damage on the left than right side of equipment and wiring on the floor, of the couches, and of the front panels.

With the rupture of the cabin and the rush of flame and gas outside, the oxygen content of the cabin atmosphere was quickly reduced and the fire smoked heavily, laying a film of soot on many interior surfaces. This third and final phase of the fire was also characterized by continued localized burning. The environmental control system uses a water/glycol coolant that leaked from burnt or burst pipes. Both high and low pressure oxygen lines were connected with solder joints that fail at temperatures below 400°F. The glycol mixture from the cooling system, acting as a fuel and supported by the flowing oxygen from the failed lines, caused continued hot burning in the left corner and melted a large hole in the floor there.

The Board noted that the underlying design approach in Apollo was to control the known risk of fire—on the pad or in orbit—by isolating and rendering safe all possible ignition sources. The experience in flight and in tests prior to the accident had suggested that the probability of a spacecraft fire was low. Continued alertness to the possibility of fire had become dulled by previous ground experience and six years of successful manned missions. Ground tests at the pad were classified as especially hazardous only when propellants or pyrotechnics were involved, and different procedures and safety precautions are taken in handling or working under such conditions. Potential ignition sources inside the spacecraft had been treated so as to be considered safe; neither the crews nor the test and development personnel felt the risk of spacecraft fire to be high. The Apollo 204 accident now proves this assumption to have been wrong.

The assumption of ignition source safety led to the use of several solid combustible materials within the spacecraft, including nylon and polyurethane foams. From the point of view of possible fire, these materials were distributed within the cabin without breaks specifically designed to help localize fire if it occurred.

The Board noted that, in the event of a fire emergency, the time and effort required to open the hatch was too long, and that pad emergency procedures were focused on propellant hazards and did not include provisions to meet spacecraft fires.

The principal preliminary recommendations of the Board are designed to assist the Administrator in making his decisions concerning the continuing Apollo program effort prior to completion of the Board review. These are:

That combustible materials now used be replaced wherever possible with non-flammable materials, that non-metallic materials that are used be arranged to maintain fire breaks, that systems for oxygen or liquid combustibles be made fire resistant, and that full flammability tests be conducted with a mockup of the new configuration.

That a more rapidly and more easily operated hatch be designed and installed.

That on-the-pad emergency procedures be revised to recognize the possibility of cabin fire.

In addition, the Board has drawn attention to a number of components, subsystems, techniques, and practices which it feels can be improved to increase crew safety and mission reliability. These include findings on the environmental control system solder joints, location of wiring, electrical equipment qualification and design, and the development of checkout procedures.

An important area of Board attention has been that of the cabin atmosphere. The atmosphere and pressure selected for the suit and the cabin, before launch and in orbit, have a very important relation to spacecraft design, hatch type, crew physiology, launch procedures, and mission capability. The Board did not recommend a change in the use of pure oxygen in the suit for either prelaunch or orbital operations. The Board did not recommend that cabin atmosphere for operations in space be changed from the currently planned 5 psi pure oxygen but did recommend that the trade-offs between one- and two-gas atmospheres be re-evaluated. The Board specifically recommended that pressurized oxygen no longer be used in prelaunch operations.

ROBERT C. SEAMANS, Jr.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congressional Record, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional Record semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the Record without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily Record as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the Record shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the Record shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the Record issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the Record for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the Record of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the Record shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the Record style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the Record.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent Record is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the Congressional Record.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the Congressional Record shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the Congressional Record, nor to Records printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of theHouse or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional Record which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

REPRESENTATIVES WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON

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Anderson, William R., *Tenn.*	3006 P St.
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Annunzio, Frank, *Ill*	
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Ayres, William H., *Ohio*	
Baring, Walter S., *Nev*	
Barrett, William A., *Pa*	
Bates, William H., *Mass*	
Battin, James F., *Mont*	
Belcher, Page, *Okla*	
Bell, Alphonzo, *Calif*	
Bennett, Charles E., *Fla*	3421 Rusticway Lane, Falls Church, Va.
Berry, E. Y., *S. Dak*	118 Schotts Court NE.
Betts, Jackson E., *Ohio*	
Bevill, Tom, *Ala*	
Biester, Edward G., Jr., *Pa*	
Bingham, Jonathan B., *N.Y.*	
Blackburn, Benjamin B., *Ga.*	
Blanton, Ray, *Tenn*	
Blatnik, John A., *Minn*	
Boggs, Hale, *La*	
Boland, Edward P., *Mass*	
Bolling, Richard, *Mo*	307 Warrenton Dr., Silver Spring, Md.
Bolton, Frances P. (Mrs.), *Ohio.*	2301 Wyo. Ave.
Bow, Frank T., *Ohio*	4301 Mass. Ave.
Brademas, John, *Ind*	
Brasco, Frank J., *N.Y*	
Bray, William G., *Ind*	
Brinkley, Jack, *Ga*	
Brock, W. E. (Bill), *Tenn*	
Brooks, Jack, *Tex*	
Broomfield, William S., *Mich.*	
Brotzman, Donald G., *Colo*	
Brown, Clarence J., Jr., *Ohio.*	
Brown, Garry, *Mich*	
Brown, George E., Jr., *Calif*	
Broyhill, James T., *N.C*	
Broyhill, Joel T., *Va*	
Buchanan, John, *Ala*	
Burke, J. Herbert, *Fla*	
Burke, James A., *Mass*	
Burleson, Omar, *Tex*	
Burton, Laurence J., *Utah*	
Burton, Phillip, *Calif*	
Bush, George, *Tex*	
Button, Daniel E., *N.Y*	
Byrne, James A., *Pa*	
Byrnes, John W., *Wis*	1215 25th St. S., Arlington, Va.
Cabell, Earle, *Tex*	
Cahill, William T., *N.J*	
Carey, Hugh L., *N.Y*	
Carter, Tim Lee, *Ky*	
Casey, Bob, *Tex*	
Cederberg, Elford A., *Mich*	
Celler, Emanuel, *N.Y*	The Mayflower
Chamberlain, Charles E., *Mich.*	
Clancy, Donald D., *Ohio*	
Clark, Frank M., *Pa*	220 C St. SE.
Clausen, Don H., *Calif*	
Clawson, Del, *Calif*	
Cleveland, James C., *N.H*	
Cohelan, Jeffery, *Calif*	1202 Longworth House Office Bldg.
Collier, Harold R., *Ill*	
Colmer, William M., *Miss*	
Conable, Barber B., Jr., *N.Y.*	
Conte, Silvio O., *Mass*	5619 Lamar Rd., Washington 16, D.C.
Conyers, John, Jr., *Mich*	
Corbett, Robert J., *Pa*	
Corman, James C., *Calif*	
Cowger, William O., *Ky*	
Cramer, William C., *Fla*	6215 Beachway Dr., Falls Church, Va.
Culver, John C., *Iowa*	
Cunningham, Glenn, *Nebr*	
Curtis, Thomas B., *Mo*	
Daddario, Emilio Q., *Conn*	
Daniels, Dominick V., *N.J*	
Davis, Glenn R., *Wis*	
Davis, John W., *Ga*	
Dawson, William L., *Ill*	
de la Garza, Eligio, *Tex*	
Delaney, James J., *N.Y*	
Dellenback, John R., *Oreg*	5911 Onondaga Rd.
Denney, Robert V., *Nebr*	
Dent, John H., *Pa*	
Derwinski, Edward J., *Ill*	
Devine, Samuel L., *Ohio*	
Dickinson, William L., *Ala*	
Diggs, Charles C., Jr., *Mich*	
Dingell, John D., *Mich*	
Dole, Robert, *Kans*	6136 Beachway Dr., Falls Church, Va.
Donohue, Harold D., *Mass*	
Dorn, W. J. Bryan, *S.C*	2030 Laburnum St., McLean, Va.
Dow, John G., *N.Y*	
Dowdy, John, *Tex*	
Downing, Thomas N., *Va*	
Dulski, Thaddeus J., *N.Y*	347 Cannon House Office Building
Duncan, John J., *Tenn*	
Dwyer, Florence P. (Mrs.), *N.J.*	
Eckhardt, Bob, *Tex*	
Edmondson, Ed, *Okla*	
Edwards, Don, *Calif*	9201 Fox Meadow La., Potomac, Md.,
Edwards, Edwin W., *La*	
Edwards, Jack, *Ala*	
Eilberg, Joshua, *Pa*	
Erlenborn, John N., *Ill*	
Esch, Marvin L., *Mich*	
Eshleman, Edwin D., *Pa*	
Evans, Frank E., *Colo*	
Everett, Robert A., *Tenn*	
Evins, Joe L., *Tenn*	5044 Klingle St.
Fallon, George H., *Md*	
Farbstein, Leonard, *N.Y*	
Fascell, Dante B., *Fla*	
Feighan, Michael A., *Ohio*	
Findley, Paul, *Ill*	
Fino, Paul A., *N.Y*	
Fisher, O. C., *Tex*	Calvert-Woodley
Flood, Daniel J., *Pa*	The Congressional
Flynt, John J., Jr., *Ga*	
Foley, Thomas S., *Wash*	
Ford, Gerald R., *Mich*	514 Crown View Dr., Alexandria, Va.
Ford, William D., *Mich*	
Fountain, L. H., *N.C*	The Westchester
Fraser, Donald M., *Minn*	
Frelinghuysen, Peter H. B., *N.J.*	3014 N St.
Friedel, Samuel N., *Md*	
Fulton, James G., *Pa*	
Fulton, Richard, *Tenn*	
Fuqua, Don, *Fla*	
Galifianakis, Nick, *N.C*	
Gallagher, Cornelius E., *N.J.*	
Gardner, James C., *N.C*	
Garmatz, Edward A., *Md*	
Gathings, E. C., *Ark*	
Gettys, Tom S., *S.C*	
Giaimo, Robert N., *Conn*	
Gibbons, Sam, *Fla*	
Gilbert, Jacob H., *N.Y*	
Gonzalez, Henry B., *Tex*	200 C St. SE.
Goodell, Charles E., *N.Y*	3842 Macomb St.
Goodling, George A., *Pa*	
Gray, Kenneth J., *Ill*	
Green, Edith (Mrs.), *Oreg*	
Green, William J., *Pa*	
Griffiths, Martha W., (Mrs.), *Mich.*	
Gross, H. R., *Iowa*	
Grover, James R., Jr., *N.Y*	
Gubser, Charles S., *Calif*	
Gude, Gilbert, *Md*	
Gurney, Edward J., *Fla*	
Hagan, G. Elliott, *Ga*	
Haley, James A., *Fla*	
Hall, Durward G., *Mo*	
Halleck, Charles A., *Ind*	4926 Upton St.
Halpern, Seymour, *N.Y*	
Hamilton, Lee H., *Ind*	
Hammerschmidt, John Paul, *Ark.*	
Hanley, James M., *N.Y*	
Hanna, Richard T., *Calif*	
Hansen, George V., *Idaho*	
Hansen, Julia Butler (Mrs.), *Wash.*	
Hardy, Porter, Jr., *Va*	
Harrison, William Henry, *Wyo.*	
Harsha, William H., *Ohio*	
Harvey, James, *Mich*	
Hathaway, William D., *Maine.*	
Hawkins, Augustus F., *Calif.*	
Hays, Wayne L., *Ohio*	
Hébert, F. Edward, *La*	26 Cockrell St., Alexandria, Va.
Hechler, Ken, *W. Va*	
Heckler, Margaret M. (Mrs.), *Mass.*	
Helstoski, Henry, *N.J*	
Henderson, David N., *N.C*	
Herlong, A. S., Jr., *Fla*	
Hicks, Floyd V., *Wash*	
Holifield, Chet, *Calif*	
Holland, Elmer J., *Pa*	
Horton, Frank, *N.Y*	
Hosmer, Craig, *Calif*	
Howard, James J., *N.J*	
Hull, W. R., Jr., *Mo*	
Hungate, William L., *Mo*	
Hunt, John E., *N.J*	
Hutchinson, Edward, *Mich*	
Ichord, Richard (Dick), *Mo.*	
Irwin, Donald J., *Conn*	
Jacobs, Andrew, Jr., *Ind*	
Jarman, John, *Okla*	
Joelson, Charles S., *N.J*	
Johnson, Albert W., *Pa*	
Johnson, Harold T., *Calif*	
Jonas, Charles Raper, *N.C*	
Jones, Paul C., *Mo*	1111 Army-Navy Dr., Arlington, Va.
Jones, Robert E., *Ala*	
Jones, Walter B., *N.C*	
Karsten, Frank M., *Mo*	
Karth, Joseph E., *Minn*	
Kastenmeier, Robert W., *Wis.*	
Kazen, Abraham, *Tex*	
Kee, James, *W. Va*	5441 16th Ave., Hyattsville, Md.
Keith, Hastings, *Mass*	4517 Wetherill Dr., Westmoreland Hills, Md.
Kelly, Edna F. (Mrs.), *N.Y*	
King, Carleton J., *N.Y*	
King, Cecil R., *Calif*	
Kirwan, Michael J., *Ohio*	
Kleppe, Thomas S., *N. Dak*	
Kluczynski, John C., *Ill*	
Kornegay, Horace R., *N.C*	
Kupferman, Theodore R., *N.Y.*	
Kuykendall, Dan, *Tenn*	
Kyl, John, *Iowa*	
Kyros, Peter N., *Maine*	
Laird, Melvin R., *Wis*	
Landrum, Phil M., *Ga*	
Langen, Odin, *Minn*	
Latta, Delbert L., *Ohio*	
Leggett, Robert L., *Calif*	
Lennon, Alton, *N.C*	
Lipscomb, Glenard P., *Calif.*	
Lloyd, Sherman P., *Utah*	

Appendix

Howard University Celebrates 100th Anniversary—Former West Virginia Governor Atkinson Graduate of Howard—Past President Mordecai W. Johnson, Former Minister in Charleston

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, Howard University is celebrating its 100th anniversary this week. It has been brought to my attention by West Virginia's widely known journalist, Jim Comstock, editor of the West Virginia Hillbilly, that former Gov. George W. Atkinson, of our State, was graduated from Howard University Law School. After graduation and after an active period in the practice of law, he served as a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives from 1890–91 before being elected Governor for the term 1897–1901.

Dr. Mordecai Wyatt Johnson, former Howard University president, was pastor of the First Baptist Church in Charleston, W. Va., from 1917–26. From Charleston, in the latter year, Dr. Johnson came to Washington and assumed the Howard presidency and served that institution until his retirement in 1960. There are other distinguished West Virginians who have had close ties with Howard University, but I felt it appropriate to mention Governor Atkinson and Howard's longtime effective leader, Dr. Mordecai Johnson.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my anniversary telegram of congratulations to Dr. James Madison Nabrit, Jr., president of Howard University, be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

February 27, 1967.

Dr. James Madison Nabrit, Jr.,
President, Howard University,
Washington, D.C.:

I wish to extend my congratulations as Howard University celebrates its 100th anniversary. The School has served the area and the Nation well and I send my best wishes as the institution begins its second century of constructive activities in the field of education.

Jennings Randolph.

The 100th Anniversary of the University of Illinois

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, the University of Illinois is 100 years old today.

It has been a century of achievement.

An illustrious alumnus, James B. Reston, of the New York Times, has written: "Anniversaries, rightly used, are the benchmarks of history."

Like all great institutions the University of Illinois means many things to many people. Those marking its centennial benchmark do so for widely varying reasons. The University of Illinois is noted—

For its role in the history of higher learning in this country. Starting as a land grant college with three faculty members and 72 students it has grown into one of the Nation's top 10 universities with 42,500 students on three campuses and more than 6,500 teaching and administrative officers.

For the high quality of its instruction at both the undergraduate and graduate levels, reflected by the success of its alumni in all walks of life and by the number of students from other schools who choose it for their graduate work. Illinois ranks fourth among the Nation's universities in the number of doctorates awarded. In the American Council on Education's recently published Assessment of Quality in Graduate Education, the University of Illinois, among the more than 100 major institutions surveyed, was one of only nine which excelled in three or more areas of graduate study.

For its excellence in research. The teamwork of Illinois chemistry and chemical engineering produced such achievements as nylon and the synthetic sweeting agent, sucaryl. Three Illini have won Nobel Prizes: Edward A. Doisy for his identification and synthesis of vitamin K: Wendall M. Stanley for the isolation of crystalline viruses which play such an active role in so many animal and plant diseases, and Vincent du Vigneaud for his synthesis of the mammary gland hormone, oxytocin. Engineering research at Illinois helped make railroads safer and contributed to the development of all-channel television antenna. The university's Betatron was one of the first "atom smashers" to be used in treatment of cancer and other scientific research. The University of Illinois ranked sixth among American universities for research activities in 1966 with an expenditure of $44 million. Currently, 1,700 projects involving more than 3,000 professional researchers, in addition to graduate students and technicians, are in progress.

For its pioneering work in agriculture. The university's Morrow plots are the oldest field experimental plots in the United States. Illinois researchers helped develop hybrid corn and the modern soybean. They have been in the forefront in the development of new ideas in animal husbandry, dairy production and manufacturing, horticulture, poultry science, agricultural engineering, farm management and agricultural economics. A distinguished alumnus, a constituent of mine and no stranger to my colleagues in the Congress, is Charles B. Shuman, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

For its preeminence in the arts and humanities. The Urbana campus has the largest university art department in the country. The Krannert Center for the Performing Arts, now under construction, will offer superb facilities for opera, orchestra, choral groups, theater, and dance. Renowned illini, present and past, include Sculptor Lorado Taft; the dean of American historians, Allan Nevins; Lincoln biographers James G. Randall and Paul M. Angle; Carl Van Doren, who won the Pulitzer Prize for his "Benjamin Franklin," his brother, the Pulitzer Prize winning poet, Mark Van Doren, and authors Gerald Carson, Robert Lewis Taylor, William Maxwell, Daniel Curley, Stanley Elkin, Jack Gelber and many others.

For the wealth of its physical resources. The university library is the fifth largest of all American libraries and largest of any State university. Complementing the 71,000 seat Memorial Stadium, dedicated in 1924, is the mammoth new Assembly Hall, one of the Nation's largest indoor arenas. The new Chicago Illini Union at the Medical Center and the buildings planned and under construction at the Chicago Circle Campus are examples of the expansion still going on.

For its contributions to business and industry. Corporation presidents who graduated from Illinois include Leslie B.

Worthington, United States Steel; William G. Karnes, Beatrice Foods; Harry O. Bercher, International Harvester, and Arnold O. Beckman, Beckman Instruments. William B. Greene of Barber-Greene Co., manufacturer of paving and material handling machinery; Herman C. Krannert of the Inland Container Corp.; Harold Boeschenstein of Owens-Corning Fiberglas Corp., and Robert L. Latzer of the Pet Milk Co., are Illini who now serve their respective firms as board chairmen. Clifford F. Hood, retired president of United States Steel, and Collett E. Woolman, late president of Delta Airlines, are other products of the university.

For the prowess of its athletes in various fields of sports. Such names as the immortal Harold (Red) Grange; his famed football coach, Bob Zuppke; George Halas, owner-coach of the Chicago Bears who lettered in three sports at Illinois; George A. Huff, Illinois athletic director from 1896 to 1935, and all around athlete Lou Boudreau are writ large in the history of the "Fighting Illini." Avery Brundage, president of the International Olympic Committee, is an alumnus. Illinois ranks second in the alltime statistics for the number of championships in all Big Ten sports. Recent Illini football teams have won three Rose Bowl victories.

Henry T. Heald, a former president of the Ford Foundation, wrote recently:

> It is impossible to rank universities on any exact basis, but no one would question that the University of Illinois is one of America's great institutions of higher learning; one of significance not only to the state which supports it, but one of consequence on the national and international scene.

Among its alumni, Illinois claims 19 members of the National Academy of Sciences, three founding members of the National Academy of Engineering, and 12 members of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. The university is, in 1967, of a size and importance unimagined by those who took part in its establishment in 1867.

The university's centennial year begins today with the marking of the 100th anniversary of Gov. Richard J. Oglesby's signing into law on February 28, 1867, legislation passed by the Illinois General Assembly providing for the establishment of the "Illinois Industrial University" in Champaign County at a point halfway between the cities of Champaign and Urbana.

Under the able leadership of Fred H. Turner, dean of students and director of the centennial, the university has planned a yearlong series of observances to be climaxed by the 100th anniversary on March 11, 1968, of the formal ceremonies marking the inauguration of the new institution.

It is of significant interest that the University of Illinois is the land-grant institution in the State of the Union where the idea of the land-grant college or university originated. Furthermore the Land Grant Act of 1862, under which the national system of land-grant institutions has been established, was signed into law on July 1, 1862, by a President from Illinois, Abraham Lincoln.

But the history of the University of Illinois really precedes its foundation in 1867. As early as 1848, Jonathan B. Turner, of Jacksonville, Ill., corresponded with John Blanchard, president of Knox College, then one of several private colleges operating in the State, and made known his plan for establishing a State industrial and agricultural university.

In February 1853, the Illinois House and Senate adopted joint resolutions requesting Federal aid for a national system of agricultural and industrial universities and in 1854 forwarded the resolutions to Congress where they were read in the House and Senate.

Justin Morrill, for whom the Land Grant Act is popularly named, entered the House of Representatives in 1855 as a Representative from Vermont. Almost immediately after his election, he introduced, unsuccessfully, a bill calling for the establishment of a national agricultural school, to be chartered on the same basis as the national military academy. In 1857 he introduced yet another bill, which incorporated the essential features of the resolutions earlier put forth by the Illinois Legislature. The bill was passed by the House and Senate but vetoed by President Buchanan in 1859 on the grounds that it was unconstitutional. Finally passed and signed into law in 1862, the act provided for the granting of 30,000 acres of public land for each Senator and Representative in Congress of each particular State, "for the endowment, support, and maintenance of at least one college where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies—to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in such manner as the legislatures of the States may prescribe." Thus Illinois' Jonathan Turner, while not the author of the bill to which the present University of Illinois owes its existence, was nevertheless instrumental in bringing about the establishment of the State university; he is still known today as the "father of industrial and agricultural education."

As required under the terms of the Morrill Act, the State of Illinois accepted its provisions on February 14, 1863. Four years passed before the State acted to bring the new type of State institution into reality.

The two decades previous to the passage of the Land Grant Act of 1862 had been marked with growing dissatisfaction with the colleges of the day, classical in course, basically preparing for the ministry or for the professions, and failing to meet the needs of the growing numbers of sons and daughters of workers and artisans, who felt the need for a type of education where agriculture and the mechanic arts might be taught, and while not excluding other classical and literary subjects, might better prepare the young people of the day for the demands of a faster moving industrial world.

It might be interesting to contemplate just what might have been in the minds of the young people of Illinois on February 28, 1867, when Governor Oglesby signed the bill establishing the new institution. Was their dream of an opportunity for higher education of a new type about to be realized? Was all this talk about a new institution within their financial means just talk? How could the proposed new university ever be readied for them, when it was known that in Champaign-Urbana there existed a partially built building, just one, to house the new university; there was no board of trustees, there was no faculty, there was no course of study?

Yet in the 12 months and 11 days from February 28, 1867, to March 11, 1868, the one building was completed and ready, the Governor had appointed a board of trustees, this board had hired a regent, and two additional teachers, had adopted a course of study, and 72 students had been registered between March 2, 1868, and March 11, when the formal opening was held.

The students of 1867 and 1868 had little more than hope and promises on which to base their educational dreams. Their reasons for optimism must have been severely strained as they watched the plans develop. Students of every generation have their problems, but the students of 1967 have much more on which to base promising opportunities than did the students of a hundred years ago.

The Illinois Industrial University of February 28, 1867, had one poorly built building. Today the three campuses of the University of Illinois occupy 179 major and 456 other buildings on three campuses, with 152 major buildings at Urbana-Champaign, 13 at the medical center in Chicago, and 14 at Chicago Circle, the total value of these buildings being about $425 million. The three faculty members of the first year have grown to about 5,000 at Urbana-Champaign, 600 at the medical center, and 700 at Chicago Circle, and in addition to the more than 6,000 teaching and administrative officers, there are 8,500 nonacademic employees engaged in various duties connected with the operation of the three campuses. The 72 students have grown to a total full-time student body of over 29,000 at Urbana-Champaign, 2,500 at the medical campus, and 11,000 at Chicago Circle, and in addition some 4,500 students are taught part time in extra mural classes. The one pitifully small academic unit has become an organization of 15 colleges and schools at Urbana-Champaign, five at the medical center, and eight at Chicago Circle. And the library, which did not exist when the university was opened now has more than 5,700,000 items, and is exceeded only by Harvard and Yale among university libraries.

With a physical plant which is modern and ever growing, with a large and distinguished faculty, with a library adequate for any reference or research, and a choice of courses almost without restriction, the student of 1967 is placed in the promising position of almost no limitation on his educational opportunity as the university enters its Centennial Year.

In the last 100 years 19 men have served as President of the United States and the State of Illinois has had 20 Governors. During that time only 12 men have served as president of the University of Illinois. All of them left their mark on the university but none, in my judgment, has coped so successfully with such complex problems as the present chief administrator, Dr. David Dodds Henry, who has been the president of the University of Illinois since 1955. His predecessors and the dates of their administrations were: John Milton Gregory, 1867 to 1880; Selim Hobart Peabody, 1880 to 1891; Thomas Jonathan Burrill, 1891 to 1894; Andrew Sloan Draper, 1894 to 1904; Edmund Janes James, 1904 to 1920; David Kinley, 1920 to 1930; Harry Woodburn Chase, 1930 to 1933; Arthur Hill Daniels, 1933 to 1934; Arthur Cutts Willard, 1934 to 1946; George Dinsmore Stoddard, 1946 to 1952; and Lloyd Morey, 1953 to 1954.

The University of Illinois has proved to be an influence far greater than the short tenure of its existence would seem to demand. It has sought to educate, in the most profound sense of the term. For, "education is a high word," as Cardinal Newman wrote in his Idea of a University. "It is the preparation for knowledge, and it is the imparting of knowledge in proportion to that preparation." This university has achieved a quality of excellence in preparing for, and in imparting knowledge; and the stoic philosopher, Epictetus, spoke wisely in saying, "Only the educated are free."

The $135 Billion Spending Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "What's $135 Billion?" published in the Fort Lauderdale, Fla., News of recent date.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT'S $135 BILLION?

How does one go about trying to explain just how much money is involved in the $135 billion spending budget that President Johnson asked the Congress to approve?

This is a sum which the average person or taxpayer simply cannot understand because it is virtually impossible for the mind to visualize just how much money $135 billion actually is . . . Simple arithmetic shows that the sum of $135 billion breaks down to approximately $375,000,000 for each of the 365 days of the year. Broken down further, it means our government plans to spend some $15,400,000 per hour or, in a final analysis, approximately $4,281 a second.

Now, $4,281 is a sum of money which most of us can understand. It's a year's salary for many people; it's the cost of a new automobile for others, while to still others it is more than enough to purchase a whole year's supply of groceries for a large family without having to do much bargain shopping.

That $4,281 also happens to approximate the Federal income tax that a married man with a taxable income of some $20,000 during 1966, and who files a joint return with his wife, will be forced to cough up to Uncle Sam . . . . just to keep his Federal Government in spending money for a single second . . .

Necessities always come before luxuries, but what this budget proposes is that the people sacrifice even some of their necessities to permit the Federal Government to maintain its peacetime luxury spending programs, and this is where we think Mr. Johnson's budget needs to be sharply reduced.

Message on the Capital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, today the Washington Post published a good editorial about needed changes in the government of the District of Columbia.

It properly gives credit to President Johnson for major achievements in improving the D.C. government. Referring to the President's message on the District of Columbia, the Post states:

> This message is the work of a President who has done more than any of his predecessors to bring modern, democratic city government to Washington. If only its most immediate aims can be reached, the city will be endowed this year with a far more effective government and next year its citizens will be voting for at least one local official. The final destination remains, of course, full home rule and the President reiterates his support of it.

I include the full text of the editorial in the RECORD:

MESSAGE ON THE CAPITAL

Reforming Washington's city government is exceedingly difficult, as a practical matter of politics, because no six of its citizens have ever been able to agree on any one course of action. Some urge immediate reorganization of the city government, leading eventually to home rule. Others oppose home rule, but think that the city ought to be represented in Congress. Still others, mainly Congressmen, see nothing wrong with Washington but the crime rate.

In his Message on the Nation's Capital, President Johnson has done his best to reconcile these warring reforms. He proposes to move on several projects at once. In the hope of achieving general support, the President proposes some reorganization, some representation in Congress, and some crime legislation.

The most immediate improvement contained in the Message is the abolition of the three-man Board of District Commissioners. Replacing them with one Commissioner and a Council will give a unity and authority to the District Government that it has sadly lacked. It will end the use of military officers to govern a large civilian population; this violation of American tradition has been particularly damaging because it has left a brigadier general in charge of the city's urban renewal and freeway construction programs.

The Message does not make clear the manner in which the Council is to be chosen. Presumably the President will appoint the Councilmen but it would be greatly in the public interest if he were to appoint them on the basis of advisory elections, by ward, throughout the city.

The largest hole in the Message is its silence on the School Board. The Federal judges have not done a satisfactory job, over the years, in making these appointments; the law urgently needs to be changed. If we cannot have an elected Board, then the Commissioner ought to appoint it. Under the present practice, the Federal judges have all of the authority and none of the responsibility.

As for the farrago of the overlapping independent agencies involved in the city's government, the President only hints at changes later. But it is important for the White House to understand that the effectiveness of its new Commisisoner depends heavily upon a general consolidation of operating powers now scattered through literally dozens of agencies.

The concept of the elected, nonvoting delegate to Congress would not be a wholly unmixed blessing. Although the delegate would become inevitably the chief political figure in the city, he would have no authority in running it. But despite this danger, the delegate bill deserves support. It represents a beginning of genuine local politics in Washington; the city is better off voting for anything than voting for nothing.

The Constitutional amendment giving the city full representation in Congress is another matter. It would be as difficult to push through Congress as home rule itself and, of the two, home rule promises the greater benefits.

This Message is the work of a President who has done more than any of his predecessors to bring modern, democratic city government to Washington. If only its most immediate aims can be reached, the city will be endowed this year with a far more effective government and next year its citizens will be voting for at least one local official. The final destination remains, of course, full home rule and the President reiterates his support of it. But the campaign for home rule has been going on for decades without achieving any result. The President now proposes to make a small beginning, but a solid and tangible one from which larger gains can later be reached.

Weather Studies Linked to Air Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD some significant research information which has come to light linking the problem of air pollution to our country's efforts in weather modification.

Dr. Richard Schleusener, director of the Institute of Atmospheric Sciences at the South Dakota School of Mines and Technology, in Rapid City, S. Dak., in a talk before the Rotary Club of that city, outlined some of the significant facts developed by his people through their weather modification research. I think this type of double dividend from our research efforts is most helpful, and I am of the opinion that efforts such as those of the Institute of Atmospheric Sciences, under Dr. Schleusener's direction, should be encouraged.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SCHLEUSENER REPORTS TO ROTARY: AIR POLLUTION LINK TO WEATHER STUDY EYED

Preliminary studies have given sufficient indication that air pollution has an effect on precipitation to warrant more intensive study and Rapid City might well serve as the base center for such a study, Rapid City Rotarians were told Thursday.

Dr. Richard A. Schleusener, director of the Institute of Atmospheric Sciences at the South Dakota School of Mines and Technology, cited the possibility of the study in discussing the relationship of people, pollution and precipitation.

Schleusener said there is growing evidence that air pollution can have a significant effect on precipitation processes. While available evidence is not conclusive at this time, it justifies concern that air pollution could act as a drought producer.

"There are two mechanisms by which air pollution might effect precipitation in this way. The first mechanism would involve the additional condensation nuclei from air pollution. This would tend to divide the available atmospheric water into a larger number of smaller cloud drops, and thus make it harder for Mother Nature to produce rain. The second mechanism involves the effects on precipitation from the activation of the lead particles produced from automobile exhaust."

Schleusener described experiences in the research program being carried out at the School of Mines which indicated clouds which grow in the relatively dirty air on the warm side of a cloud front contained small cloud droplets as compared to clouds which formed in the cooler, cleaner air behind such fronts.

On one day in July of 1965, a light airplane used by the institute made 22 penetrations of clouds in a warm sector ahead of a cold front before sufficient ice formed on the plane to require descent to lower altitudes.

Following the passage of the front, only 12 penetrations were possible on the first mission and six on the second before descent was required to melt the ice. In the latter two missions, icing was of the clear ice variety and accumulated at a high rate.

"Evidence suggests the difference between these two days may have been produced by the absence of air pollution in the cleaner, cold air," Schleusener observed.

While South Dakota is generally considered free of pollution, Schleusener said recent studies indicate strong evidence for substantial pollution effects in Rapid City. First evidence came from a research flight made across country by a California firm with measurements made at intermediate points including South Dakota. High atmospheric pollution resulting from automobile exhaust were found in the coastal areas of heavy industrial population but there were also indications of substantial pollution effects in South Dakota.

Because of its relationship to precipitation studies being carried on at the institute, Schleusener said his staff has made additional measurements for verification.

"We found as many as 100,000 effective ice crystals per liter from lead particles from automobile exhaust when activated by iodine. This compares with a normal background count of effective ice nuclei of about 0 to 10 per liter.

"These measurements emphasize the fact substantial air pollution from automobile exhaust exists here in Rapid City," he asserted.

Schleusener expresed concern over whether either of the mechanisms described, or a combination of them, could negate any beneficial effects which might be produced by efforts at cloud modification under the present research program at Tech.

"Are we going to be in the position of attempting to increase rainfall artifically and finding our efforts are being nullified by the effects of air pollution?" He asked rhetorically.

Since there is evidence at hand to suggest that pollution may tend to produce drought it is Schleuseners opinion that the problem is of sufficient importance to merit initiation of a substantial research effort to identify these effects.

He went on to point out South Dakota is an area in which it is advantageous to study this problem. In the first place, air over the Dakotas and this region is relatively clean even though there is evidence for air pollution here.

"This permits us to compare the relatively clean air here with higher pollution concentrations in other parts of the United States."

Another advantage is experiments can be conducted in parallel with the present program utilizing many of the same techniques procedures and equipment.

A further advantage is the influx of tourists into Rapid City in the summer time provides something of a "time machine." The tourist influx doubles the number of automobiles and increases the population to three to four times the normal winter population.

"Thus we have in Rapid City a change in automobile numbers and population during several months which during the normal growth period of a city would take decades."

Schleusener expressed hope that research support for such studies can be obtained.

In closing, the research director stressed the importance of air pollution control to South Dakota. He said as greater public awareness of air pollution problems develops in other areas, South Dakota will be in a better competitive position to attract industry and people.

"For that reason South Dakota can look forward to new opportunities because of the desire of the people to get away from crowded industrial cities and get into a region of cleaner air where the sun shines without shining through layers of smog."

But, he warned:

"With these opportunities come a responsibility—to keep our air clean. This means the citizens of this community must be willing to take the necessary action steps which will retain the clean air we presently have and prevent the deterioration of its quality."

He recalled the slogan "Capital of the Clean Air Country" has been proposed for Rapid City.

"I trust appropriate action will be taken to merit a continuation of this title," Schleusener concluded.

U.S. Presence in Vietnam, in World's Interest, Enormously Worthwhile

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, on February 17, Mr. Denis Warner, southeast Asia correspondent for the Reporter magazine, addressed the Commonwealth Club of California on the subject "U.S. Presence in Vietnam." Excerpts from his address as published in the Commonwealth of February 27, follow:

"U.S. PRESENCE IN VIETNAM, IN WORLD'S INTEREST, HAS BEEN ENORMOUSLY WORTH WHILE"—WARNER

(From address by Denis Warner, southeast Asia correspondent, the Reporter magagine)

With one possible exception, there is not one country in the Southeast Asia region which does not fear Red China, nor one that does not believe that the American military presence in Vietnam is vital to their security.

The United States is deeply committed and its defeat—since that is what a unilateral withdrawal would amount to—would have incalculable effects on its position as a great world power, and on its neighbors.

Hanoi and Peking have made it clear that they regard the Vietnam war as a test case for "national liberation" wars throughout the under-developed world. It doesn't follow that there won't be more "wars of national liberation" if the United States hold on in Vietnam, but we may expect a rash of such wars if it fails. Two of significance—in Malaysia and Thailand—are now in the making.

Because the Vietcong haven't won in Vietnam—and given the patience, the courage and the responsible sense of world leadership possessed by the United States, they cannot win—there is in Southeast Asia today, a new feeling of hope.

MILITANT AGGRESSIVENESS

It is hope coupled with fear that the U.S. may tire of the war in Vietnam, or be hoodwinked at the conference table as it was at the Geneva Conference on Laos in 1962. But over-riding all of these lesser fears is the fundamental concern about China . . . and Southeast Asia's fears are valid fears based on past experience, present threats and future expectations.

The vital changes to American Asia policy which have occurred since were not dictated by a wish to interfere, but the demonstrable militancy and aggressive intent of regional Communism.

ASIANS UNWORTHY?

Peking-backed revolutionaries are preparing for revolutions in Malaysia and in Thailand where they now have hundreds of men under arms in the northeast.

A Malayan "Liberation Army" has been formed and one of its leaders, an Indian named P. V. Sarma, who was expelled from Singapore in 1952, is now living in Peking, which for the past two years has been overtly publicizing the intention to move into a new phase of armed revolt in Malaya.

Another wing of the same organization, with a nucleus of 1,500 Indonesian-trained guerrillas, has, according to the Malaysian Government, passed the point of no return in its preparation for armed revolt in the Borneo State of Sarawak. Yet another Peking-backed revolt is under way in northeastern Thailand. That Peking should openly proclaim its support for the so-called "Thailand liberation front" may be justified by Thailand's own involvement with the United States in the Vietnam war.

By what right does Peking seek to overthrow the legitimate Malaysian government? Would you advocate leaving Malaysia to be destroyed by a Peking-aided revolt? Are nations somehow unworthy of assistance against aggression simply because they are Asian?

MATTERS "IN HAND"

Today things are very different. Despite some errors committed by the United States in Vietnam in the early 1960's, there is a vast body of expert knowledge in Vietnam. The war is no longer being lost, though this was the perilous reality of the situation two years ago.

There is no "secret" about the conditions necessary to break the present stalemate in South Vietnam, only two main requirements. One is to provide sufficient military strength to keep main force Vietcong and North Vietnamese units away from relatively secure and densely populated rural areas. This the United States has in hand. The second is the provision of sufficient indigenous forces to protect local administrations while they go about their task of restoring rural government and convincing the peasants that what they have is worth defending.

I understand the dangers of war and I am conscious of the needs for restraint but . . . I believe the United States cannot, and must not, abandon its task simply because it has proved so difficult.

Today things are very different. There is a vast body of expert knowledge in Vietnam. The war is no longer being lost, though this was the perilous reality of the situation two years ago. Towards the end of last year the North Voietnamese concentrated about five divisions of regular troops in and around the tactical area of the 17th parallel.

DEEPER FOXHOLES

Their obvious hope was to launch a major offensive through the two northern provinces of South Vietnam. The offensive couldn't get off the ground. The Vietcong and the North Vietnamese fight with skill and courage but they cannot match the Americans in fire power and set piece battles. They have tried all manner of tactics. They have dug their foxholes deeper and narrower in futile efforts to counter the American firepower. They often attempted to move into close quarters fighting, but even this rarely succeeds.

REPEATED DEFEAT

The North Vietnamese are in a major dilemma. Though the indigenous Vietcong have the capability of reverting to smaller guerrilla type actions and of mingling inconspicuously with the rural population, this is not really practicable in the case of the northerners, who are increasingly vital to the total effort.

As alien fish in the peasant ocean, they would be easily detected and extremely vulnerable. Short of halting the flow of reinforcements along the Ho Chi Minh trail and withdrawing into North Vietnam with all the consequences this would have in the South, or perhaps of creating a diversion in Laos by an attack on the Mekong valley, further straining Hanoi's resources, the North Vietnamese forces have nowhere else to go in South Vietnam except into repeated defeat.

For 200 million Southeast Asians, not to mention a few Australians and New Zealanders, what the United States is doing in Southeast Asia today is no less important than the task it so magnificently performed in Europe two decades ago.

You brought stability and undreamt of prosperity to Europe and saved it without doubt from Stalinist control. Today you hold out to those who live in this troubled region the same prospect of security and prosperity. We may cavil and criticize but we who live and work there also bless you for it.

UNITED STATES BUYS TIME

Already your stand in Vietnam has helped to widen the Sino-Soviet split beyond the point of no return. And this in turn has added to the frustrations that are now convulsing China. It provided a framework against which Indonesia's anti-Communists managed to prevent a Communist takeover there. And this, in turn, brought to an end Indonesia's dangerous confrontation with Malaysia.

It has thwarted those who would use "wars of national liberation" to isolate and destroy the friends of the United States and ultimately the United States itself. In the interests of us all, it has been enormously worthwhile.

ANSWERS TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS FROM FLOOR

Question. (Col. J. H. Boling) Significance of internal struggle in Red China?

Answer. Can only speculate. Mao decided that only by revolutionary alarm was there hope to get Chinese people to do immense tasks required. More level headed Chinese had built widespread organization he's now trying to destroy.

Question. Will Chinese drive for conquest of Asia continue no matter who is in power?

Answer. I fear so. Billion people in China lack resources they see in Southeast Asia.

Question. Do Mao's opponents differ with his expansionist policies?

Answer. No—it's hard to pursue hard-line internationally with so many internal problems. But it could work opposite way.

Qusetion. Should Nationalist China invade Red China now?

Answer. No!

Question. (Esmond Schapiro) Proof that South Vietnamese people want us to fight there?

Answer. Proof?—no. Evidence?—yes. See little evidence of hostility toward American presence outside Vietcong controlled areas.

Question. (J. Hart Clinton) Bombing of North Vietnam solidifying support for Ho Chi Minh?

Answer. Initial bombing did, and encouraged Russians to give more aid. But stopping bombing now would not undo this. And supplies must be stopped or hampered.

Question. U.S. troops fight and win guerrilla war?

Answer. No, but can provide protection for Vietnamese people, who can fight and win.

Question. (E. L. Merica) Are there foreign policy changes U.S. might make in Asia?

Answer. Has made mistakes but must carry on. Wisdom acquired by hard experience. Change tactics rather than policy.

The Orientation of Higher Education Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, at a time when the demand for higher education is growing so rapidly, we must be no less concerned with the quality than with the quantity of instruction our colleges and universities are to provide.

Is higher education in our increasingly urban society oriented to the needs of that society and of the students of today and tomorrow? Dr. Frank M. Cordasco, professor of education at Montclair State College, in New Jersey, has made some interesting observations on this question. Dr. Cordasco, who is also visiting professor of education at the City University of New York, delivered his paper on "Higher Education in the Metropolis: Old Challenges and New Postures," at New York University. I ask unanimous consent that the text be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the paper was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE METROPOLIS: OLD CHALLENGES AND NEW POSTURES

(By Dr. Frank Cordasco, professor of education, Montclair State College; educational consultant, migration division, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico; visiting professor of education, City University of New York)

This paper will discuss higher education in the metropolis and the relationship of vocational orientation to current tendencies and to the selection of life's work or to the life style that college students acquire. Reference will be made to several broad areas: the history of the American college; the so-called liberal arts tradition and the advent of professional education and of graduate education; and, more immediately, to the juncture at which we find ourselves in higher education today, with reference to the broad types of social transformation that are occurring in our cities.

It is important to note, at first, that the American college was founded as an agency of aristocratic prerogative, and that its intent was the perpetuation of social or class prerogative. As we look at the 17th and 18th centuries, we see that our colleges were almost inevitably founded under religious auspices. But the religious aegis was at once a matter of very clear class prerogative, even if evangelically committed. It was essentially a matter of aristocratic and class commitment.

The American popular adventure and experiment in higher education did not occur until the 19th century. It was coincident with the very broad social and demographic changes in 19th century America, largely the result of the emigration to America of millions of people who were without the social prerogative and class privilege that higher education in the America had originally perpetuated. The tremendous transformation of higher education in the 19th century came as a result of pressures, particularly in the great metropolitan complexes; and although these were equally affirmed in the founding of land grant colleges (which remained a kind of grass roots level egalitarianism), still the great transformation occurred in the cities of the 19th century when new peoples took at face value the egalitarian dream in the sense that the new world accorded it to them.

I think it is important for us to recognize this because if you look at the pattern of 19th century higher education (and, incidentally, it is in this tradition that New York University and other metropolitan universities were founded), one finds that in meeting the response of new peoples, higher education becomes less and less aristocratic, less and less liberal-arts oriented (except nostalgically), less and less a haven for aristocratic social prerogative. It became more and more a modern university (not unlike its 19th century British red-brick university counterpart) which had as its primary purpose the extension of opportunity to a new people. It became significantly, if you will, professional or vocational education. It was no accident that medical education and legal education in America, which were born in the cities became the great havens to which the poor sent their sons and thereby acquired middle class gentility and that these were originally vocational or professional schools which only in the last half century have come under the auspices of a kind of university protection.[1]

I would like to make this point very clear, because, in my own mind, it is a point that gives us extraordinary clarification for some of the challenges that we face in higher education today. Nineteenth century American education evolved to meet its needs, to meet the needs of a new people who were primarily concerned with the acquisition of those skills which would afford them, in a seemingly egalitarian context, new opportunity. These people were professionally and vocationally oriented. The immigrants in this city made their sons professional people. They made them engineers and physicians and teachers and lawyers, and only incidentally, gentlemen.

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[1] In this connection, I do not believe that Abraham Flexner's study of medical education (*Medical Education in the United States and Canada*, New York, 1910) drove the schools to university affiliation, but rather to a reformation of those abuses which seriously threatened a professional adequacy. Preeminently, the medical schools were the citadels of outrageously affirmed vocationalism.

As 19th century education undertook this kind of professional and vocational transmutation, the liberal arts tradition died. Its *ars moriendi* was written a long, long time ago, even though we have individuals who pretend that it is still alive—academicians like Jacques Barzun and Gilbert Highet, whose books on teaching have little relevancy to the public school of America, but greater relevancy to the aristocratic schools that were operating in Edward Gibbons' 18th century England. The graduate school in America in the 19th century had a vocational orientation. Anybody who has looked at the founding of The Johns Hopkins University in 1876 sees very clearly that the foundation of this university was not truly within the German mold that we have come to believe formed its genesis.[3] The graduate school as it evolved in America, with particular reference to President Daniel Coit Gilman's Hopkins, was preeminently a graduate school which undertook the extension of academic respectability to professional schools, to research and to the utilitarian needs of a burgeoning America.

If you are willing to accept what I have said, and I think it is historically sound, I think we are better able to look at some of the challenges that we face today. The American college, particularly within the last thirty or thirty-five years (dramatically, in the large cities) has become much the haven, not of individuals who are using higher education as a means of social escalation (because for all intents and purposes the immigrant in American society has disappeared and has been replaced by the central-city poor who are truly poor and from whose poverty there is little or no escape) but a place where parents, who have only recently entered the middle class or who at best have a second-generation middle class identity, entertain vicariously the social identity and economic aspirations of their children.

Earl Kelly said somewhere that it is not only the kids who drop out of our elementary and secondary schools, but those who remain in the secondary schools who should be equally characterized as dropouts, because in reality they have no where to go upon graduation. National figures that I recently saw suggest that 12 percent of our high school graduates are without employment. But what about their university or college counterparts? I would suggest that, for the university or college counterpart of the public school dropout who manages to remain in college and not become a dropout, there is no place that he can go upon graduation unless he is professionally oriented or vocationally directed. The irony is that what developed in 19th century America, whose colleges became places for the acquisition of vocational skills, remains under continuing and better attack today. The School of Education of New York University, a professional school, which recently celebrated its 75th anniversary might also be writing its epitaph, if I read correctly the directions in which certain developments have gone; for even New York University (which has become very respected and is no longer the citadel of poor immigrants' children) has become the citadel of middle class prerogative.

Others have spoken about the extension of broad patterns of public education, not unlike the extension on the European continent and particularly in the Soviet Union. The result has been schools that are not only technical institutes but schools which include broad areas of pre-professional preparation. I think these are the directions in which society would want us to move and needs to move. But very ironically, the university is moving away from this direction, in that more and more today, we see the virtues of liberal arts education being exalted. I do not know why. Historically, such an education has been dead a long time. Clergy learned Latin and Greek in the 18th century because it was part of their professional education. It remained nostalgically the identity of the gentlemen in the 19th century; it has little or no identity in today's world, yet it remains. When I was an undergraduate at Columbia College, in the bitter days of the depression, I recall the eminent classicists Professor Gilbert Highet and Professor Moses Hadas talking about the magnificent thought processes that one could discern in Euripides and other Greek tragedians, while at the same time social fascists and members of the Young Communist League were quarreling outside the university halls. I think this strange kind of irrelevancy pervades education today. I see in this lack of vocational orientation the demise of the college as a pre-professional school, largely abetted by the illusory direction that academicians are permitting themselves to take.

I would like to relate this (sardonically, perhaps) to the acquisition of middle class gentility. I think that what made New York University (and other metropolitan universities) great universities was the presence of the individual who saw in the metropolitan university the chance to acquire those skills which he could bring back to society. He not only saw in his university training the means of social escalation, but he saw, too, the opportunity to extend social service. An interesting experiment would be to chart alongside one another, the influence of the great Columbian colossus to the north of us (which largely in the early decades of this century remained the citadel of the socially advantaged) and the influence of New York University); to chart one alongside the other in terms of what they gave back to the city and to society relative to what they took away. I think New York University would unquestionably come out in front. But I think if we began a kind of concomitant assessment, starting some twenty years ago, New York University and its sister to the north would be pretty much the same.

What I am suggesting is that the great catalyst in American society that largely made college life, that made higher education, a socially-oriented and professionally and vocationally-oriented education, has disappeared. We have serious cause for regret that the normal schools have become state colleges and then universities, for in the process they destroyed one identity, and have yet to acquire another.

It is interesting, in this connection, to note that wherever education was afforded the Negro in our society, the Negro, almost of his own needs and because of the little opportunity afforded him, gravitated toward professional education. The Negro found his contribution amongst his own people as an attorney, as a teacher, as a physician. The Negro never deluded himself with the middle class anodyne of a liberal arts education that was going to serve the gentility of a bourgeois affectation. Perhaps, he rejected an identity that was repugnant because it had been denied him. The great animus of Negro social protest is not Dr. Martin Luther King who appears amongst the Negroes as a veritable Moses who gives the Negro vigorous ideological commitment; rather, it is the virtual extinction of economic opportunity within our society, with its automation and new technology, that causes the Negro the frightened kind of response we currently see him making. Perhaps the Negro is in the mainstream of American life and we in our middle class vineyards have largely deserted it. I think the situation is a matter of such peril that I cannot help but extend, in a way, the apprehension and alarm that other members of the academic community are frentically registering in a multiplicity of strident tracts.

"Public education is totally irrelevant to the society that it serves." That statement is not mine; it is Dean Earnest Melby's, one of the great educational luminaries who served at New York University for many, many years. In a sense, one can extend the statement by saying that higher education is out of touch with our times, and it is out of touch with our times because of the thesis which I have attempted to advance. The university has become, in its major commitments, the affectation and extension of middle class prerogative in a people who have largely lost the kind of tremendous hope and catalytic force that initially characterized the restless transmutation of a society in the search for opportunity, and for public service. If the metropolitan university is a great urban institution in community service, that service will be best achieved in its professional schools and in the undergraduate colleges which are unashamedly professionally oriented.

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[3] I have developed this point in *Daniel Coit Gilman and the Protean Ph. D.: The Shaping of American Graduate Education* (Leiden, 1960).

Lloyd Oki Is Hawaii Winner in VFW Speech Contest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, each year I look forward to learning of the results of the Voice of Democracy Contest, a very praiseworthy project sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars and its ladies auxiliary. The contest not only stimulates classroom discussions on the meaning of democracy, but it also provides an opportunity for students to compete for educational scholarships ranging from $1,000 to $5,000. More than 350,000 students participated in the contest this year, and the winners from each State have been invited to our Nation's Capital for the final judging on March 7, 1967.

The State of Hawaii is represented this year by Lloyd Masao Oki, of Honolulu. Lloyd's winning essay, entitled "What Democracy Means to Me," reflects an awareness of the responsibilities as well as the privileges of living in a democratic society, and is a tribute to the democratic environment that Hawaii has always provided for the development of its young citizens.

I am pleased to submit Lloyd Masao Oki 's speech for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

What Democracy Means to Me

(By Lloyd Masao Oki, Honolulu, Hawaii)

In 1944 Aldous Huxley humorously termed democracy "the right to say 'no' to a boss." Shallow though it may be, this undeniably is a meaning for democracy, but the latter means so very, very much more.

Democracy connotes freedom, the ability to exercise the rights of free speech; to worship God in any Church of one's choosing; to be tried fairly in any court of law. It permits newswriters the priceless gift of free press; it allows people to peacefully assemble at times and places of their choosing; it sanctions the people's right to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

But democracy still means more than this. It provides families with a Christian environment through which God and man can become one; it enables individuals to walk down streets without having to worry about a pair of eyes continually watching for the slightest faux pas; it fosters maturity in an atmosphere conducive to our Western way of life. Democracy means choosing friends on your own—taking part in the activities you most enjoy—and growing up to become a worthy and honorable citizen of these, our fifty states.

Not only does democracy affect the external relationships we have with others, it also exerts a strong, positive force on our very being. At an early age we learn to respect the opinions of others, and to honor their customs, strange though they may be. We simultaneously develop an appreciation for the invaluable gifts bestowed upon us at birth.

Democracy, we discover, is a costly gift, and many times exacts the ultimate sacrifice of a man. "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his country." Indeed, truer words have never been spoken, for even now, our loved ones are fighting and dying in Vietnam. Their actions, however, are not a unique trait of the 1960's, for their fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers may have participated in such conflicts as the Battle of Lexington in the Revolutionary War; Shiloh or Gettysburg in the War between the the States; Verdun and the Marne in the devastating First World War; Dunkirk, Normandy, Guadalcanal, or Iwo Jima in World War II; and Pork Chop Hill in the Korean War. They paid dearly so that we, the living, may enjoy a democracy they themselves never knew.

We at home must pay a price, too, and that is "responsibility." We should share the wealth we so abundantly possess with others less fortunate than ourselves, for our American democracy has been cast into the role of a kind, understanding, and generous nation whose actions could significantly alter the course of world history.

But most of all democracy means hope for the future. A world of peace and harmony—where hunger and disease are merely words in a dictionary—where man's inhumanity to man is all but forgotten—where man can love and be loved for all time to come.

Yes, democracy means a lot of things . . . to me it means my very life!

The AID Medical Team in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the New Republic magazine of February 18, 1967, contains a letter to the editor from a young medical doctor, Michael D. Reynolds, a member of an AID medical team in Vietnam.

Dr. Reynolds' home is in Richmond, Va., but, like many other dedicated Americans, he is now laboring far from home, giving of himself to fight "the other war" in Vietnam—the nonmilitary war which attacks hunger, poverty, and disease.

Dr. Reynolds' letter is not long, but it is an eloquent rebuttal to those critics who, in their enthusiasm, picture the Vietcong as helpless innocents and the Allied forces as villains. Dr. Reynolds writes of the civilian patients treated at his hospital—of the villagers and the children deliberately wounded by the Vietcong terrorists for political reasons. He writes:

> People whose families have been killed accidentally by Allied arms are difficult to find, but those whose families have been killed deliberately by the Viet Cong work with us every day.

I know that all Virginians and all other Americans can be proud of the work that Dr. Reynolds is doing. I think he deserves to be heard. I commend his letter to the attention of Senators and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NHA-TRANG, SOUTH VIETNAM.

SORRY 'BOUT THAT

SIRS: Although I cannot supply the statistical information you request in your January 7 note ("Sorry 'Bout That") I can, as a member of one of the medical teams in Vietnam supported by AID, report a few personal observations, which, cast into numbers and multiplied by the entire country, would provide the raw material for such information.

Civilians injured by Allied troops (mostly in automobile accidents) are seen occasionally at our hospital. They are greatly outnumbered by patients such as these:

1) Villagers (mostly women and children) wounded by mortar shells deliberately fired into their hamlet by the Viet Cong, because the people refused to favor the communist side. (The number of these patients may have been reduced by the Viet Cong threat to kill all the injured who sought help from the government.)

2) Children burned by a phosphorus grenade thrown by a communist terrorist who wanted to dissuade their parents from voting in the national elections.

3) Members of the Popular Forces shot by the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese, because the Popular Forces are able to recognize an invasion of their homes by foreign troops and persist in defending them.

Also relevant to the question of civilian casualties are the facts that refugees fleeing Allied troops are nonexistent, refugees fleeing battle zones are not common, but refugees from communist control are numerous. People whose families have been killed accidentally by Allied arms are difficult to find; those whose families have been killed deliberately by the Viet Cong work with us every day.

Regarding the degree of concern for the lives of civilians of the various contestants in Vietnam, it is noteworthy that the communists have killed 100,000 of their countrymen since coming to power. This figure will undoubtedly be improved upon if they seize control of the entire country, since six percent of the population of South Vietnam fled there expressly to avoid living under red rule, and all the overt anti-communists in Vietnam are in the South.

If you are truly concerned about the welfare of the Viet people, let me suggest that you will do more good by donating drugs and supplies to hospitals here than by criticizing the rest of the country for helping one of our few good anti-Chinese allies.

MICHAEL D. REYNOLDS, M.D.

Office of Education Centennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL D. PERKINS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, this week, we pass a significant milestone in the history of education in the United States. We mark on March 2 the 100th anniversary of the U.S. Office of Education.

This agency, which events have propelled into the forefront of the national effort toward quality, is undergoing a change keyed to match the transformation within the public schools in their intensifying search for education adequate to the times.

A year ago, President Johnson spoke of the quality of country we are trying to build. In his message to the 89th Congress on new civil rights legislation, he said:

> We are engaged in a great adventure—as great as that of the last century, when our fathers marched to the Western frontier. Our frontier today is of human beings, not land. If we are able to open that frontier, to free each child to become the best that is in him to become, our reward—both spiritual and material—will exceed any that we gained a century ago through territorial expansion.

The Office of Education has, as a result of massive educational assistance programs enacted in recent years, been assigned a major role in this country's effort to afford quality education to all children. The thrust of recent educational aid programs for the children of poor families assures that the Office of Education must assume responsibilities for leadership in educational innovation and improvement.

It would be simple for a Federal agency to retreat into the obscurity, and into the security, of an identity as a statistical storehouse ready to provide the latest headcount on students, or to report annually to Congress on the number of square feet in the Nation's schoolhouses.

In an age, however, when world conditions compel the United States to assume a world leadership role in the struggle for human rights, it is no less essential that Federal leadership on the domestic front shall devote its attention to development of individual potential. Nowhere is the opportunity greater than in the education of our children in schools to afford them equal opportunity to do their best.

That is why the Office of Education is involved in the issue of racial segregation and the overlapping issue of inferior education of the children of poverty. Not to be so involved would be to ignore inequities that have multiplied because they have been ignored too long in the past, particularly during most of the century during which the Office of Education has progressed to its new level of maturity.

Under title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, a billion dollars a year is flowing into new educational programs to strengthen education in poverty neighborhoods. Under title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits Federal assistance for programs that discriminate as to race, color, or national origin, schools are required to end discriminatory practices in order to receive Federal funds.

These recent legislative actions, and numerous others directed toward expanding educational opportunity for children and college-age students, are helping to reshape American education.

The Office of Education is not only authorized by legislative action to express its concern for equal educational opportunity; it is obligated by law and by a national moral commitment to take the lead.

Campus Hoodlums

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, along with other Members of Congress I was shocked at the mob which attempted to interfere with the appearance of Vice President HUMPHREY at Stanford University last week. The Vice President of the United States, as a responsible spokesman for the Chief Executive and a public figure of great renown, deserved the attention and respect of the students.

The Chicago Tribune, in an editorial on Wednesday, February 22, very directly and emphatically discusses this incident:

> CAMPUS HOODLUMS
>
> Red-tinged student protesters against the war in Viet Nam tried to mob Vice President Humphrey after his appearance before a student forum at Stanford university. Similar hooliganism greeted Secretary of Defense McNamara at Harvard and Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, at Brown university.
>
> Sen. Edward M. Kennedy got the treatment at Wisconsin, and a contrived walkout was staged at a convocation at the University of California at Berkeley when Arthur Goldberg, now ambassador to the United Nations, was the guest speaker.
>
> Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, upon his return from Viet Nam, was greeted by the ambassadors of the "new left" as a "war criminal." Humphrey was called the same thing at Stanford. Yesterday University of Wisconsin students tangled with police when they tried to block use of the commerce building by Dow Chemical company to interview job prospects. The company makes napalm for flame bombs used in Viet Nam.
>
> The president of the Stanford student body has said that going to jail to oppose the draft "should be a normal part of growing up in America." He has called on students to "put their bodies on the line" in the cause of overhauling the university.
>
> The ugly incidents which crop up all the time on university campuses reflect the easy permissiveness of administrators and trustees. They may think they are encouraging freedom when they shrink from curbing organized demonstrators. What they are really doing is putting the lid on intellectual freedom. The left will hear only one side—its own.
>
> It is time that the people who run the universities heed the words of Dr. Rosemary Park, president of Barnard college. She urged fellow administrators "to insist that it is a privilege to be a student, not a right; that the university is no welfare state open to all but only to those who will develop an intellectual conscience and accept the discipline which comes with specialized knowledge."
>
> The punks should be kicked out of school.

Stop Bombing in the North, ADA Urges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON EDWARDS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, an excellent editorial on Vietnam in the February issue of the ADA World calls for a halt to bombing in the north.

Says the editorial:

> We have achieved the stalemate necessary for negotiations. We have already the basis for a just and lasting peace—a compromise settlement that will allow all parties in South Vietnam a share in governing the country and an international force to guarantee the peace.

I have unanimous consent to insert the full text of the ADA editorial in the RECORD:

> VIETNAM
>
> As this edition goes to press, it appears from newspaper reports that hopes for settlement of the Vietnamese war are higher than at any point during the last two years. A civil war in China has released the Chinese pressure on North Vietnam to oppose all attempts at settlement. Yet, there is still no clear indication that Washington wants anything short of surrender of the enemy as their terms of settlement.
>
> A few weeks ago in a public speech by Ambassador Goldberg, the United States said it was willing to cooperate in any way with Secretary General U Thant to bring about a settlement in Vietnam and urged him to use the full weight of his office to bring this settlement about. About a week later, Secretary U Thant said in an equally public statement that if the United States would cease bombing North Vietnam, begin the process of de-escalation in the South and agree to negotiate with the Viet Cong, he believed that the war might be brought to a conference table. Yet, apparently not one of these steps has been followed. In the face of this type of attitude, whatever hopes might have been brought about by the various signals from Hanoi seem to evaporate.
>
> But that attitude need not prevail and the President need not be led by his Secretary of State. There is still time to recognize that we cannot win at the conference table what we have not won on the battlefield and that we should not seek to win on the battlefield something out of proportion to our just aims—self-determination for the Vietnamese people. We have achieved the stalemate necessary for negotiations. We have already the basis for a just and lasting peace—a compromise settlement that will allow all parties in South Vietnam a share in governing the country and an international force to guarantee the peace. The task now is to begin the steps to make this peace possible by unilaterally halting the bombing of North Vietnam, by removing the obstacles we have placed to negotiations with the Viet Cong, and by changing our military tactics to facilitate settlement. The only alternative to this intelligent policy is a continuation of what we are doing and an expansion of the war—with all that represents in destruction in Vietnam, in depletion at home and in the continuing threat to world peace and stability. The time for change is now.

A New Offensive in the War on Hunger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the House will be interested to know that important private interests have joined the Agency for International Development and the Department of Agriculture in a new 3-year offensive in the world war on hunger and malnutrition.

Several days ago I attended two functions which made it clear that nothing less than the united efforts of this Government, the agricultural and industrial sectors, and organizations such as the Freedom from Hunger Foundation will be required to relieve the misery from protein deficiency in numerous countries.

In a ceremony appropriate to the occasion, William S. Gaud, Administrator of the Agency for International Development, signed the first in a series of private industry contracts with the Pillsbury Co., of Minneapolis. Under this Alliance for Progress agreement the company will evaluate the acceptability in El Salvador for newly developed protein supplements that can be derived from cottonseed, peanuts, and soybeans. These and other protein-rich crops can be grown in Central America.

PROTEIN-HUNGRY PEOPLE

Administrator Gaud stressed the need for an enlarged protein program to reduce the social, economic, and physical hazards faced by protein-hungry people.

In my view, this is more than a national or a continental problem. It is a human problem. Protein deficiency among children dominates the poverty chains around the globe. Thousands of people die from such malnutrition every day. An estimated 2 billion people—including up to 70 percent of children under age 6—suffer from a lack of protein. Recent studies have confirmed that protein malnutrition can lead to a permanent impairment of one's mental and physical health.

At the second function which I attended, a luncheon, Secretary of Agriculture Freeman hailed the new alliance of our public and private sectors and the cooperation of the developing countries in reducing the protein gap to a workable minimum.

The initial AID project with the Pillsbury Co., is small in scope but vast in its implications. It means that the skills and know-how of American private enterprise will be matched against the dietary blight which undermines the well-being of so many people.

TWENTY U.S. FIRMS

It means that within 3 years 19 other U.S. firms will have joined the war on hunger, thus helping our Government to discharge an obligation to help the developing nations to help themselves.

Neither one nor a hundred contracts will in themselves solve the problems arising from malnutrition. These AID contracts are intended only to catalyze and stimulate the private sector of our country and, indirectly, of other countries to give active support to this humanitarian drive.

The optimism generated by the initial contract between AID and the Pillsbury Co., is out of proportion to the dollar amount—a mere $60,000. Every dollar is a seed which, we trust, will bear rich fruit from our common endeavors.

TECHNICAL COMPETENCE

Our optimism reflects the fact that American private enterprise has—through research—acquired the technical competence to invent new protein supplies that are nutritious and desirable as food. Moreover, these food supplements are derived from crops that can be cultivated in most of the protein-short countries.

On this promising development we base a fervent hope that—with help from the recipient countries—we can make substantial improvement in the health and happiness of countless people.

Let us consider the Pillsbury contract and the funds committed by AID as symbols. They signify that in our desire to share our knowledge and abundance with less fortunate countries, we must be concerned with the quality of food as well as with its quantity. By "quality" we mean protein content—the essential ingredient for strengthening human minds and bodies and for maintaining their productivity.

SEVERAL REQUIREMENTS

It is not enough to produce or "invent" protein supplements that will safeguard public health and promote human development. These products—however effective—must meet the requirements of visual appeal, taste, flavor, and stability.

All our research and good intentions are in vain unless the high proteins are acceptable to consumers. They must be sold in food stores as part of the daily family diet. They must be adapted to local food traditions and preferences.

Here, perhaps, is the greatest hurdle for the high-protein program. Here, too, is a formidable challenge to the marketing abilities of American merchandisers.

In the Pillsbury Co. we have a firm whose experience in the food business spans almost one century. The company has made numerous overseas investments, including Central and South America, and it has concluded joint ventures with private firms in other countries. In El Salvador, for instance, Pillsbury has owned a minority interest in a flour mill since 1960. As a partner in this enterprise, it has formed valuable business contacts and acquired a first-hand knowledge of the country and its people.

COMPETITIVE PRODUCTS

The high-protein products which it plans to introduce in El Salvador will be competitive with other beverages and foods sold locally. The packaging will be as attractive as with other foods sold through commercial channels. Although the consumers' cost will be within the means of working people, neither the package nor its content will resemble so-called relief food.

Initially the company will introduce a beverage based on a patented technology developed in a research laboratory. It involves a process of blending and preserving nutritional ingredients such as protein and fat, heretofore considered difficult or impossible.

The company has also acquired experience in producing a milk-based protein supplement. However, the initial product testing in El Salvador will utilize a vegetable protein indigenous to that country. The company may also offer various solid foods such as a vegetable-based spread and chewable products based on this same technology.

DEMOGRAPHIC STUDIES

The choice of El Salvador as a proving ground for high-protein beverages and solid foods was deliberate. Through its local business connections the Pillsbury Co. has carried on demographic studies which will lead to a better understanding of the food preferences and customs of the people.

In cooperation with AID the company will establish a dialog with El Salvador's health officials and food industry leaders. Various high-protein products will then be offered to consumers in selected areas. The person-to-person approach will be supervised by personnel who have followed similar procedures with new food products in the United States. Through such detailed research the company hopes to develop high-protein products whose price, appearance, nutritional value, and taste will recommend themselves to consumers.

The goal in El Salvador as well as in the greater Central American common market area with its 13 million consumers is to market a product which can fortify the public health, win consumer acceptance and result in a successful economic enterprise.

JOINT VENTURE

Should the market survey and product testing prove successful, the company plans a joint venture with Salvadoran businessmen for the production, distribution, and sale of high-protein foods manufactured locally from home-grown vegetable proteins.

We can now appreciate why the so-called complete nutritional food (CNF) has stirred a lively interest among leaders in the food industry and in Government agencies. And we can appreciate why a new enterprise based on local farm production and employing local labor would appeal to leaders in the developing countries. In Latin America such ventures, jointly-owned and jointly-managed, will reflect the partnership spirit of the Alliance for Progress. Such joint ventures promote the self-help movement and lead ultimately to economic self-sufficiency and independence. They also contribute to a balanced industrial-agricultural economy as a basis for social and political stability.

May I add that AID's allocation of $1.2 million to this 3-year program, which is expected to involve about 20 American companies, represents but a fraction of the expenditures which the private sector has made and will continue to make for high-protein development.

INESTIMABLE LOSSES

But the total of all these costs cannot be compared to the inestimable value of human lives sacrificed every day to protein deficiency. Neither can we gage the true extent of illness, hardship, and mental frustration endured by its victims.

It is, therefore, heartwarming to know that two Government departments are mobilizing the technical and managerial resources of American private industry in waging a relentless war on hunger and malnutrition under the leadership of President Johnson.

High protein is a key element in this struggle. If it succeeds in practice, as we hope, it will bring honor and gratification to our country. If it fails, it means that we must perfect our tools and revise our methods. But—as in most human undertakings—it is better to try and fail than not to have tried at all.

League of Women Voters Supports Funds for Water Pollution Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, one of the finest national organizations in this country—the League of Women Voters—has taken a position in favor of Federal financial assistance to companies who are trying to eliminate water pollution.

It is with pleasure that I commend to the attention of our colleagues their statement of position:

STATEMENT OF POSITION ON FEDERAL FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO INDUSTRY TO EXPEDITE CONTROL OF WATER POLLUTION

The League of Women Voters of the United States supports limited federal financial assistance to industry as a means of expediting abatement of water pollution.

Although the League thinks that costs of pollution abatement are a responsibility of the polluter, it acknowledges that some help should be made available because of the urgency and immediacy of the problem and the immense costs involved. League members agree that strict enforcement of anti-pollution measures should accompany financial assistance, duration and scope of assistance should be limited, criteria for assistance should include consideration of financial need of the company, economic base of the community, area stream standards, extent and complexity of the pollution problem of the company and region.

Vietnam: The Nature of the War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, judging by the mail I am receiving concerning the war in Vietnam, there appears to be a growing desire on the part of the American people to achieve some sort of success in Vietnam.

People are becoming weary of the way in which the war has been handled. They are dissatisfied with the same statements, the same tired positions, the same old doubletalk. They see no new developments. They see us in the same position we were a year ago, or 2 years ago, or 3 three years ago. They are tired of a long, costly, and dragged-out war.

Mr. Speaker, the letters I have received fall into two main categories: Those asking for a deescalation and for a more earnest search for peace; and those asking for stronger military measures to bring the war to a quick and just conclusion. Very few of the letters express support for the current conduct of the war.

But, Mr. Speaker, whether they take the "dove" or the "hawk" position, they all ask that something other than the inaction and indecision of the administration's current policy be substituted.

The Colorado House of Representatives recently adopted a memorial calling upon the Congress of the United States to hold hearings and to fully discuss the origins and nature of the war in Vietnam, and to direct the President to conduct this Nation's affairs in Vietnam and southeast Asia in accordance with that determination.

The members of the Colorado House of Representatives adopted this memorial because they, like the people they represent, have grown weary of the lack of direction and success.

Mr. Speaker, I include in my remarks a copy of the memorial:

HOUSE MEMORIAL 1001

(By Representatives Haskell, Safran, Bastien, Gebhardt, Lamm, Knox, Frank, Koster, McCormick, Fentress, Cresswell, Morris, Sack, Bryant, Strahle, Fowler, Fuhr)

Memorializing the Congress of the United States concerning the conflict in Vietnam.

Whereas, The United States is engaged in a war in Viet Nam; and

Whereas, The scope of this country's involvement has grown by successive stages of escalation to a level which has been exceeded only by the Nation's participation in World War I and World War II; and

Whereas, Despite Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution of the United States, which grants to Congress, and Congress alone, the power to declare war, there has been no full and free discussion in the Congress of the United States on the origin and nature of this war and the extent to which it is in the national interest: now, therefore,

Be It Resolved by the House of Representatives of the Forty-sixth General Assembly of the State of Colorado:

That this House of Representatives hereby petitions the Congress of the United States to determine, at hearings by the appropriate committees and after full discussion by its members, the origin and nature of this war, and whether it is in or, conflicts with, our national interest; and thereafter, by appropriate resolution, to authorize and direct the President of the United States to conduct this nation's affairs in Viet Nam and Southeast Asia in accordance with that determination; and

Be It Further Resolved, That a Copy of this Memorial be transmitted to the members of the United States Congress from the State of Colorado.

JOHN D. VANDERHOOF,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
HENRY C. KIMBROUGH,
Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Fino Introduces Package of Civil Service Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a package of legislation to improve civil service conditions and retirement benefits.

My bills are: First, to amend the Federal Employees Health Benefits Act of 1959 to provide that the entire cost of health benefits under that act shall be paid by the Government; second, to amend the Annual and Sick Leave Act of 1951 to provide a lump-sum payment for the unused sick leave of an officer or employee immediately prior to his separation from the service on retirement; third, to modify the decrease in Federal Group Life Insurance at age 65 or after retirement; fourth, to permit a retired employee or member receiving health benefits pursuant to the provisions of the Federal Employees Health Benefits Act of 1959 to elect coverage under the Retired Federal Employees Health Benefit Act of 1960; fifth, to provide that the value of survivor annuities payable under chapter 83, title 5, United States Code, shall not be taken into account for State inheritance tax or Federal estate tax purposes; sixth, to amend section 8341 of title 5, United States Code, to provide annuities for surviving spouses without deduction from a retired employee or members annuity, and for other purposes.

All of the legislation I am introducing today would benefit our civil service workers and retirees not only at retirement time, but during their tenure of service.

For example, I see no reason why the Federal Government could not bear the entire burden of the cost of health benefits.

I hope that the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee will give this legislative package their fullest consideration.

Resolution Passed by Comanche Tribe of Oklahoma Regarding Omnibus Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES V. SMITH
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution passed by the Comanche Tribe of Oklahoma which is in opposition to to the so-called economic development of the reserves of individual Indians and Indian tribes and other purposes, commonly referred to as the omnibus bill. This resolution presents in a most forthright manner the reasons that, in my opinion, this bill should be defeated.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE COMANCHE TRIBE AT A MEETING HELD AT APACHE, OKLA., ON THE 28TH DAY OF JANUARY, 1967

Whereas, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs of the United States Department of the Interior at Washington, D.C., pursuant to regional conferences held with various and sundry Indian Tribes throughout the United States, to discuss proposals for legislation on matters of general interest to the Indian People, has submitted a Bill for consideration, to the various Indian Tribes and their governing bodies throughout the United States. This Bill, which relates to and provides for "The Economic Development of the Resources of Individual Indians and Indian Tribes and other Purposes", and is to be submitted in its present form or as amended, to the Congress of the United States for passage. And,

Whereas, said Bill which contains 41 pages, has been under evamination and review by members of the Comanche Tribe of the State of Oklahoma, and it is found to be complicated, burdensome, unwieldy and not to the best interest of the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Tribes, which are confederated tribes under treaties and Acts of Congress of the United States. And,

Whereas, the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Tribal lands, Tribal money and Tribal claims are held and owned together as if same were one tribe, and the proposed legislation under said Bill would only tend to further complicate and create friction and animosity and hard feelings among the members of said 3 Tribes, and would eventually result in mismanagement, loss and squandering of Tribal lands and Tribal funds, all to the detriment of the said 3 Tribes and members thereof. And,

Whereas, said Bill tends to bring about the alienation of individual Indian lands of the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Tribes held in trust by the United States Government under the General Allotment Act of February 8, 1887, as Amended, permits the individual Indian to make mortgages on said restricted lands thus permitting the white man and mortgage loan companies and corporations to take advantage of the Indian through financing and foreclosure proceedings, which in most instances will result in the individual Indian's land being taken from him. That the tragedies and hardships known by the Indians in the past were nothing to compare with those which would result from the "Bill" proposed, should Congress of the United States see fit to pass it. And, Whereas, it is the consensus of opinion of the members of the Comanche Tribe that said Bill to provide for the "Economic Development of the Resources of Individual Indians and Indian Tribes and other Purposes" as proposed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, is detrimental and against the best interests of the Comanche Tribe, and under no circumstances should same be passed, and the Comanche Tribe of Oklahoma, by this Resolution desires to express its opposition to the passage of such legislation as proposed in said Bill. The Bureau of Indian Affairs would be great disfavor and cause irreparable damage to the members of the Comanche Tribe as well as the Kiowa Comanche Tribes thereunder, should it be successful in getting the legislation passed by Congress.

Now, Therefore, be it Resolved, that the Comanche Tribe, at its meeting at Apache, Oklahoma, on the 28th day of January, 1967, does hereby oppose said "Bill" to "Provide for the Economic Resources of the Individual Indians and Indian Tribes and for Other Purposes" as proposed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for the reason that same is not to the best interests of the members of said Tribe or to the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma, and recommends that said Bill be not submitted to the Congress of the United States and in the event it is submitted, that said legislation not be passed. Be it further resolved, that a copy of this Resolution be submitted to the Indian Committees of the United States Senate and House of Representatives and to each member of the Oklahoma Congressional Delegation.

HORACE NAYOBOD,
Chairman.

Attest:

JULIA MAHSUT,
Secretary.

Estonian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, at this time we pause to pay tribute to the Estonian people. Forty-nine years ago in the midst of the World War I struggle an Estonian provisional government proclaimed to the world that Estonia was an independent and democratic nation.

Since the 18th century Estonians have endured the excesses of Russian rule. While there have been periods of lesser control during which Estonians established the first Estonian newspaper as well as held the first national song festival, more frequent have been the periods of oppression, when the Russian state, and later the Soviet state, applied severe russification measures.

When the 1917 revolutions in Russia and the ravages of the war created the right moment, however, Estonians were not downtrodden and indecisive but, drawing on their national courage and heritage, boldly proclaimed their independence on February 24, 1918. When World War I ended, Estonians set about organizing a government based on broad democratic principles. Freedom was the keynote, except for the Communists who attempted to subvert Estonian freedoms. Estonia's success as a stable and prosperous nation was recognized by its admittance to the League of Nations in September 1921. The United States extended recognition to this bastion of freedom in July 1922.

We in the United States share in the joyous recollections of Estonia's 22 years of independence; we share a deep sense of grief over the tragedy of the Soviet Union's forced occupation of Estonia and of the resultant deprivation of her freedoms; and we share in Estonia's hopes that one day soon she will again be an outpost of freedom on the Baltic.

The Pursuit of Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, no one wants peace in Vietnam more than President Johnson.

The following column from the February 17, 1967, edition of Life magazine graphically illustrates his constant seeking of some way to end the war. He is always on the job and always available at any place any time to talk about peace.

I commend this column to the attention of our colleagues:

THE PRESIDENCY: IN PURSUIT OF THE ELUSIVE PEACE FEELERS

(By Hugh Sidey)

When Lyndon Johnson was Senate leader, his harshest critics called him a man with no hankering for frontal legislative assault, a man who would rather compromise than fight—and a man who had the most acute political ear on the Hill.

Today the critics, some of them the same people, insist that in international politics Johnson is an implacable warrior who would rather bomb than talk, a man monumentally deaf to all the peace overtures that fill the air.

It can't be both ways, and it isn't. Lyndon Johnson still hates war of almost any kind and he still is supersensitive to political signals. So when he told his most recent news, conference that he was not aware of any "serious effort" by the other side to stop the Vietnam war, he spoke with sincerity and authority. Johnson pondered the word "serious" for quite a while before he went in front of the TV cameras. He tried out several other words on his top advisers but discarded them as not quite right. He knew at that time all the details of the reported overture made through the French to Senator Robert Kennedy. In fact, it was Johnson's intelligence network that picked up the nuances in the Kennedy conversations and thought for a moment there might be something. Bob Kennedy himself didn't believe he had received a signal. Only hours after the Kennedy encounter—and days before the story broke—the most elaborate sensing and probing apparatus that this government has ever assembled had followed that lead back, like countless others, and found it disappeared into familiar thickets.

The fact is that the government has received about 200 "flickers," as the bureaucrats like to call them, from the other side. That is, Hanoi or its representatives have talked to our people or to those we trust. But each time that talk amounts to a one-way deal; the United States should abandon its bombing or conform to Hanoi's four points, which means virtual capitulation.

Although it may have missed or dismissed signals in the past, never before has this government strained as hard for the sound of the dove. Every embassy has been doubly alerted through at least three levels of officialdom. Averell Harriman, the designated government ear, has assembled a knowledgeable staff to to check out every rumor. U.N. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg and his people are on hair-trigger alert. The CIA, the military and diplomatic intelligence officers all have special roles. At least part of the reason for sending former Postmaster General John Gronouski to Warsaw was the hope that his Polish ancestry might open up new sources and avenues to explore. Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson was sent back to Moscow because he is a man the Russians like, trust and might talk to more freely.

The United States government is in touch with Hanoi directly in several places and in several ways, and any signal can be in Johnson's White House Situation Room almost instantly. Johnson tries to hide his irritation at all the amateurs in the peace business—industrialists, journalists and senators. He can't quite do it. But that does not prevent the State Department from probing every whisper in a corridor, any diplomatic ambiguity, the theory of any third-embassy officer, the impression of any writer.

One of the President's first acts after waking up in the morning is to go to his bedroom door and get a written report on the Vietnam war, including all the new so-called peace feelers. At 7:30 he puts in his first call of the day—to Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, the only Cabinet officer almost sure to be at his desk and geared for such early activity. The President's first question, as often as not, is about prospects for talks with the Communists.

The Administration is convinced that all the increase in peace speculation is tied to one fact: the Communists are being badly beaten in the war. Evidence mounts that the hopelessness of their effort is being realized in Hanoi.

Curious pictures emerge from the vast amount of intelligence gathered on peace feelers. Flurries of activity at the Soviet embassy in Washington—lunches, cocktails, intimate talks—usually bring on new peace reports, articles and dovish speeches. The American journalists who have been allowed into North Vietnam have created new pressures to stop the bombing, as the U.S. did in 1966. Lyndon Johnson cannot forget how that episode came about.

The Soviets early last year had begun making contact with senators, diplomats and White House aides. The message from Ambassador Dobrynin seemed to be that if the bombing was halted, the Russians could gain leverage for peace moves. Oregon's Senator Wayne Morse spent more than three hours with Dobrynin one evening and called the White House toward midnight urgently asking to see the President. Johnson's own national security people began to talk the same way. McNamara made a special trip to the ranch to urge it. Secretary of State Dean Rusk was a holdout, but after Ambassador Thompson had conferred with Dobrynin, even Rusk felt we should try it. At one point the President was supported in his skepticism about the proposals only by his old friends Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas and Attorney Clark Clifford. Then, following a long afternoon discussion at the Soviet embassy, the cool, skeptical McGeorge Bundy, then Johnson's top security staffer, became an advocate of the pause. Johnson changed his mind and the bombers stayed on the ground for 37 days. And what came from Hanoi? Silence—and a buildup of North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam.

Last week the President stood in the fading light of a snowy afternoon warmed by a flickering fire in the Red Room. He talked soberly about his hopes that a real signal would come to start peace talks. Then he smiled slightly. "I chase every peace feeler," he said, "just like my little beagle chases a squirrel."

Democracy—What It Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MORRIS K. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, within the next few days Washington will be the host city for final judging in the Voice of Democracy Contest sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States. The winning entry from Arizona this year was submitted by Mr. Robert P. Gray of Yuma.

The 350,000 contestants from throughout the Nation wrote on "Democracy—What It Means to Me."

The speech written by young Mr. Gray is an inspiring message. I therefore commend this student's words to my colleagues in the House of Representatives:

DEMOCRACY—WHAT IT MEANS TO ME

The word Democracy suggests many things to many people. To me, democracy is the American way of life, and it is precious.

A democratic form of government is not easily held together. Its survival depends on each individual's support of that government. If our democracy is to grow and flourish, each citizen must participate in it. But wise participation is the foremost ingredient.

In order to make wise choices, an individual must be educated. Democracy requires intelligent decisions by each person. Without education, people will not be able to choose wisely, and the democratic process may decay. Each person of this generation who stays in school and works actively and diligently is contributing to the strength of our nation. When each man is educated, democracy will be at its highest point. It is for our generation to work toward this end.

As an individual, I believe that I must participate in this democratic process in order to preserve the American ideal. Democracy demands attention, for apathy leads to its destruction. It is the personal responsibility of each citizen to work for a better tomorrow, and it is my responsibility to do all I can to support this great freedom we have. I must set an example and say, "I love my country, and I care about it."

Democracy is the American way of life. The United States has come a long way since 1776, but there are still many frontiers to be explored and many problems to be overcome. When the threat to democracy is as great as it is today, it becomes evident that a strong, free America is the only answer to this threat. Freedom is democracy, and freedom is the American way of life.

A strong Democracy insures the survival of the individual, for it is based on the principle of competition. To be an individual is to be free to choose, and to be free is part of democracy. If each person could and would think for himself, then democracy would be strong and great. The individual is the foundation of democracy. This is why education is so vital.

But not all men realize the challenge which lies before them to create a happier, healthier, and safer tomorrow. Until they do, democracy must travel a long, rough road. Questions must be answered, especially those which have plaqued man since the earliest civilizations. Courage and determination will lead the way. Democracy may be slow, but, by the Grace of God, we shall succeed.

Orville E. Priestley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. MORRIS of New Mexico. Mr. Speaker, I wish to pay tribute to one of my dearest friends, Orville E. Priestley, who passed away on February 13, 1967. Mr. Priestley, the editor-publisher of the Las Cruces Sun-News, was recently elected president of the New Mexico Associated Press Publishers' Association. The many honors and awards bestowed upon him were symbolic of the deeply felt appreciation of his community and State. He devoted his life to journalism in the manner that has kept it an honored profession—he had an inherent respect for the dignity of man.

When I was seeking election to this body for the first time, back in 1958, I was advised to meet and talk to Orville Priestley in order to "feel the pulse" of his community. Our first encounter was an experience that I will never forget. He questioned my theories of government, my motivation in seeking public office, my position on specific issues, and my integrity in serving the people of our State—it was undoubtedly the severest test that I have ever faced on an extemporaneous basis. To this day, I am humbly grateful that, in his eyes, I seem to have measured up to those standards which he felt were needed by one who represents the people. From that unexpectedly tense beginning, a friendship between us grew and bore fruit that I will always treasure—to call him friend is an honor to me.

My heart is deeply saddened by his loss, and I wish to extend my sincerest sympathy to his family.

Orville Priestley was a great newspaperman; and he was, certainly, a true friend.

The following article appeared in the Sun-News following his death:

O. E. PRIESTLEY, PUBLISHER, DIES TODAY

Orville Eugene Priestley, publisher of the Las Cruces Sun-News since 1947, died early today in an El Paso hospital.

Mr. Priestley, 67, had been in ill health the past several months although working nearly every day at his desk. His last work day was Wednesday.

He was taken to the hospital last Friday.

Born at Trading Post, Kan., September 20, 1889, he spent his early years at Anadarko, Okla., and attended public schools there before entering the University of Oklahoma.

HEADED PRESS ASSOCIATIONS

He graduated from the University of Oklahoma in journalism in 1925 and was editor of the Oklahoma Daily, the school newspaper. He was a past president and director of the Louisiana Press Association and of the New Mexico Press Association.

Mr. Priestley was a member of St. Paul's Methodist Church, a past member of the Mesilla Valley Chamber of Commerce Board of Directors, past president of the Crowley, La., Rotary Club and a former member of the Las Cruces Rotary Club. He was also a member of the New Mexico Professional Chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, professional journalistic society.

Last January 20, Mr. Priestley was elected president of the New Mexico Associated Press Publishers' Association.

CAME TO STATE IN 1945

He came to New Mexico in 1945 from Crowley. He had worked on newspapers in Oklahoma, Arkansas and Missouri before becoming a partner in the Crowley Daily Signal.

After coming to New Mexico, Mr. Priestley and the late James H. Skewes published the Artesia Advocate, which they sold in 1956. They also at one time owned the Las Vegas, N. M., Daily Optic.

Mr. Priestley and Skewes purchased the Sun-News in October 1946 from the late Wallace Perry and Mrs. Perry. Mr. Priestley took actual control of the newspaper June 15, 1947, coming to Las Cruces from Artesia.

Several years ago, he bought out stock held by Mrs. Grace B. Skewes and the estate of her husband.

SERVICES WEDNESDAY

He is survived by his widow, the former Opal Lee Shore; two sons, Joe S. Priestley, assistant publisher of The Sun-News, and Gene Priestley Jr., publisher of the Las Cruces Citizen; and six grandchildren.

Funeral services will be held at 4 p.m. Wednesday at Graham's Mortuary chapel. Rev. Nelson Wurgler, pastor of St. Paul's Methodist Church will officiate, assisted by Rev. Bancroft Smith of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church. Burial will be in Masonic Cemetery.

Pallbearers will be William Byron Darden, Dr. Paul S. Jones, Abe J. Perilman, Maj. Gen. Hugh Milton, John Gill, Bob McMillin.

Honorary pallbearers will be members of the Sun-News staff and many friends throughout New Mexico who knew and loved him.

Carver County's Outstanding Senior Citizen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANCHER NELSEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, among individuals in the Second District who have been selected as an outstanding senior citizen, is Mrs. Howard Hall, of Waconia, who is representing Carver County at the Governor's sixth biennial Conference on Aging at ceremonies in Minneapolis this week.

I include an article from the Waconia Patriot concerning Mrs. Hall at this point in my remarks:

MRS. HOWARD HALL IS NOMINEE FOR STATE'S OUTSTANDING SENIOR CITIZEN

Mrs. Howard Hall of Waconia, who was recently selected as Carver County's Outstanding Senior Citizen, has been invited to attend the Governor's 6th Biennial Conference on Aging, to be held February 23–24 in the Pick-Nicollet Hotel in Minneapolis.

She is among the nominees from whom Governor Harold LeVander will name "Minnesota's Outstanding Senior Citizen". The Governor will present each of the county nominees with a special certificate and will present a gold and walnut state-shaped plaque to the top candidate. This award was first made at the 1965 Governor's Conference on Aging to focus state attention on the outstanding achievements of so many of our older citizens. The 1965 state honors went to Miss Marie Piesinger of Northfield.

The 1967 presentation will be made at the opening session of the Conference on Thursday morning, February 23.

Other special events of this year's conference will be special sessions on housing for the elderly, and on legislation affecting older persons, including the Governor's recommendation for property tax relief for older persons with low incomes.

Postal Salaries Based on Locality Are Being Seriously Considered

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, it was with real pleasure that I read the article by Joseph Young in the Washington Star of February 27 about postal salaries being based on locality rather than on a national basis.

I have introduced legislation on this subject for many years because I am firmly convinced that all Government civil service employees will not receive justice in connection with their salaries if they live in a high-cost area. The national salaries are always fixed on a compromise between salaries in low-cost areas and salaries in high-cost areas. As a result, the employees living in the high-cost areas never get justice while those living in the low-cost areas are paid salaries above comparable salaries in private industry in the local area.

I sincerely hope that this administration really means what Joseph Young predicts. Mr. Young's article follows:

POSTAL SALARIES BASED ON LOCALITY ARE BEING SERIOUSLY CONSIDERED

(By Joseph Young)

The Johnson administration is giving serious consideration to a plan of paying postal salaries on a locality basis rather than on a national rate.

The plan would not go as far as that proposed by Rep. Tom Steed, D-Okla., chairman of the House Appropriations Postal subcommittee, which would determine postal salaries on the basis of cost of living factors in the various cities and towns throughout the country.

What the administration is considering seriously is a system whereby the starting posal salaries of letter carriers and postal clerks would be raised in those cities where recruitment is difficult because of cost-of-living factors and intense competition from higher industry wages.

This, of course, could be the first step in a system of paying postal workers on the basis of locality, with those in the larger cities making more than those in small towns and rural areas.

But the administration at the moment is interested in the matter of paying higher starting salaries in order to attract competent postal personnel.

For example, such cities as San Francisco, Chicago, New York and Washington on occasion have serious postal recruitment problems.

On the other hand, there are more than enough candidates for postal jobs in smaller cities and towns where the present starting salary of $5,331 annually is more than adequate, postal officials say.

Postal officials would like to raise the starting pay in some of the major cities without having to adjust the salaries of all other postal clerks and carriers in these cities. This poses a problem, because junior clerks and carriers would be making as much as some of the senior employes.

Voice of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, 25 years ago, on February 26, 1942, the following words were spoken:

> The Voice of America speaks. Today America has been at war for 79 days. Daily at this time we shall speak to you about America and the war, and the news may be good or bad. We shall tell the truth.

And so the Voice of America began its first assignments in the midst of the critical times which faced our Nation and the world during World War II. The high standards enunciated in that sentence, "We shall tell the truth," Mr. Speaker, have prevailed throughout the 25 years of the Voice's existence.

Facing the task of explaining America and Americans to those abroad without the tools of the great lie or a censored press as other powers utilize, the Voice has handled its responsibilities in the finest tradition allowing a free flow of information and entrusting its audience to judge us on our accomplishments as well as noting our difficulties.

As our late President John F. Kennedy said when addressing the Voice of America staff in 1962:

> The Voice of America carries a heavy responsibility. Its burden of truth is not easy to bear. It must explain to a curious and suspicious world what we are. It must tell them of our basic beliefs. It must tell them of a country which is in some ways a rather old country—certainly old as republics go. And yet it must make our ideas alive and new and vital in the high competition which goes on around the world since the end of World War II.

It is important for us to pause and pay tribute to the magnificent job the Voice of America has done for us in the world community. Under the directorship of the very able John Chancellor, the Voice continues to spread the truth. And as it does this it spreads the seeds of liberty and the cause of freedom.

National Clean-Up, Paint-Up, Fix-Up Bureau

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. S. JOHNNY WALKER

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, a delegation of six has come to Washington from my home State of New Mexico to accept a national award. The award is given by the National Clean-Up, Paint-Up, Fix-Up Bureau. The town of Moriarty, population 1,200, is located in central New Mexico. I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the acceptance speech made by Mr. Robert B. Durham, president of the Moriarty Chamber of Commerce:

> We live on Main Street, U.S.A., Route 66, Moriarty, New Mexico.
>
> For several previous years, the Moriarty Garden Club had conducted short duration Clean-Up campaigns.
>
> The Garden Club asked the Moriarty Chamber of Commerce if they would consider sponsoring the Clean-Up campaign for 1966.
>
> Through correspondence, an invitation came from the Albuquerque Chamber of Commerce to have representatives attend *their* annual Clean-Up Campaign Kick-off breakfast April 1.
>
> The 5 representatives of various organizations who attended, came home with enough enthusiasm for the entire 1,200 residents of Moriarty.
>
> A steering committee was organized to plan and co-ordinate the entire campaign.
>
> We felt that with the rapid growth in population of from *75*, according to the 1950 census, to *1,200*, not much time had been given to the thought of cleanliness and beautification.
>
> During the next 4 weeks, the steering committee Chairmen were selected and briefed on the plan of action and their responsibilities.
>
> We divided our City into 4 residential and business quadrants with a chairman and co-chairman for each quadrant.
>
> They were responsible for securing a chairman for each block in their quadrant and explaining the complete program.
>
> Each block chairman contacted every resident on their block and enlisted their co-operation.
>
> The business area of town was contacted in the same manner.
>
> A total of 125 people were involved, from the steering committee right down to the block chairmen.
>
> 5 meetings were held during April to get our drive started, and on May 1, the campaign was officially kicked off, designated as "Go-Go" day, with a sack lunch picnic in the City Park and a parade of some 50 entries.
>
> We chose as a slogan "Sidewinder 66 Makes a Clean Sweep" because of our geographic location, and the year 1966, and referring to "sidewinder" as being *not* a species of rattlesnake, but in its specialized application here, it is a popular reference to a tornado or twister.
>
> Our campaign song was witled "The Sidewinder Sweep," to the tune of "These Boots Were Made for Walkin." We used our fire truck to inform people and our song was sung at this time.
>
> I would like to emphasize, that our slogan and campaign song were constantly on the minds of every citizen.
>
> We made our campaign "fun," for it started on a day of fun activities and ended at our annual 4th of July Old Fashioned Bar-B-Q

Celebration, with the presentation of certificates of achievement and special recognition awards.

We had *excellent* organization and functioning committees that believed in "follow-up."

No one wanted to miss a report meeting because we *did* make this a "fun" campaign, but with "serious objectives."

Our committee was confident that we *could* win an award, but the citizens went about their cleaning with a sense of "pride" and *not* prize.

Cooperation, Fun, and Achievement were the keys to our campaign, for you could hardly do any type of cleaning without someone being there taking your picture.

We concentrated on involving as many people as possible with responsibilities, in order to give everyone a feeling of being a "part of" the campaign.

And we were not disappointed in the least with their willingness to cooperate.

Publicity of our campaign was timed perfectly to keep the campaign foremost in the minds of every citizen.

Every bit of evidence of progress, with pictures and words, was used, with specific mention of individuals' names.

The scrapbook committee was constantly working throughout the campaign, gathering and cataloging every evidence of activity for future use in compiling our scrapbook for entry.

In the past, many various campaigns have been conducted, but none have received the acceptance and entire cooperation as did this clean-up campaign.

All organizations, both adult and youth, actively participated in one phase or another of the campaign.

We feel that organization *participation* and *cooperation* were also key components to a successful campaign.

In conclusion, without the basic organization, there would have been no campaign.

Without the publicity and pictures, we would have had no evidence of our campaign to record.

Without the scrapbook, we would have had no official recorded entry.

But, most important, are the fine people of Moriaty, New Mexico, for without their willing participation, we would have none of the above, and we would not be privileged to be here sharing our wonderful experience with you.

Anniversary of Estonia's Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, as the House was not in session last Friday, I will take this occasion to say a few words about the anniversary of Estonian independence.

We, the people of the United States, set aside 1 day each year to celebrate our freedom from foreign rule. The Fourth of July is always an occasion for parades, for patrotic music, and for oratorical pyrotechnics, as well as fireworks of the literal type. All in all, our Independence Day is a day of rejoicing because we have enjoyed almost two centries of freedom.

Our Estonian friends, on the other hand, do not really celebrate on the anniversary date that marks the birth of freedom in that tiny Baltic nation—they merely observe it. Last Friday was the 49th anniversary of their independence. It was on February 24, 1918, that Estonia broke the shackles that had bound her to czarist Russia.

A short 22 years later, in 1940, Soviet Russia reforged the chains and Estonia again became a colony of the Communist empire. The Soviet empire of the commissars has been as tyrannical, as oppressive, and as vicious as the Romanoff empire of the czars.

If only Estonia could look forward to a restoration of freedom by the time the 50th anniversary of independence arrives on February 24, 1968. The people of that unhappy land would then truly have something to celebrate rather than a day to observe. The 50th anniversary would really be a year of jubilee.

Forty-three Percent of U.S. Poor Live in Rural Areas—Three Out of Four Are White

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL D. PERKINS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, I think many of my distinguished colleagues will be interested in an AP report which appeared in the Philadelphia Inquirer on January 29. This report discusses the findings of the National Association for Community Development on the subject of rural poverty.

Mr. Speaker, the association announced much valuable information, and its research work will be of substantial importance as we seek ways to strengthen the war on poverty. The most striking fact in the report is that while only 29.1 percent of the Nation's population live in rural areas, fully 43.4 percent of the American poor are found in those areas. In rural America, 26.9 percent of the people are poor, while the figure for urban areas is 14.4 percent.

Mr. Speaker, these figures, and others provided by the association, suggest the magnitude of the task facing us in the war against rural poverty. Surely our efforts in this area must be doubled and redoubled, and the poor of this Nation who live outside urban areas must be extended the helping hand they so greatly need and so richly deserve.

Mr. Speaker, I include the report of the National Association for Community Development on rural poverty, as it appeared in the Inquirer, at this point in the RECORD:

FORTY-THREE PRECENT OF U.S. POOR LIVE IN RURAL AREAS, THREE OUT OF FOUR ARE WHITE

WASHINGTON, January 28.—Only 29.1 percent of the Nation's population live in rural areas but 43.4 percent of America's poor are found there, the National Association for Community Development reported Saturday.

The association reports also that in rural America, 26.9 percent of the people are poor—family income under $3,000 annually or individual income below $1,500—compared to 14.4 percent in urban areas.

"More than half of rural poverty is found in the South," the report says. "All but three of the 250 counties in which rural families had the lowest median incomes in 1959 were in the 14 Southern and Border States."

The report also says three out of four of the rural poor are white but poverty is greater proportionately among Negro and other nonwhite rural residents.

As an example, the report says fewer than one-half of white farm families are poor compared to eight of nine nonwhite farm families. Among rural nonfarm families, the report says, 19 percent of the whites are poor compared to 67 percent of the nonwhites.

AREAS ARE LISTED

The report, in a booklet entitled "Dimensions of Rural Poverty," was issued in advance of the association's three-day conference on rural poverty which opens Monday.

The report was prepared by Howard Hallman, a Washington consultant, for the conference.

Rural areas most in need of economic development, according to the report, are Southern tobacco and cotton areas, Appalachia, the Ozarks, Upper Great Lakes region, northern New England and Indian reservations.

FARM JOBS DROP

"In many of the poor rural areas, the greatest undeveloped resource is the people who live there," says the report. "This is especially true in the South."

It says the three types of industry associated with rural areas—agriculture, mining and forestry—have suffered large losses of employment in recent years.

"The drop in farm employment has been particularly severe, from 8.6 million jobs in 1945 to 4.6 million in 1965," the report notes.

Other points in the report include:

—Farm wages are low, averaging $1.03 an hour, which would yield only $2,060 for a year of full-time employment.

—Farm workers lose more days due to sickness than workers in any other occupation, but farm residents average just 3.3 visits to a physician annually compared to 4.8 visits for persons living in metropolitan areas.

—Even though nonfarm occupations are clearly the prime employment opportunities for rural youth, courses in agriculture have dominated the vocational curriculum of most rural schools.

—In 1964 there still were 9,895 one-teacher schools, mostly in rural areas.

—In 1960 urban adults averaged 11.1 years of education compared to 9.5 years for nonfarm rural people and 8.8 years for farm residents.

—In 1960, four of five urban homes were in sound condition and contained complete plumbing, but only slightly more than one of two rural dwellings met these criteria.

The National Association for Community Development, organized in 1965, is a private, nonprofit professional organization whose purposes include providing leadership in the development of our Nation's communities, urban and rural, in an effort to combat poverty.

Estonian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, the list of independent nations has grown rapidly in the last two decades. The list however, does not usually contain the names of some states. These are the unfortunate countries which lost their formal international identity through forced absorbtion within the Soviet Union. One such state is Estonia. Since July 1940, she has been an unwilling component of the huge Communist empire to the east of her.

Before the disgraceful conquest of Estonia over 26 years ago, that small Baltic nation had been a free, proud, and worthy member of the world community. The people of Estonia had shown the ability to work for a better internal life and a peaceful external relationship with their neighbors.

The opportunity to achieve freedom had come with the declaration of independence from the empire of the Romanovs on February 24, 1918. Taking advantage of the upheavals caused by the First World War, the Estonian people had thrown off the foreign domination of almost two centuries. The anniversary of that memorable event in Estonian history is truly worth commemorating. It was a stirring chapter in the march of liberty.

Moreover, Mr. Speaker, the fact that Estonians cannot today celebrate that national holiday in their homeland is another excellent reason that we should ourselves remind the world that Estonia was and should again be among the roll of independent nations. I wish to extend to the long-suffering people of Estonia my hope that their country may soon again be numbered in that proud assemblage.

Hutchinson Man Visits East Berlin, Appreciates United States of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, Tip Mills, editor of our hometown paper, the Hutchinson Leader, recently carried in his editorial column excerpts from a letter by Jim Kurth of Hutchinson, who is serving with the Army in West Berlin. Jim's observations of East Berlin are well worth reporting to a larger readership and I include the Leader commentary at this point in my remarks:

HUTCHINSON MAN VISITS EAST BERLIN, APPRECIATES UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

You might find interesting this excerpt from a recent letter written to Mr. and Mrs. Wallace Kurth of Hutchinson by their son Jim, who is with the army in West Berlin:

"I spent a week end in East Berlin recently. We must wear our uniforms when we cross the border. American servicemen stationed in West Berlin are required to cross over at least twice a year, and I can see why they should.

"It makes you realize why you are in service. I would like to take all these draft dodgers and 'peace creeps' and drop them in East Berlin for a few days. You wouldn't believe that place. They have no traffic problems because they have no cars. The department stores wtih their huge windows are empty because there's nothing to sell.

"The people seldom go out on the streets, and the ones that do are very sad. If no one was watching, the East Berliners would smile or wink or even risk waving when they saw an American uniform.

"After that trip to East Berlin I will never regret the three years I spent in the army, I surely wouldn't want to have the U.S. like that, and I'd rather we fight 'them' away from home."

Jim will complete his tour of duty within a month and expects to be home about March 16. He enlisted for three years and has been in Germany for the past 21 months.

Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, as one who has fought for many years to secure Federal aid to education, it is most gratifying to know the benefits are already being noticed.

It is also encouraging to hear from a section of our State in which the population normally objects to Federal aid of any type on the grounds it "is not necessary and it is an attempt to gain Federal control."

Needless to say, Mr. Speaker, I shall continue to support Federal aid to education and try to have it increased as requested in the following letter. I would like to call the attention of my Pennsylvania colleagues to the appeal for an expanded program—and ask their support when the legislation is before the House for final passage:

HUNTINGDON AREA SCHOOLS.

The Honorable ELMER J. HOLLAND,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN HOLLAND: We consider it our duty and our obligation to inform you of the tremendous impact that Federal aid to education has had upon the educational program of the Huntingdon Area Schools in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania.

According to a recent survey conducted by the Industrial Development Department of the Pennsylvania Electric Company and the Council for Economic Development Organization (CEDO), it was found that 31.7% of the people in our County earn less than $3,000.00. The same survey revealed that 33⅓% of the people lived in what is classified as "dilapidated housing." In spite of these signs of poverty, Huntingdon County ranks fifth among all counties in Pennsylvania in local financial effort for the support of the schools. We were aware that much was being done for the education of our young people; but we were even more aware that much more had to be done if our children were to attain an education which would be an acceptable preparation for the future.

Public Law 89–10—The Elementary Secondary Education Act—made available $165,000.00 for the disadvantaged children of our community. In the original allotment of 698 financially disadvantaged children, we found many frustrated children caused by inability to read, lack of culture in the home, lack of physical and dental care and also an inadequate diet. In our original grant of $165,000.00 we attacked these problems and believe that we are seeing remarkable results. Students in high school as a result of this problem have an opportunity to go to a dentist for the first time in their life; physical impairments have been corrected; warm noon meals have been provided for those who previously had no lunch; and above all, the children who were reading below their grade level are now receiving remedial instruction from 11 specially trained reading instructors. It was revealed that 429 of these students improved their reading level one year and six months above the normal rate of growth as a result of the remedial reading program made possible through Public Law 89–10.

We are attempting to discover and care for those in dire need through the medium of an OEO sponsored Head Start program. Next year if Federal aid is continued we expect to provide follow-through services for these same students. There are many other aspects of Federal aid to education which I have not mentioned for which we are deeply grateful.

I would urge you as a member of the 90th Congerss to support enthusiastically legislation to continue and even expand the Federal aid. It is our firm belief that the greatest defense America can have is an educated citizenry.

The story I have related to you can be repeated by thousands of educators in our nation; and it is only thorugh Federal aid that all people will have an equal opportunity to become educated to their full capacity to learn.

Respectfully yours,
H. RONALD HUBER,
Superintndent.

The Root of U.S. Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAN KUYKENDALL

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I would like to include an editorial from the Memphis Commercial Appeal, one of the great newspapers published in the city which it is my privilege to represent in Congress.

The Commercial Appeal editorial deals with the recent report on crime released by the President's Commission. I agree with the editorial writer that, although there are many ways to combat the serious, and growing crime rate in America, the basic cause of the increase in crime is a breakdown in our moral structure.

We cannot expect juveniles to be law abiding when we fail to teach them respect for law. Our generation cannot expect morality from the youth of the Nation when our society encourages immorality through movies, TV, and filthy books. We cannot expect a well-ordered society when we have ignored completely the teaching of self-discipline, and the rules of work and thrift, and dedication to principle.

America became a great Nation because it was a law-abiding Nation founded on deep religious principles, imbued with a love of God, and adherence to such basic truths as set forth in the Ten Commandments, and the Sermon on the Mount.

I commend the Commercial Appeal editorial to my colleagues, and to the people who will read this Record in the hope that it may inspire a rededication to moral principles which alone can be the deciding factor in reducing crime. The editorial follows:

THE ROOT OF U.S. CRIME

Over the week end, while the presidential commission report on crime was being released and publicized, Detroit was dramatizing what the report is all about.

In Detroit a staggering crime increase has led to an unprecedented sale and registration of firearms. Citizens are afraid.

"There is reason to be alarmed about crime," the 19-member President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice says in its massive report. It calls for "a revolution in the way America thinks about crime," and it submits more than 200 recommendations for up-grading law enforcement, the courts and correctional institutions.

Before criticizing the 350-page report—and it can stand some criticism—it should be praised. This document, titled "The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society," should be read by every policeman, every lawyer, every judge, every prison and probation official, and by members of Congress, legislatures and city and county governments. To hope for widespread study of the report by all citizens would be too much, yet in the end this might be the best way to diminish crime.

The reason for this is that the growing crime problem can be traced to one fundamental cause: The breakdown of the family. Immorality, disrespect for law and for the individual rights of others, materialism, double standards, casual attitudes toward religion and unconcern for others all have their roots in today's generation of parents. And it is these parents who have given birth to the generation of juveniles that is setting the pace in the crime-rate rise. Arrest rates are now highest among those 15 and 16 years old, and next highest among those 18 through 20.

Youth dominates our population figures, our culture and our crime. The presidential commission says its studies show that "perhaps 90 per cent of all young people have committed at least one act for which they could have been brought to juvenile court."

The commission, in its recommendations, cites many ways in which police, courts and prisons can be made more effective. It underlines the need for more knowledge about the different kinds and causes of the varying degrees of crime. It calls for new social attitudes and the involvement of all citizens in combatting crime.

Admittedly to carry out the commission's plans would take years, and would cost billions of dollars. But the point is made that failure to do so will cost more, in both dollars and fear.

The least costly action lies within the minds of the people. As one member of the commission, Miss Genevieve Blatt of the Pennsylvania Board of Pardons, says in a footnote to the report, nowhere does it mention God or the Ten Commandments. "Somehow or other," she says, "we must restore to every citizen's everyday living that same belief in God's love and justice which was characteristic of our countrymen in an earlier and less crime-ridden period."

Other commission members note the failure of the report to criticize Supreme Court decisions which have hampered police in investigations, and have led to favoring the rights of the accused over the rights of the victims of crime. This was an inexcusable omission.

Still, the document has value, for it shows society for the first time how devastating the amount of American crime is today, and how it reaches into every level of life. Most of all, it pinpoints the need to instill in children the respect for law and people that is so sadly missing now.

The Communists in Thailand—A Familiar and Ominous Pattern

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, in November last year, following final adjournment of the 89th Congress, I undertook a factfinding tour of what I felt to be key trouble spots in southeast Asia. I included Thailand on my itinerary and spent several days in the company of United States and Thai Government officials, touring that country and discussing current events.

On my return to this country, I released a series of lengthy and rather detailed personal reports on my trip and on the conclusions I had reached as a result of what I saw and heard. My report on Thailand was made a part of the Congressional Record for January 30, 1967.

In that report, I stressed the stepped-up activity of Communist infiltration in the north in a pattern that had become all too familiar and ominous in Vietnam. Through terrorist tactics of murden, kidnapping, pillage, and destruction, bands of PFT guerrillas were systematically trying to undermine the Bangkok Government and to convert the northern Thai countryside to communism.

The Thai Government, taking a page from our experience in Vietnam, was and is mounting a determined and more unified program to counter the Communist effort. The United States is committed to assist through our excellent AID program and through military advisory groups. So far, no U.S. troops are reported to be committed to the actual fighting and it is my hope and confident belief that, through sufficient, and effective support of the Thai Government, the PFT effort can be nipped in the bud without direct U.S. intervention.

My findings were such that I was convinced, if not of the accuracy of the so-called domino theory in southeast Asia, at least of the absolute certainty that Thailand is next on the Communist list. I was also convinced that any reduction or disengagement of U.S. forces in Vietnam would almost certainly lead directly to a more ambitious Communist drive in Thailand.

Now, in the pages of the Boston Globe for Sunday, February 27, comes another reporter's version of events today in Thailand. The Globe story confirms the impressions and conclusions I gained while in Thailand and, in updating events, makes it even more urgent now than 3 months ago.

Under unanimous consent procedures, I now place in the Record the article from the Boston Sunday Globe and I respectfully commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

The article follows:

ANOTHER VIETNAM? THAILAND NOW TARGET OF RED REBELS

(By Darius Jhabvala)

UNITED NATIONS.—There are some disquieting similarities between what is happening in Thailand today and the early days of insurgency in Vietnam.

While world attention is concentrated on the Vietnamese conflict, Thai army and security forces are quietly moving against antigovernment guerrillas on both the military and economic front.

Little is known about their fight, principally because the guerrillas are not yet widespread and their activity is limited to remote and inaccessible regions of that country.

But what becomes amply clear is that Thailand may well be the next arena for Communist-non-Communist confrontation.

According to Thai intelligence sources, the number of guerrillas is about 1,000 and they operate under the cover of a central organization called "the Patriotic Front of Thailand" (P.F.T.).

The P.F.T. propaganda theme is similar to that of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (N.L.F.). It claims that P.F.T. is a "people's organization," dedicated to "free the Thais from the clutches of the U.S. aggressors."

The organization's stronghold is the northeast region which borders on Laos and is an easy refuge to rebels.

Another P.F.T. fortress is the southern region where routed Communists from Malaysia have taken refuge.

The target for recruitment is not only some of the dissident Thai elements but also 35,000 North Vietnamese who took refuge in Thailand when Ho Chi Minh took control of Hanoi.

Thai officials point out that P.F.T. activists move through villages in bands of 25 and 50 and seek support through terror—a familiar modus operandi of the Viet Cong.

Armed mainly with captured U.S.-made carbines and M–1 rifles that are obtained in Laos, P.F.T. guerrillas resort to hit-and-run tactics and to kidnappings and assassinations to prove to the peasants that the Bangkok government is impotent.

It is believed that for each guerrilla, the P.F.T. has eight supporters among the villagers, thereby bringing the potential strength of the movement to more than 8,000.

Against this strength, the Thai government has thrown in more than 85,000 troops and nearly 39,000 security forces drawn from regional and local militia.

Backing them are more than 35,000 American troops who are primarily in Thailand for fighting the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong.

However, the United States does provide transport facilities and frequently ferries Thai troops to an area of P.F.T. activity.

The successes scored are limited and short-lived. For, the small sizes in which the P.F.T. carries out raids make it exceedingly difficult for the Thai army to pin them down.

Observers who see a similarity between the operations of the Viet Cong and the P.F.T. are convinced that in the not too distant future, the Thai guerrillas will move in battalion and regiment strength for more conventional action against the Thai army.

On the other hand, U.S. advisers are more optimistic. They contend that Thai troops, trained by Americans who have had combat experience in Vietnam, are better equipped and experienced than the South Vietnamese troops were.

Furthermore, Thailand's rural-development programs, financed through some of the $100 million U.S. aid, has made significant strides and Thai peasants are not easily enchanted by the programs of the P.F.T.

One person who does not fully agree with the assessment of the Americans is Defense Minister Dawee Chullasapya who estimates that "there is more Communist activity in Thailand than a year ago."

He believes that once the Vietnam war tapers off, North Vietnam will begin to funnel more military aid to the P.F.T.

Post Office Harpoons L.B.J.'s Great Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Columnist Henry Hazlitt writing in this morning's Chicago Tribune built his commentary around a letter to the President discussing the chaotic condition of the Post Office Department.

In my opinion this interesting commentary should have the attention of the hierarchy in the Post Office Department. Recognizing that they do read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD I ask unanimous consent to insert this article.

POST OFFICE HARPOONS L.B.J.'S GREAT SOCIETY

(By Henry Hazlitt)

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Let me call your attention to an organization that is doing everything to thwart your efforts to hold down prices.

This organization is the postoffice.

For 80 years, until 1952, a postcard sold for a penny. Now this organization is charging 4 cents for it, an increase of 300 per cent. Yet consumer prices in general since that year have gone up only 24 per cent.

On top of all this, the organization is planning to increase the price of a postcard on July 1 to a nickel. This would be an increase in this year alone of 25 per cent, and of 400 per cent since 1952.

I need not point out to you the ominous implications of all this for inflation, both as an example and as a cost-plus factor.

Suppose everybody started to ask 400 per cent higher wages or prices than in 1952? What would become of your efforts, and of the efforts of your council of economic advisers, to hold the line on prices?

POST OFFICE "IRRESPONSIBLE"

You have called for "the utmost restraint and responsibility in wage and price decisions," Is an increase in a single year of 25 per cent on top of a past increase of 300 per cent, restraint? Is it responsibility?

Everybody writes postcards and letters. The cost of mailing adds to everybody's cost of doing business. So, what with add-ons and pass-ons and mark-ups, the added cost of mailing would spread thru the whole economy and pyramid all prices. Your Gardner Ackley and others have explained very eloquently how this happens with gasoline and steel. But more people buy gasoline or steel.

The postoffice is an airtight monopoly, yet I cannot remember that it has ever been investigated, not to speak of being prosecuted, by the anti-trust division of the department of justice.

POSTAL COMPETITION SUGGESTED

If the postoffice had a little competition it might think twice before announcing these outrageous price increases. But such competition is not even allowed, and I suspect the postoffice would be merciless with anyone who tried it.

Why not have your anti-trust people look into this?

To reverse the inflationary pressures that still another increase in postal rates would set into motion, I bodly suggest a rollback to the old prices of a penny postcard and a 2-cent letter.

The postoffice argument for its higher rates is that they are necessary to pay for the costs of delivering the mail. But this argument is inconsistent with the whole philosophy of your Great Society.

No forward-looking person today expects the underprivileged and disadvantaged to pay enough rent to cover the real cost and maintenance of the housing they live in. Or anybody to pay the real cost of hospitalization and medicare. Or to pay tuition high enough to cover the real cost of a college education. Or—unless he is as benighted as Gov. Ronald Reagan—to pay any tuition at all for it.

Today nobody is expected to pay for his own children's education or his own medical care. Why should he be expected to pay for his own mail? Today everybody pays for everyone else's education, old-age insurance and medical care. Why shouldn't everybody pay for everybody else's mail?

Suppose the underprivileged and disadvantaged just can't afford to pay a nickel for a postcard and 6 cents for a letter?

Why not order the postoffice to carry the mail free, Mr. President? Just add one or more percentage points to your proposed income-tax surcharge or hike the payroll taxes a little bit more.

That's how we solve everything else.

Dennis Takatsuki—Outstanding Hawaii Student-Farmer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, an outstanding young Hawaiian farmer from my home island of Kauai, Dennis Takatsuki, has been selected by the Kauai District, Future Farmers of America, as Star Farmer of the Year, and I am delighted over this recognition Dennis has received for his accomplishments in the field of agriculture.

During his 4 years in the vocational agriculture program, and under the guidance of the capable vocational agriculture teachers at Kapaa High School, Dennis has grossed $6,000 from farming, of which $4,000 was earned this year. This successful farming operation in fruits and vegetables was conducted on 3½ acres of the family's 15-acre property.

It is encouraging, indeed, to note that a bright young man like Dennis has done so much in agriculture, and derived a profit from his efforts, even while attending high school when others are turning away from this all-important industry.

I believe my colleagues in the House will join me in extending congratulations to Kauai's Star Farmer of the Year, and wishing him even greater success in the future.

In addition to his agricultural pursuits, Dennis has been active in many other noteworthy school activities, and I am pleased to submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article about Star Farmer Takatsuki which appeared in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin on Thursday, February 23, 1967:

KAPAA YOUTH IS SELECTED AS KAUAI'S STAR FARMER

KAPAA, KAUAI—Seventeen-year-old Dennis Takatsuki has managed to find time for many school activities in addition to farming 3½ acres in fruits and vegetables on the family's 15-acre property leased from the State in Wailua Valley.

For his agricultural project and leadership, the Kauai District, Future Farmers of America, has named him the Star Farmer of the Year.

He and the candidates of the other five districts will be considered for the State Star Farmer award at the state convention during Easter Vacation in Wailuku, Maui.

Dennis, son of Mr. and Mrs. Masao Takatsuki, operates two acres in Bluefield bananas and 1½ acres in truck farming, rotating between tomatoes and cucumber.

In his four years in Kapaa High School's vocational agriculture program, he has grossed $6,000 from farming, about $4,000 of it this year.

Dennis' application for Star Farmer degree, approved by his F.F.A. adviser and school principal, resulted in a review and farm visit by the committee of farm agents who made the selection.

A senior and vice-president of the Kapaa F.F.A. Chapter, Dennis was a vocational agriculture student under Hisashi Aoki, who shifted after the last semester to an administrative capacity at Kalani High School on Oahu. Aoki has been succeeded as vocational agriculture teacher and F.F.A. adviser by Hartwell K. Blake, who had that same role several years ago.

In addition to his home farming project and F.F.A. leadership, Dennis has been active in school. He is president of the Key Club, parliamentarian-historian of the Future Farmers Association, senior home room vice president, senior executive council member, member of the May Day committee, and on the lettermen's club for playing on the football team.

He is also secretary of the Hanalike Hi-Y Club.

The Big Blink in London

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the talks on Vietnam in London 10 days ago between Soviet Premier Kosygin and British Prime Minister Wilson were productive enough to prompt Mr. Wilson to declare that "peace was almost within our grasp."

Mr. Wilson's statement alone was encouraging news, but in a column in the Washington Post of February 27, 1967, Mr. Joseph Alsop explores in further detail the hopeful significance of the London talks.

Mr. Alsop suggests that Mr. Kosygin's entreaty that North Vietnam undertake reciprocal deescalation if the United States halts its bombings means that "Hanoi's partners in Moscow now judge that the war is going very badly for Hanoi."

He adds that "what Kosygin did in London was only a beginning," and that the United States must temper its elation over growing success on the battlefield with "the most generous moderation" while new approaches to peace are being explored.

"It will be criminal," he says, "if the first 'smell of victory,' as Walter Lippmann has put it, is allowed to cause intoxication-from-success."

Under leave to extend by remarks, I insert Mr. Alsop's column in the RECORD at this point:

THE BIG BLINK IN LONDON

What happened in London ten days ago, between the British and Soviet Prime Ministers, was very much more important than anyone has as yet admitted in public. Facts have been published, but in a manner three quarters shorn of meaning.

Briefly, Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin went to London with a lingering hope that this country might still be induced to "stop the bombing to get talks" about Vietnam.

More specifically, he hoped to persuade the British to change their stand, and to join in the pressure that the Soviets had been so persistently applying since September.

Kosygin's aim had been foreseen in Washington. Chester Cooper, one of the ablest members of Governor Averell Harriman's "peace taskforce," was therefore sent over very inconspicuously, just before the Kosygin visit, to give Prime Minister Harold Wilson the very latest details of the situation as seen here in Washington.

In the outcome, the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary George Brown refused to be budged from their position that the President was quite reasonable to refuse a bombing halt without some sort of reciprocal action by Hanoi. Whereupon—and here is the vital meaningful development—the Soviet Premier took the wholly new tack of trying to budge Hanoi.

For this purpose, the Soviet government at Kosygin's request, officially urged the Hanoi government to take quite important reciprocal action, in order to secure the desired bombing halt and the opening of negotiations. After long delays (during which Harold Wilson has confessed that he thought peace was "within grasp") the Hanoi leaders refused to heed Moscow's urgings.

But Hanoi's obstinacy was really less significant than Moscow's new flexibility. When one partner is deeply and painfully engaged, and another partner is merely giving aid and comfort, the engaged partner is always bound to meet the first suggestion that he cut his losses with an initial show of obstinacy. The thing to note, in fact, is that Moscow has begun to give this kind of advice.

This means, first, that Hanoi's partners in Moscow now judge that the war is going very badly for Hanoi. It means, second, that Moscow seriously wants the war ended as soon as possible. Without such compelling reasons, Kosygin would never, indeed could never have done what he did.

One informed judge has remarked that "the Soviets were formerly trying to find a way out that would save America's face. Now they are trying to find a way out that will save Hanoi's face." Maybe that is putting it a bit high; but the fact remains that in Dean Rusk's terminology, there was a big blink in London, though a blink at second hand, to be sure.

The Wilson-Kosygin conversations had some other aspects. Quite spontaneously, for instance, and to all appearances quite disinterestedly, Premier Kosygin strongly advised Prime Minister Wilson to remain solidly faithful to his American Alliance, whatever Gen. de Gaulle might say about it. The United States, Kosygin implied, mattered immeasurably more than France.

Again, Premier Kosygin had the frankness to admit, at one point, that no less than 100,000 North Vietnamese are now at the front in South Vietnam. This figure means that just about one half of the Vietcong—indeed, rather more than half, according to the enemy documents newly captured in the "Cedar Falls" operation—are now invaders from the North.

The figure is far higher than any the U.S. Intelligence has ever used. It points to serious deterioration of the Vietcong's structure and popular support in the South; for such an enormous Northern presence can only reflect an urgent need. It fits, in short, with what Kosygin did in London.

One may be quite certain, moreover, that what Kosygin did in London was only a beginning. Such new departures are always beginnings, never ends. It is a ten-to-one bet, therefore, that new approaches to peace in Vietnam are now being jointly explored, in some back room or other, by Soviet and American representatives.

This does not mean that an end is already in sight—although it just could be. It is also a situation demanding maximum American self-possession. To budge Hanoi at last, maximum pressure must be maintained at the front; yet in outlining possible settlement-terms, the most generous moderation must also be shown. It will be criminal if the first "smell of victory," as Walter Lippmann has put it, is allowed to cause intoxication-from-success.

That fact remains that if we are both resolute and generous, an end may yet be in sight before most people have dared to imagine.

Soviet Strategy on Weapons Treaty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL FINDLEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, a keen analysis of the Soviet strategy regarding the Proliferation Treaty now under consideration in Geneva is set forth in a recent article by the noted columnist, Edgar Ansel Mowrer. It follows:

SOVIET STRATEGY, DENY GERMANY NUCLEAR POWER

(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

No matter how it seemed to Winston Churchill during the war, the Soviet Government is no longer a mystery, a riddle or an enigma.

Toward American proposals on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and on anti-missile missiles, Soviet reactions are, as the French say, sewed with white thread and visible to anybody who looks.

In the first case, Moscow is not really interested in keeping nuclear weapons from any country but Germany. What it is demanding is an agreement that will not only prevent the Germans from manufacturing nuclear weapons (as they long ago promised) but from ever getting their hands on any, whether in the name of NATO or of some sort of United Europe. Whatever else happens, Germany is to remain a pariah, divided, disarmed, militarily powerless "forever."

Any non-proliferation treaty which can guarantee this, Moscow will sign. Any agreement that would permit the Germans at any time to protect themselves against, or to reply in kind to, a Soviet nuclear attack is tabu. Without such an iron-clad provision, the Kremlin wants no treaty. Take it or leave it, Uncle Sam.

COUNT ON UNITED STATES TO AGREE

Brezhnev and Kosygin are counting on Washington's eagerness to grant their wish in spite of our NATO allies' objections to any such historically preposterous discrimination against Germany.

That success here would at the same time spell the end of NATO and, in all likelihood, check further progress toward any sort of West European unity, makes it even more attractive to the cunning Bolsheviks. The essential is a permanently powerless fatherland.

Equally clear is, as I said, Soviet strategy toward the American proposal for having no anti-missile missiles on either side. Nobody knows better than the Bolsheviks that the United States is far richer and more powerful than Mother Russia and, other things being equal, capable not only of maintaining but of widening the gap.

But, fortunately for the Kremlin men, Washington really wants to halt the armaments race and, at least in its day dreams, move toward "general and complete disarmament" under UN control. It is here that Moscow sees its great chance: obtain arms parity with the United States by agreement!

This would permit the Kremlin to devote more of its still inadequate national income to satisfy its peoples' rising demands. It would give the American unilateral disarmers and partisians of "togetherness" with Russia, a marvelous new argument against those who hope to check communist expansion. It would vastly reduce America's opposition to further "little wars of liberation."

PARITY WITH U.S. AIM

Nothing, in fact, could do more for the USSR than arms parity with the United States.

How obtain it? By demanding total nuclear disarmament as the price for not continuing its construction of anti-missile missiles and what is called the "Tallinn system" of defense stretched across the "corridor" which American missiles must follow to strike Russia! By refusing anything less! And by counting on Presdient Johnson's eagerness to reach an understanding to make him reduce his conditions.

Theoretically, the acceptance of permanent discrimination against Germany or arms parity with a weaker Soviet Union by any American President should be incredible. But so was FDR's reliance upon Stalin to further his great design, Truman's refusal to save China, Ike's inertia during Russia's rape of Hungary, Kennedy's promise not to oust communism from Cuba.

So why shouldn't the Kremlin's hope be running high?

Majority in Minnesota Favors 18-Year-Old Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the usually reliable Minnesota poll of the Minneapolis Tribune recently found that a majority of the State's citizens think 18 year olds should be allowed to vote.

This finding may mark a significent shift of public opinion on the subject of voting age. The report on the poll stated:

Past Minnesota Poll surveys, with one exception, have revealed that more people opposed extending the vote to younger citizens than favored it.

The latest Minnesota poll on lowering the voting age showed 59 percent of Minnesota residents favor voting by 18 year olds, while 38 percent oppose it. The Tribune reported:

A constitutional amendment has been introduced in the legislature whch, if passed, would go to the voters in 1968 for their appproval or disapproval.

This is the question asked of 600 adults over the age of 21:

"Do you think Minnesota should or should not allow 18-year-olds to vote?"

The responses:

	Percent
All adults:	
Should allow	59
Should not	38
Other and no opinion	3
Men:	
Should allow	63
Should not	35
Other and no opinion	2
Women:	
Should allow	55
Should not	41
Other and no opinion	4
DFLers:	
Should allow	64
Should not	33
Other and no opinion	3
Republicans:	
Should allow	49
Should not	48
Other and no opinion	3
Independents:	
Should allow	61
Should not	35
Other and no opinion	4

Saving Jersey's Great Swamp Key to Keeping Other Natural Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I view with pleasure the progress that the executive agencies which administer the national forests, national parks, and wildlife refuges are making under the procedures spelled out in the Wilderness Act of 1964 for the completion of the national wilderness preservation system. In particular, I am pleased to note that a national wildlife refuge in my neighboring State of New Jersey is undergoing administrative review as a wilderness system candidate area.

A public hearing held by the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife on its wilderness proposal for the establishment of a wilderness area within Great Swamp National Wildlife Refuge, held on February 17 in Morris County, N.J., found citizen conservationists, including the North Jersey Conservation Foundation and national organizations such as the National Audubon Society, the Wildlife Management Institute, the Sierra Club, and the Wilderness Society, practically unanimous in their support of wilderness classification for this rare green island surrounded by suburbia. They urged the Bureau to propose wilderness protection not only for the 2,400-acre J. Hartley Dodge unpland wilderness unit but also for a 1,000-acre marsh wilderness unit within the refuge.

I insert in the RECORD an excellent summary of the Great Swamp wilderness issue, written by the Allentown, Pa., Call-Chronicle outdoor editor, Charles H. Nehf.

The summary follows:

SAVING NORTH JERSEY'S GREAT SWAMP KEY TO KEEPING OTHER NATURAL AREAS

(By Charles H. Nehf)

Another of the many challenges facing the conservationists here in the east is the pending battle between the New York Port Authority and wildlife folks in all walks of life to preserve the Great Swamp of Northern New Jersey. The battle focuses on whether the Great Swamp National Wildlife Refuge is to provide a core of nature within the shadow of North America's greatest concentration of humanity or whether it is to be merely another airport.

The New York Port Authority again has stated that it is unable to find an alternate site for New York's fourth major jetport. After study of 22 sites, Great Swamp again has been designated the authority's first choice.

Great Swamp went through the battle of wildlife refuge versus jetport only a few years ago. Since then, enough additional acreage of the natural area has been accumulated and turned over to the federal government to create a national wildlife refuge under the administration of the Department of the Interior's Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife.

POINT OF ISSUE

The real point of issue in this case is whether we will continue to chew away our open space in the name of "progress." More especially, since this refuge (right in the heart of a mass human population) belongs to all of us through the U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior.

The Great Swamp, as it was when William Penn acquired it in 1667 from the Delaware Indians, was a gigantic bowl or trough, some three by seven miles in size. Although man has been pushing back its borders and has made sporadic intrusions deeper into the swamp, some 8,000 acres remain in natural forest, marsh and meadow.

Converging climatic zones there produce an unusual variety of plant life which in turn supports a wide range of animal and bird species. The area, while in the shadows of the skyscrapers of New York City, still harbors white-tail deer, mink, fox, raccoon, muskrat and other mammals. At least 175 species of birds have been identified and 75 are known to nest and rear their young there.

At present the federal refuge covers some 4,500 acres. Under the current land acquisition program it is hoped that the Great Swamp National Wildlife Refuge will grow to about 6,000 acres. The Morris County Park Commission owns over 200 acres of swampland in related parklands and the Somerset Park Commission is making purchases to create a 750 acre park adjacent to the federal refuge.

Conservationists had already made a substantial beginning toward acquiring property in the Great Swamp when, in 1959, the Port Authority of New York announced it favored the area as the site for a giant airport. This naturally spurred activity to save the swamp.

Thousands of persons throughout the United States donated over a million dollars to buy more than 3,000 acres for the wildlife refuge. By 1964 the Great Swamp Committee of the North American Wildlife Foundation had donated 2,700 acres to the federal government as the nucleus of the present wildlife refuge. More recently this work has been taken over by the North Jersey Conservation Foundation.

MUST BE SAVED

The Wilderness Society and the North Jersey Conservation Foundation working with many associated groups stresses four reasons why this piece of real estate must be preserved:

1. Education—As the only natural wilderness in the growing New York metropolitan area, the Great Swamp offers a priceless outdoor laboratory and classroom for the use of the scientists as well as college and high school level students of a community of some 30 million inhabitants. At a time when the pollution of our land, air and water has become a critical national problem, these studies have become more urgent than ever.

2. Water—The Great Swamp forms a major source of the Passaic River. A swamp tends to be a natural regulator of water supply, holding off and releasing it gradually. Without it, the Passaic would be far more subject to excessive fluctuation in water level, and this in turn upsetting other natural processes, would increase the problem of pollution.

3. Atlantic Flyway—Waterfowl use the Great Swamp as a resting place on their way through during migratory seasons. In fact, some species such as the wood duck nest in the area. These uses have been increasing in the managed areas of the wildlife refuge, where the fish and wildlife has been restoring levels in some areas partially drained by earlier human encroachments.

4. Environmental values—The value to the surrounding community is too obvious to need much amplification. In its natural state this area provides a stretch of open greenery amidst increasing congestion and pollution; it has scenic beauty and is a wilderness breeding ground and haven for wildlife for the more heavily used park and recreation areas that are adjacent to it.

Sportsmen and other conservation interests are closing ranks to fight for the retention of the few acres of nature in the Great Swamp National Wildlife Refuge. Some from the Lehigh Valley area are planning to appear at the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife's public hearing at the Morris County Lecture Hall this Friday to voice their support of the bureau's plan to designate acres of the refuge for wilderness administration under the terms of the Wilderness Act of 1964.

Under such terms no buildings would be permitted on this section of the refuge; access would be only by foot or horseback, and the area would be left permanently in its natural condition. The remainder of the refuge would be subject to management by the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife to enhance use by migratory and nesting waterfowl.

Democracy—What It Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States recently conducted an essay contest throughout the country. The theme of the contest was "Democracy—What It Means to Me," and the winning essay in Maryland was submitted by Miss Jeanne Carol Thompson, of Bel Air. Miss Thompson's essay follows:

Democracy—What It Means to Me

(By Jeanne Thompson)

"We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

These words, the preamble to the constitution of the United States, present the reasons for creating a new nation. America was first created in the hearts of men seeking freedom and the right to pursue life. Later, the ideals of the heart were set forth in a practical system of government by the minds of great men: Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, George Washington.

Through centuries of material transformation, the basic concepts of democracy have changed little. They have upheld on the bloody battlefields and in tense political situations of the "Cold War".

The fate of the world now rests in the hands of our generation, and, as Americans, we hold a noble and bountiful heritage, built with blood and kept alive by the tears and toil of those before us. They strove to create the most perfect nation on earth and to keep the personal freedoms of humanity sacred for eternity. This goal has been passed on to us and we must spread the understanding of democracy to the darkest corners in the world. It is now *our* task and it takes a constant vigil to keep this light glowing against the strong winds of present and future adversities.

Our generation has a true concern for the destiny of the world in which we live and die. We understand the meaning of the promises found in the Declaration of Independence. It states "all men are created equal . . . they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness."

Each of us, speaking in his own way, seeks to build a world where peace and freedom may reign. The methods used by our generation are widely varied. They include the youth who picket against government doctrines as well as those who fight to defend them.

We are presently engaged in a struggle to protect the basic rights of mankind, for we, as a nation, feel it our duty to continue the policies established by our predecessors. Woodrow Wilson, in his address to Congress on April 2, 1917, expressed this policy when he said, "We are glad to fight . . . for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples; . . . for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life."

Young men in the teeming jungles and murkey waters of Vietnam recognize the tangible threat to our democratic ideals. Many now give their lives each day to defend these freedoms.

Other Americans have also found a way to protect freedom and keep democracy alive, but in an entirely different manner. For them the path was laid by the Peace Corps which has permitted them to deploy methods of basic improvement to impoverished peoples and to obtain friends for America.

The late John F. Kennedy declared to the people of the world in his Inaugural Address, January 20, 1961.

"We dare not forget that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans."

"Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty."

I believe that we, as the "new generation of Americans" accept this as our pledge to the future and our tribute to the past. We hold the destiny of Democracy in our hands. It is our obligation to preserve the democratic way of life, to keep democracy alive and working, and to keep our nation strong and free.

It Could Be That CIA Is Doing a Good Job

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, despite all of the hoopla the press is providing for us with the so-called CIA scandals, Americans should stop and think about the kind of world we live in.

I think the following column from the February 23, 1967, edition of the New York World Journal Tribune, serves a useful purpose in reminding us that CIA is on our side. I commend it to the attention of our colleagues:

It Could Be CIA Is Doing Good Job

(By Bill Slocum)

I have seen CIA agents in Saigon and Havana and the obvious young hambones made me laugh. But the CIA never made me laugh because I knew that it had more subtle agents around me in both places. Unseen men who were doing a good job.

I suspect the CIA is doing a good job right now. Not a perfect job, to be sure. But how are you doing at your job these days?

Right now the CIA is in a jam that puzzles me because I can see no difference between the CIA using young Americans and a Customs official opening my bag at JFK Airport.

I rather wish neither agency had to bother but both must for the good of the United States. That's us, you know.

In the battle for world-wide intelligence and intellects the young American student has a role. He can only learn what his young contemporaries know and believe if he meets them, talks to them, and listens. And he or she can't influence any young Commie down at Mori's. Stockholm, Moscow, European youth hostels are the places.

And whether we ancient fuddy-duddies like it or not the thinking of the young all over the world concerns every one of us.

Of course we find this undercover meddling with our young repugnant in relation to our traditions. I do think we Americans have simply marvelous traditions in fair play, privacy, above-board dealings. Unfortunately no other country follows our traditions, or has a ruble or yen's worth of respect for them.

You certainly don't beleive that those apple-cheeked Russians and those inscrutable Chinese get to Helsinki or Paris youth gatherings with their own dough.

And you certainly don't believe the Russians or Chinese or even our friends the English would come up with cash to finance jaunts by kids and other youth actions if said jaunts and actions were not deemed valuable in the rather tricky business of survival today.

The Russians and Chinese don't have to bother to explain such actions to their taxpayers. Generally the English understand the need for such things and don't question the details.

Actually, I think—and certainly hope—we understand but a lot of us are squawking because it is all so repugnant, so un-American. It happens to be a rather repugnant world and it is hardly American. In sad fact it frequently doesn't even seem American in America.

And we are sore at the CIA for getting caught although few are about to admit that is the real reason behind our anger. This anger at the CIA for getting caught legally using our young to help do CIA's important job is traceable to many things; previous CIA failures and because we have begun to believe trusting our young to do anything is a form of madness. I am not yet convinced that the norm for the young American can be found on California campuses. The norm is somewhere between Berkeley and An Khe.

I'm afraid the CIA is caught squarely between a couple of popular American bromides. One says, "It is okay if you don't get caught" and the other is, "If it ain't the American way it ain't the right way." These bromides obviously disagree. But they share one fact. Both are wrong.

HEW Versus Health: A New Trend in American Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Beaufort Gazette well illustrates the problem now faced by many of our hospitals due to the foolish and short-sighted policies of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. It is a pity that a department so directly concerned with humanity has learned so little about humanity and shows almost none of it.

The editorial follows:

Just One Word

Much has been written and said, in recent months, about Beaufort Memorial Hospital.

The Board of Regents, governing body of the institution, has been blasted and also defended for its various decisions and policies. Law suits have been threatened and much needed monies have been withheld by our "old friends" HEW (U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare) because the hospital officials have failed to give in to all of the dictatorial demands of the great do-gooders of the Great Society.

It isn't often that an editor gets to view first hand a situation that has caused so much comment. These words are being written in Room 110 of Beaufort Memorial Hospital and we hope will express the impressions that an average patient feels after four or five days of recuperation.

The hospital is without a doubt one of the finest available anywhere—large or small. The facilities are modern, the equipment is up-to-date and the up-keep leaves little to be desired.

The staff of doctors, nurses, technicians, practical nurses, aides and orderlies is top rate and it is very obvious that the hospital administrator has things well organized and well in hand. And yes, the food is good.

From the first day you have that feeling that you are in good hands and that your well-being is the uppermost thought in everyone's mind. There is that professional touch that exudes confidence and at the same time there is that friendly personal touch that means so much to a person who is incapacitated for one reason or another.

It is a good feeling, particularly so, when you know you have put yourself in the hands of others.

As most of us know Beaufort Memorial Hospital has been denied federal funds by the bureaucratic hierarchy of HEW because they say there is not complete and total integration of the patients in the hospital. Having seen the situation first hand, we say this is a lot of bunk and hogwash. We have never been in any place that is more integrated than here in Beaufort Memorial Hospital.

The registered nurses on duty are both white and Negro. The practical nurses are both white and Negro. Negro patients have rooms next to white patients. The nursery has Negro and white babies in basinettes side by side. Negro patients receive the same professional care that white patients receive and from our point of view nothing more could be done to help either white or Negro than is being done.

To the best of our knowledge, the only mandate of HEW's that has not been adherred to by the hospital leaders is the dictate that the hospital must routinely assign Negro patients to rooms with white patients (forcible assignment of Negroes and whites to beds side by side). The fact that the hospital officials will assign Negro and white patients to the same room by mutual consent from the patients involved is not enough for HEW. Do it whether the sick patients want it or not or you don't get the money is HEW's answer.

If we still have a democracy, and the above is the only reason the hospital has not been approved by HEW, then something is bad wrong.

You can push people just so far and if we read between the lines correctly, the hospital leaders will stand pat and take no more pushing from HEW.

If the leaders of the group or groups who say they are going to sue the hospital would direct their energies and influences on their friends in Washington, we feel sure just one word in the affirmative and approval by HEW would be forthcoming almost overnight.

They know that with approval from HEW that the hospital would get monies for added improvements, more rooms, additional equipment. They know approval is needed for the hospital to participate in Medicare. They know that for Beaufort to continue to attract young, capable, dedicated doctors we must keep pace and keep the hospital on the upward swing.

They also know that the hospital leaders have bent over backwards to comply with HEW's demands and have complied with the spirit and the full intent of the law.

Yes, we have a good hospital in Beaufort and with the right word from the right group, we can have an even better one without a long legal wait that will help no one.

Ramparts of Whom?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, the following news article from the February 24, 1967, Washington Star is of interest to anyone interested in the CIA disclosures:

CARL T. ROWAN

A few days ago a brief, cryptic report out of Prague, Czechoslovakia, was passed among a handful of top officials in Washington.

It said that an editor of Ramparts magazine had come to Prague and held "a long, secret session" with officers of the Communist-controlled International Union of Students.

Ramparts is the magazine that exposed the fact that the CIA has been financing the National Students Association, which in turn has worked for several years to prevent the IUS from dominating the youth of the world.

I learned that the Prague visitor was supposed to be Robert Scheer, Ramparts' managing editor. I telephoned him . . . and asked if he had met with IUS officers in Prague a couple of weeks ago.

"Yes," he said. "How did you know?"

He went on to volunteer that he had spent two days meeting with representatives of the National Liberation Front . . . and with IUS leaders.

Scheer hedged for a while when asked who controls the IUS, but finally said, "It is essentially an organ of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union."

Everybody is being asked to "come clean" these days and tell where he gets his money. Before the suspicion fades, Ramparts may find it desirable to reveal in detail who has provided the estimated million and a half dollars the magazine will have lost by the end of this year. And Scheer may have more to say about his mission to Prague.

That Fat Volume of Obsolete Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the administration of justice in the District of Columbia is seriously hampered by its antiquated criminal code. Mr. Leonard Downie of the Washington Post has written a most interesting and detailed article pointing out the serious and not so serious provisions of the 1901 code which contribute to the ineffectiveness of law enforcement in the District. I include Mr. Downie's article in the RECORD as a further demonstration of the need for the code's immediate revision, as provided for in my bill, H.R. 5454:

THAT FAT VOLUME OF OBSOLETE LAWS

(By Leonard Downie)

If you are thinking of flying a kite, "fire balloon or parachute" within Washington's city limits, think again. It's against the law. Under an 1892 statute still on the books, you could be fined up to $10.

You could be fined $5, under another 75-year-old law, if you go out onto any Washington "street, avenue or alley" and play football or "bandy, shindy or any other game by which a ball, stone or other substance is struck or propelled by any stick, cane or any other substance." (Baseball was not yet the National Pastime in 1892). You also risk a $5 fine if you "drive or lead any horse, mule or animal" (does this include dogs?) "or any cart or wagon . . . on any paved or graveled footways" (presumably sidewalks).

It is perfectly legal to set a bonfire during the daytime in Washington. But burning one "between the setting and the rising of the sun" could draw a $10 fine. And if you get caught burning down your neighbor's outhouse, you face one to ten years in jail.

You also could land in prison for ten years by challenging someone to a duel in the District of Columbia or by making plans in the District to fight the duel somewhere in the suburbs. If your challenged adversary turns you down, you would be liable to another three years behind bars if you assault him, call him a coward or "use other opprobrious language . . . tending to degrade or disgrace" him for refusing your gauntlet.

Washington's criminal laws have not been overhauled since they were first codified in 1901. And it is not surprising that President Johnson's D.C. Crime Commission urged Congress to create a special commission of legal experts to review and rewrite them as soon as possible. Representative Charles McC. Mathias, a Maryland Republican, already has introduced legislation authorizing the President to appoint a nine-man commission. It would have two years and $300,000 to do the job.

The Crime Commission found a wealth of laughable anachronisms in the dog-eared D.C. Code. It also found some criminal sections so outdated, incomplete and confusing that they seriously hampered law enforcement.

It is not easy for policemen or prosecutors to match the crime committed with the crime as described in the D.C. Code. There are no less than three dozen often-overlapping sections covering nonviolent theft: 11 for embezzlement, six for larceny, three for receiving stolen property, others for forgery, stealing a will, using slugs in vending machines and taking things under a variety of other false pretenses.

Yet there is only one robbery section, which provides the same penalty (six months to 15 years) for picking a pocket, or sticking up a bank with guns blazing. The inclusion of "stealthy seizure" under robbery blurs the usual distinction between larceny and robbery (robbery usually being theft by means of threats, force or violence).

Picking a pocket can be either larceny or robbery. The difference between larceny or embezzlement can turn on what the Crime Commission calls "the nebulous distinction between 'custody' and 'possession.'" Often, the prosecutor can charge a defendant with either of two crimes for the same single act.

"If the jury convicts on one," the Commission pointed out, "the defendant may appeal on the ground that the facts prove the other offense, and the appeal may be successful."

The Crime Commission found the D.C. Code's penalty structure irrational. If you get caught trying to break into a house or store, you face a maximum of a year in jail. But if you succeed in getting in, the punishment is multiplied 15 times. A lawbreaker's expertise counts for more than his intent.

The law provides a punishment (up to 15 years in jail) for manslaughter, but fails to define it. It took several court decisions to do that. Appellate panels have been forced to spell out the legal defenses absent in the Code—self-defense for murder, the *Durham Rule* for defendants suffering from mental illness.

The courts also have been asked to change disorderly conduct, vagrancy, intoxication, narcotic and other laws that appear to limit constitutional freedom or block social progress.

Congressmen have complained that the courts, especially those in the District of Columbia, make too much law. But the inadequacy of the D.C. Code and infrequent efforts to patch it have given the courts here little choice.

The D.C. Crime Commission's message is clear. Congress can act quickly to have Washington's jumble of criminal laws examined by experts and, following their recommendations, write some law that the courts will not have to improve.

Schlesinger Calls for a Negotiated Settlement in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON EDWARDS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Pulitzer Prize winning historian, has written a statement on foreign policy well worth our attention. It appears in the February issue of the ADA World.

Professor Schlesinger's remarks on Vietnam and his conclusions on U.S. foreign policy are set out below:

VIETNAM

The Vietnamese war represents the single greatest threat to world security, and as it grows in size and intensity the danger increases of a massive war in Asia and even possibly of a third world war.

The actions of the last three years, which have turned a minor civil war into a major test of wills that seems hopelessly inescapable of resolution, is largely the responsibility of the Johnson Administration. During the Johnson Administration, the American presence in Vietnam radically changed in size and character. From advice and support, U.S. personnel are now the front line combatants in the war of guns and the shock troops in the war to create an entirely new Vietnamese society. From a clash of minor units on the ground, the United States has escalated the war so that daily bombing is at a level higher than the round-the-clock raids that pummelled Germany in World War II. From a scant commitment of 10,000 troops as advisors in 1963, the United States now has more than 385,000 troops there—more than the largest U.S. troop commitment at the height of the Korean War.

The war itself has increased in scope, size and barbarity. There are now more than 1,000,000 South Vietnamese refugees, homeless because of the indiscriminate destruction of American bombing. Hardly a week passes when some error of judgment does not lead to the destruction of an entire village and the death of many of its inhabitants. Although it has often been proclaimed that this is a limited war, being fought with limited means for limited ends, none of those limits has been defined. And it seems that the United States is using its full destructive force, stopping only short of nuclear weapons and bombing of mass population centers in North Vietnam, to achieve its ends. The result has been to destroy the economy of South Vietnam, to wreck the countryside of both Vietnams and to create a situation in which the resources for rebuilding a shattered society are the continuing casualties of the war.

Yet, despite this, the prospect is for more of the same: ever-increasing troop commitments, ever-larger bombing raids, ever-expanding destruction, and less and less real progress towards a just and reasonable settlement. Thus, the war continues stalemated, each side believing that it can reshape the destiny of Vietnam by force and neither side offering the type of incentives that will bring the battle from the field to the conference table.

We believe that it is neither necessary nor desirable for us to seek total military victory. Our interest in Vietnam is peripheral and what interest we do have is to allow the Vietnamese to determine their own destiny, an aim that cannot be accomplished by force of American guns, or, for that matter, by North Vietnamese guns. It can only be accomplished by a compromise settlement that will allow all South Vietnamese, including the Viet Cong, to participate in the reshaping of their own society.

To this end we propose the United States government take the following steps:

1. Cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam. The bombings have failed to bring the North Vietnamese to the conference table. Indeed, they have stiffened their resolve and the cessation of bombing has been made a primary condition for negotiations. By ceasing the bombings we will enhance the prospects for peace and decrease the chances of a major war.

2. De-escalation of the war in the South. ADA has never believed in unilateral withdrawal, but it has equally been opposed to every escalation. We believe that by reducing the level of conflict the chances for expansion of the war into a broad Asian conflict are minimized and the destruction of the South Vietnamese countryside will be lessened. In addition, unilaterial steps of de-escalation might bring counter-responses from the other side that would in turn lead toward a de facto truce. Thus, we favor a sharp reduction in the use of bombing and artillery in South Vietnam, a halt to the further introduction of men and materiel, and a major decrease in search and destroy missions.

3. The creation of a civilian government in South Vietnam. One means of bringing about a truce or an end to the war in Vietnam would be the creation of a government in Saigon which might negotiate with the National Liberation Front. Such a government representing the Vietnamese civilian population would be a vast improvement over the military government which has a vested interest in continuing the war.

4. Negotiations with the National Liberation Front. A necessary prerequisite to any peace settlement in South Vietnam is to offer the adversary some incentive to lay down his arms and negotiate. To date the U.S. government has refused to recognize the Viet Cong's existence as a political entity and has encouraged the South Vietnamese government to refuse to negotiate with them. For twenty years the Viet Cong has fought, and despite more American fighting men in Vietnam than were in Korea it has consistently gained strength in South Vietnam. We must recognize their existence and allow them a primary role in peace negotiations. Beyond this, we or the Saigon government must offer the NLF some role in the future political life of South Vietnam—either as a part of a coalition government or as a recognized political party in free elections in South Vietnam—conditional on both sides agreeing to a supervised settlement.

5. International peace conference. Any peace achieved in Vietnam must have the support of the countries of Asia and must be guaranteed by international forces if it is to succeed. Thus we propose an international conference to be held that will establish the terms of peace and discuss the larger question of neutralization of Southeast Asia. The final solution is linked to the establishment of a coalition government including some reasonable National Liberation Front component. The final solution also entails the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Vietnam.

6. Long-range development program for Asia. In order to rebuild Vietnam from the ravages of the war, and in order to develop the other nations of Asia so that this type of war cannot occur elsewhere, we favor a long-range development program under the auspices of the United Nations that will help all countries of the Asian mainland in a program to close the gap between Asia and the industrialized West.

The President has often said that he has many critics but none who offered alternative programs other than withdrawal or irresponsible escalation. We believe that this program, which we have advocated for several years, is both a rational alternative to the President's and offers a better chance of bringing a truer, more just, and more lasting peace than the Administration policy.

CONCLUSION

The United States is a country of great but not unlimited power and resources. Its capacity for helping to build world order, peace, liberty and essential stability is enormous. But the United States cannot perform any of these tasks successfully when it overextends itself in peripheral conflicts and follows essentially conseravtive policies in a rapidly changing world.

We believe very little progress can be made toward the great questions that divide the great nations until the war in Vietnam is settled, but we believe that we have to shed the thinking that led to Vietnam before either this settlement or a new policy is possible.

We fear greatly the consequences if these changes are not made rapidly. Not only will our position in the world continue to deteriorate, and not only will we be unable to progress toward the elimination of poverty at home and abroad, but we will be faced with an endless succession of wars and conflicts that will tax the minds, resources and abilities of men who could be put to more creative use.

When President Johnson took his second oath of office in 1965 there was reason to be optimistic. The Kennedy foreign policy had dispelled many myths from the past. The country had overwhelmingly defeated the course of reaction, and a broad and powerful coalition had developed for a creative program at home and abroad.

Today that coalition has been so splintered, largely by the Administration foreign policy and its domestic effects, that it is conceivable that for the first time in this century a Democratic President might be turned out of office after only one term, bringing down with him the creative programs he established and powerful support he developed for progress. It is not the fact of this possible political event that disturbs us, it is the consequences. It is absolutely essential that the momentum for progress be continued until we have achieved our goals, a better society at home and a peaceful world abroad. To retreat from this when the rest of the world is advancing is to deny the greatness and purpose of our country.

The Answer to the Vietnam War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to note the following editorial last week in the Staunton, Va., Leader. This paper clearly states a solution to the Vietnam war that many of our large metropolitan dailies are unable to see. I hope every Member will read this editorial and take it to heart.

The editorial follows:

FULL FORCE IS ONLY ANSWER

The hawk-dove debate on the Vietnam War has received new impetus from the resumption of bombing following the Tet (native New Year) suspension and failure of the U.S.-British efforts to bring the aggressor, North Vietnam, to the conference table. Retired Lt. Gen. James M. Gavin pitched in for the doves this week, and Rep. L. Mendel Rivers, D., S.C, chairman of the House Armed Forces Committee, for the hawks.

Rep. Rivers, who formerly had a home-away-from-home in Augusta County, hit the mark when he advocated full application of military force to stop this senseless war. It has been evident ever since the U.S. had to escalate its aid to South Vietnam that neither Russia nor Red China would bail us out, if only for the reason that it is to the advantage of these bidders for world rule to let us sacrifice our manpower and our productive resources in the Vietnamese jungles.

Nor is North Vietnam going to quit the war for the South's Asian rice bowl until the cost is made too great for her people to bear. Ho Chi Minh knows that in any settlement by negotiation, he is bound to lose.

In 1955, following the 1954 agreement at Geneva for partition, South Vietnamese voted overwhelmingly for a separate republic. In 1966, they elected delegates to a Constituent Assembly to write a constitution so as to get along with the job, held up for a decade by Communist aggression and other factors.

Ho knows full well that in negotiations he could not hope to dictate agreement to a general election in which the populous North would swallow the South. The latter must vote independently on unification. Not to insist on this would be a betrayal of them by us and the allies now helping them in their defense of independence.

As long as Hanoi continues to receive military aid from Russia, which is estimated at $1 billion a year, and some from Red China, and the people do not rebel, the Communist regime will not give up. By the admission of our own military leaders and civilian Defense Secretary McNamara, our bombing of North Vietnam military targets is not stopping the flow of men and supplies southward. Repeated bombing of the only rail line to Peking, south of Red China's border, has not halted the flow of munitions from Russia, 60 percent of which comes through China, the rest by much longer sea routes.

While we abstain from bombing air bases in North Vietnam and targets close to civilian areas, Vietcong terrorists hit our own bases, blow up buildings in Saigon and elsewhere, and murder or carry off civilians.

While the North's harbor of Haiphong remains sacrosant, the Reds attack ships in Hanoi harbor and in the Hanoi River.

Our "friends" continue a heavy trade with the enemy.

Our Vietniks, many clergy and some of the intelligentsia assail our government for bombing North Vietnam. So do foreign critics, whose governments pledged aid to South Vietnam under the SEATO Treaty but haven't given it, trading with the Communist enemy instead.

These critics never denounce the Vietcong terrorists, who have butchered some 35,000 local officials and civilians in the South, or the Hanoi Communists who launched this war of aggression and refuse to quit it.

This is a crazy war any way one looks at it. To repeat, it can only be stopped by the application of decisive military force, but we continue to take counsel of the fear that Red China and/or Russia would counter such force. We continue to worry about world opinion and the U.S. "image." This has condemned 7353 of our fine young men to death and some 43,000 to wounds and the toll will continue for years unless we abandon the folly of a no-win war.

The time to hit with everything it takes is long past. But there is grave danger that President Johnson is too anxious to get a settlement before his campaign for re-election next year. He may make defeatist concessions to start negotiations. He may promise unlimited reconstruction and development funds, not only to all Vietnam but for the whole of Southeast Asia, in hope of winning the drive for negotiations.

To continue the no-win policy is more likely to defeat Mr. Johnson than gifts of billions are to elect him.

Dr. Carl Murphy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, American education, journalism, and the cause of equal rights suffered a great loss on Saturday with the death of Dr. Carl Murphy, of Baltimore, at the age of 78.

At the time of his passing, Dr. Murphy was chairman of the board of the Afro-American newspaper chain, chairman of the board of trustees of Morgan State College in Baltimore, and a member of the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Any one of these posts would have filled the time and employed the talents of most men. Dr. Murphy held all three, and in this triple capacity served the Nation and the principles he cherished with extraordinary diligence, intelligence, and dedication.

The son of John H. Murphy, who founded the Baltimore Afro-American in 1892, Dr. Murphy began his career as an educator. After earning a bachelor's degree in German and ancient history at Howard University in 1911 and a master's at Harvard in 1913, he headed the German department at Howard for 5 years.

In 1918, he went to work for the Afro-American, and became president of the company in 1922 after his father's death. He continued as president until becoming chairman of the board in 1963, and during this long tenure saw his newspaper chain expanded to embrace papers in Washington, Philadelphia, Newark, and Richmond. Because of his continuing efforts and his influence over editorial policies, the Afro-American chain is now widely respected as a responsible spokesman for progressive, informed policies.

As a member of the board of the NAACP for 36 years, Dr. Murphy played an important role in the organization's growth and success in promoting equal rights through legal action. Although not a lawyer, he was chairman of the legal redress committee of the Baltimore branch of the NAACP for 32 years, and constantly worked with the attorneys involved in the landmark cases brought to the Supreme Court by the NAACP. His financial contributions to this cause were great; his contributions of time, effort, and thought were even greater and more generous.

Dr. Murphy's record of service has been widely recognized. In 1955 he became the first journalist to win the Spingarn Medal, the highest award offered by the NAACP. A fine arts building and an auditorium on the Morgan State College campus, and a scholarship fund for African students, bear his name. But perhaps the finest symbol of Dr. Murphy's achievements is the great progress made by Morgan State College during the 28 years in which he served on its board, and especially during the past 14 years, under his direction as chairman of the board.

Mr. Speaker, Dr. Carl Murphy was a fine American, who gave his community and country the best in himself, and inspired many others to pursue the work which he advanced so far. His energies will be missed, but his constructive influence will continue.

I wish to extend my deepest sympathies to Mrs. Murphy; to their children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, and to all of Dr. Murphy's closest colleagues.

Haile Selassie

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, in 1936 the world ignored the warning words of a very wise man, Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia.

Had we listened, as the Washington Star comments editorially, World War II might have been avoided.

And the Star notes:

> President Johnson did well to make a point of this in bidding the emperor welcome on his latest visit to our shores.

The President does not intend to repeat the mistakes of the 1930's.

I include this pertinent Star editorial in the RECORD:

> #### SELASSIE'S VISIT
>
> At 74, Emperor Haile Selassie, the Lion of Judah and King of Kings, seems almost ageless. Except for some grey in his beard, he looks quite the same now as he did on that unforgettable day—June 30, 1936—when he rose before the League of Nations to appeal for help against Fascist Italy's assault on Ethiopia. "Apart from the kingdom of God," he said, "there is not on this earth any nation that is higher than any other. God and history will remember your judgment."
>
> The judgment was negative, and the years soon proved that Selassie was right in warning the judges that their decision—a decision to do nothing—would return to haunt them. It did so with a terrible vengeance. Had his counsel been heeded, had Britain, France and the other key powers united to crack down on Benito Mussolini's aggression, the Second World War conceivably might never have occurred. President Johnson did well to make a point of this in bidding the emperor welcome on his latest visit to our shores.
>
> Although informal, it is a serious visit. Selassie is in America for several important reasons. Among other things, he wants to have a clear understanding about the role Ethiopia is expected to play in promoting Africa's progress with American aid. He also is interested—and this presumably he discussed with the President—in what should be done to counter potentially dangerous

Communist activities along the long frontier his kingdom shares with the Somali Republic, which is hostile.

In fact, according to knowledgeable observers, the Somali regime is heavily infiltrated with Communists, and there is no doubt that the Soviet Union is supplying it with a lot of arms. Selassie's current travels are scheduled to take him to Moscow. While there, he will have an opportunity to tell the Russians—if they are truly interested in peace—to stop stirring up strife. The response he gets will be awaited with great interest.

Address of Chairman Tucker of the Interstate Commerce Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 23, 1967

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable William H. Tucker, Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, recently delivered an address before committees of the Federal Bar Association in which he outlined the role of attoneys in the Interstate Commerce Commission and detailed certain of their responsibilities.

In view of the interest in the ICC among my colleagues and of the Nation generally, I insert this address in the RECORD.

The address follows:

THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION HEARING EXAMINER CORPS

(Remarks of William H. Tucker, Chairman, Interstate Commerce Commission, before the Committee on the Government Transportation Lawyer and the Council for Transportation and Communication Law of the Federal Bar Association, Washington, D.C., February 24, 1967)

For 27 years, the first one-third of its existence, the Interstate Commerce Commission was the only national independent administrative agency. For a good part of that early period there was grave doubt whether the Commission would survive this experimental period, and, indeed, whether the concept of administrative law itself would become an effective regulatory device.

The Commission today, of course, is one of the "Big Eight" Federal administrative agencies—and, in every aspect of our daily lives, the presence of the realities of administrative law is a growing phenomenon.

The Interstate Commerce Commission is not free to rest upon any laurels as a pioneer in the field of administrative law, and no one is more conscious of that fact than the present Membership of the Commission. Since the life and the economics of our nation are growing increasingly complex, any established institution in our Government which neglects to adjust to these new complexities in a highly knowledgeable manner is not doing its job.

The competence of the Commission to fulfill its basic functions obviously depends in a very large measure upon the capabilities and energies of its appointed Members. To the degree its Commissioners may lack the will, or the intellect, or the imagination to deal with its demanding problems, the Interstate Commerce Commission can only falter in its task. But even a leadership of strong and resourceful Commissioners is destined to fail unless it can generate meaningful leverage from the fulcrum of reliable—yet innovative—professional staff support.

As the comparatively new Chairman of the ICC, I have had the responsibility for investigating and reviewing the capabilities of our professional staff to meet the future needs of our agency that are now foreseeable. This review extends to their working conditions, productivity and competence. The picture is encouraging in many respects, but, as one would expect, there are some serious problems. It is an uncomfortable type of work and responsibility for me to have to consider our possible need for "weeding out" some professionals who cannot, or will not, perform up to a basic standard.

On the whole, I would say, the productivity of our professional staff has been good. Let me state a few statistics:

In 1960, the Commission disposed of 7,534 cases. In the last fiscal year, 9,515 cases were closed. During the same period, the number of cases filed increased by 61 percent—while the number of employees increased only 1.4 percent, and the average time required to dispose of a case dropped from 8.6 months to 7.2 months.

In fiscal year 1966, nearly 4,000 motor carrier operating rights cases were heard by our hearing examiners. The recommended decisions of these hearing examiners in nearly 1,300 cases became effective without further proceedings. These figures, of course, do not include hearings in rate cases, mergers, complaints, or several other types of cases.

Obviously, the hearing of cases is one of the Commission's most basic activities, and it is the productivity and staffing of our hearing examiner corps that I particularly want to discuss with you today.

First of all, I want to affirm the fact that there is no finer group of hearing examiners anywhere in the Government today than those who serve at the Interstate Commerce Commission. Even if you will question my bias—and I will admit to a certain amount on this point—I am convinced that my analysis will withstand any close scrutiny.

In many vital respects the hearing examiner corps constitutes the eyes and ears of the entire Commission. Very much of the time, our hearing examiners are the exposed profile of the Commission—the only side of the ICC that most members of the public, and very many of the bar, ever get to see and observe. The hearing examiner then is the *representative* of the Commission in the very broadest sense of the term. His importance to the administrative processes would be difficult to overemphasize.

The competent hearing examiner in today's ICC should be a man with an open mind, an impatience for wasted time, a capacity for hard work, a ranging curiosity about advancing technology and economics, and the legal sureness and imagination to mold fair procedures to fit drastically changing hearing requirements.

Let us briefly consider the nature of the proceedings an ICC hearing examiner is called upon to handle:

Reviewing the most extensive corporate consolidation proposals in the history of American business.

Proposed discontinuances of intercity and commuter passenger train services that could be vital to the communities affected.

Grain rate adjustments that can change the economic course of entire regions of the Nation.

Challenges to historic rate differentials between competing ports.

The changeover by certificated trucking companies to the use of the new Interstate Highway System.

Express company terminal area investigations.

The economic and social consequences of these cases speak for themselves. But the point I would particularly like to make is that these cases often present more demanding problems of trial regulation than many judicial tribunals ever encounter.

A listing of the procedures which our hearing examiners have developed and adopted in the past few years especially to fit the peculiar needs of the more complex cases that are coming before the ICC would read like an index for a manual on the trial of protracted litigation. We have been making increasing use of flexible pre-trial conference techniques, encouraging written testimony and broader stipulations of fact, separating particular issues for trial, and generally programing in advance the entire schedule of the more complex hearings. All of these steps reduce the duration of hearings and serve to sharpen the factual and legal issues for prompt and informed decision-making. As Chairman of the ICC, I am satisfied that the Commission has a highly professional corps of hearing examiners who are moving capably to fill the demanding requirements of the voluminous and increasingly complex litigation that faces the modern-day ICC.

But I am not satisfied with the present and foreseeable prospects of the Commission in continuing to staff this corps of hearing examiners with the type of experienced lawyers we most certainly will need. In the past two years, we have lost by death or retirement a total of 16 of our most experienced hearing examiners. These men averaged just a little over 65 years of age on leaving the ICC. As a group they averaged 34 years' service with the ICC alone. That experience is not likely to be easily replaced.

The average age of the 99 hearing examiners now assigned to the ICC's Section of Hearing Examiners is slightly over 55 years, and their aggregate service with the Commission averages about 18 years. Approximately one-third of these men are more than 60 years old, and nine of these hearing examiners are 65 or older. Obviously, considering present-day retirement benefits available, the level of attrition of our hearing examiner corps will continue to be high in the next few years. Accordingly, one of the most important activities that we shall be engaged in at the Commission in the next few years will be the selection, appointment, training and "experiencing" of a whole new generation of hearing examiners.

The present method of recruiting hearing examiners was initiated a little over three years ago. There were then the widespread hopes that the rigorous new standards and procedures for appointing new Federal hearing examiners—together with the general upgrading of their status which had taken place—would attract a sufficient number of highly qualified and experienced attorney applicants, forming a substantial reservoir of necessary talent for these critical assignments.

I can report to you that the results have not been nearly what we wanted. If the hoped-for reservoir of available and appointable hearing examiner talent is any fair measure, then it is fair to conclude that the present hearing examiner recruiting program has been unsuccessful.

Unless some drastic change takes place, the realistic needs of the ICC for competent hearing examiner appointees in the next few years simply will not be met. The now predictable register of eligible appointees just will not be adequate.

Those attorneys at the ICC who are in GS-15 and GS-16 grades and who are most eligible for hearing examiner certification have not, as a whole, been interested in seeking hearing examiner positions. I must say that, in many respects, I am glad of that fact. Just as much as the ICC needs its professional corps of hearing examiners, the Commission must retain—and enhance the status of—a corps of strong, experienced, competent staff attorneys. This fact should not be obscured in any discussion of hearing examiner problems.

Those attorneys at the Commission who are in GS-14 grades and below, generally speaking, have not been able to obtain high enough scores under the existing rating practices used by the Civil Service Commission. One primary factor, I understand, has been their lack of trial and hearing experience.

The picture has not been brighter for private practice attorneys. The 1966 annual report of the Hearing Examiner Committee of the American Bar Association's Section of Administrative Law indicates that their group also has been unsuccessful in its efforts to find qualified attorneys for the Federal hearing examiner program. Beginning in 1965, the ABA gave wide publicity to the anticipated hiring of a large number of hearing examiners in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and elsewhere in the Federal Government. As a result of the ABA publicity, the Civil Service Commission received more than 1,500 inquiries, presumably from private practice attorneys. Each of these attorneys was sent the formal brochure of the Civil Service Commission stating the basic qualifications for hearing examiner appointment.

Nevertheless, a total of only 27 formal applications were received by the Civil Service Commission from this group of ABA attorneys, and only *five* of these attorneys were found qualified under the existing standards.

Several weeks ago, acting as Chairman of the ICC, I advised the Civil Service Commission that, for several reasons, our foreseeable needs for hearing examiners could not adequately be met from the available register of potential appointees. I suggested a new approach toward an adequate solution of this critical problem. My suggestion essentially was that the present hearing examiner recruitment program be *supplemented* by a carefully designed new professional training program. In the supplemental program highly qualified and competent attorneys could be specifically placed into realistic channels of professional work leading toward qualification for hearing examiner appointments. This should be designed as an "honors" plan for top-flight legal talent.

In general, such a program could:

1. Be administered on government-wide basis by the Civil Service Commission.
2. Be open to all attorneys—within and without government—under rigorous standards of selection.
3. Provide something like a 2-year training period, with definite hearing examiner qualifying status for successful attorneys.
4. Provide an adequate mixture of opinion writing and trail experience, and other appropriate training.
5. Provide an advisory committee of hearing examiners to assist individual attorneys in the program—perhaps in the way that a Ph. D. candidate is guided by his school in a university.

The important aspect of any such program would be its probable effectiveness both in attracting talented attorneys—from government, private practice, or elsewhere—and in providing them a realistic, professional avenue to achieve hearing examiner status.

I assume the objection will be raised that any such program will facilitate the entry of junior government attorneys into the ranks of the hearing examiner corps—that it will foster agency "inbreeding" and undermine the independence and objectivity of hearing examiners. I think it is time to put away the tired and inadequate myth of "agency inbreeding."

By the time they have gained about 10 years' experience in government service, a great many government attorneys have been given precisely the type of special training most suitable for hearing administrative law cases. They have been trained to sift and weigh evidence, and to think and write as *deciders* of difficult controversies. They have been trained to search out the *public* interest factors of the legal and factual problems before them. They have been trained to be competent lawyers.

In my experience as a practicing lawyer and as a Member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, I have found that a great many government lawyers have exactly the qualities of mind, temperament, and character to qualify them for hearing examiner positions. Moreover, I would point out that a good lawyer with 5 to 10 years' experience in handling cases within the ICC has a very valuable professional background. He already has the knowledge and training in the transportation law, economics, and technology without which an ICC hearing examiner cannot competently perform.

Quite frankly, in fact, I would challenge any professional group of attorneys to run a realistic poll of practitioners before the ICC to get their views on the existence or level of "inbreeding," "independence" and "competence" of our present staff of hearing examiners, of which more than half came up "through the ranks." I am sure our "homegrown" ICC hearing examiners would rank at the very top of the resulting ratings. The "inbreeding" myth should not be allowed to block our reasonable efforts to strengthen our hearing examiner corps with highly qualified government attorneys in a plan such as I have proposed.

Again, I want to acknowledge to you my personal pride in the quality of ICC's hearing examiner corps. I expect that you will share my concern today about the prospects of keeping that corps as strong as it should be. I do hope we will all work together to improve our administrative law tribunals, and the calibre of those people who sit on those tribunals. If we can do as well in the *next* twenty years with respect to hearing examiner staffing as the ICC has in the *past* twenty years, I will be a satisfied and proud member of the bar.

William Jennings Bryan Dorn: Congressman Beyond Compare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I have always felt that the residents of South Carolina's Third Congressional District are some of the most fortunate people in the world. This is because they have the incomparable good luck to be represented by my dear friend, BRYAN DORN.

BRYAN combines all the best elements of a statesman, an orator, and a political scientist. This was well illustrated by a speech he recently delivered in Charleston. Unfortunately, I do not have the text of that speech, but I do have the newspaper synopsis of it which serves to show its content. I commend it to you:

DORN REBUTS THEORY OF FEDERAL CONTROL—CONGRESSMAN UPHOLDS INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

(By Mary Ellen Zeigler)

Rep. William Jennings Bryan Dorn rebutted a theory yesterday that the next generation will be controlled from Washington.

"In a democracy, individual freedom will always be important. In the next generation, people will think of their freedoms more than ever before."

Dorn, a Democratic congressman from South Carolina's Third District, addressed members of the student body at Gen. William Moultrie High School.

"You are of tomorrow, not of the past," Dorn said. "One of the greatest challenges today is to know the history of this country. Everywhere, people are looking to the United States. America's commitments are global.

INFLUENCE FUTURE

"The United States government will influence your future perhaps more than any other factor in your lives.

"It is, therefore, just as important that you know Mendel Rivers, your Congressional representative, as it is for you to know your parents. Your mother and father cannot send you to Vietnam, but we, in the Congress, can," he said.

Rep. Dorn told his audience that in their lifetime, Congress will take $1 out of every $4 which they will earn. "This may go even higher," he warned, "and it is important that you know something about those who are taking 25 per cent of your earnings."

But Dorn said, last year in the presidential election, less than 10 per cent of the citizens of South Carolina bothered to vote. The United States has the worst voting record of any free country in the world, he charged. "Many, under the threat of death, went to the polls to vote in South Vietnam." If there is anything wrong with politics in this country, how can it be straightened out, except by voting?

In 1948, three years after World War II 48,000,000 people voted; 47,000,000 didn't bother, he said. This record came at the end of a war which was sought to preserve basic freedoms, and the people failed to exercise their right.

Dorn told his young audience that the Congress will receive a report this week from a special committee which has been studying the draft in the United States. "And if we have an all-out war, we will draft women, capital, business, and anything else which we might need to preserve our freedom. You, as young people, subject to the draft, should do your best in school, because brain power is just as important to our country as the ability to fire a rifle in South Vietnam.

"Your future is being largely determined in the jungles of Vietnam. Those young men standing guard on the ramparts in South Vietnam, are there to keep atomic bombs from falling on the great cities of the U.S.A.," he said.

"Our men in Vietnam are the finest, bravest and most valiant I have ever seen," he commented. "They are not worried about winning the war because they know we are going to win. They are more concerned about the demonstrations here at home in front of the White House and on the Berkeley campus and beatniks who are against everything which the U.S. government is behind. We are fighting in Vietnam, to prevent World War III."

The Congressman remarked: "We are not going to make the same mistake which Neville Chamberlain made in 1930 when he gave Czechoslovakia to Adolf Hitler because Hitler told him unless it was handed over, he would take it. Chamberlain returned to Great Britain with Hitler's signature on a piece of paper stating that this was all he wanted. 'This means peace,' Chamberlain told the English people. In less than a year, the German armies were on the march and World War II was under way," he commented.

FREEDOM-LOVING

Red China will take South Vietnam and, then India, Africa, and finally western Europe will fall without a shot unless we stop them now. "The Vietnamese people have been fighting Communism for 20 years. They are a freedom-loving, strong, valiant people who want to be free. Our men there are Christian soldiers, crusaders who are building chapels and telling those people about God and America, the core of the free world.

"If we stand strong, you have a great future. Communism must be on the move in order to prosper and grow. If we force the Communists to stand still, we will win.

"The greatest thing which you have is your youth. You can conquer disease, filth, ignorance and all of the evils which beset us. You must if this nation is to survive," he concluded.

Is HUAC Necessary—Many Say "No"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 30, 1967

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an article which appeared in the New World on January 27, 1967:

IS HUAC NECESSARY?—MANY SAY NO

(By George G. Higgins)

A group of 120 Roman Catholic priests and nuns in the greater Boston area has endorsed a "Statement of Concern" on the right of dissent, with particular reference to the House Un-American Activities committee (HUAC).

The priests and nuns noted that both the Rev. Robert F. Drinan, S. J., dean of the Boston college law school, and the Rev. Joseph H. Fichter, S. J., professor of Roman Catholic Studies at the Harvard Divinity school, earlier had raised "serious charges against HUAC" and had called for "a full and open debate in the Congress about the continued existence of HUAC."

The statement called attention to an editorial by the Rev. John B. Sheerin, C.S.P., in the Catholic World which compared HUAC's hearings in Washington, D.C., this past August to "the Star Chamber proceedings in Old England" where the "rights of free speech and fair trial" of Catholics "as well as their religious liberty" were jeopardized.

"We, as Catholic priests and nuns, are aware of the dangers of restricting freedom of speech and the political and religious liberties guaranteed in the First Amendment of the United States Constitution," the statement said.

The signers of the statement endorsed the calls for a debate on HUAC and urged Speaker of the House McCormack "to provide for the discussion in the House of Representatives this issue merits."

The Boston committee could have cited a number of other Catholics who have called for the abolition of HUAC, including Msgr. Charles Owen Rice, a pioneer in the field of Catholic social action in the Pittsburgh area, and the Rev. Edward Flannery, former editor of the Providence Visitor and an acknowledged expert in the field of Christian Jewish relations. Monsignor Rice has publicly stated that HUAC itself is "an ignoble experiment in un-Americanism."

Father Flannery, in an editorial entitled "HUAC Is Not Necessary," agrees with Father Fichter that no group of legislators should have the power to decide what is or is not an "un-American activity" and adds, in his own name, that "it may be the judgment of history that HUAC itself most perfectly exemplifies what is meant by this ill-defined term."

Why all this criticism of HUAC? Basically there are three principal objections to the committee:

1) The existence of a congressional committee whose jurisdiction is limited to inquiring into ideas, opinions, speech, and other forms of expression is irreconcilable with a system of free expression in this country.

2) The committee's methods of operation have tended to curtail discussion of controversial issues and to hinder the development of new ideas and new approaches to the complex issues which face our country in a rapidly changing world.

3) The committee serves no useful purpose. It considers only a few bills each year, and all of these fall within the jurisdiction of some other congressional committee. Moreover we already have adequate laws, regulations, specialized personnel and procedures for safeguarding internal security.

HUAC's decision of last October to investigate Negro rioting in the major U.S. cities is an added cause of alarm and an added reason for hoping that the Congress will abolish the committee. When HUAC's chairman announced a staff inquiry into Negro rioting, preliminary to a full-scale committee investigation, there were 60 anti-rioting bills pending before the House Judiciary committee, the appropriate body to consider such legislation.

Moreover a special Judiciary subcommittee had been authorized to make a comprehensive review of the civil rights problem. As the Washington Post pointed out, this subcommittee "needs the interference of HUAC about as urgently as a brain surgeon in the midst of a delicate operation needs the intrusion of a circus clown."

This is admittedly very strong language, but no stronger than the situation calls for. The editors of the Post and many other thoughtful and well informed observers—including the majority of civil rights leaders in the United States—fear that HUAC, under the guise of determining whether or not the Negro rioting of last summer was, in part, planned and instigated by subversive elements, will engage in a witch hunt against the civil rights movement as such. Given the committee's past record, I should say that this fear is well founded.

It should be noted, in passing, the HUAC's critics readily admit that the Congress needs some sort of machinery to investigate those matters pertaining to internal security or to the administration of existing laws.

They are convinced, however, that adequate authority for these purposes is already vested in other House committees, particularly in the Committee on the Judiciary, which has traditionally dealt with the problem of internal security. If the authority of the latter committee needs to be classified, its rules can easily be amended by the Congress to this end.

But no congressional committee should ever be authorized—under the guise of ferreting out subversive elements in our society —to investigate "propaganda" or other forms of free expression guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. To permit any agency of government to censor controversial ideas or to determine what is or is not an "un-American" activity would clearly violate the true meaning of patriotism.

Patriotism is a virtue, yes; but as Cardinal Cushing of Boston pointed out in his recent pastoral letter, "The Servant Church," there is "a distressing and too prevalent notion that patriotism must be a cloak for the blanket and blind acceptance of all decisions made by the United States. This is not patriotism—it can be instead the road to national disintegration.

"All of us must admit, and true patriots will agree, that critical thinkers and thinking critics constitute the life-blood of any society. True love of country demands that we commit ourselves unequivocally to the ideals on the basis of which America was founded—that we pursue these ideals with integrity, honesty, and fidelity, not merely in pursuit of domestic tranquillity, but in our relations with other peoples in the family of nations.

"Patriotism, true and proper, demands much more than the choral chanting of 'God Bless America.' It demands a responsible, persistent, honest endeavor by citizens to insure, at home and abroad, the extension of freedom, the establishment of responsible governments and the preservation of human dignity.

"Such a commitment makes our love of country a more vital and dynamic force than any instinctive pieties of blood and soil."

Congressman Sikes, Citizen Patriot of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 9, 1967

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure to be present last Friday night at the Sheraton Park Hotel to witness the award by the Reserve Officers Association to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. SIKES], recognizing him "as the citizen of 1967 who has contributed most to the national security of the United States." It was a well-deserved award, because Congressman SIKES has indeed been at the forefront of such service not only in 1967 but in many years past. The citation backing up the famous Minuteman Award for 1967 reads as follows:

RESERVE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES

An association resolution with respect to the career of the Honorable ROBERT L. F. SIKES

Whereas, throughout more than a quarter century of service in the House of Representatives of the United States;

His devotion to the highest concept of duty to country;

The courage and independence of his leadership for adequate Preparedness which is necessary to National Security;

The steadfastness of his dedication to the Citizen-Reservist Tradition;

The clarity of his judgment to insure strength, effectiveness and high morale to the Nation's military force,

have given confidence to his generation, inspiration to posterity, and safety to this Nation's institutions and ideals.

Therefore, Be It Resolved, that in recognition of his great service to the United States, this Association proudly recognizes him as the Citizen of 1967 who has contributed most to the National Security shared by every American citizen in these times.

HORACE B. HANSON, Jr.,
Major General, USAR,
National President.

For the Association, the National Council, February 24, 1967.

JOHN T. CARLTON,
Colonel, USAR,
Executive Director.

Congressman SIKES delivered an eloquent address on that same evening, one which every American should read; and I am honored to include it here in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

ROA MIDWINTER CONFERENCE

I note a very pleasing degree of optimism here tonight. Things are different. Not like they were two years ago after the axe had fallen. The Reserves are still in business. Things are moving. ROA's leadership is capable—Horace Hanson, Jake Carlton, and dozens of others. Our members are confident. Our building is going up. This can be the best year of all.

But for our country there is a serious and unsolved problem. America finds itself at war—a dirty, lonely, unhappy, unintentional kind of war with an insatiable greed for men, materials, and money. It is halfway around the world in a place where we had not prepared to fight, but where Americans, as is their wont, have fought heroically, worked tirelessly and performed magnificently. It is not a glamorous war and a lot of people want us to get out. And the Communists have made noises which the press magnified into a search for peace. Now the peace agitators are back at work.

As I read the dispatches, communist North Vietnam, with a population of 16 million and scant resources, just isn't talking as much about whipping us. They have indicated that under certain conditions, like surrender of all stated objectives by the United States, they might be willing to "negotiate". I place "negotiate" in quotes. They will let our President state his case if he wants to go to Hanoi to do it. I suppose this would be called progress by the campus marching and demonstrating societies.

I would like to see one headline which simply says, "Losers Do Not Dictate the Terms for Peace". And, I would mail that headline to some highly placed gentlemen at home and abroad, in and out of the United Nations, less they forget. It is the United States that is winning, and will continue to win. We don't need negotiations.

We have too many people who are talking when they should be listening. There are some well intentioned peace seekers, and there is a nut fringe. Sometimes the efforts of both subvert national policy. They do not represent the character or the conviction of the American people.

On the night that women striking for peace were seen on network television battering away at the Pentagon doors, the same newscast picked up a Navy enlisted man, a petty officer in charge of a mine sweeper that had been severely damaged by Viet Cong fire on a river near Saigon. That young man speaking to the newscaster had tears in his eyes when he said, "Everyone of my men has a piece of shrapnel in him—but we are doing what we can." I think he had a stronger message for the American people, but I wonder why he had to compete for time on T.V. with a group of peace strikers.

We all believe in freedom of speech. But I have little regard for those elements whose members exercise license by taking advantage of our constitutional guarantees to criticize the very efforts of those American who are dying to guarantee their right to criticize.

Of course the Communists would like to talk peace. They are losing. They know it. North Vietnam has been hurt. Every bombing mission adds to their problems. But they think they can wait us out and we are told they can continue the war for a long time unless greater pressure is applied in the north. There are too many off limits areas—areas important to the continuation of the war, such as Haiphong, which receives two-thirds of North Vietnam's war supplies. If these off limits areas are taken out or sealed off; if the Delta and other major food producing areas are denied to the Communists; if pacification of cleared areas is forcefully carried out, this war will not long endure.

If our forces had been fully unleashed from the beginning, in the ways that American field commanders recommended, it already would have been over.

That's a lot of ifs. Our forces must fight at the level prescribed for them—not at the level of their capability. That can mean a long war. People will get tired of it. The crescendo of demand for negotiations will grow stronger, always stimulated by the communist propaganda machine. The Communists know the consequences much better than we of losing battles when the world is watching. If they could get U.S. forces immobilized or out of South Vietnam, the guerrillas could again have things their way, in a short time. So before we fall into the old and obvious and simple communist trap of negotiating, let's remember that however much we may want peace, we need victory more. A clear-cut victory will do more to guarantee peace in our time than all the words of all the diplomats at all the conference tables in the world. We can avoid the next war by winning this one.

In the meantime, the fighting goes on. There may be a great deal of fighting. There must be new manpower projections—a new look will have to be taken at equipment levels, ammunition stocks, construction of facilities. We are holding at a troop level of 410,000. If the fighting continues through the year, the Pentagon plans to level off at 470,000. More than that may be required unless we are able to get more fight and less talk from our allies.

Where shall we get additional forces? Everyone knows we are spread thin. If this is a "little" war, heaven forbid that we find ourselves in anything bigger until this one is finished. General John K. Waters, a very competent fighting man, listed ways that the U.S. can win in Vietnam. Did you know he placed the call up of the necessary Reserve elements first? This is an almost untapped resource.

This war has some strange ground rules. Very little use has been made of Reserve units. They are maintained for times of need. There has been a serious need. From the beginning of our involvement in Viet Nam there has been a need for Reserve units, engineer units, transportation units, port units, logistics support units—a need for specialists who are skilled from practice in private life in those areas where specialists could have bridged the gaps which were a chronic problem in Vietnam. Their presence could have saved our country millions of dollars in cost; could significantly have advanced the American cause timewise toward victory. Much more importantly, we have left a lot of dead in Vietnam and there will be more. Additional skilled and experienced personnel might well have minimized these losses.

The Joint Chiefs have asked repeatedly that the Reserves be used in this conflict. They weren't used. So it was necessary to withdraw trained specialists, thousands of them, from our forces in Europe and from units in the Z.I. This weakened America's worldwide defense structure, particularly in Europe, where it already had been hurt by allied shortcomings and by French defections. There are such specialists in the Reserves who want to serve. Congress even provided legislation to permit them to be called. None have.

Are the Reserve forces ready? Individuals, yes. Some units are ready, too. Some units haven't received adequate training. I do not think anyone would claim this is the fault of the Reserve components. They would welcome an opportunity to be trained and ready. ROA has said for years, "The Reserves ask only the right to be ready." Some units do not have modern equipment. Again, that is not the fault of the Reserves. Many units just haven't received it. Other units—regular units too—have had their equipment taken for shipment to the fighting front in the frantic effort to make up for shortages which have been so forcefully portrayed by the distinguished Senator from Mississippi, Mr. Stennis and his Committee.

There are Reservists who have made very significant contributions to the allied cause in Vietnam. Some of this has been done by Reservists serving on extended active duty; some by Air Reserve and Air National Guard Units. Fourteen of these airlift units ironically are scheduled for deactivation unless your Congress can convince the Pentagon to continue their services. These are fourteen important units embracing nearly 10,000 officers and men and 176 aircraft. Units which today are helping in an important way to lighten the unbelievably large logistics load associated with a war that is getting bigger.

Well, let's talk about the future of the Reserve components. No Pentagon leader holds nor attempts to hold that the Reserves are not an essential part of the nation's defense forces. If that is true, the Reserve components should be supported at a level which will insure their readiness to fill that essential place effectively in the defense structure. We want them to have a chance to stay alive and win when they are called.

For too long America failed to provide properly for those who wear the uniform. The pay scale was not commensurate with that available in civilian life. Too often they weren't given a comfortable and pleasant place in which to live and work. Now this picture is changed for those in the active forces—changed in large part through the leadership of the distinguished Chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, the Honorable L. Mendel Rivers, and his Committee.

Not only is there new awareness in the Congress of the need to insure dignity and to provide proper recognition and a respectable standard of living to military personnel and their families; there also is a positive acceptance by Congress of its responsibility to insure that weapons and equipment are modern and adequate in number. It is here particularly that the influence of that great Texan, George Mahon, and his Committee has been felt.

It is Congress which time and again has added weapons where needed and authorized additional research on new weapons systems where gaps existed. In these instances, Congress has not been clairvoyant. We simply have followed the recommendations of seasoned and dedicated commanders who live with the problem.

Even today, there is unspent money in the Pentagon for new weapons concepts which Congress believes are required to insure America's invulnerability. For instance, there is funding to further the development of the advanced manned bomber, so that there will be bombers in the next decade. There is funding to begin an Anti-Ballistic Missile System. The Russians are building one. The Pentagon feels a system here is not sufficiently required to spend 30 billion dollars Congress doesn't want to give Russia that important defense advantage. We believe it wiser to spend 30 billion dollars than to risk 90 million American lives.

In defense of the Pentagon let me state that it has many problems. Our defense commitments are worldwide and complex. There is always the problem of money and the pressure to avoid expenditures where possible. Its experts are human. They do the best they can, and like people elsewhere, they sometimes cannot agree among themselves on the best course of action. We respect the Secretariat and those in uniform who are associated with them and we applaud their contributions. They are dedicated men and they work endless hours. We all serve under the same flag.

Yes, positive strides have been made for those who serve in the active forces. Now we are going to make equally positive strides for those who serve in the Reserve components. For a time efforts in Congress for the Reserves had to be largely defensive. We were fighting to keep the Reserves alive. There were headlines which told of inadequate training, inadequate clothing, inadequate equipment. You know these conditions existed because you were there. The Pentagon sought a merger which the Congress would not accept and will not accept. But, in all of this there were those who feared we were witnessing the slow death of the time honored tradition of a strong Reserve. And, morale suffered, suffered grievously.

Even so, the line was held. For two years, a little handful of your friends in the Congress, ably backed by ROA, kept the Reserves intact. This is not enough. Defensive tactics alone cannot insure strong Reserve components. The best defense is a strong offense. Now, it is time and we are ready to seize the initiative, to press forward. Now is the time to insure strong and well equipped and well trained Reserve components of high morale.

For this we must have legislation. The evidence of the past 24 months has made it very clear that the Congress, as a part of its constitutional responsibilty, must specify in detail the national policy and law governing this very important element of our national security team.

We must enact a Bill of Rights for the Reserves. We have such a bill in Congress. It is Congressman Eddie Hebert's bill. Here is a man to whom the Reserves—and America—owe much. Twice his bill has passed the House of Representatives by overwhelming odds. For the second time it is awaiting action in the Senate. A clear statement of intent to take up the bill there early this year has been voiced by Senate leaders such as that great stalwart for defense, Senator Russell, and no man in the U.S. has been a greater champion of the Reserves than he. America, not just the Reserves—America needs this bill written into law—intact—for America's security.

Non of this implies a desire on the part of the Reserves for the perpetuation of dead wood. There must be constant planning and reorganization and pruning where needed to stay modern.

It could be disastrous not to have the insurance that effective Reserve components provide. It would be disastrous today to find ourselves in a larger war without back-up forces from the Reserves. A Bill of Rights for the Reserves will spell all these things out in law. Nothing should be left to chance. Nor could the Reserves ever be struck down by the stroke of one pen.

Chairman Mao says power grows out of the barrel of a gun. If this is the kind of world we live in, I want it to be American power out of American guns. This then is what we seek: a powerful defense team, effective, modern, invulnerable, for this is America's security today and tomorrow. Give us this, but guard it zealously and use it carefully as is America's wont. Then our diplomats will have time in which to work and their words will be heeded—and God grant that they can do as well as those in uniform who fight on the field of battle.

And, while this is being done, let us remind ourselves—and the world—that America has not lost its unity or its purpose. Sometimes our objectives are not spelled out with the same detail that confusion and uncertainty are presented to us and the world. Sometimes the voices of those who counsel retreat receive greater play than those who say, "Whatever the cost, we will not haul down the American Flag." Sometimes the efforts of those who seek to build a greater America fail to achieve the prominence of those who lead marches and demonstrations, of the draft card burners and the protesting beatniks; and sometimes the world is confused by what it sees here.

As true today as it was in 1777 when he said it, is Thomas Paine's view that "those who expect to reap the blessing of freedom must, like men, undergo the fatigue of supporting it."

But the challenge to freedom does not need to lie on one's own doorstep. When freedom dies anywhere in the world it dies a little in America too.

We in ROA know the soul of America is reflected by the glory of its past and the greatness of its present and its dreams for the future of mankind. And, we in ROA who have no problems in understanding the meaning of America or the significance of its mission, know that there may always be unpleasant and unhappy tasks like Vietnam, but we do not fear them. We know that our commitments must go on for as long as it takes to assure the nations of the world that America's dedication to the preservation of freedom is not a part-time obligation. We know that the symbol and the actuality of America are worth all our efforts. We just want to get on with the job.

There is a word for all of this—a word to insure the future of America as we know it. That word is called patriotism. May the God of our fathers help each of us to know patriotism in its richest meaning and to teach it to those around us every day that we live.

Beautification in Beaufort, S.C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to what I honestly believe to be one of the most beautiful, most scenic, most charming towns in the United States: Beaufort, S.C.

Beaufort has remained all these things in the face of great expansion of industry and population largely due to community consciousness of both the natural beauty of its geography and the charm of the town itself.

One man who has contributed much to Beaufort's present condition is my good friend John M. Trask, Jr. As chairman of the Beaufort Committee of the Low-country Resources, Conservation, and Development Commission of South Carolina, he bears a continuing responsibility in this field. I am now placing in the RECORD two articles from the February 24 issue of the Savannah Morning News; I believe these articles illustrate the work being done in Beaufort far better than I could.

The articles follow:

SALT WATER POLLUTION CONTROLS REQUESTED BY BEAUFORT BOARD

(By Peter J. Trigg)

BEAUFORT, S.C.—Fresh water pollution standards were recently tightened by the state Water Pollution Authority, and the Beaufort Committee on the Low-country Resources, Conservation and Development Commission now wants a corresponding change in salt water classifications.

A recommendation was submitted to the committee by Stan Waskiewicz Thursday, and Jim Waring moved that it be accepted and notice of the committee's position sent to the state authority.

The board passed the motion and the resolution will be sent to William Linton of the pollution authority. Copies also will be sent to the county health officer, the RC&D Commission and to Robert Lunz, head of the Bears Bluff Marine Laboratories near Charleston.

The committee recommended that "unlimited pollution of any stream no longer be permitted by law . . . and therefore the pollution authority should delete stream classification S.C. subsection A from its standards."

According to Waskiewicz, this classification is a "dressed-up S.D. classification which allows unlimited pollution."

"This new classification is very vague," he said. "It states that pollution would not be permitted which would prevent the survival of fish life, but this would not protect the culture of fish and eventually they would be eliminated from waters and this class."

The new standards on fresh water, he said, "Are acceptable to good pollution practices but the proposed standards fall short of good pollution practices as affecting our salt-water streams."

The resolution further says that "all effluents disposed into salt water streams and classified S.A. or S.B. should be restricted to define Ph limits (degree of acidity and alkalinity)."

In fresh water streams classiified S.A. or S.B., Waskiewicz said the Ph factor is taken into acocunt but not in the proposed standards for salt water.

The committee also recommended that phenols, dyes, organic or inorganic compounds included in industrial effluents should be limited to "such concentrations as would not affect marine life or growth of marine life."

The recommendation from the committee concludes by saying that "a large segment of our present economy and recreational development is dependent upon these waters and it must be realized that future generations will be more dependent upon them as a source of food and drinking water.

"We should discontinue the use of these streams as receptacles of waste before the damage is beyond repair," the resolution said.

In other action by the group Thursday, it was agreed that a new post office building proposed for Beaufort should be built of such a design that it would blend with the architecture of the city.

The committee agreed to write a letter to the necessary postal officials, with copies to other interested parties, saying they felt the building "should have a design compatible with the architecture of Beaufort and one which would uplift and set a standard for any future development surrounding it."

The committee also requested that they be given a change to review the final design of the exterior of the building.

Mrs. Sally Mae Hollins, former postmaster in Beaufort and present secretary of the Beaufort RC&D Committee, moved that the letter be written.

It was brought out at the meeting that the building will be constructed by private interests and leased by the Post Office Department.

It will be located somewhere between Cartaret and Charles streets and between Bay and Prince streets in the downtown business district of Beaufort.

City Manager Don Fisher, a member of the committee, said that "aside from the increased postal efficiency the new building will afford, it could be very important in starting an urban redevelopment program in this area."

RESOLUTION BOOSTS BEAUFORT'S SCENERY

BEAUFORT, S.C.—The Beaufort Committee of the Lowcountry Resources Conservation and Development Commission Thursday passed a resolution designed to preserve scenic roads and areas of the county.

On a motion by Don Fisher, the committee agreed to ask the Beaufort Couuty Board of Directors and the legislative delegation to take the necessary action to designate certain areas as "scenic."

Fisher, in discussing the motion, said, "Something should be done before these areas are completely over-run with unsightly billboards and trash."

John M. Trask, a member of the six-county commission and chairman of the Beaufort committee, told the group that a scenic road commission or some similar body should be created with the power to enforce the preservation of these areas.

He also suggested working through the Lowcountry RC&D to make an effort in joining Charleston and Savannah in establishing a scenic route from Charleston, through the scenic and historic areas of the Lowcountry and Beaufort County, to Savannah.

Trask also made the same recommendation in a tourism report, delivered this week, to the Chamber of Commerce board of directors.

The roads and areas which the committee felt should receive such designations are the Broad River Bridge area, Sheldon Church Road area, Penn School road section, Hunting Island causeway area, Hilton Head Island causeway area, the old Jericho road area and certain areas located near Bluffton.

The Rev. Everett Gill of Penn Community Services brought up the possibility of tieing-in the scenic road project with the Nelson Act for Highway Beautification.

This act provides that federal funds can be obtained to employ persons who are not about to work full time, but who can work a few hours a week. They would participate in clean-up projects on highways and in other areas.

Tom Barnwell, a member of the Beaufort-Jasper Economic Opportunity Commission, said this group had already made applications for funds under the Nelson Act.

The National Debt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, since we will be discussing again tomorrow the legislation to increase the debt ceiling, I would like to insert at this point in the RECORD an editorial from the Bristol, Tenn.-Va., Herald Courier on this subject:

THE NATIONAL DEBT: A SHOCKING FIGURE

Since 1959, Congress has played a game of charades with the national debt. That was the year it fixed as permanent, the debt ceiling at $285 billion. Anyone knowing this would assume that the national debt was to go no higher. That is where Congress fooled us. Each year thereafter, it added a "temporary debt ceiling," until that came to $45 billion more. Now, with the Treasury requiring another $6 billion debt authorization, the Senate has bowed to reality and called the total of $336 billion a permanent debt ceiling as of the end of the fiscal year June 30.

If that is facing reality, then the Senate must mean it sees no way for the country to reduce its national debt at this or for any foreseeable time. It is like a householder who takes out a mortgage and, instead of amortizing it over the years, borrows more and more on his house—and finally asks the bank to make it one permanent mortgage without amortization, but to carry interest only.

The difference is that the United States government has for the last six years had an unprecedented annual increase in revenues as its share of the continuing national prosperity. Instead of using some or all of this newfound wealth to pay off some of its debt, it found so many more services to render people through the Great Society that it will have accumulated $51 billion more in debt by the end of this fiscal year, and it says frankly it cannot pay any of it off.

The bitter truth was accepted by the Senate Finance Committee on motion of the watchdog of the Treasury, Sen. John J. Williams, Delaware Republican. Williams has probably started more probes of government spending than anyone now in Congress, but the huge interest on the national debt is apparently beyond him. He just threw up his hands and said, let's face it, it's permanent.

It is also a bit shocking and sickening.

"Prudent De-Escalation" of Purely Military Aspects of Vietnam War Called for by Former Ambassador to Japan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the former Ambassador to Japan, Edwin O. Reischauer, recently stated his views on the Vietnam war. Mr. Reischauer's statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee calls for prudent deescalation of the conflict's purely military aspects—for instance, the bombing of the north. By doing so, the Ambassador says, the administration's objectives can best be obtained.

Since Ambassador Reischauer's views are based on long experience with the peoples of southeast Asia, I think they are worth studying in depth, and consequently I insert into the RECORD the report of Ambassador Reischauer's statement as it appeared in the New York Times on Wednesday, February 1, 1967:

EXCERPTS FROM REISCHAUER'S STATEMENT TO SENATORS

WASHINGTON, Jan. 31.—*Following are excerpts from a statement today by former Ambassador Edwin O. Reischauer before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee:*

I am myself a supporter of the Administration's objective in Vietnam, which, as I understand it, is to bring the war to as speedy an end as possible, without resorting to either of the dangerous alternatives of withdrawal or major escalation. I might add that, in my view, this objective can best be attained by prudent de-escalation of the conflict's purely military aspects—for instance, the bombing of the north.

Regardless of how one views our present policy, however, I believe we would all agree that our position in Vietnam is something we should have avoided. If at several times in the past we had correctly judged the realities of the situation in Vietnam, the risks involved, and the limitations of our influence, we would have made a different choice than we did. Decisions, which at the time may have seemed small and relatively unimportant, led us step by step to our present unhappy position.

My personal feeling is that two of our major mistakes were made early—in the years after 1945 in backing the revival of French colonialism and in 1954 in stepping into the unsound situation the French left behind them. Be that as it may, the war in Vietnam shows that we need a clearer concept of our long-range relationship with Asia so that we will have sounder guidelines in the day-to-day decisions that cumulatively shape our policy.

CHINESE MENACE WEAKER

However slow the progress in most of Asia, the general movement, I feel, is upward economically and toward more viable political and social systems. The threat of unitary world Communism sweeping Asia has largely faded, and the menace of Chinese domination—if ever it was a real menace in the military sense—is growing weaker.

Almost all of the countries of Asia are gaining in national cohesiveness and in confidence. In some areas there has been encouraging progress toward the development of a healthy sense of regional cooperation. Some of these things may be happening because of our Vietnam stance, but fundamentally they are happening for other more basic reasons and in some cases despite our stand in Vietnam.

If the present Vietnam crisis can be solved without either great escalation or a headlong retreat by the United States, I believe that we can count on the situation in Asia continuing slowly to improve, rather than deteriorating.

Asian nations neither are alike nor act alike. Each is very distinctive. I therefore doubt that blanket policies should or could be applied to all of the countries of Asia. Some, because of strategic location or an important product, are of more immediate concern to us than others. As examples, I might cite the vital sea routes through the Straits of Malacca and the oil of West Asia.

As I have said, we can offer effective defenses more easily to island countries than to continental ones. Some countries more eagerly seek relations with us than others, and with some we have developed special bonds. The Philippines, South Korea and Taiwan are cases in point. Most important, some countries are far closer to being stable, modernized nations than are others.

JAPAN, A SPECIAL CASE

In this regard, Japan is, of course, a special case. Not so much because it is an island nation or a Pacific, as opposed to an Asian, land, but because it is a thoroughly modernized country. Japan I believe is as much a natural partner and ally of the United States as any country in Europe.

I should like to put forward, on the basis of the broad concepts discussed above, a few general propositions, as indicative of the fundamental directions in which we should be trying to move over the years ahead. I cannot in the format of this brief presentation explore these propositions fully, but I believe they are concepts which should be studied carefully. Stated bluntly and with a minimum of justification or explanation, these propositions are:

1. We should seek to minimize our military involvement and military commitments in Asia, because our vital interests are not likely to be threatened in most of Asia, because our type of military strength is not very effective in meeting subversion and guerrilla warfare, which are the chief threats to the stability of most Asian countries, and because our military presence is likely to stir up anti-American reactions and have other influences adverse to our long-range interests.

2. We should not try to induce most Asian countries to align themselves formally with us, since such alignments do not add to our security and are not likely to be as effective in giving them security as are their own unfettered nationalism and, possibly, regional groupings of like-minded countries. Far more useful, both to the security of most Asian nations and to our own, are multilateral involvements of these states with one another and with all the developed nations.

OPPOSES SPONSORING CHANGE

3. We should not sponsor political, social, or economic change in Asian countries, though we should be responsive to requests from them for aid in carrying out such changes, whenever we judge that these changes would help in the healthy development of these countries and that our aid could usefully contribute to this end. We run serious and unwarranted dangers when we take the initiative in sponsoring important internal changes in Asian lands or when our influence becomes so preponderant that we assume responsibility for the existence or nature of a regime. Such situations are all too likely to produce serious friction between our well-meaning efforts and their nationalism.

4. We should not seek to play the role of leader in Asia, rallying allies to our policies, but should attempt to withdraw to the role of a friendly outside supporter of individual or collective Asian initiatives. In such a role, we are more likely to be able to give effective aid to Asian countries than when we assume the leadership ourselves.

I applaud our efforts to find new contacts with the Communist Chinese through the exchange of newsmen, scholars, and other private citizens. I look upon trade contacts with Communist China as being probably of more value to the achievement of our long-range objectives than detrimental to our short-term interests. I feel that we should not oppose Peking's entry in the United Nations or other international bodies, so long as it is willing to enter on the same terms as do other countries.

Such stands would mean the clear adoption of a policy toward Communist China of "containment with isolation"—or, as the President put it last July 12, a policy of "reconciliation." I should point out, however, that I do not believe such a policy would bring any important immediate changes in our relationship with that vast country.

SUPPORT FOR TWAIWAN

We must continue to support the right of the people on Taiwan to self-determination and membership in the United Nations, and, that being the case, Peking may not choose to enter the United Nations for the time being. Nor does it seem probable that Communist China would respond right away to any offers from us for increased contact.

However, the accumulating frustrations of the Peking regime, both in foreign policy and at home, suggest that the time may be approaching when its leaders will be forced to take more rational approaches to their international problems. It is important that, when that time comes, the Chinese realize that the doors are open for them to participate in international society and to develop closer contacts with us. In fact, the knowledge that these doors stood open might well hasten the decision in Peking to attempt to go through them.

It is not surprising that the Communist Chinese fiercely resent the implication in our present policy that we have the right to pass judgment on the nature of their government and that we feel it is either unable or else unfit to continue to rule over the country that it clearly controls. The removal of these implications in our policy seems to me to be an important first step we must take if we are ever to build a more satisfactory relationship with continental China. I might add that such a relationship is the prerequisite to a truly peaceful future for the whole sian area.

I close with a final caution that I hope has been implicit in the foregoing remarks. There are many qualities that are demanded of us as we approach the problems of Asia—among them patience, restraint and a sensitivity to Asian views and aspirations. But most important of all, in my judgment, is a correct sense of history—and through it a truer perspective on the problems of Asia.

A Wild Goose Chase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 28, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, sometimes when I am reading my favorite newspaper, the Charleston News and Courier, I come across an editorial of such astuteness and penetrating clarity that I feel it must be shared with the rest of the country. Such an editorial appeared in the Wednesday, February 22, issue of this newspaper and is entitled "A Wild Goose Chase." It is a perfect reply to those in the Civil Rights Commission who are responsible for its latest and most asinine proposal yet. I hope everyone will read this editorial which now follows:

A WILD GOOSE CHASE

In its emotional urge to mix races in classrooms at any cost, the Civil Rights Commission has moved closer to the inevitable brink of absurdity with its latest pronouncement on integration of schools. The commission has declared that schools having an enrollment of more than 50 per cent Negro pupils must be abolished.

Three possible courses are open: 1, leave the Negroes without education; 2, move enough of them out to reduce the percentage below 50 per cent; or 3, move in sufficient white pupils to achieve the desired percentage.

Course No. 1 is against an enlightened approach to improvement of racial standards. The other courses imply some kind of compulsion in the daily lives of citizens. Either children will be forced to travel long distances from their homes to school—an imposition on them and their parents in terms of time, convenience and emotional dislocation—or, even more drastic, resettlement of entire families by the thousand.

Resettlement is indeed a drastic term, but one that may have to be examined fully in future discussions of the race problem of many Northern and Western cities. Their vast colonies of Negroes have created conditions with which authorities seem unable to cope.

Instead of suggesting that these slum areas be improved with schools and other facilities tailored for the special needs of the inhabitants, the Civil Rights Commission seems determined to apply compulsory mingling with white people as a poultice for the sores. Since the white people have been moving in droves to suburbs, the commission seems to be saying that it will bring back their children in buses, or else send Negroes in pursuit from the slums. Such action would wreck the civil rights of all concerned, irrespective of race and color.

Meanwhile, in the South, public education is proceeding, as well as it can in the face of federal pressures, along more realistic lines. Some integration has been accepted, but so far racial and residential dislocation has been held within reasonable bounds. Both white and Negro citizens seem more interested in providing useful education for their children than in chasing after percentage statistics of racial mixing.

From Physicist William Shockley, a Nobel prize-winner whose scientific credentials cannot be challenged, has some support for the position that recognition of racial differences is not pure prejudice, but may be based in sound science. The "environmental-hereditary uncertainty", as he expressed it, has prevented an intelligent attack on city slum problems and has created taboos against research.

Dr. Shockley charged the federal government and the American Anthropological Assn. with discouraging investigation because it might reach "unpalatable" conclusions.

In the face of such expert testimony, backed by experience among laymen, the Civil Rights Commission's proposal to demolish schools serving Negro neighborhoods in a futile attempt to reduce the percentage of Negro enrollment below 50 per cent seems wicked as well as absurd.

Tribute to Manager of San Leandro Chamber of Commerce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 16, 1967

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, last week the California Association of Chamber of Commerce Executives honored Mr. Frank King, manager of the Chamber of Commerce of San Leandro, a city in my district. This city has met the problems of providing services to a rapidly increased population with remarkable success. It has also attracted industrial development to provide employment for its residents and to obtain a favorable tax base. These things have been accomplished by persons, such as Mr. King, who have dedicated themselves to the community welfare. I am pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial which appeared in the February 21, 1967, issue of the San Leandro, Calif., Morning News honoring Frank King.

FRANK KING TRIBUTE IS WELL DESERVED

In honoring Manager Frank M. King of the San Leandro Chamber of Commerce, the California Association of Chamber of Commerce Executives last week paid well-deserved tribute to a man whose accomplishments have long been known to many San Leandrans.

The Certificate of Management Service presented to King in recognition of his 20 years of chamber work here bore the statement that the award was presented in "sincere appreciation for outstanding devotion to public and community interest while serving as a leader of Chamber of Commerce activities."

The presentation in Stockton at the statewide association's 54th annual conference helped point up a record with which San Leandrans have been familiar for some time. As to what this record consists of, take a gander at some of the local developments since Frank King first took up the reins of managing the local chamber in February, 1947.

The San Leandro chamber has steadily grown in membership, influence and participation in many civic endeavors.

During the past score of years local commercial and industrial activity has zoomed forward by leaps and bounds, thereby being a major factor in the city's ability to lower its tax rate for 19 consecutive years.

This commercial-industrial progress has not been in any way to the detriment of other facets of San Leandro life—local residential areas have mushroomed and have become increasingly attractive, public recreation facilities have been expanded; our schools consistently maintain high standards of education.

Frank King—a modest man despite his seemingly limitless energy and enthusiasm—would be the last to claim credit for all this. But those who have known him over the years know that he has played a major role in the San Leandro story.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

Code of Laws of the United States

Title 44, Section 181. Congressional Record; arrangement, style, contents, and indexes.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congressional Record, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional Record semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

Title 44, Section 182b. Same; illustrations, maps, diagrams.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the Record without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily Record as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the Record shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the Record shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the Record issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the Record for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the Record of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the Record shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the Record style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the Record.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent Record is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the Congressional Record.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the Congressional Record shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the Congressional Record, nor to Records printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of theHouse or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional Record which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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